The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre (1861-1982)

Stephen Burdick Hand
Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

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THE COURTYARD AND PATIO GARDENS OF
THE VIEUX CARRE (1861-1982)

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture
in
The School of Landscape Architecture

by
Stephen Burdick Hand
B.A., Bowdoin College, 1966
December 1982
MANUSCRIPT THESES

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ABSTRACT

The evolutionary process of the gardens of New Orleans' Vieux Carre from 1861 to 1982 has been influenced by cultural, economic, governmental and social forces within and without the Vieux Carre. Their interworkings combined to shape and style these gardens. No single force or era is seen as clearly dominant in this perceived pattern of evolution. Rather, in this study these gardens are viewed as reflections of various times and, more specifically, the culture, economics, politics and social aspirations of such times. The tracing of the history of these gardens reveals that during the past 122 years they have continually responded to the vastly changing means, needs and stylistic preferences of successive Vieux Carre residents.

After the Civil War, the residual gardens of the Antebellum period largely succumbed to deterioration and waves of immigration that overwhelmed the Vieux Carre. Ironically preserved through inertia and neglect, the Vieux Carre was to be romantically rediscovered in the 1920s and subsequently and actively preserved. During this process of rediscovery, a new Vieux Carre garden style was forged from a unique blending of various garden traditions. The elements of this new style have endured into the Vieux Carre's present period of prosperity. This study shows that while such elements of Vieux Carre gardens often vary in detail, their essence is shared. With few exceptions, they are nineteenth century spaces with twentieth century treatments.

This study chronicles the history of these gardens in the context of the development of the Vieux Carre and the City of New Orleans.
The cultural, economic, governmental and social forces significant to this development are related to the changes in the Vieux Carre gardens. The causes and effects are linked to reveal a pattern of evolution that makes these gardens more understandable.
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

Area of the Study

Tourists call it the French Quarter. New Orleanians refer to it simply as the "Quarter," but officially the eighty-five square block area that comprises the heart of New Orleans (Figure 1) is designated as the "Vieux Carre." In French, "Vieux Carre" means "Old Square"; and in the context of New Orleans, the term is derived from the form of the earliest layout of the City of New Orleans.

In 1721, three years after the founding of New Orleans, Adrien de Pauger laid out a system of streets in a grid pattern within a rectangle. This rectangle was later seen as a square, hence the designation "Old Square." De Pauger was carrying out the design of his boss, Pierre LeBlond de la Tour, Engineer-in-Chief of Louisiana. La Tour's basic plan has endured for 260 years; and the Vieux Carre's streets, and even street names, remain essentially unchanged from French Colonial times. But the residences and shops that line the Quarter's narrow streets today date from subsequent periods. Some of the buildings were constructed during the Spanish Colonial period from 1768 to 1802. However, most were built after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and before the onset of the Civil War in 1861 (Lemann, 1966: 13-14).

From the Civil War until well into the twentieth century, the Vieux Carre survived mainly through neglect. And it survived long enough to be romantically re-discovered and then actively preserved. This preservation, begun in the 1930s, has intentionally avoided either turning the quarter into a museum or freezing it into a single
historic moment in time. Rather, as Architectural Historian Bernard Lemann notes in his *Vieux Carre - A General Statement*:

As an historic storehouse the Vieux Carre represents a cumulative effect, not an isolated moment of history, but a kind of mobile moment, ever receding into the background, or moving forward depending on how one prefers to see it. (Lemann, 1966:33)

The small enclosed gardens of the Vieux Carre are an intriguing aspect of this "cumulative effect." They are laced throughout every block of the Quarter; they augment and enhance varied structures from three different centuries; they adapt to diverse and changing uses.

**Statement of Problem**

Casual and critical observers alike have tended to take these garden spaces for granted or overwhelm them with saccharine superlatives. Thus the gardens of the Vieux Carre receded into the background, obscured by glowing praise and unexamined in any comprehensive manner until 1976.

In that year John S. Steele, a graduate student in Landscape Architecture at Louisiana State University, wrote a thesis entitled "The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre (1718-1860)." Based on his research, Steele reported that despite voluminous works on other aspects of the Vieux Carre, there was no comprehensive history of its garden evolution (Steele, 1976:3). To fill this void, Steele established "a history of garden development as a sub-unit in the overall pattern of urban development in the Vieux Carre" (Steele, 1966:2). Steele's history began with the founding of New Orleans in 1718 and continued through 1860, the end of the Antebellum Period. Steele's assertion about the dearth of information on the gardens of
the Vieux Carre is equally valid when applied to the period subsequent to that of Steele's study—the period from the onset of the Civil War in 1861 to today, 1982.

The evolution of Vieux Carre gardens during these past 122 years has neither been examined nor chronicled in any comprehensive manner. In-depth information on the gardens of this period is scarce and scattered and, therefore, compels a comprehensive and chronological examination—a continuation of Steele's historical series. By continuing this series from the Civil War through today, the cumulative effect, which these gardens evidence today, should be perceived with a fresh look, with more clarity, and, consequently, more understanding.

**Significance of Study**

By structuring this study as an historical series, "a discourse that presents a story in time order" (Almack, 1930:190), previously scarce and scattered information becomes more readily available and understandably ordered. Therefore, the study contributes by its "making available to many what was available to a few" (Almack, 1930:281) as it establishes the series.

Perhaps the greater significance of this study will be derived from its design and research applicability. The study's documentation and interpretation of the continuing evolution of the gardens of the Vieux Carre should prove of value to designers and researchers interested both in garden preservation and private outdoor spaces for higher density neighborhoods.

In *Preservation Comes of Age*, Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., traces the history of the preservation movement in the Vieux Carre and reflects
on the "secret of New Orleans' success" (Hosmer, 1981:305). If, as Hosmer suggests, New Orleans' preservation "success" should be studied by others (Hosmer, 1981:305), it follows that the history of the treatment of French Quarter gardens, particularly during the forty-five years of the Quarter's active preservation, should be of special interest to those involved in garden preservation.

Similarly, new perceptions and greater understanding of the intimately-scaled gardens of the Vieux Carre may well inspire or stimulate design solutions for confined outdoor spaces, created of necessity as Americans assume higher living densities. In the May 1982 issue of Landscape Architecture, editor Grady Clay notes:

> All such shifts to higher densities will have their costs and will promote new local debates. In such controversy, landscape architects will have a part to play, lessons to preach, examples at which to point. (Clay, May 1982:73)

That the Vieux Carre's gardens are such examples was obvious to the editors of the New Illustrated Encyclopedia of Gardening in 1964. In a section titled "Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre," the Encyclopedia notes that:

> The basic good sense of the New Orleans style, if never really out of fashion, has been far more widely put into practice recently than it was only a few decades ago. Homeowners everywhere whose lots are small and neighbors close have found that imitating the New Orleans patio brings privacy. (Greystone, 1964:231)

If the small, walled gardens of the Vieux Carre are to be exemplified, it follows that they should also be understood. Toward this understanding, this study's historical series and its interpretation will chronologically reveal and analyze the elements common to, and characteristic of, the myriad courtyard and patio gardens of the
French Quarter. If indeed there is a "New Orleans Style" or a "New Orleans Courtyard Style," it should be made more evident and understandable through this study.

**Objectives**

The new perceptions sought through this study require first and foremost the creation of a clear, concise, consistent and complete historical series. This series will describe, document and depict the evolution of the gardens of the Vieux Carre from the beginning of the Civil War, 1861, to today, 1982.

The series will be crafted in a manner suggested by Derek Clifford in *A History of Garden Design*:

> A History should consist of ascertained facts selected for their significance in the pattern of evolution and intelligibly presented so that the chain of cause and effect is apprehended and each fact given a fresh rotundity by reason of its perceived relationship with others. This inevitably involves an unreal simplification, as does anything short of complete reenactment of the period, together with a good deal of theory, speculation, and some personal prejudice. This is what makes a written history into a specialized form of literature rather than a laboratory assistant's diary. (Clifford, 1966:222)

It is intended that this written history will indeed set a pattern of evolution and intelligibly link cause and effect, so that the gardens of the French Quarter and their characteristic elements will be given the desired "rotundity."

Once established, this historical series will be later interpreted in this study. This interpretation will subjectively analyze the cultural, economic, governmental and social forces that shaped and styled the gardens of the Vieux Carre during the 122 years chronicled. These analyses will highlight the essential elements of Vieux Carre
gardens—their function, enclosure, form, layout, paving, major features and plants.

**Context and Scope**

All history is one. Gardens cannot be considered in detachment from the people who made them. (Clifford, 1966:15)

Neither can gardens be considered in detachment from the physical environment—climate and topography—in which they are made (Fitch, 1976:276). Gardens are the product of constantly and often rapidly changing cultural forces, as well as slowly changing physical conditions.

The cultural forces—economic, social and political—and stylistic preferences that shaped and styled the gardens of the Vieux Carre cannot be considered in isolation. Rather, these forces and preferences are evident in the many aspects of Vieux Carre life during the period 1861 to 1982. So too, they relate to preceding periods, as well as to the overall development of the City of New Orleans.

During the French Colonial period (1718-1768), the Vieux Carre comprised the City of New Orleans in its entirety. But during the Spanish Colonial period (1769-1802), the city slowly began to grow away and apart from its heart. This trend accelerated dramatically after the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and real growth in the Vieux Carre halted before the onset of the Civil War (Lemann, 1966:13).

Considered in the context of the urban development of New Orleans and its Old City, the Vieux Carre, the Quarter's garden evolution is to be set forth in general terms with specific examples that relate either to significant cultural, economic, governmental or social forces, stylistic preferences, or to changing garden elements that
reflect such forces and preferences.

This study is not intended to either inventory the gardens of the Vieux Carre or to catalogue any of the elements or features of these gardens. Rather, the scope of this study is limited to setting forth and then interpreting a perceived pattern of garden evolution in the Vieux Carre during the past 122 years and doing so within the context of the urban development of New Orleans and its French Quarter.

**Definition of Terms**

In New Orleans, people refer to the gardens of the Vieux Carre in one of three ways. Most often the term "courtyard" is used, but the terms "patio" and "walled garden" are also applied to the Quarter's garden spaces. The terms "courtyard" and "patio" are used interchangeably. However, the term "walled garden" is used either to describe one of the Quarter's larger gardens or as a term which can at once embrace such gardens and the more prevalent smaller gardens.

In his book, *New Orleans*, Stuart Lynn notes the interchangeable use of the terms "courtyard" and "patio," but seeks to differentiate them as follows:

> Generally speaking, the courtyard, which is of French origin, is larger than the patio and bounded by high walls. It has a wide, flagstoned carriage entrance or corridor leading to it from the street. Some of the smaller courts are completely paved with flagstone while the larger ones have grass plots, flower beds, large trees, fountains, and statues. The patio, on the other hand, is of Spanish origin and is a smaller, inner space more within the outer walls of the house, and has a small, narrow entrance along the side of or through the house itself. It is paved either with flagstone or brick and contains many potted plants and ornaments. (Lynn, 1949:73)
Such distinctions as to the varying size of enclosed outdoor spaces and access to them are worth noting, as is Stanley C. Arthur's observation in his book, Old New Orleans. Arthur contends the distinction is more one of language; that the preference for the Spanish term "patio" displaced the old French "cour" during the period of Spanish Domination. (Arthur, 1966:10-11)

Whatever the bases for such distinctions, they have over time become blurred. Today the term "courtyard" seems to enjoy wider use in general reference to French Quarter gardens. Because of this current use, and because research for this study indicates that all gardens of the Vieux Carre seem to have similarly evolved, there is herein no further attempt to differentiate between patios, courtyards, and walled gardens. The term "garden" or "courtyard" will be used to denote any and all private, enclosed, outdoor spaces in the Vieux Carre.

Methodology

Gardens are elusive, organic places. The plants that give them their form, color and character are constantly growing, changing, dying and being cut back or down. Gardens, individually and collectively, can in time defy or deny the intention of their designers and challenge historians seeking to capture their essences at given points in time (Fitch, 1976:278).

To meet this challenge and to determine the evolution of the gardens of the Vieux Carre, it is necessary to establish a structure of inquiry that cross-references diverse sources and types of data and cross-checks their accuracy. In this way, information can be
presented as ascertained facts which accurately reflect the general pattern of garden evolution in the Vieux Carre. Information found to be inaccurate, unrelated, or reflecting unique or isolated conditions can be either precluded from the study or included and so labelled.

The basic historical framework for this study was compiled from four principal sources: Leonard V. Huber's *New Orleans - A Pictorial History*; John Smith Kendall's *History of New Orleans*; Bernard Lemann's *The Vieux Carre - A General Statement*; and Samuel Wilson, Jr.'s, *The Vieux Carre, New Orleans: Its Growth, Its Architecture*.

With an outline derived from these sources and relating to the forces and events that seemed significant to the evolution of Vieux Carre's courtyard gardens, a search was undertaken for descriptions of these gardens throughout the period 1861 to 1982.

The Louisiana and Special Collections of Tulane University, the Louisiana Collection of Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge, the Historic New Orleans Collection, the New Orleans Public Library, and the library of the New Orleans Garden Society were among the sources searched to locate accounts by residents, travelers and other observers whose writings might provide insights into the treatment and condition of Vieux Carre gardens at various times. Fictional accounts were also sought in view of the French Quarter's literary tradition to round out word pictures of these gardens.

With such word pictures and the historical framework, photographic evidence of the evolution of the Vieux Carre gardens was sought in the archives of The Historic New Orleans Collection, the Louisiana State Museum, the Louisiana Collections of Tulane University and Louisiana State University, and the library of the architectural firm of Koch
and Wilson. Together, this photographic record of Vieux Carre gardens spans the period from 1880 to today and includes the following photographers and the principal periods of their photographs: George Francis Mugnier (1880-1890); Nina King (1900-1910); Charles L. Franck (1905-1955); Morgan Whitney (1908-1913); Richard Koch (1920-1940); Arnold Genthe (1920s); Frances B. Johnston (1930s); Eugene A. Delcroix (1930s); and Stuart Lynn (1938-1948).

The visual data gap for the period 1861 to 1880 was filled in part through the examination of the watercolor sketches contained in the planbooks of the New Orleans Notarial Archives. These sketches were made in the nineteenth century to interest customers at the time of auction sales of property. Most often these sketches contain only a color view of the street facade of the building and a plan of the structure's ground floor. But sometimes the grounds and environs are included in these plans and drawings. In such cases the form and elements of the gardens are well depicted. These water color sketches were superceded by photographs beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Jumonville, 1981:9).

With these plans and the photographic evidence of the form, layout and condition of the Vieux Carre's gardens at various times, documentary evidence was sought to provide more details in regard to specific elements of these gardens—for instance, plants. Information was sought to determine what plants were available for use in the Vieux Carre gardens. For the period 1861 to 1900 such information was sought through New Orleans city directories, newspaper and journal advertisements and articles, and nursery and seed catalogues. For the period since 1900, due to the widespread availability of plant
materials, lists of plant materials recommended for use or frequently used in the Vieux Carre gardens were sought.

In regard to paving and other materials used for garden structures, nineteenth century building contractors' records at the Historic New Orleans Collection were reviewed for an overview of materials used at various times. Catalogues of ornamental iron works and other vendors of garden ornaments were checked to better date and determine the introduction of fountains and other major Vieux Carre garden features.

These documents, the photographic evidence, and written descriptions combined to reveal an evolutionary pattern for the gardens of the Vieux Carre from the Civil War to today. In this pattern, particular gardens began to emerge as significant to this evolution. Their significance was of two types. Some gardens are significant because they were innovative and set an example for their times. Others are significant because they serve as good examples of their times. Both types of gardens and the property of which they were, or are, a part were researched through the Historic New Orleans Collection's Vieux Carre Survey. In this way their histories were brought up-to-date wherever possible; thus, most gardens are traced in this study from the point of their noted significance up to today.

To better understand and relate the perceived pattern of garden evolution in the Vieux Carre, interviews were conducted with persons knowledgeable about the history of the French Quarter, particularly architectural historian Bernard Lemann, and architect and historian Samuel Wilson, Jr.
Five New Orleans landscape architects, whose practices together span the past fifty years, were interviewed for their views on the evolving gardens of the Vieux Carre during the periods of their respective practices. These landscape architects are: Rene Fransen, Christopher Friederichs, Virginia Provosty, R. F. Schneider, and William A. Wiedorn.

Architect Henry Krotzer, a partner in the firm of Koch and Wilson, was also interviewed, as were long time Quarter residents Mrs. Mary Morrison, a member of the Vieux Carre Commission, and Boyd Cruise, the Director-Emeritus of the Historic New Orleans Collection.

These persons and others provided verbal information that reinforced and reshaped the perceived pattern of evolution of the Vieux Carre gardens. They particularly helped form the bases for the interpretation that follows the establishment of the historical series.

**Organization**

The body of this study is divided into two parts. Part I is the Historic Review. Part II is the Interpretation. Part I sets forth the historical series of facts that relate directly or indirectly to garden evolution in the Vieux Carre. This historic review is divided into five chronological periods as follows: 1718 to 1860; 1861 to 1919; 1920 to 1936; 1937 to 1959; and 1960 to 1982.

The first period, 1718-1860, is that covered by Steele. In this study Steele's findings will be summarized and some additional facts will be set forth. These facts are essential and relevant to material that follows in accounts of subsequent periods.
The second period was, according to Lemann, one of "heedless inactivity" (Lemann, 1966:2). The Quarter's inactivity began with the Civil War (1861) and continued into the twentieth century to a period of revival that gained impetus after the French Opera House fire in 1919.

During the succeeding era, from 1920 to 1936, "a new artistic and intellectual atmosphere emerged" (Wilson, 1968:24) in the Quarter, which lead to the 1936 passage of a Louisiana State Constitutional Amendment enabling the active, enforced preservation of the Vieux Carre.

The following year (1937) the New Orleans City Council created the Vieux Carre Commission and gave it the specific police power to regulate modifications to structures within the Vieux Carre (Morrison, 1965:107). For the purposes of this study, this period is ended with the year 1959 because of the significance of the following year.

1960 saw the dedication of the new Royal Orleans Hotel, the success of which "unleashed a veritable goldrush" (Lemann, 1966:29) in the Vieux Carre. The period thus begun continues today.

The discussion of each period concludes with a summary of the observed uses and conditions of Vieux Carre gardens during the period. Such summaries detail significant observed changes in the principal elements of the gardens.

Interpretations and analyses of the reasons for such changes follow in Part II of this study. "Part II - Interpretation," analyses the material chronicled in Part I. It links the causes perceived with effects observed for each of the periods studied.
The analyses in Part II identify the most compelling forces that impacted on the Vieux Carre and, most particularly, its gardens. These forces include both physical conditions and cultural forces. The interplay of social, economic and political forces are seen as crucial to, and determining of, the gardens of the Vieux Carre. Changing life styles and stylistic preferences will be noted in this part. Part II concludes with an overview of the development of the Vieux Carre gardens, identifying and interpreting the many layers in the cumulative effect that have moulded today's gardens in the Vieux Carre and given rise to a "style."
HISTORIC REVIEW
THE PERIOD 1718 TO 1860

Summary of Garden Evolution

In his thesis, The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre (1718-1860), Steele describes and depicts the evolving gardens as responses to the increasing urbanization of the Vieux Carre.

Steele notes how early government decrees shaped the gardens of the Vieux Carre by requiring that they be small, mostly to the rear of the property, and enclosed. He sees New Orleans' heavy rainfall and low elevation as dictating the raising of garden beds for drainage and insists that out of nostalgia, the early residents clung to the formal garden layouts of their homeland, France (Steele, 1976:94).

As living densities tightened in the Vieux Carre, Steele notes that these enclosed garden spaces were increasingly paved and used as service yards, as well as for ornamental and kitchen gardens (Steele, 1976:98).

With the advent of the nineteenth century, the Americans and prosperity came and, according to Steele, stimulated a refined blending of French and Spanish traditions with American preferences in the building and rebuilding of the Vieux Carre, which twice had been ravaged by fire--in 1788 and 1794 (Steele, 1976:50).

During the peak of the Vieux Carre's first prosperity from 1830 to 1860, Steele discerns a new interest in ornamental horticulture and the increasing use of the gardens for pleasure as well as service. Crowded, noisy and odorous streets, according to Steele, dictated the continued, perhaps intensified, inward orientation of gardens and the residences they embellished (Steele, 1976:101).
**Garden Examples**

The home of Architect James Gallier, Jr., at 1132 Royal Street exemplifies the point to which the gardens of the Vieux Carre had evolved by 1860. This Italianate townhouse is of the "Courtyard House" style of residences built in the Vieux Carre from 1815 to 1860 (Goldstein, 1906). Gallier's 1857 plan (Figure 2) shows the principal elements of this style as well as the unique details of his dwelling. There is a carriageway, porte cochere, leading from the street into a courtyard which is formed by the house, an ell-shaped service wing, and a side wall. This courtyard can be seen as divided by a fence and structure into an ornamental forecourt and a rear service yard. A review of Notarial Archives Planbooks reveals that such a separation of functions is an exception rather than the rule for antebellum Vieux Carre courtyards. This confirms Steele's assertion that "the smaller city gardens of the Vieux Carre were forced to accommodate all the service activities within one small area" (Steele, 1976:41).

Nevertheless, the exceptions, wherein gardens were designed to divide their many and varied functions, are worth noting and can be seen in the following Notarial Archives Planbooks: Book 11, Folio 38, 1845; Book 6A, Folio 86, 1850; and Book 44, Folio 41, 1856.

The 1856 watercolor sketch contained in planbook 44, folio 41, depicts a cottage on St. Louis Street with two gardens (Figure 3). One garden flanks the house and fills the area between the house and the service structures. It is assumed this is the ornamental garden while the other garden---to the rear of the service buildings---is the kitchen garden.
Figure 2 - Plan of James Gallier, Jr. (1857)
Figure 3 - St. Louis Street Garden (1856)
This cottage and Gallier's house occupy only a typical building lot. However, during the antebellum period, some affluent Vieux Carre residents purchased lots adjacent to their residences to create more elaborate and formal gardens. One example of such a large, elaborate garden was the garden of Joseph LeCarpentier at the corner of Chartres and Ursuline Streets (Steele, 1976:62). Other examples are found in the following Notarial Archives Planbooks: Book 15, Folio 22, 1832; Book 11, Folio 10, 1839; Book 62, Folio 8, 1853; and Book 95, Folio 31, 1853.

The sketch in planbook 11, folio 31, reveals the 1839 condition of the grounds of a Bourbon Street house, which were expanded by the addition of a lot facing Dumaine Street and perpendicular to the rear of the house's principal lot. The plan (Figure 4) shows this lot with its trellised carriageway entering the grounds from Dumaine Street and flanked by formal plantings. The courtyard formed by the house and the service buildings is also formally laid out.

The house in Figure 4 is similar in layout to the St. Louis Street cottage (Figure 3) and is of a type now called Creole\textsuperscript{2} Cottages. These one-story or one-and-one-half story cottages, and two-story variations of them called "Plantation Houses," comprise a style separate from the Courtyard Houses. The style of the creole cottage and plantation house is generally referred to as "French Colonial," though the structures to which they refer were built after the French Colonial era (Lemann, 1982:4).

Courtyard houses, creole cottages, plantation houses and variations of them comprise the preponderance of the housing stock that existed in the French Quarter at the onset of the Civil War.
Figure 4 - Bourbon Street Garden (1839)
Garden Elements

These examples of Vieux Carre gardens during the antebellum period (Figures 2, 3 and 4) underscore not only the elements common to these and other contemporary Quarter gardens, but also the significant differences among such gardens and the structures they serve.

Function

Gallier's plan (Figure 2) evidences the many functions required of a courtyard space. His courtyard provides circulation between related service structures, green relief from the street, and cooling from shade and from the draft pulled in through the porte cochere. The space available for plants is somewhat limited. In comparison, the gardens of the St.-Louis Street cottage (Figure 3) are replete with beds for ornamentals, herbs and vegetables, as well as an arbor for grape vines. The gardens of the Bourbon Street cottage (Figure 4) reveal a different functional emphasis through their form. The trellised carriageway from Dumaine Street and the strong, reinforced axis in the principal courtyard suggest that arrival and entry were the deciding functions in the design of these sequential gardens.

Form

Since Vieux Carre garden forms are so clearly determined by the major structures, and since the houses front on the street, the location and position of the service structure becomes determining of form (Lemann, 1982:3), as seen in these three plans (Figures 2, 3 and 4). Positioned as an ell perpendicular to the house, as in the Gallier plan (Figure 2), the service structure and house form a long, narrow courtyard garden.
When the service structures are placed parallel to the house at the rear of the property, as in Figure 4, a large rectangular garden is created. And when, as in Figure 3, the service structures are parallel to the house, but placed between the house and the rear lot line, two separate gardens are formed. Most of the gardens in the Vieux Carre at the time of the Civil War to today have been formed by similar such structural relationships and variations of them.

Enclosing Walls

In the plans for both the Gallier House (Figure 2) and the St. Louis Street cottage (Figure 3), it is evident that masonry walls are used to enclose the garden spaces. In the Bourbon Street cottage plan (Figure 4), the material and construction of the free-standing forms of enclosure are not identifiable. Most likely, these garden spaces were enclosed by masonry walls, though wooden fences may have been used in some instances (Curtis, 1933:61). In his book, *New Orleans, Its Old Houses, Shops and Public Buildings*, Nathaniel Curtis writes that: "Stucco, or rather plaster, always trowelled smooth, was the favored material for finishing walls, although there are numerous houses where a special brick of a pinkish cast was used in the facade" (Curtis, 1933:68). Curtis attributes this preference for plastered brick mostly to the poor quality of the river or lake brick first available in New Orleans, but also to early residents' nostalgic insistence on duplicating the buildings of France and Spain. Custom and repeated use continued this practice long after better quality brick became available (Curtis, 1933:70).
Layout

The garden plans in Figures 2, 3 and 4 each depict essentially rectilinear major forms, which reinforce the lines of the buildings and walls. The Bourbon Street cottage plan (Figure 4) further displays a strong axial symmetry in the layout of the beds, the trellised carriageway, and the array of trees planted along the axis aligned with the center of the cottage's gallery entrance.

Gallier's house (Figure 2) and the St. Louis Street cottage (Figure 3), while similarly rectilinear in their basic garden forms, do not display such axial symmetry; rather, their layouts reveal a garden symmetry somewhat apart from their respective structures. In a word, all three layouts are "formal" and follow the French traditions cherished by their Creole owners (Steele, 1976:113).

Paving

A more durable "country" brick made across Lake Pontchartrain was available and used for paving in the late eighteenth century and after. Building contracts in the Historic New Orleans Collection reveal in a general way the eras of use of the two principal garden paving materials--brick and flagstone. These records indicate that brick paving, almost always in a herringbone pattern, was used almost exclusively up to 1800. In that year shipping ballast flagstones became available. These stones, generally about 18 inches square and three inches thick, were of two types identifiable by their hues--yellow and pink.

The Collection's records further indicate that beginning about 1815 the demand for paving flagstones in New Orleans was so great that
the supply of ballast stones had to be augmented with Blue River flagstone cut to order in New York State. Despite this increased use of stone, the records show that brick also continued to be used. This is evident in Gallier's plan (Figure 2) which calls for both materials, but relegates brick to pave the service yard. According to the restoration architect for the Gallier House, Henry Krotzer, both the brick and flagstone pavers were set in sand, not mortar, and the flagstones were carved with runnels to drain the courtyard into the street (Krotzer, 1982:2).

Major Features

Among the most prominent features of the courtyard gardens of the mid-eighteenth century and beyond were the ubiquitous cisterns that stored rainwater for drinking. The rainwater was collected on the roofs and sluiced by gutters to the cisterns (Huber, 1981:273). Gallier's plan (Figure 2) has two cisterns side-by-side. Often cisterns were stacked upon one another (MacLeod, 1906:305). Piped drinking water from the Mississippi River was available through the Water Works, but it had to be filtered by the customers before it was potable (Huber, 1981:273). For those who were not Water Works' customers, Lyle Saxon notes that:

...drinking water was brought from the river and sold in barrels from wagons in the streets. The water was then poured into large jars in the courtyards, and filtered or cleared with alum and charcoal. Many of the courts had long lines of jars, resembling those in which Ali Baba's forty thieves lay hidden. (Saxon, 1928:170)

They were called "ollas" because, according to Stanley Arthur, such "huge, wide-mouthed and pot-bellied earthen jars that had carried
overseas the oil from the olive groves of Spain found their way into the garden" (Arthur, 1966:11).

In 1803, a Frenchman named Berquin Duvallon lamented the absence of ornamental fountains in New Orleans and noted the prevalence of wells:

There are no fountains in this city, and it is impossible to have them, the country being totally without running water, except that from the river as has been said. But if there are no fountains, by way of compensation, wells are plentiful, there being very few houses without one or two.... The well water, although coming from the River, but polluted, no doubt, by filtering over marshlands, is neither fit to drink or wash clothes in, and at best is only suited to the most common uses. (Duvallon, 1803:17)

No doubt these were the uses for the well water in the garden of the St. Louis Street cottage (Figure 3). The well is the round form, which interrupts the edge of the rectangular garden bed in the forecourt along the path leading to the rear garden. Similar round wells are seen in the sketches contained in these Notarial Archives Planbooks: Book 15, Folio 22, 1832; Book 44, Folio 20, 1852; Book 6, Folio 42, 1856; and Book 4, Folio 22, 1866. Such plans also show pumps apparently used to force water to hydrants (spigots).

By 1860, the Water Works provided water pressure (Wilson, 1982:3), but fountains were still a rarity in the Vieux Carre. While the exact number of these Pre-Civil War fountains is not known, Samuel Wilson insists their number is not many (Wilson, 1982:3). His research has shown that there was definitely a fountain in Jackson Square before the War and probably a fountain in the LeCarpentier's garden, as remodeled by Caroline Beauregard in 1854 (Steele, 1976:62).
Another garden that may have contained a fountain prior to the Civil War is that of C. A. Miltenberger at 910 Royal Street. According to Wilson, this residence was remodeled in 1856 with an Italianate addition (Wilson, 1982:3). The adjacent garden layout appears to date from this same period. It responds strongly to the 1856 addition while featuring a large, cast iron fountain basin. The basin now contains a cast iron pedestal holding two pans, as shown in a recent photograph (Figure 5). Miltenberger was a dealer in cast iron work and in 1858 became associated with the Philadelphia firm of Wood and Perot, manufacturers of cast iron fountains (Masson, 1975:47). Wood and Perot's 1860 catalogue shows all manner of cast iron fountains, many with fluted cast iron basins of the size and shape depicted in Figure 5 (Wood, 1860:61). (The far more elaborate, two-tiered fountain statue which once occupied the basin was moved from the former Miltenberger house down Royal Street to another residence in 1937.)

The Notarial Archives Planbooks fail to reveal any additional residential garden fountains in the Vieux Carre prior to the Civil War. However, Book 5, Folio 18, is an 1860 sketch which shows a circular garden basin on Esplanade Avenue outside the Quarter at Rocheblave Street. This basin is similar in size and appearance to a stucco basin thought to have been added to Gallier's courtyard sometime in the 11 years between the plan and Gallier's death in 1868 (Krotzer, 1982:2). This basin, which interrupts the Bermuda grass plot, is shown in a 1905 photograph (Figure 6).

The clear limits of mechanical water pressure and the lack of a natural, gravity-fed water source, when combined with the absence of evidence revealing a significant number of garden fountains in the
Figure 5 - 910 Royal Street Garden (1982)
Vieux Carre before 1861, seem to confirm Wilson's assertion that garden fountains and basins were indeed rare in the Vieux Carre prior to the Civil War. Up to this time, the major garden elements seem to have been more utilitarian than ornamental, except, of course, for the garden beds and the plants they held.

Plants

In analyzing plants used during the antebellum period, Steele identifies opposing forces--the forces of conservatism within the Quarter; and the forces of change outside the Vieux Carre. He sees the Creoles as "unwilling to relinquish their traditions in garden design" (Steele, 1976:113), among which were the use of "limited types of plant materials" (Steele, 1976:112). On the other hand, he notes how New Orleans' "Golden Age" brought the financial resources needed for garden refinement and experimentation while "increased trade brought new species of ornamental plants into the city" (Steele, 1976:115). Steele also suggests that the development of elaborate plantation gardens outside New Orleans may well have inspired garden refinement in the Vieux Carre (Steele, 1976:113).

Paralleling this divergence of cultural forces was a divergence of views on the state of horticulture in New Orleans in the decade prior to the Civil War (Steele, 1976:79). Steele contrasts Alexander Gordon's favorable observations about New Orleans' horticulture with an 1851 article by Sylvanus in The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art. As to New Orleans, Sylvanus contends:

...there is not much true horticultural taste here or much knowledge of trees and shrubs either in town or country. Perhaps one reason is that there are no
larger nurseries, from which trees and shrubs may be seen or procured. There are several nurseries on a small scale, in the vicinity of the city, but they contain nothing but the most common sorts of trees, flowers and shrubs.... (Sylvanus, 1851:220)

In the same year, Thomas Affleck of Washington, Mississippi, had published his almanac in New Orleans. Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Book of 1851 contains month-to-month cultivation suggestions for vegetable and flower gardens in both the New Orleans, Louisiana, and Natchez, Mississippi, areas. Additionally, Affleck's almanac advertises the availability of nursery and seed house catalogues. Such sources of plants and seeds were then available to those New Orleanians who sought a wider range of plants and seeds than may have been locally available.

A small advertisement in the New Orleans Daily Picayune of December 15, 1857, reads as follows:

H. Hafner, 139 St. Charles; Evergreens, Magnolias, Mesplius, Japonicas, Cedars, Cypresses, Pyramidilis, Arbor vitaeas, Pittosporoms, Viburnums, Sweet Olives, Laresinus, English Laurel; A fine collection of roses and green house plants; Camellia Japonicas, Strawberry Plants; and flower pots. (Hafner, 15 December 1857:1)

Hafner's ad seems a rarity, as a search through New Orleans papers of the era found few local plant ads of such specificity. Other ads simply made known the name of a vendor or, at most, that a shipment of plants had arrived. Hafner is not listed in Gardner's 1860 City Directory, which contains no listings under the headings "Florists," "Horticulturists," or "Nurseries." However, the directory does list seven "Seed Stores," four of which were located in the French Quarter. Edward's 1870 City Directory lists "Hafner, Henry,
105 St. Charles" as one of seven New Orleans "Seed Stores." Hafner and three other such stores were located outside the Quarter. The 1870 directory also lists three "Florists" and four "Horticulturists," all outside the Quarter.

Hafner's ad with its mostly "common sorts" of plants, and the scant listings in the city directories seem to validate Sylvanus' reasoning and suggest that significant growth in New Orleans' commercial horticultural establishments came after, not before, the Civil War. It would then follow that without nearby, well-stocked nurseries, the availability of a wide range of plants would more likely be limited to those with great resources and elaborate gardens. There were, as previously noted, a few such persons and gardens in the Vieux Carre during New Orleans' "Golden Age."

While acknowledging such exceptions as well as the rule, and citing the disparities of garden preferences and horticultural assessments, Steele sets forth a list of plant species found in the Vieux Carre gardens during the late Federal and Antebellum periods, 1815-1860. His list, the Appendix to his study, is included in this study as Appendix A.
The history of old New Orleans ends with the Civil War. Again, I must say that this history is known too well for me to write of it here. The period of reconstruction of Louisiana is the most tragic part of its story. New Orleans had been one of the richest—if not the richest—city in the country. It became one of the poorest. Not only were men stripped of all they had, but the basis of their commercial life had been destroyed. The slave system was gone, and the commercial usefulness of the river had been destroyed by the railroads. (Saxon, 1928:255)

Forty years after Lyle Saxon's lament, Samuel Wilson was to view New Orleans' fortunes more dispassionately, as follows:

The decade or so prior to the Civil War was a time of unprecedented prosperity and growth for New Orleans, the like of which was not to be seen again until after World War II. (Wilson, 1968:16)

The "Golden Age" before the Civil War was more strongly felt "Uptown," across Canal Street in the American sector, than in the Vieux Carre. Indeed, antebellum prosperity spurred the growth of New Orleans away and apart from the French Quarter (Lemann, 1966:15). And this trend accelerated markedly after the Civil War, as the Vieux Carre succumbed to what historian Mary Cable has called "urban inertia" (Cable, 1980:96).

**Chronology**

Major General Benjamin F. Butler commanded the Union forces that first occupied New Orleans in May of 1862. In his recollections, *Butler's Book*, the General discusses at length his over-riding concern about a possible recurrence of the Yellow Fever epidemic that decimated the city in 1853. Butler recalls:

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I found a map showing the localities of the city; the portions where the yellow fever usually raged being indicated by heavier shading. I learned that the fever had usually originated in the immediate vicinity of the French Market. I rode around and examined the French Market and a number of other localities, and I thought I detected why it raged in those spots; they were simply astonishingly filthy with rotting matter. (Butler, 1892:216)

Butler also recalls his astonishment at the City's lack of sewers and the fact that the drains, canals and basins had not been cleaned in years (Butler, 1892:217). While describing his efforts to remedy these conditions and cleanse the city, he makes no mention of the rampant prostitution noted in most historical accounts of this era. According to Herbert Asbury in his book, The French Quarter - An Informal History of New Orleans Underworld:

From about 1850 to the early 1880s, except for infrequent cleanup periods, conditions in Dauphine and Burgundy streets were so bad as to be unbelievable. From Canal to Toulouse streets virtually every building was a brothel, filled with fighting, sprawling strumpets of the lowest class. (Asbury, 1936:388)

In time, Butler departed, the War ended, prostitution continued, and life went on in the French Quarter. In 1868, a double cottage on Orleans Street was put up for public auction and advertised with a watercolor sketch that appears in the Notarial Archives Planbooks, Book 5, Folio 19, 1868). As seen in Figure 7, the sketch shows two separate courtyard or garden spaces. One is barren; the other has curvilinear beds and small trees. Interestingly, the bed shapes are a departure from a prevalent and previously noted adherence to rectilinear forms in Vieux Carre gardens. As such, they may have derived from mere fancy, or perhaps an awareness of changing garden styles.
Figure 7 - Orleans Street Gardens (1868)
In their book, *Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings*, authors Rudy J. Favretti and Joy Putnam Favretti cite the natural and romantic styles of English Horticulturist Joseph Loudon and his American counterparts, Andrew Jackson Downing and Bernard McMahon, as the dominant garden styles of nineteenth-century America. The Favrettis insist these styles endured the embellishments of the Victorian Period, 1860-1900. Such embellishments came in the form of fountains and other garden ornaments and through not following "the Downing principals of keeping the variety of plants within circular beds restrained" (Favretti, 1978:49). In his 1869 *Practical Floriculture*, Peter Henderson of New York notes:

Much difference prevails in the modes of planting flower-beds, some holding to the promiscuous inter-spersion of the different plants, others to the ribbon or carpet style of planting, now so general in Europe. (Henderson, 1869:26)

Henderson states his preference for plantings in masses or ribbon lines and shows a number of "Designs for Ornamental Grounds" (Henderson, 1869:17), all of which rely heavily on circular forms and paths amid flower beds.

The Favrettis note the great expense of maintaining carpet-bedded gardens while acknowledging that the wealth derived from this period of great industrial development was one of the two factors contributing to the change in garden design (Favretti, 1978:48). The other factor—seemingly more applicable to New Orleans' Vieux Carre—was the burgeoning of nurseries and seed houses throughout America (Favretti, 1978:48).
As earlier noted, Edward's 1870 City Directory contains listings for three "Florists" and four "Horticulturists," whereas there were no such listings in the 1860 directory. In its June 12, 1875, issue, Our Home Journal, published in New Orleans, displays an ad for Shelly Nurseries of Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. The ad claims:

...we sell at lower prices--without charge for packing--every variety of tree, vine, shrub or flower that can be raised in the South. Orange trees of every kind we make a specialty. Send for circular. The Nurseries are near New Orleans, and reached by New Orleans & Mobile R.R. (Shelly Nurseries, 12 June 1875:6)

The ad and directory listings suggest there was an increasing New Orleans market for a wide variety of plant materials. And the location of florists and horticulturists and most seed stores outside the Vieux Carre underscores other indications that New Orleans' growth and affluence at this time were elsewhere than in the French Quarter.

For the Americans, "elsewhere" had long since meant Uptown across Canal Street. Uptown was the Americans' domain and crossing Canal Street to live was, thus, unacceptable to the Creoles (Gilmore, 1944: 387).

So intense was the Creole-American rivalry that it had led to a division of New Orleans into three separate municipalities, each with its own council, but with one mayor (Wilson, 1968:17). This tri-partite division of the city lasted from 1836 to 1852; however, the social divisions between Creoles and Americans lingered throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th (Lemann, 1982:3).

Writing in the New Orleans Item of May 6, 1879, Lafcaido Hearn notes the antagonisms between Creoles and Americans and is obviously
sympathetic to the former:

The comparatively new generation of American citizens, when brought into contact with this older population, is utterly unable to understand the differences of character; and shuns as much as possible the transaction of business with it--which contents the Creoles perfectly well. They seem to tolerate those who understand them, and to abominate those who do not, and propose to live in the good old way as long as possible--marrying and giving in marriage, aiding one another in a good brotherly way, and keeping to themselves. If there is one virtue they possess remarkably, it is the virtue of minding their own affairs--which alas! cannot always be said of all other people who dwell in New Orleans. (Hearn, 6 May 1879:1)

Six weeks prior, in his March 23rd column, Hearn had noted the consequences of the Creoles' disdain:

The Old French Town proper is as much isolated from the rest of New Orleans as though it still wore the ancient girdle of rampart and moat. (Hearn, 23 March 1879:1)

Hearn never claimed objectivity with respect to the Creoles (Tinker, 1925:89; and his descriptions of their lives are most flattering and florid. In his November 11, 1879, column in the Item, Hearn describes a Creole courtyard as follows:

Without, roared the Iron Age, the angry waves of American traffic; within, one heard only the languid fountain, the sound of deeply musical voices conversing in the languages of Paris, and Madrid.... (Hearn, 11 November 1879:1)

In further describing this courtyard, Hearn writes how a bower of vines, a large fig tree, banana trees, and yuccas in large vases all adorned the courtyard garden.
The use of such traditional plants in Creole courtyards fails to reflect the changing styles and increased attention to horticulture which is evident in Soards' *New Orleans City Directory* for 1880. It lists 30 Florists—a ten-fold increase from the 1870 directory listings. Of course, the category "Florists" in 1880 engrosses the category "Horticulturalists," four of which were separately listed in the earlier directory. Listed in 1880 as a "Florist" is J. H. Menard whose advertisement in the 1880 directory reads:

J. H. Menard  
HORTICULTURALIST  
Nursery and Garden  
Cor. of Carondelet and Delord Streets  

While Menard and his competitors increased in number, the directories show that the number of seed stores in New Orleans declined from seven to six between 1870 and 1880, while the number of such stores in the French Quarter declined from three to two.

The Quarter was also changing in more significant ways. It was becoming increasingly less French and more Italian as a steady wave of immigrants arrived from Italy. By 1880 there were some 2,000 foreign-born Italian residents of New Orleans; by 1910, this number had increased four-fold (Giordano, 1978:53). These immigrants almost invariably settled in the Quarter and took over the houses left by the Creoles who had become "marooned" (Lemann, 1966:24).
Unwilling to cross Canal Street into the Americans' territory or cross Esplanade Avenue into the immigrant truck gardening area, the Creoles had little choice but to move out Esplanade Avenue, along the Esplanade Ridge to Bayou St. John (Gilmore, 1944:387). So they moved,

...and the great houses which formerly constituted the winter residences of wealthy planters and others must now be portioned out among many families and transformed into boarding houses in order to be made more profitable to their owners. (Hearn, 12 January 1881:1)

Mark Twain entered this changing Quarter scene in 1882 accompanied by New Orleanian George W. Cable, who Twain called "the South's finest literary genius" (Twain, 1944:257). Describing his tour and tour guide in Life on the Mississippi, Twain writes:

With Mr. Cable along to see for you, and describe and explain and illuminate, a jog through the old quarter is a vivid pleasure, and you have a vivid sense as of unseen and dimly seen things.... (Twain, 1944:257)

Twain describes the St. Louis Hotel, Jackson Square and St. Louis Cathedral, but not the "unseen and dimly seen things," which can be found in Cable's stories.

In "Madame Delphine," first published in 1881, Cable describes the Quarter of that era in general as:

A region of architectural decrepitude where an ancient and foreign seeming domestic life in second stories overhangs the ruins of a former commercial prosperity and upon everything has settled a long sabbath of decay. (Cable, 1924:2)

More specifically in his 1879 story, "Sieur George," Cable portrays a decaying courtyard as follows:

A peep through one of the shops reveals a square court within, hung with many lines of wet clothes, its sides hugged by rotten staircases that seem vainly trying to clamber out of the rubbish. (Cable, 1924:247)
The "sabbath of decay" is apparent, too, in George Francis Mugnier's photographs from this period, 1880-1890. The "decrepitude" is seen in Mugnier's photograph of the rear of two adjacent Royal Street residences (Figure 8) and in the yard of a St. Ann Street house (Figure 9).

Despite such deterioration, life and commerce continued in the Quarter. Indeed, in 1883 Seed Merchant Richard Frotscher, whose warehouse was at 15-17 Dumaine Street, published his Almanac and Garden Manual for the Southern States. Frotscher prefaces his flower seed listings as follows:

The following list of Flower seeds is not very large, but it contains all which is desirable and which will do well in the Southern climate. I import them from one of the most celebrated growers in Prussia, and they are of the best quality. There are very few or no flower seeds raised in this country, and Northern houses, which publish large lists and catalogues, get them from just the same sources as myself; but they, on an average, sell much higher than I do. Some varieties which are biennial in Europe or North, flower here the first season; in fact, if they do not, they generally do not flower at all, as they usually are destroyed by the continued long heat of summer. Some kinds grow quicker here and come to greater perfection than in a more Northern latitude. (Frotscher, 1883:102)

Frotscher's list of the flower seeds he feels are "desirable and will do well in the Southern climate" are contained in Appendix B.

Among Frotscher's listings is the Sweet Violet, which figures prominently in several of Will H. Coleman's 1884 descriptions of Vieux Carre courtyard gardens. His Historical Sketchbook and Guide to New Orleans and Environs notes that "a purple band along the garden walks shows how plentifully sweet violets grow" (Coleman, 1885:65). These flowers figure in another Coleman account of an 1884 French
Figure 8 - Royal Street Houses (1880-1890)

Figure 9 - St. Ann Street House (1880-1890)
Quarter garden:

The old trees—venerable centenarians still stand where they were planted by the founders of the homestead. Here are still the same expansive patterns of quaintly-shaped beds, with centre-piece of curiously dipped pittosporrom, and borders of sweet violets where bloom in succession the old fashioned jonquils, lilies and amarylis, and where the fragrant myrtle and cape jessamine maintain their ground against the newer favorites of more modern gardens. (Coleman, 1885:151)

From his walk along and just off Royal Street, Coleman relates his glimpses of "quadrangular gardens," "ivy-clad walls," and "bubbling, sparkling fountains" (Coleman, 1885:160). His detailed account of these courtyards continues:

And you will see great yellow and earthen water jars, the ones in which the "Forty Thieves" were hid on a memorable occasion but which have been imported into Frenchtown and numerously duplicated. (Coleman, 1885:63)

Along Decatur Street Coleman discovered the other side of 1884 French Quarter life--the side narrated by Cable and photographed by Mugnier. Coleman describes a house in which fifty families crowd twenty-eight rooms. He finds the central courtyard,

...a fit place for poverty to hold her court, or for the phantom forms of disease to lurk. There is a hydrant in this courtyard. Near its base four spouts are let in, which when open pour their water into a circular basin about eight feet in diameter. (Coleman, 1885:259)

Coleman's 1884 visit to New Orleans coincided with the final preparations for the "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," which he describes in detail. Coleman reports that the Horticultural Hall--"the largest conservatory in the world"--contained a grand fountain, a tropical hot house, and every type of tropical and non-tropical fruit. (Coleman, 1885:320). He also notes that:
The ornamentation of the grounds has been made a matter of special consideration, and the setting out groves of orange, banana, lemon, mesquite, maguey, etc., with tropical and semi-tropical plants attracts daily hundreds of curious visitors, who watch the laying out of the winding walks and the raising of the flower mounds.... (Coleman, 1885:321)

In sum, Coleman seems pleased with the state of horticulture in New Orleans, noting in general that:

So gradual has been the improvement in things horticultural around New Orleans, it is a little difficult to appreciate how great a change has been wrought within the past fifteen years...and in a short peregrination anywhere out of the central portion of town you can find delightful little gardens, over-running with the choicest roses and verdant with choice palms, coleus, hibiscus, abutilus, etc. (Coleman, 1885:253-54)

"Anywhere out of the central portion of town" suggests that Coleman was not refering to the Vieux Carre, which he writes of elsewhere, but rather to the Uptown Garden District.

In the Garden District at this time, the firm of Maitre & Cook had "greenhouses and floral establishments" on Magazine Street (Maitre, 1885:cover). The firm's nurseries were out St. Charles Avenue at Lower Line. The 1885 Maitre & Cook Catalogue of Southern Grown Plants contains 104 pages of plants available from and through the firm. In a note to patrons, Maitre & Cook contend:

We have been most ardently at work to complete our plant-growing and florist establishment, in select stock, acreage and structures for the growing and preservation of choice exotic plants to such an extent that has heretofore been unknown in this city. Our out-door departments embrace all these varieties of useful and ornamental plants, that will grow easiest and most luxuriantly in a Southern Climate. (Maitre, 1885:preface)

Maitre & Cook's listings are expansive. Among their catalogue's pages are eighteen pages of roses, eighty-seven varieties of camellias
japonica, thirty-two varieties of azaleas indica, ornamental grass and water plants, and warm or hot house plants. Selective listings from Maitre & Cook's 1885 catalogue are contained in Appendix C. These listings include Maitre & Cook's categories of Evergreens (coniferous, broadleaved, hardy climbers, hardy succulent); Deciduous Trees and Shrubs; and Hardy Palms.

Unlike Coleman, who notes the progress in New Orleans horticulture, Maitre & Cook conclude their catalogue by citing the great need for further progress and their hope that:

> With the return of prosperity, the people of this state will display as much good taste for all sorts of improvements as their more lucky and prosperous brethren of other states in the union.... (Maitre, 1885:103)

From New York in 1890 came Peter Henderson's updated *Practical Floriculture*, in which Henderson reports on a "new" manner of planting he saw in England's Battersea Park:

> It was interesting to see how common and rough looking plants were made to produce such wonderful effects when grouped and contrasted in the subtropical arrangement. (Henderson, 1890:48)

Among the plants Henderson notes in such arrangement were cannas and bocconias, which were available from Maitre & Cook. Despite his interest in such "subtropical" planting, Henderson repeated his preference, stated in his 1869 edition, for carpet or ribbon planting (Henderson, 1890:52). For such flower massings, Henderson's 1890 *Practical Floriculture* contains elaborate flower beds intermingled with gravel paths. The forms in these bed plans are even more dominated by the circle than Henderson's plans.
A garden in the manner favored by Henderson can be seen in a circa 1900 photograph of 613 Royal Street (Figure 10). The circular beds of this rear garden create and contain gravel paths. The cast iron fountain basin contains a statue of a boy with a horn, which is similar to many "Boy with ..." fountain statues shown in a circa 1900 catalogue from Hinderer's Iron Works on Camp Street (Hinderer's, c.1900). This catalogue displays decorative fountains as well as functional, often multi-spigoted, hydrants such as the one Coleman described as being in a poverty-plagued Decatur Street courtyard. During this period, Hinderer's (founded in 1864) also sold cast iron Grecian vases and jardiniere vases which stood from two to five feet high (Hinderer's, 1897:128-29).

The condition of this particular fountain suggests that it dates prior to the photograph. Thus it and the garden it highlights may have been installed about 1886 when two sisters, Emma Connors Musso and Bertha Camors Angaud Noblet, reportedly opened their shop at 613 Royal Street. The sisters are said to have operated this shop for twenty years until 1906 ("Court of Two Sisters Recalls Two Sisters," 2 February 1966:37). Whether such accounts of the two sisters are accurate or not, the garden was widely featured in postcards; and since the 1930s it has been a well-known restaurant, called "The Court of Two Sisters." In the 1930s the fountain was moved one block down to the garden of 731 Royal Street during its renovation.

How this garden looked around the turn of the Century is shown in postcard photos of that time (Figure 11). As compared with the garden at 613 Royal, this courtyard at 731 Royal Street appears more in the old Vieux Carre tradition, with herringbone brick paving predominant
Figure 10 - 613 Royal Street (c. 1900)

Figure 11 - 731 Royal Street (c. 1900)
and with the beds reinforcing the lines of the buildings. But the featured Sago Palm in the large circular bed departs from old Creole courtyard traditions and reflects the period's fascination with palms and palm-like plants. According to an article on palms in the January 1895 issue of *Southern Garden*, published in New Orleans:

> No plants, to our knowledge, have been more cultivated by nurserymen and gardeners since the last ten years, and we think no plant will stand more neglect and rough treatment than some varieties of this group. ("Palms," January 1895:1)

Other issues of *Southern Garden* focus on contemporary horticultural developments. The first issue of the magazine in November 1894 contains an article on bamboo that notes the wild cane or native bamboo that grows in the Mississippi Delta. It suggest the cultivation of either this variety or another of some one hundred varieties of bamboo (Devron, November 1894:6). The July 1895 issue of *Southern Garden* takes on "that eyesore--the old black looking wall" and recommends most strongly Ficus Repens (fig vine), as well as other vines on the wall itself, or running (climbing) roses of several varieties on trellises ("Decorating Unsightly Walls and Buildings," July 1895:5).

Garden paving is advertised in the December 1894 edition. In it, F. Jahncke, a Howard Avenue paving contractor, notes that he can provide "Gardens and Sidewalks of Brick, Stone and Cement" (Jahncke, December 1894:21).

On the same page as Jahncke's ad is a notice for the "Esplanade Nursery" of "F. J. Muller" on Esplanade Avenue out near Bayou St. John" (Muller, 1 December 1894:21). Muller is listed in Soards' 1890 *New Orleans City Directory* as one of 45 florists in the city. This
number is up from 30 in 1880 and includes not only Muller, and horticulturist J. H. Menard, but Gustave Chopin, designated in his ad as a "Florist, Horticulturist and Landscape Gardener" (Soards', 1890:1019). Chopin was located in the Garden District. No "Florists" were listed in the Vieux Carre in 1890, but Frotschers' and another seed store remained in the Quarter.

Muller's new nursery, no doubt, was a response to the new residential construction out Esplanade Ridge for the Creoles, who continued to abandon the Quarter. However, not all left and The Picayune's Guide to New Orleans of 1896 notes in describing "Frenchtown" that:

In it still reside many of the descendents of the original first families of Louisiana, a number of them in reduced circumstances through the revolutions of fortune, but all of them tenacious of their family traditions and of their social breeding. (Picayune, 1896:4)

The Quarter to which they clung in the 1890s was not static. There was new construction. Rental housing in the form of "double shotgun" houses was being built by and for Italian families (Wilson, 1982:3). These wooden, two-family houses often replaced earlier houses, particularly in the fringe areas of the Quarter; they were crowded into narrow lots with narrow walkways on either side of the house and small, fenced rear yards.

Along the riverfront, sheds were built; sugar refineries, sugar warehouses and the Jackson brewery were established; and some commercial and industrial structures rose at random throughout the Quarter (Wilson, 1968:18). The more elaborate, extra-lot gardens succumbed to this late nineteenth century residential and commercial infill.
The City of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana had their construction plans for Jackson Square—the heart of the Vieux Carre. Jackson Square, formerly the Place d'Armes, is framed on three sides by structures. On one side is St. Louis Cathedral, flanked by the Presbytère and Cabildo, seats of power of the Spanish and French Colonial administrators. On the other two enclosed sides are the Pontalba buildings. In 1895 the New Orleans City Council began planning for the demolition of the Presbytère to make way for a new Courthouse. At the same time, the State of Louisiana was proposing that a new Supreme Court building replace the Cabildo. The Louisiana Historical Society and the New Orleans Bar Association contested these plans. They were prepared to argue that, according to the terms of the 1803 cession of Louisiana from France to the United States, these structures were actually federal property. However, demolition plans were halted prior to any such legal challenge (Foreman, 1973:197).

A significant aspect of the Vieux Carre was thus spared and the creation of Storyville, a legally-sanctioned prostitution district just outside the Quarter, was seen by some as a way to reclaim the French Quarter's residential and commercial streets. Storyville was named after New Orleans Alderman Sidney Story, who first proposed the "red light district" that was also known by the name of its principal street, Basin Street (Asbury, 1936:429). Storyville was created in 1897, the same year in which work began on an extensive new drainage and storm sewer system for the City of New Orleans that was to be completed in 1914 (Cable, 1980:144).
At the turn of the century, the population of the City of New Orleans was over 287,000 as compared with 168,000 in 1860. According to Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1900, this expanded population was served by fifty-six "Florists," whereas there had been no such listings in the 1860 directory. More significantly, these 1900 listings included several well-established nurseries. Additionally, there were eight "Seed Stores" listed, three of which were in the Quarter.

Street cars arrived; telephones were installed; houses were wired for electricity; cobbled streets were smoothed with new paving. Such were the harbingers of the twentieth century (Lemann, 1966:24).

In 1903, the plans for a new Civil Courts building, thwarted for Jackson Square eight years prior, went ahead. An entire block (the 400 block) on Royal Street was demolished. Nina King photographed the residences and shops on the block before they were torn down (Wilson, 1982). One of her photographs (Figure 12) looks from within the porte cochere into the courtyard and reveals the herringbone brick paving, brick drains to the street, lattice gates, "Elephant Ears" in pots, a vine clambering up the balcony from a wooden tub, and the ever-present cistern.

The days of all cisterns were numbered. An outbreak of yellow fever, which killed twenty people in New Orleans, led first to a campaign to oil and screen cisterns. This later became required by Ordinance in 1910, and in 1918 the cisterns were finally outlawed (Cable, 1980:147). It was finally possible to get rid of the cisterns because the expanded and improved municipal water system begun in 1900.
Figure 12 - A Courtyard on Royal Street (1903)
was substantially complete in 1909 (Huber, 1980:273). Another advance that would significantly alter courtyards and courtyard life was the completion in 1908 of the City's sanitary sewer system (Huber, 1980:273). Backyard and courtyard cesspools were no longer New Orleans necessities.

Because of the yellow fever outbreak, many garden fountains and basins were drained as Campbell MacLeod found in his 1906 tour of the Vieux Carre. In his article, "Old Time Southern Life Found in Hidden Courtyards of New Orleans," appearing in the June 1906 Craftsman, MacLeod observes:

A fountain, rather what was once a fountain, is the receptacle of violets and "sweet alice." Mingled with the flavor of these is the sweet olive. Pots of every shape and size are placed here and there and everywhere. These hold geraniums and dwarf orange trees. Tucked in the corners of the yard are orange trees of a larger growth on which blossoms and fruit hang in every stage of maturity. (MacLeod, 1906:305)

In other courtyards, Campbell observes palms, cannas, banana plants, calladiums, unknown vines, "old Spanish water jars," and "the lamps of lanterns used in the Colonial period of Louisiana" (MacLeod, 1906:305-306).

In the same year New Orleans Architect Moishe Goldstein was to be intrigued by "a glimpse of tropical plants, large earthen jars placed at random ..." (Goldstein, 1906:6).

Morgan Whitney's photographs of the period 1908 to 1913 also reveal his fascination with the large earthen vases and bold textured plants such as elephant ears, calladiums, and palms. A postcard from this time, quite possibly photographed by Morgan Whitney, shows the Presbytere Courtyard paved with concrete and replete with palms and
yuccas in large Grecian urns atop pedestals. Whitney's photographs also catch the other side of early twentieth century French Quarter life—the poverty evident in its streets and courtyards.

In 1912 John Galsworthy toured the Quarter and its St. Louis Hotel on St. Louis Street between Chartres and Royal Streets, which had opened in 1838. At the time of Galsworthy's visit, the Hotel was empty, or nearly so, as Galsworthy explains:

And down the halls, there came to us wandering--strangest thing that ever strayed through deserted grandeur--a brown, broken horse, lean, with a sore flank, and a head of tremendous age. It stopped and gazed at us, as though we might be going to give it things to eat, then passed on, stumbling over the ruined marbles. (Galsworthy, 1919:127)

The following year, descendents of James Gallier, Jr., "deserted" their "grandeur," the house on Royal Street occupied by the family since 1857, and "the house was left to the creeping decay that overtook the Quarter, serving as a rooming house with a barber shop in the carriageway" (Stanforth, 1977:114).

A bubonic plague scare in 1915 brought the "coup de grace" to the St. Louis Hotel. Because it was infested with rats, the long-neglected St. Louis Hotel was demolished. The plague scare also stimulated a city-wide rat-proofing ordinance that had inspectors combing every house and requiring rat-proofing measures where needed. According to Lyle Saxon, this meant cementing the wooden ground floors of many old Quarter houses (Saxon, 1928:259).

Yet tourists apparently still came to the Quarter. A postcard, postmarked 1916 and addressed to a New Yorker, shows a re-touched photo of the garden at 613 Royal Street (Figure 13). When compared
Figure 13 - 613 Royal Street Garden (1916)

Figure 14 - 613 Royal Street Garden (c. 1900)
with the turn of the century postcard (Figure 14) this latter view gives evidence of changes the twentieth century brought. The cisterns are gone; gutters thus go to the ground. The pipes providing indoor plumbing climb the building's rear wall; sago palms have been added to the garden and several beds have been removed or abandoned.

In 1917, at the insistence of the United States Navy, Storyville was shut down (Cable, 1980:208). The results were quickly evident in the Quarter. According to Robert Tallant:

> When Basin Street closed and prostitution became "illegal," many of the women simply moved a little closer to the river into the Creole's city, and others of the most unappetizing sort had hurried to New Orleans to join them. (Tallant, 1950:309)

The Quarter was attracting more than tourists, sailors and prostitutes at this time. New Orleans Philanthropist William Ratcliffe Irby, who restored the Broulatour House at 520 Royal Street as his residence, provided for the restoration of St. Louis Cathedral in 1918. Irby also restored the Banque La Louisiane at 417 Royal Street as a restaurant and gave this building and the French Opera House, designed by James Gallier, Jr., in 1859, to Tulane University. To the Louisiana State Museum, Irby gave two houses adjoining the arsenal behind the Cabildo, the lower Pontalba building, and funds for cataloguing the states' French and Spanish Colonial records (Wilson, 1968:20).

Irby's beneficence and his commitment to the Vieux Carre presaged the Quarter's renewal that would gain momentum in the next decade. In 1919 two organizations were formed that would contribute in different ways to this revival. One was the New Orleans Garden Society, Inc. The other was Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre. Among the organizers
of this theater group was Architect Richard Koch, the nephew of seed merchant Richard Frotscher.

The year 1919 did not end well for the French Quarter. On the night of December 4, the French Opera House went up in flames. In his book, Fabulous New Orleans, Lyle Saxon quotes the Times-Picayune's account of the City's mourning for the French Opera:

The Opera house has gone in a blaze of horror and glory. There is a pall over the city; eyes are filled with tears and hearts are heavy. Old memories tucked away in the dusty cob webs of forgotten years, have come out like ghosts to dance the last ghastly Walpurgis ballet of flame. The heart of the old French Quarter has stopped beating. (Saxon, 1928:312)

The period of mourning, for Saxon at least, was brief. He began at once to write feature stories for the New Orleans newspapers, the theme of which was the need to save the French Quarter (Tallant, 1950). According to Robert Tallant, Saxon's message was heard, and

The awakening seemed to begin almost with the roar of the flames of the night that was the French Opera House burning. (Tallant, 1950:308)

Summary of Observed Conditions

The period 1861 to 1919, as discussed in the foregoing chronology, reveals that residents of the Vieux Carre often could not, and sometimes would not, accept or share the changes and improvements that came elsewhere in New Orleans during and just after the Victorian era.

This inability relates to the poverty and decrepitude photographed by Mugnier and Whitney and described by Cable, Coleman, Galsworthy and Hearn. Creole resistance to change is noted by Hearn, particularly, and alluded to by others.
Garden Elements

Yet changes did occur in the many gardens of the French Quarter during this fifty-eight year period. These can be seen in terms of the gardens' function, form, enclosure, layout, paving, major features and plants.

Function

Coleman's 1884 description of the Decatur Street tenement exemplifies the Quarter's changing scene with single-family houses modified for multi-family use. In such cases, as seen in Coleman's description, utility prevails over ornament and service functions overwhelm other possible uses of enclosed outdoor spaces. This increasing conversion of houses to multi-family or boarding house use, which began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, continued into the twentieth century. But with the twentieth century also came municipal service improvements that altered the functional aspects of Vieux Carre gardens through the elimination of cesspools, cisterns and wells.

Form

The major changes in garden forms during this period can be attributed to new construction beginning in the 1880s. The new rental houses, or "shotguns," brought a new garden form to the French Quarter. These houses had narrow sidewalks on either side of the house leading back to a small rear service yard, or possibly a compact garden. The "shotguns" as well as commercial forms of "infill" largely eliminated the remnants of the elaborate, extra-lot gardens that had been built in previous and more prosperous times.
Enclosure

Wooden fences, rather than masonry walls, were used to contain the yards and gardens of these "shotguns." In Mugnier's photographs of the 1880s, wooden fences are seen in the rear of houses on Royal and St. Ann Streets (Figures 8 and 9). It is likely, given the Royal Street house's Federal period architecture, 1803-1825, that its wooden fence replaced a masonry wall that had suffered the deterioration evident in the house's service structure.

Layout

The 1868 Notarial Archives sketch (Figure 7) of an Orleans Street cottage with curvilinear beds suggests departures from the rectilinear Vieux Carre tradition early in the Victorian era, even in small gardens. While Coleman notes that traditional garden layouts remained in 1884, a photograph of the garden at 613 Royal Street (Figure 10) indicates Victorian flower bed forms which create meandering paths rather than the straight line circulation of traditional Creole gardens. The "Camors Sisters" can be said to have Victorianized this garden in its layout, features and plantings. On the other hand, a postcard from the same time reveals the garden at 731 Royal Street (Figure 11) with a circular bed, but with the traditional layout in which paving dominates the space and circulation determines the layout.

Paving

The postcard of 731 Royal Street (Figure 11) and Nina King's photograph of a courtyard in the 400 Block of Royal Street (Figure 12) both show the herringbone patterned brick, which with flagstone were the principal Vieux Carre garden paving materials of the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, a third garden paving material arrived in the Quarter. F. Jahncke's 1894 ad for cement paving indicates the availability of concrete or cement paving before the turn of the century. A postcard of the Presbytere courtyard, circa 1910, shows this form of paving. Subsequent excavations found many layerings of paving in Vieux Carre gardens. According to Landscape Architect William A. Wiedorn in a recent interview, such repavings were often necessary to re-establish drainage from the rear gardens to the streets after the sidewalks and streets were raised by paving and repaving (Wiedorn, 1982:2).

Such repavings were also necessitated by paving deterioration, such as is evident in the St. Ann Street bricked rear yard (Figure 9). It would also follow that the 1916 rat-proofing concretization of ground floors may have been extended to garden paving in the Quarter. While there is evidence of the use of gravel and shell in gardens during this period, the principal paving materials that marked the period 1861-1919 are brick, flagstone, and concrete.

Major Features

Photographs of 613 Royal Street (Figures 10, 13 and 14) show the cast-iron-basin-with-statue type of fountain available in New Orleans throughout the Victorian era. The descriptions of Coleman, Hearn and MacLeod suggest that either they all saw and heard the same few fountains, or that the number of fountains in the Vieux Carre increased during the latter part of the 19th century. While the former explanation is possible, it is far more likely that the number of fountains actually did increase.
Without exception, observers of late 19th and early 20th century French Quarter gardens note the large earthenware jars, or "ollas," which seem to have been an essential element in traditional Creole courtyard gardens after the jars' service as water carriers and purifiers had ended. Municipal water pressure and sewers brought indoor plumbing, which enabled the twentieth century elimination of several nineteenth century garden features--cisterns, wells and privies. But these features did not vanish at once. Often they lingered.

Plants

Coleman noted the hesitant Creole acceptance of modern plants; but other descriptions and photographs indicate that as the nineteenth century ended, the Vieux Carre gardens were increasingly filled with the then fashionable palms, succulents and other coarse-textured plants. The garden at 613 Royal Street in a circa 1900 photograph (Figures 10 and 14) shows a Victorian carpet or ribbon massing of plants, while a 1916 postcard (Figure 13) shows this planting gone in favor of palms.

It seems that French Quarter residents were aware of changing styles and new plants, but as both Coleman and MacLeod note, "modern" plants seldom replaced the old Creole favorites. Rather there was a blending of "old" plants such as citrus trees, sweet olive, pitto-sporm and lilies with "new" plants such as calladiums, canna and palms.

Particularly in regard to other areas of New Orleans, Coleman noted the city's improved state of horticulture in 1884. This was no
doubt related to the great strides in commercial horticulture made in the period 1860 to 1890. The foregoing chronology charts this growth, decade by decade, and suggests that by 1900 a wide range of plants were readily available in easily accessible New Orleans horticultural establishments. The 1883 catalogue of Richard Frotscher and the 1885 Maitre & Cook catalogue detail this availability and listings from them are, respectively, Appendices B and C.
THE PERIOD 1920 TO 1936

Overview

Of the many recollections of French Quarter life in the 1920s, one stands out as painting the richest and fullest picture of Quarter life then. In Raw Material, Oliver LaFarge recollects:

...I lived in the French Quarter when the present slight movement of well-to-do people back into the beautiful old houses had hardly begun. The Quarter was a decaying monument and a slum as rich as jambalaya or gumbo. The small art colony centering around Jackson Square was insignificant, although it didn't know it. The population included Negroes, Creoles and Cajuns, and an occasional Malay drifted in from the Baratarian marshes, Italians, Greeks, Jews of both French and North European origin, and a great many Latin Americans. There were sailors of all kinds, antique dealers, second hand dealers, speakeasies galore, simple workmen, a fair variety of criminals, both white and colored nuns, the survivors of a few aristocratic Creole families clinging to their ancestral homes, merchants of all sorts, and whole blocks of prostitutes. Except for part of Royal Street and a section around the Cathedral which had been brushed up and enjoyed the tourist trade, this was the real thing in slums. (LaFarge, 1945:103)

Photographer Arnold Genthe's portraits of the Quarter scene in the 1920s echo LaFarge's descriptions of its vivid contrasts. One Genthe photograph (Figure 15) depicts domestic life in a cluttered courtyard. Another which Genthe entitled "A Patio Unchanged by Time" (Genthe, 1926: Plate 47) is shown as Figure 16. In it an old cistern and rectilinear garden bed are cast in the deep shade of a garden that may well have belonged to one of the Creole families LaFarge found "clinging to their ancestral homes" (LaFarge, 1945:103). The section of the Quarter which LaFarge notes "had been brushed up and enjoyed the tourist trade" (LaFarge, 1945:103) is depicted in Figure 17.
Figure 15 - Courtyard Scene (1920s)
Figure 16 - A Patio Unchanged by Time (1920s)
This Genthe photograph peers through the old carriageway, past two ollas, into the courtyard of the Patio Royal Restaurant at 417 Royal Street.

Genthe and others confirm LaFarge's portrait of the Quarter, except perhaps for his characterization of the artistic community. Samuel Wilson, Jr., insists that there was created "a new artistic and intellectual atmosphere" (Wilson, 1968:20). For a while, this atmosphere, combined with other elements, improved Quarter spirits and conditions with what Bernard Lemann calls a "motley buoyancy" (Lemann, 1966:25). And "little by little a new context, daring but socially acceptable, was created..." (Lemann, 1966:27). Within this context there came together a group of Quarter residents who labored successfully to bring about legal mechanisms for the Vieux Carre's preservation. According to Charles B. Hosmer in Preservation Comes of Age, the Quarter's champions in the 1920s and 1930s were indeed unique: "The mixture of people who lived in the Quarter could not be duplicated in any other historic district in the country" (Hosmer 1981:305).

Chronology

Uptown, above Canal Street, members of the newly-formed New Orleans Garden Society were meeting and compiling garden information. The results of their efforts are contained in the 1921 Annual Report to Society Members. In this report, Notes on Gardening in New Orleans, Mrs. Andrew Stewart discusses her preference for the "Jardin Anglais" or "naturalesque" garden over what she calls "the old fashion formal garden" (New Orleans Garden Society, 1921:4). Mrs. Stewart describes her own garden and acknowledges her indebtedness to Gertrude Jekyll,
an English landscape gardener, famous for her flowing, "natural" perennial borders. Additionally, Mrs. Stewart recommends to Garden Society members lists of flowering plants that will enhance gardens in each season. These recommendations, plus lists of evergreen trees and shrubs, vines, climbing roses, ground covers and perennials recommended for New Orleans by Mrs. Stewart and the Garden Society are set forth in Appendix D.

Below Canal Street in the Quarter, a literary magazine called the Double Dealer appeared in 1921. In the five years of its existence it was to publish the works of Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Edmund Wilson, Sherwood Anderson, Lyle Saxon, Roark Bradford, and others. Also in 1921 the Arts and Crafts Club was formed in the Quarter and members of Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre planned a new building in the old tradition.

As early as the turn of the century there had been an awareness of the local regional character of New Orleans architecture (Lemann, 1982:2). However, according to Wilson:

It was not until the new theatre building for Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre was built on St. Peter Street opposite the Cabildo in 1922 that any attempt was made to design a new building in the character of the older structures surrounding it. (Wilson, 1968:22)

The architect for this structure was Richard Koch, who would later be Wilson's employer, and eventually partner. Koch was then in partnership with Charles Armstrong. The firm of Armstrong and Koch was challenged with designing a new theatre structure and tying it into an existing building dating back to Spanish Colonial times (1795). Koch designed a loggia to make this link and frame a courtyard in the
center of the complex. Koch's sketches for this courtyard show several attempts to resolve the complex circulation patterns that would arise from various existing and planned entrances and exits.

His design solution focused on a central, octagonal, raised, fountain basin faced with stucco, capped with flagstones, and holding a cast iron pedestal and pan. Planting beds repeated the octagonal fountain lines and with the fountain created walkways, which of necessity followed paths of circulation rather than the garden's implied cross axes. Le Petit Theatre's central fountain is shown in Figure 18. This 1940s photograph by Stuart Lynn depicts Koch's original design intentions, except for the planting. Sometime between 1922 and 1934, the boxwood border was added. In the Times-Picayune of June 24, 1934, Garden Columnist "Lady Banksia" refers to this border in her description of the theatre's courtyard, which concludes with praise for Koch as follows:

Mr. Richard Koch, whose travels in Spain have perhaps deepened his sympathetic interpretation of the picturesque in Spanish architecture, has wrought of irregularly placed old buildings and what remained of Governor Lemos' stately palace a picture of exceeding loveliness set in an atmosphere of secluded repose. (Banksia, 24 June 1934:1)

In 1924 the Petit Salon was organized as a social club. The club restored a house adjacent to the theater on St. Peter Street. The following year, Richard Koch was commissioned to restore a house a block further down St. Peter Street, at No. 718. Bernard Lemann, who was then a student at Tulane University, worked for Armstrong and Koch that summer. Among Lemann's tasks was the measuring of stair treads and risers at 718 St. Peter. Lemann remembers the occupants of the
Figure 18 - Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre (1940s)
crowded house he encountered while working there:

There were multiple tenants, who as I recall did not seem at peace with each other. I dimly recall some sort of verbal fight. And I am sure that one of the tenants was a prostitute. (Lemann, 1982:4)

But Lemann recalls that most French Quarter courtyard life of that time was modest, peaceful and domestic--with clothes on the lines and ducks or geese milling about (Lemann, 1982:3).

Koch's transformation of 718 St. Peter Street for O. M. Burgess of Chicago included a two-level garden. An area paved with flagstones with grass between the flags occupied a space enclosed on three sides by the main structure and its service buildings. A stone retaining wall, interrupted by two wide steps, separated this area from a raised rear lawn. A pattern of flagstone paths created cross axes for circulation. One such path led across the patio to the rear garden. The other led across the patio from a side door and ended at a wall fountain. This terracotta fountain on a plaster wall poured into a semi-circular basin that extended out from a flagstone capped brick planter. Koch's original fountain remains at the old Burgess House, which since 1942 has been "Pat O'Brien's," a reknown French Quarter bar. In a recent photograph (Figure 19), the 1925 wall fountain can be seen beneath layers of paint and behind a more recent pedestal with pan fountain that occupies the original basin.

At the same time the Burgess house was being renovated, Lemann's aunt, Mrs. I. I. Lemann, began fixing up a house at 632 Dumaine Street. This house was known as "Madame John's Legacy"--a name derived from George W. Cable's story, "'Tite Poulette," in which the house is described. Mrs. Lemann continued to live Uptown, but
Figure 19 - 718 St. Peter Street Garden (1982)
frequently visited her house in the Quarter. According to her nephew, she was "committed to the romantic notion of letting be" (Lemann, 1982:5).

Such notions were a part of the momentum for protecting the Quarter that in 1925 brought a response from New Orleans City Hall. The Council passed what would have been the first legislation in the nation creating an historic district, except for the fact that the measure had no power of enforcement (Hosmer, 1981:292).

The 1925 ordinance created a Vieux Carre Commission for the purpose of preserving those structures in the French Quarter that were of architectural and historical value. The Commission was limited to making recommendations to the City Council and, thus, had no authority of its own. Since it was never in force, in 1931 the City of Charleston, South Carolina, became the first U.S. city to create an historical district legislatively (Foreman, 1973:197). The proponents of Vieux Carre's preservation were not satisfied with this legislative near miss. They kept lobbying.

Their ultimate goal was along the lines suggested by Arnold Genthe in his 1926 introduction to his book, Impressions of Old New Orleans. Genthe warned of the dangers of haphazard repairs and alterations to French Quarter buildings and suggested that:

Unless a body of competent local architects is given official authority to direct and supervise all restorations and repairs, the future of the representative architecture of Old New Orleans cannot be considered safe. (Genthe, 1926:24)

Also in 1926, the Vieux Carre Association was formed and, in the brief years of its existence, it would rehabilitate the Absinthe House and succeed in getting the City to install lantern-type street lights
in the Quarter (Hosmer, 1981:294).

The Quarter became increasingly alluring. It attracted new residents. It inspired more art. In 1927 the New Orleans Art League was formed and became housed in the Maison Jacob at 628-30 Toulouse Street, named for the man who built the house in 1813. According to the Vieux Carre Courier of June 23-29, 1962, this courtyard house has undergone almost no change since it was built, except for some slight modifications. These included indoor plumbing in the two-story privy that is pictured in a recent photograph (Figure 20). The upper level of the privy is connected by catwalks to the upstairs gallery of the main house. The courtyard below with its banana-tree-and-aspidistra is shaded by a large Magnolia and paved with flagstones between which grass and weeds flourish.

Magnolias were apparently popular in the Vieux Carre during and before the 1920s. This is evident from the many mature specimens seen in Quarter gardens today. This is also apparent in an article in the February 1927 edition of New Orleans Life, containing the first part of a two-part series entitled "The Courtyard and Gardens of New Orleans." The author is Mrs. Ole K. Olsen, then President of the New Orleans Garden Society and a landscape gardener. In her article Mrs. Olsen briefly traces the history of Vieux Carre gardens and observes that:

In almost every courtyard are fine specimens of the Magnolia Grandiflora, their handsome foliage of no less interest than the exquisite beauty of their waxy flowers or their exotic perfume. Palms and southern shrubs such as Sweet Olive, Magnolia Fuscata, Oleander, Gardenias, Camellia Japonica, Creole Box and Jasmines give the distinctive atmosphere to these old gardens. (Olsen, February 1927:1)
Figure 20 - 628-30 Toulouse Street Garden (1982)
The following month, in the conclusion of her series, Mrs. Olsen discusses the wall fountains of two recently renovated courtyards. The first is at the Burgess House (718 St. Peter Street); the second is in the garden of Judge and Mrs. Emile Godchaux at 832 St. Louis Street, which Mrs. Olsen notes contains "many fine azaleas" (Olsen, March 1927:14).

The boxwood and azaleas mentioned by Mrs. Olsen would become the essential plants of 1930s Vieux Carre gardens. The term "Creole Box" probably refers to the Japanese or Korean boxwoods introduced about this time, which survived in New Orleans, whereas previously other varieties of boxwood had not. Also by this time more was known about soil and how best to amend New Orleans alkaline soil to accommodate azaleas, which require acidic soil.

Richard Koch's fountain, courtyard and house designs were receiving attention. By 1930, in addition to his courtyard for Le Petit Theatre and the Burgess House (718 St. Peter Street), Koch had created gardens from desolation and debris at 711 Bourbon, 710 St. Peter, and elsewhere in the Quarter.

According to Bernard Lemann, "Richard Koch created the prevailing style of the 1920s, which was dominant in the thirties and forties" (Lemann, 1982:6). Richard Koch's clients were those to whom others looked and whom others emulated according to Boyd Cruise and obviously they looked to Koch to design their homes and gardens, particularly in the French Quarter (Cruise, 1982:2). To Lemann, "Koch was a true creative designer, who had no hesitation to modify what was there"
(Lemann, 1982:5). And Wilson describes the style and manner of his former partner by recounting Koch's approach to his clients' houses:

He was not trying to restore. He never considered himself a preservationist. What he wanted to do with an old house, that he felt had many good qualities, was to put it into good condition and make it a more comfortable place for his clients. He was not trying to preserve structures through the archeological approach used today. Most of these houses were thus better than they were before. For instance the Burgess House, I am sure it became much finer than it had ever been—even when it was first built. (Wilson, 1968:3-4)

Lemann and Wilson both stress Koch's mastery of detail, which might have derived from Koch's studies in Paris at an Atelier affiliated with the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, but Wilson rejects labeling Koch's style as Beaux-Arts. Rather, Wilson sees the style as Koch's "interpretation of the local tradition" (Wilson, 1982:3).

Part of Koch's personal tradition, perhaps stemming from his uncle, seed merchant Richard Frotscher, was Koch's appreciation for gardens—"he loved gardening" (Wilson, 1982:4).

Today in the library of the firm of Koch and Wilson can be found Koch's collected volumes on gardens and landscape architecture. Two in particular relate to Koch's early garden designs. One is Spanish Gardens and Patios by Mildred and Arthur Byne, published in 1928. The other is Patio Gardens by Helen Morganthau Fox, published in 1929. Tucked into the Byne book are Koch's own snapshots taken in 1929 of the Alcazar Gardens in Seville. Koch's photos focus on the fountain and basin in one of Alcazar's smaller gardens. The fountain consists of an octagonal masonry basin with a small pedestal and pan rising from it and trickling water into the basin. Evident in Koch's
snapshots are the garden's symmetry, balance and cross axes. These and other principal elements of Spanish gardens are detailed in the books by the Bynes and Morgenthau. In sketches, photographs and text, they detail such elements as square or rectangular overall garden forms, masonry enclosing walls, rectilinear layouts, strong cross axes, fountains at the intersection of paths, colorful ceramic tiles, iron grillwork, glazed and unglazed flower pots, evergreen plantings, particularly boxwood; and citrus trees.

The Bynes also point out that in dry Spain flower beds were depressed to collect water (Byne, 1928:47); whereas in wet New Orleans beds must be raised for drainage. However, the Bynes discount the significance of the Spanish flower beds, insisting "flower beds are not of primary importance in the Spanish garden; flowering plants being displayed in pots and the color scheme changed frequently" (Byne, 1928:49). In the arid climate water was cherished and thus "water seen and heard was a more indispensable part of [Spanish] garden design than plants themselves" (Byne, 1928:59).

Thus, Koch's "interpretation of the local tradition" extended back in time and geography to the gardens of sixteenth century Spain rather than to the more recent gardens of New Orleans' Spanish Colonial period, 1769-1802. More precisely, the elements of earlier Spanish gardens were blended by Koch with New Orleans' garden traditions that included elements derived from the Spanish Colonial period. Clearly, this period did not bring garden fountains to New Orleans as Berquin DuVallon observed in 1803. Indeed, at the time of the Civil War there were few fountains in Vieux Carre gardens. Up until 1922, French Quarter fountains were Victorian phenomena in the Victorian
style of a cast iron basin holding a cast iron pedestal with pans or a cast iron statue.

Richard Koch's 1922 octagonal fountain for Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre was no doubt inspired by the fountain at Alcazar. No doubt, too, the theatre's garden and other gardens laid out by Koch during the 1920s and 1930s reflect this Spanish heritage.

Other designers appear to have emulated Koch's interpretations of Spanish design traditions. During the 1930s, the courtyard of the Bosque House at 617-621 Chartres Street was redone in this Spanish style. The house was built in 1795 during the Spanish Colonial period by Bartholome Bosque. But the major features revealed in a recent photograph of the Bosque House's courtyard came long after. Figure 21 shows the 1930s octagonal fountain basin faced with stucco, capped with flagstone and holding an elaborate pedestal with two tiers of pans and the 1930s masonry staircase leading up to the service building's gallery. Not evident in the photograph are the raised beds that pick up facets of the fountain's octagon and create a central axis through and from the carriageway to the fountain.

Elsewhere in the Quarter, the Victorian Grecian urns and concrete pavement that highlighted the Presbytere courtyard around 1910 disappeared in the 1930s—to be replaced by an octagonal fountain, faced with tiles and capped with flagstones, but with a simple sprinkler fountain. As seen in a postcard from the mid-1930s, the courtyard is symmetrical and balanced with the fountain at the intersection of cross axes. Raised beds, faced with tile and capped with flagstones, fill the court's four corners.
Figure 21 - 617-21 Chartres Street Garden (1982)
Garden fountains were the fashion in the French Quarter starting in the 1920s; and in a September 11, 1932, Times-Picayune article, Lady Banksia was to note:

New Orleans is fast becoming known as the "land of the fountain" for almost every person has a fountain at his home or is putting one in.... To New Orleans the leaping water is a novelty. It is a new toy to play with; a new beauty to enjoy. Not many years back the reason for this lay in a cistern. Nobody could diminish a drinking supply in order to furnish water for decorative purposes, and waste water was hard to dispose of. In those days the big fountain in the Court of the Two Sisters, with its great high bowl was a Royal Street wonder. People gazed at the few succeeding fountains with something approaching awe. How did their owners pump water from the clouds? Or did the fountain flow only when there was company? (Banksia, 11 September 1932:3)

Fifty years later, Lady Banksia's questions still cannot be answered with certainty. In 1932 Lady Banksia relied on Richard Koch to provide answers as to garden fountains. She quotes Koch at length in her article of September 11, in which Koch discusses wall fountains and their basins and pools, and points out the need to integrate the fountain with its environment; he stresses the need to harmonize building materials and use plant materials that neither interfere with the fountain's operation nor diminish its prominence. A photograph of Koch's wall fountain at the Burgess House accompanies this article.

Another designer to whom Lady Banksia calls attention is Mrs. Ole K. Olsen. Mrs. Olsen headed a horticultural committee of the Renaissance du Vieux Carre. This association was formed in 1932 with Stanley C. Arthur as its Chairman, with the intent of preserving the French Quarter and encouraging residents to spruce up their houses and gardens (Hosmer, 1981:294).
In a September 16, 1934, Times-Picayune article, Lady Banksia reports on these efforts in regard to Quarter gardens. She notes that Mrs. Olsen's committee had distributed a leaflet with instructions on planting courtyard gardens. While not mentioning the specifics of this leaflet, Lady Banksia quotes extensively from an address given by Mrs. Olsen in which she gives recommendations for planting Quarter gardens. Mrs. Olsen's overall recommendation is "that the courtyard gardens of New Orleans be restored and retained in their Old World simplicity" (Banksia, 16 September 1934:1).

As reported by Lady Banksia, Mrs. Olsen's specific recommendations for French Quarter plants include in part: magnolias, oleanders, sweet olives, crape myrtles, altheas, camellias, hydrangeas, pomegranates, ferns, iris, various lilies, boxwood, pittosporum, loquat and palms (Banksia, 16 September 1934:1).

The Vieux Carre residents to whom Mrs. Olsen was recommending such traditional plants were newcomers to the Quarter. As Nathaniel Curtis notes in this 1933 book, New Orleans, Its Old Houses, Shops and Public Buildings:

In a previous chapter, it has been remarked that a few of the old families continued to reside in their ancestral homes in the French Quarter. This was true a decade ago, but at this writing it is not known that a single descendant of any of them may be found in their original locations, all having moved elsewhere along with the City's growth and as times have changed and new residential neighborhoods become more inviting. (Curtis, 1933:93)

The Quarter was inviting to many, as Lady Banksia's Garden Column in the Times-Picayune attests. Throughout the 1930s, Lady Banksia steadily details the resurgence of ornamental gardening in the Vieux Carre.
On March 6, 1932, she features the Burgess House garden, describing its wall fountain and pool and boxwood hedges while stressing the wall treatments with Star Jasmine and Coral Honeysuckle.

A year later, Lady Banksia details the planting at the home of Mrs. F. W. Parham at 731 Royal Street, noting the careful attention paid to sunshine and shade in the selection of plants. In her March 5, 1933, column, Lady Banksia notes in particular the desirability of Hydrangeas for partially shaded garden spots.

Madame John's Legacy, Mrs. I. I. Lemann's house at 632 Dumaine, is featured in Lady Banksia's January 1, 1935, report. In it she discusses the brick paving and walls, boxwood borders, and, again, the vines climbing up the galleries and over wire trellises.

Lady Banksia's December 8, 1935, column focuses on the garden of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Reed at 717 St. Peter Street and observes that: "Rock ferns push between bricks in the two-story high wall, where peeling stucco reveals the warm red and molded green bricks of bygone centuries" (Banksia, 8 December 1935:6).

In describing the garden of Horace A. Russ at 623 Bourbon Street in her February 16, 1936, column, Lady Banksia reports that fifteen truckloads of debris were removed before work on the new garden began. She describes the "ballast stones" used for paving and the many ferns adorning Russ' garden. She also notes an olla.

Ollas are featured in Lady Banksia's September 9, 1936, column on garden ornament. She suggests that New Orleanians could still find ollas and other garden artifacts in antique and junk shops. She also notes the increased popularity and availability of iron and stone outdoor furniture and statues.
Clearly, there was activity in the gardens of the Vieux Carre. Landscape architect William Wiedorn recalls that the first task in all these garden renewals was to correct poor drainage. Wiedorn, who worked with Richard Koch in the 1930s upgrading New Orleans City Park, often did surveys and drainage and grading plans for Koch's residential work (Wiedorn, 1982:2). In his surveys Wiedorn recalls layer upon layer of garden paving materials, usually beginning with brick in a herringbone pattern and often ending with concrete. He notes that such layers reflect previous owners' attempts to establish and re-establish proper drainage, which by the 1930s had often deteriorated to the point that few plants would grow.

In addition to his work with Koch, Wiedorn designed several courtyard gardens in the Quarter. He recalls that during the 1930s reclaimed ballast flagstones were available for "about twenty-five cents a piece" (Wiedorn, 1982:4) and were thus widely used. Among Wiedorn's favorite features were wire trellises for vines and espaliered Pyracantha against walls to take advantage of the verticality of these small Quarter spaces.

In 1935, at the request of the Arts and Crafts Club, he made a list of plants best suited for New Orleans. Wiedorn's list, entitled "The Aristocrats of the New Orleans Gardens" comprises Appendix E.

Koch stayed away from the trellises Wiedorn favored and kept a fairly simple plant pallette. According to Henry Krotzer, "Richard Koch believed you should not try to grow things in this climate that you have to fuss over" (Krotzer, 1982:1). Wiedorn's list includes Koch's favorite crape myrtles and sweet olives. According to Krotzer, Koch only used boxwood when clients requested it. Wiedorn also
preferred not to use boxwood, but found that his 1930s and 1940s clients insisted on it; thus he included it in his 1935 plant list (Wiedorn, 1982:4).

By 1936 the Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects were well underway as the nation's depression dragged on. Part of the WPA's work was immediately obvious. The Cabildo, the Presbytere, and the Pontalba buildings were restored and the French Market was rebuilt. But two other, less noticeable, WPA projects would have lasting impacts on the French Quarter. One, the Louisiana Federal Writers' Project, headed by Lyle Saxon, would compile an abstract of title for every building in the Vieux Carre, and an excellent guidebook to the Quarter (Hosmer, 1981:292). The other, the Historic American Buildings Survey, directed by Richard Koch, would survey and document important historic buildings in Louisiana, many of which were in the Vieux Carre. Joining Koch in this effort were Samuel Wilson, Jr., and Boyd Cruise. Koch himself photographed many of the historic buildings, which were also surveyed and detailed in drawings. Cruise recorded many of the buildings in watercolor drawings. At the same time, the nineteenth century watercolor sketches in the New Orleans Notarial Archives were rescued and protected (Christovich, 1976:6).

The raw material essential for the active preservation of the Vieux Carre was then being assembled as lobbying efforts intensified to achieve a commission with police powers that could effectively and forcefully preserve the Vieux Carre. Among the most vocal and apparently effective lobbyists was Mrs. Elizabeth Werlein, who lived at 630 St. Ann Street. An amendment to the Louisiana State Constitution was required before the City of New Orleans could set up such a
body. In 1936, Mrs. Werlein and others succeeded in having the State Constitution amended to empower the creation of a Vieux Carre Commission which, in turn, could require that it receive all building permit applications, thereby prohibiting the modification of French Quarter buildings without the Commission's permission.

The Constitutional Amendment defined the Vieux Carre as being within the following boundaries: The River, the uptown side of Esplanade Avenue, the river side of Rampart Street, and the downtown side of Iberville Street.

Additionally, the Constitution as amended sets forth the composition of the nine-member commission, as follows: Three from a list of six names submitted by the local chapter of the American Institute of Architecture; one from a list of two names from the Louisiana Historical Society; one from a list of two names from the Louisiana State Museum; and one from a list of names two submitted by the Chamber of Commerce. Three commissioners are appointed at large (La. Const., 1921, Art. XIV).

The Vieux Carre had come a long way in a short time—sixteen years. All that remained was for the City Council to act; or so it seemed.

Summary of Observed Conditions

The languor and squalor described by Oliver LaFarge and photographed by Arnold Genthe did not disappear in 16 years. The forces of renewal that gathered momentum in the Vieux Carre from 1920 to 1936 slowly reversed, but did not end the Quarter's decay. Slowly, surely, out of the decay and debris, came gardens that were a blending of
styles and features that would endure and inspire.

These features and styles are seen in the preceding chronology. They are found in the courtyard gardens of the Burgess and Bosque houses and Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre. They are revealed in garden columnist Lady Banksia's accounts, suggestions by Mrs. Olsen and Mrs. Stewart, and the recollections of Boyd Cruise, Bernard Lemann, William Wiedorn and Samuel Wilson.

Garden Elements

The gardens of the Vieux Carre that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s were old in some ways, but new in many others. This can be seen in the following analyses of their function, form, enclosure, layout, paving, major features, and plants.

Function

Lemann's description of the multiple-family house being converted back to a single family residence signifies the changes in function that began in this period. The return to single family use and the modernization of such residences reduced the service demands on the garden spaces and allowed ornament to prevail and garden spaces to be used for viewing, relaxing and entertaining. Public service yards thus became private garden places. But this was so in only a few of the houses. Most of the Quarter's once and future gardens remained crowded service areas.

Form

Little mention is made during this time of significant changes in the overall form of the French Quarter's garden spaces. Rather, it
can be assumed that, except for the removal of privies and other minor service structures, these garden spaces were renewed in the basic enclosed form in which they were found. One exception, of course, is the garden of Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre, the form of which was created in part by new structures in 1922. As such it still represented the typical Vieux Carre challenge of laying out a garden in a confined, given space that years of additions and modifications had shaped peculiarly.

Enclosure

From every indication, the renewal of gardens included the construction of masonry walls wherever needed. These are seen at the Burgess House and described in other gardens as being brick, usually with a plaster or stucco surface. Brick exposed by peeling or flaking stucco was noted by Lady Banksia, who delighted in it and quite possibly inspired others to create, or at least fail to remedy, this effect. At Madame John's Legacy, Lady Banksia notes the exposed brick walls. The fascination with vines evident during this period gave a new emphasis to enclosing walls. Yet photographs of the period and after indicate that wooden fences continued to enclose the yards of many unrehabilitated Vieux Carre properties.

Layout

Into the often peculiarly-shaped spaces, a symmetry was imposed in the 1920s and 1930s that gave order to the new or renewed garden. This symmetry was of two types—both axial. In one, as seen in the Le Petit Theatre garden, a free-standing fountain is the central focus
at the intersection of two garden paths. In the other, for example at
the Burgess House, a wall fountain with basin or pool is the terminus
of an axis, usually the major axis, but often a secondary, cross axis.
Vieux Carre garden layouts of this period can then be seen as responses
to circulation. For controlled circulation, the Spanish-inspired
intersecting paths with central fountain were chosen to create a
structured garden space. To achieve a freer, more open space, the
wall fountain terminating a major axis of circulation was used as the
principal organizing element. Planting beds, which had been the
traditional determinants of Vieux Carre garden layouts, became secon-
dary as they served to line paths or border open spaces.

Paving

According to Wiedorn, the old flagstones were cheap and plentiful.
According to all other accounts, they were the primary paving substance
used in garden rehabilitations and remodelings in the 1920s and 1930s,
though it should be noted that Mrs. Lemann used or retained brick in
the garden of Madame John's Legacy. The use of flagstone or brick
in such reworkings often meant returning the paving to an earlier
paving period discovered when subsequent layers of stone or concrete
were removed.

Major Features

The fountain was the major feature of the 1920s and 1930s Vieux
Carre garden. Free-standing and wall fountains arrived and became the
central focus and principal organizing element of these gardens.
Unlike the Victorian era cast iron fountains that stood apart in style
and material, the 1920s and 1930s fountains were integrated into the
gardens' designs, materials and plantings. With municipal pressure, water, and electrical pumps, these fountains could be used continuously. Lady Banksia reported how New Orleanians treated such fountains as new toys while searching for antiquities for other garden ornament. She also noted that the ollas still lingered in the Quarter's gardens.

Plants

In this period, there was an obvious preference for tradition, expressed in Mrs. Olsen's recommendation that the Vieux Carre gardens be returned to their "Old World Simplicity" and in Wiedorn's name for his plant list, "The Aristocrats of the New Orleans Gardens" (Appendix E). The azaleas and boxwood contained in Wiedorn's list and the 1921 New Orleans Garden Society plant list (Appendix D) came into fashion in this period and were used extensively in the Quarter and throughout New Orleans. In the Quarter, boxwood hedges significantly stiffened and formalized garden layouts. Yet there began to be seen a preference for looser plantings and a fascination with vines on trellises, color in pot plantings, ferns and tender tropical and semi-tropical plants that thrive in protected courtyards. Interestingly, nowhere in accounts of the newly-styled gardens of this period can be found any mention of banana trees, and they are notably absent from the plant lists compiled by Wiedorn and the Garden Society. Yet photographs of the era show banana trees filling Quarter backyards with their big leaves flapping over fences and walls.
THE PERIOD 1937 TO 1959

Overview

Mary Morrison and her husband, Jacob H. Morrison, moved to the Quarter at the beginning of this period. Mary Morrison recalls her immediate infatuation with the people, the place, and its contradictions and contrasts. "It was not a homogeneous thing; that was what was so engaging...in a way it was as foreign to me as if I were living in Paris, but I fell in love with it and other people who felt as I did" (Morrison, 1982:2). The Morrisons bought a house at 722 Ursuline Street in 1940 which then housed five families living without gas or electricity and with only an outdoor toilet. There were mules in the courtyard and, Mrs. Morrison recalls, concerns about the house. "We were worrying about it all falling in before something could be done to it" (Morrison, 1982:3). The Morrisons would not get to do something to their house until after World War II; but from their arrival in the Quarter, they were both active in its preservation. Jacob Morrison would author the 1965 book Historic Preservation Law, and Mary Morrison would twice serve on the Vieux Carre Commission. Looking back to and over the period, Mary Morrison recalls the preservation battles, the sharing of information among people redoing their gardens, the steady wave of rehabilitation, and the arrival of courtyard swimming pools and other measures of "progress" that marked the period's twenty-three years.

Chronology

The contrasts and contradictions Mary Morrison recalls can be seen in reports and photographs from 1937. Lady Banksia recounts one
side of the Vieux Carre in her January 24, 1937, garden column:

With the return of better times to New Orleans scarcely an old dwelling on Royal Street, but has opened its alley gates to permit glimpses of fascinating flowery patios.... (Banksia, 24 January 1937:1)

On Royal Street Lady Banksia focuses on the courtyard at Number 520. It was then, and still is, known as the Brulatour Courtyard for its late nineteenth century owner, wine merchant Pierre E. Brulatour. Lady Banksia describes the courtyard's central, circular, planting bed which holds a yucca-filled olla. The Brulatour Courtyard as described by Lady Banksia is shown in a postcard photograph in Figure 22. Figure 23, a re-touched postcard photograph from the 1920s, enables comparisons that reveal subtle differences in ornamentation. The lattice screens from an earlier period have been replaced by iron grilles; the ornate Victorian vase has been put away in favor of simpler plant containers. The 1937 shrubbery shown along the wall may well be azaleas, given their popularity in the 1930s. Camellias and roses were among the 1930s garden favorites featured in Lady Banksia's columns. These acid soil-loving plants required amending New Orleans alkaline soil. While camellias and azaleas made their way into Vieux Carre gardens, the sun-demanding roses are never mentioned as being in the often-shady Quarter gardens, though climbing roses, particularly the Lady Banksia, are noted.

In 1937 most grounds in the Quarter were without ornament of any kind. Conditions described by Mary Morrison were found by photographers Frances B. Johnston and Eugene A. Delcroix. Johnston captured the scene shown in Figure 24. Within the wooden-fenced, barren yard
Figure 22 - 520 Royal Street (1930s)

Figure 23 - 520 Royal Street (1920s)
of 831 Governor Nicholls Street, a sheep feeds before a French Colonial plantation house in need of repair. Two blocks down Governor Nicholls at Number 620, Delcroix could find an equally bleak scene in a yard adorned solely by wash hanging on lines (Figure 25).

On August 4, 1937, the New Orleans City Council officially created the Vieux Carre Commission as provided by the Louisiana State Constitution. Arnold Genthe's goal was achieved. The Commission had the police power necessary to regulate modifications to existing structures within the Vieux Carre (Hosmer, 1981:295). The Commission would thereafter function basically through a process of prior review and approval of proposed modifications. And this process would be continually revised, tested and challenged (Morrison, 1965:101).

During 1937, Richard Koch was directing the renovation of the Gauche House at 704 Esplanade Avenue for Mathilda G. Gray. The 1856 Italianate mansion was built by John Gauche, a dealer in china and glassware, and from 1911 to the 1930s it had served as a rooming house. Included in Koch's redesign of the Gauche House gardens was the cast iron fountain statue that had stood in the basin of the C. A. Miltenberger house at 910 Royal. This basin is shown in Figure 5. Mrs. Gray purchased this circa-1860 statue in 1937 and Koch designed an octagonal, carved stone basin to hold it. The basin with its fountain (Figure 26) occupy the center of an entry court facing Royal Street. Seen in the background are the date palm and parkinsonia, which were included in the original plans. The courtyard's walls are stucco with granite caps and iron railing above. From Royal Street the uppermost fountain pan and statuary are visible and intriguing to passers by. This combination of a multi-tiered
Figure 25 - 620 Governor Nicholls Street (1930s)
Figure 26 - 704 Esplanade Avenue Garden (1982)
Victorian cast iron fountain set in a masonry basin would often be repeated in Vieux Carre gardens, as will be seen.

Down Royal Street at Number 527, Koch was also working on a residential complex for General and Mrs. L. Kemper Williams. Koch linked several old structures with a series of new courtyards. One such courtyard has two levels, each with its own axis. An upper level, screened by a three-foot open brick lattice wall, has an axis terminating in a wall fountain. This level is reached by stairs on an axis from the structure facing Royal Street.

The Williams complex now houses the Historic New Orleans Collection, which was endowed by the Williams. The "ballast" flagstones with carved runnels, the rectilinear beds defining the open space, the sweet olives and crape myrtles, the wall fountain and lattice brick work all attest to Koch's work in these courtyards.

Elsewhere on Royal Street, the Gallier House was still a boarding house with a barbershop in the carriageway. The WPA's *New Orleans City Guide* of 1938 notes that the iron poles supporting the house's portico are painted in red and white stripes and laments the state of the garden:

> The courtyard at the rear of the building was once one of the loveliest in the French Quarter with its fountains, flagged walks, and trailing vines. Today the patio is barren and deserted. (WPA, 1938:248)

The Gallier House was occupied and apparently safe from demolition. Other Vieux Carre structures were not and to spare them preservationists realized that the new Vieux Carre Commission required citizen scrutiny and prodding. Thus, the Vieux Carre Property Owners Association, Inc., was formed in 1938 with Mrs. Werle in as its leader.
(Hosmer, 1981:297). Mrs. Werlein and her organization would become successful advocates and litigants in an ongoing legal struggle to preserve the Vieux Carre. Association members had small brass plaques that they displayed by their doors. These can still be seen on some Quarter houses.

Such houses were increasing as renovations spread out and away from the Quarter's central core surrounding the Cathedral. In 1939 Sarah Henderson purchased a house at 721 Governor Nicholls Street. This 1814 Greek Revival house was then rebuilt by Richard Koch who designed its gardens. A herringbone brick-paved courtyard in the front of the house is walled off with lattice brick and connected by a brick-paved alley to a rear courtyard. Koch designed this courtyard to separate the main structure from the service structure, which was remodeled into apartments. His plan shows a large rectilinear bed, framed with "boxwood" and filled with an unspecified "ground cover." Proposed to be planted in opposing rows are seven "lavender crape myrtles." "Bignonia (yellow)" vines and "sweet olive" are the other plantings proposed by Koch to be planted under his direction.

\[1940\]

The following year Koch and William A. Wiedorn worked together to rehabilitate the St. Louis Cathedral garden. They added benches and brick walks and planted the garden with old favorites--crape myrtle, southern magnolia and sweet olive--as well as the then popular Japanese boxwood and azaleas. For ground cover they used English ivy and St. Augustine grass.
Nearby, the Vieux Carre Commission had established an office and was reviewing and inspecting modifications to Quarter structures. In 1941 the first significant challenges to the Commission's powers came in two cases considered by the Louisiana Supreme Court. Both would affect the treatment of Vieux Carre gardens—one most directly. In City of New Orleans v. Impastato, 3 So. 2d 210 (La. Sup. Ct., 1941), Joseph Impastato, the proprietor of "The Napoleon House" restaurant at 500 Chartres Street, challenged the Vieux Carre Commission's ruling that barred his expanding the restaurant's lavatory into the courtyard. Impastato contended that the Vieux Carre Commission's policies exceeded the scope of the Constitutional Amendment of 1936; more specifically, he argued that the courtyard did not comprise part of the "exterior" of the structure. The Louisiana Supreme Court upheld the breadth of the Commission's policies and thus the constitutionality of the enabling ordinance. The Court also rejected Impastato's contention that the term "exterior" should only apply to the front portion of a structure.

Later in 1941, the Louisiana Supreme Court rejected the contention of a gas station owner, Marcus N. Pergament, that his "non-historic" property at 1300 North Rampart Street should not be included within the Vieux Carre Commission jurisdiction and that he should be allowed to display a larger sign. In rejecting this assertion, the Court noted that the regulations were not being applied arbitrarily, but rather uniformly. More significantly, in making the case for the "tout ensemble," the Court in City of New Orleans v. Pergament, 5 So. 2d 129 (La. Sup. Ct., 1941), said:
...The preservation of the Vieux Carre as it was originally is a benefit to the inhabitants of New Orleans generally, not only for the sentimental value of this show place, but for its commercial value as well, because it attracts tourists and conventions to the city, and is in fact a justification for the slogan, America's most interesting city. (City of New Orleans v. Pergament, 1941:129)

Also in 1941, a book entitled New Orleans and Its Living Past was published containing the photographs of Clarence John Laughlin, who captured the vestiges of "America's most interesting city." In the book's text, by David L. Cohn, the Vieux Carre can be seen through Laughlin as "a strange vista of mouldering brick and lush greenery" (Cohn, 1941: Plate XXI).

The New Orleans Garden Society's Annual Report for 1941 gives another view of the Quarter. It contains the following item:

The Annual Carnival Garden Tour was held the Sunday before Mardi Gras with five Vieux Carre patio gardens opened to visitors. Due to a new Sunday afternoon parade and very cold, inclement weather, the tour was not successful this year. After all expenses were paid, we cleared only $9.50 for the Center Fund. Therefore, if the parade is to be an annual event, it is recommended that the Carnival Tour be abandoned. (New Orleans Garden Society, 1941:19)

The five houses on the tour were those of: Mrs. Philip Werlein, 630 St. Ann Street; Mrs. Mable Godchaux, 832 St. Louis Street; Mrs. August Mysing, 722 St. Louis Street; Mrs. L. Kemper Williams, 527 Royal Street; and Dr. F. W. Parham, 731 Royal Street.

World War II attracted a far different crowd to the French Quarter. Soldiers and sailors flocked to Bourbon Street and the small, intimate night clubs gave way to garish forms of entertainment, which transformed Bourbon Street into "a national symbol of unfettered fun
and colorful, perpetual celebration" (Lemann, 1966:28). The street remains, as Pierce F. Lewis notes in New Orleans, the Making of an Urban Landscape, "where all sorts of aberrant behavior is tolerated" (Lewis, 1976:87).

The war ended. The soldiers and sailors departed. And the post-war era began with two setbacks for preservationists. In 1946, Mrs. Werlein died. In the same year the New Orleans City Council exempted parcels of property within the Vieux Carre from the restraints and rules of the Vieux Carre Commission. The parcels included were essentially commercial or industrial properties, i.e., "non-historic properties." For eighteen years the Vieux Carre Commission deferred to the wishes of the Council and refused to exercise any control over the exempted area, while owners of adjacent, non-exempt properties challenged the exemption ordinance as discriminatory, and thus unconstitutional.

No one knows for sure how many Vieux Carre gardens succumbed to the forces of "progress" that demolished old structures in the exempted areas, principally along North Rampart Street. However, a 1948 Hinderer's Iron Works brochure advertising cast iron "Fragments of Old New Orleans" notes:

Since the days of the war between the states, Hinderer's Iron Works has designed and made cast iron lace verandas, railings and grilles for the houses of New Orleans. In recent years, much of this old work has been torn down to be refabricated for new homes or discarded. (Hinderer's, 1948:3)

Hinderer's brochure displays a wide variety of cast iron fragments reformed as flower pot holders. These recycled New Orleans
relics and their imitations would become almost an imperative in Vieux Carre Gardens.

Twenty-three Vieux Carre gardens were featured in photographer Stuart Lynn's 1948 book, simply titled New Orleans. Lynn, whose distinction between the terms "courtyard" and "patio" was earlier noted, combines them in one section of his book. Among Lynn's courtyard and patio photographs are seen the gardens of the Court of the Two Sisters (613 Royal Street) with a new tiered fountain in a brick basin, Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre (616 St. Peter Street) as earlier shown in Figure 18, Pat O'Brien's (718 St. Peter Street), Madame John's Legacy (624 Dumaine Street) featuring "elephant ears" in an olla, the Bosque House (617 Chartres Street), Brulatour Court (520 Royal Street) unchanged from the 1930s, Mrs. Gray's house at 704 Esplanade Avenue with a banana tree, The L. Kemper Williams House (527 Royal Street), and the Napoleon House (500 Chartres).

Lynn's selection of appealing gardens no doubt prompted similar such efforts. As Robert Tallant notes in his 1950 book, The Romantic New Orleanians, the Quarter was then most alluring:

Fine mansions on St. Charles Avenue have been sold and the money spent to buy and renovate a house that once held a dozen Sicilian families. Flowers bloom again in the patios where goats fed on garbage. (Tallant, 1950:310)

With the Quarter's allure came a lot of hard work as houses and gardens were transformed. In the early fifties a group that informally had swapped garden and other do-it-yourself information became officially organized as the Patio Planters. Mary Morrison and her husband
were among the earliest members and she recalls the first meetings were held in members' homes. The Patio Planters, which continues today, was, Mary Morrison remembers, a way of seeing what others were doing in their gardens. Another member, Mrs. Eric Knobloch, recalls that her husband, Eric, a horticulturist, would experiment with plants in their house at 718 St. Phillip Street where he grew bromeliads and once even a pineapple (Knobloch, 1982:2). In 1978 the Vieux Carre Property Owners Association was to present its Honor Award to "Eric and Marge Knobloch for encouraging an active interest in Quarter Gardens."

Uptown in the early 1950s New Orleans Garden Society was compiling a gardening book for New Orleans. This book, *Gardening in New Orleans*, by Mrs. Walter Oser and Mrs. Charles B. Stewart, contains information on all aspects of gardens and gardening and sets forth lists of recommended plants. It is interesting to note that the book contains separate chapters each for the then favored azaleas, camellias, chrysanthemums and roses. The other listings will be set forth in Appendix F in the following categories: Trees, Evergreens and other Background Material; Flowering Shrubs; Flowering Vines; Perennials; and Bulbs, Corms, Tubers and Rhizomes.

Notable among the omissions in this 1952 book is any listing of Boxwood, a favorite of the 1930s. Boxwood is mentioned by the authors only in terms of its continued maintenance, not its prospective planting.

Boxwood may have lost favor, but Landscape Architect R. F. Schneider, who was practicing in New Orleans in the 1950s, recalls that other aspects of "stiff formality" remained in favor:
That's what this group of people, who were able to afford it, had known and lived with. It was what they were "educated" with, so to speak. (Schneider, 1982:2)

In the early 1950s Schneider had studied and worked in California and recalls trying to embody the elements of the "California School" of landscape design into a Vieux Carre garden. The Vieux Carre Commission thwarted his efforts:

They would not allow me to use redwood headers or translucent plastic fencing or screening. The so-called California School just did not fit. (Schneider, 1982:1)

Schneider was not the only one displeased with the Vieux Carre Commission at this time. The Commission ordered Dan Levy to remove a plastic roof over the courtyard of his bar at 600 Bourbon Street. Levy balked and the Commission sued. The case wound up in the Louisiana Supreme Court where, in City of New Orleans v. Levy, 64 So. 2d 210 (La. Sup. Ct., 1953), the Court cited the commercial value of the "Quarter" in rejecting Levy's claim that the Commission had no right to make him tear down a plastic patio roof. Moreover, the Court rejected Levy's assertion that the Commission's rules were unconstitutional because they were indefinite and vague. In upholding the constitutionality of the Vieux Carre Commission ordinance and rulings derived therefrom, the Court found the Commission's policies to be both definite and reasonable and, as in City of New Orleans v. Pergament, noted the regulations were being uniformly applied.

In 1954 Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Thomas of Connecticut purchased the house at 831 Governor Nicholls that Frances B. Johnston had photographed with the sheep in the barren front yard (Figure 24). The Thomases engaged Richard Koch to rebuild their house and redesign its
A recent photograph (Figure 27) shows the transformation as designed by Richard Koch and refined by twenty-eight years. The large forecourt is quartered by brick paths at the intersection of which is a masonry fountain basin capped with stone and containing a cast iron fountain statue. Three of the four quarter panels are filled with St. Augustine grass, bordered with ophiopogon. The fourth is dominated by a live oak planted during the 1954 renovation. Two other courtyards and a motor court, all paved with brick, are features of this renovated French Colonial plantation house.

In 1955, while work at 831 Governor Nicholls was underway, the firm of Koch and Wilson was formed with Richard Koch and Samuel Wilson, Jr., as the principal partners. Their work in the Quarter continued.

The Patio Planters continued to grow (by 1956 they numbered 300) and to share their patios with each other and the public. The October 14, 1956, issue of the Times-Picayune's Dixie magazine contains an article on the Patio Planter's 1956 "Patios on Parade" tour of eight patios and notes that the:

Most novel attraction of the patio group this year is the 30 x 15 foot swimming pool at 505 Dauphine, where Audubon the bird painter once lived. ("Modern Life in Old Patios," 14 October 1956:16)

A photograph that accompanies the article shows the pool surrounded by brick up to and including the coping. Brick is the paving material described and pictured in most of the featured gardens.

The article observes that the garden of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Wellborn at 825 Bourbon Street was planted for "shade and coolness with banana trees, oleander althea and vines" ("Modern Life in Old
Patios," 14 October 1956:16). An espaliered fig tree was noted in the
garden of Mr. and Mrs. Gayton Richardson at 926 Toulouse Street.
Bromeliads, ginger plants, and rice paper plants are also reported
among the other featured gardens, which include the garden of Dr. and
Mrs. S. M. Blackshear at 623 Bourbon Street. Mrs. Blackshear was
known for her renovations of Vieux Carre houses during the 1940s and
1950s. Clay Shaw, who installed the swimming pool at 505 Dauphine
Street, was becoming the renovator of the 1950s and 1960s. Shaw's
renovations invariably included a swimming pool in both single family
residences and apartment buildings (Friedrichs, 1982:2).

The Dixie article concludes that the "enthusiasm of the Patio
Planter's is contagious; visitors walk away talking of restorations and

As to plants, the 1950s enthusiasm seems to be for experimentation
and boldness with tropical and semi-tropical plants. This is seen in
the Dixie article and recalled by Landscape Architect Christopher
Friedrichs. Friedrichs remembers his planting of Brennan's at 417
Royal Street was very "tropical and very lush" (Friedrichs, 1982:4) to
the point of orchids in the magnolia. In former times, Brennan's had
been La Banque La Louisiane and subsequently the Patio Royal Restaurant.

The enthusiasm for pools would mount steadily and pools would
become a seemingly essential aspect of garden renovations in the 1960s
and 1970s.

Meanwhile, in 1957, the Vieux Carre Commission was harshly judged
by the Louisiana Supreme Court, which found that the Commission and
the City of New Orleans had been arbitrary in allowing non-conforming
uses in the French Quarter. The Court in the second case of City of
New Orleans v. Levy, 98 So. 2d 210 (La. Sup. Ct., 1957), thus rejected the city's request for an injunction to compel Levy to remove the plastic roof over his bar's courtyard. The Court noted "innumerable non-conforming alterations" and "countless violations of the sign provisions" and cited many (City of New Orleans v. Levy, 1957:210). The Court declared that the City and Commission had failed to uniformly and reasonably administer preservation regulations by failing to seek similar injunctions in instances of other similar violations.

The French Quarter was changing. Tourists were coming in increasing numbers. The pressures of development were building. In 1959, the Vieux Carre's first motel, the fifty-room Prince Conti Hotel at 831 Conti Street, was dedicated. Meanwhile, a 350-room hotel was under construction at the site of the old St. Louis Hotel, Royal Street at St. Louis Street. Koch and Wilson were among the architects of this new hotel, the Royal Orleans.

Summary of Observed Conditions

In the twenty-two year period chronicled above, the rehabilitation of Vieux Carre houses and gardens began as a continuation of the previous era, but after World War II gained a new momentum and emphasis. This transition is seen in Richard Koch's garden designs for Mathilda G. Gray, Sarah Henderson, the Lawrence Thomases, and the L. Kemper Williamses. It is then depicted in the gardens photographed by Stuart Lynn in 1948 and set forth in the recollections of Christopher Friedrichs, Marge Knobloch, Mary Morrison and R. F. Schneider. The October 14, 1956, Dixie article further captures the changing Quarter garden scene. This scene was changing within the purview of the Vieux
Carre Commission, the formation of which marked the beginning of the period, and the operation of which is gleaned in the four significant court cases noted in the Chronology.

Garden Elements

The gardens shaped and styled in the preceding period endured and inspired the gardens of 1937 to 1959. But the post World War II gardens, in particular, respond to changing conditions in new ways, as can be seen in the following analyses of their: function, form, enclosure, layout, paving, major features, and plants.

Function

Richard Koch's planting design for the Henderson house served to screen apartments from the principal dwelling, thus reflecting a trend toward rehabilitating Quarter houses for apartments and a response to the need for more circulation in a less private space. Joseph Impastato's lavatory in the Napoleon House courtyard and Dan Levy's roof over his bar's patio reflect the increasing commercial demands on many of these garden spaces. But more significantly, the swimming pool at 505 Dauphine Street, heralded by Dixie magazine as "novel" in 1956, reflected the intensifying residential uses of Vieux Carre gardens. These gardens were becoming more than places to look at, walk through or sit in.

Form

While a new courtyard or patio lavatory or plastic roof can be seen as a form modification, a significant form change occurred in the garden forecourt of the Thomas house. The change is not the dramatic
transformation depicted in Figures 24 and 27, but the fact that the new garden was formed from a space that in part had originally been occupied by service structures. Their removal occurred before the 1930s when Johnston photographed the property and the Vieux Carre Commission was created. The garden created in this space in the 1950s represents a new, expanded Vieux Carre garden form derived through the acquisition of extra lots or the demolition of existing structures.

Enclosure

Prior to its Koch-designed transformation, the Thomas house had been surrounded by simple wooden fences with horizontal boards. Koch designed a brick wall with wooden gates to enclose the house. At Mrs. Gray's house, Koch restored the existing stucco walls with granite caps and cast iron rails. At the Henderson house and in the Williams' renovation, Koch used open, lattice brickwork in various walls. Other accounts suggest that masonry walls were the principal, if not the sole, form of new enclosure in the Vieux Carre during this period. The design frustrations of landscape architect R. F. Schneider and the legal battles of bar owner Dan Levy testify to the Vieux Carre Commission's control of materials used in courtyards during this period, but the Louisiana Supreme Court's opinion in 1957 suggests the Commission was not always consistent in such control.

Layout

The forecourt of the Thomas house, while representing a change in Vieux Carre garden form, retains the traditional Spanish-inspired layout in which an octagonal fountain at the intersection of two paths forms the central focus. In an earlier design, Koch used the more
open circulation pattern created by intersecting axes, one terminating at a wall fountain, as the basis for his design for the L. Kemper Williamses. In the Henderson house, Koch responded with a plan which uses space and plants to divide separate residences and patterns of circulation. Similar treatments would become necessary as numerous Vieux Carre properties were updated as apartment complexes. The introduction of swimming pools noted in 1956 brought new layout challenges to small spaces, in which the pools would dominate and determine the garden layouts.

**Paving**

From every indication, the ballast flagstones that marked the previous period's garden rejuvenations gave way to brick in the period 1937 to 1959. Two noticeable exceptions are Koch's pre-War renovations of courtyards for Mrs. Gray and the Williamses; however, Koch did install herringbone brick in another, more secluded, Williams courtyard and used brick in this pattern in garden renovations for Sarah Henderson and the Thomases. The *Dixie* magazine photograph of a swimming pool's brick coping and surround, as well as the accompanying article's descriptions of other gardens, also underscore this trend to brick.

**Major Features**

Stuart Lynn's photographs in his book, *New Orleans*, highlighted the traditional features of Quarter gardens—the fountains and ollas. Richard Koch's designs continued to employ the fountain as the central focus; and his fountain for Mrs. Gray created an archetype for French Quarter gardens. Koch's placing a towering Victorian fountain statue in a masonry basin created a new proportion and style in fountains,
particularlly for commercial establishments. But the swimming pool that arrived in the 1950s would become the dominant feature of many Vieux Carre gardens of the future, while Hinderer's "Fragments of Old New Orleans" would serve as reminders of the Vieux Carre's past.

**Plants**

While boxwood and the more rigid plantings associated with it were disappearing in this period, the New Orleans Garden Society's book, *Gardening in New Orleans*, in its concentration on azaleas, camellias and roses, indicates that formality lingered while there was a loosening up in terms of planting design and plants used. This is evident in plant lists from *Gardening in New Orleans*, Appendix F). It is also evident in the recollections of Mary Morrison and Marge Knobloch who remember sharing garden experiences and plants with their fellow Patio Planters. Such endeavors were described in *Dixie* magazine in 1956, and, as Christopher Friedrichs recollects, the 1950s ended with Vieux Carre gardens increasingly adorned with tropical plants.
THE PERIOD 1960 TO 1982

Overview

As to the Quarter, Bernard Lemann wrote in 1966: "The problem is--how do you preserve a kaleidoscope? Obviously to keep it, you must keep it in motion" (Lemann, 1966:33). The Vieux Carre has indeed been in motion from 1960 to today.

The period began with the opening of the Royal Orleans, "a phenomenally successful enterprise which has unleashed a veritable goldrush" (Lemann, 1966:29). As tourists, developers, restauranteurs and entrepreneurs rushed in, longtime Quarter residents continued to move on. The 1960 Census would reveal that the population of the Quarter had, from 1950 to 1960, diminished by twenty per cent from 10,556 to 8,775 persons (Hammer, 1968:25). From 1961 to 1981, the number of residential units in the French Quarter declined by seventeen per cent according to a Loyola University study discussed in the July 1, 1982, Times-Picayune. And a 1968 study commissioned by New Orleans' Bureau of Governmental Research noted that, while declining in numbers, the Quarter's population was becoming increasingly more affluent (Hammer, 1968:23). The appeal of living adjacent to the Central Business District (CBD) was part of the Quarter's lure, while the CBD's renewal would form yet another threat to the Quarter.

Preservationists in this period, thus, had their hands full as they sought to keep the French Quarter's traditional mix of residential and commercial use. While many residential structures succumbed to commercial enterprises, the preservationists were to win two major battles during this period and see the process and pace of renovation of public and private places and spaces substantially increase.
**Chronology**

The 350-room Royal Orleans Hotel was dedicated on October 8, 1960. Samuel Wilson, Jr., one of the Royal Orleans' architects, noted that the hotel's "total exterior impact is the same as that of the St. Louis" (Lemann, 1966:29), referring to the hotel that occupied the site from 1838 to 1916. Lemann would observe that it was the Royal Orleans' success, rather than facade, that significantly affected the Vieux Carre. Of the burst of hotel development in the wake of the Royal Orleans' profitability, Lemann wrote:

> This trend is so marked that it can be seen in historic perspective as a major determining influence comparable (at the least) to the Spanish or American accessions, the entrepreneur development, or the cast iron phase, the effects of the reconstruction era or the romantic renaissance of the 1920s. (Lemann, 1966:30)

So fast and furious was this hotel development that the Vieux Carre Commission in the late 1960s had to request that the City Council prohibit the expansion of the number of the Quarter's hotel, motel and guest house rooms. The resulting moratorium, and others that followed in response to perceived developmental threats, stemmed from the Commission's mandate to preserve "the quaint and distinctive character of the Vieux Carre" (Foreman, 1973:207).

The 1960s "goldrush" was not limited to hotels, restaurants, shops and bars. The rehabilitation of residences continued, but in the gardens there were two notable changes. One, in plant materials, was a response to a cold wave that hit New Orleans in January 1962. According to Christopher Friedrichs:

> The freeze caused people to turn away from palms and other plants damaged in the freeze. They turned toward safer plants. There
followed a period when people wanted every thing safe, permanent and evergreen.  
(Friedrichs, 1982:4)

The other 1960s Vieux Carre garden phenomenon was the swimming pool, which would prevail in newly-renovated Quarter courtyards from the 1960s on.

But all courtyards were not at once subject to the commercial "goldrush" or the residential renovation boom. In a series of March 1963 Times-Picayune articles, reporter Martha Ann Samuels reports on the condition of the Quarter. In her March 28 article, headlined "Time to Save Buildings Short," Samuels notes various "unsanitary patios filled with dirt and trash," but singles out a large Courtyard House at 523-29 Governor Nicholls as a particularly tragic example:

Here the repugnance stems from the sight of a building disintegrating, crumbling into ruin.  
Yet what possibilities for reclamation are here!  
(Samuels, 28 March 1963:1)

About this time, the old Spanish Colonial building that formed part of the Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre complex was declared unsafe for public use. It was demolished and reconstructed under the direction of Koch and Wilson. In this process, the courtyard was remodeled. The beds shown in Figure 18 were removed and the courtyard opened up, as seen in a recent photograph (Figure 28). The fountain and paving remains unchanged in this newer, less structured layout.

In 1964, The Louisiana State Supreme Court heard the case of Vieux Carre Property Owners Association, Inc. v. City of New Orleans, in which the Association challenged the eighteen-year-old City ordinance that exempted portions of the Quarter from the purview of the Vieux Carre Commission. The Court found the Council's 1946 action to have
Figure 28 - Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre (1982)
been contrary to the State Constitution's intent to preserve the "tout ensemble," and thus serve the public welfare through the enhancement of the Vieux Carre's commercial value. In its decision in Vieux Carre Property Owners v. City of New Orleans, 167 So. 2d 367 (La. Sup. Ct., 1964), the Court stated:

...the interest in the preservation of this ancient vestige of Louisiana's historical past is not confined to the city of New Orleans. The idea transcends the local interest. It is a matter of statewide concern because the Constitution declares that the preservation of the structures in the Vieux Carre is a public purpose for the benefit of the people of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana. *(Vieux Carre Property Owners v. City of New Orleans, 1964:367)*

While preservationists in the Quarter celebrated this victory, renovations continued and the Quarter attracted new residents. In 1965 Mr. and Mrs. Richard Freeman, Jr., purchased the Gallier House at 1132 Royal Street. The house had recently undergone renovations that significantly altered Gallier's original courtyard plan shown in Figure 2 and depicted in a 1905 photograph (Figure 6). The Freemans found a swimming pool crowding the courtyard. Figure 29 is a 1965 view of the Gallier House courtyard.

Most swimming pools installed during the 1960s in single family residences were like the Gallier House pool—rectangular in shape and simple in their design. They were generally coped and surrounded with brick. However, more elaborately shaped pools and more stylized pool treatments were then the fashion in hotel, guest house and apartment complex pools. Such Vieux Carre courtyard swimming pools from the 1960s are shown in Figures 30, 31 and 32. These recent photographs depict, respectively, the courtyard pools of 716-24 Governor Nicholls...
Figure 29 - Gallier House Garden (1960s)
Figure 30 - 716-24 Governor Nicholls Street (1982)
Figure 31 - 1301 Chartres Street Garden (1982)
Figure 32 - 1350 Bourbon Street Garden (1982)
Street, the old "Spanish Stables", 1301 Chartres Street, and 1350 Bourbon Street. The photographs reveal, too, the use of the thinner flagstones on concrete slabs with flush masonry joints, as opposed to the older and thicker flagstones set in sand with recessed joints. Also evident in these pool treatments is the use of evergreens and statuary that became popular during the 1960s.

In 1966, the Vieux Carre Survey was completed, culminating an exhaustive five-year inventory of the French Quarter's buildings and sites from 1718 through the 1960s. From a vast array of photographs, drawings and documents, historic and current profiles of individual Vieux Carre structures were compiled while the Quarter's "tout ensemble" was depicted in elevations. The compilations and elevations were organized in a system of squares that enable prompt and thorough access to the information (Jumonville, 1981:4). Boyd Cruise served as Executive Director of the Survey, and Richard Koch, Bernard Lemann, L. Kemper Williams and Samuel Wilson, Jr., served on its Advisory Board. When completed, the Survey became part of the Historic New Orleans Collection. Bernard Lemann wrote his 1966 *Vieux Carre - A General Statement* to introduce the Survey (Jumonville, 1981:19).


Another volume in the study is *An Economic and Social Study of the Vieux Carre, New Orleans, Louisiana*, by the Washington, D.C., consulting firm of Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates, who characterize the emerging Vieux Carre population as follows:
The new population is represented by generally younger people from the socially and economically mobile middle classes who have moved into the area in recent years as renovated apartment units and houses become available for rent and sale. The interest of these people in the Quarter has been heightened by the availability of new jobs in the metropolitan area, especially downtown, where the convenience of the Vieux Carre to place of work becomes obvious. (Hammer, 1968:73)

However, this "gentrification" had not demolished the Quarter's diversity as Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates were to observe:

The social heterogeneity, which exists in the Vieux Carre can be contrasted with the type of society which exists in the usual urban area subdivisions which reportedly house the "average" American individual and his family. (Hammer, 1968:123)

In New Orleans—The Making of an Urban Landscape, geographer Pierce F. Lewis compares New Orleans' French Quarter with New York City's Greenwich Village:

In population, then, the Quarter's permanent population seemingly resembles that of Greenwich Village, but there is a major difference. Manhattan would survive quite nicely without the Village, but without the Vieux Carre, center-city New Orleans might very well be an empty shell. (Lewis, 1976:87)

Lewis' assertion seems to be confirmed by Hammer, Greene and Siler's estimation that 1,800,000 people came to New Orleans during 1965; spent about $170 million; and thus made tourism New Orleans' second largest industry after port-related activities.

Such estimates were among the ammunition in what has been dubbed "The Second Battle of New Orleans" by the authors of a book by that name—Richard O. Baumbach, Jr., and William E. Borah. The seeds of this conflict were planted in 1946 when consultants first recommended an elevated freeway along the River edge of the Vieux Carre. Similar
proposals surfaced from time to time for the next 19 years. But in 1965, the expressway became a pending reality that aroused its proponents in the Central Business District and opponents in the "Quarter."

In December of 1965, Secretary of the Interior Steward L. Udall cited the national historical significance of the Vieux Carre and said the Quarter was thus eligible for National Historic Landmark status and inclusion in the Registry of National Historic Landmarks. National Historic Landmark status brings designated landmarks into the National Park Service system. At first the New Orleans City Council ignored the Vieux Carre's eligibility for such status, but later concurred. In October of 1966, the Vieux Carre received National Landmark status and was thus included in the Register (Baumbach, 1981:183).

In March of 1969 the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation recommended that Secretary of Transportation John Volpe reject the expressway as proposed because alternatives had not been fully considered. In July, the Secretary of Transportation announced that the expressway had been cancelled.

In the same year in which preservationists won "The Second Battle of New Orleans," Mr. and Mrs. Harold H. Stream engaged Richard Koch and his firm to remodel the house and grounds at 704 Esplanade, which had belonged to Mrs. Stream's aunt, Mathilda G. Gray. Included in these 1969 renovations were the expansion of the rear garden into an adjacent property acquired by the Streams. A greensward perpendicular to the main house and to the rear of the adjacent house forms an ell with the granite curbed swimming pool and sunken patio that span one side of the former Gauche House.
This portion of the Stream's garden can be seen in recent photographs, which are Figures 33 and 34. In Figure 33, the view toward the patio includes the swimming pool, the ivy-clad garage wall, the lattice brickwork screening air-conditioning equipment atop the garage, and the patio to the rear and two steps down. Figure 34 is a closer view of the patio, which features a Harriet Frishmuth sculpture against a white marble background with a base that pours into a stone pool, and brick headers in flagstone paving.

As the Streams were expanding and remodeling their gardens, the Freemans were moving back Uptown and endowing the restoration of Gallier House and its operation as a museum. The New Orleans Town Gardeners were assisting the Christian Women's Exchange in restoring the gardens of the Hermann-Grima House at 820 St. Louis Street. The firm of Koch and Wilson would be engaged in both the Gallier House restoration and the Hermann-Grima garden restoration.

Landscape architect Christopher Friedrichs also participated in the restoration of the Hermann-Grima House, which is described in detail by John S. Steele in his 1976 thesis, "The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre (1718-1860)." At that time Steele observed that "this courtyard is probably the most accurately restored garden of the Antebellum Period in the Vieux Carre" (Steele, 1976:76). His observation remains true today.

The Gallier House opened as a museum in 1971. Under the supervision of Henry Krotzer of Koch and Wilson, the swimming pool (Figure 28) was removed and the courtyard restored in accordance with James
Figure 33 - 704 Esplanade Avenue Garden (1982)
Figure 34 - 704 Esplanade Avenue Garden (1982)
Gallier, Jr.'s, 1857 plan (Figure 2). The basin, which was not in Gallier's plan, but evident in a 1905 photograph (Figure 6), was included in the restoration because evidence suggested it had been installed by Gallier between 1857 and his death in 1868 (Krotzer, 1982:3). A faithful restoration was made in the Gallier garden's form, layout, paving and structures. Koch and Wilson partner Henry Krotzer recalls that by this time the supply of reclaimed ballast flagstones had been nearly exhausted and those available cost $10.00 a piece, as compared with their 1930s price of 25 cents noted by William Wiedorn (Krotzer, 1982:3).

In 1971 no attempt was made to precisely identify and replicate Gallier's plantings. Rather, the plants used were those determined to have been available and popular in New Orleans during Gallier's occupancy. A recent photograph (Figure 35) shows the garden as it was restored and has grown in the eleven years since. In 1982, a Gallier House study is underway to determine more specifically the plantings and plants that may have adorned this garden during the period 1857 to 1868.

In 1971, at the age eighty-three, 83, Richard Koch died. His work endured and his firm continued in his tradition. In 1972 that work would include the reconstruction of the garden of Joseph LeCarpentier, later remodeled by Caroline Beauregard and shown in an 1865 New Orleans Notarial Archives sketch. This garden is adjacent to the house at 1113 Chartres Street, which Confederate General Pierre G. T. Beauregard briefly occupied after the Civil War. The garden subsequently was built over and not all the structures could be removed for its reconstruction. Thus a smaller, yet accurate, reconstruction now
Figure 35 - Gallier House Garden (1982)
occupies the site of LeCarpentier's garden. The Garden Study Club of New Orleans participated in this garden renewal, which was directed by Samuel Wilson, Jr. In 1974 the Club published a book, *Walled Gardens of the French Quarter*, featuring this garden and nineteen others. Among the other gardens is the garden of Stephen A. Scalia and Milton E. Melton at 620 Governor Nicholls Street. The bleak space captured by photographer Eugene A. Delcroix in the late 1930s and shown in Figure 25 has been transformed. This transformation is seen in a recent photograph of the garden (Figure 36), which pans across a swimming pool installed in the early 1960s and captures one of two patio areas. In 1980, this garden was to receive the Vieux Carre Commission's first Honor Award to a garden; previously only structures had been thus honored.

Public spaces in the Vieux Carre also received considerable attention in the 1970s. Washington Artillery Park, designed by the Landscape Architectural firm of Cashio and Cochran and dedicated in 1976, is the most noticeable of these improvements. Jackson Square was renovated and throughout the French Market outdoor spaces were rehabilitated. In these can be seen many of the forms that evolved in the courtyard gardens of the Quarter.

In private residences and apartment complexes, the swimming pool continued to be the major garden feature of the 1970s. While 1960s French Quarter courtyards prominently displayed and featured swimming pools, in the 1970s efforts were made to subordinate the pools to prevent them from overwhelming confined spaces. This was accomplished through the use of smaller pools, the repetition in the pool form of the basic rectilinear forms of the space and buildings, and separation
Figure 36 - 620 Governor Nicholls Street (1982)
of the pool through level changes or screening. The courtyard garden of an apartment complex at 1235 Bourbon Street (Figure 37) is an example of such a pool treatment. The pool is separated from the principal paths of circulation, and partially screened from view by a level change and planters. The brick of the steps and planters is repeated as headers in the aggregate paving that surrounds the pool and covers the lower courtyard area. This courtyard was designed in 1978 by Landscape Architect Virginia Provosty during the renovation of the main service structures into apartments.

Not only did the 1970s signify a moving away from the 1960s practice of highlighting swimming pools, the 1970s also brought a changing emphasis in plants. According to Christopher Friedrichs, the 1970s brought a new interest in native plants, such as the wax myrtle, American holly, red maple and river birch, a renewed interest in palms and other tropical plants, and an end to the 1960s preoccupation with the "safe," evergreen virburnums, ligustrums and camellias.

1980

The refinements in swimming pool treatments and the new interest in variety and diversity in plants continue in the 1980s. Palms and bananas, hibiscus, lantana and althea are among the plants used in the garden of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Carter at 825 Dumaine Street. This garden, recently designed by Friedrichs, is divided into three areas. One is an "outdoor room" adjacent to the Carter's Creole cottage. Another is formed by a swimming pool eight feet wide and forty-five feet long with a cabana. The third, which is beyond the pool and cabana, will eventually contain a service structure, patio and motor
Figure 37 - 1235 Bourbon Street Garden (1982)
entry from St. Philip Street. Carter, who is Elizabeth Werlein's grandson, purchased an extra lot to provide these three separate courtyard areas. Figure 38 is a recent photograph of the Carters' garden, showing a view of the first courtyard area from the house. The old service structure remodeled as a cabana can be seen to the left rear, and the swimming pool can be glimpsed through the planting on the right. Figure 39 is a recent photograph taken from in front of the cabana showing the pool at the left, and toward the house a live Oak on the right and a loquat on the left—both of which pre-dated the recent remodeling. This view also shows the use of a blocked brick paving pattern and vertical board fencing with lattice above for enclosure. This board and lattice fence is painted dark green.

The Carters' garden with its functional design, divided layout and rectilinear forms is evocative of a Creole Cottage on St. Louis Street, an 1856 Notarial Archives sketch of which is shown in Figure 3. In the use of an extra lot to create a larger garden area, the Carters' garden and that of the Streams on Esplanade Avenue can be seen as reviving a Vieux Carre practice of the Antebellum Period.

Today functionalism prevails and such contemporary gardens are thus more akin to the simpler 1856 St. Louis Street garden shown in Figure 3 than the more elaborate, extra-lot Bourbon Street garden shown in Figure 4.

Friedrichs sees the contemporary approach to Quarter gardens as:

...a much more "at ease" approach. I think that what is happening is that people are much more function-oriented and willing to accept a more practical approach to how they use and live in these spaces. (Friedrichs, 1982:6)
Figure 38 - 825 Dumaine Street Garden (1982)
Friedrichs' comments came in a recent interview that was part of a series of interviews with New Orleans Landscape Architects conducted for this study. Provosty and Landscape Architect Rene Fransen were also included and questioned about contemporary uses and treatments of Vieux Carre gardens.

All three share the feeling that there is a new and general informalization of garden styles in the Quarter with a lingering predisposition for formality. Fransen feels "clients want their gardens formal and also they want the planting to be loose and disorganized" (Fransen, 1982:1).

Fransen, Friedrichs and Provosty see an inevitable style stemming from a combination of the abiding New Orleans preference for formality with the City's lush and rapid plant growth. They see New Orleanians accepting and enjoying the breaking of formal layouts with bold plantings that defy structured design lines.

Provosty notes that, given the confined spaces, Vieux Carre garden plantings should stress the vertical space available, and she favors palms for that purpose. She, Fransen, and Friedrichs all feel that often the most perplexing problem faced in renovating French Quarter Courtyards is a mature Southern Magnolia, the roots and shade of which preclude underplanting. Also, mature Magnolias are to Fransen often too large and out of scale for smaller courtyards. According to Provosty, "whether or not to remove the Magnolia is often the hardest decision to make" (Provosty, 1982:4). Other dilemmas derive from the irregularity and assymetry of given garden spaces which have developed over time as the space-forming structures, and their entrances and exits have changed. As Fransen sees it, such spaces are challenging,
since "the space is already created, the circulation uses a good amount of it, and you have to work within it" (Fransen, 1982:4).

Within the generally pre-determined and confined spaces available for Vieux Carre gardens, these three Landscape Architects find that their contemporary clients want, as already noted, functional, open layouts with formal definition but informal plantings. Additionally, from the collective opinions of Fransen, Friedrichs and Provosty, it seems that today's Vieux Carre clients also prefer courtyards that are private, but can be glimpsed from the sidewalk, that have water in some form, but not necessarily a traditional fountain, and that are paved with traditional materials--brick or flagstone. Their list of plants recommended for, and preferred in, French Quarter gardens at this time are compiled into a list that comprises Appendix G.

While Quarter residents of the 1980s prefer less formal and rigid styles in their gardens, Friedrichs notes that elsewhere the "New Orleans Courtyard Style" is considered to be raised brick planters, a fountain on a wall or at the intersection of two paths, and strict symmetry and balance throughout the garden. It is, Friedrichs suggests, a style derived more from the Vieux Carre gardens of the 1930s than today (Friedrichs, 1982:3).

This persistent style remains evident in the Vieux Carre today, particularly in prominent places where visitors are most likely to encounter courtyards and gain impressions of them. A postcard of the Brulatour Courtyard at 520 Royal Street claims it is "the most painted and photographed in all New Orleans." The postcard shows the scene revealed in a recent photograph, which is Figure 40. When compared with Figures 22 and 23 from the 1930s and 1920s, respectively, Figure
Figure 40 - 520 Royal Street Court (1982)
40 indicates that the fountain, which appears to be from the 1930s, is actually more recent. Interestingly, the urn that had appeared in the 1920s view, but not the 1930s photograph, has resurfaced in this recent photograph of the Brulatour Courtyard. A recent photograph (Figure 41) of 613 Royal Street, the Court of the Two Sisters' restaurant, shows the remarkable transformation of the courtyard caused by the extension of the building into it. Figures 10, 13 and 14 show earlier views of this courtyard and its fountain. This Victorian fountain statue can be seen in Figure 42, a recent photograph of the garden at 731 Royal Street, which was earlier seen in a turn-of-the-century photograph (Figure 11). Today the herringbone brick paving endures, but years of planting and plant growth have masked this garden's innate simplicity. Another remodeling has drastically altered the Presbytere Courtyard, which was Victorian in 1910, Spanish in the 1930s, and today is very contemporary with a sleek circular aggregate fountain in the center of smooth black slate paving.

A recent photograph (Figure 43) taken at 628-30 Toulouse Street shows a view of the courtyard which has undergone no known major alterations. A different recent view of this courtyard was earlier shown as Figure 20. Another unchanging courtyard is at 523-29 Governor Nicholls Street, which was the subject of a March 28, 1963, Times-Picayune article singling it out for its disintegration. Over nineteen years later, the courtyard, glimpsed through the boarded-up carriageway, remains as it was in 1963—a jungle of debris and over-grown weeds. And the Napoleon House's controversial lavatory continues to intrude into the courtyard at 500 Chartres Street, while at 600 Bourbon Street a plastic roof still covers the bar's patio.
Figure 41 - 613 Royal Street Garden (1982)
Figure 42 - 731 Royal Street Garden (1982)
Figure 43 - 628-30 Toulouse Street (1982)
There are other indications that things both change and remain the same. The July 1, 1982, Times-Picayune article on the Loyola University study of the Quarter, which reported the seventeen per cent decrease in residential units from 1961 to 1981, ended with this summary of a student survey of French Quarter residents and merchants:

Quarter residents and merchants believe they have a higher quality of food, art and crafts than in other parts of the city, the report said. However, the students found, both groups of people are disappointed with the quality of street and sidewalk maintenance, the lack of cleanliness, the quality of bars and merchandise, and what they perceived as a decline in the Quarter's overall charm. And they worried, the students said, about such matters as shortage of police in the area, traffic, the parking problem, buildings left to deteriorate, drunks and prostitution. (Pope, 1 July 1982:13)

In the past year, the Vieux Carre Commission has been mindful of the impact of the commercialization of the Quarter and has asked of, and received from, the City Council moratoria that have frozen the number of bars and T-shirt shops and precluded the further conversion of apartments into time-sharing condominiums. Such vacation condominiums are seen by the Commission as increasing the Quarter's transiency, while residential condominiums are encouraged as increasing home ownership and maintaining the Quarter's residential character (Bacon, August 1982:53). The gardens of the Vieux Carre are an essential part of this character and the course of their continued evolution depends on their future use.

The August 1982 issue of New Orleans magazine contains an article by Joe Bacon entitled "Living in the Quarter." In it Bacon features recent Vieux Carre Commission member Mary Morrison and he reports her
prognosis for the Quarter:

About the future prospects for the French Quarter, Morrison has her doubts. "I guess it'll go on. I don't know, it's hard to say. There's nothing dramatic about the erosion of an old section. If we had a huge fire people would rise to the task of rebuilding. But when it goes bit by bit, it can change completely, both the architecture and the use of the space. Neighboring high-rises are already closing in. Our low-rise architecture and low-key lifestyles may not hold up to that sort of pressure. I don't know. When you get as old as I am, you get philosophical. I have come to the conclusion that the attitude of New Orleanians is that the French Quarter is mythical, that a large part of it can be done away with and it will still exist. (Bacon, August 1982:55)

Summary of Observed Conditions

The Vieux Carre's most recent twenty-two years have been filled with a frenzied rediscovery of the Quarter. With this rediscovery have come garden renovations in apartment complexes such as those seen at 716-24 Governor Nicholls, 1235 Bourbon, 1301 Chartres and 1350 Bourbon Streets. Also have come garden restorations and reconstructions such as those at the Beauregard Garden, the Gallier House, and the Hermann-Grima House. Up-dates at the Gauche House, Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre, 731 Royal Street, the Brulatour Courtyard, and other previously depicted and discussed gardens were observed as part of the evolution of Vieux Carre gardens during the period 1960 to 1982. The Carter house at 825 Dumaine was seen as an example of contemporary Quarter garden style, while Landscape Architects Rene Fransen, Christopher Friedrichs and Virginia Provosty discussed current preferences for, and treatments of, Vieux Carre gardens.
Garden Elements

The period 1960 to 1982 evidences changes from the preceding period, as well as significant changes within the period. The garden styles of the 1960s are seen as more stylized than those which immediately preceded and followed them. Within the period noticeable changes did occur in Vieux Carre gardens, as can be seen in the following analyses of their function, form, enclosure, layout, paving, major features and plants.

Function

Among the changes in functions evident in this period was the public display for education and enjoyment of garden restorations and reconstructions at the Beauregard Garden, the Gallier House and the Hermann-Grima House. Such studied views of earlier garden treatments were previously unknown in the Quarter.

In renovations and rehabilitations, the 1960s brought significant changes, even to the Gallier House, as swimming pools prevailed and residents' outdoor living styles required space for the active use of Quarter gardens. No longer were these gardens merely for viewing or occasional entertainment. They became increasingly the core of circulation and recreation.

Such residential use was declining and French Quarter buildings during this period were increasingly used for commercial activity, which often transformed such gardens from private spaces used casually to public spaces used intensively. Number 613 Royal Street, the Court of Two Sisters, is a particular example of such change. The courtyard of Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre in its 1960s modifications also
evidences its changing intensity of use.

Form

The gardens of the Carters and Streams, which were enlarged through the acquisition of adjacent lots, represent a return to the garden form of the period 1830 to 1860 when extra-lot gardens were created in the Quarter. Such gardens then and now are few, but they represent an expanded expression of the style and treatment of their times. Today's extra-lot Quarter gardens are not replicas of their Antebellum antecedents; rather, they are stylistically attuned to today. As such, they are designed to be used privately and informally, whereas the extra-lot gardens of the Antebellum period were designed for entrances, arrivals and public display.

Enclosure

Masonry walls, increasingly brick rather than stucco or plaster, continued to prevail as the enclosing structures for Vieux Carre gardens. However, the board and lattice fence at the Carter house reflects an increasing acceptance of fencing as part of the enclosing and screening system. Such enclosure is often extensive and requires variety to avoid monotony. In the Streams' garden remodeling can be seen the lattice brick, which had become a Richard Koch trademark.

Layout

During this period the gardens of the Vieux Carre became less structured in their layouts as their use became more frequent and intense. The elimination of the path-forming beds in the courtyard of LePetit Theatre du Vieux Carre is a good example of this opening up of
garden spaces. It can also be seen in the evolution of swimming pool treatments away from the 1960s pool as the central focus toward the subordination of the pool in favor of circulation and outdoor living space, as seen in the gardens at 1235 Bourbon Street and the Carter house. The organizing element of these gardens, which had first been the fountain and then the swimming pool, gradually became open space in which circulation and other activities could occur more freely.

Paving

The supply and use of reclaimed ballast flagstones ended in 1970. The new flagstone evident in the courtyards at 1301 Chartres and 1350 Bourbon Street, with flush joinings and smooth appearance, differs greatly from the rougher hewn ballast stones of the nineteenth century and earlier twentieth century garden renovations. The use of aggregate with brick headers at 1235 Bourbon Street, the block brick paving pattern used at the Carters' house, the brick headers in flagstone at the Streams' house, and the use of polished slate in the Presbytere courtyard reflect a new willingness to innovate with paving materials and patterns within the strictures of tradition and the Vieux Carre Commission.

Major Features

In the Vieux Carre's commercial, tourist-oriented gardens, the fountain remains the major feature and the essential organizing element. But during the 1960s, the swimming pool became the major feature, central focus, and organizing element of residential, hotel, motel and guest house courtyards. In the 1960s, more often than not, this pool was highly stylized. In the 1970s open space increasingly became the
major feature of Quarter gardens as garden designs broke away from previous adherence to axes and symmetry related to a fountain or swimming pool. This new dominance of open space and subordination of other features to the creation of such space, in effect, creates a more relaxed, less structured garden space in which plants assume a greater role.

Plants

Experimentation with plants and plantings that had marked the 1950s ended temporarily with the freeze of 1962. The garden renovations that followed for the remainder of the decade tended to be conservative and safe in plants and stylized in planting designs. As noted by Friedrichs, this began to end in the 1970s with the introduction of native plants and the return of tropical and semi-tropical plants with bold textures that would stand out in simpler layouts and amid less stylized garden features. The plants listed in Appendix G reveal this continuation of the interrupted interest in bold plants and plantings. This list was compiled from the observations of Friedrichs, Fransen and Provosty regarding the plants most preferred in, or best suited for, Vieux Carre gardens.
INTERPRETATION
INTRODUCTION

The preceding Historic Review (Part I) can and must stand alone, sufficient in and of itself. In it the links between causes identified and effects observed are evident. Thus, the pattern of the continued and continuing evolution of Vieux Carre gardens emerges comprehensibly.

The scrutiny applied and the images revealed in this Historic Review are new. They provide for the first time an objective, detailed and comprehensive look at these gardens. Such new perceptions in turn invite, or perhaps tempt, interpretive analyses that go beyond the summaries for each period reviewed and serve to heighten the clarity and broaden the context of these perceptions.

First, such interpretation requires a philosophical context in which to consider the evolutionary pattern of these gardens. Within this context the major forces and factors that shaped and styled the gardens of the Vieux Carre from 1861 to today will be examined. They will be examined within the same four periods that marked and divided the Historic Review. For each period the most significant categories of forces will be identified, examined and analyzed. Through these analyses of the cultural, economic, governmental and social influences, as well as stylistic preferences, the layers of these gardens' styles and their cumulative effect should stand out more clearly and relevantly.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT

Two philosophical tenets seem to have significance with respect to the evolution of the gardens of the Vieux Carre from 1861 to 1982. One relates to the persistence of garden styles. The other views the relative affluence of those using garden spaces as essential to their
development.

Madge Garland, in The Small Garden in the City, notes that:

It has often been pointed out in connection with fashion that during a firmly established civilization the style does not alter.... Fashions in gardens change more slowly than in architecture and far more slowly than in dress, but none the less reflect the moral tone and social aspirations of different epochs. (Garland, 1974:11)

In his History of Garden Design, Derek Clifford suggests that a certain amount of leisure, hence affluence, is a pre-condition for garden development. Without a leisure class, Clifford notes, there are no gardens. Gardens as he sees them are created after physical survival is certain and other needs can be met:

All gardens are the product of leisure. It is no good looking for gardens in a society which needs all its energies to survive. As soon as a society has time and energy to spare, some of the excess is devoted to enjoying the residual aspects of enclosure, of cultivation, and of unhumanized landscape. The way in which that residue is shaped to give pleasure depends partly upon the physical opportunities but far more upon man's spiritual needs. (Clifford, 1966:16)

Assuming these assertions are valid, there are at least two correlations that can be made in the consideration of how gardens are shaped to give pleasure. One, derived from Garland, relates the solidity of a society to the endurance of the society's garden style. Another, based on Clifford's hypothesis, looks to the degree of affluence, and its by-product leisure, as a determining force of garden development.

Both Garland and Clifford insist that in both tangible and abstract terms, gardens reflect particular moments in time, and as Garland
suggests, possibly the moment or moments that came before. Thus the philosophical context can be seen as continual in time and inclusive in its considerations.

**THE PERIOD 1861 TO 1919**

In retrospect, probably the most significant development in the Vieux Carre during the period 1861 to 1919 was the sparing of this "Old Square" from late nineteenth and early twentieth century "progress." Such progress would have razed the Quarter's decaying buildings and obliterated its once and future garden spaces. However, progress by-passed the Quarter for economic and social reasons; thus the Quarter was spared and survived to be rediscovered and preserved.

**Economic Influences**

As Lemann and others note, the growth of New Orleans out and away from its "Old Square" began soon after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and continued thereafter. Nonetheless, the French Quarter did share in the pervasive prosperity of New Orleans' "Golden Age," 1830-1860. During this time, many of the gardens of the Quarter reached new heights in the elaborateness of their design, the variety of their plants, and their expanse. Also during this time, the basic forms and elevations of the Quarter that exist today were completed.

During and after the Civil War, New Orleans and the Deep South plummeted into a depression that persisted. While New Orleans recovered faster than many areas of the South, its recovery was not felt in the Quarter. The Quarter's decline was progressive throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. This
decline stemmed from many forces, principal among them were Creole separatism, the availability of land elsewhere for development, and the steady influx of immigrants in need of housing.

The divisions between the Creoles and Americans in large measure contributed to the Americans settling and subsequently developing the city elsewhere. Sufficient land was available to accommodate the slow but measured growth of New Orleans during the period 1861 to 1919. Lacking any intense demand for development land that would have boosted land prices, it was then cheaper to use undeveloped uptown land than to buy and raze existing structures for building in the Quarter. Thus, economics dictated the American development of the city Uptown above Canal Street, and Creole development out Esplanade Ridge below Canal Street. The City did grow, as seen in the census figures which show that from 1860 to 1900 there was a seventy per cent increase in population—from 168,000 to 287,000. Part of this growth stemmed from the wave of Italian immigration that began in 1880.

Such immigration stimulated what little residential construction there was in the Quarter during this period. Rental "double shotgun" houses filled empty lots and, together with commercial and industrial development along the French Quarter's fringes, obliterated all traces of the larger gardens that had filled extra lots adjacent to houses of particularly prosperous residents during the Quarter's Golden Age.

During the period 1860 to 1919, the state of commercial horticulture in New Orleans was transformed from a few seed stores, which also sold plants as shipments of them arrived, to a point where in 1900 there were several well-established nurseries, horticulturalists and a landscape gardener in the City. The pattern of the growth of
commercial horticulture establishments followed that of the City during this period--out and away from the French Quarter.

According to the Favrettis, changes in garden design tastes during the Victorian era were derived from two forces--the great industrial wealth of the nineteenth century and the period's great strides in commercial horticulture. Such wealth was particularly lacking in the Vieux Carre, the fortunes of which were declining throughout the Victorian era. Most affluent Creoles moved on while a few clung tenaciously to their Quarter.

Social Influences

This tenacity had its parallels in the Vieux Carre gardens, a few of which survived almost intact into the twentieth century. Such survivors attest to Garland's insistence that during a firmly established civilization garden styles endure or linger beyond the civilization that gave rise to them.

The Creole regime was well-established and entrenched. Its formal, yet functional, garden style accommodated the diverse needs of Creole families. The French-inspired geometric ordering of raised beds, the dominance of paved circulation, the blending of function and ornament, and the practical plantings for shade, fragrance, herbs and ornament served the Creoles of the Quarter well. Their garden style was adaptable to a simple cottage garden, within the confines of a courtyard house or into an extra lot, as a place for viewing, arriving, or strolling. Not only could this style adapt to many forms, it could respond with varied degrees of refinement.
Yet as immigrants crowded into the houses and gardens of the Quarter most vestiges of Creole refinement were overwhelmed by the functional needs of these new occupants. Planting beds disappeared, brick or flagstone paving deteriorated rapidly and required paving over, and the gardens thus became bleak service yards filled with wash on the line, ducks, chickens, mules and even sheep.

In a few gardens the Creole tradition and style continued uninter rupted by such crowded conditions and intensified functional demands. To these gardens, the Victorian era often brought a fountain—a rarity in New Orleans prior to the Civil War. But most significantly, this period brought a new interest in plants and new plants into Quarter gardens as the 1884 Centennial and the steady growth of New Orleans' commercial horticultural establishments marked and stimulated a new and widely-shared interest in horticulture.

Nevertheless, the occasional new fountain and the addition of some new plants did not transform the Creole gardens. Those that survived were not significantly altered during this period. Remnants of the garden style of one entrenched civilization thus endured for a new leisure class to discover and develop. Most gardens did not survive. Rather they were obliterated during this period. Only their spaces endured into the twentieth century and these forms were then like empty slates awaiting the stylings of a new regime.
THE PERIOD 1920 TO 1936

The "Romantic Renaissance," as Lemann sees it, brought together a unique cultural potpourri out of which came a new style of Vieux Carre garden. It was a style born from the past, but not solely from the Vieux Carre's past. It was a style out of many pasts.

**Cultural Influences**

Into the languor that deterred others in the 1920s ventured artists, writers and rich romantics who were lured by the charm and character of the French Quarter. Then as now, this charm and character was not as much derived from its individual structures as from the entire assemblage of them in streets laid out 200 years before. This entirety, the "tout ensemble," was and is greater than the sum of its parts. Remarkably, an entire "Old City" of a major American city survived battered but relatively intact. The "tout ensemble" was from the start the abiding concern of these early preservationists. But preservation and rehabilitation had to begin structure by structure.

In the rehabilitation of Quarter houses, the new leisure class substantially up-graded these dwellings and their gardens. Most often in the 1920s and 1930s they were aided by Architect Richard Koch. In 1922, Koch designed the first new Quarter structure in the old Vieux Carre idiom. This building, Le Petit Theatre du Vieux Carre, displays a Koch-designed garden that was inspired by the Gardens of Alcazar in Seville, Spain, and would become the inspiration for countless Vieux Carre gardens. Koch's theatre garden had a central, octagonal, masonry fountain basin with a cast iron fountain pedestal and pan. This fountain was at the intersection of two paths which divided the
garden with an implied symmetry and balance created by planting beds which, with the fountain facets, formed the paths. Three years later, Koch's design for the garden of O. M. Burgess would include intersecting axes of circulation, one of which terminated at a wall fountain with a basin below.

These two fountain-focused design solutions would endure and inspire. Koch would design many gardens in the process of renovating Quarter houses. His renovations invariably up-graded the house's exterior, significantly enhanced the house's interior, and brought a new look to the rubble that had once been the garden. From his visits to Spain and Mexico, Koch brought fountains, symmetry and lattice brick. While particularly rich in details, Koch's garden designs followed their Creole antecedents in many ways, among which were a basic simplicity in form and the repetition of forms, the slightly raised beds, the use of thick ballast flagstones and brick in a herringbone pattern for paving, and practical plantings and plants.

In this blending of various pasts, Koch created an expression that had more romantic appeal than a carefully restored Creole garden could ever have had. Koch's fountains became instant French Quarter traditions and Koch's imitators proliferated. The results were more structured and stylized than Koch's gardens with higher planting beds and new and diverse materials such as glazed tiles. Formal, stiff plantings reinforced the structure of these extensions of the Romantic ideal. These overworked Spanish revival gardens were then imitated, and imitations of imitations thus flourished and gave rise to a style that in part endures today.
Social Influences

Koch's clients and others who romantically rediscovered the French Quarter in the 1920s and 1930s were of the "Leisure Class" Clifford insists is necessary for garden development. Such development did take place and, as has been noted, it gave rise to romantic garden expressions that would become part of a style. But more importantly for the future of the Vieux Carre would be the alliance that was forged between artists, writers, the rich, the powerful and the persuasive. In the sixteen years following the French Opera House fire, this alliance was able to achieve an amendment to the Louisiana State Constitution that would enable the active legal preservation of the Quarter by the force of law. Considering the state of the Quarter in the midst of the Depression, such an effort required great determination, vision and sense of community within the Quarter. These would continue as the Quarter's preservation entered a new phase and its success brought new challenges and threats. It was to be the success of preservation that would most significantly affect Vieux Carre garden spaces from this point on.

THE PERIOD 1937 TO 1959

This period is best seen as one of tentative transition between the period of the Vieux Carre's romantic rediscovery and the economic boom spurred by its preservation and location. Most significantly, in this period the legal mechanisms for preservation were created, refined and, through court challenges, tested and defined.
Governmental Influences

The decision of the Louisiana Supreme Court in the 1941 Impastato and Pergament cases gave the then four-year-old Vieux Carre Commission clear power to control modifications of courtyards and all aspects of a Vieux Carre structure's appearance, as well as to ensure that the "tout ensemble" was not significantly diminished. While in 1957, in the Levy case, the Court would find that the Commission had not always been consistent in its treatment of Vieux Carre property modifications, most evidence suggests that the Commission did succeed in preventing widespread or substantial modifications that were inconsistent with the Quarter's architecture and garden traditions. Particularly with respect to the materials used to enclose and pave such gardens, the Commission seems to have been vigilant. However, significant changes in features, such as the swimming pools that arrived in the Quarter in the 1950s, were permitted and they substantially altered Quarter gardens then and in succeeding years.

Social Influences

Mrs. Mathilda Gray's 1937 renovation of the Gauche House under Richard Koch's direction represented a continuation of the romantic rediscovery of the Vieux Carre. The combination of the towering Victorian fountain statue placed in a new octagonal stone basin would become widely imitated in its form, combination of materials and proportions. But in the 1940s and 1950s, Mrs. Gray and the L. Kemper Williamses, with their immense resources and other homes, were being succeeded by new generations of less affluent, but still affluent, renovators who would make the French Quarter their only home.
The life-styles and times of these new Quarter residents were more casual. They were often do-it-yourselves gardeners, who joined the Patio Planters and traded plants and gardening tips. They brought a new period of garden experimentation and new plants into Quarter gardens. Gardens flourished with more variety and horticultural daring than in the past. Such new Quarter residents also brought functional demands that included swimming pools. Swimming pools would become the principal feature, the organizing element, of many Quarter gardens thereafter.

The influx of these new residents coincided with the departure of many long-time, less affluent Quarter residences. The reconversion of houses from multi-family to single family dwellings contributed to the twenty per cent decline in the Quarter's population from the 1950 to the 1960 censuses. The Quarter was sociologically and economically in transition toward a new prosperity that would see the accelerated transformation of garden spaces to meet new lifestyles or perceptions of such lifestyles.

THE PERIOD 1960 TO 1982

The "goldrush" to participate in and profit from the preserved charm and character of the French Quarter has, for the past twenty-two years, been a principal determinant of the number, shape and often the style of Quarter gardens. In the process, the number of such garden spaces has been reduced while the value of them has increased.
Economic Influences

The Quarter is adjacent to the New Orleans Central Business District (CBD) which came alive with development beginning in the 1960s. By that time tourism, focused on and located in or near the Quarter, became New Orleans' second largest industry in terms of revenue generated. Its proximity to the CBD and its allure to tourists greatly enhanced the value of residential properties in the Quarter—and significantly reduced their number. Between 1961 and 1981 the number of residential units in the Quarter declined by seventeen percent. This is not to say that an identical number of courtyard gardens disappeared. Often gardens absorbed by commerce remained, but were substantially transformed. The character of commercial gardens viewed by the public is far different from that of private residential gardens in the Quarter. The Vieux Carre Commission has sought to stem the tide of successive waves of Quarter development. Various moratoria have been enacted to halt the deterioration of the Quarter's essential residential character. But the indomitable genius of entrepreneurs and developers seems endless and the Quarter seems continually threatened by its own success.

Governmental Influences

The Vieux Carre Commission alone has not been able to halt encroachments into the Quarter's space. In 1969, the U.S. Secretary of Transportation had to intervene to spare the Quarter from an expressway that would have divided the Quarter from the river. Subsequent to this victory for preservationists, public and quasi-public efforts substantially improved the Quarter's riverfront areas and
further enhanced the Quarter scene.

The Commission's vigilance, or lack thereof, is a matter of opinion. The Commission's nine members change with City Administrations. Without any substantial body of written regulations and policies, Commissions vary over time in the extent and exactitude of their scrutiny. In recent years the Commission has seemed far ahead of the Mayor and City Council in its perception of developmental and commercial threats to the Quarter's character. In its day-to-day decisions on individual property modifications, the Commission continues in a conservative framework that ensures that modifications to garden spaces conform in layout and materials to prevailing architectural styles. This effectively precludes any radical departures in garden designs, but does not preclude subtler changes in style. Of course, the Commission has no power to remedy pre-existing conditions that might be at variance with current policies. Thus gardens in the Quarter continue to reflect not one time or period, but many moments in time.

Stylistic Preferences

The varied nature of 1960s and 1970s gardens attest to an admixture of time and style. In the 1960s, at the onset of the Quarter's economic boom, apartment complexes were most often renovated with highly stylized gardens featuring an elaborately shaped swimming pool and formal plantings of "safe" evergreens. These "safe" plantings were in response to the 1962 freeze. The fanciful overall appearance might be considered an attempt at mass-produced romance or instant "elegance" and "charm." Whatever the concept, the implementation
created apartment courtyards that are seemingly inconsistent with the simple surrounding architecture. And in such courtyard spaces, the stylized, centrally-located swimming pool preempts other uses of the space except for peripheral circulation.

Such 1960s pools dot the Quarter and their style and treatment can be easily contrasted with the more restrained apartment complex swimming pool treatments of the 1970s. In these the swimming pool, with its rectilinear form and screening, is subordinated so that circulation and open space dominate the garden space and determine its layout. Unlike the 1960s swimming pool treatments, more recent applications call less attention to the swimming pool. Indeed, in current Quarter courtyards there seems a trend away from the focusing of attention on one or two principal features. Rather, principal elements are subdued so that attention is called to the garden's totality.

In plants and plantings the stylized look of the 1960s gave way in the 1970s to more interesting plantings and the use of more exciting plants as natives, palms, and tropical plants returned to Quarter gardens. As the structural garden elements became simpler in the 1970s, the plantings became more complex. In the 1960s, like the 1930s, the reverse was true; the structural elements were more obvious and stylized, whereas the plantings were stiffer, less imaginative and less varied.

In many respects the Vieux Carre garden designs that have evolved in private residences in the 1970s and 1980s are far more akin to their antecedents of 150 years before than the gardens of the 1930s and 1960s. Clearly today, function transcends form. Today's simpler garden forms are more apt to repeat the rectilinear lines of the
structures and other enclosing forms that contain these gardens. As in the Antebellum period, these garden spaces respond to multiple and often mutually-exclusive functional demands. They respond through separations of spaces and the creation of open areas for mixed use. Another response to the intensified use of these spaces is the return of the extra-lot garden, as shown by the Stream and Carter properties. These expanded gardens are not replicas of their Antebellum antecedents. Rather, they are extensions of current styles and reflect the demands of contemporary living. They are not gardens for viewing, strolling or arrival, but rather for recreation and outdoor living.

Today's more relaxed residential quarter garden contrasts markedly with the more public commercial garden spaces, which create the widely perceived image of the "French Quarter Courtyard." The gardens the public sees in restaurants, shops or courtyard arcades are most often of a style little changed from the 1930s. Almost invariably such gardens feature a fountain. Sometimes the fountain pours from a wall into a basin, but most commercial gardens feature a central, free-standing fountain at the intersection of cross-axes. Irregular garden forms often cause such axes to be skewed and similarly defy attempts at real symmetry. In the raised beds that inevitably line the wall are tropical or semi-tropical plants. And finally, wherever possible, such gardens contain cast iron artifacts to reinforce the "Spanish" feeling and seemingly imply that these elements and the garden they adorn are centuries, rather than decades, old. Whatever their age, most of these gardens are more open in their spaces and functional in their layouts than their antecedents of the 1930s. Thus function transcends form while style lingers.
CONCLUSION

The gardens of the Vieux Carre evolve and have evolved over time, but their styles linger from one time into the next. If there appears to be a dichotomy in present perceived Vieux Carre garden styles, this can be explained by the persistance of styles beyond their time, as well as by the abstract needs those styles serve. Romance and nostalgia have figured prominently in the shaping and styling of these Vieux Carre garden spaces. For those who live or linger long in the Quarter, its romance is the "tout ensemble." They have other, more tangible needs to be met in their private gardens. But those whose moments in the Quarter are brief and infrequent seemingly demand a more concentrated measure of the Quarter's charm, and for them, a courtyard with all its "traditional" trappings responds to their nostalgic insistence.

The elements of Vieux Carre gardens often vary in detail but their essence is shared. With few exceptions, they are nineteenth century spaces with twentieth century treatments. They are most often enclosed with masonry walls and paved with brick or flagstone. They are more open than structured in their layouts which still embody the formal Creole tradition in the arrangement of the raised planting beds. And, of course, they have water. These elements comprise the essence of the Vieux Carre garden. These elements are the constants that endure while new layers are added and treatments applied.

These gardens, like the Quarter of which they are a part, seem to withstand or welcome the phenomena of the moment. They endure by changing, albeit often reluctantly and usually gradually.
APPENDIX A

The following is the Appendix to John Steele's thesis, *The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre (1718-1860)*. The plants included in this list represent those species found in the Vieux Carre gardens during the Late Federal Period and Antebellum Period (1803-1860).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Materials</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agapanthus</td>
<td>Abumon umbellatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardesia</td>
<td>Ardesia crispa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspidistra</td>
<td>Aspidistra elatior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>Musa sapientum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana Shrub</td>
<td>Michelia fuscata</td>
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<tr>
<td>Butterfly Lily</td>
<td>Hedychium spp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calla Lily</td>
<td>Zantedeschia aethiopica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camellia</td>
<td>Camellia japonica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashmere Bouquet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crape Myrtle</td>
<td>Lagerstroemia indica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crinum Lily</td>
<td>Crinum americanum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Day Lily</td>
<td>Hemerocallis spp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Miller</td>
<td>Centaurea cineraria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Lily</td>
<td>Lilium longiflorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleur d'amour</td>
<td>Ervatamia coronaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger Lily</td>
<td>Hedychium spp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydrangea</td>
<td>Hydrangea macrophylla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumquats</td>
<td>Fortunella japonica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A, cont.

Lantana
Loquat
Louisiana Iris
Maiden Hair Fern
Mint
Narcissum
Native Ferns
Nerium Oleander
Night Blooming Jasmine
Old Fashioned Violets
Orange Trees
Palm
Pear
Plumbago
Pomegranate
Rain Lily
Rice Paper Plant
Rose - Louis Phillipe and Cecile Bruner
Rosemary
St. Joseph Lily
Sasanqua
Shrimp Plant
Southern Magnolia
Sweet Bay

Lantana camara
Eriobotrya japonica
Iris 'Louisiana'
Adiantum capillus - veneris
Mentha spp.
Narcissus pseudonarcissus
Dryopteris spp.
Nerium oleander
Nyctanthese arbor - tristis
Viola odorata
Citrus sinensis
Phoenix canariensis
Pyrus communis
Plumbago capensis
Punica granatum
Cooperia spp.
Tetrapanax papyiferus
Rosa spp.
Rosmarinus officinalis
Amaryllis spp.
Camellia sasanqua
Beloperone guttata
Magnolia grandiflora
Magnolia virginiana
Appendix A, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Olive</td>
<td>Osmanthus fragans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walking Iris</td>
<td>Neomarica spp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wax Myrtle</td>
<td>Myrica cerifera</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yucca</td>
<td>Yucca gloriosa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

The following are lists of the flower seeds, climbing plants, and bulbous roots advertised for sale in 1883 by New Orleans seed merchant Richard Frotscher in his *Almanac and Garden Manual for the Southern States*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flower Seeds</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Althea rosea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alyssum maritimum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antirhinum majus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adonis autumnalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaranthus tricolor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaranthus bicolor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaranthus atropurpureus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaranthus salicifolius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquilegia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balsamina hortensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balsamina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balsamina camelia flora alba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellis perennis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacalia coccinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calendula officinalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celocia cristata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherianthus Cheri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campanula speculum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centaurea cyanus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centaurea suavolens</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cineraria hydrida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dianthus barbatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dianthus chinensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dianthus heddewiggi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dianthus plumarius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dianthus caryophyllus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dianthus picotee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dianthus pumila</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delphinium imperial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delphinium ajacis</td>
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<td>Delphinium chinensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dahlia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eschscholtzia californica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaillardia bicolor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gillia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomphrena alba and purpurea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geranium Zonale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geranium pelargonium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geranium oderatissima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsophila paniculata</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heliotropium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helichrysum monstrorum album</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helichrysum monstrorum rubrum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helianthus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iberis amara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iberis umbelata rosea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linum grandiflorum rubrum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lobelia erinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lychnis chalcedonica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupinis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathiola annua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mesembryanthemum crystallinum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mimulus tigrinus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matricaria capensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mimosa pudica</td>
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<td>Mirabilis jalapa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Myosotis palustris</td>
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<td>Nemohilia Insignis</td>
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<td>Nemonila malculata</td>
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<td>Nigella damaresna</td>
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<td>Nierembergia gracilis</td>
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<td>Oenothera Lamarckiana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Papaver somniferum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Papaver ranunculus</td>
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Appendix B, cont.

Petunia hydrida
Petunia flora pleno
Phlox drummondii
Phlox drummondii grandiflora
Portulaca
Portulaca grandiflora
Primula veris
Primula chinensis
Reseda oderata
Reseda grandiflora
Scabiosa nana
Saponaria calabrica
Salvia coccinea splendens
Silene armeria
Tagetes erecta
Tagetes patula
Verbena hybrida
Verbena Niveni
Vinca rosea and alba
Violata odorata
Viola tricolor maxima
Zinnia elegans

Petunia
Large double flowering petunia
Drummond's Phlox
Drummond's Phlox (Larger)
Portulaca
Double Portulaca
Polyanthus
Chinese Primrose
Sweet Mignonette
Sweet Mignonette (larger)
Dwarf Mourning Bride
Soapwort
Scarlet salvia
Lobel's Catchfly
Tall-growing Marigold
Dwarf Marigold
Hybridized Verbena
White Verbena
Red and White Periwinkle
Sweet Violet
Large Flowering Pansy
Double Zinnia
Appendix B, cont.

**Climbing Plants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benincasa cerifera</td>
<td>Wax Gourd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cardiospermum</td>
<td>Balloon Vine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cobaea Scadens</td>
<td>Climbing Cobaea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convolvulus major</td>
<td>Morning Glory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cucurbita</td>
<td>Ornamental Gourd</td>
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<td>Cucurbita lagenaria dulcis</td>
<td>Sweet Gourd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dolichos lablab</td>
<td>Hyacinth Bean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ipomaea quamoclit rosea</td>
<td>Red Cypress Vine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ipomaea quamoclit alba</td>
<td>White Cypress Vine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipomaea bona nox</td>
<td>Large Flowering Evening Glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lathyrus odoratus</td>
<td>Sweet Peas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurandia barclayana</td>
<td>Mixed Maurandia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mamordica balsamina</td>
<td>Balsam Apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luffa acutangula</td>
<td>Dish Rag Vine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sechiun edule</td>
<td>Mirilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropaeolum majus</td>
<td>Nasturtium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunbergia</td>
<td>Mixed Thunbergia</td>
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**Bulbous Roots**

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<tr>
<th>Plant Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anemones</td>
<td>Double flowering Anemones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahlias</td>
<td>Fine Double-named varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiolus</td>
<td>Hybrid Gladiolas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloxinias</td>
<td>Gloxinias</td>
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Appendix B, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hyacinths</td>
<td>Hyacinths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilium trigrinum</td>
<td>Tiger Lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilium auratum</td>
<td>Golden Band Lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilium lancifolium album</td>
<td>Pure White Japan Lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilium lancifolium rubrum</td>
<td>White and Red-Spotted Japan Lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilium lancifolium roseum</td>
<td>Rose-spotted Japan Lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeonia sinensis</td>
<td>Chinese or herbaceous Paeonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranunculus</td>
<td>Double-flowering Ranunculus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scilla peruviana</td>
<td>Scilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tulips</td>
<td>Tulips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuberoses</td>
<td>Double-flowering Tuberoses</td>
</tr>
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</table>
APPENDIX C

The following lists for the catagories of Evergreens (coniferous, broad-leaved, hardy climbers, and hardy succulent), Deciduous Trees and Shrubs, and Hardy Palms are taken from the 1885 Maitre and Cook Catalogue of Southern Grown Plants. In 1885, the firm of Maitre and Cook was located on Magazine Street with nurseries on St. Charles at Lower Line.

**Evergreens**

**Coniferous Evergreens**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Araucaria</th>
<th>Biota</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bidwillii</td>
<td>Aurea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brasiliana</td>
<td>Elegantissima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookii</td>
<td>Argentea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuminghamii</td>
<td>Grazilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exelsa</td>
<td>Macrocarpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rulei</td>
<td>Tartarica</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arbor Vitae</th>
<th>Thuja Pendula</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thuja americana</td>
<td>Buxus Fortuniana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgess</td>
<td>Arborescens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compacta</td>
<td>Sempervierens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gem</td>
<td>Cedrus Deodora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Thumb</td>
<td>Cupressus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vervaeneana</td>
<td>Funebris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goeniana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C, cont.

Lawsoniana
Macracarapa
Pyramidalis
Horizontalis
Torulosa
Disticha erecta
Disticha pendula
Cryptomeria
Japonica
Juniperus
Hybernica
Virginia Red Cedar
Pinus
Strobus, White
Abies Canadensis
Australis
Mitis

Retinospora
Ericoides
Obtusa
Aurea
Argenta
Podocarpus
Japonica
Buxifolia
Taxus
Bacata
Bacata Cunadense
Sequoia
Gigantea
Sempervireus
Salisburia Adianthifolia

Broad-leaved Evergreens

Ardisia crenata
Azalea indica
Buxus arborescense
Fortuniana
Sempervireus

Berberis
Camellia Japonica
Japonica alba plena
Ceonothus Americanus
Appendix C, cont.

Cerasus Caroliniensis      Sasafras
   Laurea Mundii            Tinus Obovatus
   Lauro cerasus            Tinus
Cleyeria Japonica          Ligustrum Lucidum
Crategus Sinensis          Nepalensis
   Spendens                 Californica
Eriobotrya Japonica        Buxifolia
Escallonia Montividensis   Amurensce Amoor Privet
Euonymous Japonica         Magnolia Grandiflora
Gardenia Florida           Glauc
   Camelliaflora            Fuscata
   Fortunii                 Fuscata glauca
   Radicaus                 Malphigia aquifolia
Genista Scoparius          Mespilus piracantha
Gordonia Lascinatus        Metrosiderous floribunda
Ilex Aquifolium            Latifolia
   Opaca                   Myrsine africana
   Illicium Anisatum       Myrthus communis
   Floridanum              Traventina
   Inga Pulcherima          Multiplex
   Jasmin revoluta         Myrica serrata
   Kalmia latifolia        Nerium Oleander Splendens
   Laurus camphorus        Alba
   Nobilis                 Alba flore plena
   Caroliniensis           Giant of Battle
Appendix C, cont.

Atropa purpurea flore pleno
Flavum
Olea Fragrans
Europea
Pittosporum Tobira
Variegata
Photinia arbutifolia
Serrulata

Raphiolepsis Indica
Salicifolia
Quercus sempervirens
Rhododendron catawbiense
Nandina domestica
Viburnum odoratissima
Tinus Laurus
Obovatus

Evergreen Hardy Climbers

Bignonia gracilis
laurifolia
Ficus repens
Gelsemum nitidum
Hedera Helix
Aurea
Argentea
Latifolia
Jasminum revolutum
Grandiflorum
Officinalis

Kennedya Rubicunda
Comtoniana
Lonicera Brachypodium
Flexuosum
Simplexa
Rhyncospermum Jasminoides
Variegata
Vinca
Variegata
Aurea
Argenta
Appendix C, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardy Succulent Evergreens</th>
<th>Deciduous Trees and Shrubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agavea americana Variegata</td>
<td>Cyperus antiquorum Variegata Alternifolia Variegata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunda donax</td>
<td>Dasylirion graminiflora Latania borbonica Ruscus aculeatus Phoenix dactylifera Sabal adansonii Blackburniana Yucca gloriosa Zamica integrifolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambusa arundinacea Glauca Variegata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonapartea gracilis Yuncea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canna or Indian Shot Cycas, Sago Palm Angulata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyperus antiqurorum Alternifolia Variegata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasylirion graminiflora Latania borbonica Ruscus aculeatus Phoenix dactylifera Sabal adansonii Blackburniana Yucca gloriosa Zamica integrifolia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deutzia, grenata Gracillis Scabra Forsythea suspensa Hybiscus syriacus Hydrangea altissima Hortensis Thomas Hogg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C, cont.

Grandiflora

Otaska

Hypericum amoenum

Kerria japonica

Lagerstroemia indica

Alba

Purpurea

Regia

Sanguinea

Ligustrum vulgare

Californium

Maclura aurantica

Liriodendron tulipifera

Magnolia conspicua

Soulangeana

Lenue

Glaucia

Melia azederach

Umbraculiformis

Ormosia dasicarpa

Poeonia arborea

Officinalis

Philadelphus coronaria

Grandiflora

Punica granatum

Flore pleno

Variegatum

Flavum

Quercus alba

Rubra

Sailsburia adiantifolia

Salix Babylonica pendula

Crispa

Linearis

Stillingia sibifera

Sophora pendula

Spirea donglassii

Rivesii flore pleno

Callossa

Fernifolia

Tamarix africana

Germanica

Taxodium distichum

Pendula

Virburnum opulas

Weigelia rosea

Amabiles

Lobbii
Appendix C, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardy Palms</th>
<th>Serrulaia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahea filamentosa</td>
<td>Adansonii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamerops Exelsa</td>
<td>Adansonii minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hysterics</td>
<td>Phoenix dactylifera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humulius</td>
<td>Reclineata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabal Blackburniana</td>
<td>Acaulis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmetto</td>
<td>Raphis arundinacea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

The following are lists from the New Orleans Garden Society, Inc.'s, 1921 Notes on Gardening in New Orleans. The lists are for flowering plants for each of the four seasons, plus recommended Evergreen Trees and Shrubs, Vines, Climbing Roses, Ground Covers and Perennials.

Winter Flowering Plants

Sweet Olive          Solanum
Camellia Japonica   Poinsettas
Magnolia Soulangeana English Daisies
Louis Phillippe Roses Jasmine Grandiflora
Japanese Paper Plant Azaleas
Cestrum             Yellow Drooping Jasmine
Escalonia

Spring Flowering Plants

Azaleas             Weigela
Drooping Lantana    Mock Orange
Banksia             Bignonia
Marie Henriette     Confederate Jasmine
Bridal Wreath       Yellow Jasmine Bush
Verbena             Honeysuckle
Verbena
Moss Verbena        Larkspur
Violets             Easter Lilies

Yuccas
Appendix D, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judas Trees</th>
<th>Pomegranates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peach Trees</td>
<td>Coral Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pear Trees</td>
<td>Parkinsonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plum Trees</td>
<td>Lemon Lilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisteria</td>
<td>Roses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deutzia</td>
<td>All annuals</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Summer Flowering Plants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oleanders</th>
<th>Dahlias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crepe Myrtle</td>
<td>Clematis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hibiscus</td>
<td>Cardena de Amour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddleas</td>
<td>Lantana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning Glories</td>
<td>Blue Plumbago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet Vine</td>
<td>Blue Salvia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altheas</td>
<td>Cannas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altheas</td>
<td>All Lantanas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinnias</td>
<td>Cosmos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fall Flowering Plants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clematis paniculata</th>
<th>Morning Glories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rose of Montana</td>
<td>Golden Glow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadena de Amour</td>
<td>Parkinsonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altheas</td>
<td>Coreopsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbago</td>
<td>Cleome</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D, cont.

Hibiscus                      Coral Tree
Dahlias                       Cassias (yellow)
Cosmos                        Tender Cassia
Asters                        Japanese Paper Plant
Heliotrope                    Poinsetta
Chrysanthemums                Kumquat

Evergreen Trees and Shrubs

Live Oaks                     Mahonia Japonica
Water Oaks                    Yucca Filamentosa
Laurel Oaks                   Camellia Japonica
Camphor Trees                 Nandine Domestica
Ligustrum                     Japan Plum (as shrub)
Japan Plum                    Viburnum
Bay Trees                     Euonymous
Magnolia                      Pittosporum
Japanese Yew                  Laurel
Wild Peach                    Drooping Yellow Jasmine
Kumquat                       Cape Jasmine
Satsuma Orange                Drooping Jasmine
Sweet Olive                   Jasmine Grandiflora
Magnolia Fuscata              Spanish Jasmine
Escolonia                     Solanum
Acacia                        Bouganvillea
Appendix D, cont.

Azaleas

Oleanders

Honeysuckle

Coral Honeysuckle

Vines

Ever Green Vines

Cherokee Rose

Banksia Rose

Confederate Jasmine

Bignonia

Jasmine

Ficus Repens

Ivy

Vines Not Ever Green

Clematis Paniculata

Clematis Jackmanni

Japanese Morning Glory

Blue Morning Glory

Virginia Creeper

Moon Flower

Vegetable Pear

Best Climbing Roses

Banksia

Lamarque

Cherokee

Malmaison

Marie Henriette

Silver Moon

Thousand Beauties

Augusta Victoria

Sunburst

Wooten

Estell Pradel

Reve d'Or

Dorothy Perkins
Appendix D, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ground Covers</th>
<th>Perennials</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Periwinkle</td>
<td>Boston Fern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinca Major</td>
<td>Lantana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinca Minor</td>
<td>Asparagus Fern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarf Periwinkle</td>
<td>Day Lilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Ivy</td>
<td>Rain Lilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Ivy</td>
<td>Apostle Lilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground Ivy</td>
<td>Spider Lilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holly Fern</td>
<td>Amaryllis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterfly Lilies</td>
<td>Shasta Daisies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostles</td>
<td>Blue Balvia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaryllis</td>
<td>Cannas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Day Lilies</td>
<td>Caladiums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spider Lilies</td>
<td>Strobilanthus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain or Fairy Lilies</td>
<td>Violets</td>
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<tr>
<td>Easter Lilies</td>
<td>Forget-me-nots</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montbretias</td>
<td>Iris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coreopsis</td>
<td>Phlox</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbena</td>
<td>Spider Wort</td>
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Appendix E

The following is the list of plants entitled "The Aristocrats of the New Orleans Gardens" and compiled by Landscape Architect William A. Wiedorn in 1935 for the Arts and Crafts Club.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamomum camphora</td>
<td>Camphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnolia grandiflora</td>
<td>Southern Magnolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quercus virginiana</td>
<td>Live Oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulmus americana</td>
<td>American Elm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eriobotrya japonica</td>
<td>Loquat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagerstroemia indica</td>
<td>Crape Myrtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurocerasus caroliniana</td>
<td>Carolina Cherry Laurel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Shrubs                    |          |
| Large                     |          |
| Camellia japonica         | Camellia |
| Feijoa sellowiana         | Feijoa   |
| Ilex vomitoria            | Yaupon   |
| Laurus nobilia            | Grecian Laurel |
| Ligustrum lucidum         | Glossy privet |
| Michelia fuscata          | Banana shrub |
| Myrica cerifera           | Wax Myrtle |

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Appendix E, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coniferous Evergreens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Large</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juniperus japonica sylvestris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juniperus virginiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juniperus chinensis pfitzeriana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podocarpus macrophylla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Osmanthus fragrans       Sweet Olive
Pittosporom tobira        Pittosporom
Pyracantha coccinea       Scarlet firethorn
Virburnum suspensum       Sandankwa Vib.
Virburnum odoratissum     Sweet Viburnum

Small

Azalea species (also large) Azalea
Buxus japonica            Japanese Box
Gardenia florida           Cape Jasmine
Hydrangea hortensis        Hydrangea
Ilex crenata               Japanese Holly
Jasminium humile           Italian Jasmine
Myrtis communis            True Myrtle
Nerium Oleander            Cardinal Oleander
Appendix E, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocos australis</td>
<td>Pindo Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix canariensis</td>
<td>Canary Island Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabal Palmetto</td>
<td>Caroline Palmetto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamaerops humila</td>
<td>Hair Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycas revoluta</td>
<td>Sago cycas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhapidophyllum hystrix</td>
<td>Needle Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamboos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arundinaria japonica</td>
<td>Arrow Bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambusa argentea striata</td>
<td>Striated Bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambusa distachia</td>
<td>Fern Bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambusa nana</td>
<td>dwarf Bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigonon Leptopus</td>
<td>Rose of Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bignonia speciosa</td>
<td>Painted Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ficus pumila</td>
<td>Climbing Fig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedera Helix</td>
<td>English Ivy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa in variety</td>
<td>Climbing roses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solanum jasminoides</td>
<td>Nightshade Jasmine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trachelospermum jasminoides</td>
<td>Star Jasmine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisteria variety</td>
<td>Wisteria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E, cont.

**Turf**

| Axonopus compressus | Carpet Grass |
| Capricola dactylon | Bermuda Grass |
| Stenotaphrum secondatum | St. Augustine Grass |

**Herbaceous Perennials**

| Angelonia grandiflora | Angelonia |
| Beloperone guttata | Beloperone |
| Chrysanthemum Hortorum | Chrysanthemum |
| Daedalacanthus nervosa | Blue Sage |
| Hemerocallis in species | Day Lilies |
| Iris - southern species | Iris |
| Physostegia virginiana | Dragonhead |
| Salvia azurea | Azure Sage |
| Stokesia Laevis | Stokesia |
| Strobilanthes isophyllus | Conehead |
| Verbena hybrida | Verbena |

**Ground Cover**

| Ajuga japonica | Ajuga |
| Aspidistra lurida | Aspidistra |
| Ferns in variety | Ferns |
| Hedera Hedrix | English Ivy |
| Lantana sellowiana | Weeping Lantana |
Appendix E, cont.

Liriope graminifolia
Ophiopogon japonicus
Vinca minor

Roses
Hybrid teas: Pink and Red Radiance; Antoine Rivorie; Mrs. Charles Bell
Climbing: Romana; Anemone; White Cherokee; Louis Phillippe

Bulbs
Amaryllis in variety; Alpinae speciosa; Crinum in variety;
Dahlias in variety; Hedychium coronarium; Hemerocallis in variety;
Iris in variety; Leucojun vernum - snowflake; Lilium in variety;
liriope graminifolia; and Zephyranthes variety.
APPENDIX F

The following lists for the categories of Trees, Evergreens and Other Background Materials, Flowering Shrubs, Flowering Vines, Perennials, and Bulbs, Corms and Rhizomes are taken from *Gardening in New Orleans*, published in 1952 by the New Orleans Garden Society, Inc., and compiled by Mrs. Walter Oser and Mrs. Charles B. Stewart.

**Trees**

*Flowering Trees*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Albrizzia</th>
<th>Crape Myrtle</th>
<th>Pear Tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bauhinia</td>
<td>Cry Baby Tree</td>
<td>Pink Acacia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Locust</td>
<td>Golden Rain Tree</td>
<td>Red Bud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>Japan Plums</td>
<td>Tulip Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalpa</td>
<td>Magnolia Grandiflora</td>
<td>Wax Ligustrum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Laurel</td>
<td>Maple</td>
<td>Wild Cherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinaberry Tree</td>
<td>Parkinsonia</td>
<td>Yaupon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Citrus Trees*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapefruit</th>
<th>Limequat</th>
<th>Satsuma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lemon</td>
<td>Mandarine</td>
<td>Tangerine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Shade Trees*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Araucaria</th>
<th>Gingko</th>
<th>Sycamore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td>Hackberry</td>
<td>Tung Oil Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedars</td>
<td>Oaks</td>
<td>Weeping Mulberry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix F, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Elm</th>
<th>Pecan</th>
<th>Weeping Willow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Tallow Tree</td>
<td>Siberian Elm</td>
<td>White Poplar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweet Gum</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Evergreen and Other Background Materials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arboretumae</th>
<th>Ligustrum Vulgare</th>
<th>Ribbon Grass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creeping Juniper</td>
<td>Pampas Grass</td>
<td>Upright Juniper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Juniper</td>
<td>Pfitzer Juniper</td>
<td>Yucca Filamentosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Podocarpus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Flowering Shrubs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abelia</th>
<th>Escallonia</th>
<th>Mockorange</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Almond</td>
<td>Euonymous</td>
<td>Myrtle communis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Althea</td>
<td>Euphorbia</td>
<td>Nandina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardisia</td>
<td>Fringe Tree</td>
<td>Oleanders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aucuba</td>
<td>Gardenia</td>
<td>Peach (flowering)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barberry</td>
<td>Guava</td>
<td>Persimmons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Bush</td>
<td>Haw</td>
<td>Photinia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridal Wreath</td>
<td>Hibiscus</td>
<td>Pittosporom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckeye</td>
<td>Holly</td>
<td>Purple Leaf Plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddleia</td>
<td>Honeysuckle</td>
<td>Plumbago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calycanthus</td>
<td>Hydrangeas</td>
<td>Poinciana gilliesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Jasmine</td>
<td>Hypericum</td>
<td>Pomegranates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashmere Bouquet</td>
<td>Inga</td>
<td>Pussy Willow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassia</td>
<td>Jacaranda</td>
<td>Pyracantha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F, cont.

Chinese Red Bud  
Jasmine

Clethra  
Justica carnea

Confederate Rose  
Kerria

Crape Jasmine  
Kumquat

Datura  
Lantana

Deutzia  
Magnolia Fuscata

Duranta repens  
Magnolia Soulangeana

Eleagnus  
Malpigia

Eranthemum  
Mahonia aquifolium

Balsam Apple  
Clitoria

Bignonia  
Cocculus

Bittersweet  
Confucious Vine

Blue Thunbergia  
Cypress Vine

Bougainvillea  
Dutchman's Pipe

Canary-Bird Vine  
Honeysuckle

Clematis Paniculata  
Jasmine humile

Clerodendron  
Jasmine fruticans

Climbing Hydrangea  
Jasmine Officinale

Star Jasmine

Flowering Vines

Merandia

Monstera

Moonflower

Morning Glory

Potato Vine

Quiscalis

Rose of Montana

Wallflower

Wisteria

Perennials

Salvia

Saxifrage

Sedums

Ageratum  
Marguerites

Armeria  
Mullein

Lancerata coreopsis  
Pampas Grass
Appendix F, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dianthus</th>
<th>Pentestemon</th>
<th>Stocks</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Miller</td>
<td>Petunias</td>
<td>Shasta Daisies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feverfew</td>
<td>Physostegia</td>
<td>Perennial Sweet Peas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forget-me-nots</td>
<td>Ribbon Grass</td>
<td>Verbena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerbera Daisies</td>
<td>Mealycup Sage</td>
<td>Violets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Glow</td>
<td>Texas Sage</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bulbs, Corms, Tubers and Rhizomes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acidanthera</th>
<th>Hyacinths</th>
<th>Pineapple Lily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agapanthus</td>
<td>Hemerocallis</td>
<td>Liriopé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarcrinums</td>
<td>Hybranthus Robustus</td>
<td>Lycoris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarylis</td>
<td>Dutch Iris</td>
<td>Muscari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamboos</td>
<td>Dwarf Iris</td>
<td>Ornithagulum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>English Iris</td>
<td>Yellow Oxalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird of Paradise</td>
<td>German Iris</td>
<td>Phillippinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calladiums</td>
<td>Louisiana Iris</td>
<td>Regal Lilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callas</td>
<td>Spanish Iris</td>
<td>Snake Lily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannas</td>
<td>Walking Iris</td>
<td>Snowflakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crinum</td>
<td>Ismene</td>
<td>Sprekelia Formosissima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daffodils</td>
<td>Jonquils</td>
<td>Tigridía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahlias</td>
<td>Butterfly Lily</td>
<td>Tritelía Milla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiolas</td>
<td>Easter Lily</td>
<td>Tritoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloriosa</td>
<td>Eucharist Lily</td>
<td>Tulips Zephyranthes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haemanthus Kathaerinae</td>
<td>Ginger Lily</td>
<td>White Zephyranthes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G

The following are lists derived from August 1982 interviews with New Orleans Landscape Architects Rene Fransen, Christopher Friedrichs and Virginia Provosty. These lists in the categories of Trees, Palms, Shrubs, Perennials, Ground Covers and Vines are compilations of those plants the three Landscape Architects recommend for and find preferred in Vieux Carre gardens in 1982.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trees</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eriobotrya japonica</td>
<td>Loquat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilex Opaca</td>
<td>American Holly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koelreuteria bipinnata</td>
<td>Golden Rain Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagerstroemia indica</td>
<td>Crape Myrtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnolia soulangiana</td>
<td>Oriental Magnolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkinsonia aculeata</td>
<td>Parkinsonia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butia capita</td>
<td>Cocos Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamaerops humilis</td>
<td>Mediterranean Fan Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycas revoluta</td>
<td>Sago Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livistonia chinensis</td>
<td>Chinese Fan Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trachycarpus Fortunei</td>
<td>Windmill Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washingtonia robusta</td>
<td>Washington Palm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix G, cont.

**Shrubs**

- Ardisia crispa
- Aucuba japonica
- Fatsia japonica
- Hibiscus syriacus
- Ilex Vomitoria
- Ilex Vomitoria "Pendula"
- Mahonia bealei
- Nerium oleander
- Photinia fraseri
- Pittosporum Tobira
- Raphiolepsis indica
- Rhododendron indicum
- Virburnum japonicum "macrophyllum"

**Perennials**

- Alpinae (species)
- Aspidistra eliator
- Caladium hortulanum
- Crinum asiaticum
- Cyrtomium falcatum
- Hedychium coronarium
- Hemorocallis (species)
Appendix G, cont.

Lantana montevidensis  Trailing Lantana
Narcissus pseudonarcissus  Daffodil
Narcissus tazetta  Narcissus
Philodendron selloum  Split Leaf Philodendron
Strelitzia reginae  Bird-of-Paradise
Tulipa gesnerana  Tulip

**Ground Covers**

Ardisia japonica  Japanese Ardisia
Liriope muscari  Liriope
Ophiopogon japonica  Monkey Grass
Ophiopogon japonica "variegatus"  Variegated Monkey Grass

**Vines**

Hedera canariensis  Algerian Ivy
Wisteria sinensis  Wisteria
The word preservation as used herein is defined as a process of stabilizing, rebuilding, maintaining or improving the condition and specific properties of an historic landscape so that the landscape is protected and the design intent fulfilled. As such, preservation is an umbrella term that includes various alternative treatments, among which are: restoration, which connotes the return of a site to its original appearance during a selected period with strict authenticity of detail and overall form; rehabilitation, in which an historic landscape is brought to a state of good repair and useful condition, with some possible adaption, but with secondary attention to the degree of authenticity; reconstruction, which starts from the ground up and includes the reproduction of a complete landscape in varying degrees of authenticity; and interpretation, in which the original landscape form is retained with the integration of elements necessary to accommodate new uses, needs, and contemporary conditions. (Lisa A. Kunst and Patricia M. O'Donnell, "Historic Landscape Preservation Deserves a Broader Meaning," Landscape Architecture, January 1981, pp. 53-55.)

The word creole was first used in the sixteenth century to denote persons born of Spanish parents in the West Indies, and distinguished from persons born in Spain. In Louisiana the word came to be used to designate the French-speaking descendents of French and Spanish settlers to the colony. Creole as a cultural concept has been subject to modification over the last four centuries, and has varied cultural and biological connotations depending on the given locals. (James
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VITA

Stephen B. Hand was born in Bronxville, New York, July 21, 1941. He graduated from the Trinity-Pawling School and attended Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. After service in the U.S. Army, which included a tour in Vietnam, he returned to Bowdoin College, from which he graduated in 1966 with a B.A. in Economics. Upon his graduation, he joined the staff of the New Haven, Connecticut, Journal-Courier as a reporter and went on to become a newsman for Westinghouse Broadcasting Company in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In late 1968 he joined the staff of U.S. Senator Winston Prouty of Vermont and served as Senator Prouty's Legislative Assistant and Press Secretary until the Senator's death in 1971. At that time he joined the staff of U.S. Senator Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts and served as Senator Brooke's Legislative Assistant and Press Secretary through 1975. During 1976 and 1977 he was a campaign and public and governmental relations consultant in Washington, D.C., and New York, New York, until he assumed the Directorship of the radio program "In the Public Interest." He left this position in August 1979 to begin graduate study in the Department of Landscape Architecture at Louisiana State University. He is a candidate for the degree of Master of Landscape Architecture in December 1982.
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Major Field: Landscape Architecture

Title of Thesis: The Courtyard and Patio Gardens of the Vieux Carre (1861-1982)

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:
Nov. 5, 1982