

THE DESTRUCTION AND REVIVAL OF A NEIGHBORHOOD:
THE EFFECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS ON FAUBOURG TREMÉ,
NEW ORLEANS, LA AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO FOSTER
REINVESTMENT WITHOUT DISPLACEMENT.

A Thesis

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by

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ABSTRACT

This examination of what is apparently the oldest African-American and ethnically diverse neighborhood in the United States, Faubourg Tremé, New Orleans, LA, follows the development of urban renewal and regeneration and transportation projects “gone bad” in the Tremé neighborhood. These projects have been the major factor on the blight of the community. The faubourg is located in close proximity to both downtown New Orleans and the French Quarter (Vieux Carré) making it exploitable to city planners and the government as a place to service the downtown and French Quarter. These services included but were not limited to housing for service and working class employees and an interstate highway ramp. The goal of the transportation project was to make the tourist centers more accessible to tourist travel and the suburbs of New Orleans. The blight of this once vibrant neighborhood prompted questions, including how and why did the urban renewal and transportation projects cause massive amounts of displacement without replacement of residents? How does Tremé retain its historical character as well as welcome reinvestment?

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Originally from Greenville, South Carolina Ms. Whittenburg has progressively moved northward on her educational journey. She received her Bachelors of Architecture and Urban Planning from Virginia Polytechnic Institute in May 2005, and came to Cornell University interested in common theoretical threads seen in both traditional and contemporary architecture. While researching the gentrification of Harlem, New York she became interested in the social and economic implications involved with historic preservation. After participating in a service trip to New Orleans with classmates in January 2006 just 5 months after Hurricane Katrina, she became more interested in how historic resources have and can be used for services (such as affordable housing) in historic African-American communities. Ms. Whittenburg would like to further her research in this area specifically focusing on ways to not only revitalize communities, but also to sustain their built and social environments.

This paper is dedicated to Dr. Michael Tomlan and Jeff Chusid, who have helped to guide my efforts and shape my views about historic preservation. It is also dedicated to my mother and father, Dr. Clarence and Patricia Whittenburg for their support and prayers throughout my graduate career. I would also like to thank my sister, Nashia C. Whittenburg, and friends for their uplifting words for they were a source of inspiration. Lastly, I would like to thank the good people of New Orleans, Louisiana for opening their homes and hearts, and their assistance in helping find the contacts and information needed to write this thesis. I wish them well and hope that somehow this research leads to the social, economic, and architectural preservation of not only Tremé, but the other neighborhoods that encompass New Orleans.

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I would like to thank the New Orleans Notarial Archives for the historical information and the contacts to historical associations and neighborhood groups they gave to me for this thesis. The New Orleans Public Library, the Cornell Fine Arts Library, and the Historic Faubourg Tremé Association should also be recognized for without their contributions this work would have been impossible to write. The Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University deserves special recognition for their ongoing efforts in disaster planning for New Orleans. Their efforts not only initiated my interest in New Orleans, but also made it possible for me to travel to New Orleans to continue my research.

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INTRODUCTION

The rich cultural heritage of the first African-American neighborhood in New Orleans made Faubourg Tremé an interesting neighborhood to study. After examining the history of the neighborhood, the focus of research was to examine the effects of urban renewal projects implemented in Tremé and to explore if gentrification was a factor in the destruction of much of the community's social and physical fabric.

“Mayor Ray Nagin said he wanted to know what people in Tremé...are thinking about the problems and prospects for their neighborhood.... New residents who have renovated said they're frustrated that more of their neighbors haven't followed suit. Longtime residents, particularly those with lower incomes, said they too are frustrated that they can't afford to renovate according to the standards imposed on a historic district, and also worry that the neighborhood will change if too many better-off urban homesteaders move in.”¹

The assumption that gentrification was the cause of the displacement of residents needed to be examined to truly understand why the area was the place of massive numbers of residents to experience displacement for over twenty years. The historical review of Tremé led to the cause of disinvestment and blight in the neighborhood: failed urban renewal and regeneration projects that caused the displacement of many African-American families. To properly understand what has

¹ *Times Picayune* May 30, 2003 Metro p. 7

and is happening to Tremé, the term gentrification had to be analyzed and defined. This was done by examining the case study of Harlem, New York. Harlem is a highly studied example of gentrification of an African American community. This also helped clarify that the displacement that did occur in Tremé was not due to gentrification. Unlike gentrification, where low-to-mid income families are displaced by mid-to-upper income residents, these families were not replaced leaving much of the neighborhood blighted. To the city government Tremé was and still is perceived as great real estate and the question asked was what makes sense here?² The government didn't recognize Tremé's historical wealth and foster economic growth by making use of its historical and cultural sites. Instead it implemented a series of urban renewal and transportation projects to service the growing centers of tourism, The Vieux Carré and downtown New Orleans.

The history of Tremé was discovered through researching the neighborhood's architectural history. This method reveals an eclectic mix of buildings due to the neighborhood's diverse ancestry. It uncovers how the residents were able to create institutions of social, political, and economic change. They were also able to live and work together to make Tremé the first self-sustaining neighborhood to openly house "free people of color". It shows the importance of the historical associations to the viability and preservation of both the physical and social environment. City directories, notary archives, and newspapers, were used to explore the creation of this neighborhood and how it transformed over the years.

² Reichard, Peter. "Comeback City" *New Orleans City Business* May 1, 2005

The research for this thesis was compiled during four trips to New Orleans where contact was made with the New Orleans Notarial Archives and the New Orleans Public Library. These two associations provided ample amounts of materials including photographs and newspaper articles.

During a visit to New Orleans in January 2006, just months after the storm and for the final time in October 2006 questions of how to rebuild the city were still being asked as residents began to return. This directed the research to explore the question of how the city could be rebuilt to have the same unique culture it has in the past. These trips not only provided material to write this thesis, but also allowed for personal interactions with neighborhood residents, community organizations, and officials to see what their thoughts were in the rebuilding process.

Although urban renewal was behind the disinvestment in Tremé, historic preservation can play a role in its resurgence. Even though Harlem is characterized as a gentrifying community, it also represents one that has experienced neighborhood revitalization. To understand how a neighborhood that suffered the same type of blight as Tremé can recover without displacing mid-to-low income families, an affordable housing and historic rehabilitation case study in the Bronzeville neighborhood of Chicago was studied. This case study offered a different circumstance of how historic preservation was used to help reinvest into the community. By using historic buildings as not only tourist sites but also resources to house community needs (affordable housing, day care centers, after school education programs, etc.) the neighborhood was able to retain its low-mid income residents as well as foster both residential and commercial reinvestment.

Tremé, Bronzeville, and Harlem have very unique similarities because they are historic African American neighborhoods, “Meccas” of black entrepreneurship, education, and leadership, and areas of rich artistic and musical expression. The residents of these neighborhoods want to see them return to the city where everyone can shop, live, work and play. This thesis explores a neighborhood that has been underutilized for its cultural heritage, yet over used for governmental projects that have displaced massive numbers of the community’s residents. It also suggests ways that Tremé can rebuild and become socially and economically viable as it once was without fostering more displacement. This is achieved by comparing two cities with similar backgrounds that have nurtured economic resurgence Harlem, New York and Bronzeville, Chicago.

CHAPTER ONE:

A DISTINCTIVE PART OF NEW ORLEANS: FAUBOURG TREMÉ

This chapter sets out to give a historical review of a part of New Orleans that has significant importance, but unfortunately, has not yet been officially recognized. Faubourg Tremé, a section of the city adjacent to the celebrated Vieux Carré, plays a special role in the city for having a long African and Caribbean heritage that is evident in the social customs and physical environment. This rich collage of heritage and culture can be seen everywhere from its tasty cuisine, Caribbean style architecture, iron work, and art, to the woodwork.³ The neighborhood's unique cultural and ethnic background is displayed in the architecture. Not only is the built environment a reflection of the inhabitants of the neighborhood, but it represents places of resistance. Faubourg Tremé is unique because in a time of racial segregation and discrimination, people lived and worked together, physically and socially building this neighborhood. The community is the home of Congo Square, one of few places where slaves and free Blacks were allowed to gather in the Deep South, and St. Augustine Church, famous for the barriers the congregants broke both with race and gender. These are just two examples of the many physical sites in Tremé that blurred the then rigid boundaries of social principles concerning race. Because of its rich and deep-rooted history, Tremé was able to survive the Civil War and reconstruction without losing much of its heritage. By examining some of its most important architectural sites and public spaces, the evolution of this neighborhood unfolds. This unveiling makes it possible to

³ Gehman, Mary. *The Free People of Color of New Orleans an Introduction*. Margaret Media, Inc: New Orleans, 1994: 2

explore the transformation of the African-American community, and its political, economic, cultural, and social effects on the city of New Orleans.

New Orleans is a distinctive American city. Geographically situated in the Deep South, New Orleans presents itself as one of the United States most ethnically and culturally diverse cities. In 1698 the French government dispatched Canadians Pierre Le Moyne, and younger brother Jean Baptiste le Moyne to establish a permanent settlement in Louisiana. Because it was surrounded by the waters of the Mississippi River, Lake Pontchartrain and swamps, the French referred to New Orleans as the “Isle d’Orleans.” New Orleans was decreed a city by Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, French governor of Louisiana, in 1718. During the eighteenth century, New Orleans’ growth was slow and difficult. Even though the capital of Louisiana was moved from Biloxi to New Orleans in 1722, that same year a hurricane destroyed most of the buildings in the town. The earliest known complete plan of New Orleans was created after the hurricane, and is dated April 23, 1722. This plan shows the limits of the section of New Orleans now known as the Vieux Carré (Old Square or French Quarter).⁴ New Orleans was laid out by the French engineer, Adrien de Pauger, in a classic eighteenth-century symmetrical gridiron pattern, centered around a riverfront called the Place d’Armes (now Jackson Square). Behind the square the parish church, the Church of St. Louis was built. The church was also designed by Pauger in 1724 and completed in 1727. Soldiers, Canadians, Frenchmen African and African-American slaves built houses and public buildings. The new buildings were

⁴ Kemp, John R. *New Orleans an Illustrated History*. Windsor Publications: Woodland Hills, 1981: 25

constructed of framed timbers with clay and moss used as filler in between. These buildings were sheathed with wood clapboard. The first brick kiln was built in 1724. The kiln manufactured roof tiles for the church, government buildings, and all other major buildings in the city. The street names of early New Orleans reflected diplomatic connections. Bourbon, Orleans, Burgundy, and Royal Streets were named for the royal families of France. The streets named for the Conti, Chartes, and Conde families were cousins to the Bourbons and Orleans.

France controlled Louisiana until the end of the Seven Years War (1756-1763). The Treaty of Paris required that France cede to Britain, all of Canada and the territories between the Appalachians and the Mississippi (including West Florida and Louisiana north of Lake Pontchartrain). The rest of Louisiana, including New Orleans, was handed over to the Bourbons of Spain.⁵

New Orleans was more prosperous under the Spanish despite the cultural tensions between the Spanish and French. In fact the French population didn't even recognize Spanish rule until 1769, when the Spanish military arrived in force. The growth of New Orleans was due primarily to the American settlement in the Ohio River valley which sought trade outlets through the city.⁶ Much of the French architecture was destroyed in two great fires that occurred during the 30-year Spanish occupation of the city. Much of the French Quarter was rebuilt by the Spanish making much of the architecture reminiscent of that of Spanish colonial architecture.

⁵ <http://www.madere.com/history.html>

⁶ Lewis, Peirce. *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape*. University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, 2003: 41

The European period came to an end with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 with the sale of New Orleans to the United States. According to the 1810 census New Orleans was the largest city west of the Appalachians. It was the fifth largest city in the entire country being outranked only by New York City, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. The population tripled the first seven years after the Louisiana Purchase, and because of this rapid growth the French Quarter became overcrowded, and the boundaries of the city began to grow moving beyond the original Vieux Carré.⁷ The additions to the city were called *faubourgs*. Faubourg is a French term that means suburb. The faubourgs of New Orleans formed not only because of the overcrowding of the French Quarter, but also because the newcomers were not welcomed into the old Quarter. For example, most of the Americans chose to settle upstream from the French Quarter. Canal Street was named for the navigation canal that was planned along the boundary of the Vieux Carré and the new American settlement but never built. Canal Street became a wide boulevard, and the median was called “the neutral ground,” a geographical recognition of the armed truce between Creoles and Americans. The phrase is now part of standard Orleanian patois, and means the median strip of any boulevard.⁸ Downstream from the French Quarter was the land of Joseph Marigny which became Faubourg Marigny. This suburb was dominated by less affluent Creoles and new immigrants many of whom were Irish and German. Today,

⁷ Kemp, John R. *New Orleans an Illustrated History*. Windsor Publications: Woodland Hills, 1981.

⁸ Lewis, Peirce. *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape*. University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, 2003: 45

the faubourgs of New Orleans have transformed into neighborhoods, which are not self governing.

Faubourg Tremé (or as it is commonly referred, Tremé) is not only America's oldest black neighborhood, but was the site of significant economic, cultural, political, and legal events that have literally shaped the course of events in Black America for the past 200 years.⁹ The area to the Northeast of the French Quarter, prior to the subdivision of Claude Tremé's plantation and the plotting of Faubourg Tremé by Tanesse, was the setting for the communal activities that would define the area's public activity for the next two centuries. Although the neighborhood went through an attempted economic, political, and social restructuring during the reconstruction period and disinvestment in the early to mid 20th century it still houses many architectural sites that were built during the early settlement of this culturally significant neighborhood.

From its earliest settlement in the 1700's and its incorporation in 1812, free persons of color and men and women of bondage played an important role within the area we now call Tremé. Their involvement in the social, economic, architectural, agricultural, military and religious development, created the first self- sustaining African-American neighborhood in the antebellum South.

In 1730, Fort St. Ferdinand and Fort St. John were established in what is now Tremé as a result of the Natchez Indian massacre in 1729. The inhabitants at Fort

⁹ Fox, Kenneth and Lacho, Kenneth. *An Analysis of an Inner-city Neighborhood: Tremé-Past, Present, and Future*. University of New Orleans, 2005.

Rosalie (presently Natchez) were killed by the Natchez Indians in November. In 1729 outsiders present in the Natchez territory included 28 French soldiers, 200 male settlers, 80 French women, 150 French children, and 280 black slaves because there was money to be made by cultivating tobacco on the Natchez's loess-enriched soil. The Natchez Indians were outraged because of the growing population, and the morning of November 28, 1729, they killed 250 Frenchmen, while sparing most women, children, and black slaves. Because of the Natchez Massacre, the forts were built in an area that was then considered right on the cusp of the city. The French Quarter remained the legal extent of the city until the 19th century.¹⁰

In 1763 New Orleans was ceded to Spain, and the forts were neglected for nearly 20 years until 1793 when Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Baron de Chardonelet began repair the fort. But by 1803 when America took possession of New Orleans the forts were again in disrepair. The land was given great value in 1792 when Carondelet, began planning the creation of a canal that would connect Bayou St. John to the city. The Carondelet Canal, also referred to as the Old Basin Canal, was in operation from 1794 to 1938. A shallow, narrow version of the canal was completed but at that time it was barely navigable, littered with roots and Cypress stumps. The canal was widened and deepened and made suitable for small vessels over the next two years. Development followed along the waterway and Chevalier Charles de Morand constructed the city's first brickyard and plantation near the fort and canal, and by the mid 1780's, Claude Tremé had acquired most of the Morand estate. The

¹⁰ Kemp, John R. *New Orleans an Illustrated History*. Windsor Publications: Woodland Hills, 198: 39.

area received its name from Tremé, a model hat maker and real estate developer who migrated from Sauvigny in Burgundy, France, and settled in New Orleans in 1783. Tremé owned only a small portion of the area that bore his name.¹¹

Tremé was originally settled by free people of color, many of whom fled the island of San Domingue (now Haiti) during the Haitian Revolution. In 1804, for example, some 2,000 new residents moved to New Orleans from that embattled island. An 1806 newspaper notice from the *Louisiana Gazette* states, “Claude Tremé, planter, ...offers for sale his Plantation and the elegant boulé thereon, with a garden and orchard capable of yielding large revenue, the whole lot is agreeably situated... He will also sell either whole or in lots, the plan belonging to the plantation, which fronts the rear of the city...”¹² Another newspaper article from 1809 states:

“Sheriff’s sale: Claude Tremé and Narcesse Lavaux a free man of color. In the Superior Court; by the virtue of a writ of fieri facia to be directed, will be exposed for sale at the coffee house, on Wednesday the 12 day of July next, at one o’clock p.m. A lot of grounds, situate on the Bayou Road, on the left side of said road, having 90 feet front and 540 feet in depth, adjoining the lands of Claude Tremé. B. Cenas Sheriff.”¹³

Figure 1 and Figure 2 are newspaper clippings that describe Tremé’s real estate transactions with free people of color.

¹¹ <http://www.madere.com/history.html>

¹² *Louisiana Gazette*, June 19, 1806, p.3, c.2

¹³ *Louisiana Gazette*, June 9, 1809, p. 3, c. 2

NOTICE.

Claude Tremé, Planter,

Residing on the road to the Bayou St John, on the left hand going from the city; offers for sale his Plantation and the elegant boule thereon, with a garden and orchard capable of yielding a large revenue; the whole most agreeably situated and too well known to need any further description. He will also sell either in whole or in lots, the plain belonging to the plantation, which fronts the rear of the city, and about 15 fathoms and four feet distant from the same and in a direction parallel with it. The whole will be sold conformable to the proprietors title, the conditions of sale are, either for the whole, or by the lot, one third of the purchase money in cash, and the remainder on a reasonable terms.

Figure 1: *Louisiana Gazette*, June 19, 1806, p. 3, c. 2

Tremé,
vs.
Cecile Parice,
a free person of color.

} *In the Superior Court.*

Will be Sold,

At the Coffee-House, on Monday the 29th day of August, 1808, at one o'clock, P. M.

One Lot of Ground.

SITUATED on the Bayou road:—
said lot having 60 feet fronting the road and 120 in depth; with the buildings thereon, consisting of a *Dwelling House* in front of said lot, with a good *Kitchen*, *Pigeon House*, and other out-houses, &c.

Seized in execution in the above suit:

B. CENAS, Sheriff.

July 26.

Figure 2: *Louisiana Gazette*, July 26, 1808, p.3, c. 4

By 1810, Tremé had sold off all but about one-third of his land and by 1812 the land was subdivided for development by Jacques Tanesse, New Orleans city surveyor. This made Faubourg Tremé the second planned suburb. Faubourg Marigny was the first planned five years earlier. The survey stated, “Plan of the town and incorporated faubourgs of New Orleans comprising the Commons and property acquired by the Corporation from M. Claude Tremé, the said Commons divided into terrains and squares, *islets conjointment a l’arrêtides.*”¹⁴ The Commons and the land owned by Claude Tremé would become Faubourg Tremé. Tanesse left the site of Fort Ferdinand as an open space called “Place Publique” also often called “Circus Square”, because it was the site of the circus when it came to town.

The settler’s numbers split fairly evenly into white citizens, free black citizens, and slaves. The cultured, aristocratic, and proudly clannish *gens de couleur libres* formed their own elite society, comprising fine craftsmen, musicians, artists and men of property for example the *gens de couler libres* opened the earliest African-American school was in 1813. New Orleans’ pattern of race relations was “typified by an intermediary or mixed race with a social value somewhere between Whites and Blacks...Records identified free people of color using the designation *negre libre, gens de couleur libre, femme de couleur libre, and home de couler*. Blacks were further distinguished with the use of arbitrary color designations such as; *brique, marbon, griffe, octarona, quarteroon, mulatto, Moreno, pardo, and negre.*”¹⁵ An

¹⁴ Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano. *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*. Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980: 17

¹⁵ Cruther, Michael. *Protecting Place in African-American Neighborhoods: Urban Public*

octoroon (ocarina) was person of 1/8th African descent. A *quadroon (qurteroon)* was a person of 3/4th Caucasian descent and 1/4th African descent. A *mulatto* was a person born to two 1/2 African and 1/2 Caucasian parents, anyone 3/4th African and 1/4th Caucasian, or 1/4th African and 3/4th Caucasian. The Haitian descendants excelled as teachers, writers, and doctors, by the mid 1830's free blacks owned \$2.5 million in property with most of its African-American property owners residing in Tremé. Tremé is known as North America's oldest African American neighborhood due largely to the property ownership mentioned above. It is significant as one of the first communities in the United States to openly house "free people of color." Tremé residents initiated a self-sustaining system of infrastructure, creating businesses, schools, churches, and forms of social aid. It can be said that the culture of the Creole people and the "free persons of color" is rooted deeply in Tremé. According to the Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, Tremé is now bounded by Esplanade Ave. on the northeast, N. Rampart St. on the east, St. Louis St. on the southwest, and N. Broad St. on the west, but these boundaries have changed thorough out time. The original boundaries were North Rampart Street to North Broad Street south to north and Canal Street to St. Bernard Avenue west to east. The boundary change of Tremé is further explored in chapter two.



Figure 3: Boundaries of Tremé in 2006 <http://www.gnocdc.org/>



Figure 4: From the Louisiana Notarial Archives 1845 map

From the beginning Tremé has been the home of many African-American landmarks. Important for more than just their architectural significance, these landmarks have been the site of much of the neighborhood's physical, social, and economic outgrowth. These include cemeteries, educational facilities, markets, churches, and other black owned and/or operated facilities. La Compagnie des Architectes de Huitième, a Creole

contracting company, sold many lots in the vicinity of the Carondelet Canal and also constructed many Creole cottages. St. Louis Cemeteries No. 1 and No. 2, Perseverance Hall, Our Lady of Guadeloupe Mortuary Chapel, Parish Prison, and the Tremé Market were major landmarks erected in Tremé during the 1820s and 1830s.¹⁶ As seen in the newspaper clippings above, Claude Tremé sold many of his lots to free men of color along Bayou Rd. Along St. Claude St. and Bayou Rd. there is the unique architecture of the Creole cottages, many deriving from the Haitian Caille, a rural house type.

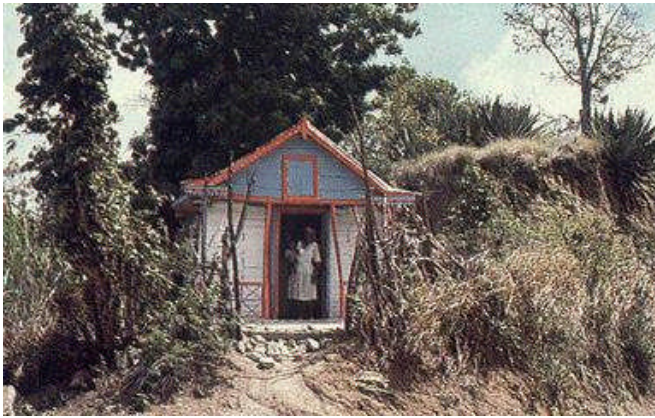


Figure 5: Rural House, type north of Jacmel, Haiti

The Creole cottage was so popular during the mid-nineteenth century they were featured in books with specifications on how to build popular house types.¹⁷ These cottages were homes to many well-to-do free black planters, and although derived from a rural Haitian house type, had many European decorations and

¹⁶ Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano. *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*. Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980:63

¹⁷ Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano. *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*. Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980: 113

ornament. They represented to assimilation of the Haitian immigrant to the Creole businessman or artisan what was a resident of Tremé.

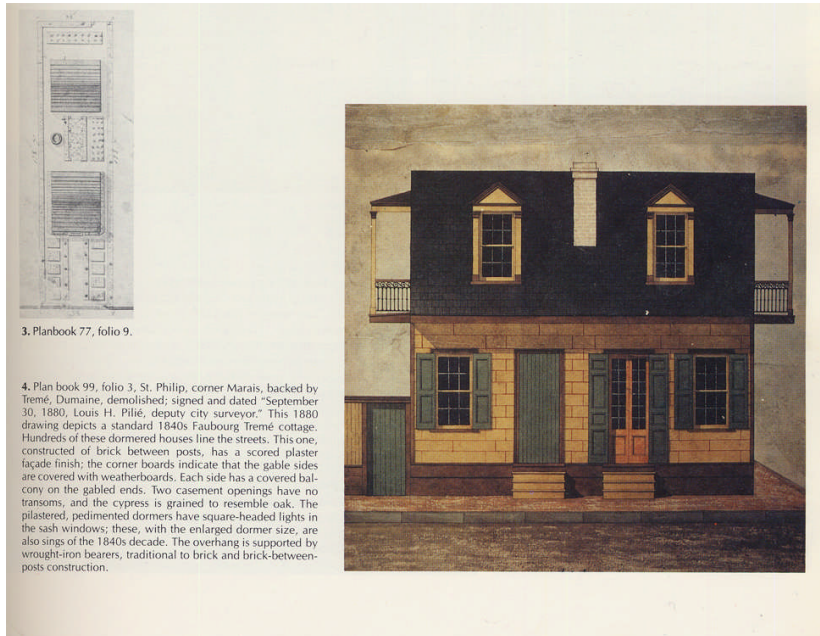


Figure 6: Illustration of Creole Cottage from a 19th century plan book. Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* Pelican. Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980: 113



Figure 7: Creole Cottage 1838 from the New Orleans Notarial Archives

Much of the artistry of both free men of color and men of bondage are seen in the St. Louis Cemeteries No. 1 and No. 2. Their wrought iron skill and artistry were

used to decorate the crucifixes, and the stone of the tombs were sculpted by African-American artisans. St. Louis Cemetery No. 2 is an addition to St. Louis Cemetery No., 1 which was opened in 1789, replacing the city's older St. Peter Cemetery (no longer in existence) as the main burial ground with a redesign of the city after a fire in 1788.



Figure 8: St. Louis Cemetery No. 1
Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano. *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI
Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* Pelican. Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980:58

St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 is eight blocks from the Mississippi River, on the north side of Rampart Street. The south side of Rampart Street is the northern border of the French Quarter. St. Louis Cemetery No. 2 is located some three blocks from St. Louis No.1 traveling up St. Louis St., bordering Claiborne Avenue. It stretches from Custom House St. to St. Louis St. It was consecrated in 1823.



Figure 9: St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 looking towards Conti St. 1901
<http://nutrias.org/photos/williams/williams24.htm>



Figure 10: Wrought iron to decorate balconies, fences, gates and tombs was commonly fashioned by slaves and free people of color who brought metallurgic science with them from Africa.
St. Louis Cemetery No. 2
Gehman, Mary. *The Free People of Color of New Orleans an Introduction*.
Margaret Media, Inc: New Orleans, 1994: 34

There are also many notable citizens of 19th-and 20th- century New Orleans laid to rest here. Entombed in St. Louis Cemetery No. 2 is Dominique You, a notorious pirate who assisted in the defense of the city against the British in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. The tomb of Blessed Mother Henriette DeLille, who is a candidate for sainthood by the Catholic Church, is also in this cemetery.¹⁸ Artistry and crafts made by African-Americans were displayed on more than its architecture and cemetery art.

¹⁸ <http://cml.upenn.edu/nola/>

They were sold to blacks and whites in the markets of the city. Many enslaved Africans were able to sell their goods and services in these markets.¹⁹ Markets became the center point for freed people of color and people of bondage to sell their goods for profit.

“While most city slaves were domestic servants, there were also many who were highly skilled.... Many of the city slaves worked as draymen, porters, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, painters, plasterers, tanners, coopers, wheelwrights, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, millers, bakers, and barbers.... In 1850 an overwhelming majority of the free Negro men in New Orleans worked as carpenters, masons, cigar makers, shoemakers, clerks, mechanics, coopers, barbers, draymen, painters, blacksmiths, butchers, cabinetmakers, cooks, stewards, and upholsters. ...the 1,792 free Negro males listed in the 1850 census were engaged in fifty-four different occupations; only 9.9 percent of them were unskilled laborers. Some of them even held jobs as architects, bookbinders, brokers, engineers, doctors, jewelers, merchants, and musicians”

The Tremé Market is on the neutral ground of Orleans St. between Marias and North Villere Sts. The market began in 1836. Street car tracks run along Orleans through the middle of the market.

¹⁹ Blassingame, John W. *Black New Orleans 1860-1880*
University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1973: 2, 10

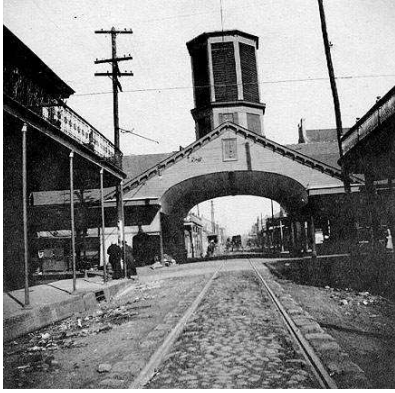


Figure 11: Tremé Market 1931

<http://www.gnocdc.org/IMAGES-nbhd/iberville-Tremé/market-t.jpg>

The Tremé Market was the fourth largest public market in the city, built at a total cost of \$27,000. It was a place where the residents of Tremé would go to buy and sell goods or just go to find out the latest gossip. The Tremé Market and Rocheblave Market were two of several public farmers markets that were the backbone of the city's economy from their beginning through the Civil War. They functioned in Faubourg Tremé from 1841 to 1932. The Tremé market was built in the 1830s and existed until 1932 when it was demolished to build the Municipal Auditorium. This is further discussed in chapter two.



Figure 12: From the Louisiana Notarial Archives 1845 map

The Tremé and Rocheblave markets were places where merchants of all races came not only to buy and sell their goods, but also to congregate. However, Congo

Square is one of New Orleans most venerated places because of its use by enslaved African-Americans. It is historically important because it was one of few public places where the enslaved were able to legally gather either for religious purposes, musical ceremonies, or other events. Initially known as the *Place de Negroes*, the first reference to gatherings here was in 1729. This square is where eclectic events brought together a diversity of elements from the city's enslaved and free black residents. As one observer of the New Orleans site stated "the square takes its name, as is well known, from the Congo Negroes who used to perform their dances on its yard every Sunday."²⁰ By the mid 18th century, many enslaved Africans as well as free people of color gathered here to engage in what was thought to be voodoo rites by white observers. An excerpt from the 1822 city directory characterized the square as "the place where the Congo and other Negroes dance, carouse and debauch on the Sabbath."



Figure 13: The Dance in Place Congo, from *Century Magazine* 31:4 (February 1886)
Walker, Daniel E. *No More No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans*.
University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2004: 101

²⁰ Walker, Daniel E. *No More No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2004: 44

In 1806 article five of the Code Noir, stipulated that “slaves must be free to enjoy Sundays, or they were to be paid fifty cents a day if they worked”.²¹ The first *Code Noir*, or Black Code, was enacted in 1724, which formally restricted the rights of the slaves (Appendix A). Congo Square became the legalized site where dancing and singing was designated for the free people of color and the enslaved population. In 1817 the New Orleans City Council mandated that slaves could gather only on Sunday afternoons at *Place Publique* and only under police supervision.²² Famous architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, designer of the United States Capitol building, happened upon a gathering of 500 to 600 African-Americans at Circus Place in 1819:

“They were formed into circular groups, in the midst of four of each group were two women dancers. They each held a coarse handkerchief extended by the corners in their hands, and danced in a miserably dull and slow figure, hardly moving their feet or bodies. The music consisted of two drums and stringed instrument which no doubt was imported from Africa. On top of the finger board was the rude figure of a man in sitting posture and two pegs behind him, to which strings were fastened. The body was a calabash. It was played upon by a very little old man, apparently eighty or ninety years old... A man sung an uncouth song to the dancing, which I suppose was in some

²¹ Castellanos, Henry C. *New Orleans as it was: Episodes of Louisiana Life*. Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1978: 157

²² Ibid

African language, for it was not French, and the women screamed a detestable burthen on a single note.”²³



Figure 14: Early sketch of Congo Square in the late 1700's
Walker, Daniel E. *No More No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2004: 102

The 1822 city directory describes the activities among African-Americans in “Place Publique”, “it is not considered good policy to abolish the practice (that is the dancing and singing in Congo Square) entirely, surely they could be ordered to assemble at some place more distant.” In the same year the area was officially named Congo Square. Some whites, slave owners included, felt Congo Square was useful in relieving the tensions of slavery. Many whites, however, perceived the activities of Congo Square as pagan, and a cover-up for voodoo ritual. The activities in Congo Square were restrained and in April of 1845 a petition was presented before the First Municipal Council requesting that the ancient privilege of dancing in Congo Square be restored to African-Americans. The Municipal Council stated “from May 1 to August

²³ Cangelosi Robert J. *Which Way Tremé? An architectural exit project*. Louisiana State University, Dept. of Architecture, 1975

31 each year, slaves, with written consent from their owners, could gather in Congo Square on Sundays from 4 to 6 p.m. The dancing must not be offensive to public decency and eight policemen must be present”.²⁴ In 1850 the activities in Congo Square began to wane due to the increase of ordinances, and by 1860 Congo Square ceased much of its Sunday public slave activities. It still hosted circuses, music festivals and other activities, but in 1862 after the Civil War it was renamed Beaugard Square to honor confederate General P.T Beaugard.²⁵ The Square was the place of resistance in the African-American community in 1864, when the “Holy Name of Jesus”, a radical black Catholic church marched to Congo Square to mourn the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln.²⁶ Many gathering places like Congo Square and Tremé and Rocheblave markets were places that Blacks both free and enslaved were able to gather to discuss the ills of the Southern slave society.

Tremé provided black Creoles with some level of security, but their ability to hold political office or be a part of governing decisions was obsolete. One of the ways Black Creoles gained political and social leadership in Tremé was by creating their own religious and educational institutions. In 1834, Jeanne Marie Aliquot purchased the former home and property of Claude Tremé from the city of New Orleans. Here they built in the first Catholic elementary school for free girls of color and a few slaves in the United States. In 1836 the Ursulines bought the school (it was suffering

²⁴ Johnson, J. *New Orleans Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture Formation*. Louisiana History v. 32 n. 2 pp. 117-157: 127

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Cruther, Michael. *Protecting Place in African-American Neighborhoods: Urban Public Space, Privatization, and Protest in Louis Armstrong Park and the Tremé, New Orleans*. Louisiana State University 2001: 60

from financial instability) and the lot on the corner of St. Claude and Bayou road for \$10,000.²⁷

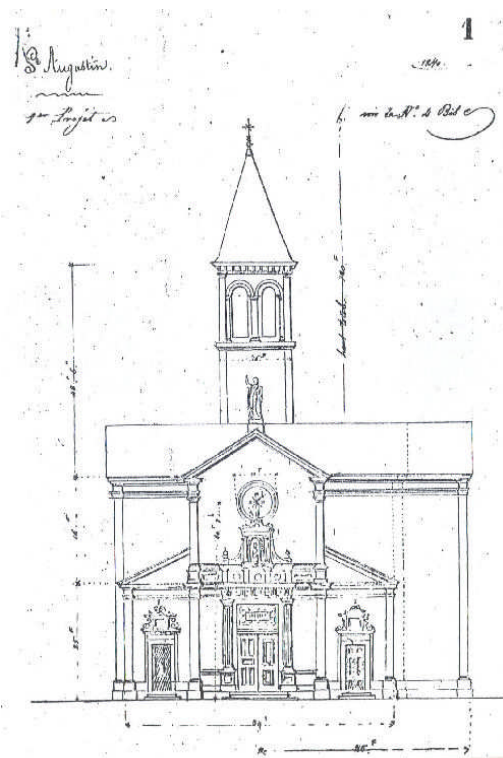


Figure 15: Architect, J. N. B. dePouille's, design drawing of St. Augustine, circa 1840. From the New Orleans Notarial Archives.

The site was subsequently used as a depository for cobblestones that ships carried as ballast and was used for street paving. Because of the growing population of Faubourg Tremé, Bishop Blanc regarded this site as an ideal location for a new church. The Ursulines give the property to the diocese with the request that the church be dedicated to St. Augustine. With a budget of \$25,000 the church was begun in Nov. of 1841 and was completed less than a year later in Sept. of 1842. On October 9, 1842 Bishop Antoine Blanc blessed, consecrated, and dedicated St. Augustine Catholic Church. On November 21, 1842 Henriette DeLille and Juliette Gaudin knelt before the

²⁷ <http://staugustinecatholicchurch-neworleans.org/arch-bldg.htm>

altar in St. Augustine Church, committing them to living in community. They founded the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family, the second-oldest congregation of African-American religious women.²⁸ Haitian-American Mother Mary Lange founded the first congregation of African-American religious women, The Oblate Sisters of Providence, in 1829 in Baltimore, Maryland.²⁹

This was stated in an issue of *Norman's New Orleans and Environs* 1845:

“This structure, erected in 1841, stands on St. Claude Street, corner of Bayou... The architect, Mr. dePouille, has displayed an excellent taste in its construction. The style is of a mixed order but extremely neat. Take this church, altogether it is one of the neatest houses of devotion in this city.” St. Augustine’s congregation consisted of Creoles of French and Spanish ancestry and French immigrants. Free people of color made up the majority of the congregation and there were a few pews for the enslaved population. Thomas L. Nichols stated, “Never have I seen such a mixture of conditions and colours....White children and black, with every shade between, knelt side by side. In the house of prayer they made no distinction of rank or colour.”³⁰

This sentiment and the article in *Norman's New Orleans and Environs*, reveal the unique racial and cultural boundaries that many institutions in Tremé blurred due to its diverse history and residential makeup.

²⁸ <http://staugustinecatholicchurch-neworleans.org/arch-bldg.htm>

²⁹ http://www.dioceseoflansing.org/bishop/bishopletters/08_18_06.html

³⁰ Blassingame, John *Black New Orleans 1860-1880*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1973: 16



Figure 16: St. Augustine's Catholic Church
The photograph is from 2005, and the drawing is ca. 1840.
<http://staugustinecatholicchurch-neworleans.org/arch-bldg.htm>

While the Catholic faith and French language were important unifying forces of black Creoles the church's segregationist practices forced many Creoles to find solace in "traditional French anti-clerical" outlets such as Masonic orders.³¹ The Masonic presence of the nineteenth century in Tremé is represented by *La Loge Persévérance, numéro Quarto*. Perseverance Lodge No. 4, formerly of 901 St. Claude (presently in Armstrong Park), was organized in 1806 in Jérémy, St. Domingue, under a charter issued by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. In 1808 the Lodge established itself in New Orleans, with membership chiefly comprised of refugees from St. Domingue and Cuba. Perseverance Hall was a neighborhood civic center and popular dance hall where many jazz bands performed.³²

³¹ Cruther, Michael. *Protecting Place in African-American Neighborhoods: Urban Public Space, Privatization, and Protest in Louis Armstrong Park and the Tremé, New Orleans*. Louisiana State University 2001: 57

³² Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*. Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980: 65



Figure 17: Perseverance Masonic Hall #4 in 1974 in Armstrong Park
Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI
Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*. Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980: 69.

In addition to being Masons, African-Americans in Tremé created their own social and benevolent organizations. The oldest of these were the Society of Artisans and the Economy Society both chartered in 1834. The Economy Society was organized by upper class professional Black Creoles. Economy Hall and St. Augustine church were probably the most important buildings in Tremé. In 1863 a meeting was held in Economy Hall where the unionist Union Association, lead by Thomas J. Durant, advocated Black suffrage for free Blacks. Post Civil War they possessed more property than any Black society. The Economy Society organized the Economy Hotel Joint Stock Company³³, one of New Orleans' most sound joint stock

³³ A joint stock company is a type of business partnership in which the capital is formed by the individual contributions of a group of shareholders. Certificates of ownership or stocks are issued by the company in return for each contribution, and the shareholders are free to transfer their ownership interest at any time by selling their stockholding to others.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint_stock_company

companies during that time.³⁴ Economy Hall, once located at 1422 Ursuline St., was also well known for its association with the early years of New Orleans Jazz, hosting well known artist such as Louis Armstrong. It was demolished by the city in the 1960s, and now, ironically, a portion of Louis Armstrong Park is on the site of were Economy Hall once sat.

After the Civil War, Tremé saw a rise in social aide organizations and pleasure clubs. These organizations led to a whole new genre of cultural activities related to the now totally free African-American community. One of the earliest such organizations was the New Orleans Freedmen’s Aid Association, founded in 1865 at the end of the Civil War to provide loans and education to newly freed slaves. These organizations began hosting parades as neighborhood celebrations to advertise their services and to honor members who had died. These parades are now known as second-line parading.³⁵ This tradition occurs in New Orleans’ Black communities as an activity associated with various social and civic events. Most commonly found at “jazz funerals”, the second-line refers to the people who follow the procession, not the first-line who are the people affiliated with the “parading society”. Tremé is not the only Black community with a tradition of second-line parading, but the neighborhood is known for having one of the city’s highest concentrations of this tradition.

³⁴ Blassingame, John W. *Black New Orleans 1860-1880*
University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1973: 72, 147

³⁵ <http://www.frenchquarter.com/history/SecondLine.php>



Figure 18: An example of second-line parading
Walker, Daniel E. *No More No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2004: 106

There are many other architectural sites of Tremé that have contributed to its physical and social history. The sites discussed include the homes of resistance, social and political change, in an era where African-American civil liberties were non-existent. However, Tremé was also the home of the legalized red-light district in New Orleans. Storyville, named after Sidney Story an alderman who conceived the idea to concentrate New Orleans prostitution to one area, was the home of “octoroon”, “quadroon”, and “mulatto” prostitutes. In 1898, the boundaries of the red-light district were created. Storyville was bounded by N. Basin Street on the north, Robertson Street on the south, Iberville Street on the east, and St. Louis Street on the west.

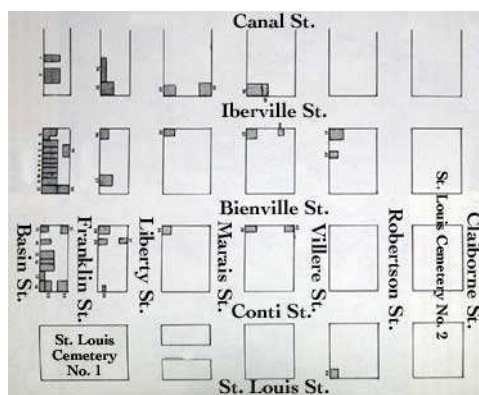


Figure 19: Map of Storyville
Rose, Al. *Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red-Light District*. University of Alabama Press: Birmingham, 1974.

Since prostitution was a common occupation in New Orleans during this time, establishing boundaries was an attempt to commercialize, contain, and control the sex trade. Councilman Sidney Story promoted legislation to limit “not celebrate” prostitution. The District’s side entertainment venues consisted largely of jazz clubs, and became known to some as the place where jazz flourished because many of the early jazz musicians prospered there. The prostitution cribs³⁶ and bordellos of the District are significant, because in a time of segregation, “Storyville promoted the most intimate racial mixing: the district openly advertised ‘colored’ and ‘octoroon’ prostitutes.”³⁷



Figure 20: Storyville Cribs. A two-bay Creole cottage and a two-bay shotgun.
Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano. *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI
Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980:72

³⁶ The crib system was a system in which each prostitute lived in a single room or one-room shack that were often built in a line. http://www.outlawwomen.com/working_girls_of_the_american_west.htm

³⁷ Landau, Emily E. “*Spectacular Wickedness*”: *New Orleans, Prostitution, and the Politics of Sex, 1897 -1917.* Dissertation Yale University Doctor of Philosophy 2005: 15

Between 1895 and 1915, *Blue Books* were published in Storyville. These books were guides to prostitution for visitors to the District's services including house descriptions, prices, particular services, and the "stock" each house had to offer. The Storyville blue-books were inscribed with the motto: "Order of the Garter: Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense (Evil to Him Who Evil Thinks.)"³⁸

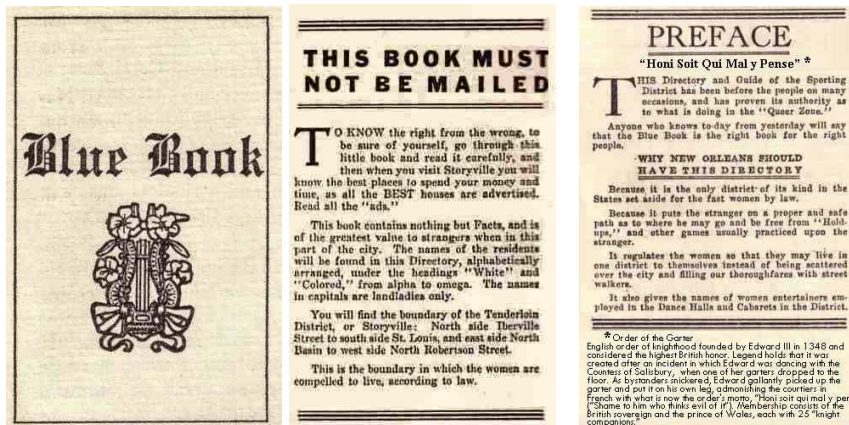


Figure 21: The cover page of a *Blue Book* as well as details from the front page. <http://www.angelpig.com/storyville/madams.html>

In 1912 five years before Storyville was officially shut down, photographer E. J. Bellocq made a series of photos depicting the life of the Storyville prostitutes. Bellocq was born into a wealthy white Creole family in the French Quarter of New Orleans. He became known locally as an amateur photographer before becoming a professional, making his living mostly by taking photographic records of landmarks and of ships and machinery for local companies. However, he also took personal photographs of the hidden side of local life, notably the opium dens in Chinatown and

³⁸ Rose, Al *Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red-Light District*. University of Alabama Press: Birmingham, 1974: 23.

the prostitutes of Storyville.³⁹ His photographs showcased the lives of both high and low end prostitutes. The lower end prostitutes resided in homes similar to the “Storyville cribs”, while the madams resided in more expensive houses. There was a row of these elegant mansions existed along Basin Street. Bellocq’s photographs were not discovered until the 1970’s. After his death, most of his negatives and prints were destroyed by his brother, a priest. The Storyville negatives were later found concealed in a sofa. In 1971, selections of his photographs were published in a book entitled *Storyville Portraits*, by Lee Friedlander.⁴⁰

Storyville was finally closed, as a red-light district in 1917, when Woodrow Wilson’s Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, demanded that Storyville be shut down as a “war measure for the protection of sailors”.⁴¹ The district represented an area where racial boundaries were blurred; however, during this time racial tension was high in the United States. Homer Plessey, who triggered the famous Plessey vs. Ferguson 1892-1896, was a parishioner of St. Augustine Church. Homer Adolph Plessey was a thirty-year old shoemaker from New Orleans. He was considered an octoroon (he had an African American great-grandmother) but he and his entire family “passed” as White. However, the State of Louisiana considered him Black. Plessey was asked by the Citizen’s Committee (a New Orleans political group composed of African Americans and Creoles) to help them challenge the newly enacted Separate Car Act, a Louisiana law that separated Blacks from Whites in railroad cars. The

³⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E._J._Bellocq

⁴⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E._J._Bellocq

⁴¹ Lewis, Peirce. *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape* University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, 2003: 132.

penalty for sitting in the wrong car was either 20 days in jail or a \$25 fine. He agreed, and purchased a first-class ticket on the train to Covington, Louisiana. Plessy informed the conductor that he was 1/8 Black and that he was refusing to move from the “whites only” rail car to the “colored” car. The conductor called the police and had him arrested immediately.

The Citizen’s Committee had already retained a New York attorney, Albion W. Tourgee, who worked on civil rights cases for African Americans before. Plessy’s case went to trial a month after his arrest and Tourgee argued that his civil rights under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments were violated. While Judge John Ferguson once ruled against separate cars for interstate railroad travel, he ruled against Plessy because he believed that the state had a right to establish segregation policies within its own boundaries. Tourgee took the case to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which upheld Ferguson’s decision.⁴² The decision expanded the “separate but equal” laws to pervade many aspects of daily life. This was the beginning of “Jim Crow” laws and segregation became an institution.

Faubourg Tremé represented a mixed-cultural and racial background, and groundbreaking achievements that involved both the free and enslaved society. Tremé has a history that breaks the mold of most southern African-American communities. It was a self-sustained community that bred much of New Orleans’s African-American political leadership. The African-American builders of the Tremé community were able to accommodate the demands of a racist and segregated society while keeping much of the neighborhood’s heritage alive. Because of its rich and deep-rooted history,

⁴² <http://www.gibbsmagazine.com/Plessy.htm> All of the information on the Plessy vs. Ferguson case comes from this website.

Tremé was able to survive the Civil War and reconstruction without losing much of its heritage. However, beginning in the 1930s Tremé became of interest to the city government, and because of efforts to use Tremé as a service area for downtown New Orleans and the French Quarter the neighborhood went through economic, political, and social restructuring.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE EFFECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL INITIATIVES IN FAUBOURG TREMÉ

By the 1930s and 1940s Tremé began its transformation from a prosperous historic African-American community to one full of blight and disinvestment. Through a series of urban renewal⁴³ projects implemented by the government, the neighborhood virtually disintegrated both physically and socially. The historical review in chapter one revealed Tremé's rich cultural history. This chapter uncovers how this history was not valued by the local government. This devaluation of the neighborhood caused local officials to begin to view the faubourg as an area that could service the growing French Quarter and downtown area. The government began to implement projects in the neighborhood, without community support. This was a period when city officials and local government focused on ways to bring economic viability back to the center city. For New Orleans this economic resurgence would come from tourism. This chapter examines how tourism from the French Quarter and downtown negatively affected Tremé because of its use as a "service" area and not for its architectural and cultural value. There is further exploration of how the urban renewal projects initiated to service the tourist districts displaced massive amounts of residents and in return caused rapid disinvestment. The question of if the displacement of low income residents in Tremé was a result of gentrification is also

⁴³ According to the Encyclopedia Britannica urban renewal is a comprehensive scheme to redress a complex of urban problems, including unsanitary, deficient, or obsolete housing; inadequate transportation, sanitation, and other services and facilities; haphazard land use; traffic congestion; and the sociological correlates of urban decay, such as crime. Early efforts usually focused on housing reform and sanitary and public-health measures, followed by growing emphasis on slum clearance and the relocation of population and industry from congested areas to less-crowded sites. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9074445/urban-renewal>

addressed, by comparing the blatant gentrification of Harlem New York, to the assumed gentrification of Tremé.

The French Quarter began its transformation into a commercialized tourist district in 1936, with the authorization of the “Vieux Carré Commission”, when the city decided to reinvest and preserve the historic fabric of the historic neighborhood. The commission had the power to regulate architecture through control of building permits. WPA money was also used to rehabilitate five buildings flanking the Jackson Square. As a result large numbers of tourist began to flock to the French Quarter, and it became evident that rehabilitation could be used as an economic source. Land values rose, and rehabilitation of the Old Square increasingly became privately financed.⁴⁴ Residential rents became increasingly too expensive for the common layman to live in the neighborhood. Not only did the surrounding neighborhoods of Faubourg Tremé and Marigny receive the influx of the white Creole population fleeing the Vieux Carré, but these neighborhoods were also looked at as places of investment. Instead of exploiting its rich cultural and architectural heritage, as seen in the French Quarter, Tremé was viewed as a place to service the needs of the Quarter. These services included a series of urban renewal projects and a major transportation project.

The United States Housing Act of 1937 was passed to provide housing to prevent the widespread homelessness caused by the Great Depression. The Housing Act was to work with local housing officials to construct these housing projects. At the inception Congress expressed two main goals. First, federal legislators sought to

⁴⁴ Lewis, Peirce. *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape*
University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, 2003: 133.

enable low income families to live productive lives by removing them from the slums. Second, by removing them from these areas, wholesome and productive lives would be fostered, which would allow them to enter the housing market on their own.⁴⁵

In 1940 the remains of Storyville were demolished for the Iberville Housing Project to be built as a part of the New Deal “slum clearance”. This “undesirable” neighborhood was demolished and replaced by buildings where low-income families could find well-built inexpensive housing. New Orleans was among the first American cities to build large-scale public housing for its low-income residents, with the Iberville Housing project being one of the first.

The Iberville Housing Projects were the third of six housing developments in New Orleans built with funding from the Housing Act of 1937. In all, 73 two- and three-story dwelling units were constructed, with 858 apartments. The complex also included spacious courtyards. In 1941, the Lafitte 896-unit housing development was completed. Lafitte was to house African-American tenants while the nearby Iberville development accommodated Caucasian tenants. The St. Thomas housing Projects and Desire Housing Projects were also completed during the mid to late 1940s.

The New Orleans housing authority evicted over 800 African-American families to build the Iberville complex. The cumulative effect of these changes made the Tremé neighborhood less attractive and by 1949, many of the large homes along Esplanade Avenue had been sold and converted to multi-family rental units. What was originally a prosperous neighborhood had become a predominantly low-rent

⁴⁵ Mahoney, Martha. “Law and Racial Geography: Public Housing and the Economy in New Orleans” *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 42, No. 5. (May, 1990), pp. 1251-1290: 1251

neighborhood. The projects became places that concentrated the poorest of the poor, ill educated, and often unemployed. Some houses could not be rented at all, and property was abandoned and the neighborhood became blighted.⁴⁶ By the 1960s the housing projects were desegregated by the courts. The Civil Rights Act removed racial deed restrictions on housing, but redlining⁴⁷ continued. This meant that real estate agents continued to steer ethnic minorities to certain areas. By this time the New Orleans Housing Authority built almost a dozen major projects. Desegregation caused “white flight” with Caucasian families moving from the housing projects to other neighborhoods and an influx of African-American families moving in.



Figure 22: Iberville Projects – 2003
<http://www.storyville-district.com/index.html>

New Orleans continued to follow the trend of implementing urban renewal projects in poorer neighborhoods to foster economic growth in the center of the city, envisioned as a way to redevelop residential slums and blighted commercial areas. The planning for a cultural center to be built in Tremé began in the 1920s, and the first

⁴⁶ <http://www.gnocdc.org/orleans/4/42/snapshot.html>

⁴⁷ Redlining is the practice of denying or increasing the cost of services, such as banking, insurance, access to jobs, access to health care, or even supermarkets to residents in certain, often racially determined, areas. <http://www.core.ucl.ac.be/services/psfiles/dp99/dp9913.pdf>

physical manifestation appeared with the completion of the Municipal Auditorium in 1930. The construction of the Municipal Auditorium called for the demolition of the original Tremé Market. Lack of funds in the 1930s and 40s forestalled any further discussion of a complex until the 1960s.



Figure 23: 1939 Post Card of the Municipal Auditorium
www.nutrias.org

Beginning in 1961 Tremé was the home of one of the largest urban renewal plans that the city has seen. Under the administration of Mayor Victor Schiro, the plan for the cultural complex was completed and was comprised of two main structures: a performance hall and the New Orleans Center for the Performing Arts. In anticipation of the cultural center project, several residential blocks in Tremé were demolished in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The original plan discussed by the City Planning Commission included an opera house, concert hall, museum, theater, and exhibition hall and parking garage. The first phase, including property acquisition, off-site improvements, renovation and air conditioning of the auditorium and construction of the parking garage was to be an estimated \$12 million. The money would come from a local urban renewal agency, the

Housing and Home Financing Agency. The city was unable to participate in urban renewal grants where private property was confiscated, but through eminent domain the municipality could expropriate property for public use. This justified the use of urban renewal funds for slum clearance whether the eventual use of the land was public or private. Limited finances necessitated alterations in the plan for the cultural complex and most of the projects were not built, however funding did allow for construction of the Mahalia Jackson Theatre of the Performing Arts near the Municipal Auditorium.⁴⁸

The city spent approximately \$1.5 million to buy land in the auditorium area for the proposed site of the cultural complex. The architectural firm of Mathes, Bergman and Associates was commissioned to prepare the site plans. In the 1961 Public Building Report of the City Planning Commission, the following were recommended to be included in the proposed Cultural Center:

- The existing Municipal Auditorium: alterations and air conditioning, \$850,000;
- An opera house: seating 4,000; 270,000 square feet, \$2 million;
- A concert hall: seating 2,500; 125,000 square feet, \$1 million;
- A legitimate theater: seating 500 – 600; 30,000 square feet, \$420,000;
- A museum for contemporary and New Orleans art: 75,000 square feet, \$1,875,000;
- A community facilities building: 10,000 square feet; \$200,000;
- Parking for 2,000 cars: \$2,400,000;
- Outdoor areas for exhibits, musical presentations and carnival ceremonies: 3 acres, \$400,000;
- Possible Civil Defense shelter beneath Beauregard Square;
- High rise-apartment units, middle and high income (encourage private construction);
- Restaurants, lounges and shops;

⁴⁸ Cruther, Michael. *Protecting Place in African-American Neighborhoods: Urban Public Space, Privatization, and Protest in Louis Armstrong Park and the Tremé, New Orleans*. Dissertation Louisiana State University 2001: 34-35

- Landscaping, \$200,000;
- Schools, churches, playgrounds and green area will be provided
- Architectural fees, \$643,460.⁴⁹

The report was certified by August Perez, City Planning Commission Chairman, on April 11, 1961.

In 1970 the cultural complex grew with the completion of the Louis Armstrong Park because the urban renewal project left a considerable amount of vacant land in central Tremé. In effort to remedy this situation Mayor Moon Landrieu created Louis Armstrong Park to commemorate the recently deceased jazz musician. Congo Square is now encompassed inside Louis Armstrong Park. The park covers twelve city blocks of Tremé. Because of this and the creation of the cultural center, 410 families were displaced⁵⁰, and two historic jazz sites, Economy Hall and the Gypsy Tea Room, were leveled as well. The home of famous black poet Rodolphe Desdunes was also demolished. “Archival drawings, auction notices, building contracts, and old photographs indicate that more brick structures and historic buildings of quantity were demolished by this urban renewal project than remain on any similar number of squares”⁵¹ in the areas outside of Faubourg Tremé, beyond N. Rampart. The Tremé Community Improvement Association, formed in 1969 to fight further displacement and advocate against further demolition of the neighborhood, was responsible for finding housing for the displaced families. TCIA also negotiated that half of the

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Ibid, 23

⁵¹ Christovich, Mary Louise and Roulhac, Toledano *New Orleans Architecture Volume VI Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*. Pelican Publishing Company: Gretna, 1980: 66

cultural center jobs be reserved for occupants of Tremé. The relocation policies were confusing to the affected parties, tenants and landlords. The city government first notified the tenant by leaflets or notices, informing them of their intention to make use of the site for a Cultural Center Project.⁵² The tenants were told that they would receive more information from booklets, explaining both residential and business processes. The information packets were finally mailed, but at least 70% of the citizens did not receive them. Those who did could not understand the complex procedures. A relocation office was established in the area with its function to help the displaced find suitable housing according to their income, family size, site preference, and place of work, but was not utilized by residents and many moved out without receiving relocation funds or assistance.

The property owners also felt victimized and ill-informed of the project. Landlords, almost all absentee, were notified of the city's plan after the tenants. Although demolition was not imminent, the tenants, confused and distrusting, moved out almost immediately. At least a year elapsed before the City got appraisals on each property and began to reach a deal with the owners on price of the area that was to be redeveloped. The City had to wait a considerable time until necessary purchase funds were received from the Federal Government and a little more than a year later the houses were finally torn down. In the meantime, the landlords received no rent, and were expected to meet mortgage payments. They also had to "contend with transients and indigents who moved in and out of the property at will. Owners agreed the purchase price was fair, but they suffered from inconvenience and necessity of hiring

⁵² Ibid

lawyers.”⁵³ The Morris Municipal Auditorium, Mahalia Jackson Theatre of Performing Arts, and the Louis Armstrong Park all comprise the New Orleans Cultural Center, and are all in Faubourg Tremé.

In the second half of the 20th century, transportation projects often resulted in the acceleration of urban sprawl, the spread of the central city population to suburbs at the fringe of the urban area. Tremé again lost valuable land in the late 1960s with the clearing of live oak trees from the neutral ground of Claiborne Avenue to make way for the Interstate-10 Expressway. The origins of the Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways (the Interstate System) were influenced by both President Eisenhower’s experiences as a young soldier crossing the country in 1919 following the route of the Lincoln Highway and his appreciation of the German autobahn network. He saw the highway system as a necessary component of a national defense system. It would be able to provide key ground transport of military supplies and troop deployments.⁵⁴ Vast areas of cities were being demolished and replaced by freeways, expressways and interstate highways. Funding for the highway interstate system was first authorized in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1952 which allocated \$25 million a year for fiscal years (FY) 1954 and 1955. Legislation in 1954 authorized an additional \$175 million annually for FY 1956 and 1957.⁵⁵

Although transportation projects are different from urban renewal projects, the results are in many cases are similar; an increase of urban sprawl the decrease of the

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interstate_Highway_System

⁵⁵ <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/reports/routefinder/index.cfm#s12>

urban city center. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 called for uniform geometric and construction standards for the Interstate System. The standards were developed by the State transportation departments and included a minimum of four 12-foot wide travel lanes, a minimum shoulder width of 10 feet, full control of access, and design speeds of 50 to 70 miles per hour (depending on the type of terrain).⁵⁶ The community again was valued only for its location to downtown and the French Quarter.



Figure 24: Claiborne neutral ground in Tremé before it was demolished.
Image courtesy New Orleans Public Library

May 20, 2002 an article in the *Times-Picayune* quotes a resident who recalls the days before I-10:

Of the changes along the Tremé end of the avenue since the 19th century, none has been more devastating than the cutting down of the oaks on the neutral ground in the mid-1960s to erect the interstate ramp, resident and community activist Jerome Smith said. "It took something out of the spirit" of the neighborhood, he said.

⁵⁶ Ibid

The shady promenade ran for blocks down the center of the avenue and was a place where "people embraced each other in the daily rituals of life," Smith, 63, said." The old ladies would come out here and stretch their curtains. . . . When Joe Lewis was fighting, the men would be out here on the backs of their trucks, and our Mardi Gras was here.⁵⁷

The destruction of the Claiborne Ave. neutral ground for the construction of the I-10 interstate ramp further diminished the desirability of the neighborhood, generating even more abandoned properties. The irony was Claiborne Avenue had been considered one of the most prosperous African American business districts in the country, but the city did not take this into account and continued destroying this area in order to facilitate access to the suburbs.⁵⁸ The construction of I-10 on North Claiborne Avenue radically changed the scale, character and uses of this once important neighborhood corridor.

Some of the policies around urban renewal began to change under President Lyndon Johnson and the War on Poverty in the late 1960s. Subsequently, the Community Development Act of 1974 established the Community Development BlockGrant program (CDBG) which began to focus on redevelopment of existing neighborhoods and properties. In 1974 the city of New Orleans commissioned a landscape architecture, and urban planning firm, Wallace, McHarg, and Todd of Philadelphia, to create a technical report titled *Central Area New Orleans Growth*

⁵⁷ *Times Picayune* May 20, 2002 Metro p. 1

⁵⁸ <http://www.gnocdc.org/orleans/4/42/snapshot.html>

Management Program Technical Report containing The Proposed CBD Community Improvement Plan and Program 1974 to the Year 2000. The City of New Orleans and the Central Area Council of the Chamber of Commerce began the Growth Management Program. It was started for the Central Business District of New Orleans in August of 1973. “The Broad objective was to set up a jointly sponsored program and continuing procedure to set goals, and to guide and control change for the Central Area of the City.”⁵⁹ The boundaries for the Central Business District were the Pontchartrain Expressway on the southwest, Claiborne Avenue (I-10) on the northwest, Elysian Fields on the east and the Mississippi River. The technical report included a summary of conclusions and consultant recommendations on: growth, growth management, the need for urban planning, and implementation of said plan. Under the section “Goals for Growth and Continuity”, one of the subsections “Good Residential Communities”, mention the need to preserve and upgrade residential areas near the Vieux Carré. It mentions that, “Conversions to high intensity uses and businesses threaten continuation of the present desirable neighborhood character”⁶⁰, of Faubourg’s Marigny and Tremé.

In this technical report there is an emphasis on preserving the historical fabric of the CBD and a call for the CDB to be placed on the National Register. As a result initiatives were taken by neighborhood groups and the Preservation Resource Center so that in 1980 Esplanade Ridge Historic District was added to the National Register

⁵⁹ Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd. *Central Area New Orleans Growth Management Program Technical Report: The Proposed CBD Community Improvement Plan and Program, 1974-2000* Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd Landscape Architects, Urban and Ecological Planners 1974: 1

⁶⁰ Ibid, 34

of Historic Places. This historic district encompasses the historic neighborhoods of Faubourg Tremé and Faubourg St. John. Tremé was designated as its own historic district in 1994.

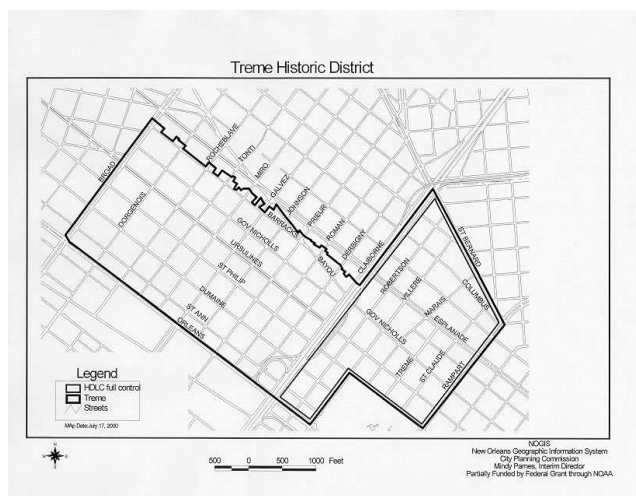


Figure 25: Map of Tremé Historic District 2007
<http://www.prcno.org/>

As a result of the Growth Management Technical Report, the years between 1975 and 1985 New Orleans experienced a large building boom: office space doubled from 7.7 million square feet to 16 million square feet, retail space more than doubled, and hotel rooms increased from 10, 686 to 19,500.⁶¹ The downtown area began to be revitalized and the deteriorating warehouses and rail yards of Poydras Street became an economic thoroughfare with the Superdome on one end and the riverside on the other. Because of the rapid growth of the downtown and French Quarter, city officials began to reevaluate the Tremé neighborhood. In the mid 1980s, the Iberville public housing development was the subject of interest among developers in New

⁶¹Cook, Christine and Lauria, Mickey. *Urban Regeneration and Public Housing in New Orleans*. University of New Orleans: New Orleans, 1993: 7

Orleans because of its close proximity to downtown New Orleans. Because of this interest, there was pressure amongst city officials to explore alternative uses for the housing projects.

Mayor Sidney Barthelemy in 1988, created a task force and steering committee to study the Iberville development and the surrounding neighborhood, Tremé. According to the Iberville Housing Development Task Force, the objective of the study was to “improve the quality of life for residents and enhance the economic development opportunities in the area.”⁶² The construction of the Cultural Complex made the Iberville housing development isolated from much of the residential areas of Tremé. Because of this, the task force developed numerous proposals for the redevelopment of the area. One proposal was that the area be used for another interstate highway ramp for high occupancy vehicles. To date none of the projects planned for the Iberville Housing project have been implemented, but the planning schemes for the redevelopment of the housing project again reveal the local government’s lack of planning for low income residents and also the lack of consideration of how yet another revitalization project without community input would impact the community.

While renewal projects have been successful in revitalizing many cities, it has often at the cost of the existing communities. “A mix of renovation, selective demolition, commercial development, and tax incentives is most often used to revitalize urban neighborhoods.”⁶³ In many cases these programs resulted in the

⁶² Ibid, 4

⁶³ <http://www.worldfreeinternet.net/news/urban.htm>

destruction of vibrant neighborhoods like Tremé. Not only has the population of Tremé been effected because of the failed urban renewal projects and interstate I-10, but the physical borders of Tremé also decreased. The original boundaries of Tremé were said to be from Canal Street to St. Bernard Ave going west to east, and N. Rampart to Broad St. going south to north as seen in the map below.



Figure 26: 1950 Census Maps from Social Explorer
www.socialexplorer.com

The current boundaries of Tremé, as stated in chapter one, are from St. Louis to Rampart from west to east and remain North Rampart Street to North Broad Street running south to north. The current boundaries of Tremé no longer encompass what was known as Storyville, now the Iberville housing projects, and many people believe that Highway I-10 has indeed moved the boundaries from N. Rampart on the south to I-10, making Louis Armstrong Park a part of the French Quarter at the Villere and St. Philip Street boundaries. The mid 20th century the large scale development projects caused destruction of residential and neighborhood uses in the district.

In many cities the transformation of the central business district (CBD) from a center of manufacturing into a center of finance and real estate has been contributed to the continued deterioration of working class neighborhoods and elimination of poor neighborhoods that had encircled the downtown area and threatened its expansion.⁶⁴ This has certainly been true in the case of the revitalization of French Quarter and downtown New Orleans and the disintegration of Faubourg Tremé as seen in the Poydras Street example examined earlier in this chapter.

Census data is used to clearly quantify how the urban renewal programs implemented in Tremé affected the neighborhood negatively. Using census data and mapping from Social Explorer, the following pages will correlate the history of urban regeneration and renewal projects of Tremé with population influx and change from 1960 to 2000. In order to clearly study if what has happened to Tremé could be characterized as gentrification the term had to be described. The definition of gentrification is “the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces earlier usually poorer residents.”⁶⁵ British socialist Ruth Glass first coined the term “gentrification” in 1964 to describe how “the working class quarters of... London... [had] been invaded by the middle classes... and have become eloquent, expensive residences”.⁶⁶ Today, due to white and middle class flight, “disinvestment and

⁶⁴ Cook, Christine and Lauria, Mickey. *Urban Regeneration and Public Housing in New Orleans*. University of New Orleans: New Orleans, 1993: 2

⁶⁵ *Merriam- Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th ed. Massachusetts: Merriam- Webster, 1996.

⁶⁶ Engels, B. “Property ownership, tenure, and displacement: in search of the process of gentrification” Melbourne Institute of Technology School of Social Science and Planning July 7, 1998.

draining of resources into sprawling suburban developments”⁶⁷ African-American neighborhoods are targeted in the gentrification process. Not all and not only African-American neighborhoods are affected by gentrification; however, communities most vulnerable for displacement include those with:

- A high proportion of renters
- Ease of access to jobs centers (freeways, public transit, reverse commutes, new subway stations or ferry routes)
- Location in a region with increasing levels of metropolitan congestion
- Comparatively low housing values, particularly for housing stock with architectural merit⁶⁸

What evidence is there to qualify a neighborhood as being gentrified? The *Encyclopedia of Housing* further defines gentrification as “The process by which central urban neighborhoods that have undergone disinvestments and economic decline experience a reversal, reinvestment, and the in-migration of a relatively well-off, middle and upper middle-class population”. Lance Freeman in his book, *There Goes the Hood*, suggests that “we look for evidence of increased investment and an influx of those of higher socioeconomic statuses to discern whether gentrification is indeed occurring...”⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Rose, Kalima. “Beyond Gentrification: Tools for Equitable Development,” *Shelterforce- The Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Building*, May/June 2001:10

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Freeman, Lance. *There Goes the Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2006: 28

For purposes of census data analysis the focus is on the new boundaries of Tremé, Esplanade Ave. on the northeast, N. Rampart St. on the east, St. Louis St. on the southwest, and N. Broad St. on the west.

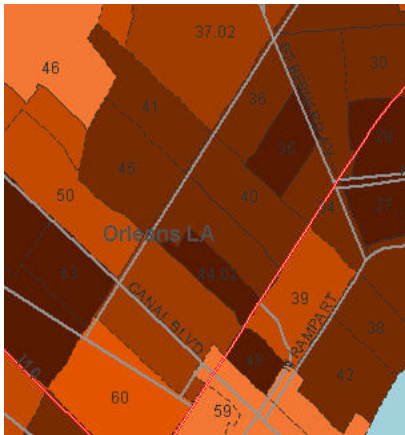


Figure 27: Map of Tremé 2005
www.socialexplorer.com

The numbers represented on this map are the 2000 census tract numbers.

Faubourg Tremé is represented by census tract numbers 44.01, 44.02, 40, and 39. The following spreadsheet data sets are taken from these census tract numbers. The census comparison begins with the 1960 and 2000 Race Demographic report from Social Explorer, starting with 1960 because that's, as seen in the beginning of this chapter, when the government implemented the first of many urban renewal projects in Tremé. I start with census data starting with racial demographics (Appendix B) because many study or define gentrification in terms of one racial population being displaced by another.

The percentage of residents of Tremé that are Caucasian in 1960 was five times the percent of the number of current white residents in the year 2000. However if you look at the number of residents in Tremé in 1960 and then compare with the

total in 2000 12,236 residents, 58 percent, of Tremé were either displaced or voluntarily moved from the neighborhood. Shockingly, even with its geographic relationship to both the French Quarter and downtown New Orleans, no one replaced them. Looking at the racial demographic report and seeing that race is not a qualifier in the possible gentrification of Tremé, we have to explore other criteria of gentrification.

In the previous definitions of gentrification the word most often used was “class”. What exactly does class mean? According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, class is defined as a division or order of society according to status; a rank or grade of society.⁷⁰ In the United States class is most often determined by economic status which is quantified by income and housing. For purposes of this study we will look at income, housing, and housing costs in Tremé; starting with income, the most obvious to revealing the economic status of an individual and/or a community.

For the country as a whole, the average (median) income of family’s in 1960 was \$5,600.⁷¹ The average income for households in Tremé, for more than half of its occupants, was more than the national average in 1960. In the year of 2000 the median household income in the United States was \$42,100.⁷² Comparing the information in the 2000 Income Demographic Report (Appendix C), we see that 87.3 percent of Tremé households made less income than the national average.

⁷⁰ Oxford English Dictionary <http://dictionary.oed.com>

⁷¹ <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/popscan/p60-037.pdf>

⁷² <http://www.census.gov/population/pop-profile/2000/chap12.pdf>

The next set of housing type (Appendix D) and housing costs data (Appendix E) will further explore “gentrification” of Tremé looking at class demographics. Comparing the 1970 and the 2000 Housing Demographic Reports, there is not much change in percentage between the numbers of renter occupied units, however there has been a slight increase in owner occupied units. Notice that there is a sizeable increase in the percentage of vacant units in 2000. According to the 1970 and the 2000 Housing Costs Demographic report the majority of Tremé residents were and still are paying less than the national average in rent.

Comparing the findings of all of the data sets; the black population of Tremé has increased 20% in the last 40 years making it a predominantly African-American community; the income of Tremé residents has gone from 78.3 % of its residents with an income more than the national average to 87.3% of its residents with an income less than the national average and 44.3% with an income less than \$10,000 a year; and the housing demographic reports and housing costs demographic reports show that renter vs. owner occupied percentage has not changed much in the last 30 years. If you look closer at the reports you will notice a 58% decrease in the number of people residing in Tremé, which in turn resulted in a 14% increase of vacant lots. From these findings, the conclusion is that Tremé was not gentrified, before Hurricane Katrina, according to the previous stated definition gentrification. The lower income households of Tremé were displaced, but they were not replaced by mid-to-high income families. In fact no one replaced the residents that left the neighborhood. Because of this the Tremé experienced more than twenty years of not only residential but also commercial disinvestment. The attempted investment schemes implemented by the

city government did not take the community needs and current resources into account. “These political struggles arise because economic development strategies are often pursued with little regard for the externality effects and opportunity costs they pose for inner city working class neighborhoods”⁷³ The planning projects implemented in Tremé left the community full of blight for over twenty years now because of Hurricane Katrina Tremé is battling plans of reinvestment and possible gentrification, yet another attempt to socially reorganize the neighborhood. The entire city is experiencing plans for a total restructuring. Current residents question how to rebuild and reinvest in Tremé without experiencing another wave of displacement and disinvestment.

⁷³ Cook, Christine and Lauria, Mickey. *Urban Regeneration and Public Housing in New Orleans*. University of New Orleans: New Orleans, 1993: 1

CHAPTER THREE:

HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING:

A Method of Investment without Displacement (Recommendations)

Chapter two examined how Tremé has been the victim of governmental initiatives that were aimed to bring economic viability back to the neighborhood, but had the reverse effect. The reinvestment and revitalization plans executed in Tremé have taken a devastating toll on not only the community but also the physical neighborhood. How can the community recover from and embrace economic reinvestment without threat of losing more land and cultural resources? How can Tremé welcome new residents without displacing old? This chapter will study Harlem, New York and Bronzeville, Chicago to compare two African-American communities, and their methods of fostering reinvestment into their neighborhoods. This chapter will examine the importance of community involvement in historic preservation projects, revitalization plans, and urban planning in the economic growth and sustainability of their neighborhood.

Urban renewal and regeneration projects implemented by the government have lead to the displacement of thousands of long time residents of Tremé since the 1930s with the completion of the Municipal Auditorium. Popular opinion is that when there are large numbers of displacement of lower income residents in a community that area is experiencing gentrification. The previous chapter examined how Tremé has not been gentrified. To further examine this conclusion the following pages explore what “gentrification” is by studying Harlem New York. Harlem represents a neighborhood

that has been revitalized, but at what cost? Not only is Harlem a broadly studied neighborhood on the topic of “gentrification”, specifically of African-American neighborhoods, but Harlem and Tremé also have similar histories. Both were the hub of African American entrepreneurship in the early 20th century, and both are geographically central to areas of tourism and economic growth (the French Quarter and downtown New Orleans for Tremé, and Manhattan for Harlem). Harlem like Tremé once was the hub of African-American entrepreneurship, art, literature, and music that became blighted in the 1970s and 1980s, but now has seen a resurgence of investment to the community. The affects of reinvestment in Harlem has had a major role in changing its economic and social demographic.

Harlem has a past of economic decline and boom. This has been the means for an interesting history for the Harlem area; welcoming people from different racial, socio-economic, and religious backgrounds similar to the ethnic and cultural diversity in Tremé. The area of Harlem focused on for this thesis is Central Harlem. Central Harlem stretches from Central Park north to the Harlem River and from 5th Avenue to St. Nicholas Ave.

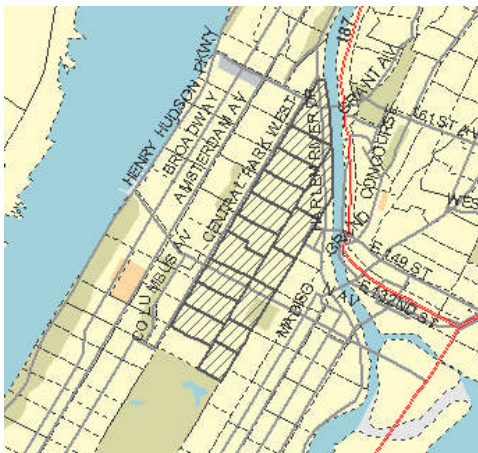


Figure 28: The hatched section represents the boundaries for central Harlem 2005
www.sociaexplorer.com

In the 1920s the Harlem Renaissance began spurring literary thought and jazz music in Central Harlem. Its Black population rapidly increased from 83,248 in 1920 to 203,894 in 1930. The Depression of 1929 brought all new construction and building maintenance to a halt. “The mood of the 1930s was characterized by community demands for improved housing conditions, better social welfare, and higher standards of health care and more educational opportunities.”⁷⁴ Low incomes and high rents forced two or three families into apartments designed for one family, but political pressure resulted in several capital improvement programs one of them being the Harlem River Houses, completed in 1937. They consisted of 557 units of low-rise housing, and were Harlem's first public housing project built with federal assistance. It remains today one of the best maintained public housing complexes in Harlem.



Figure 29: Harlem River Houses 1937

<http://www.laguardiawagnerarchive.lagcc.cuny.edu/research/BHM/images/02.015.15356.gif>

In the 1960s and 70s property values began to decline, and the entire city began to decay. Industrial cities nationwide experienced “white flight” with close to 50 million people fleeing the larger urban centers for the cities in the Sunbelt such as

⁷⁴ <http://www.harlemmtmorris.org/history.htm>

Miami and Los Angeles. Soon after the “white flight” industry followed relocating to the suburbs where they could rent larger spaces with lower costs. Because of the rapid decline of residents and industry of New York, city planners and government officials started to explore different ways to revitalize the city beginning in the 1960s. The remedy would be to plan and complete a series of urban renewal projects. Much of the urban renewal projects were the work of Robert Moses. He was involved in the redevelopment of New York City and New York State from the 1930s into the 1970s. Moses directed the construction of new bridges, highways, housing projects, and public parks.⁷⁵

Despite all of the cities efforts in the early 1970s New York City lapsed into bankruptcy and became crime ridden. In 1976 New York City experienced the great black out, and the entire city was in disarray. Frustrated New Yorkers began looting and destroying property. In the 1970s many of Harlem’s buildings were abandoned. With tax foreclosure auctions, New York City became the owner of more than 1,000 buildings in Central Harlem alone. Landlords and tenants were burning buildings to receive funds from the government to relocate. The city was in disarray, and Harlem was in desperate state of decay until the early 1990s.

In 1993 Mayor Rudolph Giuliani began economic revitalization projects in Harlem. A major project was Harlem USA, an entertainment complex that cost more than \$56 million to construct. Harlem USA was not the only large scale project that was spurred. The creation of a federal Empowerment Zone also occurred in 1993. This facilitated renovation of the entire area.

⁷⁵ <http://www.worldfreeinternet.net/news/urban.htm>

In the last few years substantial development has occurred in Harlem. Not only have the Empowerment Zone and Harlem USA projects been erected, but also President Clinton's new office is located in Harlem. There has also been an influx in housing programs. The Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Neighborhood Redevelopment, HomeWorks, and Neighborhood Entrepreneurs programs are four governmental housing organizations with renovation projects on 470 of Harlem's buildings for residence. The redevelopment and "revitalization" of Harlem have some people native to the community concerned. The concern is that the new complexes and rehabilitation of old complexes are displacing some of Harlem's oldest residents.

This change of social climate in Harlem, while affecting the African-American community, also creates a "Disneyfication" of the cultural wealth of Harlem. Increased commercial activity geared toward African-American arts and culture has transformed the once social activities of its resident's tourist enjoyment.

Powell and Spencer write:

"Gentrification transforms public spaces into privatized consumption spaces. Urban leader, developers and economic elites provide a package of shopping, and entertainment within a themed and controlled environment which some scholars call "Disneyfication"... This commodification of culture is perhaps most jarring in Harlem, where recent redevelopers have packaged race as culture and art, using frontier motifs to "tame the neighborhood while keeping it exotic enough to attract consumers."⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Powell, John A. and Spencer, Marguerite L. "Giving them the Old 'One Two': Gentrification and the

The study of Harlem reveals the effects that rehabilitation and reinvestment has had on the gentrification of the community. However, in Harlem 37 percent of all housing constructed in Harlem during the 1990s received some financing through the LIHTC. “Much of the redevelopment of abandoned and vacant properties was used for affordable housing, and typically residents of Harlem were given preferences for obtaining units...mechanisms may have been slightly different from what was recommended before, it is not as though the housing need of the poor were being ignored in Harlem.”⁷⁷ So why it is that Harlem is said to have been gentrified? If there were housing options to retain the low-income residents then what population is being displaced in Harlem? According to Lance Freeman’s research many of the lower middle class families too rich to live in the low income housing projects, and too poor to afford the high rising rents of the “second Harlem Renaissance”, are being displaced by young professionals.

Harlem is a prime example of an African-American neighborhood currently experiencing gentrification that has resulted in the “Disneyfication” of the neighborhood. Both Harlem and Tremé have strong communal bases, however, Harlem’s community organizations, non-profits, and religious organizations have inadvertently attributed to the neighborhood’s gentrification process.

The following pages will explore the role historic preservation has played in providing affordable housing in other areas New York City, and the resurgence of

K.O. of Impoverished Urban Dwellers of Color.” *Howard Law Journal* v.46 2003 pgs. 443-491: 443-44

⁷⁷ Freeman, Lance. *There Goes the Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2006: 177

economic viability of the Bronzeville neighborhood on the south side of Chicago. The Bronzeville case study reveals how this historic African-American community has survived periods of blight and disinvestment and fostered and economic resurgence. As just seen, Harlem New York has also been economically revitalized, but in return many of its low -to-mid income residents have been displaced. Bronzeville offers a different scenario of revitalization. The Bronzeville case study reveals how historic preservation has been used in a historic African-American neighborhood to foster reinvestment while offering affordable housing to counteract potential displacement.

Historic preservation can speed up the gentrification process by imposing burdens on low-and-fixed income residents. By adding higher maintenance costs, along with higher property taxes in gentrifying neighborhoods there is greater financial pressure for low, fixed, and moderate income families to leave creating a less diverse neighborhood. However, there is a possible silver lining, if the community and non-profits fight for federal and local grants, loans, and other assistance to ease some of the financial pressures that historical preservation brings.⁷⁸ Communities can also focus on projects that use the existing housing stock to provide affordable housing. How significant are older and historic homes and communities in providing affordable housing? Consider this:

- Thirty-two percent of households below the poverty line live in older and historic communities
- Thirty-one percent of homeowners whose household income is less than \$20,000 per year live in older and historic communities

⁷⁸ <http://www.inshaw.com/blog/2005/03/gentrification-and-historic.html>

- Thirty-four percent of renters whose household income is less than \$20,000 per year live in older and historic homes
- Thirty-one percent of black homeowners and 24 percent of Hispanic homeowners live in older homes
- Twenty-nine percent of elderly homeowners live in older and historic homes
- Fifty-three percent of all owner occupied older and historic homes have monthly housing costs less than \$500
- Forty-eight percent of tenant occupied older and historic homes rent for less \$500 per month

To put it another way, if today we had to replace the older and historic homes currently occupied by households below the poverty level, using the most cost-effective of Federal housing programs, it would cost American taxpayers \$335 Billion.⁷⁹

The historic preservation movement in recent years has moved beyond focusing on simply saving individual landmarks to being concerned, instead, with the conservation of neighborhoods. Older and historic neighborhoods, unlike any other areas, are providing homes for families from every financial stratum, but particularly for those in need of affordable housing. In the years since passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), historic preservation has contributed significantly to residential rehabilitation of affordable housing.⁸⁰ Developers can, and have, mix Low Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) with federal Historic

⁷⁹ Donovan D. Rypkema *Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: The Missed Connection*. National Trust for Historic Preservation August, 2002: 5

⁸⁰ Listokin, David and Listokin, Barbara. "Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: Leveraging Old Resources for New Opportunities" Fannie Mae Foundation Volume 3 Issue 2: 6

Rehabilitation Tax Credits (HRTC) to mitigate the costs of building or rehabilitating properties in an historic district.

“Historic rehab tax incentives have been available since 1976, with the first tax credit program enacted in 1981 and amended in 1986. Current law allows a 20 percent investment tax credit (ITC) for the rehabilitation of income-producing residential (as well as nonresidential) properties. To qualify for the 20 percent historic ITC, the rehabilitated property has to be a "certified historic structure" (i.e., a building individually listed on the National Register, or located in, and contributing to the historic significance of, that National Register district); the rehabilitation has to be ‘substantial’ (i.e., more than \$5,000, or the adjusted basis of the renovated property, whichever is greater); and finally, the rehabilitation has to be certified (i.e., has to be consistent with the historic character of the building/district—with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation used as a guide).”⁸¹

The following case study will examine a not for profit organization that has utilized LIHTC and HRTC to revitalize dilapidated historic black communities preserving not only the physical character of the neighborhood, but also the social character. Nonprofit organizations are taking advantage of the benefits in historic properties. These interests are stimulated in part by smart growth strategies that

⁸¹ Listokin, David and Listokin, Barbara. “Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: Leveraging Old Resources for New Opportunities” Fannie Mae Foundation Volume 3 Issue 2: 3

encourage urban revitalization.⁸² Historic preservation involves more than just retention of historic architectural fabric.

“It also involves the physical and aesthetic integrity of the neighborhood as a whole and the distinctive features that characterize it: the relationship between typography and the street grid; the way the buildings form a space with the street; the way corners are articulated; the location and beauty of the open spaces; the type, age, and placement of street trees; the richness of architectural detail; the pedestrian quality of streets; the definable boundaries that mark the neighborhood.”⁸³

These qualities contribute to why they are historical. They contribute to the stability longevity of the neighborhood, and its residents.

Common Ground, a New York City nonprofit has made it its mission to restore historic landmarks in New York City. What makes these restoration projects significant is that they were restored to house low-income families. The nonprofit was started in the early 1990s with great skepticism from its critics, but four projects later it has successfully proven that this task can be done. Common Ground works with government, corporate, nonprofit, and community partners to make these projects a success. The first project Common Ground took on according to Roseanne Haggerty, founder and director of Common Ground, was a “near derelict building in a rundown area known for its prostitution”. This was the now renovated Times Square Hotel on

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Clarke, Laura Weir. “Rebuilding Neighborhoods: The Untold Story,” *Connecticut Preservation News*, January/ February 1997: 16.

West 43rd St. that houses more 600 previously homeless people. The building is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and received the Rudy Bruner Gold Award for Urban Excellence.

This spurred the renovation of the Prince George building on East 28th St. The Prince George project in New York successfully demonstrates how older hotel buildings can be restored to provide affordable and supportive accommodations for low-income families. Common Ground Community purchased the abandoned hotel, using funds from a range of sources raised within the city including: NYC Dept. of Housing Preservation and Development, HOME, & HOPWA tax credits; J.P. Morgan & Co., Inc.; Fannie Mae; US Dept. of HUD- Lights; Historic Preservation tax credits; NYS Homeless Housing Assistance Program; NYS Office of Mental Health; MetLife; Bankers Trust/Deutsche Bank; JP Morgan; Corporation for Supportive Housing; NYC HRA, DASIS; NYC DHS SRO Support Subsidy; NYS OMH and DMH (NY/NY); US HUD Supportive Housing Program; US HUD SRO Moderate Rehab Program.⁸⁴

Common Ground restored the hotel to its former beauty and rents the 416 studio apartments, each with their own bathroom and kitchenette, to people that are living with a special needs, such as mental illness, HIV/AIDS and /or a history of substance abuse; they comprise over half of the residents at Prince George.

⁸⁴ http://www.nbm.org/Exhibits/online/affordable_housing/national/60_The_Prince_George.html



Figure 30: The Prince George 14 East 28th Street New York, NY 10016

What about entire communities, focusing specifically on African-American neighborhoods, and their efforts to use historic preservation and low income housing initiatives to reinvest in the community and also combat displacement? Why has historic preservation become a tool to combat gentrification when historically it has been seen as a catalyst of gentrification?

Historic preservation offers a natural device in neighborhood revitalization for two main reasons: It makes use of the existing housing stock and the tax credits attached to it, and it maintains a sense of character and cohesiveness in a community. Therefore, historic preservation allows for both financial and aesthetic improvements in older neighborhoods, and has become an effective strategy for communities to reinvest into their neighborhood without displacing its original residents.⁸⁵ When dealing with low-income housing either new or rehabilitated the examination of the

⁸⁵ Listokin, David and Listokin, Barbara. "Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: Leveraging Old Resources for New Opportunities" Fannie Mae Foundation Volume 3 Issue 2: 2

needs of families, particularly families with low incomes is important. The nature of the neighborhood rather than the built environment should be explored. Families need convenience; work, schools, shopping, and to public transportation. Compare older and historic neighborhoods to new housing:

- “Over 40 percent of residents in older and historic neighborhoods are within five miles of work. Less than one resident in four in new housing is that close to their place of employment.
- Over two-thirds of older and historic neighborhoods have an elementary school within one mile. Less than 40 percent of new construction does.
- Over 60 percent of houses in older and historic neighborhoods have shopping within one mile. Barely 40 percent of new houses do.
- Public transportation is available to residents in nearly 60 percent of older and historic neighborhoods. Three quarters of new housing has no public transportation available nearby. Recently lenders have recognized a household can, in fact, afford “more house” than would be the case under standardized formulas when public transportation is within walking distance.
- And finally returning to the critical issue of affordability compare the percent of housing under \$150,000 in older and historic neighborhoods (over 70%) with the new units in that affordability range (barely half).”⁸⁶

These factors are precisely why historic African-American communities, like Harlem, are being gentrified today. They also how and why African-American communities have and are using Historic Preservation Tax Credits and Low Income Tax Credits to reinvest into their community while maintaining the character of the neighborhood.

Bronzeville neighborhood on the south side of Chicago is a great place to study the positive impact that historic preservation and low income housing initiatives have

⁸⁶ Rypkema, Donovan D. “Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: The Missed Connection” for the National Trust for Historic Preservation August, 2002: 9

had on the community. Bronzeville stretches from 23rd Street to 47th Street north and south and from Martin Luther King Jr. Drive to Lake Michigan east to west.

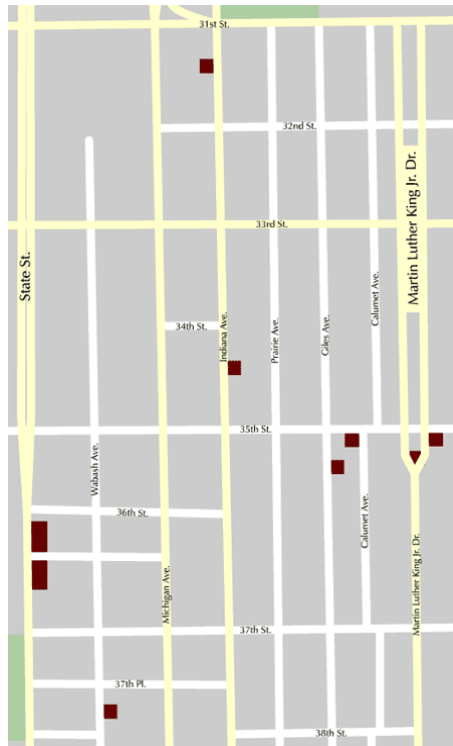


Figure 31: Black Metropolis Bronzeville District Map
<http://www.ci.chi.il.us/Landmarks/Maps/BlackMet.html>

The “Black Metropolis” or the core of the neighborhood is centered on 35th Street. Like Tremé and Harlem, it was the haven for black entrepreneurship small and large up until the 1950s. The black-owned newspaper *Chicago Defender* had its headquarters there. The entertainment scene also attracted musicians like Scott Joplin and native of Faubourg Tremé, Louis Armstrong to name a few. Between 1910 and 1920, during the peak of the "Great Migration," the population of the area increased dramatically when thousands of African-Americans fled the oppression of the south and immigrated to Chicago in search of industrial jobs. Chicago's "Bronzeville" was a "city within a city" and was acclaimed to be the second largest black city in the world

in the 1940s. Supporting five hundred churches and three hundred doctors, it was the "capital of black America" in the 1940s, replacing Harlem as the center of black culture. During the war years some sixty thousand more new arrivals between 1942 and 1944, swelling the black population to 337,000, one-tenth of the city's total and double what it had been before World War II.⁸⁷ With such a rapid influx of people abandoned buildings were being renovated and occupied by the newcomers.



Figure 32: Back Steps of an apartment complex in Bronzeville 1942. Photographer Russell Lee
Provided by the Library of Congress <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html>

Beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s the area went through a period of decline and disinvestment. As seen in Harlem Bronzeville too was affected by “white flight” and industry leaving urban industrial cities for the suburbs. Overtime the community gave way to decay. Bronzeville, like Tremé experienced a period of economic decline. However, during the early 1990s the neighborhood saw a rise in government and community interest to reinvest in the neighborhood. In 1993 the Mid-South Planning and Development Commission issued a thirty year “strategic

⁸⁷ Stange, Maren. *Bronzeville Black Chicago in Pictures, 1941-1943*
The New Press: New York, 2003: 3

development plan for a three and a half square mile area that includes the landmark district”.⁸⁸ The development plan began when the Chicago Public Library moved a branch into a historic Art Deco building that once housed the black newspaper the *Chicago Bee*.

The project that utilized both LIHTC and HPTC was the Wabash YMCA project. It now provides 101 units of single room occupancy low income housing to the residents of Bronzeville. The 1913 building also offers the community after-school programs for children, computer training classes, as well as a gym and a pool, returning it to the center of community life. The project began in 1992 when Apostolic Faith, Quinn Chapel AME, and St. Elizabeth Catholic joined with St. Thomas Episcopal to form a nonprofit organization that would restore the Wabash YMCA. They named this consortium of churches the Wabash 'Y' Renaissance Collaborative (TRC). It aimed to provide affordable housing to the community's most vulnerable members and the preservation of the building's the heritage and history. This commitment to develop single-room occupancy housing became part of a larger effort of the Mid South Strategic Plan.

The restoration project began in 1996 with stabilization work that provided a new roof, security board, and electrical system, paid for with a grant from the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. As this work proceeded, TRC began raising the \$10.8

⁸⁸ Burke, Christopher. “Bronzeville Gets Its Due”
Historic Preservation Forum Spring 1998 v. 12 n. 3 pgs. 45-52: 48,49

million the project needed.⁸⁹ Initial funding came from The Jewish Council for Urban Affairs, Corporation for Supportive Housing, the City of Chicago's Department of Housing, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, which supported the facility as a Section 8 building. Additional money later came from the State of Illinois, City of Chicago Department of Planning and Development (Chicago Empowerment Zone), equity funding from historic tax credits, and community support. Four years of rehabilitation ended in December 2000 when the Wabash 'Y' reopened. The Renaissance Apartments provide permanent, supportive housing for single adults; all 101 units feature modern, private kitchens and baths. Six of the apartments are designed for the handicapped, and 12 more can be adapted for that type of tenant. An on-site staff works closely with residents, identifying their needs and referring them to medical and mental health services, substance abuse counseling, and job training and placement programs. The benefits of the restoration have extended into the neighborhood. The building is again home to a branch of the YMCA; its "Fitness for Life Center" serves a wide range of people in the neighborhood. What were previously meeting rooms now house other services for the YMCA: a small lounge area, computer training room, an exercise room, and a weight room. A kitchen was also added; it supports children's after-school programs and adult functions in other parts of the building.

⁸⁹ Burke, Christopher. "Bronzeville Gets Its Due"
Historic Preservation Forum Spring 1998 v. 12 n. 3, pgs. 45-52: 49



Figure 33: Interior of Wabash YMCA Bronzeville Chicago, Illinois 2003.
<http://www.ci.chi.il.us/Landmarks/Maps/BlackMet.html>

The rehabilitation has also helped recover the building's and the area's heritage. The restoration of the lobby, office spaces, a ballroom, and a YMCA-themed mural all serve as reminders of Bronzeville's past. The activity generated by the building has helped stabilize the neighborhood and, for the first time in many years, new single family housing is appearing on nearby vacant lots. National Trust president Richard Moe honored the Wabash 'Y' with a National Preservation Honor Award in 2002 and cited the project for "doing what it was created for almost a century ago: strengthening community and changing lives in this proud African-America neighborhood known as Bronzeville."⁹⁰ This is an example of a project in Bronzeville that took into account not only the physical needs of the building but also the needs of the community and its rich cultural heritage.



Figure 34: Wabash YMCA Bronzeville Chicago, Illinois 2003.
<http://www.ci.chi.il.us/Landmarks/Maps/BlackMet.html>

⁹⁰ http://www.nationaltrust.org/housing/casestudy_IL_Wabash_YMCA.html (The information about the Wabash YMCA rehabilitation project was received from this website)

So what encouraged reinvestment back into the Bronzeville community? “In 1984, the Commission on Chicago Landmarks released a study entitled *The Black Metropolis Historic District*. It recommended landmark status for eight buildings.” James Peters, a planner for the city, states “The bottom line is that a historic preservation study spawned all this. It was done at a time when no one understood the value of the building, and it took 12 years to get all the pieces in place, but it worked.”⁹¹ The factor that made this project a success story was that it also caters to the needs of the neighborhood.

Because of the success of rehabbing historic structures to bring vitality back to Bronzeville, there has been a new push to prevent gentrification of the neighborhood. Not because of historic preservation, but because of the vacant lots that are ripe for redevelopment.

“They want the city to set aside hundreds of vacant lots seized for delinquent taxes when the community hit hard times so that affordable housing can be built on the land. Housing advocates say that Bronzeville...could set a precedent for other neighborhoods on the South and West Sides that are riddled with empty city-owned lots--and ripe for revitalization...Long-term, the coalition seeks to have 26 percent of those lots set aside at below-market cost to promote home ownership for neighborhood families earning \$34,000 to \$51,000 a year. Short-term, the coalition is working to establish a Bronzeville

⁹¹ Burke, Christopher. “Bronzeville Gets Its Due” *Historic Preservation Forum* Spring 1998 v. 12 n. 3, pgs. 45-52: 49

housing trust fund supported by a 0.9 percent increase of all Bronzeville property tax bills”⁹²

More than 18,000 voters, nearly 86 percent of all who voted in the four wards that make up historic Bronzeville, supported the concept in an advisory referendum in November 2004. Bronzeville is now going through a positive wave of economic reinvestment into its once dilapidated community. The community is taking precautions to insure that there will be housing available for people for all economic backgrounds.

The Bronzeville and Harlem case studies have two different outcomes even though LIHTC were used. To reexamine what went “wrong” in Harlem we have to look at gentrification in another way. Harlem utilized LIHTCs to provide low income housing for its residents, but why are people still staying that Harlem in being or has been gentrified? In examining this question we look at gentrification in a more social, than economic since. The “Disneyfication” that Harlem has undergone plays a huge role in how some of its residents feel it is being gentrified beyond high property prices. Freeman interviewed many residents of Harlem who are astounded by the economic as well social change. They see their neighbors being displaced by not only people with more economic means, but people fascinated with African-American culture. Harlem has become a tourist site not only for visitors, but also for its new residents. Another difference between Harlem and Bronzeville is that plans to bring the community back to life began with the community. Harlem’s reinvestment, although with some

⁹² Briggs, Jonathon E. “Bronzeville wants city's empty lots: Affordable-housing advocates also seek tax for a trust fund” *Chicago Tribune* November 23, 2006

community involvement, was originally initiated by the government and developers. Community involvement from the beginning has been Bronzeville's strongest point. The community has taken an active role in how reinvestment will take place. Bronzeville has also made conscious decisions relating to providing affordable housing, reclamation of vacant lots, and community programs, to help combat gentrification and displacement of its residents. Although there is no way to tell if Bronzeville will become Harlem in years to come, there is a communal base that is willing to fight for not only the physical but also social preservation of the community. Bronzeville is successful because it to a proactive not a reactive approach.

Tremé has the same communal base that Bronzeville has. The difference is that with the damage of Hurricane Katrina on the population of the entire city, Tremé faces new obstacles. The neighborhood now has to foster reinvestment into its community to improve it's economic base, but it also has to guarantee to its long time residents that they will not be displaced because of projects focused on bringing economic viability back to the area. It too could face the same type of "Disneyfication" that Harlem faces.

Community groups and residents in Tremé have attempted to use non-profits and governmental agencies to revitalize the neighborhood. In the mid to late 1990s Tremé began to try to recover from decades of unsuccessful city planning. Community organizations came together to help revitalize the neighborhood, but the neighborhood caught the city government's attention. This time because two corrupt non-profits created to help residents and property owners in Faubourg Tremé with revitalization schemes never came through. One was the Armstrong Redevelopment Corporation,

which was backed by the city and had more than 3 million dollars in grant money. The grant money was intended for the upkeep of Louis Armstrong Park and redevelopment projects in Tremé. It came under investigation in 1994 after only two years of operation.⁹³ The Armstrong Redevelopment Corporation spent an unaccounted for one million dollars of the 3 million in grant money within those two years. The Corporation was to provide loans for homeowners to renovate their houses, but the homeowners never saw the money.

The Greater Tremé Consortium was an outreach agency with \$478,000 that operated from 1995-1996. The Consortium was to use the money to repair owner-occupied housing in Faubourg Tremé. It took months for the paper work to be compiled and processed, and even longer to line up contractors. A November 1997 article in the *Times Picayune* states “In 1996, Greater Tremé failed to renovate a single house. The reason: A policy developed by Sylvain limited individual grants to \$25,000. In return the unit had to be brought up to current city code.”⁹⁴ The Consortium went out of business without implementing any type of revitalization programs for the neighborhood.

Under Vincent Sylvain, an executive assistant for housing policy during the Marc Morial administration (beginning in 1994-2002), the city’s housing operation was supervising and the work was contracted out because of the distrust of neighborhood nonprofits. During this administration the city government promised the neighborhood that it would help with plans of renewal. Nineteen buildings were either

⁹³ Cooper, Christopher. “Blighted Tremé Struggles to Regain Historic Status City Renovation Sparks Rebirth” *Times Picayune*, Nov 24, 1997, pg. A.1, A-8

⁹⁴ Ibid

fully renovated or at least had a new paint job leaving only eight of the buildings targeted vacant at the end of the project. The completed projects include a six-block stretch of Governor Nicholls Street between North Rampart St. and North Claiborne Avenue. Other projects included the renovation of 30 houses in Tremé. During the late 1990s city-sponsored neighborhood renovation was the driving force behind many of the projects, but problems arose because of bureaucratic issues. Projects were slow to get started because federal grant regulations caused a lot of red tape, and many projects were unable to be finished.⁹⁵

Some of these buildings were built in the 1840s and bringing them up to then current city code would necessitate an entire renovation of the building. This would include: new electrical, plumbing, and exterior repairs. Cheryl Austin in the same article stated “I grew up in Tremé and I really do want to help. But sometimes it seems like the government doesn’t understand what the community needs.”

However distrustful some nonprofits seemed to be there were still many neighborhood groups that took charge of the situation of derelict houses. The St. Marks United Methodist Church got a city grant to operate a tool library where residents would borrow tools and take classes on how to conduct home repairs. In the mid-1990s the residents of Tremé saw a big boom of renovation projects lead both by the city government and local nonprofits. The Tremé Cottages Inc. renovated the buildings on the 1300 block of Governor Nicholls Street, less than a block away from

⁹⁵ Warner, Coleman. “Toward Bringing Back Tremé”.
Times Picayune, Nov 28, 1997, pg. B.6

St. Augustine Church in the summer of 1996. Tremé Cottages Inc. rent ten units in the buildings to low income families.⁹⁶

The attempts to revitalize Tremé continued into the Nagin mayoral administration starting in 2002. According to a May 2003 News article in the *Times Picayune* efforts to fight the issue of blight in Tremé were being addressed by Mayor Ray Nagin. Mayor Nagin said he wanted to know what people in Tremé (one of the neighborhoods targeted on his initiative to fight blight) thought.

“New residents who have renovated said they're frustrated that more of their neighbors haven't followed suit. Longtime residents, particularly those with lower incomes, said they too are frustrated that they can't afford to renovate according to the standards imposed on a historic district, and also worry that the neighborhood will change if too many better-off urban homesteaders move in.”⁹⁷

The article continues to explain that in an effort to solve the problem the Mayor was focusing on neighborhoods like Tremé that border more stable neighborhoods, on the theory that stability creeps outward. His administration planned to provide loans for some first time home-purchasers, including low and moderate income city employees, as well as targeted renovation grants. He's also put 7,000 forfeited properties on sale for half their appraised value.

Here we see that the government was making plans to “fight blight” without taking into consideration the needs of neighborhoods current residents. Yes affordable

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ *Times Picayune* May 30, 2003 Metro p. 7

housing was planned for some residents, but there were no plans for small business, or services that the neighborhood is in desperate need of. This was yet another attempt to solve the problem of what Tremé can be without investing in the rich culture of what it once was and providing services and small businesses with the support needed to sustain the neighborhood. Traditional urban planners and the planning practice focus on the physical environment. This is where they attempt to adjust public works and other investments in a way that is consistent with social and economic trends. By focusing solely on the physical environment planners fail to exploit the cultural and social character that neighborhoods like Tremé have.

The Preservation Resource Center was created in 1974 to promote the preservation of New Orleans' historic architecture, and to involve citizens in preservation projects and services that enhance living in New Orleans in an effort to be the liaison between the city and the community.⁹⁸ In 2003 they proposed a plan to create affordable homes while preserving the physical character of Tremé. They have proposed an affordable contemporary house that resembles the historic Creole cottage of Tremé. These structures were designed by local architects with a \$20,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. "Affordable housing has been a concern for the PRC for a long time," said Meg Lousteau, PRC staff member and NEA grant coordinator. "This grant allowed us to bring the impact of good design into affordable housing. These designs increase the long-term value of each property and have tremendous potential to stabilize low- to moderate-income families."⁹⁹ The

⁹⁸ <http://www.prcno.org/aboutprc.html>

⁹⁹ *Times Picayune* July 27, 2003

Preservation Resource Center also created a walking tour guide of the rich cultural resources of Tremé (Appendix F and G). Some of these resources include the African American Museum on Gov. Nicholls, and the Backstreet Museum, on St. Claude. According to the Historic Faubourg Tremé Association, “The African American Museum had been bogged down in political and financial scandal for the past three years due to mismanagement and fraud in the Morial administration.”¹⁰⁰



Figure 35: The African American Museum in Faubourg Tremé 2005.
Historic Faubourg Tremé Association

According to an April 2004 article in the *Times Picayune*, Tremé was to receive dozens of new affordable homes in the next few years under a \$25 million public-private venture involving local officials and Freddie Mac, one of the nation's two largest mortgage investors. The first phase of construction was to include six homes ranging from 1,300 to 1,500 square feet. Later phases would have added 35 homes by the end of 2010. The homes were to sell for \$79,000 to \$85,000, half the market price for homes the same size and quality. The Ujamaa Community Development Corp., nonprofit formed to develop and/or manage properties that are

¹⁰⁰ <http://neworleansrenovation.blogspot.com/2006/09/historic-faubourg-treme-association.html>

providing affordable housing, was acquiring abandoned and vacant lots for the Tremé initiative from the New Orleans Redevelopment Authority. The lots that were speculated to house the affordable housing initiative are in the 70-block area bounded by North Broad Street and North Claiborne, Esplanade and Orleans avenues. Ujamaa planned to finance construction through a including a \$100,000 HOME grant from the city and a line of credit through the Whitney Community Development Corp.¹⁰¹

"By helping Tremé's low- and moderate-income families take their first steps toward the American dream of homeownership, this unique and diverse coalition will help Ujamaa in its mission to stabilize this once-vibrant and economically flourishing neighborhood,"¹⁰²

-Amy Brown, executive director of Ujamaa.

Many of the projects planned for Tremé were geared toward affordable housing for low-to-moderate income families. The discrepancy in these plans versus the Common Ground Projects and the Bronzeville Wabash YMCA project is that there were no amenities provided for the neighborhood, nor were there plans to foster economic growth (no support for small businesses, neighborhood involvement in the Preservation Resource Center's heritage tourism programs).

With so much disinvestment and displacement where does that leave the projects planned before the storm Tremé after Hurricane Katrina? As examined,

¹⁰¹ Egger, Bruce. "Home Venture Stakes Claim in Tremé; Affordable Houses to be Built There." *Times Picayune*, April 8, 2004, Metro, pg. 1

All of the information about the Affordable housing projects comes from this article

¹⁰² Ibid

Tremé before the storm was seeing resurgence in community activism in revitalizing the neighborhood. It was also encountering city help with home renovations. During this time its cultural wealth was also being considered as an economic force in the community.

Immediately after the storm, the Historic Faubourg Tremé Association was started. A press release asserted that “Since Katrina, Naydja and Adolf Bynum have spearheaded a new and more solid neighborhood organization in Tremé. Prior to the storm there were a number of factions vying for control of this neighborhood because it stands as an icon to the culture and history of the city.”¹⁰³ Naydja and Adolf Bynum both see Tremé for its cultural wealth and because of this the Historic Faubourg Tremé Association has implemented plans to celebrate its cultural wealth. They however realize that trying to fight all of Tremé's woes would be impossible so they have decided to focus on “Crime, Blight, and Grime”.

In focusing on these three areas they have successfully visually “cleaned up” the streets of the neighborhood by hosting a clean up day in August of 2006 where the sanitation department provided staff and trucks to assist, and hosted “The Night Out Against Crime”, which is a national event¹⁰⁴. They are also involved in a salvage program where they salvaged old materials and appliances and renewed them to be placed in renovated homes. Although the group is focused on “Crime, Blight, and Grime” their effect is far reaching. They are very involved in the city government and

¹⁰³ <http://neworleansrenovation.blogspot.com/2006/09/historic-faubourg-treme-association.html>

¹⁰⁴ The National Association of Town Watch (NATW) is a nonprofit, crime prevention organization which works in cooperation with thousands of crime watch groups and law enforcement agencies throughout the country. <http://www.nationalnightout.org/nno/history.html>

its decisions on the neighborhood. There are many neighborhood organizations that have and continue to fight for the betterment of the neighborhood; however, the New Orleans government has a history of implementing programs and projects that do not have the current residents and cultural and architectural or history of Tremé in mind. The new concern is that Hurricane Katrina will be the new excuse for implementation of new rehabilitation schemes for Tremé.

Now there are new visions of planning and how the planning practice can establish a process of neighborhood revitalization which enables local citizens to have greater control and ownership of the direction of their community. Equity planning is a way community can also foster redevelopment, and retain its low-income residents. It is a cognizant attempt by professional urban planners to implement redistributive policies that move resources, political power, and participation toward low-income groups.¹⁰⁵ Instead of using the traditional middle-class value system in planning, equity planners believe that planning should aim at providing community needs, moving away from the traditional method of looking at aesthetics and the value of real property. The ideals of equity planning are similar to advocacy planning that was popular in the 1960s. “This supports important themes in urban planning today, such as participation, sustainability and trust, and government acting as advocate and 'enabler', rather than an instrument of command and control.”¹⁰⁶ Faubourg Tremé could benefit from the new initiatives in preservation to provide affordable housing along with equity planning, and community involvement in the planning process.

¹⁰⁵ Ritzdorf, Marsha and Thomas, June. *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*. Sage Publications Inc: Thousand Oaks, 1997: 109.

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.channel4.com/life/microsites/0-9/4homes/castleford/index.html>

The Bronzeville and Common Ground case studies researched in this chapter have involved the community in the planning and implementation of historic preservation projects in their neighborhoods as a source of economic regeneration as well as provide housing. The goal of the neighborhood organizations and non-profits was to welcome investment and to provide more economically diverse and self sustaining neighborhood. The Bronzeville and Harlem residents wanted the neighborhood to be viable as they were in the early to mid 20th century before they were wrought with blight and crime, and both cities succeeded. Harlem however, is experiencing gentrification, and Tremé because of the tourism of the French Quarter faces the same “Disneyfication” that Harlem is currently experiencing. Because of the creation of the Vieux Carré Commission in 1936 and the *Central Area New Orleans Growth Management Program Technical Report containing The Proposed CBD Community Improvement Plan and Program 1974 to the Year 2000* the French Quarter was endangered by too much success. Business people, developers and private entrepreneurs began to place hotels, restaurants, and nightclubs into the Vieux Carré, the fear was and is that these tourists facilities have taken up a substantial part of the Quarter, and because of this the adjacent areas are profoundly affected. The commercial area of Canal Street was creating a new threat to neighborhoods like Faubourgs Tremé and Marigny surrounding the French Quarter. New High rise hotels were built just outside the jurisdiction of the Vieux Carré Commission on Canal Street. The explosion of development on Canal Street and the rehabilitation of the French Quarter made the rent for the area too expensive to live and the residential sector was pushed closer to Marigny.

“Middle-income white people are fleeing across the Esplanade downstream into old Faubourg Marigny...Faubourg Marigny is being transformed as the Quarter had been transformed years before...One can applaud the architectural results, but the continued displacement of blacks and compression of already overcrowded ghettos is disquieting.”¹⁰⁷

For Faubourg Tremé Historic Preservation plays a vital role in its reinvestment. Much of the pride of the community comes from its rich cultural heritage and architectural stock. Although Tremé has suffered years of blight the community can recover as seen with the Bronzeville case study. Harlem and Bronzeville have had very different results in trying to return the neighborhood back to what it once was. Instead of implementing plans to tear down existing historic homes in Tremé, the neighborhood should, as the Morial administration attempted to do, push to use its vacant housing for the affordable housing and other services that are so needed in the community. Strong community organizations like the Historic Faubourg Tremé Association and equity planning, and heritage tourism Tremé, like Bronzeville, can experience economic success without social and historical distress.

¹⁰⁷ Lewis, Peirce. *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape*
University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, 2003: 91.

CONCLUSION:

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Tremé has a rich culture as explored in chapter one. However, the history of this faubourg and its cultural significance are not well known or valued outside of the community. Because of this, Tremé faced decades of blight and disinvestment. Urban renewal projects implemented in the neighborhood to foster reinvestment deemed more destructive than helpful. The displacement of residents was not due to gentrification as popularly believed (as seen in the Harlem case study). When studying a neighborhood that is said to be gentrified or undergoing gentrification it is important to examine why residents were/are being displaced. The historical review of this thesis provided background of the kind of projects implemented in Tremé that caused its demise. It also revealed the importance of cultural significance and community involvement in the social and physical preservation of the neighborhood, and the damage that was done to the community when these two aspects were not taken into consideration.

Tremé, Harlem, and Bronzeville are African-American neighborhoods that have experienced and are recovering from urban renewal projects in a variety of ways. All three neighborhoods had a rich cultural heritage and history that were negatively affected by the government's plans to revitalize the neighborhoods. The Harlem and Bronzeville case studies offer two different views of reinvestment into historic African American community, but both are using heritage tourism as a source of economic viability for their neighborhoods. Tremé is beginning to also utilize its cultural

richness and heritage to revitalize the community, both socially and economically. Can Tremé benefit as Bronzeville had, but not suffer the consequences that Harlem suffers today?

Tremé has the potential to undergo a “Disneyfication” as Harlem has. Its proximity to the French Quarter and downtown has always negatively affected Tremé and currently presents a problem. Months before Hurricane Katrina developers again vested interest in Tremé. In April 2005, The City Council approved a plan to convert the former furniture store, originally occupied by the Colonial Home Furnishing Co. near the intersection of Rampart Street and Esplanade Avenue, into a 45-unit condominium. Developer David Carimi plans to invest more than \$6.5 million on the project which will add ground-level parking and a mezzanine level to the three-story structure. The \$10 million, 49,000- square-foot project will contain 30 luxury units and a penthouse.¹⁰⁸

Tremé faces more plans like this, ones that again do not value the neighborhoods culture, but its convenience. Although the Historic Faubourg Treme Association and other community groups are there to fight for the preservation of Tremé, can they fight the economic demands of not only the neighborhood but the entire city since the devastation of Hurricane Katrina?

In chapter three there was exploration of plans for affordable housing implemented in 2004 right before the storm. This plan, to be run by the Ujamaa Community Development Corp, seemed like a step in the right direction for the

¹⁰⁸ Roberts, Deon. “New Orleans Officials Call Condo Project the Largest in Tremé”
New Orleans City Business April 11, 2005

neighborhood to provide affordable housing; it was to be implemented over ten years. If time permitted it would have been beneficial to see if this project will still be executed or if there are other affordable housing plans for the neighborhood after Hurricane Katrina. Furthermore with the Hurricane restructuring the entire city of the community socially and physically, more study should go into the planning process, and if community involvement plays a role. Are the plans for New Orleans geared towards current residents or are they aimed towards enticing new people to move to New Orleans? If city officials' goals are to lure new residents to New Orleans, how will this planning process affect neighborhoods like Tremé? There also needs to be further exploration of the Tulane University Preservation Plan for Tremé. The preservation plan was presented Thursday May 3, 2007. The Tulane University School of Architecture presented their plan for preserving Tremé. The presentation was done by the graduate students of Tulane under the guidance of Gene Cizek. What does this preservation plan entail, and does it explore how historic resources can be used to help develop and sustain Tremé economically?

As of now because of Tremé's ancestry and rich cultural significance, it is beginning to sustain itself and to fight to keep the neighborhood as a reflection of its founding settlers. Community associations can be proactive in implementing reinvestment plans that include the retention low-income residents. These plans should also provide amenities for the neighborhood as seen in the Bronzeville, and Common Ground case studies by using its historic structures. Because of its eclectic history and cultural resources, Tremé can continue on its path of an economic resurgence by using

heritage tourism. Community involvement is vital in fostering neighborhood revitalization while retaining Tremé's social and physical character.

APPENDIX A

Afro-American Almanac: Historical Documents

<http://www.toptags.com/aama/docs/lublkcodes.htm>

THE "BLACK CODE" OF LOUISIANA

March, 1724

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to all present and to come, greeting. The Directors of the Company of the Indies having represented to us that the Province and colony of Louisiana is considerably established, by a large number of our subjects, who use slaves for the cultivation of the lands. We have Judged that it behooves our authority and our Justice, for the preservation of this colony, to establish there a law, and certain rules, to maintain there the discipline of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, and to order about what concerns the state and condition of the slaves in the said Islands, and desiring to provide for this, and to make known to our subjects who inhabit there and who shall settle there in the future, that although they inhabit climes infinitely remote, We are always present, by the extent of our power and by our application to succor them. Actuated by these causes and others, by the advice of our Council, and by our certain knowledge, full power and Royal authority, We have said, decreed, and ordered, We say, decree, and order, wish and it pleases us, the following.

ARTICLE I orders that the edict of 1615 be applied to Louisiana, and that all Jews who may have established their religion there be expelled within three months, under penalty of confiscation of body and property.

ARTICLE II orders that all slaves in the province be instructed and baptized in the Catholic religion.

ARTICLE III forbids the exercise of any other religion than the Catholic.

ARTICLE IV forbids the employment of any overseer who shall not be a Catholic, under penalty of confiscation of the negroes and punishment of the overseer.

ARTICLE V Orders Sundays and holidays to be regularly observed, and forbids all work by master or slaves, under penalty of confiscation of slaves and punishment of masters. The slaves, however, may be sent marketing.

ARTICLE VI forbids marriage of whites with slaves, and concubinage of whites and manumitted or free-born blacks with slaves, and imposes penalties.

ARTICLE VII orders to be observed, for marriages of free persons as well as of slaves, the solemnities of the ordinance of Blois and of the edict of 1639. The consent of the parents of the slave is not necessary, but only that of the master.

ARTICLE VIII forbids curates to celebrate marriages of slaves without consent of the masters, and forbids masters to force their slaves to marry against their will.

ARTICLE IX enacts that children born from the marriages of slaves shall belong to the master of the mother.

ARTICLE X enacts that if the husband be a slave and the wife a free woman, the children shall be free like their mother. If the husband be free and the wife a slave, the children shall be slaves.

ARTICLE XI orders that master shall have baptized slaves buried in consecrated ground; those who die without being baptized to be buried at night in a neighboring field.

ARTICLE XII forbids slaves to carry offensive Weapons or heavy sticks, under penalty of the whip and confiscation of the weapons in favor of the person seizing them. Slaves that are sent hunting by their masters, and carry notes or known marks, are excepted.

ARTICLE XIII forbids slaves belonging to different masters to assemble in crowds, by day or by night, under pretext of weddings or other causes, either at one of their masters or elsewhere, and still less on the highways or secluded places, under penalty of corporal punishment, which shall not be less than the whip and the fleur-de-lys; and in case of repetition of the offense and other aggravating circumstances, capital punishment may be applied, at the discretion of the Judges. It also commands all subjects of the King, whether officers or not, to seize and arrest the offenders and conduct them to prison, although there be no Judgment against them....

ARTICLE XVII orders seizure of goods that are offered for sale by slaves without permission or mark.

ARTICLE XVIII orders officers of the Superior Council to give their advice about the provisions and the food to be furnished the slaves. It also forbids masters to give any kind of brandy in lieu of food and clothing.

ARTICLE XIX forbids masters to abstain from feeding and clothing their slaves, by permitting them to work for their own account on a certain day of the week.

ARTICLE XX authorizes slaves to give information against their masters, if not properly fed or clad, or if treated inhumanly.

ARTICLE XXI orders slaves disabled from working by old age, sickness, or otherwise, to be provided for by their masters, otherwise they shall be sent to the nearest hospital, to which the masters shall pay eight cents a day for each slave, and the hospital shall have a lien on the plantations of the masters.

ARTICLE XXII declares that slaves can have nothing that does not belong to their masters, in whatever way acquired.

ARTICLE XXIII orders that masters be held responsible for what their slaves have done by their command.

ARTICLE XXIV forbids slaves from exercising public functions, from serving as arbitrators or experts, from giving testimony except in default of white people, and from ever serving as witnesses for or against their masters.

ARTICLE XXV forbids slaves from being parties to civil suits or complainants in criminal cases. Their masters shall act for them in civil cases and demand reparation or punishment for outrages and excesses committed against them.

ARTICLE XXVI orders prosecution of slaves in criminal cases in the same manner as for free persons, with exceptions hereafter mentioned.

ARTICLE XXVII Any slave who shall have struck his master, his mistress, or the husband of his mistress, or their children, so as to produce a bruise or shedding of blood in the face, shall be put to death.

ARTICLE XXVIII Outrages or acts of violence against free persons committed by slaves shall be punished with severity, and even with death if the case require it.

The End

APPENDIX B

Social Explorer

Table 1: 1960 Race Demographic Report

1960 Race Demographic Report - Social Explorer					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 39, 40, 44, and 43 in Orleans County, LA					
Statistics	Tract 39 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 40 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 44 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 43 in Orleans County, LA	Selected Tract Totals
Population	4,313	3,611	8,326	4,839	21,089
Population Density (per sq. mile)	31,424.30	23,947.40	34,745.80	26,146.60	29,586.10
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7
Race					
Population	4,313	3,611	8,326	4,839	21,089
_White	1,248	2,440	1,077	536	5,301 25.10%
_Black	3,059	1,165	7,246	4,287	15,757 74.70%
_Other	6	6	3	16	31 0.10%
Hispanic Status					
Population	4,313	3,611	8,326	4,839	21,089
Puerto Rican/Spanish Surname	4	0	8	0	12 0.10%
_Non Puerto Rican/Spanish Surname	4,309	3,611	8,318	4,839	21,077 99.90%

† This value was partially suppressed by Census Bureau. Click on the value for more information.
 ‡ This value was fully suppressed by Census Bureau.
[Click here for more on suppressions in 1960 Census.](#)

Table 2: 2000 Race Demographic Report

Social Explorer - 2000 Race Demographic Report					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 44.01, 39, and 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA					
Selected Counties: Orleans Parish LA					
Statistics	Tract 40 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.01 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 39 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA	Selected Tract Totals
Population	2,582	2,320	1,447	2,504	8,853
Pop. Density (per sq. mile)	13,444.50	13,449.90	6,435.20	25,825.40	12,897.70
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.7
Race					
Non Hispanic	2,513	2,291	1,425	2,492	8,721
_Black	2,330	2,220	1,146	2,482	8,178 93.80%
_Hawaiian/Pacific Is.	0	1	3	0	4 0.00%
_White	146	40	247	5	438 5.00%
Hispanic Status					
Population	2,582	2,320	1,447	2,504	8,853
_Hispanic	69	29	22	12	132 1.50%
_Non Hispanic	2,513	2,291	1,425	2,492	8,721 98.50%

APPENDIX C

Social Explorer

Table 3: 1960 Income Demographic Report

1960 Income Demographic Report - Social Explorer					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 39, 40, 44, and 43 in Orleans County, LA					
Statistics	Tract 39 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 40 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 44 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 43 in Orleans County, LA	Selected Tract Totals
Population	4,313	3,611	8,326	4,839	21,089
Population Density (per sq. mile)	31,424.30	23,947.40	34,745.80	26,146.60	29,586.10
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7
Households by Income Group (adjusted for inflation to year 1999)					
Households	1,643	1,278	2,525	1,983	7,429
Income: Less than \$5,730	431	249	585	483	1,748 23.50%
Income: \$5,730 - \$11,459	257	173	644	560	1,634 22.00%
Income: \$11,460 - \$17,189	302	195	400	384	1,281 17.20%
Income: \$17,190 - \$22,919	210	143	314	238	905 12.20%
Income: \$22,920 - \$28,649	166	156	258	128	708 9.50%
Income: \$28,650 - \$34,379	110	118	116	90	434 5.80%
Income: \$34,380 - \$40,109	61	64	76	29	230 3.10%
Income: \$40,110 - \$45,839	48	44	40	15	147 2.00%
Income: \$45,840 - \$51,569	15	20	31	7	73 1.00%
Income: \$51,570 - \$57,299	16	37	28	19	100 1.30%
Income: \$57,300 - \$63,029	23	71	29	30	153 2.10%
Income: \$63,030 - \$68,759	4	4	4	0	12 0.20%
Income: \$68,760 - \$74,489	0	4	0	0	4 0.10%

† This value was partially suppressed by Census Bureau. Click on the value for more information.
† This value was fully suppressed by Census Bureau.
[Click here for more on suppressions in 1960 Census.](#)

Table 4: 2000 Income Demographic Report

Social Explorer - 2000 Income Demographic Report					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 44.01, 39, and 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA					
Selected Counties: Orleans Parish LA					
Statistics	Tract 40 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.01 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 39 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA	Selected Tract Totals
Population	2,582	2,320	1,447	2,504	8,853
Pop. Density (per sq. mile)	13,444.50	13,449.90	6,435.20	25,825.40	12,897.70
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.7
Households by Income Group					
Total Households	972	819	671	952	3,414
Income < \$10,000	243	387	183	699	1,512 44.30%
Income \$10,000-\$14,999	110	121	65	68	364 10.70%
Income \$15,000-\$19,999	102	61	89	42	294 8.60%
Income \$20,000-\$24,999	110	51	61	35	257 7.50%
Income \$25,000-\$29,999	124	79	42	6	251 7.40%
Income \$30,000-\$34,999	116	22	47	7	192 5.60%
Income \$35,000-\$39,999	41	21	36	11	109 3.20%
Income \$40,000-\$44,999	29	22	40	20	111 3.30%
Income \$45,000-\$49,999	0	18	33	5	56 1.60%
Income \$50,000-\$59,999	55	10	4	8	77 2.30%
Income \$60,000-\$74,999	6	27	49	11	93 2.70%
Income \$75,000-\$99,999	22	0	22	24	68 2.00%
Income \$100,000-\$124,999	14	0	0	8	22 0.60%
Income \$125,000-\$149,999	0	0	0	0	0 0%
Income \$150,000-\$199,999	0	0	0	0	0 0%
Income \$200,000+	0	0	0	8	8 0.20%

Table 5: 2000 Income Demographic Report Orleans Parish, Louisiana, and the United States

Social Explorer - 2000 Income Demographic Report						
Selected Tracts:						
Census Tract 40, 44.01, 39, and 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA						
Selected Counties:						
Orleans Parish LA						
Statistics	Orleans Parish, LA		Louisiana		United States	
Population	484,674		4,468,976		281,421,906	
Pop. Density (per sq. mile)	2,684.30		102.6		79.6	
Land Area (in sq. miles)	180.6		43,561.80		3,537,438.40	
Households by Income Group						
Total Households	188,365		1,657,107		105,539,122	
Income < \$10,000	39,617	21.00%	258,086	15.60%	10,067,027	9.50%
Income \$10,000-\$14,999	17,991	9.60%	141,930	8.60%	6,657,228	6.30%
Income \$15,000-\$19,999	15,629	8.30%	126,273	7.60%	6,601,020	6.30%
Income \$20,000-\$24,999	14,131	7.50%	122,215	7.40%	6,935,945	6.60%
Income \$25,000-\$29,999	13,586	7.20%	116,044	7.00%	6,801,010	6.40%
Income \$30,000-\$34,999	11,874	6.30%	107,365	6.50%	6,718,232	6.40%
Income \$35,000-\$39,999	10,239	5.40%	97,164	5.90%	6,236,192	5.90%
Income \$40,000-\$44,999	8,701	4.60%	88,122	5.30%	5,965,869	5.70%
Income \$45,000-\$49,999	7,459	4.00%	75,336	4.50%	5,244,211	5.00%
Income \$50,000-\$59,999	11,432	6.10%	131,611	7.90%	9,537,175	9.00%
Income \$60,000-\$74,999	12,292	6.50%	142,939	8.60%	11,003,429	10.40%
Income \$75,000-\$99,999	10,802	5.70%	126,752	7.60%	10,799,245	10.20%
Income \$100,000-\$124,999	5,287	2.80%	56,221	3.40%	5,491,526	5.20%
Income \$125,000-\$149,999	2,633	1.40%	24,016	1.40%	2,656,300	2.50%
Income \$150,000-\$199,999	2,620	1.40%	19,502	1.20%	2,322,038	2.20%
Income \$200,000+	4,072	2.20%	23,531	1.40%	2,502,675	2.40%

APPENDIX D

Social Explorer

Table 6: 1970 Housing Demographic Report

1970 Housing Demographic Report - Social Explorer						
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 43, 39, and 44 in Orleans County, LA						
Selected Counties: Orleans County LA						
Statistics	Tract 40 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 43 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 39 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 44 in Orleans County, LA	Selected Tract Totals	
Population	4,285	1,689	2,765	6,962	15,701	
Population Density (per sq. mile)	22,857.50	10,553.10	27,492.30	26,306.40	22,027.20	
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	
Occupancy						
Total Year-Round Housing Units	1,473	831	1,057	2,263	5,624	
Occupied Units	1,361	719	939	2,186	5,205	92.50%
Owner Occupied Units	336	98	118	268	820	14.60%
Renter Occupied Units	1,025	621	821	1,918	4,385	78.00%
Vacant Units	93 ±	69 ±	85 ±	57 ±	304 ±	5.40%
For Rent	93	69	85	57	304	5.40%
For Sale Only	0 ±	0 ±	0 ±	0 ±	0 ±	0%

Table 7: 2000 Housing Demographic Report

Social Explorer - 2000 Housing Demographic Report						
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 44.01, 39, and 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA						
Selected Counties: Orleans Parish LA						
Statistics	Tract 40 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.01 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 39 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA	Selected Tract Totals	
Population	2,582	2,320	1,447	2,504	8,853	
Pop. Density (per sq. mile)	13,444.50	13,449.90	6,435.20	25,825.40	12,897.70	
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.7	
Occupancy						
Total Housing Units	1,266	1,173	885	930	4,254	
Occupied Units	1,013	871	657	888	3,429	80.60%
Owner Occupied Units	335	252	155	4	746	21.80%
Renter Occupied Units	678	619	502	884	2,683	78.20%
Vacant Units	253	302	228	42	825	19.40%
For Rent	42	81	101	16	240	29.10%
For Sale Only	22	10	9	0	41	5.00%
Other	189	211	118	26	544	65.90%

APPENDIX E

Social Explorer

Table 8: 1970 Housing Costs Demographic Report

1970 Housing Costs Demographic Report - Social Explorer					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 43, 39, and 44 in Orleans County, LA					
Selected Counties: Orleans County LA					
Statistics	Tract 40 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 43 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 39 in Orleans County, LA	Tract 44 in Orleans County, LA	Selected Tract Totals
Population	4,285	1,689	2,765	6,962	15,701
Population Density (per sq. mile)	22,857.50	10,553.10	27,492.30	26,306.40	22,027.20
Land Area (in sq. miles)	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7
Average Gross Rent (1999 Dollars, CPI=4.54)					
Renter Occupied Housing Units	1,015	599	790	1,890	4,294
Average Gross Rent	\$387	\$379	\$375	\$299	\$345
Average Contract Rent (asking rent) (1999 Dollars, CPI=4.54)					
Renter Occupied Housing Units	1,015	599	790	1,890	4,294
Average Monthly Contract Rent	\$296	\$322	\$297	\$226	\$269
Housing Units by Gross Rent Amount (1999 Dollars, CPI=4.54)					
Specified Renter Occupied Housing Units	1,015	599	790	1,890	4,294
No Cash Rent	23	6	10	9	48 1.10%
With Cash Rent	992	593	780	1,881	4,246 98.90%
Less than \$136	0	10	0	206	216 5.10%
\$136 to \$181	17	0	5	178	200 4.70%
\$182 - \$226	41	43	20	221	325 7.70%
\$227 - \$271	53	51	111	165	380 8.90%
\$272 - \$317	94	129	60	224	507 11.90%
\$318 - \$362	157	77	112	209	555 13.10%
\$363 - \$408	191	45	142	217	595 14.00%
\$409 - \$453	167	69	131	213	580 13.70%
\$454 - \$544	160	86	121	197	564 13.30%
\$545 - \$680	94	25	61	36	216 5.10%
\$681 - \$807	18	47	17	10	92 2.20%
\$808 - \$1,134	0	5	0	5	10 0.20%
\$1,135 - \$1,361	0	6	0	0	6 0.10%
\$1,362 or more	0	0	0	0	0 0%

Table 9: 1970 Housing Costs Demographic Report for Orleans Parish, New Orleans, and the United States

1970 Housing Costs Demographic Report - Social Explorer						
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 43, 39, and 44 in Orleans County, LA						
Selected Counties: Orleans County LA						
Statistics	Orleans County, LA		Louisiana		United States	
Population	593,471		3,640,490		203,212,877	
Population Density (per sq. mile)	3,286.90		83.6		57.4	
Land Area (in sq. miles)	180.6		43,561.90		3,537,438.40	
Average Gross Rent (1999 Dollars, CPI=4.54)						
Renter Occupied Housing Units	116,065		360,311		22,333,580	
Average Gross Rent	\$413		\$341		\$473	
Average Contract Rent (asking rent) (1999 Dollars, CPI=4.54)						
Renter Occupied Housing Units	116,065		360,311		22,333,580	
Average Monthly Contract Rent	\$329		\$267		\$403	
Housing Units by Gross Rent Amount (1999 Dollars, CPI=4.54)						
Specified Renter Occupied Housing Units	116,065		360,311		22,333,580	
No Cash Rent	3,685	3.20%	33,927	9.40%	1,299,703	5.80%
With Cash Rent	112,380	96.80%	326,384	90.60%	21,033,877	94.20%
Less than \$136	4,741	4.20%	15,580	4.80%	246,250	1.20%
\$136 to \$181	3,493	3.10%	20,446	6.30%	452,701	2.20%
\$182 - \$226	4,307	3.80%	26,193	8.00%	723,387	3.40%
\$227 - \$271	6,772	6.00%	29,686	9.10%	985,859	4.70%
\$272 - \$317	11,184	10.00%	34,715	10.60%	1,409,045	6.70%
\$318 - \$362	14,051	12.50%	34,261	10.50%	1,649,051	7.80%
\$363 - \$408	14,945	13.30%	32,578	10.00%	1,869,297	8.90%
\$409 - \$453	12,944	11.50%	27,364	8.40%	1,831,367	8.70%
\$454 - \$544	16,602	14.80%	37,292	11.40%	3,331,736	15.80%
\$545 - \$680	10,710	9.50%	30,188	9.20%	3,772,048	17.90%
\$681 - \$907	8,894	7.90%	27,999	8.60%	3,304,017	15.70%
\$908 - \$1,134	2,461	2.20%	7,140	2.20%	887,382	4.20%
\$1,135 - \$1,361	612	0.50%	1,836	0.60%	306,703	1.50%
\$1,362 or more	664	0.60%	1,106	0.30%	265,034	1.30%

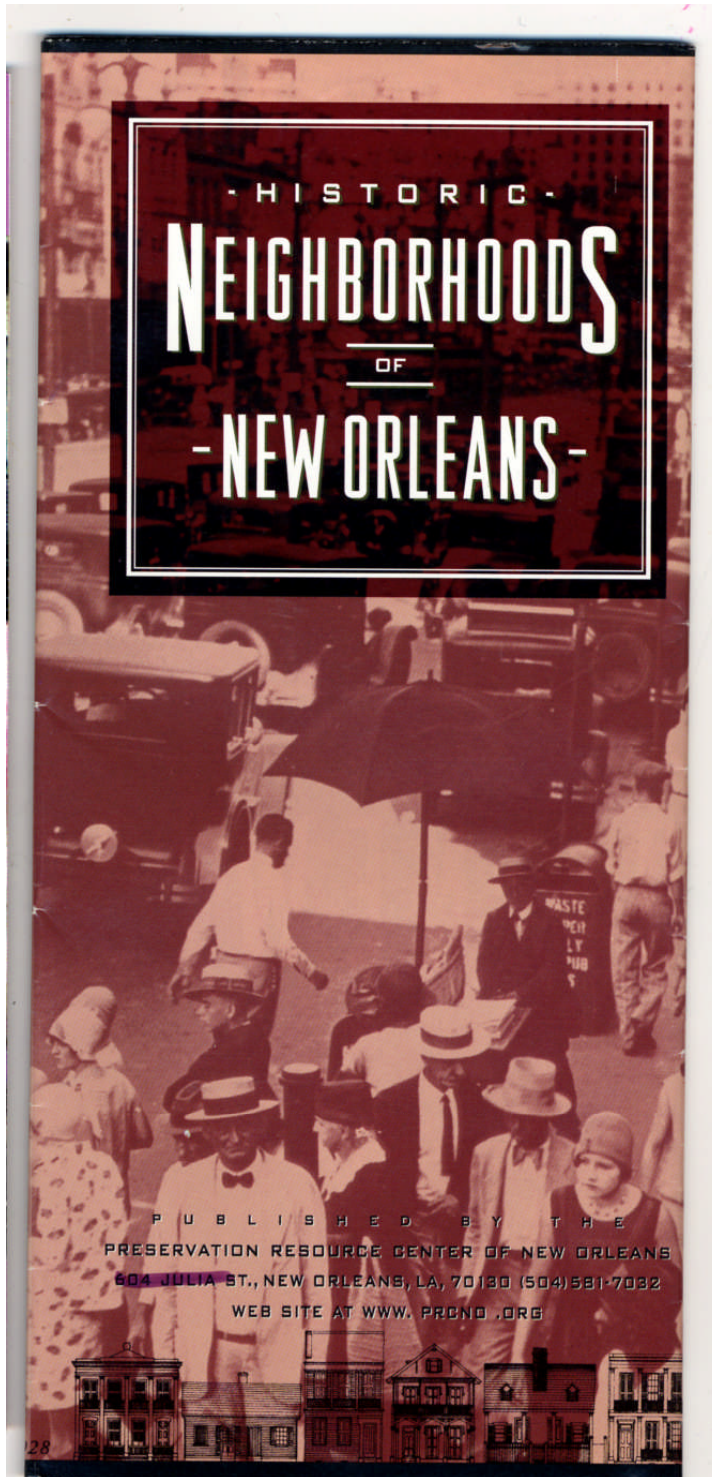
Table 10: 2000 Housing Costs Demographic Report

Social Explorer - 2000 Housing Costs Demographic Report					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 44.01, 39, and 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA					
Selected Counties: Orleans Parish LA					
Statistics	Tract 40 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.01 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 39 in Orleans Parish, LA	Tract 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA	Selected Tract Totals
Rent					
Specified Renter Occupied Housing Units	674	624	479	853	2,630
Median Gross Rent	\$443	\$394	\$448	\$128	\$330
Average Gross Rent	\$425	\$373	\$484	\$140	\$331
Specified Renter-Occ HU	674	624	479	853	2,630
No Cash Rent	35	31	17	24	107 4.10%
With Cash Rent	639	593	462	829	2,523 95.90%
<\$299	115	160	65	788	1,128 44.70%
\$300-\$599	388	370	298	41	1,097 43.50%
\$600-\$799	107	52	82	0	241 9.60%
\$800-\$999	24	11	0	0	35 1.40%
\$1,000-\$1,249	5	0	11	0	16 0.60%
\$1,250-\$1,499	0	0	0	0	0 0%
\$1,500-\$1,999	0	0	0	0	0 0%
\$2,000+	0	0	6	0	6 0.20%

Table 11: 2000 Housing Costs Demographic Report for Orleans Parish, Louisiana, and the United States.

Social Explorer - 2000 Housing Costs Demographic Report					
Selected Tracts: Census Tract 40, 44.01, 39, and 44.02 in Orleans Parish, LA					
Selected Counties: Orleans Parish LA					
Statistics	Orleans Parish, LA		Louisiana		United States
Population	484,674		4,468,976		281,421,906
Pop. Density (per sq. mile)	2,684.30		102.6		79.6
Land Area (in sq. miles)	180.6		43,561.80		3,537,438.40
Rent					
Specified Renter Occupied Housing Units	100,328		525,722		35,199,502
Median Gross Rent	\$488		\$466		\$602
Average Gross Rent	\$497		\$442		\$623
Specified Renter-Occ HU	100,328		525,722		35,199,502
No Cash Rent	4,071	4.10%	50,849	9.70%	1,813,176 5.20%
With Cash Rent	96,257	95.90%	474,873	90.30%	33,386,326 94.80%
<\$299	17,299	18.00%	91,105	19.20%	3,662,945 11.00%
\$300-\$599	50,490	52.50%	264,004	55.60%	12,923,099 38.70%
\$600-\$799	17,077	17.70%	79,431	16.70%	8,360,670 25.00%
\$800-\$999	6,605	6.90%	24,915	5.20%	4,361,217 13.10%
\$1,000-\$1,249	2,719	2.80%	8,778	1.80%	2,151,418 6.40%
\$1,250-\$1,499	919	1.00%	2,974	0.60%	902,681 2.70%
\$1,500-\$1,999	857	0.90%	2,553	0.50%	685,164 2.10%
\$2,000+	291	0.30%	1,113	0.20%	339,132 1.00%

Preservation Resource Center



Preservation Resource Center's

LIVING WITH HISTORY
IN NEW ORLEANS' NEIGHBORHOODS

Tremé



PHOTO: KATHERINE LAWSON HART

PRESERVATION RESOURCE CENTER OF NEW ORLEANS
INVITES YOU TO EXPLORE THE LOCAL SIDE OF LIFE IN
TREMÉ, A MULTICULTURAL AND COSMOPOLITAN
CREOLE DEVELOPMENT THAT EMERGED AS A BASE OF
AFRICAN-AMERICAN POWER IN THE MID-19th CENTURY.

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