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**Ownership, Engagement, and Entrepreneurship: the *gens de couleur libres*
and the Architecture of Antebellum New Orleans, 1820-1850**

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**Ownership, Engagement, and Entrepreneurship: the *gens de couleur libres*
and the Architecture of Antebellum New Orleans, 1820-1850**

by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

December 2012

Dedication

To my families

"It's some precious work. It's like a diamond, like a jewel, and it's for you to preserve it."
—Earl Barthé (1922-2010), master plasterer and self-described "Creole of Color"

Preface and Acknowledgements

My journey to this point has stemmed from a melding of interest in family history, historic interiors, historic architecture, and historic preservation. As far as family history is concerned, the dearth of information on my ancestors and admonishments of "I'll tell you when you are older" or "None of your business" made me want to know even more since, being black and descended from slaves and people of color, I do not know much about most branches of my family before 1910. Perhaps I hoped to find some answers when I used to peel off the wallpaper in the "back room" of my grandmother's house in Broussard, Louisiana? Or maybe I was already a budding historic preservationist and architectural historian. Let's blame Patrick Swayze for adding fuel to the fire. In the sixth grade, I visited Stanton Hall in Natchitoches, Louisiana. Interior scenes for the 1980s television miniseries *North and South* in which Swayze starred were filmed there. My friends convinced me to ask one of the docents which room was the bedroom of Swayze's character "Rory." Most of us (and our mothers!) had a huge crush on the movie star. I remember vividly how the delighted docent pulled back the velvet rope from the doorway of said room and allowed me to not only step inside but *lay down* on the high lace-covered four-poster bed. To my delight, I had first-hand interaction with historic objects and learned that it was indeed acceptable to ask questions.

My love affair with historic houses continued through college when I wrote my art history senior thesis on the evolution of Andrew Carnegie's New York residence from

a private home to a museum, and afterward when I interned for a year at the historic house museum Shadows-on-the-Teche. At this antebellum plantation and National Trust site in New Iberia, Louisiana, I returned to my roots in my home state and learned that I could pursue a viable career in historic preservation. Onward to The University of Texas where I pursued a master's degree in Historic Preservation and decided to supplement it with a Ph.D. in architectural history. At this point, my coursework became very personal, and I increasingly wanted to know "Where are the black people in architectural history?" To this end, I wrote several course papers on African-American architectural history once I commenced my doctoral studies:

- "Space and Composition in Paul R. Williams' Ideal Residential Designs" (Architectural Theory, November 2004)
- "The Interiors of the Walker Residences: Progressions in the Idea of the Ideal Black Home and Personal Design Taste" (History of Interior Design II, December 2004)
- "David Augustus Williston" (Cultural Landscapes, February 2005)
- "The Influence of *gens de couleur libres* on the Architecture of Colonial Louisiana" (Architecture in the Age of Revolution, May/December 2005)
- "Paradise on Earth: Freedmen's Communities and Notions of the American Landscape" (Nature and the Transcendental in American Architecture, December 2005)

I expanded the paper on the homes of Madame C. J. Walker and her daughter A'Lelia into an article published in the Winter 2005/2006 issue of *Studies in the Decorative Arts*. Up until this time, I had considered writing my dissertation on some aspect of the relatively little studied black architects of the early 20th century such as Paul R. Williams, Julien Abele, or Madam Walker's architect Vertner Tandy. But, as I prepared an evolved version of my paper on the *gens de couleur libres* for a panel titled "New Perspectives on the Architecture of America's Antebellum Era" at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the

Society of Architectural Historians, a friend and classmate asked, "Why don't you write your dissertation on this?" The suggestion took root, and, here I am.

Shortly before submitting the first compiled draft of this dissertation, I went through all of my research to make sure that I had not skipped over any material that I wanted to discuss. In one of my binders of material, I came across a note written between the same friend and myself (yes, graduate students pass notes in class) one year after the previously mentioned conversation. In an apparent moment of clarity, I exalted, "I just realize that my interest...is in preserving *identity*." This friend responded positively concurring that black identity, especially in the South, is not very well preserved, documented, or treated like a valid *academic* historical topic, especially in regard to our fields of architectural history and historic preservation. For me, not only was black architecture a non-entity as a valid area of study, little to nothing was known about the black architects and builders—their personal lives, motivations, and just day-to-day *being* not only as contributors to the nation's built environment but as *people*.

The *gens de couleur libres* are an ideal subject because much can be gleaned about their architectural endeavors due to the nature of primary source material. Louisiana's *Code Noir* required free people of color to be identified as such in colonial legal and religious documents; this system continued into the antebellum period. When this practice was followed, their real estate activities are relatively easy to distinguish in public, particularly notarized, documents. Also a result of Louisiana's laws, New Orleans's unique notary system facilitates research into the architectural activities on New Orleans' residents through documentation of building contracts, plans, and property sales in the Notarial Archives. Property transfers are a valuable tool for documenting personal contributions of the *gens de couleur libres*. While useful, architectural documentation such as building contracts and architectural drawings are

extremely limited as many New Orleanians did not formally document building commissions, especially for domestic or utilitarian buildings. They often constructed buildings themselves or did not prepare plan drawings at the time a project was commissioned. Records of property sales, donations, and inheritances serve to fill this void. The Dollioles and Souliés are among antebellum New Orleans' families of color whose building, purchasing, and selling activities are clearly represented in primary source material. More than simply cataloguing real estate transactions in which the Dollioles and Souliés were involved, this dissertation utilizes the information presented to link specific individuals to specific locations within the city, specific property types, where identified, and to create relationships between individuals (Creole and Anglo, black and white) as sellers, buyers, owners, developers, and builders.

Having utilized the volumes on *The Creole Faubourgs* and *Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* of the *New Orleans Architecture* series as a starting point for my research on the *gens de couleur libres*, I was struck by the sheer numbers of men and women of color who were involved in the building trades.¹ Hence, I first determined to

¹ The books serve as a starting point for utilization of primary source material to tell the story about the social and cultural ramifications of the *gens de couleur libres* architectural activities. The oldest of these studies published by the Friends of the Cabildo from 1971 to 1997 is now forty-one years old, however. In order to foster historic preservation at a neighborhood-by-neighborhood scale, the series' format emphasizes building types and is limited to discussion of particular geographic regions of the city by volume and to persons or families whose connections with the built environment are still tangible (or were at the time of publication). Publication of the series was directly related to the listing of several neighborhoods in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP): *Volume I: The Lower Garden District* (Lower Garden District, NRHP 1972); *Volume II: The American Sector* (Upper and Lower Central Business Districts, NRHP 1990 and 1991); *Volume IV: The Creole Faubourgs* (Faubourg Marigny Historic District, NRHP 1974; Bywater and Holy Cross Historic Districts, NRHP 1986); *Volume V: The Esplanade Ridge* (Esplanade Ridge Historic District, NRHP 1980); *Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (included in the Esplanade Ridge Historic District, NRHP 1980); *Volume VII: Jefferson City* (included in the Uptown New Orleans Historic District, NRHP 1985); and *Volume VIII: The University Section* (included in the Uptown New Orleans Historic District, NRHP 1985). The Vieux Carré and the Garden District were documented and listed to the NRHP in the 1960s before the publication of the series and are, therefore, were not included. These areas are also local historic districts.

approach my dissertation by studying black Creoles (and their architectural output) via their roles in the building trades—as builders, owners, and speculators. Even though I had narrowed my focus to the decades between 1820 and 1850 as a result of the discussion on how to narrow the topic at my dissertation colloquium, I didn't even know where to begin during my first research trip. Using a spreadsheet I created during the writing of the SAH paper, I started to examine property records at the New Orleans Notarial Archives (NONA) on the individuals who appeared most frequently, but was still examining no less than thirty people! In addition, searching through the databases for architectural drawings attached to notarial records, drawings compiled in plan books, and building contracts related to the *gens de couleur libres* highlighted the fact that New Orleans' black Creoles had a strong presence in the nineteenth century. This endeavor did not help me determine how to focus my information gathering and thesis with less emphasis on the buildings themselves and more on the personal stories of the people. I encountered the same problem examining the Historic New Orleans Collections' (HNOC) Free People of Color binders that contained information on people of color property owners in the Vieux Carré—my lists of people and property were becoming longer. The Dolliole and Soulié family names, however, stuck out. The families were among those emphasized in the *New Orleans Architecture* books and consistently mentioned in secondary sources. At NONA, the databases, Bioscope index (a directory of the party names that appear frequently in the notary books with a list of notary names for each), and genealogist Charles R. Maduell, Jr.'s index of family records contained repeated references to members of the two families, especially the Dollioles. What I consider my first significant find was the discovery that the Soulié Family Ledgers at HNOC did indeed pertain to *my* Souliés. As I sneezed opening the antique leather-bound first volume and read the names of the very people I had been starting to research, goose bumps ran

down my arms. With a silent fist pump, I felt that my efforts and hunches were validated. It was at this point that I decided to focus my dissertation on the architectural endeavors of the first-generation members of the Dolliole and Soulié families. Doing so allowed me to create a manageable point of departure for my discussion and still consider male *and* female persons of color in their roles as builders, clients, property owners, developers and speculators.

Still the amount of information to be collected was daunting. I maintained a system of spreadsheets—my original tool for data collection—to store data. Spreadsheets are easy to manipulate, expand (which I will do beyond the publication of this dissertation), and convert to other useful forms (i.e. tables and databases) and are also useful for comparing information when it is presented side-by-side. They can also easy to present in their raw form. My spreadsheets served as research checklists and allowed me to cross-check information that I gathered on the same property or person from different sources. I transformed my original spreadsheet to focus on Dolliole- and Soulié-related properties (*Appendix B*) including information on location, associated person(s) and their role(s), building form, organizing data by the different repositories or secondary sources. The document served as a control in identifying and documenting Dolliole and Soulié-associated properties. Here, the Notarial Archives was the most useful for acquiring specifics on property transactions and descriptions. I developed a chain of title for properties under Dolliole and Soulié ownership. I also located properties and verified transactions through succession and probate records in the Louisiana Division of the New Orleans Public Library (NOPL), secondary sources, and properties noted in the Soulié ledgers. The Vieux Carré Survey, housed at HNOC, was also an invaluable tool. Through that resource, I pinpointed and tracked Dolliole and Soulié property ownership in the French Quarter, especially important since the *New*

Orleans Architecture series does not cover the original city. Further, many of the first-generation family members', and their parents', property acquisitions were made in the Vieux Carré. The survey in its entirety became available electronically during the course of my research. The searchable online Vieux Carré—complete with maps, historic and current photos, and other historic documents—increased my use of that tool as I continued to discover the existence of Dolliole- and Soulié-owned properties in the original city not only those that are extant (or were when the *New Orleans Architecture* series was first published forty-one years ago). Finally, I started a notary-by-notary search via NONA's online alphabetized catalog of notary indices to fill in property ownership gaps. That endeavor has indeed allowed me to find additional properties owned by the families and to augment biographical and real estate information about which I was already knowledgeable. It also taught me that this work is only the tip of the iceberg.

Even while obtaining information specific to property ownership and development, I determined to establish individual—and, by extension, family and group—identities. Again, I utilized a spreadsheet (*Appendix F*) to keep track of the material that I found on large cast of family members, acquaintances, and contemporaries. In this undertaking, materials at the Louisiana Division of the New Orleans Public Library (NOPL) where City Archives and Special Collections are housed proved the most useful. One of my first tasks was to go through the Archdiocese of New Orleans' sacramental records. My job was made easier as this information is indexed and published in a series of bound volumes. The sacramental records are a font of information and provide more than dates; they also often include the names of parents, grandparents, godparents, and sponsors or witnesses. In this way, I was able to find and validate birth, death, and marriage dates and establish family, extended family, and

communal relationships between individuals. For those persons whose death dates were less clear, I consulted the Louisiana Division/City Archives Louisiana Biography & Obituary Index. In most cases, the individuals I am studying did not have a newspaper-published obituary or death notice; when present it typically includes only the deceased's dates of death and burial, much to my disappointment. On the other hand, I hit the jackpot searching through succession and probate court records, which often include wills and inventories. In addition to describing individuals' cumulative wealth in property (moveable and real), these documents also illuminate how one's assets and possessions derived from and influenced personal relationships. I also utilized the city directories at NOPL, tools useful for confirming not only where and with whom Dolliole and Soulié heads of household lived and worked at certain points in time.

In this day and age, the use of the Internet as a viable research tool cannot be discounted. I was able to effectively utilize most of the repositories by accessing online indices and collections before and between research trips. Through genealogy sites and search engines such as FamilySearch, Heritage Quest, and Ancestry.com, I was able to confirm individuals' vital statistics and relationships, manage family trees, and locate basic biographical information on individuals secondary to my discussion. Many of these webpages also provide access to historical records such as census data, newspaper articles, ship manifests, estate files and supplemental information that I gathered during on-site trips. Every now and then, a random Google search yielded quite unexpected findings, eliciting either more fist pumping or sighs of disappointment. Many of these sighs were the outcome of the inconsistencies and vagaries of Internet research, especially when research of amateur genealogists (including myself) was contradictory. Sometimes, though, frustration can yield great results. When I sought to establish the connection for the partnership between Louis Drausin Dolliole and Emile Errié, a

random search of the latter's name led me to the online calendar of the University of Notre Dame Archives. The English translation of Jeanne Aliquot's will noted that Jean Louis Dolliole owed money to her estate. The entry also noted that a Mr. Errié owed Aliquot 100 piastres, with his note endorsed by his father-in-law Jean-Louis Dolliole. In a whirl of excitement, I starting reviewing my research and looking for other clues that one of Dolliole's daughters had married Errié even though I was well into my research and had seen no documentation to that effect. Nothing. Surely I was missing something. Discouraged, I let the matter rest a bit. Then, I moved on to analyze apprenticeship records that I had collected but not yet reviewed. Lo and behold, they included an entry for the indenture of Emile Errié arranged by his mother Laurette Baudin. I already knew *her* as Jean-Louis Dolliole's second wife, so Errié would have been Dolliole's stepson. I consulted my French-English dictionary and learned that *beau père* translates to "father-in-law" *and* "stepfather."² "Mystery solved! I gleefully contacted Notre Dame's archives to let them know of my discovery (backed by my archival research, of course) and the error in translating *beau père* from the original French. This one small achievement was one of many during the course of researching and writing this dissertation that validated to me the importance of my work and of this topic.

In addition to the use of spreadsheets, maps are also a tool by which I have analyzed the research gathered through these various means. Visual representations are often the best way to create a picture of something as simple as a site plan or family living patterns (e.g. *Figures 6 and 10*). In this way, 1876 and 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance

² The entry originally read "Jean Louis Dolliole owes her 260 piastres, endorsed by his brother Joseph. Mr. Eriéme [sic] owes her 100 piastres, his note is endorsed by his Father-in-law, Dolliole." University of Notre Dame Archives Calendar, <http://archives.nd.edu/calendar/cal1842.htm>, accessed March 31, 2012.

Company maps, the earliest for New Orleans, proved most useful. By looking at various historic maps of the city over time, I can see how the movement of the Dollioles and Souliés in terms of their property ownership followed city growth patterns. And, when properties are presented on current aerials, a unique picture of then and now enables discussion of historic and present-day patterns of settlement, movement, and preservation. From creative mapping to utilizing archival sources in new ways, I employed diverse methods in the researching and writing of this dissertation.

The story that my dissertation tells is about method. By looking at the Dollioles and Souliés, I explore the methods by which the *gens de couleur libres* constructed their identity through the ownership and development of personal property and, by extension the city of New Orleans. The means through which the Dollioles and Souliés came into contact with and impacted the built environment—ownership, possession, acquisition, engagement, transformation, formation, education, entrepreneurship—and created a process to establish, maintain, and underscore their individual and community identities is indeed the foundation for the organization of this dissertation. And, ultimately, the story of the Dollioles and Souliés, and that of the *gens de couleur libres* as a whole, provides a new context for understanding the architecture of New Orleans by viewing genealogy as geography and geography as genealogy. The families' ancestries and histories influenced not only architectural form and type but also the character, arrangement, and interrelation of issues such as land use and population, and vice versa. This study aims to illuminate that relationship in a way that it has not been before and serve as an impetus for the continued study of the *gens de couleur libres'* influence on the architecture of New Orleans.

I must extend my thanks to the many individuals who assisted me with my own processes in the preparation of this dissertation. I may be a little biased, but I think that

only in New Orleans can one have so much fun conducting archival research. At HNOC's Williams Research Center I would like to thank Jennifer Navarre, Eric Sieferth, Brian Lavigne, and Nina Bozak. And, a special thank you to the Center's receptionist Frances Salvaggio for her kindness in pinpointing me to a shrimp po-boy that, even though it nearly put me in a food coma and curtailed one afternoon's research, was well worth it. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Center's Director of Museum Programs/Education John Lawrence and to Head of Reader Services Daniel Hammer for taking their time to offer me research pointers and contacts and to suggest ways that my work might evolve into public programming and mesh with future HNOC events.

At NOPL's Louisiana Division thank yous go to Irene Wainwright, Charles Brown, Stephen Kuehling, Cheryl Picou, and, especially, Yvonne Lavoisier and Greg Osborn. I appreciate your patience in not kicking me out as, literally, the last library bell rang at closing. And a heartfelt thanks to the unnamed staff person or library patron who found and turned in to lost and found my much-needed gloves during an unexpectedly frigid winter.

To the ladies of the NONA Research Center, you make archival research in a freezing room with books that drive my allergies crazy fun! Yvonne Lavoisier (again!), Juliet Pazera, Sybil Thomas, Erin Heaton, Amanda Picou, and Theresa Butler, thank you for making me welcome and providing me with all of the historical documents I asked for and more. I appreciate everything that you offered—insight, conversation, laughter, lunch suggestions, and just good ole' New Orleans hospitality. I would also like to thank Sally Kittredge Reeves for adding to my positive experiences at NONA by allowing me to interrupt her current independent research with questions about her previous work on New Orleans architecture and on the *gens de couleur libres*.

I would undoubtedly still be in the midst of research if not for funding through The University of Texas Continuing Fellowship as well as from the SRI Foundation and by a Carter Manny Award from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. I would like to specifically acknowledge Dr. Carla Van West (SRI), Terry Klein (SRI), and James Pike (Graham) for personalizing the grants process. I am humbled by the organizations', and their selection committees', recognition of my scholarship and faith that I would do the topic justice.

I would also not have gotten this far without the support and encouragement of my colleagues and friends at Hardy'Heck'Moore, Inc. Thanks for keeping me in the loop during my extended absences for research and writing and for dealing with my absentmindedness and crankiness (who me?) when I *was* in the office. And Dave, thank you for allowing me to take the time off in the first place, trusting me to still do good work, and recognizing how important this is for my professional *and* personal growth and to my family. Yes, I know I still owe everyone a pot of crawfish etouffee.

If not for the unfailing support of my dissertation committee during this five-year process, this paper would not have happened. It ha's been a long time coming, but none of you failed to provide input and encouragement when I needed it most. Dr. Holleran, Dr. Walker, and Dr. Edwards, thank you.

Dr. Cleary and Dr. Long, what can I say? Neither of you failed to see my potential and the promise of this dissertation. I have traveled an even longer journey with you providing advice, pep talks, and swift kicks in the you-know-what along the way. I appreciate your support of my individuality and devotion to my family as I trudged along these past nine years. It is truly an honor to have been among those you considered worthy to be a part of the Program in Architectural History and Theory. I hope that I can be half the teacher and friend that you have both been to me. And to the Missuses,

thank you for answering frantic calls (Gia) and letting me talk your ear off at work (Sarah) about my studies and dissertation.

I would also like to recognize to fellow graduate students and friends whose little influences went a long way. To Natalie, thanks for being my note-writing partner-in-crime and supporting my banner for (as well as being a testament to) greater diversity in the field of architecture despite your own disillusionment with academia. And to Sam, your extremely constructive and insightful comments and suggestions on my drafts provided me with better perspective and just a bit more steam to see it through.

I would not have had the heart to tell the Dollioles' and Souliés' stories without the support of my own families. Thank you one and all. Dana, thank you for laughing at and promoting my discovery of "egregious errors in historic preservation." Kesha and Mariah, words cannot express how much your support and care of David, Zoya, Aria, and I over the years and especially during dissertation crunch time means to me. From the bottom of my heart, thank you. Zoya and Aria, my graduate studies have co-opted much of your infant and toddler years and for that Mommy thanks you. Zoya, you were there for my colloquium. Aria, you, unbeknownst to me, accompanied me on my first major research trip. But, now, any "homework" that has to be done will be all yours! And, finally, to my David. Just...wow. You are a blessing, and I appreciate all that you do. Thank you for helping me to balance the rigors of home, school, and work. Thank you for things big (taking over the complete care of the household) and small (providing Hershey bars with almonds for my study breaks). Thank you for allowing me to take from home and from you to tell others' stories. Thank you for wanting this as much (if not more) than I do. I hope that *our* legacy will be one that our girls and their kids (and theirs) enjoy sharing one day. I love you!

**Ownership, Engagement, and Entrepreneurship: the *gens de couleur libres*
and the Architecture of Antebellum New Orleans, 1820-1850**

Tara Ann Dudley, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Co-Supervisors: Richard L. Cleary and Christopher A. Long

"Ownership, Engagement, and Entrepreneurship: the *gens de couleur libres* and the Architecture of Antebellum New Orleans, 1820-1850" examines the architectural activities of New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres*, or free people of color, and the historical, cultural, and economic implications of their contributions to nineteenth-century American architecture. Specifically, this dissertation explores the histories of two black Creole families engaged in the building trades and real estate in the antebellum New Orleans, emphasizing their activities as a process of building culture that created and supported ethnic and architectural identity on individual and communal levels.

The years from 1820 to 1850 saw New Orleans become an important American metropolis and industrialized commercial center. Changes in architecture included the introduction of East Coast urban forms, the introduction of Federal and Greek Revival

styles, and professionalization of the building trades and the role of the architect. The antebellum period provides a challenging framework in which to view the architecture-related accomplishments of New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres*. They faced a paradoxical situation where the stability of New Orleans' economy and racial hierarchies could positively or negatively affect their success in building as well as owning and developing property. Still the *gens de couleur libres*' investments thrived as racial separation was becoming increasingly strict and enabled the *gens de couleur libres* to retain black *and* Creole control in the city.

The members of the Dolliole and Soulié families were key players as builders, owners, and speculators. The *gens de couleur libres* contact with the built environment created a process of ownership, engagement, and entrepreneurship through which they established, maintained, and underscored their individual and community identities. This process forms the foundation for the organization of the dissertation and invites analysis of the meaning of the *gens de couleur libres*' influence on New Orleans' antebellum architecture on several levels: social meaning as architecture affected the welfare and relations of the community of free people of color; cultural meaning as architecture pertained to, and was derived from, the artistic and intellectual pursuits of the *gens de couleur libres* and transmitted from one generation to the next; and socio-economic meaning as architecture affected the production, distribution, and use of wealth for individuals and in the *gens de couleur libres* community at large.

Approaching the study of architecture through a set of diverse lenses including social networks and real estate speculation alongside building design and construction, this dissertation interjects the legacy of the *gens de couleur libres* into American architectural history.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

"There is no State in the Union, hardly any spot of like size on the globe, where the man of color has lived so intently, made so much progress, been of such historical importance and yet about whom so comparatively little is known. His history is like the Mardi Gras of the city of New Orleans, beautiful and mysterious and wonderful, but with a serious thought underlying it all. May it be better known to the world some day."

—Alice Dunbar Nelson (1917)¹

A few weeks after the New Year, on January 19, 1832, first cousins Bernard Soulié and Elisa Sylvie Courcelle entered into a marriage contract. He was 30 years of age, she 22. The contract was signed at the prospective bride's residence—the house of her father, cotton broker Leon Courcelle, at the corner of Carondelet and Hevia streets in New Orleans' Faubourg Sainte-Marie.² The document was witnessed by Vincent Rillieux and François Pierre Duconge, the consort of the prospective groom's maternal aunt and the groom's friend of 15 years, respectively. A few days later, the affianced couple was married at eight o'clock p.m. on January 23. After the evening nuptials, Soulié began writing a journal that would span almost half a century.³ In the preamble to his personal journal, Soulié does not, however, begin by writing about himself or the day's events. Instead, he establishes his paternal lineage, noting the birth and death of

¹ Alice Dunbar Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana – Part II," *Journal of Negro History* 2, no. 1 (January 1917): 78.

² Marriage contract between Bernard Soulié and Eliza Sylvie Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 5, act 12, February 19, 1832.

³ Bernard Soulié, "Journal of Bernard Soulié," *New Orleans Genesis* 25, no. 99 (July 1986): 323-330, 332. Soulié's journal was submitted to Susan Laurence Lee Lewis of Biloxi, Mississippi, by his great-great-grandson Edgar Soulié in 1986. It was translated from the French, presumably in its entirety, by Brother Jerome Lepré, S.C. The journal and accompanying letter from Edgar Soulié to Lewis was published in this issue of *New Orleans Genesis*. The author does not know if the original journal survives.

his French father and births of his paternal aunt and uncle: "My father, Jean Soulié was born at Roquecourbe, Department of Tarn on 15 September 1760. He died at Paris 10 December 1834. My uncle, Bernard Soulié was born in the same place on 11 April 1764. My aunt Louise was born in the same place on 11 September 1765."⁴ In another introductory anecdote, Bernard Soulié notes that his mother died on May 16, 1825.⁵ Unlike that given for his father, however, no information is imparted about Soulié's maternal heritage; neither his mother's name, date and place of birth, nor close relatives are disclosed. Soulié then officially begins the diary in the present, simply noting the date and time of his wedding that day and the bride's name.⁶ Though Bernard Soulié emphasizes his French lineage and omits his maternal heritage from one of New Orleans' oldest families of *gens de couleur libres*, his journal commences during the city's rise as an important metropolis and goes on to provide insight into the activities of many individuals—black and white—in antebellum New Orleans.

Also in 1832, *homme de couleur libre* Joseph Dolliole, with his neighbor François Boisdoré, began a five-year battle with the City of New Orleans in opposition to the city's widening and extension of Esplanade Avenue through their properties on Bayou Road, a "back-of-town" thoroughfare active since colonial times.⁷ Frenchman Louis Dolliole and his mixed-race son Jean-Louis Dolliole had inhabited portions of Bayou

⁴ *Ibid.*, 324.

⁵ This author assumes that this information is part of the "preamble" to Soulié's journal as it is the single entry under the heading "1825." It is doubtful that Soulié would have barely begun writing in May 1825 then deliberately eliminated the ensuing six-and-half years to January 1832. The year headings that appear in the journal may also have been added by the translator or for the publication, however no indications were made in the article introduction that the journal was condensed in any way.

⁶ The entry reads: "23 January 1832 – I was married at 8:00 p.m. to Elisa [sic] Sylvie Courcelles," Soulié, 324.

⁷ Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 93. Creoles in New Orleans used geographic locators relative to the flow of the Mississippi River as well as other bodies of water such as Lake Pontchartrain. This area was located lakeside of the Vieux Carré, toward Faubourgs St. John and Pontchartrain, where Gentilly Boulevard, Esplanade Avenue, and Bayou Road come together. Jay D. Edwards and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People*, s.v. "geographical locators" (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 108.

Road since 1806 and 1807, respectively, when French Creole Claude Tremé began selling portions of his "back-of-town" plantation. Through the legal suit, Joseph Dolliole refused to relinquish the property he inherited from his white father, Frenchman Louis Dolliole. His, and Boisdoré's, actions served to solidify the *gens de couleur libres'* claim to property rights and ownership as the city expanded outside of its colonial boundaries.

In 1832, the year of Soulié's marriage and the commencement of Dolliole's suit, Louisiana celebrated its 20th anniversary as the 18th state admitted to the Union. New Orleans, with a population of approximately 46,000, was the state capital.⁸ The city, long the crucible of the colony cum territory cum state's unique Creole heritage, was well on its way to becoming one of the U.S.'s most prominent antebellum cities. The nation's rapid expansion, stimulated in part by the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, spurred the development of a strong capitalist economy.⁹ With American ownership and statehood, as well as advances in steam-powered transportation, New Orleans became an important shipping center. The year 1832 saw just a few of the social and cultural changes brought about by the city's advanced status and the arrivals of Americans from the eastern seaboard and European immigrants to take advantage of all that the city had to offer. For one, the Bank of New Orleans relocated from the original French core of the city, the Vieux Carré, to Faubourg Sainte-Marie, a newer section of the city primarily inhabited by American newcomers.¹⁰ In order to support this rapidly expanding area of the city, the digging of the New Orleans Navigation Canal, also called the New Basin Canal, connected Lake Pontchartrain to this booming commercial and residential "American" section of the city. Further upriver, the former Livaudais plantation was laid out as another residential enclave for American businessmen and

⁸ New Orleans' population in 1830 was 46,082. William R. Mitchell, *Classic New Orleans* (New Orleans: Martin~St. Martin, 1993), 31.

⁹ Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 151.

¹⁰ Mary Louise Christovich, Roulhac Toledano, and Betsy Swanson, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume II: The American Sector* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1972), 70.

their families; the suburb was later incorporated as part of the City of Lafayette and came to be known as the Garden District.¹¹

Business houses and manufactures also thrived in the city that year. The Levee Steam Cotton Press, introducing the first steam-powered cotton press in the city, opened below the French Quarter just over one mile upriver from where Bernard Soulié's brother and cousin, Norbert Soulié and Edmund Rillieux, had begun construction of the Louisiana Sugar Refinery the year before.¹² The Pontchartrain Railroad was built to accommodate the new factory and to increase lake trade to the older, Creole part of the city, in direct competition with the New Basin Canal. Other infrastructure to accommodate the city's population, physical, and economic growth included the development of roads, such as the extension of Esplanade Avenue which Joseph Dolliole and neighbors opposed.

The Mississippi River, the city's river road, carried newly developed steam-powered ships that brought both goods and people to New Orleans. Two of the most important tools for New Orleans' antebellum success, the river and steamboat trade and transportation also brought scourge to a city already prone to yellow fever outbreaks. In October 1832, a cholera epidemic broke out in the city after a steamboat arrived with infected passengers, killing 6,000 persons, almost one-fifth of the city's population.¹³ The less fortunate affected by the disease were accommodated in the newly completed Charity Hospital on Tulane Avenue in Faubourg Saint-Marie. The outbreak knew no race or ethnicity. Irish immigrants digging the New Basin Canal were

¹¹ Jonathan Fricker and Donna Fricker, Garden District Historic District Additional Documentation (supplement to the 1971 National Register of Historic Places nomination form), 1974.

¹² Richard Campanella, *Time and Place in New Orleans: Past Geographies in the Present Day* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2002), 84.

¹³ John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 133; Diane Failey, *Cholera* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 2011), 19-20; Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 37; George Washington Cable and Lawrence N. Powell, *The New Orleans of George Washington Cable* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 174.

particularly susceptible to the disease. The epidemic also claimed the life of teenager Jean Pierre Laffite, the mulatto (and only) son of the infamous pirate Jean Laffite.¹⁴ No members of either the Soulié or Dolliole families died from the disease. Rather, amidst the significant socio-economic change and health crisis experienced by the city, the families celebrated life. Marie Eugenie, the last child of Jean-Louis Dolliole (who was not yet married to the infant's mother) was born on April 11, 1832, three weeks before the anniversary of statehood. Gustave Adolph Soulié, the first-born son of Bernard and Eliza Soulié, was born on October 28 as cholera was beginning to grip the city.¹⁵

Like many families in New Orleans—Creole or American, white or black—the Dollioles and Souliés lived during a time of great transition. The years from 1820 to 1850 saw New Orleans become an important American urban metropolis and industrialized shipping center. The Dollioles' and Souliés' activities are unique in this time and place in that both families were part of the *gens de couleur libres* community. Louisiana's *gens de couleur libres*, or black Creoles, were free people of color with a mixture of black and European (usually French or Spanish) ancestry.¹⁶ The *gens de couleur libres* thrived amidst the economic and cultural ups and downs of the mid-antebellum period (1830s and 1840s) and were greatly involved in the expansion of New Orleans brought on by the city's growth in size and population. The need for architecture and infrastructure provided a canvas for black Creole building artisans, developers, and patrons in the antebellum period. This played out visibly in New Orleans where free people of color

¹⁴ Jean-Pierre Laffite was born on November 4, 1815. William C. Davis, *The Pirates Laffite: The Treacherous World of the Corsairs of the Gulf* (Orlando: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005), 479.

¹⁵ Soulié, 324.

¹⁶ Historically, the term "creole" has been fraught with controversy. Some discussion of the term's semantics and use over time include: Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1992); Joan M. Martin, "Plaçage and the Louisiana *Gens de Couleur Libre*: How Race and Sex Defined the Lifestyles of Free women of Color," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 57; and Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans: urban fabrics before the storm* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2006), 207-208.

were a dominant ethnic and socioeconomic group. The contributions of *the gens de couleur libres* in the areas of music, literature, and cuisine are well known. Scholarship abounds with material trying to place free people of color within color lines and establish their place in the canon of American history and the history of New Orleans, expounding on issues such as racial conflict, racial passing, miscegenation, sexual propriety and impropriety where New Orleans' free people of color are involved.¹⁷ Yet, the physical spaces that they helped to create and occupy have been relegated to studies on architectural typology and skimmed over or routinely repeated in architectural surveys. By its very nature, Creole architecture invites focus on form and typology. In general, New Orleans' Creole architecture is a unique style or type created from a synthesis of Western European and non-European building traditions.¹⁸ Creole architecture was prevalent in the West Indies, U.S. Gulf Coast, and Mississippi River Valley from ca. 1732 to 1911. The most important characteristics of Creole buildings include:

- galleries or verandas;
- a broad, spreading roofline;
- gallery roofs supported by lightweight wooden colonnettes (posts);
- placement of main rooms above ground level;
- timber-frame construction infilled with bricks (*brique-entre-poteaux*) or infilled with a mixture of mud and moss (*bousillage*);
- multiple French doors; and

¹⁷ For studies specific to the *gens de couleur libres* (particularly in the antebellum period) see: Nelson; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon, 1974); Loren Schweninger, "Antebellum Free Persons of Color in Postbellum Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 30 (Fall 1989): 345-364; Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans, Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Mary Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction* (New Orleans, Margaret Media, Inc., 1994); Sybil Kein, *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Shirley Thompson, "The Passing of a People: Creoles of Color in Mid-Nineteenth Century New Orleans," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2001; Ben Melvin Hobradsch, *Creole Angel: the self-identity of the free people of color of antebellum New Orleans*, Master's thesis, University of North Texas, 2006; and Shirley Thompson, *Exiles at Home: the struggle to become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ Jay D. Edwards, et. al., "Louisiana's French Creole Architecture." National Register for Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination. 1991; Edwards, *A Creole Lexicon*, s.v. "Creole architecture," 77-78.

- French wraparound mantels.

Interior spaces Creole buildings consisted of a systematic core of main rooms, often with surrounding secondary spaces. Though vernacular in nature—derivation from local building traditions, adherence to a specific time and place, and use by particular groups—Creole architecture had varying stages of development and nuances in form and style that were ultimately utilized by builders and professional architects, but especially by New Orleans' many *gens de couleur libres* practitioners.

NEW ORLEANS' FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR

Free people of color were consistent and persistent in many U.S. cities,¹⁹ particularly antebellum New Orleans, in their acquisition, development, and management of property—a largely unexplored aspect of mainstream architectural history. Various classes of blacks—slaves, freedmen, and Creoles—contributed to the built world of Louisiana from its beginnings under the French, through its occupation by the Spanish, and beyond its annexation by the United States. ""

In its infancy, the Louisiana colony—claimed by the French in 1682 and settled in 1699 at present-day Mobile, Alabama, and Biloxi, Mississippi—was sparsely settled. The colony's "curiously blended Franco-African host culture of the city" was formed during this period in a process that historian Arnold R. Hirsch, among others, terms "creolization" or processes through which European forms are transformed under

¹⁹Aside from New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charleston were U.S. cities with significant *gens de couleur libres* populations. The communities of *gens de couleur libres* in these cities are highlighted in Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* (New York: Macmillan Library Reference, 1998); David P. Geggus, ed. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); and *Common Routes, St. Domingue-Louisiana*, Exhibition catalog (New Orleans: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 2006).

colonialization.²⁰ The first African slaves were brought to the colony in 1717. At this time, white female inhabitants were practically nonexistent, and white men established partnerships with female slaves. "Sexual relations among European settlers, African slaves, and native Americans during the period of French rule in Louisiana (1718-1768) resulted in the creation of a third race of people neither white nor black and neither slave nor completely free."²¹ Initially, this group increased primarily through the manumission of black and mulatto females, and their offspring, who were involved in formal or informal unions with white settlers.²² The institution of *plaçage*, where long-term relationships equivalent to common-law marriages (and sometimes referred to as left-hand marriages) were arranged or entered into freely, developed from contact between white men and women of color (black, mulatto, and quadroon). When the Spanish took control of the Louisiana colony in 1769,²³ Governor Alexander O'Reilly ordered a census which showed that of New Orleans' 1,902 free inhabitants, 31 were free blacks and 69 were of mixed blood.²⁴

Subsequent Spanish governors were sympathetic to the predominantly French settlement and did little to nothing to change or influence the culture. Some restrictive laws were enacted by Governor Esteban Miró (1785-1792).²⁵ "These laws, however,

²⁰ Edwards, *A Creole Lexicon*, xxi; Hirsch and Logsdon, 11.

²¹ Martin,, 57.

²² David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972), 5.

²³ As a result of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), or French and Indian War in North America, France lost Canada and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi except New Orleans to the British. To prevent further English expansion, France secretly ceded the Louisiana colony to Spain by treaty on November 3, 1762. The Spanish did not arrive to take over control of Louisiana until 1765.

²⁴ Leonard V. Huber, *Louisiana: a pictorial history* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 9.

²⁵ One such law was passed in 1786 that required mulatto women to wear *tignons* (colorful headscarves) and forbade them to wear plumes or jewelry in their hair in order to distinguish them from their white counterparts. Two years later, a law was made that all free persons of color were forbidden to go out and to meet in assemblages at night and that prohibited any free person of color from living in "concubinage."

were not realistic to the economic and social status of New Orleans' black Creole community.²⁶ In 1788, the number of free people of color was 823 in a city of 5,319; at 15 percent of the total population, the *gens de couleur libres* comprised a significant portion of the city's inhabitants.²⁷

In a conscious attempt to maintain peace with the city's primarily French inhabitants and to encourage and retain settlement, the Spanish colonial government did not enforce laws regarding interracial relationships established in the French *Code Noir* (1724) and *Code Noir ou Loi Municipale* (1778) or the Spanish *Código Negro* (1789).²⁸ In fact, some Spanish laws were more lenient regarding that issue. This hand-off approach contributed to the natural increase of a mixed-race class. The Dollioles and Souliés are among those *gens de couleur libres* families that can trace their origins in New Orleans to the Spanish colonial period.

THE ORIGINS OF THE CREOLE DOLLIOLE AND SOULIÉ FAMILIES

Brothers and natives of the province of Provence, Louis Antoine Dolliole (1742-1822) and Jean-François Dolliole (1760-1816) immigrated to New Orleans, sailing from La Seyne sur Mer on France's Mediterranean Coast some time during the Spanish

²⁶ Violet Harrington Bryan, "Marcus Christian's Treatment of *Les Gens de Couleur Libre*," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 47-48, 62.

²⁷ Joseph Logsdon and Caryn Cossé Bell, "The Americanization of Black New Orleans," in *Creole New Orleans, Race and Americanization*, Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 206. Kimberly S. Hanger notes the *gens de couleur libres* population at 820 of a total population of 5,321 in "Avenues to Freedom Open to New Orleans' Free Black Population, 1769-1779," *Louisiana History* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1990):239 and *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), 18, 22.

²⁸ For more details of these regulations governing the rights of slaves, treatment of slaves, rights of the *gens de couleur libres*, and relationships between the city's diverse racial groups, see Jennifer M. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Colonial period.²⁹ The brothers established long-term *plaçage* relationships with women of color, becoming white patriarchs of *gens de couleur libres* families (*Figure 1*).³⁰ Louis became involved with *negresse libre* (free black woman) Genevieve "Mamie" Laronde. Their first son Jean-Louis was born in 1779. Three other children followed: Madeleine (ca. 1783), Pierre (ca. 1790), and Joseph.³¹ With *negresse libre* Catherine, Jean-François also fathered four children—Etienne Adam (1799), Louis Laurent (1806), Joseph Pantheleon (1809), and Edmond (1816). These eight mulatto offspring, Louis' three sons in particular, owned significant amounts of property in the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé, often improving them with buildings that they constructed if not commissioned.

These two neighborhoods were also the domains of the Soulié family (*Figure 2*). François Cheval, descendant of Frenchmen from Normandy who settled in the Côte des Allemands (German Coast) area above New Orleans, arrived in New Orleans in the late eighteenth century.³² As partner in a tannery, he became a successful businessman. One of his natural children was Louison Cheval (1747-1839). Louison gave birth to Eulalie,

²⁹ The former province of Provence is now part of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, one of France's 27 regions. William Dale Reeves gives the year of their immigration as 1760 in *Historic Louisiana: an illustrated history* (San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2003), 17. This date cannot be correct since the Louisiana colony was not ceded to Spain until 1763. Further, Jean-François Dolliole would have been an infant.

³⁰ Volume VI of the *New Orleans Architecture* series introduces the information that Louis and Jean-François Dolliole were prominent builders in the city. This "fact" has been repeated in numerous works. The author has found no primary source evidence (i.e. building contracts, drawings, directory entries, etc.) to give credence to this supposition.

³¹ No baptismal entries (with birth dates) were found for the first generation Dollioles in the sacramental records of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Jean-Louis's birth year is calculated from his age of 71 years at the 1850 census and of 82 years at the time of his death in 1861. Joseph Dolliole was 59 years at the 1850 census and 78 years old at his death in 1868. Madeleine was 52 at her death in 1835. No death record for Pierre was located.

³² The *Côte des Allemands* (German Coast) derived its name from the large number of Germans who settled there in 1721. The area is comprised of present-day St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, and St. James parishes.

and perhaps Henriette,³³ before embarking upon a relationship with Frenchman Jean Charles Vivant.³⁴ Her daughter Eulalie Mazange (sometimes referred to as Eulalie Vivant) was the long-term consort of Jean Soulié, a native of Roquecourbe in the French province of Languedoc and member of the New Orleans militia.³⁵ Eulalie and Jean's children were: Lucien (1789), Marie Louise (1801), Norbert (1793), Eulalie (1798), Bernard (1801), Benedie/c (1802), Albin (1803), Marie Louise (1808), Marie Celeste (1810), and Marie Coralie (1811).³⁶ While the Soulié sons Norbert, Albin, and Bernard were influential builders, all of the children owned and managed a significant amount of property in New Orleans. Several of Louison Cheval's and Eulalie Mazange's siblings also had long-term relationships with or married prominent New Orleanians; their offspring also influenced the built environment of the city. By the time the events surrounding the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) began to affect the city, both the Dolliole and Soulié families were well established in New Orleans.

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION AND NEW ORLEANS' *GENS DE COULEUR LIBRES* COMMUNITY

Large numbers of white and black Creoles fled the West Indies in the early nineteenth century, leaving Saint-Domingue due to the uprising led by Toussaint

³³ Henriette and Eulalie are identified as her daughters in Louison's will. They are not identified as Charles Vivant's daughters in his will. Various online family genealogical sites have Henriette as the daughter of Juan Prieto and his white wife Thereze de la Ronde.

³⁴ Together Louison and Charles had eight children—Rosette, Adelaide, Constance, Lucille, Charles, Louisa, Aimee, and Louis. Charles Vivant last will and testament, 1808, Louisiana Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of all Successions, 1805-1846. He died in France.

³⁵ Charles E. Nolan, Dorenda Dupont, and J. Edgar Bruns, eds., *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans*, Volume 8, 1804-1806, (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1993); Christopher E. G. Benfey, *Degas in New Orleans: encounters in the Creole world of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable* (New York: Knopf, 1997), 27.

³⁶ Most of the children's births were recorded in the sacramental records. Two of the children did not live to adulthood, Marie Louise died before 1805 as she does not appear in the family count at the 1805 census. The birth record for the male child Benedic/e was not found, but he was died at the age of five in 1807.

L'Ouverture, or fleeing Cuba, which was hostile to Napoleon's sympathizers. At the outset of the revolution, Saint-Dominguans emigrated *en masse* to the Atlantic seaboard in the 1790s and to Jamaica in 1798.³⁷ In the late 1790s, a small number of *gens de couleur libres* arrived in New Orleans in spite of the colonial government's attempts to prohibit their immigration. Until this point, immigration of people of color had been virtually nonexistent.³⁸ In 1803, Saint-Dominguans made a mass exodus to Cuba after France failed to re-gain control of the colony.³⁹ In 1803 and 1804, the Saint-Dominguan refugees in Jamaica were expelled to New Orleans. The Jamaican refugees were joined by additional countrymen, including 3,102 free persons of color, deported from Cuba in 1809.⁴⁰ The majority of Saint-Dominguan refugees to Louisiana were not white. As a result, the population of free blacks increased from 1,500 in 1803 to 4,950 in 1810, accounting for almost one-third of the city's total population and half of the population of all free residents.⁴¹ By 1830, that number rose to 11,562, accounting for 26% of the city's total population.⁴² The 1840 population of free blacks was 15,000 due to natural increase and some manumission and migration.⁴³ The next decade saw a decline of the *gens de couleur libre* population in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the city's population; by 1850, the total was just under 10,000, less than one-tenth of the 'New Orleans' entire population.⁴⁴

³⁷ Paul F. Lachance, "The Foreign French," in *Creole New Orleans, Race and Americanization*, Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 104.

³⁸ Spear, 184.

³⁹ Lachance, 104; Spear, 184.

⁴⁰ Lachance, 104, Spear, 184.

⁴¹ Spear, 184.

⁴² Logsdon and Bell, 205.

⁴³ Spear, 184.

⁴⁴ Spear, 184.

Table 1. New Orleans Population, 1769-1850.

New Orleans Population				
Year	Free persons of color (% of total population) ⁴⁵	Whites	Slaves	Total
1769	99 (3.2%)	1,803	1,227	3,129
1788	823 (15.5%)	2,370	2,126	5,319
1805	1,566 (19%)	3,551	3,105	8,222
1810	4,950 (28.7%)	6,331	5,961	17,242
1820	6,237 (23%)	13,584	7,355	27,176
1830	11,562 (25.1%)	20,047	14,476	46,085
1840	15,072 (18%)	50,697	18,208	83,977
1850	9,905 (8.5%)	89,452	17,011	116,368

Though the percentage of *gens de couleur libres* in the city decreased over the course of the antebellum period due to American and European immigration, their sheer number allowed for their activities to inform the types of economic endeavors suitable for black Creoles. Their considerable presence also allowed for the persistence of francophone culture at a time when Creoles' identity as an ethnic group came into question. Increasing cultural influences from Americans, European immigrants, and even manumitted black slaves created different viewpoints as to who was considered Creole and how black Creoles were indistinguishable from other blacks. The *gens de couleur libres* were a part of the free francophone population, not enslaved Creoles or Anglophone free blacks.⁴⁶ In addition to their French speech, manners, and attitude, the "legacy of semi-legitimate sexual relationships across the color line and an ensuing degree of autonomy and control over their own financial and spatial mobility" separated the *gens de couleur libres* from manumitted and enslaved blacks.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Includes *gens de couleur libres* and other free blacks.

⁴⁶ Thompson, *Exiles at Home*, 14.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 138-139.

THE GENS DE COULEUR LIBRES AND NEW ORLEANS' ANTEBELLUM ARCHITECTURE

The relationships of free persons of color with Creole and Anglo whites and economic stability enabled them to purchase property and establish homes and businesses throughout the city, most notably in distinctly Creole enclaves—the Vieux Carré, Faubourg Marigny, and Faubourg Tremé—in the antebellum period. Despite the decline in the percentage of *gens de couleur libres* in the overall population of the city during the 1803s and 1840s, they maintained prevalent roles as property owners but a somewhat diminished role in the creation of buildings. This was partially due to the introduction of popular Anglo styles and forms of architecture that were not feasible for the majority of black Creole master builders or to fund or for their patrons of color to finance. For younger black Creole practitioners, the stature of the master builder had weakened with the introduction of a different type of professionalism to the building trades. And, while speculators were still active at the end of the antebellum period, the altered human and architectural demographic distribution of the city played an increasingly limiting role in their transactions.

The work of geographer Richard Campanella relates the demographics of antebellum New Orleans' private and public architecture and population to the contributions of the *gens de couleur libres* within the changing attitudes of the city's historic and architectural context. Even with the end of the colonial period brought into effect by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and the process of Americanization begun with the city's incorporation in 1805, New Orleans remained a predominantly Creole city. As the city had yet to formally expand outside of its colonial fortification boundary, "all of New Orleans was Creole."⁴⁸ When the last names of the property owners listed on city surveyor Joseph Pilié's 1808 plan of the city (*Figure 3*) are classified into Francophone

⁴⁸ Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans*, 211.

versus Anglo-sounding last names, the developing pattern shows the predominance of Creole residents with a scattering of Anglo residents in the upper portion of the Vieux Carré, toward the developed, but still sparsely settled, Faubourg Sainte-Marie (*Figure 4*). During the territorial period (1804-1812) and the early years of statehood, an overlapping of residents, builders/architects, and architectural forms and styles occurred. The increase in American arrivals from the East Coast after the Louisiana Purchase, as well as the immigration of the Saint-Dominguan refugees, saw a shift in New Orleans' demographics. As a result, Faubourg Sainte-Marie began to be settled and Faubourgs Marigny (1805) and Tremé (1810) were developed. But the city's premier cultural venues—Theatre d'Orléans (Latour, 1809), St. Philip Theatre (1810), Theatre d'Orléans (Thibaud, 1816), and Orleans Ballroom (Brand, 1817)—were all located in the original city. In 1820, the city was primarily limited to the natural levee and dominated by one- and two-story buildings.⁴⁹ Though they were located in the Vieux Carré, the construction of buildings in the newly popular Federal Style—Perseverance Lodge and Louisiana State Bank—signaled change. Further, the personal, anti-American prejudices of Bernard Marigny influenced his refusal of American developers to establish a commercial presence in his well-laid-out suburb in 1822, encouraging them to look upriver.⁵⁰ In 1823, James Caldwell's American Theatre was built and added impetus to the trend of non-Creole buildings replacing long-established forms and styles. In addition to introducing interior and gas lighting, the American Theatre illuminated the path for development outside of the Vieux Carré.

⁴⁹ Jessie Poesch and Bacot SoRelle Bacot, eds. *Louisiana Buildings 1720-1940* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana University Press, 1997), 174.

⁵⁰ Kendall, 125-126.

A complete turning point came about in 1836 when tensions between Creoles and Anglo-Americans resulted in the division of the city into three municipalities. The developmental ambitions (or lack thereof) of white Creoles, *gens de couleur libres*, and Anglo-Americans drove the city's demographics at that time. Campanella's work shows that by 1842, Creoles outnumbered Anglos by a 3.2 to 1 ratio below Canal Street and that, above Canal Street, Anglos outnumbered Creoles by 2.8 to 1 (*Figure 5*).⁵¹ The location and density of a larger ratio of Creoles beyond (lakeside of) Rampart Street in Faubourg Tremé is also apparent. The geography of Creole New Orleans, concentrated in the Vieux Carré in the early part of the antebellum period, shifted below and behind the old city by the end of the antebellum era.

TELLING THE STORY THROUGH AN EXPANDED METHODOLOGY

Focus on the first-generation members of the Dolliole and Soulié families allows for presentation of an unusually crisp picture of the *gens de couleur libres* and their circumstances relevant to the construction and appearance of antebellum New Orleans' built environment as builder-architects, owners, developers, and speculators. These two *gens de couleur libres* families in particular took advantage of opportunities in real estate. Their pursuits in all aspects of the building trades—as property owners, developers, and builders—are well documented and present the opportunity for both individual *and* collective examination of their influence on the architecture and yields a historic and methodological process ignored in thematic studies.⁵² A similar approach

⁵¹ Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans*, 212.

⁵² Published works (aside from the *New Orleans Architecture* series) that focus on the aesthetics of New Orleans architecture abound, but most feature a very general historical component that, in most cases, does not discuss black Creoles at all and focus on specific geographic regions of the city. Such volumes include Italo William Ricciuti, *New Orleans and its environs: the domestic architecture, 1727-1870* (New York, Bonanza Books, 1967); Curt Bruce, *The Great Houses of New Orleans* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Mary Cable, *Lost New Orleans* (Boston: Houston Mifflin, 1980); Mitchell, *Classic New Orleans*; Kerri

has been undertaken by historian Rebecca J. Scott who traces the history of a black Creole family between Saint-Domingue, New Orleans, France, and Belgium in order to underscore their pursuits for equality and "public rights" as merchants.⁵³ Scott places the Tinchant family's struggles and achievements at large in the Atlantic World whereas this dissertation encompasses a study of individual lives and works of the Dollioles and Souliés while addressing the group experience of the free people of color to highlight their architectural influence in the unique environment of antebellum New Orleans. Various historic documents reveal the Dollioles' and Souliés' stories. A methodology that utilizes these readily available resources as a group to specifically identify people and property further exposes the *process* by which many *gens de couleur libres* constructed individual and group identity through their ownership and development of property. In exploring the influence of the *gens de couleur libres* on New Orleans' antebellum architecture, this dissertation focuses on three processes: ownership, engagement, and entrepreneurship.

Ownership – Possessing the Built Environment

What it meant for the *gens de couleur libres* to live and own property in New Orleans is little discussed in scholarly works. Like many other sources, *The Free Negro in*

McCaffety, *The Majesty of the French Quarter* (Gretna: Pelican, 2000); Lloyd Vogt, *Historic Buildings of the French Quarter* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2002); Richard Sexton, *New Orleans: elegance and decadence* (San Francisco: Chronicle and Queen Camel: Ragged Bears, 2003). William Heard's *French Quarter Manual: an Architectural Guide to New Orleans' Vieux Carré* (New Orleans: Tulane School of Architecture, 1997), notes contributions of black Creoles relevant to specific sites in the *Vieux Carré*. In "Shotgun: The Most Contested House in America," *Buildings & Landscapes* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 62-96, Jay D. Edwards specifically discusses "The Landlady Effect" or significance of property ownership and building choices for free women of color in the Early Republican (1803-1819) and antebellum periods.

⁵³ Rebecca J. Scott, "Public Rights and Private Commerce: A Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Creole Itinerary," *Current Anthropology* 48, no. 2 (April 2007): 237-256. The article has been developed into the book *Freedom Papers: an Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2012) co-authored by Scott and Jean M. Hébrard.

Ante-Bellum Louisiana (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972) and *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1973) note the prevalence of New Orleans' black landowners without exploring sense of place.⁵⁴ In *Exiles at Home: the struggle to become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), historian Shirley Thompson provides a unique look at black Creoles' changing place in society during the antebellum era. Thompson's discusses their physical place and space by virtue of their acquisition and ownership of property. But, whereas she focuses on the slipping status of the *gens de couleur libres* in the 1830s and 1840s, this dissertation grounds black Creoles in antebellum New Orleans, looking at acquisition and ownership as an identity-building process whereby the origins of the Dolliole and Soulié families are detected, their biographies expanded, and their lives in New Orleans established.

Real property owned by "single" black or mixed-race mothers such as Eulalie Mazange and Genevieve Dolliole or inherited from white fathers like Jean-Louis Dolliole often formed the foundation of black Creole families' architectural legacies. Whether through inheritance or outright purchase, Part One of the dissertation describes how *gens de couleur libres* acquired property, how this property was used, and examines the significance of the locations where *gens de couleur libres* owned property. Though New Orleans' political geography was complicated in its changes and expansions throughout the antebellum period, the *gens de couleur libres* navigated all areas of it.⁵⁵ The act of

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Exiles at Home*, 312.

⁵⁵ After New Orleans was founded in 1718, the initial plan of the city consisted of 66 square blocks (or **squares**). As the city expanded outside of the Vieux Carré, blocks (regular- or irregular-shaped) continued to be referred to as squares. Economic and social differences between the Creoles and the Americans spurred the city's division into three **municipalities** with different governing bodies. After the city was re-unified under one government in 1852, the three municipalities and, later, other newly incorporated areas were known as **municipal districts**. Here, they are simply referred to as First District, Second District, and so on. The territorial and colonial city and the larger municipalities and districts were further

ownership—the legal act of possession—was an important component, and often the first step, in the architecture-driven identity-building process by which many builders and developers of color established their place in antebellum New Orleans. They primarily, came in to possession of property, via two methods—by birthright or by contract.

Privileges entitled by birth were recognized in the establishment of the first-generation Dollioles as property owners. Louis Dolliole made arrangements for his children to receive and purchase property that he owned during his lifetime and at his death by providing them with the necessary funds or by making them available for purchase at his death through a third party. The Dollioles circumvented legal limitations on the ability of mixed-race children to inherit property from their white fathers by purchasing property independently of one another and then combining it amongst or dividing it between themselves. For the Souliés on the other hand, ownership came via monetary exchange as part of contractual transactions with neighbors and strangers. Though the process of acquisition emphasized gaining property for one's self through independent actions or efforts, the Souliés worked together and for one another to obtain property in such large numbers that they created their own birthright. The means of acquisition of property also appears to have been related to the use of property on some level. The Dollioles, whose status as owners emphasized birthright used their properties for homebuilding for themselves and others (or to fund homebuilding). The Souliés who acquired most of their real property through contract primarily acquired income by using their properties for speculation and as rentals.

divided into wards for administrative and political purposes. For more on the city's political geographic divisions see Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library, "New Orleans Ward Boundaries, 1805-1800," available at <http://nutrias.org/facts/wards.htm>.

While, like their contemporaries, the Dollioles and Souliés possessed land and buildings primarily in Faubourg Tremé, Faubourg Marigny, and other Creole-dominated neighborhoods, they expanded across physical and racial boundaries in their property ownership throughout the city in a time of increasing racial and geographic separation.

Engagement – Forming and Transforming the Built Environment

Scholarship on the professions, personal habits, and socio-economic situations of the *gens de couleur libres* and the building trades is fragmented but at least focuses on their roles as builders if not as property owners and developers. Still, articles, chapters, and books on the subject are limited in their focus on this particular constituency and simply serve as roll calls with brief and repetitive biographical information, if any.⁵⁶ The transmission of Creole forms into rural and urban environments by *gens de couleur* is an already acknowledged area of investigation. Studies such as those by art historian Peter Mark and anthropologist Jay Edwards that analyze the transmission of forms and ideas between European settlers and West African ethnic groups from the 15th through 18th centuries are one example.⁵⁷ The study of building typology has enabled historians to

⁵⁶ While not limited to the urban environment of New Orleans, Richard Dozier's article on "The Black Architectural Experience in Louisiana," *AIA Journal* (July 1976): 162-168, contains the same canon of information that has been repeated in studies of black Creole builders, namely basic biographical information on a handful of former slave artisans and black planters that influenced architecture in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁵⁶ In discussions of the professions and building activities of free people of color in *Raised to the Trade: Creole Building Arts of New Orleans*, edited by John Ethan Hankins (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2002), Mary Gehman, Nick Spitzer, and C. Ray Brassieur expand the list through the discussion of a handful of builders and the free black carpenters, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, woodworkers, and painters that these black Creole practitioners hired. Gehman gives a small mention to the same group of individuals in her contribution to *Creole: the history and legacy of Louisiana's free people of color*. The only contemporary account of black Creole artisans is found in Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes' *Our People and Our History*, 1911, translated by Dorothea Olga McCants (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973).

⁵⁷ Peter Mark, *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002); Jay D. Edwards, "Creolization Theory and the Odyssey of the Atlantic Linear Cottage," *Etnofoor* 23, no. 1: 50-84; Jay D. Edwards, "Vernacular Vision: The Gallery and Our Africanized Architectural Landscape," in *Raised to the*

trace the influence of American forms on Creole buildings and whether or not they were utilized more by black or white builders.⁵⁸ This dissertation investigates the larger context of black Creoles' influence on antebellum architecture. These works do little to explore the possibilities of how and why the personal lives and motivations of their subjects intertwined with the building forms that they employed and only hint at circumstances of training and education.⁵⁹ Further, these sources neither present the particulars of becoming and being a black builder or architect nor a comprehensive narrative of the interrelationship between black Creole builders and patrons, their place in the community of the *gens de couleur libres*, or their influence on the architecture of the city at large.

While the names of many black Creole builders and architects are known, the particulars of their education and training are not. The socio-economic status of black Creole builders and architects in the nineteenth century played a role in the continuing or diminishing involvement of the *gens de couleur libres* in the building trades as well as the types of skills that they gained and were able to pass on. Understanding how these men received their training offers additional insight into their abilities. For example, cousins Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole were from a particularly prolific family.⁶⁰

Trade, 74, 77, 79-80; and Edwards, "The Origins of Creole Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1994): 158.

⁵⁸ John Michael Vlach, "Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents for Afro-American Architecture," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975); Naohito Okude, "Application of Linguistic Concepts to the Study of Vernacular Buildings: Architectural Designs among New Orleans' Free Persons of Color, 1820-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1986).

⁵⁹ In addition to Hankins and Dozier, Alfred N. Hunt provides basic historical information and suppositions regarding the training of black builders and architects in *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

⁶⁰ Mary Gehman, "Visible Means of Support: Businesses, Professions, and Trades of Free People of Color" in *Creole: the history and legacy of Louisiana's free people of color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 217; Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 32, 95-97.

Descendants of two brothers, Frenchmen who emigrated to New Orleans in the late 1700s, the black Dollioles are a prime example of a family for whom building skills were passed down from generation to generation. In addition to learning by doing, some *gens de couleur libres* builders received more formal training. This dissertation compares and contrasts the circumstances and output of family- or self-taught builders like the Dollioles with black Creoles who received formal apprenticeships in the building trades or architectural education such as Norbert Soulié.

In terms of their built works, the principal contribution of New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres* builders in the antebellum period was their ability to refine Creole forms while expanding their knowledge and use of American types and styles in various parts of the city for clients from all walks of life—black and white, American and Creole. Particularly in the urban context, builders of color combined various types and forms, including newer ones from the northeast Atlantic seaboard, to serve their own and their clients' needs. Free men of color, however, were most likely to be involved with the construction of domestic forms in New Orleans. Civic and religious architecture were the domain of white builders and architects. These contemporaries such as Frenchmen (J.N.B. de Pouilly and Claude Gurlie), Creoles (Joachim Courcelle, Jean François Correjolles, and Americans (William Brand, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, James Dakin, James Gallier, Sr.) designed in European Classical Revival styles and ushered in the Federal and Greek Revival styles. The antebellum "Americanization" of forms and styles, as well as new sources of labor in the building trades in the form of American, immigrant, and emancipated builders, caused Black Creoles to increasingly lose their stature socially and economically after Louisiana statehood and the Civil War. More of a total shift in architectural practice and design, this trend was a direct contrast to the "creolization" or mixture that occurred during the colonial era. The dividing line

between vernacular and monumental forms was meaningful for the loss of the *gens de couleur libres*' influence on New Orleans' architecture from the antebellum period onward. But, their ability to manipulate property as developers and speculators allowed them to retain a stronghold in specific neighborhoods where their persistence allowed for retention of a communal identity that is retained to the present day.

Entrepreneurship – Controlling the Built Environment

Various types of architectural patronage—the acquisition of property and commissioning of structures for personal use or commercial pursuits as well as real estate speculation—persisted within the free black community. As the experiences of the Dolliole and Soulié families show, initial property ownership provided a financial base for future purchases and to support the expense of property development and speculation (neither family engaged in the slave trade at such a level that would finance their real estate endeavors). Over the course of the antebellum period, the first-generation Dollioles owned at least 36 properties in the city. The Souliés' property ownership was just as abundant; the first-generation members owned at least 34 diverse properties between 1819 and 1850. Many of them, and dozens of others, were utilized by the Soulié siblings as rental property. Their success as property owners and developers underscored additional business achievements and informed the manner in which they handled their business affairs.⁶¹

⁶¹ Social and economic assessment of the *gens de couleur libres* come in varied forms. Mary Gehman's chapter "Visible Means of Support" highlights the careers of several antebellum real estate brokers and also discusses the other business endeavors in which they were involved. In *The History of Black Business in America*, Walker places emphasis on the implications of entrepreneurial involvement for blacks in the United States. She singles out New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres* as being especially business-minded in the decades before the Civil War and provides specific biographical and financial information on men and women who were involved in New Orleans' building trades.

Architecture was used to reinforce the financial strength of family groups and the black Creole community as a whole. The Dollioles and the Souliés forged personal and business relationships related to building, development and speculation with many other prominent *gens de couleur libres*. The Dollioles' prominence provided them with a stature in the black Creole community whereby Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole were frequently called upon to serve in a legal capacity as estate executors, appraisers of estate inventories, mortgage and money lenders and witnesses for other *gens de couleur libres*, including other builders. While most of the first-generation Souliés were French expatriates after 1831, they, likewise, were involved in the financial well-being of the *gens de couleur libres* community throughout the antebellum period. They remained active not only as absentee landlords but also as money lenders and mortgage holders. Members of both families, individually and collectively, developed personal ties to black and white Creoles by virtue of their status as builders and wealthy property owners. Jean-Louis Dolliole's oldest son married the daughter of black Creole builder Laurent Ursain Guesnon. Joseph Dolliole and *homme de couleur libre* builder and landowner François Boisdoré were neighbors who demanded fair compensation from the City when their land was sought for the expansion of Esplanade Avenue. The Souliés' financial and personal records capture their involvement with many other prominent New Orleans families of color. While many of these ties were by virtue of their white Creole ancestors and relatives, Bernard Soulié, the only sibling to permanently remain in the city, became a staunch advocate for the rights of the *gens de couleur libres* in the years following the Civil War.

Well-to-do New Orleanians of all ethnic groups recognized the importance of creating kinship and business partnerships to further their personal interests. Particularly for the *gens de couleur libres*, however, their independent pursuits also

established and emphasized their identity as a distinct class. Scholarship on the *gens de couleur libres* as a unique ethnic class is presented via a wide range of sources.⁶² But, the manner in which the Dollioles' and Souliés' (among many others') architectural pursuits strengthened that group identity is little discussed. The manner in which their activities in the antebellum period played out physically in space to influence contemporary experience remains evident in present-day perceptions of New Orleans' architectural, social, and economic history and, in turn, those perceptions' influence on how the city's architecture and the story of the *gens de couleur libres* is told and preserved.

The architectural legacy of the *gens de couleur libres* reveals intertwined layers of cultural and social meaning relevant to a specific time and place. The cultural aspects of black Creoles' endeavors as builders, property owners, and developers encompass their artistic and intellectual undertakings in the built environment, the development of those pursuits through education and training, and the transmission of customary practices literally built up and transmitted from one generation to another.⁶³ These cultural accomplishments in architecture in turn became integral to the life, welfare, and relations of the entire *gens de couleur libres* community.⁶⁴ Thematic study does not tell this whole narrative. Rather, the process by which the *gens de couleur libres*'

⁶² The many writings of Kimberly Hanger focus on the Spanish period, providing informative background for antebellum period. In *Neither Slave Nor Free*, edited by David Cohen and Jack Greene (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's chapter on Saint-Domingue explores the circumstances that would have affected free blacks there before they emigrated to New Orleans. Another important work on Saint Dominguan refugees is *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988). Alfred Hunt, particularly in the chapter "St. Dominguan Refugees in the Lower South," emphasizes the role of that black and white émigrés played in maintaining the Francophone status quo in New Orleans after the Louisiana Purchase. *Creole New Orleans* focuses on race relations, and the interactions between white Creoles, Creoles of Color, Foreign French, and Americans in the shift from colony to southern state.

⁶³ Adapted from *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* (1996), s.v. "culture."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, s.v. "social."

affected New Orleans architecture follows a trajectory of change directly related to the transitional nature of city, race, profession and architectural style in antebellum New Orleans. Through the Dollioles and Souliés, this dissertation navigates the changing physical landscape of the city and reviews the transmission of architectural forms into the urban environment of antebellum New Orleans by the *gens de couleur libres*, examining their effect on the city's built environment within the context of antebellum architectural history. The Creole architecture of New Orleans is one of its most significant character-defining features and was greatly influenced by the *gens de couleur libres*. This work treats black Creoles' contributions to the city's physical fabric in a new light, taking a more wholistic approach than thematic studies already in place and offering viewpoints in areas as diverse, yet related, as history, economics, education, and material culture, to name a few. My goal is consideration of not only the integrity of the buildings, but also of the identity and heritage of the unique group of people who built and lived in them.

'Black Creoles built, developed, and invested in property for other blacks. But they were also hired by many white clients and did work outside of the Tremé and the Creole Faubourgs. All across the board, the *gens de couleur libres*' architectural ambitions aided the persistence of Creole forms in antebellum Louisiana as well as individual economic survival and growth. Though the rural and urban conditions of many an American landscape in which they were involved would not have been the same without the influence of free people of color; the widespread influence of one ethnic group or class of people is not so pervasive elsewhere. The participation of New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres* places in them a unique position in the wider picture of American architectural, social, and cultural history as there was little to no distinction among free blacks or between black Creoles and their white counterparts in

architectural endeavors before the Civil War. The architecture of the *gens de couleur libres* is more than a significant number houses built by and for this ethnic class. Through further examination of specific people and places, this dissertation reveals cultural patterns via the individual and collective activities of two *gens de couleur libres* families and highlights the extent to which their participation in the building trades informed the geography of New Orleans as well as the social and economic independence, creativity, and autonomy of Black Creoles.

**PART ONE: OWNERSHIP –
POSSESSING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT**

Chapter One: The gens de couleur libres' acquisition of property

"As a man is said to have a right to his property, he may be equally said to have a property in his rights."

—James Madison, "Property" (1792)

While under Spanish rule from 1763 to 1800, the Louisiana colony transitioned from a struggling territory based on subsistence agriculture to a thriving plantation economy with New Orleans as its commercial, shipping, and cultural center.¹ Many black Creole families trace their roots to the latter part of the Spanish period, including those stemming from relationships between Louis Dolliole and Genevieve Laronde and between Jean Soulié and Eulalie Vivant. During this formative period for the colony, members of these and other *gens de couleur libres* families acquired property in numerous instances via familial relationships and contractual arrangements with other New Orleanians—black and white, Creole and Anglo—that allowed them a stronghold in the city which many white residents of both sexes did not possess.

Though New Orleans was not yet under the dominion of the United States when James Madison sought to explain the meaning of property as invoked by English philosopher John Locke and others,² the protection of property via the government was of paramount importance in the European colony with its stratified society of free whites, *gens de couleur libres*, other free blacks, and slaves. While much of the law dealt, obviously, with the issue of slavery, much also touched upon land ownership.

¹ Spear, 101.

² Ralph Louis Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography*, first paperback edition (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1990), 330.

While the French codified the Louisiana colony's tripartite racial system with the *Code Noir* of 1724, the Spanish reinforced it in the late 1760s, albeit through more liberal policies.³ Increased voluntary slave manumissions without government approval were recorded beginning shortly after the first Spanish governor, Alexander O'Reilly, introduced his *Ordinances and Instructions* implementing Spanish law in November 1769.⁴ The new government introduced the legal practice of *coartación*—petition of freedom for a price—that allowed slaves to legally sue for their freedom (even while the slave trade was reopened in 1777). Spanish land grants were made to free people of color, land was transferred to *gens de couleur libres* from white colonists for services rendered and/or for filial affections, and many *gens de couleur libres* purchased property outright from early colonists and their neighbors regardless of race.⁵

With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, free people of color were not promised the rights of full citizenship.⁶ In 1805, despite ambiguous wording in New Orleans' incorporation act, it became evident that the city council did not intend to enfranchise free blacks. Black Creole taxpayers and property owners continued to be ignored despite the fact that many free men of color provided invaluable militia service during the slave insurrection of 1811 that occurred on plantations upriver from New Orleans. Further, many provisions of the 1812 state constitution was explicitly limited to "free male white persons."⁷ While they were denied political rights, jury service, and militia service, however, the *gens de couleur libres*, and all free blacks, the state constitution

³ Jennifer M. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 102, 109.

⁵ Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 87.

⁶ Spear, 185.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 185-187.

retained the *gens de couleur libres*' rights to trial by jury, and to testify in court, make contracts, and own property.

BIRTHRIGHT VS. CONTRACT

Ownership, the legal act of property possession (having land and/or buildings belonging to one),⁸ was the first step in the architecture-driven identity-building process by which many builders and developers of color established their place in antebellum New Orleans. They primarily acquired, or came in to possession of property, via two methods—by birthright or by contract. Birthright, "any right of privilege to which a person is entitled by birth,"⁹ involved property that was passed from one family member through another. This usually occurred when a parent bequeathed land (with or without improvements) to children via a last will and testament (also known as a testamentary donation). In antebellum New Orleans, however, *intervivos* donations, whereby property was transferred or gifted to another party during one's lifetime, were also common. Contractual transfer of property, on the other hand, was a legal agreement between two or more parties enforceable by law. The primary difference between transfer and acquisition of property via birthright or contract was that the former was usually between family members or close acquaintances, and the latter involved monetary exchange.

Historian Shirley Thompson notes that birthright is traditionally and historically the most prominent claim to territory, endowing one with the responsibility to refine and defend that territory.¹⁰ Establishing birthright was often difficult to do for the

⁸ *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* (1996), s.v. "ownership" and "possession."

⁹ *Ibid.*, s.v. "birthright."

¹⁰ Shirley Thompson, *Exiles at Home: the struggle to become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press), 116-117.

offspring of mixed-race relationships in antebellum New Orleans. The *Code Noir* of 1724 forbade miscegenation and legal marriage between blacks and whites.¹¹ Recognition as "natural" offspring conveyed a status of pseudo-legitimacy on children of these unions. A natural child was one born of an extramarital union but acknowledged by the father. Natural children could be of solely free black or of free black and white paternity and became legal heirs upon recognition before a notary and two witnesses.¹² Prior to changes in the *Code Noir*, it was not unheard of for white fathers to bequeath real and movable property to their mixed-race children. The Louisiana Civil Code of 1825, however, prevented interracial couples from legitimizing their unions and favored inheritance of property onto white offspring by prohibiting white fathers from bequeathing property to their "natural" children.¹³ The Dolliole family escaped the *gens de couleur libres*' predicament of being unable to inherit and accumulate real wealth because of restrictions placed on illegitimate interracial relationships in two ways.¹⁴ First, much of their property acquisition and acts of succession conferring property to one another occurred before the enactment of the 1825 Civil Code. Second, the Dolliole matriarch and patriarch purchased property independently of one another that could then be combined and/or divided between their children. The Dollioles, as well as the Souliés, owned a number of properties that were transferred via *intervivos* donations.

The Soulié family, however, acquired most of their real property through contractual transaction with neighbors and strangers as opposed to transferring property among one another. "While the concepts of birthright and contract coexist,

¹¹ The Spanish officially extended the policies of the *Code Noir* but did not refuse to hear matters related to mixed marriages, Toledano and Christovich, 90.

¹² Toledano and Christovich, 91.

¹³ Thompson, *Exiles at Home*, 167.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 114-115.

especially in terms of one's birthright being potentially contracted (or re-contracted) upon one's death by way of probate proceedings, contracts, according to Thompson, have the "ability to supersede past arrangements and attempt to proceed anew from a space of 'cleared ground.'"¹⁵ Not having inherited significant amounts of property from their father or from their mother, the Soulié siblings purchased their property outright, establishing for themselves the right to own and claim property.

BIRTHRIGHT: THE DOLLIOLES

By virtue of their individual status as property owners and long-term relationship, *negresse libre* Genevieve Laronde (ca. 1745-1836) and Frenchman Louis Dolliole (1742-1822) set the stage for their children to establish a foothold as some of New Orleans' most distinguished black Creole property owners. Relatively little is known of Genevieve's background.¹⁶ Documents from her estate file reveal that she was a native of New Orleans and born about 1745.¹⁷ She is legally referred to as a *negresse libre* or "free negro woman" in legal documents during her lifetime; it is not known whether she was born free or manumitted. Genevieve had three daughters early in the Spanish colonial period: Charlotte (1766), Rosette (1767), and Marie Françoise (1776). Their father(s) is (are) unknown. Louis and Genevieve began a relationship and possibly living together by 1779 as evidenced by the birth of their first son Jean-Louis.¹⁸ Later offspring included Madeleine (1783), Pierre (unknown), and Joseph (ca. 1791). None of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁶ In *Historic Louisiana*, William Dale Reeves surmises that Genevieve Laronde was from the French West Indies, 17. The author has not found archival evidence to support this claim.

¹⁷ The death record, dated September 28, 1836 and "Petition for the appointment of a tutor & and inventory" filed May 21, 1838, note that she was born in Orleans Parish and around 89 years old at her death on September 1, 1836. Genevieve Dolliole, Estate of 1838, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

¹⁸ No known address for either party has been found prior to that date.

the births of Louis and Genevieve's four children are documented.¹⁹ On August 28, 1794, Genevieve purchased a 30' x 60' piece of property fronting onto St. Philip Street from free woman of color Mariana St. Jean. Genevieve, Louis, and their minor offspring (Jean-Louis would have been the oldest at 15 years old) likely lived here together after the acquisition.

Research has not indicated where Louis Dolliole resided from his arrival in New Orleans until the late 1780s. His real estate activities in various parts of the city shed light on his personal and the Dollioles' family life. On July 12, 1788, Louis purchased a lot at 922-924 Dauphine.²⁰ The property contained a house that had been destroyed by the fire of March 12, 1788. It is possible that Dolliole purchased the land at a bargain and sought to profit from that disaster, however, he does not appear to have developed the

¹⁹ The births were not recorded in the registry of St. Louis Cathedral per their absence in the archdiocesan indices and online indices of New Orleans birth records; the reason for the missing entries is not clear. Jean-Louis' birth year of 1779 is derived from his age of 71 at the 1850 census and his age of 82 per his obituary in the *Bee* on 1/10/1861, one day after his death. This information is further complicated by two separate entries in the death indices which give his age at death as 72 and 92. Madeleine's birth year is 1783 based on her age of 52 at her death on June 1, 1835, in the death index. Pierre's birth date is unknown (Joseph's 1850 census stats are incorrectly applied to Pierre in volume six of the *New Orleans Architecture* series). Based on the listing of the children in Louis Dolliole's probate records, Pierre was the third born. Joseph was born in 1790 or 1791 based on his age of 59 at the 1950 census and 78 in the 1868 death index.

²⁰ I have used current addresses when referring to properties and locations. When known, historic address/es is/are noted in *Appendix B*. Many street names and numbers have changed in New Orleans over time. Dates in changes in street names vary, but the city's street numbers were converted from the "old" numbering system to the present "hundred block system" in 1893-1894. The Louisiana Division of the New Orleans Public Library has an online version of Gray B. Amos, *Alphabetical Index of Changes in Street Names, Old and New, period 1852 to Current Date, Dec. 1st 1838* (New Orleans: City Archives, 1938) located at <http://nutrias.org/facts/streetnames/namesa.htm> as well as Gray B. Amos, *Corrected Index, Alphabetical and numerical, of changes in street names and numbers old and new, 1852 to current date, April 8, 1938* (New Orleans: City Archives, 1938) located at <http://neworleanspubliclibrary.org/~nopl/info/louinfo/numberchanges/numberchanges.htm>. Additional tools useful for documenting street name and number changes are located in the City Archives as well as the Research Center at the New Orleans Notarial Archives.

lot before selling it in 1804.²¹ In 1801, Louis purchased a large lot on St. Philip Street. It was adjacent to property purchased by his paramour Genevieve in 1794.

The Dollioles' St. Philip Street, Bayou Road, and Faubourg Franklin properties were among many owned throughout the city by the family from Genevieve's 1794 acquisition to Joseph's death in 1868 (*Table 2*). Like many *gens de couleur libres*, the Dollioles began amassing property at a time when the growth of a free black population was encouraged.²² New Orleans' free black community originated in the Spanish colonial period due to a demographic, economic, political, and military environment rooted in a tolerant Caribbean community.²³ The first-generation Dollioles came of age in the Spanish regime and were well established in the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Marigny by the territorial period and years of early statehood.²⁴ The properties they obtained prior to 1830 set the stage for the family's real estate endeavors; most of it was retained or obtained during and through the 1830s and 1840s. Property acquisitions—located in the Vieux Carré and faubourgs Marigny and Tremé—in the latter part of the antebellum period served as income for the family members. The first-generation Dollioles took advantage of these peak decades in New Orleans' economic history to continue to acquire property for their residences and to generate development opportunities as the city's population and boundaries expanded.

²¹ Chain of Title, 922-924 Dauphine, *Vieux Carré Survey*.

²² Kimberly S. Hanger, "Patronage, Property, and Persistence: The Emergence of a Free Black Elite in Spanish New Orleans," *Slavery and Abolition* 17, no. 1 (1996): 44.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 95-97.

Creating the family compound

The real estate acquisitions of Genevieve Laronde and Louis Dolliole lay the foundation for the establishment of a family compound that allowed the couple, their children, and even grandchildren to be stakeholders in property ownership through the middle of the next century. Scholarship and fiction abound with the stories of women like Genevieve who were consorts of white men under the institution of *plaçage*. Upon embarking upon a *plaçage* relationship, a woman (or her family) might demand a residence as part of the agreement; the property would remain hers should the relationship end. In many cases, partners and children of *plaçage* relationships received donations of real estate from their lover/father. These "startup" properties often served as the basis for greater involvement in the real estate market.²⁵ "Once given a house and investments," writes journalist and women's movement supporter Mary Gehman, "these women had to be savvy in the ways of business and law in order to hold on to what they had been given, improve it, and pass it on to their children. There is also no doubt that other free women, through hard work and frugality, were able to purchase property on their own."²⁶

Genevieve Laronde was one of the latter. Her 1794 purchase of property on St. Philip Street allowed Genevieve to obtain and possess property in her name since she could only inherit moveable property (i.e. furniture and slaves). On the surface, this transaction was completed solely by Genevieve. And, it was under her "maiden" name Laronde. Per the norms of long-term *plaçage* relationships, Louis may have provided some or all of the funds for the purchase of this property to serve as Genevieve's

²⁵ Thompson, *Exiles at Home*, 190.

²⁶ Mary Gehman, "Visible Means of Support: Businesses, Professions, and Trades of Free People of Color" in *Creole: the history and legacy of Louisiana's free people of color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 213.

"dowry" and their offspring's inheritance. There are no outward indications of this being the case, however. Presumably, Louis and Genevieve moved there with their children (Jean-Louis being the oldest at age 15) and Louis built a house on the property. It is clear that Louis and Genevieve are both living on the property in 1801 when, in transactions for the adjacent lot, ownership of the Laronde/Dolliole land is credited to Louis in January 1801 then to Genevieve in July 1801.²⁷ Regardless of who was behind the purchase, the family became established on St. Philip Street, and Louis expanded their holdings at this location. On July 11, 1801, he acquired a large 92' x 60' lot in square 84 at St. Philip and Burgundy streets adjacent to Genevieve's property.²⁸ Louis Dolliole lived there at 67 St. Philip Street in the 1805 New Orleans directory and census.²⁹ He was the only white occupant while four *gens de couleur libres* are in residence—one female over the age of 16 and three males under the age of 16. Three of the individuals would have been Genevieve, Joseph, and Pierre.³⁰ Daughter Madeleine, age 22, is listed—under her husband, Noel Galaud—as living on the family property (at 63 St. Philip, probably Genevieve's lot).³¹ Jean-Louis likely resided on adjacent property facing Burgundy Street; he purchased a 30' by 120' lot from *femme de couleur libre*

²⁷ In the Last Will and Testament of Santiago Coursiac, free negro, the property is identified as belonging to Louis Doriol (sic), Narcisse Broutin, volume 15, act 14, January 13, 1801. In the sale of the adjacent land by Coursiac's testamentary executor to Louis Dolliole on July 11, 1801, the initial land is noted as being owned by Genoveva (sic) Laronde.

²⁸ Louis Dolliole Estate Inventory, February 22, 1822, filed in office of Carlile Pollock, February 26, 1822; Chain of title, 939-941 St. Philip Street, Vieux Carré Survey. This is described as a property in the Vieux Carré on Burgundy Street between St. Philip and Ursulines in Toledano and Christovich, 91.

²⁹ <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/history/directory/1805demo.txt> (accessed February 22, 2011).

³⁰ Either the census taker or family misreported Jean-Louis' age (he would have been 26 years old in 1805) or another teenaged male lived with the family. Genevieve did have another son, Francois Azemar (alias Dolliole). Francois is not recognized as a natural child of Louis Dolliole; he and his offspring are mentioned in Genevieve Dolliole's succession records.

³¹ Madeleine Dolliole and Noel Galaud were married on November 3, 1798. Noel, an *homme de couleur libre* was identified as a white male in the 1805 directory and census. The household consists of Noel, a free woman of color over 16 years of age (Madeleine), two unidentified males of color under the age of 16, and one slave girl.

Louison Després bordering the rear of his parents' St. Philip Street holdings on July 26, 1804.³² Expansions to and divisions of the family land on St. Philip and Burgundy streets were made to accommodate the Dolliole children as they grew older and established families of their own (*Figure 6*).

1010 Burgundy Street

After Madeleine Dolliole's marriage at about age 15 to *homme de couleur libre* Noel Galaud in 1798, the newlyweds resided at Genevieve's St. Philip Street property. Louis Dolliole provided the funds for Jean-Louis to purchase the 30' x 120' lot facing Burgundy Street, and adjacent to his own, from Louison Després in July 1804 for the use of his two eldest children, Jean-Louis and Madeleine.³³ Accordingly, Jean-Louis transferred the lakeside half of the property to Noel Galaud ("in the name and as spouse of" Madeleine Dolliole) later in the year.³⁴ An act of sale dated November 8, 1805, indicates that ultimately Jean-Louis transferred all interest in the Burgundy Street property to his sister for \$250.00.³⁵ Madeleine lived at present-day 1010 Burgundy Street with her daughter (husband Noel died in July 1808³⁶) until they moved to the 1100 block of St. Philip Street in the 1820s. When Madeleine died in 1835, her daughter Victoire Galaud Urquhart inherited the property. Victoire retained the property for

³² Després' ethnicity was gleaned from her estate file, Louison Després, Estate of 1809, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846. Her last name is alternately spelled "Dupre" or "Depres" in archival records. This property transaction is noted in the chains of title for the family's other St. Philip Street properties. The original act, completed before notary Narcisse Broutin, could not be located.

³³ Noel Gallot [sic], Estate of 1808, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Jean-Louis Dolliole to Madeleine Dolliole, Narcisse Broutin notary, volume 10, act 756, November 8, 1805.

³⁶ Vve. Galaud (néé Madeleine Dolliole), Estate of 1835, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

seven years; it was sold with the extant ca. 1835 three-bay cottage and outbuildings upon her death in 1842.³⁷

927-929 St. Philip Street

At an unknown date, and without benefit of a formal notarized transaction or written title, Jean-Louis sold or gave the riverside quarter of his Burgundy Street property—a 30' x 30' portion—to his mother. When added to her existing property purchased in 1794, Genevieve had a 30' x 90' lot facing St. Philip Street under her ownership (present numbers 927-929). She lived here until the 1820s. In 1838, two years after Genevieve died in 1836, an order to sell the property was made by the court of probates.³⁸ By this time, the lot contained the main dwelling, a four-bay cottage, and other outbuildings. Jean-Louis purchased the property from Genevieve's succession for \$5,600.00 on May 11, 1839, and owned it for another five-and-a-half years before selling to Mathilde Duralde in 1844.³⁹

931-933 St. Philip Street

In December 1804, Louis sold approximately one-third of his large St. Philip Street property to Jean-Louis for \$250.00.⁴⁰ This rear of said property abutted another 30' x 30' portion of Jean-Louis' Burgundy Street property. Jean-Louis now owned a 30' x 90' lot facing St. Philip at present-day numbers 931-933. In 1805, he built the extant

³⁷ Succession of Victoire Gallaud to Louise Beltremieux, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 65, act 9. Jean-Louis Dolliole, her uncle, served as testamentary executor.

³⁸ Genevieve Dolliole to Her Heirs, Order to Sell, Probate Court, November 12, 1838.

³⁹ Succession of Genevieve Dolliole to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 61, act 176; Jean-Louis Dolliole, f.m.c. to Miss Mathilde Duralde, f.w.c., Edward Barnett notary, volume 26, act 524, December 20, 1844.

⁴⁰ Louis Doriol [sic] to Jean-Louis Doriol [sic], Narcisse Broutin notary, volume 7, act 521.

four-bay cottage.⁴¹ In his mid-twenties by this time, Jean-Louis established residence outside of his parents' home. He would have lived here with his family—consort Hortense Dusau and their young children (born between 1809 and 1816)—until moving to a house built in Faubourg Marigny on land purchased from Hortense's mother in 1820. After this time, the St. Philip Street lot served as income property. The property at 931-933 St. Philip Street remained in the Dolliole family the longest for 53 years; Jean-Louis sold it in 1854.⁴²

935-937 St. Philip Street

In 1812, Louis Dolliole sold the central 25' x 60' portion of his large St. Philip Street lot to second son Pierre for \$400.00.⁴³ Pierre, a shoemaker, had already been living on the property as he is listed in residence in the 1811 city directory. According to the act of sale, the lot contained buildings which had been built by or for Pierre with Louis' permission. Since Pierre was a shoemaker by trade, one of his older brothers probably built the house. When Pierre died in 1822, the land and buildings were bequeathed to his mother, Genevieve.⁴⁴ Jean-Louis then purchased the property from

⁴¹ This date was gleaned by historical and archaeological research by the current owners. Bonnie Warren and Richard Sexton, "Rooms with a View," *Louisiana Life*, volume 17, no. 4 (1997): 28; Jim Fraiser, *The French Quarter of New Orleans* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 13; George Abry, "Cottage Industry," *Old House Journal*, (September 2004): 66-71.

⁴² Jean-Louis Dolliole to Celestin Saussaye, Amadee Ducatel notary, volume 64, act 480, December 28, 1854.

⁴³ Louis Dolliole to Pierre Dolliole, f.m.c., Pierre Pedesclaux notary, volume 65, act 424, September 20, 1812.

⁴⁴ Chain of title, 935-937 St. Philip Street, Vieux Carré Survey. Pierre Dolliole's succession files could not be located in the probate records at the New Orleans public library or in any online indices.

his mother's estate in 1839 for \$3,800.00.⁴⁵ He owned this portion of the St. Philip Street land until he sold it to Marie Laure Popin in 1843.⁴⁶

939-941 St. Philip Street

Jean-Louis ultimately acquired the corner lot of the Dollioles' St. Philip Street holdings, placing the entire compound under his ownership. He purchased the 35' x 60' lot—with a tile-clad, four-room brick-between-post house; a brick kitchen with tile roof; and outhouses—from his father's estate for \$4,500.00 on March 9, 1822.⁴⁷ By this time, Jean-Louis owned other property in faubourgs Marigny and Tremé. Still, he retained possession of this corner lot until April 1843.⁴⁸

City surveyor Joseph Pilié's *Plan de la Ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans avec les noms des propriétaires* clearly labels the Dolliole family's landholdings in square 84 of the Vieux Carré (*Figure 7*). In the first two decades of the 19th century, the properties were subdivided among the Dolliole children as they came into adulthood. In 1804, 1822, and 1839, all of the lots facing St. Philip Street came into Jean-Louis' possession. A survey of New Orleans city directories shows that members of the Dolliole family resided in the 900 block of St. Philip Street at least until 1811 (Louis at no. 63, Pierre at no. 65, and Louis at no. 67).⁴⁹ Starting in the 1820s, the lots and buildings appear to have been rented until they were sold in the 1840s and 1850s. Though the Dollioles no longer resided on St. Philip Street and had other holdings on Bayou Road, the decades from

⁴⁵ Succession of Genevieve Dolliole to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 61, act 176, May 11, 1839.

⁴⁶ Jean-Louis Dolliole, f.m.c. to Marie Laure Popin, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 66, act 239, December 21, 1843.

⁴⁷ Louis Dolliole inventory; Charles Aicard to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 10, act 22, March 9, 1822.

⁴⁸ Jean-Louis Dolliole to Louis Sejour, Charles Victor Foulon notary, volume 12, act 120, April 11, 1843.

⁴⁹ No entries for Genevieve Laronde (Dolliole) are in the 1811 directory.

1810 to 1850 saw a significant amount of property come under the ownership of the Dolliole siblings (as well as their half-sisters Charlotte and Rosette) through a variety of means.⁵⁰

Dolliole family ownership through the 1840s

During the second half of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Dollioles established a presence outside of the city proper. Like many other New Orleanians, white and black, Louis Dolliole purchased property along Bayou Road. Claude Tremé sold lots that he and his wife inherited from the former Morand-Moreau plantation to many *gens de couleur libres* between 1798 and 1810, including free man of color Charles Montreuil.⁵¹ On June 7, 1806, Louis purchased former Tremé property—a 60' x 270' lot on Bayou Road (present-day 1300 block Governor Nicholls)—from Charles Montreuil.⁵² By this time, or soon thereafter, it appears that Louis and Genevieve had ended their relationship—they are listed separately as head of household at different addresses at the 1810 census. Thus with the Bayou Road purchase, Louis gained a residence elsewhere. Regardless of Louis Dolliole's motivations, his son Jean-Louis

⁵⁰ Only the portion of old Bayou Road lakeside of North Claiborne Avenue retains its original name. Between 1830 and 1850, a new road called Governor Nicholls was carved through the back-of-town plantations. In an attempt to align the new thoroughfare with the older parts of the city, Hospital Street (in the Vieux Carré between the Mississippi River and North Rampart Street) and old Bayou Road (in Faubourg Tremé between North Rampart Street and North Claiborne Street) were re-named Governor Nicholls Street.

⁵¹ Mary Louise Christovich, Sally Kittredge Evans, Roulhac Toledano, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume V, The Esplanade Ridge* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1977), 15.

⁵² Montreuil purchased the property from Tremé on June 11, 1803. Charles Montreuil to Louis Dolliole, Pierre Pedesclaux notary, volume 53, act 470, June 7, 1806; also mentioned in Louis Dolliole estate inventory. *New Orleans Architecture: Volume V* notes that [a] Dolliole purchased the Bayou Road property directly from Tremé in 1800 (60, 61) and that this area facing Esplanade "was sold or bequeathed by Tremé to Francois Boisdoré and Joseph Dolliole...." (54). This information is not consistent with the maps and descriptions provided in that volume. Further, archival research has not revealed a direct transaction between Louis or Joseph Dolliole and Tremé. A notarized entry and secondary source maps indicate that Charles Montreuil purchased the property in question from Claude Tremé on in June 1803 (Pedro Pedesclaux notary, volume 44, act 489 or 491; see also Toledano and Christovich, 15, figure 1).

followed suit, also purchasing a lot on Bayou Road from Claude Tremé in March 1807 (*Figure 8 and 9*).⁵³ Jean-Louis established residence here, building a house at present-day number 1502.⁵⁴ Whether this, or the house at 931-933 St. Philip, was the primary residence for Jean-Louis, Hortense Dusau, and their children is not known. It is listed as his primary residence in 1822 and from 1841 on. This property was sold out of the family after Jean-Louis died in 1861; it was the property that he owned individually for the longest at 54 years.

Once the youngest Dolliole sons, Pierre and Joseph, came in to adulthood, land bequests or monetary assistance for the purchase of property were not immediately forthcoming from their parents as it was for their older siblings. If Louis and Genevieve had indeed ended their relationship by the 1810s, this may have been a reason. In 1811, Pierre and Joseph jointly purchased a lot at the corner of Greatmen and History streets (present-day Dauphine and Kerlerec Streets) from Zaire (alias Françoise Grammont) in the newly developed Faubourg Marigny (1806).⁵⁵ As mentioned above, Pierre received his share of the family's St. Philip Street property in 1812. Joseph, on the other hand, had come into his own to the extent that he was able to assist family members via land transactions. In 1814, Jean-Louis sold to Joseph properties on Bayou Road and Bagatelle Street (purchased at an unknown date), two slaves, as well as the tools of his trade.⁵⁶ A cash down payment was exchanged between the brothers with the balance was to be applied to several of Jean-Louis' debts, including two to their mother Genevieve and

⁵³ Claude Tremé to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Pierre Pedesclaux notary, volume 54, act 144, March 3, 1807. See also estate inventory of Jean-Louis Inventory; vol. 6, p.

⁵⁴ Toledano and Christovich, xv. The house was still extant on Robinson's 1883 *Atlas of the City of New Orleans, Louisiana* (plate 7).

⁵⁵ Zaire dit Françoise Grammont to Pierre and Joseph Dolliole, Narcisse Broutin notary, volume 24, act 95, April 15, 1811.

⁵⁶ Jean-Louis Dolliole to Joseph Dolliole, John Lynd notary, Volume 11, act 386, September 21, 1814.

other brother Pierre. Whatever financial problems Jean-Louis experienced at this time, his situation improved as he continued to acquire property and work as a carpenter and builder in the early years of Louisiana statehood. The latter part of the 1810s saw the Dolliole brothers start a second St. Philip Street family compound, lakeside of Rampart Street in the 1100 blocks (*Figure 10*). In 1816, Jean-Louis Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, and Norbert Fortier purchased a 120' x 120' lot (including present-day nos. 1127-1129). The property appears as lots 30 and 31 on an 1816 survey by Jacques Tanesse (*Figure 11*).

In 1819, Jean-Louis Dolliole began constructing a house on Pauger Street on property belonging to Catherine Dusuau, his deceased wife's mother (*Figure 12*).⁵⁷ He purchased the majority of the lot and the house that was under construction a few months later in February 1820.⁵⁸ Jean-Louis developed and purchased this property to provide for his three minor children. A month-and-a-half after he acquired it, Jean-Louis made an *intervivos* donation of the property to his minor children to provide for their support but reserved the right to use it during his lifetime.⁵⁹ Ultimately, Dolliole sold the property in 1858.

The years 1821 and 1822 saw various transitions leading up to and as a result of the deaths of two family members. In June 1821, Jean-Louis and Pierre Dolliole and Norbert Fortier confirmed partition of their joint property in the 1100 block of St. Philip Street whereby each received a lot approximately 42' x 130' in size (*Figure 13*).⁶⁰ Jean-

⁵⁷ Jean-Louis married Hortense Dusuau in February 1818; they already had three children. Hortense died on August 8, 1818 according to petitions filed by Jean-Louis in her succession records. Madame Louis Dolliole (née Hortense Dusuau), Estate of 1819, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

⁵⁸ Catherine Dusuau to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 126, February 4, 1820.

⁵⁹ Jean-Louis Dolliole to his minor children, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 174, April 22, 1820. Through some arrangement not yet discovered by the author, Jean-Louis regained the property, ultimately selling it in 1858. Toledano, et. al., 95; Jean-Louis Dolliole to Patrick Powers, Theodore Guyol notary, May 11, 1858.

⁶⁰ Partition between Pierre Dolliole, Jean-Louis Dolliole, and Norbert Fortier, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 524, June 29, 1821. See drawing by J.A. d'Hemecourt, January 29, 1869 attached to

Louis built two cottages on his lot (present-day numbers 1125 and 1127); they were occupied by Jean-Louis or his son Louis Drausin through the 1840s. On the same day that the brothers made the partition, Pierre authorized a general procuration whereby he gave Jean-Louis the authority to act on his behalf in legal matters.⁶¹ The following month, Pierre sold his share of the Bagatelle Street property to Joseph;⁶² the latter made this location his primary residence as it is listed as his address in the 1822 city directory. The reason for that Pierre divested himself of these two properties is not clear in the acts of sale. However, it is noted that the partition clarified the ownership of each third by its respective owner to avoid future confusion. Perhaps, by this time, Pierre Dolliole suffered from a serious illness and sought to get his affairs in order. In fact, he died within the next year. While his succession records cannot be found, property records note that Pierre willed his properties in the 900 and 1100 blocks of St. Philip Street to his mother Genevieve. The transfer of ownership to his brothers and bequests to his mother made settling Pierre's estate easier.

Earlier in the year, the family had suffered another loss. Family patriarch Louis Antoine Dolliole died on February 13, 1822, at the age of 80.⁶³ In his will, he noted that half of the furnishings in the house belonged Genevieve. He bequeathed the other half of the furniture and all of the house plate, house linen, and house utensils to her.

Succession of Joseph Dolliole, Joseph Cuvillier notary, volume 83, act 7, December 16, 1868. The partition was made because the property appeared to belong only to Pierre per the language in the original act of sale. In reality, each of the three men had the use of an equal portion. *New Orleans Architecture: Volume VI*, notes that Jean-Louis Dolliole came into possession of all three lots July 18, 1821 (page 188). The author found no documentation to support this claim.

⁶¹ General Procuration, Pierre Dolliole to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 526, June 29, 1821.

⁶² Pierre Dolliole to Joseph Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 533, June 6, 1821.

⁶³ Charles E. Nolan and Dorenda Dupont, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 15, 1822-1823* (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 2000), 125. A typographical error in *New Orleans Architecture: Volume VI* states that Louis Dolliole died in 1832.

Inheritance laws prevented Louis from leaving his landed property to either Genevieve or his four recognized children—Jean-Louis, Madeleine, Joseph, and Pierre. Instead, he left the children monetary bequests of 300 piastres each to be remitted by his executor, Joseph Aicard, after his death.⁶⁴ Aicard was also placed in charge of seeing to the sale of the immovable property from Louis' estate. He fulfilled these duties in March 1822 when he sold, undoubtedly through a previously arranged agreement, Louis' corner lot at St. Philip and Burgundy streets to Jean-Louis and the lot in the 1300 block of Bayou Road to Joseph.⁶⁵ Though Louis Dolliole's death occurred three years before the Louisiana Civil Code of 1825 was instituted with its more restricted inheritance laws, he arranged for Genevieve to receive the maximum that she could in movable property—the household goods—and for his children to receive his immovable property through a third party. Furthermore, with these purchases, Jean-Louis and Joseph saw to their mother's financial stability; they made *intervivos* donations of Louis' former properties to Genevieve for her use during her lifetime as signs of their love and filial gratitude.⁶⁶ Genevieve's financial needs were further solidified when she inherited Pierre's properties. Indirectly, the first-generation Dollioles received their birthright and, as a result, were able to support their mother and acknowledge her left-hand marriage to Louis Dolliole.

⁶⁴ Louis Dolliole last will and testament, November 4, 1815, Pierre Pedesclaux notary, volumes 70-71, act 964. For the household inventory and other records related to Louis Dolliole's probate matters see Louis Dolliole, Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846 and Louis Dolliole, Estate of 1822, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846. Original inventory located in the records of Carlile Pollock notary, volume 8, act 181. Acceptance by Joseph Aicard, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 10, act 20, February 23, 1822.

⁶⁵ Joseph Aicard to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 10, , act 22, March 9, 1822; Joseph Aicard to Joseph Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 10, , act 23, March 9, 1822.

⁶⁶ Jean-Louis Dolliole to Genevieve Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 10, act 27, March 18, 1822; Joseph Dolliole to Genevieve Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 10, act 28, March 18, 1822.

In the latter half of the 1820s, the Dollioles invested in property of the College d'Orléans (*Figures 10 and 14*). The school was built on the grounds of the former Morand-Tremé plantation in 1812. The institution failed five short years later, and in the 1820s, the City Corporation began auctioning off the property. The Dolliole women took advantage of this opportunity. In 1826, Madeleine Dolliole purchased two properties on St. Philip Street (present-day numbers 1201 and 1205), in the square above that her brothers' lots in the 1100 block; she retained them until her death in 1835 at which time they were passed down to her daughter Victoire Galaud.⁶⁷ In 1827, Dolliole half-sister Rosette purchased former College d'Orléans property at present-day numbers 1223-25 and 1227 St. Philip. She sold the undeveloped 50'-wide lot to Joseph in 1834.⁶⁸ Joseph created two lots; on one (1227), he built a two-bay cottage that he sold in 1854 and on the other (1223-1225), he built a cottage that was sold after his death by his widow Josefa Rodriguez in 1869.

The notarial archives reveal an interesting partnership in which Joseph Dolliole was involved. In May 1835, he and Nelson Fouché, another *homme de couleur libre* builder, purchased several properties in Faubourg Franklin (the uptown portion of Nouvelle Marigny—an extension of Faubourg Marigny, created in 1826). After the neighborhood began to be developed in 1830, Dolliole and Fouché acquired eight lots in square 102 on Washington Promenade (present-day St. Roch Avenue) and all of square 148 (*Figure 15*).⁶⁹ They began capitalizing on their investment, selling one of the lots in

⁶⁷ Louisiana Corporation to Magdeleine Dolliole, Felix De Armas notary, volume 5, acts 439 and 454. *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI* claims that Victoire Galaud purchased the lot at number 1205 (page 189).

⁶⁸ The details of these transactions are found in the Succession of Joseph Dolliole, Joseph Cuvillier notary, volume 83, act 7, December 16, 1868. See the accompanying drawing by J.A. d'Hemecourt, January 12, 1869.

⁶⁹ M.N.N. Destrehan to Joseph Dolliole and Nelson Fouché, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 12, act 277, May 2, 1835.

square 102 on December 29, 1835.⁷⁰ Though the fate of the other lots is not known, it is clear that the two builders purchased the properties to develop and sell them for their own profit as the city of New Orleans continued to grow outside of its colonial boundaries in the antebellum period.

In addition to retaining property within their immediate family, the Dollioles also often transferred with their extended family members. This was first done between Jean-Louis Dolliole and his first wife's mother in 1821. In 1841, Jean-Louis acquired property on Governor Nicholls Street from Joseph's mother in-law, Marguerite Jason, and her brother and sister Gabriel and Helene.⁷¹ Four years later, he re-sold the property to Helene Jason. Then, in 1847, she again sold the property, this time to Joseph Dolliole and Magdeleine Nobe (Joseph's wife and the seller's niece). The couple retained the property until 1857. Again, the Dolliole's practices of property acquisition and ownership emphasized family ties and longevity.

⁷⁰ Joseph Dolliole and Nelson Fouché to William Lewis, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 13, act 777, December 29, 1835.

⁷¹ Chain of title, 822-824 Governor Nicholls, Vieux Carré Survey.

Table 2. Properties owned by Louis Dolliole, Genevieve Laronde, and their children, 1794-1868.⁷²
 (*indicates on last owner's estate inventory)

Current Street Address/Location	Faubourg (Municipality)	Date of Purchase	Date of Sale	Family Member(s)
927-929 St. Philip	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1794/1804	1844	Genevieve Jean-Louis
931-933 St. Philip	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1801/1804	1854	Louis Jean-Louis
935-937 St. Philip	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1801	1843	Louis Pierre Genevieve Jean-Louis
939-941 St. Philip	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1801	1843	Louis Jean-Louis
1010 Burgundy	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1804	1842	Jean-Louis Madeleine Victoire
1300 block Governor Nicholls (Bayou Road)	Tremé (1 st)	1806	1841	Louis Joseph
1502 Governor Nicholls	Tremé (1 st)	1807	1861*	Jean-Louis
Dauphine at Kerlerec (History at Greatmen)	Marigny (3 rd)	1811	unknown	Pierre Joseph
Bagatelle	Marigny (3 rd)	1814 (before)	unknown	Jean-Louis Joseph
Bayou Road	Tremé (3 rd)	1814 (before)	1822	Jean-Louis Joseph
1123 St. Philip Street	Tremé (1 st)	1816	1869*	Jean-Louis Pierre Genevieve Joseph
1125 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1816	unknown	Jean-Louis Pierre
1127 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1816	1857	Jean-Louis Pierre
1129 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1816	1821	Jean-Louis Pierre
1436 Pauger	Marigny (3 rd)	1820	1858	Jean-Louis
909-911 Orleans	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1826	1834	Jean-Louis
1200 block St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1826/1830	1831	Jean-Louis
1201 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1826	unknown	Madeleine
1205 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1826	1850	Madeleine Victoire

⁷² This list includes some properties owned by Genevieve's daughters Rosette and Charlotte as they relate to properties belonging to their half siblings. Rosette and Charlotte were older than Genevieve's children with Louis but adopted the surname Dolliole; the two women are not discussed at length in this work. Property owned independently by Louis or Genevieve is not included in Table 2.

Current Street Address/Location	Faubourg (Municipality)	Date of Purchase	Date of Sale	Family Member(s)
1223-1225 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1827	1869	Rosette Joseph
1227 St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1827	1854	Rosette Joseph
1029 Bourbon	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1829	1860	Joseph
1300 block St. Philip	Tremé (1 st)	1830	1831	Joseph
1523 Ursuline	Tremé (1 st)	Unknown	1833	Jean-Louis
1518 Governor Nicholls	Tremé (1 st)	ca. 1834	ca. 1838	Jean-Louis
1522 Governor Nicholls	Tremé (1 st)	ca. 1834	ca. 1838	Jean-Louis
Washington Promenade (Sq. 102)	Franklin (3 rd)	1835	1835	Joseph
Faubourg Franklin (Sq. 184)	Franklin (3 rd)	1835	unknown	Joseph
729 Governor Nicholls 1200-1210 Bourbon	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1836	1836	Joseph
1455-57 Puger	Marigny (3 rd)	1838	1841	Jean-Louis
923-925 N. Robertson	Tremé (1 st)	1838	1839	Joseph
Villeré between Bayou Road and Ursuline (Lot. No. 19)	Tremé (1 st)	Ca. 1841	unknown	Jean-Louis
Villeré between Bayou Road and Ursuline (Lot. No. 20)	Tremé (1 st)	1841	1861*	Jean-Louis
822-824 Governor Nicholls	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1841	1845	Jean-Louis
		1847	1857	Joseph
1200 block Governor Nicholls (Lot No. 7, Bayou Road near Tremé)	Tremé (1 st)	1845	1861*	Jean-Louis
1200 block Governor Nicholls (Lot No. 8, Bayou Road near Tremé)	Tremé (1 st)	1845	1861*	Jean-Louis
500 block Marais Street (lot no. 2 in square bound by Marais, St. Louis, Villeré, and Toulouse)	Tremé (1 st)	1848	unknown	Jean-Louis

CONTRACT: THE SOULIÉS

The notion of property ownership through an established birthright did not play into the role of property acquisition for the first-generation Souliés even though they were born into families who were well established in New Orleans and owned various properties by the antebellum period. Instead, they used the legalized purchase and sale of property to create their own rights and privileges. Research does not reveal when Jean Soulié (1760-1834) arrived in New Orleans or substantiate that he had any family residing in New Orleans.⁷³ Eulalie Mazange (1775-1825), on the other hand, descended from individuals, black and white, who had resided in the city since the French colonial period and had ties to many old New Orleans families. Though Eulalie's mother Louison Cheval (1747-1839) was born a slave, she was purchased by her white father and emancipated in 1768 so, none of her children, including Eulalie, were born into slavery.⁷⁴ Louison and her siblings were among the *gens de couleur libres* who owned significant amounts of property in the city.⁷⁵ The identity of Eulalie's father is not known. Her surname Mazange indicates that she was the child or consort of a man with that name; the Mazange family was another whose name appears frequently in colonial

⁷³ A Jean Antoine (Juan Antonio) Soulié died at age 40 in New Orleans in September 1787, Earl C. Woods and Charles E. Nolan, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 4, 1784-1790* (New Orleans: Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1989). In his will, recorded in the records of notary Fernand Rodriguez (volume 8, June 3, 1786), Jean Soulié left monetary bequests to his brothers Antoine and Jean Soulié. See also Charles R. Maduelli, *Marriage Contracts, Wills and Testaments of the Spanish Colonial Period in New Orleans, 1770-1804* (New Orleans: Charles R. Maduelli, Jr., 1969).

⁷⁴ Francois Cheval freed Louison from the estate of Francois Lioteau in 1768, Ben Melvin Hobratch, *Creole Angel: the self-identity of the free people of color of antebellum New Orleans*, Master's thesis, University of North Texas, 2006. The Lioteau family name appears often in records of the Vivant and Soulié families. Francois Cheval also freed daughter Prudence and her two sons in 1790, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, comp. *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820*, database downloaded from <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>, 2003, accessed April 1, 2011.

⁷⁵ Her brother Paul Cheval was among early property owners on Bayou Road and in Faubourg Tremé, Toledano and Christovich, 32, 33.

and antebellum records. Eulalie was also associated with the Vivant family. After Eulalie's birth, Louison entered into a long-term *plaçage* relationship with Jean Charles Vivant, a wealthy French merchant and landowner. Notarial and other archival records, as well as secondary sources, indicate that Charles Vivant and Jean Soulié were business associates.⁷⁶

Jean Soulié and Eulalie Mazange commenced their long-term relationship by late 1788 (oldest son Lucien was born on May 27, 1789). Over the course of the next two decades, the couple had at least nine more children: Marie Louise (1791), Norbert (1793), Eulalie (1798), Bernard (1801), Benedic (1802), Albin (1803), Louise (1808), Celeste (1810), and Coralie (1811).⁷⁷ With the exception of the births of most of Jean and Eulalie's children recorded in sacramental records, archival research reveals little on the real estate activities or domicile(s) of the Soulié/Mazange household(s) during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Jean Soulié's first recorded property purchase was in 1794 at present-day 818-820 Royal Street. Eulalie Mazange purchased property at present-day 819 Bourbon Street in 1803. In the New Orleans directory and census of 1805, Eulalie Mazange is listed as head of household on Dumaine Street.⁷⁸ Interestingly, she and her four minor sons and minor daughter are listed as white, and they are not

⁷⁶ See records of notaries Fernando Rodriguez and Carlos Ximines, New Orleans Notarial Archives; Purchase of slave "Telemaco" by Carlos Vivant & Co. (Charles Vivant, Andre Duclot, and Jean Soulié), Hall, *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy*, <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/individ.php?sid=23098>; various references to slave sales on ancestry.com; Censo-Guía de Archivos de España y Iberoamérica, Duplicados de Gobernadores e Intendentes: Florida, <http://censoarchivos.mcu.es/CensoGuia/imprimirFondo.htm?id=985557>.

⁷⁷ Woods and Nolan, *Sacramental Records, Volume 5, 1791-1795* (1990), 261; *Volume 6, 1796-1799* (1991), 258; *Volume 7, 1800-1803* (1992), 294, 295; Nolan, et. al., *Sacramental Records, Volume 9, 1807-1809* (1994), 373; *Volume 10, 1810-1812* (1995), 411, 412; and *Volume 11, 1812-1814* (1996), 405. Marie Louise Soulié, whose mother is identified as Eulalie Mazange, was born on August 14, 1791. No death date for this individual has been located, but she is not included with the family at the 1805 census or in either parent's will. Five-year-old Benedic Soulié, whose mother is identified as Eulalie Vivant was buried on November 11, 1807; his birth date has not been located.

⁷⁸ The author has not been able to determine the current street address.

identified as *gens de couleur libres*.⁷⁹ No adult males are present in the household, indicating that Jean did not reside with his consort and children.⁸⁰ Although Jean Soulié is not listed in the 1805 directory, he owned several properties in the Vieux Carré between 1808 and 1827.⁸¹ Likewise, Eulalie Mazange came in to possession of numerous lots early in the antebellum period.⁸² For all intents and purposes, the couple maintained separate residences and kept their business transactions independent as well. The relationship did not hinder Jean Soulié's ability to perform as a public servant. Soulié was a freemason, serving as a founding member of the Grand Consistory formed in 1811 and as the lodge's second Grand Master.⁸³ He served in the New Orleans militia during the 1815 Battle of New Orleans like many other French creoles as well as *gens de couleur libres*. Soulié served as an alderman on the City Council, representing the Third District during the term of mayor James Mather (1807-1812).⁸⁴ Furthermore, he was

⁷⁹ In many cases, the Souliés are not identified as *gens de couleur libres* archival documents. As such, they are often omitted free people of color-related finding aids and indices such as the "Free People of Color Index" at HNOG. More information became available on properties owned by the Soulié family after the Vieux Carré survey became available electronically. The author searched notary indices where NOLA's Bioscope index stated they are included. Otherwise, unless recorded in the Soulié Ledgers or secondary materials, specific addresses associated with the Souliés, especially outside of the Vieux Carré, may remain unidentified.

⁸⁰ Eulalie's mother, Louison, and sister, Adelaide are also *femme de couleur libres* heads of household in 1805 residing at 65 Rue St. Louis and 70 Rue St. Louis, respectively.

⁸¹ According to a search of the Vieux Carré Survey, Jean Soulié owned 818-820 Royal Street from 1794-1802. He possessed 633 Bourbon Street, 635-637 Bourbon Street, 1221 Dauphine Street, 929-931 St. Louis Street, 933 St. Louis Street, and 639-806 St. Peter Street, and 810-814 St. Peter Street in the period between 1808 and 1814.

⁸² According to a search of the Vieux Carré Survey, Eulalie Mazange purchased 819 Bourbon Street in 1803. In 1815 she inherited 129-133 Chartres Streets, 130 Exchange Alley, 132-134 Exchange Alley, and 620 Iberville. All these properties were sold in 1828 to settle her estate.

⁸³ Michael R. Poll, "A Foundational Study of the Grand Consistory of Louisiana (1811-1815)," <http://www.masoniclight.com/papers/09A%20FOUNDATIONAL%20STUDY%20OF%20THE%20GRAN1.txt> (accessed April 1, 2012); Michael R. Poll, "The Early Years of the Grand Consistory of Louisiana (1811-1815)" <http://204.3.136.66/web/heredom-files/volume8/early-years-of-grand-consistory.htm> (accessed April 1, 2012).

⁸⁴ Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library "Administrations of the Mayors of New Orleans, James Mather (d. 1821)" <http://nutrias.org/info/louinfo/admins/mather.htm> (accessed July 15, 2012). Online version of "Mayors of New Orleans, 1803-1936" compiled and edited by Work Projects Administration.

elected as the City Recorder in September 1815 and voted in for two additional terms in 1818 and 1820.⁸⁵

By the 1820 federal census Jean Soulié lived on Bourbon Street with eight free persons of color. Two years later, Jean and his son Norbert represent the family in the 1822 directory at 117 Bourbon Street. The oldest son Lucien, an accountant, is listed at the corner of Tchoupitoulas and Poydras in his only appearance in a city directory. Jean and Norbert are then both listed in the 1824 directory at 241 Bourbon Street (Eulalie's property at present-day number 819).⁸⁶ Eulalie Mazange died there on May 16, 1825.⁸⁷ Jean Soulié served as *curator ad bona* (administrator of the estate property) for the minor children—Louise, Celeste, and Coralie.⁸⁸ The Soulié children inherited the Bourbon Street property and lived there for three years after Eulalie's death. They sold the house and land—including an adjacent lot purchased by Norbert in 1826—to Marc Lafitte on May 23, 1828, for \$8,500.00.⁸⁹ The proceeds from the sale went to the account of daughter Eulalie Soulié, with the stipulation that Eulalie Mazange's heirs (her children) be permitted to live rent free in the house, only paying property taxes, for one year following the sale.⁹⁰ No other property from Eulalie Mazange's estate was willed to

⁸⁵ James Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 110, 113, 116.

⁸⁶ Eulalie Mazange Estate Inventory, Eulalie Mazange, Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846. Original document dated June 8, 1825, filed in office of Carlile Pollock, June 18, 1825.

⁸⁷ Woods and Nolan, *Sacramental Records, Volume 16, 1824-1825* (2001), 266. Bernard Soulié notes in his journal that he had his mother's remains moved to a new cemetery on April 10, 1835. Research yields that the only burial ground established in the city that year was Bayou St. John Cemetery. It was active from 1835 to 1844 but vanished by 1880. It was alternately known as Potter's Field, City Cemetery, First Municipality Cemetery, and New Cemetery. La-Cemeteries, "Orleans Parish Cemeteries," <http://www.la-cemeteries.com/Cemeteries%20Orleans%20Table.shtml> (accessed July 14, 2012).

⁸⁸ Older brother Norbert Soulié served as their *curator ad litem* (assistant in court).

⁸⁹ Process verbal of sale, May 23, 1828, Eulalie Mazange, Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846; Chain of Title, 819 Bourbon Street, Vieux Carré Survey.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Lafitte appears to have defaulted on the sale. The Vieux Carré Survey chain of title has daughter Eulalie obtaining the property from the estate on June 16, 1828. Eulalie and Norbert later transferred the

or purchased by her children. Unlike the Dolliole siblings, brothers Lucien, Norbert, Bernard, and Albin—as well as their sisters Eulalie, Louise, Celeste, and Coralie—did not receive a significant amount of property owned by their parents Jean Soulié and Eulalie Mazange either during their parents' lifetime or after their deaths. Apparently, Jean Soulié felt that, by this time, his mixed-race children could provide for themselves. He appears to have left New Orleans for good, returning to France in 1827. Jean gave Norbert the right to act in his stead over his affairs (including real estate) and left him to act as sole guardian of the minor Soulié women.⁹¹

"Transforming Contract into Birthright"

The Soulié patriarch placed his children and personal and financial interests in good hands. Norbert had independently started acquiring property in 1819 and in the 1820s. These transactions helped Norbert to build a reputation as a reputable speculator and to accumulate capital for future purchases from the profits. It was not until the 1830s, however, that Norbert and his brothers began buying property on a large scale, developing most immediately and retaining some for longer periods of time. They accomplished this in spite of increasing restrictions on black Creoles, who, like themselves traveled abroad for extended periods of time. Ship passenger lists from list one or more Soulié family members returning to New Orleans from Europe via diverse ports from the 1820s on.⁹² Contractual documents often have Leon Courcelle (before 1835) or one of the younger brothers (usually Bernard) acting as agent for other siblings

property between one another in April 1829 and April 1833, with daughter Eulalie finally selling to Azelie Lombard in July 1833.

⁹¹ Procuration, Jean Soulié to Norbert Soulié, W.Y. Lewis notary, April 16, 1827.

⁹² Ancestry.com, *New Orleans, Passenger Lists, 1820-1945* [database on-line] (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2006); Ancestry.com, *New Orleans, Passenger List Quarterly Abstracts, 1820-1875* [database on-line] (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011); Ancestry.com, *New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database on-line] (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010).

who are out of the country. In 1830, native *gens de couleur libres*' entitlement to legal residence was challenged. They were prohibited from returning to Louisiana if they traveled outside of the United States. In 1831 lawful residents, property owners, or permanent residents "who exercise a useful trade, and have always conducted themselves in an orderly and respectful manner" were exempted from this law.⁹³ The Soulié family—with builder Norbert, merchants Bernard and Albin, and all of the siblings' prolific real estate activities—certainly fit this description.

In 1830, Norbert purchased several Vieux Carré lots (present-day street numbers in parentheses):

May 12	Dumaine Street, 31' x 65'-8" lot (nos. 522 and 526)
May 31	Dumaine Street, 2'-6" x 65'-8" lot (no. 522)
September 8	Bourbon Street, 40' x 50' lot (no. 330-332)
October 19	Dumaine Street (no. 810)

All of these lots had been previously improved with buildings.⁹⁴ The next year, he acquired a 77' x 103' lot on Dauphine Street at the intersection with Bienville Street (present-day nos. 301-311).⁹⁵ In 1832, Norbert, Bernard, and Albin are listed in the city directory as residing at 19 Dumaine Street.⁹⁶ Norbert's absence in subsequent city directories, lends validity to the story that he moved to France permanently after

⁹³ Spear, 193. "An Act to Prevent Free Persons of Colour from Entering into This State and for Other Purposes," March 16, 1830, amended March 25, 1831, *Louisiana Acts*. This legislation specifically targeted wealthy black Creoles, like the Souliés, who traveled to France for education. After the law was amended, *gens de couleur libres* still could not travel to the West Indies.

⁹⁴ Vieux Carré Survey.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Soulié ownership is confusing in the block of Dumaine Street between Decatur and Chartres streets. According to the Soulié family ledgers, nos. 17, 19, and 21 on Dumaine Street (present-day nos. 525, 527, and 529-531) were owned by the family and rented out. However, the chains of title from the Vieux Carré Survey note that the properties were owned by Marie Jeanne Coraly Leroy in 1832. *Hommes de couleur libres* and business partner Julien Colvis and Joseph Dumas owned the properties from 1839-1846. Norbert Soulié also owned properties across the street, nos. 522, 524, and 526 (old nos. 14 and 16), from 1830 to 1866.

disagreements arising during the establishment of the Louisiana Sugar Refinery. In 1831, Norbert and his cousin Edmond Rillieux were contracted to build the Louisiana Sugar Refinery. After some type of conflict regarding the project and disagreements between refinery head Edmund Forstall and wealthy cotton factor Vincent Rillieux (Edmond's father and Norbert's white "uncle"), Edmond Rillieux disappeared from New Orleans for a year.⁹⁷ Likewise, Norbert, and oldest brother Lucien, left New Orleans for France.⁹⁸ While Norbert retained the properties that he acquired in the early 1830s, they were rented and overseen by his brothers Bernard and Albin. These two men became the family's dominant landowners in the latter part of the decade.

On October 3, 1835, Bernard and Albin purchased a lot of land bound by Bayou Road and Rampart, Barracks, and St. Claude streets from François Pierre Duconge.⁹⁹ It was already developed with two four-bay cottages facing Rampart Street.¹⁰⁰ A few weeks later, the brothers purchased two lots on Marais Street (in the present-day 100 block) from Charles Montfort.¹⁰¹ The Marais properties were retained until 1848 when they were sold undeveloped to various parties.

The year 1837 provides a cross-section of different types of property transactions in which the Soulié brothers were involved. In March 1837, Bernard

⁹⁷ Christopher E. G. Benfey, *Degas in New Orleans: encounters in the Creole world of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable* (New York: Knopf, 1997), 27-28. Benfey concludes that Norbert Soulié left New Orleans in 1833, but notarial documents support an earlier departure.

⁹⁸ Procuration from Lucien Soulié to Leon Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 151, April 21, 1831; Procuration from Norbert Soulié to Leon Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 152, April 21, 1831; Joint Procuration from Norbert and Lucien Soulié to Leon Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 153, April 22, 1831.

⁹⁹ Bernard and Albin Soulié to Belise Pradel, Ernest Eude notary, volume 2, act 146, April 11, 1867. Original act, Carlile Pollock notary, March 29, 1838. Duconge, a pharmacist, was a close family acquaintance. When Duconge died in 1874, Bernard Soulié noted in his journal, "F.P. Duconge, another of my friends from 1817, is dead in New Orleans...." Soulié, 330.

¹⁰⁰ Toledano and Christovich, 148.

¹⁰¹ Nelson Fouché to Bernard and Albin Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 11, act 605, October 22, 1835; Toledano and Christovich, 172.

acquired two lots of land with buildings on Tremé Street (present-day. 1222-24 and 1226 Tremé Street).¹⁰² On May 1, 1837, Norbert purchased a Vieux Carré lot on Governor Nicholls.¹⁰³ Three days later, Emile Sainet sold three lots out of the former Cazelar plantation, across the river in what is now Algiers, to Bernard and Albin along with Leon Courcelle and François Pierre Duconge.

In the spring of 1838, Lucien, living abroad and represented by Bernard, purchased several properties on Ursuline Street—four lots from Achille Barthélémy Courcelle (1529-1533 Ursuline Street) and one lot from Appolinaire Perrault (1511 Ursuline Street). The five lots were sold together in June 1845.¹⁰⁴ Bernard and Albin continued to purchase property for themselves in the late 1830s. In 1838 and 1839, Bernard purchased two additional lots on North Rampart Street adjacent to the one he acquired in 1835 on behalf of both of the brothers (Albin was living in France). The extent of the property was depicted when it was sold in 1867 (*Figure 16*).¹⁰⁵ Norbert's younger brothers continued to act as his representatives in real estate transactions. By June 1839, Norbert owned a lot at the corner of Baronne and Hevia (now Lafayette) streets; with Albin acting in his name, he commissioned builder Alexander Baggett to construct four townhouses on the site.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² First Municipality to Bernard Soulié, Felix De Armas notary, volume 51, act 88, March 11, 1837.

¹⁰³ Andre August Bellonguet to Norbert Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 21, act 441, May 1, 1837.

¹⁰⁴ Achille Barthélémy Courcelle to Bernard Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume, act, March 5, 1838; Appolinaire Perrault to Lucien Soulié, Charles Victor Foulon notary, volume, act, April 21, 1838; Lucien Soulié to Therese Jourdan, Theodore Guyol notary, volume 1, act 312, June 9, 1845; vol. 6, 196. Achille Barthélémy was the son of Achille Antoine Courcelle and nephew of Leon Courcelle.

¹⁰⁵ Bernard and Albin Soulié to Blaise Pradel, Ernest Eude notary, volume 2, act 146, April 11, 1867.

¹⁰⁶ Building contract between Norbert Soulié and Alexander Baggett, Theodore Seghers notary, volume, act 499, June 4, 1839. Hevia Street was renamed Lafayette Street by order of City Ordinance O.S. 395, November 1856. Edwin L. Jewell, comp., *Jewell's Digest of the City Ordinances* (New Orleans: Edwin L. Jewell, 1881), 554

The Souliés continued acquiring property in the 1840s. In September 1843, Norbert received property on North Rampart Street via a *fieri facias* ruling against Sophia Meisson Kennedy.¹⁰⁷ The following year, Norbert acquired property in square 96 in the Vieux Carré (222-224 North Rampart and 1022-1024 Bienville); he retained the property for only a few months.¹⁰⁸ Finally, in 1845 Albin, represented by Bernard, purchased a half-lot of property on Bienville Street between Villeré and Marais streets (1500 block).¹⁰⁹

The Soulié Sisters

The relationship between Jean Soulié and Eulalie Mazange resulted in the birth of four daughters. The women never married and, given their brothers' frequent travel, were likely educated abroad.¹¹⁰ The income from the short-lived sale of their mother's house and property on Bourbon Street in 1828 was to go to the account of Eulalie, the eldest of the first-generation Soulié females, to provide for herself and her younger sisters. A survey of notarial indices in the 1830s does not reveal the sisters' involvement in any real estate activity. They were living in Paris by November 1832.¹¹¹ By the 1840s, the younger Soulié sisters—Louise, Celeste, and Marie Coralie—had come of age and

¹⁰⁷ Chain of title, 520 N. Rampart Street, Vieux Carré Survey. A *fieri facias* ruling is one by which the sheriff is authorized to take property from one against whom a judgment has been rendered or when a sheriff obtains monies owed by selling sufficient property of the debtor.

¹⁰⁸ John Richard Unruh to Norbert Soulié, Lucien Hermann notary, volume 8, act 20, January 28, 1844; Norbert Soulié to Benjamin Poydras Delalande, Louis T. Caire, volume 36, act 312, May 20, 1844;

¹⁰⁹ Etienne Griffin to Albin Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 1, act 369, July 7, 1845.

¹¹⁰ The four sisters are listed as single and living in the household of Albin Soulié in London at the 1871 census of England.

¹¹¹ Procuration, Celeste, Eulalie, Louise and Coralie Soulié to Bernard and Albin Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 6, act 213, April 29, 1833 (passed in Paris in November 1832). This document notes that the sisters are living in France and gives Bernard permission to act in their name.

begin to appear in notarized transactions.¹¹² The women, with Lucien, purchased a lot with buildings and dependencies on Customhouse Street (present-day 823-827 Iberville Street) on September 12, 1840. In February 1843, Eulalie, Celeste, and Marie Coralie acquired five slaves and several properties from their cousin Myrtille Courcelle for \$3,258.00.¹¹³ On September 6, 1843, the sisters acquired a lot on Dauphine (no. 1131-1133) via sheriff's sale after winning a suit against *femme de couleur libre* Adelaide Ferrand.¹¹⁴ They retained the property for just over a year, selling on September 24, 1844. On June 18, 1845, the sisters re-sold properties on St. Philip Street and Dumaine Street to Courcelle for \$2,500.00, with Bernard acting as agent. Two days later, the siblings sold the Iberville Street property they owned with Lucien to François Pierre Duconge at a loss of \$1,000.00.¹¹⁵ Two sales so close together (both to individuals known to the family and who had entered into real estate transactions with them before) with rather significant income suggest that the women needed funds for some reason.

Review of archival land records and chains of title indicate that the Soulié women were more involved in real estate transactions than Madeleine Dolliole. This is probably due to the fact that, unlike Madeleine, they did not receive monetary bequests from their parents or have husbands to support them. Like their brothers, the Soulié women collectively owned land and buildings throughout the city (*Table 3*). Through

¹¹² The exception is Marie Louise, the second sister. For an undetermined reason, Louise does not appear with the other sisters in any transactions researched by the author. She also had a separate account with no real estate activity in the Soulié Family Ledger books.

¹¹³ Myrtille Courcelle to Demoiselles Soulié, Charles V. Foulon notary, volume 12, act 41, February 4, 1843. Myrtille Courcelle appears to be the first-generation Souliés' first cousin. Courcelle's 1872 will indicates that he left property to his sister Leonide Courcelle, the daughter of Adelaide Vivant (Eulalie Mazange's sister) and Leon Courcelle. No birth records or historical information formally naming Myrtille Courcelle's parents or other siblings have been found, however.

¹¹⁴ Chain of title, 1131-1133 Dauphine Street, Vieux Carré Survey;

¹¹⁵ Chain of title, 823-827 Iberville, Vieux Carré Survey.

their brothers, who were well known as builders, merchants, and developers, they conducted business with black and white New Orleanians of both sexes. Through the business of buying and selling property, the first-generation Souliés established their own stake hold in the City of New Orleans and gained a means by which to provide for themselves, establishing birthright via contractual agreements.

Table 3. Selected properties acquired by the first-generation Souliés, 1819-1845.

Current Address or Historic Description	Faubourg (Municipality)	Date of Purchase	Date of Sale	Family Member(s)
819 Bourbon	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1803/1826	1833	Eulalie Mazange Norbert Eulalie
227/229/231 Rampart 233 Rampart	Tremé (1 st)	1819	1852 unknown	Norbert
1019-1025 Bienville	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1820	1825	Norbert
1027-1031 Bienville	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1820	1822	Norbert
1111 Bourbon	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1822	1827	Norbert
1113 Bourbon	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1822	1827	Norbert
814 Governor Nicholls	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1829	1830	Norbert
509-511 Burgundy	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1829	1831	Norbert
1017 Canal	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1830	1833	Lucien
330-332 Bourbon	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1830	1858	Norbert
522 Dumaine	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1830	1866	Norbert
526 Dumaine	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1830	1866	Norbert
810 Dumaine	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1830	1858	Norbert
301-311 Dauphine	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1831	1851	Norbert
1225 Rampart Street (lot no. 1; bound by Bayou Road, Rampart, Barracks, and St. Claude)	Tremé (1 st)	1835	1867	Bernard, Albin
1122 Marais	Tremé (1 st)	1835	1848	Bernard, Albin
1126 Marais	Tremé (1 st)	ca. 1835	1848	Bernard, Albin
714 Governor Nicholls	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1837	1848	Norbert
1222-24 Tremé	Tremé (1st)	1837	unknown	Bernard
1226 Tremé	Tremé (1st)	1837	1885	Bernard
Three lots in Cazelar habitation	(5 th)	1837	unknown	Bernard, Albin
1511 Ursuline	Tremé (1 st)	1838	1845	Lucien
1529-1533 Ursuline	Tremé (1 st)	1838	1845	Lucien
1225 Rampart Street (lot no. 2; bound by Bayou Road, Rampart, Barracks, and St. Claude)	Tremé (1 st)	1838	1867	Bernard, Albin

Current Address or Historic Description	Faubourg (Municipality)	Date of Purchase	Date of Sale	Family Member(s)
1114-1116 Barracks (lot no. 3; bound by Bayou Road, Rampart, Barracks, and St. Claude)	Tremé (1 st)	1839	1867	Bernard, Albin
600 block Baronne	Ste. Marie (2 nd)	by 1839	unknown	Norbert
823-827 Iberville	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1840	1845	Lucien, Eulalie, Coralie, Celeste
Carondelet Street (lot nos. 23-25 bound by Carondelet, Hevia, St. Charles, and Poydras)	Ste. Marie (2 nd)	1842	1843	Norbert, Lucien, Eulalie, Coralie, Celeste
520 N. Rampart	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1843	1847	Norbert
1509-1511 Dumaine	Tremé (1 st)	1843	1845	Eulalie, Celeste, Coralie
Partial lot on St. Philip Street (part of lot no. 4, between Marais and Villeré)	Tremé (1 st)	1833	1833	Bernard, Albin
		1843	1845	Eulalie, Celeste, Coralie
Lot on St. Philip Street (lot no. 5, between Marais and Villeré)	Tremé (1 st)	1843	1845	Eulalie, Celeste, Coralie
2339 Columbus 2300 block Laharpe Street (lots in Faubourg Gueno)	Tremé (3rd)	1843	1849	Eulalie, Celeste, Coralie
1131-1133 Dauphine	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1843	1844	Eulalie, Celeste, Coralie
1024-1026 Bienville	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1844	1844	Norbert
222-224 N. Rampart	Vieux Carré (1 st)	1844	1844	Norbert
1500 block Bienville	Tremé (1 st)	1845	unknown	Albin
Square bound by Carondelet, Sixth, Baronne, and Seventh streets (square 116)	Livaudais (Lafayette)	1847	unknown	Albin
Bacchus at Euterpe	Annunciation (2 nd)	1848	1848+	Norbert
Chestnut	Livaudais (Lafayette)	1848	unknown	Norbert

Income Property

The significant number of properties owned by the Souliés, most for a short period of time, and the fact that Lucien, Norbert, Eulalie, Louise, Celeste, and Coralie lived abroad, indicate that they did not reside in them. Only Bernard maintained a permanent residence in New Orleans throughout the antebellum period.¹¹⁶ Albin

¹¹⁶ In his journal, Bernard notes that he occupied his house on "Rue des Ramparts" on April 6, 1836; Soulié, 324. Additional research is needed to determine the exact location of Bernard's residence. In

resided with Bernard and his wife when he was not abroad (except for 1842 when he had a residence on North Rampart Street in Faubourg Marigny (formerly 50 Love Street)).¹¹⁷ As builders and commission merchants Bernard and Albin utilized several addresses to conduct their business (*Table 4*). By and large, the majority of the properties owned by the Souliés were utilized as rentals to generate income. The Souliés did not distinguish between race, ethnicity, or gender in their rental activities. Examination of the Soulié family's ledger books from June 1843 through January 1845 reveals no less than 43 locations for which family members collected rents (*Table 5*).¹¹⁸ In January 1842, the family group purchased properties on Carondelet Street from John Minturn. Each received their percentage of the rents every month.¹¹⁹ For the eight-month period from May 1843 to January 1844, the account of Norbert (with Bernard and Albin) was credited \$4,571.21 from rents collected (*Appendix C*). Eulalie, Celeste, and Marie Coralie earned \$1,183.55 from May 1, 1843 to February 27, 1844. Lucien's account shows an income of \$564.20 from rents collected between April 1844 and September 1846.¹²⁰ The monies earned from rental properties would have supplemented additional income from Bernard and Albin's business and from all of the

directories from 1834-1859 Bernard's address is 377 North Rampart Street. From 1861 onward, he lived at 301 North Rampart Street. According to the compilers of the *New Orleans Architecture* series, old house number 377 was one of the townhouses in the 200 block of North Rampart Street; Toledano and Christovich, 178. Analysis of the 1883 Robinson Atlas, plate 7, suggests that old number 301 would have been on the site of Bernard's property at present-day 1225 North Rampart Street.

¹¹⁷ Love Street, the prolongment of Rampart Street from the Vieux Carré into Faubourg Marigny, and Rampart Street were renamed North Rampart Street as part of an initiative that streets running parallel to the river have the same names by order of City Ordinance O.S. 395, November 1856. Jewell, 553.

¹¹⁸ In many cases, the surname of the renter (i.e. Taylor, Daunoy, Labatut), if not the whole name, was noted in the description of the rental property.

¹¹⁹ Soulié Family Ledgers, book 1, 9, 95, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹²⁰ The rental income totals for Norbert, Lucien, and the Soulié sisters were calculated by extracting amounts for rents paid from their individual accounts in the ledger books.

family members' property sales, lending activities or, for those living abroad, financial endeavors in France.

*Table 4. Bernard and Albin Soulié's Business in City of New Orleans Directories.*¹²¹

Street Address	Directory Date(s)	Trade
19 Dumaine	1832	Builders
55 Bienville	1838-1842	Commission Merchants
48 Conti	1846	Commission Merchants
139 Royal	1850	Commission Merchants
84 Bienville	1851-1853	Commission Merchants
88 Bourbon	1854-1859	Commission Merchants
43 Bienville	1861	Commission Merchants

Table 5. Rental properties in the Soulié Family Ledgers, May 1843 through January 1845.

Account of Norbert with Bernard and Albin	
Baronne Street	21 Dumaine Street
Maison Rue Baronne (Kelly)	111 Dumaine Street
Maison Rue Baronne (Boucher)	House on Hevia Street
House on Bayou Road	House on Hevia Street (Taylor)
134 Bienville Street	House at corner of Hevia & Baronne
1/2 of 138 Bienville Street	79 Hospital Street
1/2 of 142 Bienville Street	41 Rampart Street (227 N. Rampart Street)
Kitchen of 1/2 of 142 Bienville Street	42 Rampart Street (222 N. Rampart Street)
88 Bourbon Street	43 Rampart Street (229 N. Rampart Street)
Shack on Carondelet Street	45 Rampart Street (231 N. Rampart Street)
Carondelet Street	47 Rampart Street (233 N. Rampart Street)
1/2 of store at 17 Dumaine Street	1/2 House on Tremé Street (Daunoy)
Top of 17 Dumaine Street	1/2 House on Tremé Street (Labatut)
19 Dumaine Street	1/2 House on Tremé Street (south side)
Account of Lucien with Bernard and Albin	
House on St. Philip (P. E. Courcelle)	House on St. Philip at Marais (Levis)
House on St. Philip at Marais (Tintut)	House on St. Philip at Marais (Raboteau)
Lot and kitchen on Ursuline Street	House on Dauphine
Account of Eulalie, Celeste, and Marie Coralie	
Rue Philippa (various tenants) (O'Keefe Street)	House on Dumaine (Mlle. Menard)
½ House on Dauphine (Eugene Macarty)	209 Canal (Newcomb)
½ House on Dauphine (T. Ragland)	House on Canal (Mornay)

¹²¹ In the 1830s, Bernard and Albin Soulié's office was located in the 300 block of Chartres Street in the pharmacy of Francois Pierre Duconge until the building burned in April of 1837, Soulié, 324; Cautionnement, Bernard and Albin Soulié and Leon Courcelle to Pierre Aime Becnel, Felix De Armas notary, volume 52, act 199, May 22, 1837.

Accounts of Lucien (individually) and of Eulalie, Celeste, and Marie Coralie (collectively)	
Houses on Customhouse Street (823-827 Iberville)	Carondelet Street properties (various tenants)

A LEGACY OF OWNERSHIP

The cases of both the Dolliole and Soulié families illustrate that *gens de couleur libres* acquired property through the same means as other free New Orleanians—through *intervivos* donations and by engaging in property purchases and sales with friends, acquaintances, and strangers alike. Where the *gens de couleur libres* are concerned, previous scholarship has placed emphasis on the property ownership of free women of color, especially when bequeathed or gifted with property from their white fathers or "husbands." In their own right, *femmes de couleur libres* did own significant amounts of property in New Orleans by virtue of their status as wives and/or lovers. The involvement of the Dolliole and Soulié matriarchs in the institution of *plaçage* did not, however, provide the foundation for the real estate activities of either family per se. It was the independent property purchases of Genevieve Laronde and Eulalie Mazange that a provided a basis resulted in the creation of a family compound that was later expanded by lover and children on the one hand (Genevieve), and the creation of a nest egg for the children, particularly the females, on the other (Eulalie). Further, neither woman's daughters engaged in any known *plaçage* relationships. When Madeleine Dolliole was widowed in her mid-twenties, she remained single. Eulalie, Louise, Celeste, and Marie Coralie remained unmarried but engaged in no known extra-marital relationships and were as self-sufficient as they could be in that day and age through their ownership of property. Their children then went on to move away from that emphasis. As their records of buying and selling property in New Orleans indicate, they surpassed the property ownership of their parents.

The Dollioles collectively established themselves as property owners through family-oriented acquisitions early in the nineteenth century. They capitalized on the properties that they were bequeathed by or purchased from their parents to later buy and develop additional property. The family's longevity in New Orleans originated with (and has remained to the present day due to) the establishment and maintenance of birthright via property ownership in the nineteenth century. The Souliés were part of the generation that came of age early on in the antebellum period and participated in the upward trend of property ownership.¹²² By way of individual and joint property acquisition, they created a collective influence as property owners to establish their own financial success and birthright to the extent that their real estate activities were not hindered with most of the family members living abroad. By the 1830s and 1840s, both families owned significant amounts of property despite the increasing obstacles *gens de couleur libres* faced for equitable civil rights. Historian Shirley Thompson notes that, because of challenges to free status, "to own and deal in property in New Orleans in the middle decades of the nineteenth century was risky business for anyone, and particularly for people of African descent."¹²³ The Dollioles and Souliés persevered. Individuals in both families managed to maintain financial security despite changing attitudes toward the status of *gens de couleur libres* and the banking crises of 1837 and 1839.

In 1843 and 1844, Jean-Louis sold all but one of the family lots and homes in the 900 block of St. Philip; he and Joseph maintained their other properties. The Souliés, even as absentee landlords, maintained most of their properties acquired by and during

¹²² Paul Lachance, "The Limits of Privilege: Where Free Persons on Colour Stood in the Hierarchy of Wealth in Antebellum New Orleans," *Slavery and Abolition* 17, no. 1 (1996), 70.

¹²³ Thompson, *Exiles at Home*, 114.

between 1820 and 1850 years until well after the Civil War. Bernard Soulié was one of five largest free people of color landowners in New Orleans in 1850. The efforts of members of both families in property acquisition and ownership was significant in that only 6.56 percent (650 individuals) of New Orleans' free black population (*gens de couleur libres* and other free blacks) were property owners in 1850.¹²⁴ The number amounted to only 0.65 percent of the city's *entire* population.

The location of the properties the Dollioles and Souliés acquired was as important, if not more important, as the manner in which they acquired it. Both families increasingly purchased both developed and undeveloped property outside of the Vieux Carré. This shift coincided with the establishment of Faubourg Tremé (1810), sale of former Tremé/College d'Orléans property by the City New Orleans (1826-1827), and the coming of age of the second generation of Dollioles in the 1830s, and pervasive development of the American Sector and other suburbs upriver during the antebellum period.

¹²⁴ Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 267, 268.

Chapter Two: The Ramifications of Use and Location

"These were the riverfront streets in the 1840s, packed with immigrants, where the worlds met over the back fence, and gallery to gallery; yet despite the throng and the wilderness of masts above the levee markets, the French Quarter was then as forever a small town."

—Anne Rice, *Feast of All Saints*

In her novel on the trials and tribulations of the *gens de couleur libres* community in the 1840s, Anne Rice paints a descriptive picture of New Orleans of the day. As her characters interact with one another and move about their daily lives, the reader is able to visualize what life would have been like for free people of color as they dealt with contemporary issues such as interracial relationships, racism, changing socioeconomic realities. The world of the Saint-Marie, Lermontant, and Mercier families, and their associates, however, is limited to the Vieux Carré with brief trips to plantations in St. Jacques (St. James) Parish upriver on the Mississippi River and to the former country of Saint-Domingue. By this time in New Orleans' history, the city had expanded both upriver and downriver as well as toward the back swamp and Lake Pontchartrain. The first of the city's "suburbs"—Faubourg Sainte-Marie—was planned in 1788 upriver from the Vieux Carré on the former plantation of the city's founder Jean Baptiste LeMoyne de Bienville. Faubourg Marigny came next, developed downriver from Vieux Carré in 1806 out of the plantation of French creole Bernard Marigny de Mandeville. While Claude Tremé began selling portions of the plantation inherited from his wife's grandmother in the late eighteenth century, Faubourg Tremé was not officially platted until 1810. Each of these "suburbs"—or *faubourgs*—developed a distinct cultural

and economic identity that hastened the division of the City of New Orleans into three municipalities with separate governing bodies in 1836. The Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé made up the First Municipality, Faubourg Sainte-Marie the Second, and Faubourg Marigny and the other so-called "Creole Faubourgs" adjacent downriver comprised the Third Municipality (*Figure 17*). The *gens de couleur libres* owned and built property in all of these neighborhoods, albeit to varying degrees. This municipal and cultural division—in a city considered distinctive due to its unique collective cultural and social mores resulted in a dichotomy of the sense of place.¹ The physical aspects of New Orleans, despite or due to geographic limitations, were more or less concrete even as the city expanded in area and population and larger lots continued to be subdivided. Yet, the movement of people and how they utilized property was not static. In particular, the land ownership patterns of the *gens de couleur libres* leave room for interpretation of the world in which the *gens de couleur libres* moved.² Unlike Anne Rice's fictional free people of color, the Dollioles and Souliés owned and built personal and business property in the city's various suburbs as well as the Vieux Carré. Examination of the use and the locations of these lots and buildings provides a new perspective on the *gens de couleur libres*' movement in and interaction with the City of New Orleans from its origins as a European colony to its peak years as a major American metropolis.

THE VIEUX CARRÉ

With relaxed settlement policies and a *laissez-faire* attitude toward encouraging immigration, New Orleans' colonial population was relatively small under both the French and Spanish. The Vieux Carré, on the natural levee between the river and the

¹ Shirley Thompson, *Exiles at Home: the struggle to become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 128.

² *Ibid.*

back swamp, was planned within 66 blocks bound by the Mississippi River and what would later be named Customhouse (Iberville), Rampart, and Barracks streets (*Figure 18*). At the beginning of the Spanish period, however, development was limited to approximately 34 blocks within the city's walls—a less formal wooden palisade as opposed to the grand fortification often depicted on historic maps (*Figure 19*). Except for those flanking and behind St. Louis Cathedral, the squares were divided into 12 lots, with five lots on each side of the square facing the streets parallel to the river and two slightly larger "key" lots at the center of the square with frontage on perpendicular streets.³ Cottages and raised houses were typically set back from the street with gardens in the rear. After the 1794 fire, the Vieux Carré was defined by the Spanish colonial block with cottages and townhouses set at the front of property lines.⁴ As lots became subdivided among heirs or due to development, the density of the Vieux Carré increased. The Dollioles were among *gens de couleur libres*—New Orleans natives and Saint-Dominguan refugees—who settled in the undeveloped perimeter of the Vieux Carré during the latter years of the Spanish colonial period and the region's period as a U.S. territory (*Figure 20*). While Soulié patriarch Jean owned property throughout the Vieux Carré, his sons did not come of age until after Louisiana statehood in 1812. Between that year and the division of the city into municipalities in 1836 his son Norbert acquired lots in various squares of this oldest part of the city (*Figure 20*) while Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole spread out from the family enclave to other areas of Vieux Carré, but on a limited scale.

³ Edwards, "Shotgun: the most contested house in America," *Buildings & Landscapes* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The 1830s and 1840s coincided with New Orleans' division into three municipalities (1836-1852) and saw Joseph Dolliole obtain properties in cater-corner lots, again in the Vieux Carré's periphery. The Souliés also continued to acquire property in the Vieux Carré. Most were near properties that they already owned at the edges of the Quarter.

On the Margins: Bayou Road and Rampart Street

By virtue of the city's expansion into faubourgs with different layouts and street names (even where routes continued between faubourgs) immediately adjacent to the Vieux Carré, the old city became locked in. With earlier French and Spanish settlers and their descendants ensconced in the core of the Quarter, secondary sites at the old city edges, near Congo Square, and in Tremé and New Marigny, became the enclaves of choice for the *gens de couleur libres*.⁵ While these secondary areas of development may have been considered increasingly unimportant or insignificant by white Creoles and Americans, they were important to the development of the city as a whole and to the sustainability of the *gens de couleur* community.⁶

From the earliest days of French settlement, the Chemin du Bayou Saint John, or Bayou Road, was the primary artery between the old city and Bayou St. John.⁷ This in-between path served as a secondary water route to the city (the Mississippi River being the primary one).⁸ Large land grants were increasingly divided into *habitations* (plantations) that stretched back from the Bayou Road. Like their white counterparts "[a]long Bayou Road, the old colonial thoroughfare, families of *gens de couleur* also

⁵ Thompson, 132.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 132-133.

⁷ Mary Louise Christovich, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Roulhac Toledano comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume V: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1977), 53.

⁸ Thompson, 128.

formed economic bonds and marriage ties with one another that served to keep title and ownership status relatively consolidated."⁹ The Dollioles, then, were in good company when they purchased their Bayou Road properties in 1806 and 1807.

In the 1830s and 1840s, Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road lakeside of Claiborne Avenue was still a less densely settled area of the city.¹⁰ Similarly little property in this area was purchased by Dollioles or Souliés. One exception is the acquisition of property by the Soulié sisters in Faubourg Gueno in 1843. By 1815, Pierre Gueno (1759-1821), a native of Barrè, France, consolidated his properties to create the single largest habitation on Bayou Road at that date.¹¹ In 1835, ten years after Gueno's death, his property was subdivided. Soulié relative Myrtille Courcelle obtained a portion of the former Gueno plantation, selling it to his female cousins in 1843. Builder Nelson Fouché and philanthropist Bernard Couvent were among the *gens de couleur libres* who purchased some of this property.¹² The practice by free people of color of buying and selling property along the Bayou Road, often between family members, was maintained well into the 1840s and 1850s. The Faubourg Gueno properties were among the latest purchased by members of the Soulié or Dolliole families anywhere in the city during the antebellum period. This area of the city downriver from Esplanade Avenue is now part of the Seventh Ward.

On Bayou Road, Mademoiselles Soulié—single women who never engaged in *plaçage* relationships—rented out their property to obtain income. Far better known are the stories of *femmes de couleur libres* who resided or owned property in the

⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁰ The small antebellum population of this area may account for the small number of antebellum properties associated with free people of color located lakeside of Claiborne Avenue that were analyzed in the Faubourg Tremé/Bayou Road discussions in the *New Orleans Architecture* series.

¹¹ Toledano and Christovich, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI*, 37, 38.

¹² Octave De Armas notary, volume 25, June 1835.

vicinity of Rampart Street. For those involved in "left-hand marriages," practice "dictated that the man buy a small house on or near the rue de Rampart and present it to [his lover]."¹³ Firsthand accounts of visitors to New Orleans often comment on the institution and its results pertinent to the built environment. Harriet Martineau noted mulatto and quadroon *placeés* who lived in "pretty and peculiar houses" set up by their partners, "whole rows of which may be seen in the Ramparts."¹⁴ While this may have certainly been a normal and recurring practice, it was not the only circumstance of *gens de couleur libres* who owned property at the edge of the old city.

North Rampart Street was initially a sparsely developed dividing line but developed into a mixed commercial and residential corridor linking the old city to the new suburb. Faubourg Tremé, initially consisting of portions of the City Commons and a portion of the Morand-Tremé plantation, was platted in 1810. Among Norbert Soulié's first purchases was his acquisition of four lots on the lakeside of Rampart Street between Customhouse (Iberville) and Bienville streets in 1819. This land was at the very edge of the former City Commons, used for public grazing and firewood gathering in the eighteenth century, and still mostly uninhabited.¹⁵ On other end of Rampart at the intersection with Barracks Street (formerly along the riverside boundary of the Morand-Tremé plantation) Norbert purchased several lots in 1835, 1838, and 1839 to create a 69' x 139' holding. A few years later, he acquired two properties on the riverside of Rampart Street, technically in Vieux Carré; one was across the street from the lots

¹³ Joan M. Martin, "Plaçage and the Louisiana *Gens de Couleur Libre*: How Race and Sex Defined the Lifestyles of Free women of Color," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 67.

¹⁴ Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, volume II, 326-327. Referenced by Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson, "Free People of Color in Louisiana," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 22.

¹⁵ Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps. *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI, Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 56.

purchased in 1819. As opposed to simply being an inferior no-man's land sheltering those involved in controversial relationships and their offspring, the area where the old city and Tremé's subdivision merged was home to diverse families and individuals as well as commercial enterprises to serve them, and offered development opportunities. Today, Rampart Street appears as a significant dividing line both in its graphic representation on maps and physically in person. In the antebellum period, however, it served as a much more fluid boundary between the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé.

FAUBOURG TREMÉ

Once beyond the former ramparts, Faubourg Tremé became dominated by Creoles of color and was far from the "never-never land" it is often described as.¹⁶ Today, the boundaries of Faubourg Tremé vary slightly depending on the source. Tremé is generally considered the swath of land from North Rampart Street to North Broad Street, between Canal and St. Bernard streets. Historically, the suburb consisted of former plantations lakeside of the Vieux Carré along the Bayou Road and of the City Commons beyond the fortifications. The Commons included St. Jean's Hospital (1764-1809), the Old Burying Ground (St. Louis Cemetery No. 1; 1788), and the Carondelet Canal (Old Basin Canal, 1792).¹⁷ In 1810, the City of New Orleans purchased the Tremé plantation and set aside the house, outbuildings, and their immediate environs for the College d'Orléans (*Figure 14*).¹⁸ The institution for the city's (white and male) French-speaking population was short-lived existing only from 1812 to 1823. Faubourg Tremé, formally laid out in 1812, featured a public square and market now famous as Congo

¹⁶ Pierce F. Lewis, *New Orleans: the making of an urban landscape*. 2nd edition (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2003), 41.

¹⁷ Toledano and Christovich, 56-59.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 16. Classes were held in the plantation's *maison principale*.

Square. A new Catholic cemetery (St. Louis Cemetery No. 2, 1820) and a mortuary chapel (Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 1826) were amenities added to the new suburb.¹⁹ As far as location, this area of back swamp behind the Vieux Carré was better than the back swamp further upriver that was fast being settled by newly arriving Americans. At Tremé the natural levee of the Mississippi joins the natural levee of Bayou Gentilly, resulting in the Esplanade Ridge.²⁰ The *gens de couleur libres* slowly pushed into Tremé's less desirable "inland margin" of the natural levee.²¹ Their significant presence resulted in Faubourg Tremé being joined with the old city—both areas being dominated by black and white Creoles—as the First Municipality in 1836.

Since the Spanish colonial period, 80 percent of the lots in Faubourg Tremé have been owned by persons of color at one or more times.²² Investigation of the properties researched and surveyed for *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* reveals a significant number of structures extant in 1980 that were historically associated with black Creoles in Faubourg Tremé from 1816 to 1860 (*Figure 21*).²³ The involvement of *gens de couleur libres* for the properties included thirty-three original owners, six builder-owners, six builders, and six speculative developers. Among these properties are those that were owned by members of the Dolliole and Soulié families.

In Tremé, the Dollioles were principally ensconced on St. Philip Street near or on former College d'Orléans property (*Figures 11 and 14*). In essence, they created a second family enclave a few blocks toward the back-of-town from the family properties

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁰ Lewis, 45.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

²² Toledano and Christovich, 85.

²³ The scope of the survey is limited in that it does not include demolished properties or those built by white Creoles or Americans that passed later into the hands of black Creole owners.

on St. Philip Street in the Vieux Carré. It was at their respective residences on St. Philip Street in Faubourg Tremé that Madeleine (1835), Genevieve (1838), and Joseph Dolliole (1868) died on property purchased between the dates the faubourg was platted and became part of the Third Municipality (1810-1836). During this period Bernard and Albin Soulié acquired land nearby on Marais Street as speculative property; they later sold these lots undeveloped.

After the municipalities were recombined in 1852, the *gens de couleur libres* continued to buy and sell in Tremé. Joseph Dolliole purchased a property on N. Robertson Street while Jean-Louis bought land on Villeré and Marais streets and on Bayou Road.²⁴ The Souliés also continued to be prolific in their real estate activity, acquiring property further lakeside and uptown on Tremé (Bernard), Ursuline (Lucien), Dumaine (sisters), St. Philip (sisters), and Bienville (Albin) streets in the 1830s and 1840s.

In the antebellum era, the settlement and building patterns of the *gens de couleur libres* in Faubourg Tremé. It was more than undesirable land on which an in-between socio-economic group built houses and lived. Many wealthy and influential *gens de couleur libres* not only resided in this neighborhood in their traditionally Creole houses, they also created residences and livelihoods for their black and white neighbors and established churches, lodges, and clubs to support the *gens de couleur libres* community. While religious resources were added to the suburb when it was newly developed in 1812, both white and black Creoles were involved with the establishment of St. Augustine Catholic Church at the corner of St. Claude and Hospital streets in the

²⁴ New Orleans city directories indicate that a Joseph Dolliole, Jr. (relationship unknown since no children are mentioned in the succession records of Joseph Dolliole) did live on Tremé between Ursulines and St. Peter streets in 1841 and 1842.

early 1840s.²⁵ Economy Hall, at 1422 Ursuline Street in the vicinity of Soulié and Dolliole-owned properties, was built as the meeting place of the *Société d'Économie et d'Assistance Mutuelle* (Society of the Economy and Mutual Aid Association, founded 1836) in 1856.²⁶ The benevolent society also allowed other benevolent and mutual aid groups to use the building and hosted social and fundraising events there. First and second-generation members of both families maintained strongholds in Faubourg Tremé in the 1850s and after the Civil War as residents and landlords. Today, Faubourg Tremé retains its historic significance as an enclave for *gens de couleur libres* and, particularly after emancipation, free blacks.

FAUBOURG MARIGNY, NEW MARIGNY, AND THE CREOLE FAUBOURGS

Faubourg Marigny as "Foreign Territory"

While the *gens de couleur libres* were a prevalent force in Faubourg Tremé, Faubourg Marigny was developed earlier in 1806, in direct response to the needs of the Creole community as refugees flooded into New Orleans fleeing the Haitian Revolution and its aftermath. Bernard Xavier Philippe de Mandeville de Marigny, owner of the plantation which became the first suburb below the city, preferred to keep the environment residential and sell property to his Creole friends and neighbors as opposed to Anglo developers.²⁷ Marigny was not a stranger to the black Creole community having familial ties to it. His father, Pierre Philippe de Mandeville (Sieur de

²⁵ Toledano and Christovich, 142-143. The street named after Faubourg Tremé's founder, St. Claude Street, was renamed between St. Anthony Street and St. Philip Street in 2011 after *femme de couleur libre* and founder of the Catholic Order of the Holy Family Henriette Delille.

²⁶ Norman R. Smith, *Footprints of Black Louisiana* (Norman R. Smith, 2010), 100-101; Michael Crutcher, *Tremé: Race and Place in a New Orleans Neighborhood* (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 29. Economy Hall was demolished in 1965.

²⁷ Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps. *New Orleans Architecture, Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 9.

Marigny and Chevalier de St. Louis) sired a daughter—Eulalie de Mandeville—with a woman of color. Eulalie de Mandeville herself entered into a long-term *plaçage* relationship with a member of a leading Creole family and became one of the wealthiest women, white or black, in New Orleans. In Faubourg Marigny street names such as Rue d'Amour (Love Street) and Rue des Bons Enfants (Goodchildren Street), Bernard Marigny supposedly acknowledged the institution of *plaçage*.²⁸ Given the relationships between white and black Creoles, the openness of white landowners to conducting business with black Creoles, and prime real estate conditions for black émigrés to purchase property, Faubourg Marigny possessed a large population of free blacks.

The community was located downtown of the Vieux Carré, bound by the Mississippi River and Esplanade Avenue, Goodchildren Street (St. Claude Avenue), and Enghuien Street (Franklin Avenue) (*Figure 22*). On either side of the canal that had provided water from the Mississippi River to the Marigny plantation sawmill (then flowed onward to the backswamp and Bayou St. John) was Elysian Fields Avenue, intended by Marigny and French engineer Nicholas de Finiels to be the neighborhood's main street and a grand promenade like its namesake in the Paris, the Champs-Élysées. Like New Orleans' other suburbs, Faubourg Marigny also had a designated public space—Washington Square—facing Elysian Fields. Lots in Faubourg Marigny were manipulated to allow for changes in the street angles where the new suburb met the Vieux Carré (*Figure 23*). Thus, the faubourg's namesake and planners ensured maximum residential development by those of more modest means. The allotment of 10 to 12 lots per block and price at \$300 to \$400 per lot would have been appealing for the small

²⁸ Thompson, 142. Marigny's penchant for gambling was recognized in the selection of "Craps" as one of the street names.

homeowner, including many *gens de couleur libres*.²⁹ Based on the inventory of Volume V of the *New Orleans Architecture* series, in 1974 35 antebellum sites and buildings associated with the *gens de couleur libres* were extant in Faubourg Marigny (Figure 24).

Three-quarters of the sites in Faubourg Marigny were owned by free people of color at least one time by the Civil War.³⁰ Except for Eulalie Mazange's properties on Casa Calvos (Royal) and Frenchmen streets which were sold at her death in 1828, the Souliés do not appear to have had any stake in Faubourg Marigny.³¹ The Dollioles, on the other hand, had a small presence. After starting a house on the property the year before, in 1820 Jean-Louis purchased a uniquely shaped corner lot where Bourbon Street curves and changes into Pauger Street. In 1822, Joseph, the youngest of Louis and Genevieve's sons, lived on History Street (now Kerlerec Street) below Greatmen Street. He apparently set up a household with his new wife Magdeleine Hobe, away from the family compound in the Vieux Carré on St. Philip Street.³²

The character of the neighborhood changed little over the antebellum years. One exception was the construction of the Pontchartrain Railroad. It was built from 1830 to 1831 over the infilled Marigny canal down the center of Elysian Fields Avenue, taking advantage of the thoroughfare being the only street in the city that extended all the way from the Mississippi to Lake Pontchartrain.³³ Otherwise, Faubourg Marigny

²⁹ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans, Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 27. By comparison, the Dollioles' undeveloped 60-foot by three-arpent (576 feet) properties along Bayou Road cost \$1,900 and \$4,000 in 1806 and 1807, respectively. In 1808, Jean Soulié purchased an undeveloped 75' x 120' lot at the corner of St. Peter and Bourbon streets for \$6,500.

³⁰ Toledano, et. al., 9.

³¹ Eulalie Mazange estate inventory, June 8, 1825, filed in office of Carlile Pollock, June 18, 1825. See also Eulalie Mazange, Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846.

³² Joseph Dolliole and Josefa Rodriguez were married in March 1822.

³³ Faubourg Marigny Improvement Association, "Welcome to the Faubourg Marigny," <http://www.faubourgmarigny.org/historyfm.htm> (accessed March 2, 2012).

remained a tight-knit community with property often exchanging hands among neighbors who already owned land. In 1838, Jean-Louis inherited a lot with a cottage that he probably built (1455-1457 Pauger Street), one block from the house he already owned on Pauger Street, from Joseph Prieto. He did not retain this property for long, selling it in 1841 to another *homme de couleur libre*, Francisco Tio. Tio purchased another cottage on Elysian Fields at that time that was also likely the workmanship of Jean-Louis Dolliole.³⁴

That the Dolliole and Souliés, native-born New Orleanians, did not purchase much property in Faubourg Marigny strengthens the argument that the neighborhood was mostly settled by white Creoles expanding out of the Vieux Carré and *gens de couleur libres émigrés* in the early part of the nineteenth century as well as by German and Irish immigrants from the 1820s through the 1840s.³⁵ Unlike the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé, "to the proper Creole[, Faubourg Marigny] was foreign territory, too...."³⁶ By the 1840s, the operation of Catholic churches catering to different ethnicities—Annunciation (French, 1844), Holy Trinity (German, 1847), and Saints Peter and Paul (Irish, 1849)—reflected the neighborhood's mixed Creole and immigrant population.³⁷

Nouvelle Marigny³⁸

Lots in Faubourg Marigny quickly sold, prompting Bernard Marigny to extend his original subdivision into "New Marigny" in 1810. Initially, New Marigny consisted

³⁴ Toledano, et. al., , 32, 131.

³⁵ Lewis, 45.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans: urban fabrics before the storm* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2006), 244.

³⁸ The NRHP-listed New Marigny Historic District consists of the historic Nouvelle Marigny, Franklin, and Daunois *faubourgs*.

primarily of the area bound by Goodchildren Street (North Rampart/St. Claude), Bernard Street (St. Bernard Avenue), Prosper Street (North Derbigny), and Marigny Street (*Figure 25*). The suburb also encompassed six blocks toward the back-of-town, three on either side of Elysian Fields, to Celestine Street (North Johnson). By, 1833 the area had developed farther lakeside from Faubourg Marigny between St. Bernard and Elysian Fields avenues. Like Rampart Street and Bayou Road, the suburb of New Marigny was another of the city's "marginal" areas, and, like its predecessor, catered to French Creoles, *gens de couleur libres*, and European immigrants. Louis Drausin Dolliole, Jean-Louis' son had building commissions in New Marigny,³⁹ but in the 1830s and 1840s, but the neighborhood did not house the residences of the first-generation Souliés or Dollioles. Dolliole cousins, the children and grandchildren of Louis' younger brother Jean François and his *placée* Catherine, lived in New Marigny from the 1840s onward, however. Their descendants were among the free blacks who called what is now New Orleans' Seventh Ward home well into the twentieth century.

Faubourg Franklin

Faubourg Franklin was another Creole-dominated neighborhood. In 1826, property owner Nicholas Destrehan subdivided his plantation located downtown from Nouvelle Marigny. Faubourg Franklin was located beyond Goodchildren (St. Claude Avenue) between Marigny Street and Lafayette Avenue (Franklin/Almonaster avenues).⁴⁰ Washington Promenade (St. Roch Avenue) was originally platted as Poet Street, the neighborhood's primary thoroughfare with a large two-block public square, Independence Place (St. Roch Playground), between Solidline (N. Roman) and Liberal (N.

³⁹ Building Contract file, New Orleans Notarial Archive.

⁴⁰ The faubourg's north "back-of-town" boundary was less clearly defined. Today Florida Avenue is considered the northern boundary. Rebuilding Together New Orleans, "Faubourg St. Roch," <http://www.rtno.org/neighborhoods/faubourg-st.-roch/> (accessed January 30, 2012).

Johnson) streets. Development of Faubourg Franklin began in earnest after the Pontchartrain Railroad was built one block beyond the suburb's uptown boundary in 1830.⁴¹ Joseph Dolliole took advantage of real estate availability in this new suburb. In 1835, he and Nelson Fouché acquired two groups of properties from Nicholas Destrehan. The first was eight lots facing Washington Promenade at the corner of Girod (Villeré) Street (*Figure 15*). The second property was located near the first and consisted of an entire square bound by Music, St. John the Baptist (North Robertson), Arts, and St. Avide (South Claiborne) streets. The family maintained a presence in Faubourg Franklin—a Pierre Dolliole (relationship undetermined) was listed as residing on Music Street well into the 1860s. Like New Marigny, this suburb extended toward the backswamp over time. Faubourg Franklin became known as Faubourg St. Roch when a shrine and cemetery at Independence Place were dedicated to the saint in 1867.⁴²

The other "Creole Faubourgs"

New Orleans' Bywater neighborhood downriver from Faubourg Marigny was once several plantations that were subdivided into street grids and developed over time.⁴³ Faubourg Daunois was subdivided from the plantation of Nicholas Daunois in 1810. It was not intended to be a continuation of Faubourg Marigny and was actually separated from the earlier neighborhood by a rope walk at Rue d'Enghuein (Franklin Avenue).⁴⁴ By 1831, the Levee Steam Cotton Press Company had acquired former

⁴¹ Faubourg St. Roch Project, "Faubourg St. Roch History," <http://strochproject.com/neighborhood.html> (accessed January 30, 2012).

⁴² *Ibid.* Washington Promenade was later renamed St. Roch Avenue in 1894.

⁴³ Bywater National Register of Historic Places nomination form. While the Bywater neighborhood extends from Franklin Avenue to the Inner Harbor Navigation Canal (also called the Industrial Canal), the NRHP Bywater Historic District is smaller, bound roughly by Montegut Street and Poland Avenue to the west and east, respectively.

⁴⁴ Toledano, et. al., 17. Faubourg Daunois is included in the National Register Faubourg Marigny Historic District. Faubourg Marigny Improvement Association, "Welcome."

Daunois plantation land to develop the world's largest cotton press.⁴⁵ Immediately downriver was Faubourg Montegut, platted in 1830 by the heirs of Dr. Joseph Montegut.⁴⁶ By 1834, the former Darby and Coustillas concessions below Faubourg Montegut consisted of Faubourg Clouet (1807); Faubourg Montreuil; the Delphine Macarty-Martin Duralde property; the L.B. Macarty plantation; Faubourg Carraby (1833); Faubourg Lesseps (1832); plantations owned by G. Salkeld, A. Lesseps, and Manuel Andry; and the Ursulines Convent (1823). The area from the Faubourg Daunois to the Ursulines Convent became known as Washington.⁴⁷ As in Faubourg Tremé, three-fourths of the sites in these lower suburbs were probably owned by a free person of color at one time or another before the Civil War.⁴⁸ Dollioles and Souliés do not appear in real estate transactions in these suburbs.

The Holy Cross neighborhood, once a continuation of the downriver plantations cum suburban developments, is located on the downriver side of the Inner Harbor Navigation Canal (which was built through the Ursulines Convent and Deslonde properties in 1912).⁴⁹ When depicted on Zimpel's 1834 map of the City of New Orleans, this area still consisted of large plantations stretching back from the Mississippi. One of these plantations belonged to Edmond J. Forstall (*Figure 26*), who took a portion of his land to develop the Louisiana Sugar Refinery in 1831 with buildings designed and built by Norbert Soulié and Edmond Rillieux. This association—far from their other property holdings in the city (in addition to Jean Soulié's work relationship with Pierre

⁴⁵ Preservation Resource Center, *New Marigny*, online brochure at <http://www.prcno.org/neighborhoods/brochures/NewMarigny.pdf>; Toledano, et. al., 20.

⁴⁶ Toledano, et. al., , 20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ The neighborhood is named after Holy Cross High School, established on the Reynes plantation in 1859. Holy Cross Historic District National Register of Historic Places nomination form. 1986.

Misotière)—probably familiarized the family with the area and prompted Albin Soulié to later purchase property on Flood Street on what was the Misotière plantation (*Figure 27*).⁵⁰

THE "AMERICAN SECTOR"

Though immediately adjacent to the Vieux Carré and not extending as far as the downriver Creole suburbs, the area that developed upriver beyond the original city grid as Faubourg Sainte-Marie was considered a world apart for the city's Creoles and *gens de couleur libres*. Historic maps indicate that between 1764 and circa 1770, the Vieux Carré expanded outward, following the fortification walls, lakeside of Dauphine Street beyond Bienville and Barracks streets. At the end of the Spanish colonial period, this area was occupied by a few landowners and government buildings. On the uptown side of the Vieux Carré, beyond the city commons, part of the former plantation of New Orleans' founder Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, came under the ownership of Maria Deslondes, the future Mrs. Beltran Gravier, in 1785.⁵¹ The Graviers subdivided their plantation after the 1788 fire in the Vieux Carré, allowing the city to expand upriver beyond the fortifications. Per the second plan of the suburb drawn on April 24, 1788, Villa Gravier consisted of seven streets running parallel to the Mississippi River, four perpendicular Streets, and one oblique street. Roughly at the center was a public square (Place Gravier, later Lafayette Square). The neighborhood was renamed

⁵⁰ This property was acquired after 1945 when Maurice Harrison's map of New Orleans still shows the undivided plantations. The house and land were sold between 1870 and 1874. Toledano, *et. al.*, 147. Pierre Misotière and Jean Soulié were both recorders under Charles Trudeau's term as Acting Mayor from May 16 to October 8, 1812, Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library "Administrations of the Mayors of New Orleans, Charles Trudeau," <http://nutrias.org/info/louinfo/admins/trudeau.htm> (accessed March 6, 2012).

⁵¹ May Louise Christovich, Roulhac Toledano, and Betsy Swanson. *New Orleans Architecture, Volume II, The American Sector* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1972), 7.

Faubourg Sainte-Marie after Maria Deslondes died in 1798 (*Figure 28*).⁵² By the late eighteenth century, some of the public lands or commons between Faubourg Ste. Marie and the city wall had been sold and built upon.⁵³

With the transfer of the Louisiana territory to the United States in 1803, several developments took place that quickly transformed the former commons and Faubourg Sainte-Marie, a colonial suburb, into a vibrant residential and commercial district—the "American Sector." By 1805, citizens had demolished the city walls for firewood; the physical distinction between the upper suburb and the Vieux Carré was further diminished when Magazine Street (named for the Spanish colonial powder magazine that was at its head) and Levee Street were connected.⁵⁴ Magazine Street would become one of several commercial arteries in the American Sector, establishing the city's Central Business District. In 1807, a portion of the former commons was reserved for a continuation of the Carondelet Canal (which ended at the rear of the city in what would become Faubourg Tremé) to the Mississippi River. The canal extension was never developed, but the thoroughfare on either side of it is still known as Canal Street. The right-of-way reserved for the waterway became the median. The emergence of Canal Street as the city's primary business center emphasized the cultural and economic differences between the old, French, Creole city and the upriver area fast being settled by American newcomers and businessmen. Thus, the street became (and still is) considered an imaginary divider between the conflicting sections of the city. The canal bed, became known as a dividing line, but a place where Americans and Creoles could

⁵² Roulhac Toledano, *The National Trust Guide to New Orleans* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), 89.

⁵³ Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume II*, 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

ostensibly meet in concord. Thus, the medians of all split thoroughfares in New Orleans are still today called the "neutral ground."

Historical research suggests that Canal Street also served as a barrier for the involvement of Creoles, including the *gens de couleur libres*, in the physical development of the American Sector. In "The American Sector" volume of the *New Orleans Architecture* series, free people of color are rarely mentioned. While this may stem from the fact that the constantly changing nature of the American Sector from residential suburb to commercial core resulted in the demolition of buildings with which they were involved, the fact remains that few black Creoles owned property in this area of the city. Popular belief had it that Julia Street was named for a *femme de couleur libre* who owned property along the banks of the New Basin Canal (built in the lakeside portion of the American Sector from 1832 to 1838 to serve the area and provide competition with Carondelet Canal).⁵⁵ As opposed to being named for Julia Mathew, the black cook of Julien Poydras, the man himself was the inspiration for the street name. Poydras encouraged Gravier to subdivide his plantation and purchased the first lot—at the corner of Poydras Street (also named for him) and the Camino Real (Tchoupitoulas).⁵⁶ Julia Street (Julie Street—short for Julien—on early maps of the suburb) was named in *his* honor. While Eulalie Mazange inherited property in the area formerly between the original colonial city grid and fortifications, it was sold in 1828 after her death. Her children, on the other hand, made their own investments in the American Sector, purchasing properties close together. The first-generation Souliés were not strangers to the area. Leon Courcelle, their Aunt Adelaide's consort and

⁵⁵ Nelson, 26.

⁵⁶ Ned Hémard, "Julie and Julia, or *Amour Sans Dot*," <http://www.neworleansbar.org/documents/JulieandJuliaArticle.10-7.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2012); Toledano, 89.

Bernard's father-in-law, lived on Magazine Street in 1822 and 1824. He is listed as residing at the corner of Carondelet and Hevia (Lafayette) streets in 1832; this was one block riverside of Norbert's properties at Baronne and Hevia streets acquired by 1839. The Soulié ledger books reveal that Norbert collected rents for several properties on Baronne Street in the 1840s. His sisters were landladies for a rental on Philippa Street (O'Keefe Avenue). The women, and older brother Lucien, had additional rentals on Carondelet Street. Perhaps through their father—a city employee after the Louisiana Purchase and member of the Louisiana Bank's mixed Creole and American board of directors—association with Americans was less of an anomaly for the first-generations Souliés.⁵⁷ As for the Dollioles, archival research has yielded a single building commission for a Dolliole in the American Sector—Jean-Louis built a cottage in the 800 block of Magazine Street in 1831.⁵⁸

The Souliés extended their influence and property ownership even farther upriver in Faubourg Annunciation and Faubourg Livaudais as the city's boundaries extended into former plantations that had been created from Sieur de Bienville's large holding above the city that he founded (*Figure 29*). Six faubourgs—named primarily after the plantation owners were platted—Duplantier (1806), Saulet (1810), La Course (1807), Annunciation (1807), Nuns (1809), and Panis (1813/1829).⁵⁹ The two latter

⁵⁷ John Soulié, as well as Julien Poydras, James McDonough, and others, was on the board when it was organized in January 1805. Henry Rightor, ed., *Standard History of New Orleans, Louisiana* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1900), 584.

⁵⁸ Building Contract between John B. D. Voisin and Louis Adam Voisin and Jean-Louis Dolliole, L. T. Caire notary, volume 17, act 1010, November 9, 1831.

⁵⁹ Mary Louise Christovich, Roulhac Toledano, and Betsy Swanson, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume I, The Lower Garden District* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1971), 3-34; S. Frederick Starr, *Southern Comfort: The Garden District of New Orleans* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 18. Faubourg La Course received its name from the plantation owner, Pierre Robin Delogny, who planned to build a racetrack (*course*) in the suburb.

subdivisions were uptown from Felicity Street and technically in Jefferson Parish.⁶⁰ The rapid and successful sale of lots in faubourgs Nuns and Panis prompted developers to look to the next adjacent plantation upriver. After the Livaudais family encountered financial problems and the plantation owner and his wife divorced in the 1820s, Madame Livaudais turned over the plantation (received in the divorce settlement) to a solicitor who sold the property for development in 1832.⁶¹ Faubourgs Nuns, Panis, and Livaudais were incorporated as the City of Lafayette that same year. In the antebellum era, these upriver neighborhoods were characterized by a range of residences including Creole plantation houses and cottages as well as rowhouses, single-family homes, and larger villas in a variety of early to mid-nineteenth century architectural styles. The Soulié brothers capitalized on property ownership in these popular neighborhoods during the city's 1840s construction boom. In Faubourg Livaudais, Albin Soulié purchased an entire square in 1847. Norbert followed suit purchasing several lots in the neighborhood on Chestnut Street, one block riverside of Lafayette Cemetery No. 1 (1833), in 1848. Also that year, he purchased several lots at the corner of Bacchus at Euterpe streets in Faubourg Annunciation (*Figure 30*). These acquisitions place the Souliés real estate activities in areas of the city not generally considered to have been inhabited by *gens de couleur libres* in the antebellum period.

IN THEIR "PROPER PLACE"

By the time of New Orleans' height as "America's Western Capital" in the 1850s,⁶² the Dolliole and Soulié families had acquired property in several areas of the city. Like many *gens de couleur libres*, their property ownership was predominantly in

⁶⁰ Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume I*, 31.

⁶¹ Starr, 18.

⁶² Lewis, 43.

the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé. To a lesser extent, they were present in Faubourg Marigny and New Marigny (the Dollioles) as well as the Creole suburbs, American Sector, and upriver suburbs (the Souliés). The families' movement, collectively and individually, throughout the city appears to have been fluid with no overt obstacles or hardships. Still, they were more ensconced in the areas of the city traditionally associated with free people of color. This reality strengthens the dichotomy of the *gens de couleur libres'* success as property owners and speculators in a city becoming more and more American and culturally and racially segregated while remaining in their "proper place" in daily life.⁶³ Residential patterns for both families were consistent with the development of the city and patterns of movement of *the gens de couleur libres* to Faubourg Tremé (Table 6). Both families called the Vieux Carré home with few exceptions until the 1830s, when the Dollioles purchased property on St. Philip Street and Norbert Soulié left New Orleans. For the remainder of the antebellum period, first-generation members of both families lived primarily in one location—Faubourg Tremé.

Table 6. Residential Movement of the Dolliole and Soulié families from City Directories, 1805-1850.

Year	Vieux Carré	Faubourg Tremé	Faubourg Marigny/ Creole Faubourgs
1805	Louis Dolliole – 67 St. Philip Eulalie Mazange – 40 Dumaine		
1811	Pierre Dolliole – 63 St. Philip J. L. Dolliole – 65 St. Philip Louis Dolliole – 67 St. Philip John Souliér [sic]– 16 Bourbon		
1822	[Jean] Louis Doriol [sic]– St. Philip below Rampart Jean and Norbert Soulié – 114 Bourbon	J. L. Dolliole – 80 Bayou Road	Joseph – 14 Histoire
1824	Jean and Norbert Soulié – 241 Bourbon		
1832	Norbert, Bernard, and Albin Soulié – 19 Main		

⁶³ Thompson, 137.

Year	Vieux Carré	Faubourg Tremé	Faubourg Marigny/ Creole Faubourgs
1834		J. L. Dolliole – 92 Bayou Road J. L. Dolliole – 216 St. Philip Joseph Dolliole – St. Philip near St. Claude	
1838		Joseph Dolliole – 85 Bayou Road Bernard and Albin Soulié – 377 Rampart	J. L. Dolliole – 103 Love
1841		J. L. Dolliole – corner Bayou Road and Villeré Louis Drausin – St. Peter near Robertson Joseph Dolliole – corner Bayou Road and Plauché Street Joseph Dolliole, Jr. – Tremé between Ursulines and St. Philip	
1842		J. L. Dolliole – corner Bayou Road and Villeré Louis Drausin – St. Peter near Robertson Joseph Dolliole – corner Bayou Road and Plauché Street Joseph Dolliole, Jr. – Tremé between Ursulines and St. Philip	Albin Soulié – 50 Love
		J. L. Dolliole – Bayou Road near Villeré Joseph Dolliole – Bayou Road near Plauché	
1846		J. L. – Bayou Road c. Villeré and Robertson Joseph Dolliole – corner Bayou Road and Plauché Albin and Bernard Soulié – 377 Rampart	J. L. Dolliole – 103 Love
1849		J. L. Dolliole – 283 Bayou Road Joseph Dolliole – 254 Bayou Road	
1850		J. L. Dolliole – 283 Bayou Road Joseph Dolliole – 254 Bayou Road	

Likewise, when noted separately from a place of residence, the families' businesses were primarily in one geographic area (*Table 7*). Bernard and Albin Soulié's place of business, first as builders, then as commission merchants, remained in the Vieux Carré throughout the antebellum period. Only a second-generation Dolliole, Louis

Drausin (son of Jean-Louis), is noted as having a workplace separate from his residence, it was located in Faubourg Tremé on St. Philip Street.

Table 7. Business Movement of the Dolliole and Soulié families, 1805-1850.

Year	Vieux Carré	Faubourg Tremé
1832	Bernard and Albin Soulié (builders) – 19 Main	
1838	Bernard and Albin Soulié (merchants) – 55 Bienville	
1841	Bernard and Albin Soulié (merchants) – 55 Bienville	
1842	Bernard and Albin Soulié (merchants) – 55 Bienville (upstairs)	Louis Drausin Dolliole – 216 St. Philip
1846	Bernard and Albin Soulié (merchants) – 48 Conti	Louis Drausin Dolliole & Emile Errié – 216 St. Philip
1850	Bernard and Albin Soulié (merchants) – 139 Royal	

The property ownership of the Dollioles, Souliés, and other *gens de couleur libres* are important as their antebellum development and settlement patterns were never again as concentrated in some parts of the city but had far-reaching consequences that affected the future of racial geography in New Orleans in other instances. As the city of New Orleans expanded, newly developed suburbs all had duplicate physical features—public squares, cemeteries, canals, and civic and religious institutions.⁶⁴ These similarities, however, were not repeated in ownership patterns, especially since the percentage of free blacks with respect to the city's entire population dropped from 23 percent to 8.5 percent between 1820 and 1850. In the 1850s, *gens de couleur libres* remained concentrated in the First District (Fifth and Seventh Wards) and the Third District (First Ward). The three wards contained more than half of the free black population (including persons of color) and one-seventh of the city's white residents. In contrast, the Second District contained one-ninth of the free black population and half of the white population.⁶⁵ As opposed to the Lower Garden District and Garden District,

⁶⁴ Lewis, 46.

⁶⁵ Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 57.

from 1850 to 1870 wealthier free persons of color relocated to the newly fashionable Esplanade Avenue—the dividing line between two traditionally Creole spheres.⁶⁶ After the Civil War, a large number of black Creoles retained their property holdings in Faubourg Tremé. Many increasingly sold their homes and land to white Creoles, Americans, and, to a lesser extent, newly freed blacks. Still, it was this neighborhood, where the *gens de couleur libres*' identified new potential for urban development through their construction and development activities (in an in-between area between the original city and swampland) and contributed to the city's growth into the twentieth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Preservation Resource Center, *New Marigny*.

⁶⁷ Thompson, 131.

**PART TWO: ENGAGEMENT –
FORMING AND TRANSFORMING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT**

Chapter Three: The Built Works of the Dolliole and Soulié Families

"The *comfort* is a matter of habit."

Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1819)¹

In his descriptions of early nineteenth-century architecture in New Orleans, Latrobe praises the modes of design and layout of Creole domestic architecture, particularly the cottages ubiquitous in the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Marigny.² While the older parts of the city gained larger and more sumptuous houses after fires in 1788 and 1794, this simple form persisted. In the residential quarters in the new suburbs below and above Vieux Carré, freestanding houses based on typologies from the American northeast but placed at the *banquette* (sidewalk) and with walled side yards as per local convention became popular after the turn of the nineteenth century. Farther upriver in American-dominated neighborhoods, houses set back in shaded lawns and streets planted with trees were the norm.³ In addition to the disposition of lots, building forms and architectural styles also changed with the transition of Louisiana from a European colony to an American territory and state. The role of the *gens de couleur libre* builder in the changing architectural character of New Orleans' neighborhoods can be seen in the works built by the Dollioles and Souliés. Aside from

¹ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 210.

² Based on the author's analysis of Latrobe's journal and other correspondence, his ramblings through and business in the city do not appear to have taken him to Faubourg Tremé. *Ibid.*; Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans, Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951); John Van Horne, ed., *Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Vol. 3, 1811-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

³ James Marston Fitch, "Creole Architecture 1718-1860: The Rise and Fall of a Great Tradition," in *The Past as Prelude: New Orleans 1718-1868*, edited by Hodding Carter (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1968), 85.

acquiring property throughout the city, and staking claim to land and to their birth and legal rights, the *gens de couleur libres* were actively engaged with their property—forming and transforming the built environment to create a place for themselves in the city's architectural heritage. On the one hand, the buildings that Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole and Norbert Soulié erected reflect the transitional nature of architectural forms and styles in the territorial and early antebellum periods. On the other hand, their work reveals the builders' backgrounds as far as learning the building trades, experience with various typological forms, and modes of practice.

LEARNING AND BUILDING

The *gens de couleur libres* formed and transformed themselves and others in the process of acquiring and imparting knowledge of and skills relevant to the building trades. In early nineteenth-century and antebellum New Orleans, educational opportunities were limited for young *gens de couleur libres*, and many black Creoles did not receive formal education or remained illiterate. Similarly, institutionalized architectural education was unknown in the United States and few would have had the opportunity to study the field abroad. No drawing schools or mechanic institutes were located in New Orleans; the latter type not established in the United States until the 1820s.⁴ By mid-century, wealthier families could afford to send their children to privately operated schools specifically for free children of color in educators' homes and, after the children made their First Communion in early adolescence, their daughters to convent schools and their sons to schools of higher learning in Europe, particularly

⁴ Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 58.

Paris.⁵ Terms at the inception of a *plaçage* relationship often stipulated that a white father would finance any sons' educations abroad.

Most builders like the Dollioles and Souliés learned through formal or informal apprenticeship. In New Orleans, as throughout the rest of the country, the building trades in the antebellum era were dominated by master craftsmen, not professional architects (*Table 8*). In particular, master carpenters often became builders with entrepreneurial skill sets in addition to craft knowledge. They served as general contractors, acquired materials and labor, and directed work. If their work included making drawings and supervising they were known as architects. Most master craftsmen and builder-architects worked alone and for self-profit or gain.⁶ *Gens de couleur libres* in New Orleans followed this same occupational pattern. Most commonly, after completing training with relatives or serving as journeymen, black Creole craftsmen entered the family business or sought self-employment. The first-generation Dolliole and Soulié males certainly also could have been exposed to builders' guides, popular tools for disseminating ideas about form and style in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America, since they were all literate. This type of tool would not have accounted for their initial introduction careers as builder and developers, however.

⁵ The first recorded school for children of color was in 1813 operated by G. Dorefeuille. Marie (Madame Bernard) Couvent's School for Indigent Orphans was not established until 1840. Michel Séigny operated his Académie Sainte-Barbe from 1834 to 1847. J. L. Marciacq had a school in Faubourg Tremé. In Paris, *hommes de couleur libres* might enroll at the *Collège Louis-le-Grand* or the University of Paris and/or often attended specialized schools for the arts (*Conservatoire de Paris*), engineering (*Ecole Centrale*), or medicine. New Orleans Public Library, "African Americans in New Orleans: *Les Gens de Couleur Libres*, online exhibit, <http://nutrias.org/~nopl/exhibits/fmc/fmc.htm> (accessed March 21, 2012); Nelson, 29; Michael Fabre, "New Orleans Creole Expatriates in France: Romance and Reality," in Sybil Kein, *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Hobratsch, 17.

⁶ Woods, 12.

Table 8. Entries of building-related occupations in City of New Orleans Directories, select years.⁷

Occupation	1811	1822	1832
Architect	7	1	3
Builder	1	18	41
Carpenter	51	214	223
Joiner	8	1 ⁸	8
Cabinetmaker	25	54 ⁹	74
Carpenter & Joiner	—	6	—
Cabinetmaker & Joiner	—	1	—
Carpenter & Cabinetmaker	—	1	1
Joiner & Architect	—	—	1
Bricklayer	9	41	70
Plasterer	—	—	8
Bricklayer & Plasterer	—	1	—
Slater	1	—	5
Painter	4	—	21
Glazier	—	—	2
Painter & Glazier	5 ¹⁰	30 ¹¹	22

The Dollioles

Learning by Doing

Until now, the notation (and repetition) in previous scholarship that Louis Dolliole was an important and prolific builder in the City of New Orleans would indicate that he passed his knowledge of carpentry and the building trades to his sons Jean-Louis, Joseph, and Pierre.¹² However, this author has located no historic documentation

⁷ This survey of the directories counts single entries, not individuals. For example, partners Mitchell & Lemoyne, builders (1811) or Bernard and Albin Soulié, builders (1832) were counted as one entry.

⁸ Listed as a house and ship joiner.

⁹ One "late," or retired, cabinetmaker was also noted.

¹⁰ Two were also (wall)paper hangers.

¹¹ Two were also (wall)paper hangers.

¹² The extensive article "Free Persons of Color" in volume four of the *New Orleans Architecture* series is the earliest secondary reference to Louis and Jean-François Dolliole being builders. The essay, however, provides no citation for this information, Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 32. Other sources merely cite this work. This information is also presented uncited in Roulhac Toledano, *The National Trust Guide to New Orleans* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), 16, and also in Sharon Patton, *African-American Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 58.

indicating that he, or his brother Jean-François, was a builder.¹³ Louis is listed as *cabaretier* in the 1811 city directory.¹⁴ In early nineteenth-century New Orleans, a *cabaretier*, or publican, was the owner or manager of an inn or tavern.¹⁵ By 1822, Louis had retired to his Bayou Road home and was listed as a planter. Furthermore, Louis had no formal education and was illiterate; that fact is revealed in that he made his mark on petitions and other documents related to brother Jean-François' estate.¹⁶ Since the Dolliole elders were not builders, Jean-Louis and his brothers would have been self-taught or learned their trade from another builder with their inspiration from observing the buildings surrounding them in the Vieux Carré.

The Spanish colonial city in which the first-generation Dollioles came of age remained largely French in character. No Spanish architects worked in the city during this time; they were primarily French Creoles and some Anglo-Americans.¹⁷ French military engineers designed most of the buildings in the nascent Louisiana colony.¹⁸ American Robert Jones built the raised Creole cottage (presently known as "Madame John's Legacy") on Dumaine Street in 1789 after a fire devastated the city the previous year (*Figure 31*). Truly a Creole building, the raised cottage is an urban version of the French *rez-de-chaussée*—raised timber frame—colonial plantation homes that would

¹³ Neither of the brothers lists his occupation in his last will and testament. Also, no building contracts under their names are found in the building contract index at the New Orleans Notarial Archives.

¹⁴ Seventy-two other individuals, men and women, are listed with this occupation.

¹⁵ *Random House Webster's College Dictionary*, (1996), s.v. "publican." The reference staff at the Louisiana Archives, New Orleans Public Library supports this definition, E-mail correspondence, Irene Wainwright, Archivist to author, October 12, 2012.

¹⁶ Louis Dolliole was testamentary executor of Jean-François' estate. Jean-François Dolliole, Estate of 1816, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

¹⁷ Jerah Johnson, "Colonial New Orleans: A Fragment of the Eighteenth-Century French Ethos," in *Creole New Orleans, Race and Americanization*, Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 50-51.

¹⁸ Jessie Poesch and Barbara SoRelle Bacot, *Louisiana Buildings, 1720-1940: The Historic American Buildings Survey* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 18.

have been located outside of the city, built by an American for a Spanish official.¹⁹ After the second fire in 1794, the colonial government mandated that houses be constructed of brick or of lumber posts infilled with brick (*briqueté-entre-poteaux*), be covered with cement (stucco), have roofs covered with tile or brick, and face the street.²⁰ After these two fires, the Creole (or banquette) cottage—a small, single-story house type—came to form the building stock of the Vieux Carré and Creole faubourgs.²¹ It is the Creole cottage with which Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole would have been most familiar as they came of age and pursued careers as builder-architects in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Proliferation and Perfection of the Creole cottage

Creole architecture was a direct result of relationships forged between colonizers and colonized and is a result of mixtures of various elements of cultural and building traditions—maritime French, French Canadian, some Anglo-American.²² The basis for Creole architecture in the New World actually has origins in the European colonization of Africa. Even before widespread Portuguese exploration, runaway navy and merchant sailors joined West African societies resulting in the creation of the Luso-African ethnic group. In Africa, native peoples controlled the architectural form of buildings constructed for early European settlers. From the 15th through the 18th centuries, Europeans adopted local rectangular buildings based on the dwellings of

¹⁹ Poesch and Bacot, 35; Jay D. Edwards and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004) s.v. "rez-de chaussée," 179.

²⁰ Poesch and Bacot, 42.

²¹ Edwards, s.v. "Creole cottage," 78.

²² Johnson, 50-51. In his various works, anthropologist Jay Edwards argues that the adaptation of local building traditions and conventions created the basis for Creole architecture in the New World as European colonization expanded across the Atlantic Ocean. His work has also highlights the evolution of Louisiana Creole vernacular houses from their European prototypes via West Indian adaptations.

Upper Guinea. The Africans who built these dwellings added their own conventions, which included the porch or gallery. Such changes signified the addition of Africans' own social conveniences and architectural preconceptions to the main rectangular structure. These early forms became the basis for Creole architecture in the New World as European colonization expanded across the Atlantic Ocean. In the late eighteenth century, Europeans in the Caribbean improved on African models by adding casement windows, louvered shutters, and screening. Though the African influence remained strong in colonial architecture throughout various European settlements in the Caribbean, interdependence between forms and conventions from all parties involved was important to the development of Creole architecture that was the source material for builders in New Orleans.²³

The cohabitation of Hispaniola by the French and Spanish marks an important point of the development of Creole architecture in the New World. The eastern half of the island, Santo Domingo, was established by the Spanish in 1496. With the lack of Spanish settlement and the presence of French buccaneers, the western part of the island became known as Saint-Domingue in 1608. Spain ceded Saint-Domingue to France in 1696.²⁴ As throughout the rest of the West Indies, the dual occupation of the island, as well as the presence of both natives and African slaves, made for unique cultural adaptations. In fact, according to anthropologist Jay D. Edwards, the Creole cottage type was influenced more by Caribbean developments than by any direct Spanish or French forms. The most significant contributions of European architecture to

²³ Jay D. Edwards, "Vernacular Vision: The Gallery and Our Africanized Architectural Landscape," in *Raised to the Trade: Creole Building Arts of New Orleans*, edited by John Ethan Hankins (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2002), 74, 77, 79-80.

²⁴ Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence of Antebellum America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 9.

the Creole cottage sources were the Norman plan with its two-room asymmetrical core and the Spanish plan, based on a three-room symmetrical nucleus (*Figure 32*).²⁵ The Spanish plan influenced the development of the Louisiana raised cottage, and later larger plantation homes, with an encircling gallery and was utilized more by Spanish Caribbean Creoles.²⁶ The Norman plan was slower to develop with manifestations based on a two-room (*salle-et-chambre*) asymmetrical core that began to be manipulated in the early days of the Louisiana colony. This two-room core evolved into what has become known as the Creole cottage. European forms were further altered with the addition of living space in the form of galleries present on one or multiple sides of the Caribbean Creole dwelling. Cultural preferences on the dimension, proportion, and arrangement of rooms took precedence as the "idea of the Creole house" spread geographically.²⁷ The amalgamation of ideas and forms that became the Louisiana Creole cottage was fully developed by the time it became widespread on the North American Gulf Coast. The desire to retain ties to the familiar undoubtedly influenced the use of the Creole cottage by homeowners and builders who immigrated to New Orleans from Saint-Domingue just before and after the turn of the nineteenth century. These refugees added significantly to the already prevalent Creole forms in New Orleans.

Early French and Spanish Colonial cottages had pavilion (hipped) roofs and a layout of four rooms. Each pair of rooms shared a chimney on the center wall. The French Colonial cottage had a steeply pitched roof.²⁸ Early French Colonial cottages in the city consisted of buildings such as "Lafitte's Blacksmith Shop," circa 1781, located on

²⁵ Jay D. Edwards, "The Origins of Creole Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1994): 158.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

²⁸ William Heard, *French Quarter Manual: an Architectural Guide to New Orleans' Vieux Carré* (New Orleans: Tulane School of Architecture, 1997), 25.

Bourbon Street (*Figure 33*).²⁹ Following the mandates of Governor Miró after the 1788 and 1794 fires, Spanish Colonial cottages featured shallow or flat roofs covered with barrel tile.³⁰ Both types were placed *en banquette*, flush with the sidewalk, with an *abat-vent*, front roof overhang or extension, over it. In the late 1700s, this house type evolved into the Creole cottage with a steeply gabled roof and a rear loggia flanked by *cabinets*, or storage rooms. Large numbers of these gabled Creole cottages began to be built in New Orleans following the immigration of refugees from Saint-Domingue in 1803, 1804, and 1809.³¹ The desire to retain ties to the familiar undoubtedly influenced the architectural practices of homeowners and builders who relocated to New Orleans from Saint-Domingue in the early years of the nineteenth century during the Haitian Revolution. Native sons such as the Dollioles also chose to adopt this form, adding significantly to the already prevalent Creole forms in New Orleans.

The Dollioles and their adaptation and interpretation of the Creole cottage form is important because house design and construction in colonial and postcolonial New Orleans, as in the American colonies, was controlled by master carpenters.³² As no records of earlier property ownership or buildings contracts have been found, the family's complex of buildings on St. Philip Street in the Vieux Carré was where the Dollioles brothers first constructed buildings. The ca. 1805 Creole cottage at 931-933 St. Philip Street is the oldest of the extant cottages (*Figure 34*). The brick-between-post, four-bay house is covered with stucco. The fenestration on the front façade is marked by batten-shuttered openings—two casement doors flanked by casement windows. The

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, 25.

³¹ Hip-roofed Creole cottages continued to be built and were often referred to as *maisonnettes*, Edwards, s.v. "maisonette," 133.

³² Woods, 20.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of 1876 indicates that the cottage had a hipped roof at that time; the present roof with parapet-like, gabled fire walls was in place by 1896. The *abat-vent*, front façade roof extension, is supported by iron bearers cantilevered from the façade at the roof line.³³ A 1937 sketch plan completed by G.B. Brennan for the Historic American Buildings Survey shows that the cottage has retained its original layout of two-by-two *en suite* rooms with adjoining fireplaces on the central wall (*Figure 35*). Arched openings at the rear loggia originally provided access to a brick courtyard at the rear of which a two-story, two-room wide outbuilding with balcony (now demolished) was located (*Figure 36*).³⁴ The cottage was restored in 1980 by its present owners.³⁵

In 1807, Jean-Louis Dolliole built a *maison de maître* on the Bayou Road property he purchased from Claude Tremé.³⁶ In general terms, the *maison de maître* was the main or master's house of a plantation.³⁷ This type, however, also refers to a distinct form that was prevalent along the Bayou Road, outside of the city walls, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. As opposed to the *maison principale*, a "country house" or "manor house" among a complex of buildings on a large *habitation* or plantation, the term *maison de maître* was used in period contracts to describe rectangular-plan houses on smaller properties equal to approximately one-quarter of a

³³ Lloyd Vogt, *Historic Buildings of the French Quarter* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2002), 16.

³⁴ Per the 1876 Sanborn map. Photographs from 1937 depict a one-story, two-room outbuilding. The courtyard presently contains a non-historic outbuilding and pool.

³⁵ This cottage is featured in many articles including: William R. Mitchell, Jr., *Classic New Orleans* (New Orleans: Martin~St. Martin Publishing Company, 1993), 68-71; Bonnie Warren and Richard Sexton, Rooms with a View," *Louisiana Life* volume 17, no. 4 (1997): 28; George Abry, "Cottage Industry," *Old House Journal* (September/October 2004): 66-71.

³⁶ Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), xv.

³⁷ Edwards, s.v. "maison de maître," 133

New Orleans city square.³⁸ These raised dwellings, with living quarters on the upper level, had two to four rooms with bonnet roofs (a dual-pitched hipped roof with a double slope on all four sides), a garret, and a full-length porch on one or more sides.³⁹ The Bayou Road property purchased by Joseph Dolliole from his father's estate in 1806 also featured a *maison de maître*. In Louis Dolliole's estate inventory, the dwelling house was described as a brick-between-post house with a shingle roof containing two apartments as well as front and back galleries. The remainder of the lot was occupied by a garden. The Dolliole's Bayou Road properties and buildings were probably similar in layout (not form) to that depicted on a plan by Eugène Surgi in 1848 (*Figure 37*).⁴⁰ Like those of the Dollioles, the lot is elongated with the shorter frontage facing Bayou Road. The floor plan of the main dwellings, as described in Louis' estate inventory, would have been similar to those depicted in an 1844 plan by J.A. Bourgerol (*Figure 38*).⁴¹ The early *maison de maîtres* belonging to the Dollioles—Creole designs that evolved to provide comfort under the local conditions of high temperature and high humidity—would have served as models for their later work. Jean-Louis Dollioles' Bayou Road *maison de maître* supposedly served as his residence while he constructed other houses in the area.⁴²

Several of Jean-Louis Dolliole's Creole cottages constructed in the 1820s are still found in Faubourg Marigny. The dwelling at 1436 Pauger is a unique cottage that shows off his craftsmanship and understanding of Creole building techniques (*Figure 39*). Jean-Louis began construction of this building on property owned by his mother-in-law in

³⁸ Toledano and Christovich, xvi.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; Cyril M. Harris, McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Architecture and Construction, 4th edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc, 2006), s.v. "maison de maître," cross-reference "Creole house," 613.

⁴⁰ Mary Louise Christovich, Sally Kittredge Evans, Roulhac Toledano, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume V, The Esplanade Ridge* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1977), 64-65.

⁴¹ Toledano and Christovich, 46.

⁴² *Ibid.*, xv, xvi.

December 1819 before purchasing the lot from her two months later (wife Hortense had died in August of 1818). This plastered brick cottage is a traditional Creole cottage plan modified to allow for its location on an angled street corner where the extension of Bourbon Street (formerly Bagatelle Street) from the Vieux Carré meets Pauger Street; its roof, fenestration arrangement, and room layout are altered accordingly. The cottage features an irregular five-sided hipped roof with flared edges and wide overhanging eaves over the banquette to allow for protection from the elements as was customary with Creole domestic architecture. The original pan tile covering the roof is still in place; it is not attached with nails but hooked in place on narrow cypress strips. Architectural drawings of the cottage from the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) illustrate this technique as well as the mortise-and-tenon timber construction of the roof system (*Figure 40*). When built, the cottage featured multi-light casement doors and double-hung, twelve-over-twelve, wood-sash windows.⁴³ The boards of the cypress batten shutters protecting the doors and windows are laid vertically on the sides that appear when closed, and diagonally on the sides visible when open. As opposed to a regular two-by-two layout, the rooms of this cottage originally consisted of a large front chamber with smaller, adjacent chambers flanking it (*Figure 41*). The space between the small rooms originally served as a loggia; the archways to the rear courtyard had been bricked up and casement doors with transoms and shutters inserted by 1934 (*Figure 42*). Though the cottage has undergone several renovations, it retains the craftsmanship of its builder to a high degree and illustrates the care taken by Dolliole in its design and construction.

⁴³ The street facades of the cottage originally had a window-door-door-door-window-door pattern. When restored in the 1940s or 1950s, the fenestration was altered so that the southwestern window was cut to form a door and the casement doorways shortened to hold windows. The cottage was renovated again in the 1960s and is prominently featured in *Classic New Orleans*; it is an Orleans Parish Landmark.

Two other Faubourg Marigny cottages part of real estate transactions with which Dolliole was involved may have been designed by him as well. Dolliole served as executor for Joseph Prieto who owned the house and property at 1455-1457 Pauger; he inherited it upon Prieto's death in 1838 (*Figure 43*).⁴⁴ The dwelling was constructed between 1810 and 1821.⁴⁵ The brick-between-posts building is clad with weatherboard and appears to have the typical four-room cottage layout but a wider than normal street-facing façade. The writers of *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs*, attribute it to Dolliole given the history of its ownership and similarity in basic style to 1436 Pauger and other Dolliole cottages.⁴⁶ Further the incorporation of a pan-tiled, hipped roof with flared edges appears to have been a rare instance in Faubourg Marigny and was utilized by few builders by 1800.⁴⁷ Francisco Tio purchased the house from Jean-Louis Dolliole in 1841.⁴⁸ Tio also acquired a cottage at 820 Elysian Fields (*Figure 44*).

Despite expanding his work to other areas of the city and being familiar with other building types, Jean-Louis Dolliole continued to build Creole cottages in the Vieux Carré. In April 1822, he was permitted by the City Council to turn and move a house on the property he purchased from his father's estate on Burgundy Street between St. Philip and Ursulines the month before.⁴⁹ The existing house was to be moved to the rear of the lot so that a new house made of brick and clad with tiles could be constructed at

⁴⁴ Toledano, et. al., 96.

⁴⁵ The house was originally located on the property at the corner of Pauger and Dauphine. It was moved to its present location by subsequent owners after 1876. Toledano, et. al., 97.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Toledano, et. al., 96-97.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁹ In *New Orleans Architecture, Volume IV*, the petitioner is noted as Louis Dolliole, but he was deceased by the date of the April 16, 1822, City Council records.

the front of the lot in its place.⁵⁰ The form of this new dwelling, formerly at 939-941 St. Philip, is unknown.⁵¹ Since Jean-Louis and other family members resided elsewhere, this new house would have served as an income property until he sold it in 1843. Subsequently, any Dolliole buildings on the property were demolished and replaced by a two-story townhouse and a two-story kitchen-quarters building.⁵²

In 1831, Jean-Louis received a commission from John Voisin and Louis Adam to build a cottage on Magazine Street between Julia and Saint Joseph streets in Faubourg Sainte Marie. Aside from being the only Dolliole-built building in the Second Municipality, the cottage is also the only edifice for which a building contract involving Jean-Louis Dolliole has been found (*Appendix D*).⁵³ The document provides detailed specifications for a four-room cottage with *cabinets* and a rear gallery. Other features of the cottage were to include:

- dimensions: 28 ½' wide x 46' deep; 2'-high foundation
- brick-between-post construction with cypress timbers; shingle cladding
- 5' *abat-vent* at front façade; 2 ½' *abat-vant* at rear façade; both capped and covered with shingles
- front doors with glazed transoms accessed by steps
- staircase from each *cabinet* to the attic
- double-hung (sliding sash) windows⁵⁴
- two openings from the rear gallery each with a solid door and a glazed door surmounted by a glazed transom
- brick interior walls in primary rooms; lath and plaster walls in the *cabinets* and gallery
- four fireplaces

⁵⁰ Toledano and Christovich, 91, n. 54.

⁵¹ The 1876 Sanborn map depicts a one-story house at the site. By the 1896 Sanborn, the property was occupied by a two-story residence. This was probably the two-story townhouse on the property in the 1940s and 1950s. The site currently occupied by a ca. 1963 building made to look like a Creole cottage.

⁵² This building was in turn demolished and replaced to look like a period Creole cottage.

⁵³ Building contract between Jean-Louis Dolliole and Jean Baptiste Duforgé Voisin and Louis Adam, L. R. Caire, notary, volume 17, act 1010, November 9, 1831.

⁵⁴ The term used in the contract is *fenêtre à coulisses*.

- ten interior doors—two paneled double, four paneled single, four simple (at *cabinets*)

The contract also made provisions for Jean-Louis to construct a two-story, shingle-clad kitchen with two rooms on each level and a double fireplace on the first floor. Jean-Louis possessed the requisite skills to complete this well-thought-out cottage on Magazine Street. Jean-Louis Dolliole's reputation and expertise building Creole cottages made him a suitable choice for this commission in Faubourg Sainte-Marie despite the fact that the neighborhood was already established as an enclave for Anglo-Americans and well on its way to becoming the city's commercial center with examples of high-style domestic, commercial, and institutional architecture.

The 1830s saw the Dollioles continue to build the traditional four-bay, four-room Creole cottage in Faubourg Tremé, namely on St. Philip Street. Illustrations from properties sold by the succession of Joseph Dolliole clearly depict cottages in the 1100 and 1200 blocks of St. Philip (*Figures 45 and 46*). Both lots clearly are occupied by four-bay, four-room cottages with *cabinets*, a kitchen outbuilding, and a two-room latrine. A few subtle differences in the design and layout of the buildings indicate their different uses. The property in the 1100 block, built by 1834, was utilized by several members of the Dolliole family—Joseph lived here in 1834, and Genevieve was in residence at her death in 1838.⁵⁵ Therefore the two-room kitchen outbuilding with front-facing *cabinets* and gallery would have been sufficient to serve as a single-family home.⁵⁶ Joseph's property at 1223-1225 St. Philip, on the other hand, served as a multi-family rental property from the time he acquired the lot and constructed the buildings in 1834 until

⁵⁵ The 1834 directory lists Joseph's address as St. Philip near St. Claude; Genevieve Dolliole estate inventory, Succession of Genevieve Dolliole, 1838, Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846, City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁵⁶ The house was extant in 1883 but demolished at an unknown date.

he sold the improved property in 1854. This is evident in the inclusion of stairways in each *cabinet* so that living space could be added in the attic and tenants could reach their upper chambers privately. Further, the erection of one four-room kitchen building with rear gallery allowed for each tenant to have access to a two-room space.⁵⁷ As Joseph owned both properties, he was likely responsible for their construction.

During the 1830s, the Dolliole builders also explored new forms and plans for the Creole cottage. In an 1834 act of sale from Joseph Dolliole to Marie Louis Demony, he sells her a half-lot in the 1300 block of St. Philip (south side).⁵⁸ The transaction stipulated that Joseph is to construct a brick-between-post house divided into two rooms on the lot within three months of the sale (not extant). On narrow properties, the two-bay cottage was a natural progression from the four-room cottage, which was often divided to serve as two residences.⁵⁹ The striking proportions resulting from the narrow façade and tall dormered gable of the two-room cottage are visible at the surviving cottage built by Joseph Dolliole at 1227 St. Philip Street (*Figure 47*). Restored since 1980 to resemble a more historic appearance, the cottage features a stucco exterior; behind the batten door shutters are modern wood paneled and glazed casement doors topped with fixed-pane transoms that retain the historic proportions of the front façade fenestration.

When an additional bay was added to the two-bay cottage, reducing the extremes between width and height, the result was the more harmonious three-bay

⁵⁷ The main dwelling at 1223-1225 St. Philip was demolished after the 1980 publication of *New Orleans Architecture: Volume VI*.

⁵⁸ Joseph Dolliole to Marie Louise Demony, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4A, act 313, July 29, 1831. This property was located in square no. 50 on the uptown side of St. Philip Street. If still extant at the time, it would have been demolished in the late 1960s for the creation of Louis Armstrong Park.

⁵⁹ Heard, 33.

cottage.⁶⁰ Jean-Louis Dolliole built a pair of these at 1125 and 1127 St. Philip (*Figure 48*). The unique nature of the lots prompted construction of these narrower cottages—Jean-Louis erected the two houses on one lot portioned from a larger land purchase.⁶¹ Each brick house has a single door and two windows at the primary façade and a double-pitched gabled roof where the upturning of the roof extension forms the *abat-vent*.⁶² Each door opens onto a side gallery integrated into the floor plan under the roofline (*Figure 49*). This treatment in the Creole cottage resulted in a passage that served "as an additional, 'in-between space,' the kind of refined negotiation between inside and outside that is typical of Creole buildings."⁶³ The present disposition where the galleries are treated as "front porches" and the shuttered casement doors and windows are always closed is contradictory to the cottages' historic use and arrangement.⁶⁴ It is no accident that the entry doors were centrally located adjacent to the shared passageway to facilitate communication between the cottages via the facing galleries. This relationship between the buildings would have been ideal if they served as the residences and businesses of Jean-Louis, Joseph, and, in later years, Jean-Louis' son Louis Drausin as city directories indicate.

It is likely that the Dollioles also constructed the three-bay cottage at 1010 Burgundy Street given their experience with three-bay cottages, work back and forth between the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé, and history at the site (*Figure 50*). When Jean-Louis sold this lot to his sister Magdeleine in 1805, it was unimproved. The buildings on the property would have been constructed under the ownership of

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁶¹ Partition between Jean-Louis Dolliole, Joseph Dolliole, and Norbert Fortier, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 524, June 29, 1821. See lot "C" in *Figure 45*.

⁶² Vogt, 16.

⁶³ Heard, 33.

⁶⁴ The cottage at 1125 also has a non-historic rear addition.

Magdeleine (1805-1835) or her daughter Victoire Galaud (1835-1842). It follows that whichever woman responsible would have had her brother or uncle, experienced builders, erect the house and outbuildings. The house at 1010 Burgundy is an elaboration on the three-bay form true to developments of the cottage form in the late to mid-1830s. It is not clear whether the entry door provides access to the front chamber or to an interior hallway. The frame building features Greek Revival detailing unusual for a Creole cottage in the Greek Key architrave (trapezoidal) door surround and louvered shutters (the historic pediments over the casement windows have been removed) as well as a Federal style roof dormer at the front of the gabled roof.⁶⁵ This type of gabled dormer—with a double-hung window and segmental arched light usually flanked by pilaster—was introduced from the U.S. East Coast in the early nineteenth century. The arched fanlight and the upper sash of the six-over-six dormer window have been replaced. This stylistic treatment of a Creole cottage would have been unusual for the Dollioles, but they did apply antebellum stylistic conventions from the East Coast in the more traditional four-bay cottage.⁶⁶

The Dollioles continued building around the corner at the family compound in the 900 block of St. Philip Street in the late 1830s.⁶⁷ While primary source documentation indicates that the family members lived in a house at no. 927-929 and that a house was built for Pierre Dolliole at no. 935-937 by 1822, the extant houses feature the higher roof profile and stylistic detailing of Creole cottages built in the

⁶⁵ The phenomenon of the Greek Key architrave door surround is chronicled in Jay D. Edwards, "Unlocking the History of Greek Key Architecture," *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* 19, no. 4: 84-91.

⁶⁶ The south gable of the cottage has been altered since at least the 1940s or 1950s to include doors in place of or cut into existing windows and providing egress from the attic living space to a balcony. A non-historic roof dormer was added to the rear of the building at an unknown date. The property historically contained a two-story kitchen building which is extant.

⁶⁷ The buildings were constructed by the time they were mentioned in Genevieve's estate inventory in 1838.

1830s. Flanking the cottage that Jean-Louis built in 1805 are two four-bay, brick-between-post cottages featuring fire wall extensions at the end gables, gabled roofs with dormers, and *abat-vents* under an extension of the roof (*Figures 51 and 52*). Both have Federal and Greek Revival features. The original louvered shutters at no. 927-929, which would have matched those present at no. 935-937, have been replaced with batten shutters. The latter cottage also has wide door lintels characteristic of Greek Revival architecture. Both houses have Federal Style gabled roof dormers—the pair at no. 927-929 has period-appropriate replacement windows with curved muntins in the upper sash. The one at no. 935-937 has a six-over-six, double-hung unit. The decorative brackets under the *abat-vent* applied in the late nineteenth century are still in place at no. 935-937 but have been removed from no. 927-929. This pair of cottages is among the last buildings known to have been constructed by Jean-Louis or Joseph Dolliole in the antebellum period. Joseph Dolliole did construct a frame cottage with four rooms and an enclosed gallery in Faubourg Tremé in 1839.⁶⁸ This house is no longer extant, but the two-story, four-room kitchen survives as an excellent example of a period Creole service building.⁶⁹

By far, the first-generation Dollioles specialized in building cottages (*Table 9*). Saint-Dominguan *émigrés* have been given the bulk of the credit for popularizing the cottage form in New Orleans following their arrivals in New Orleans at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.⁷⁰ Jean-Louis Dolliole (then in his mid-twenties) constructed his first documented cottage in 1805. As such, he was either

⁶⁸ Toledano and Christovich, 180.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁷⁰ Toledano, 11, 13; Paul Lachance, "Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution in Louisiana," in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, edited by David P. Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Hunt, 45.

already familiar with the form before it became widespread in New Orleans or completely mastered it in a short time, adapting it for personal use and professional gain. Jean-Louis' early cottages were the older pavilion or hipped-roof form. Even this type was elaborated through the irregular plan cottage he built in Pauger Street. By the 1830s, he had followed the evolution of the cottage building side-gabled houses with steeper roof pitches and utilizing a variety of forms to accommodate narrower property dimension. Joseph also favored the Creole Cottage building type and was able to manipulate it as successfully as his older brother.⁷¹ Both native sons were just as capable of and instrumental in spreading the form throughout the city as their counterparts from the French West Indies.

*Table 9. Creole cottages built by the Dolliole family. (p)=possible; (d)=demolished; *=altered*

Date/ Builder	Location	As-Built Description				
		Form	Plan	Construction	Roof Type	Outbldgs
1805 Jean L.	931-33 St. Philip	4-bay	4-rooms w/ <i>cabinets</i>	timber; brick- between-post; stucco	pavilion* (now side- gabled)	2-story, 2-room kitchen (d)
1820 Jean L.	1436 Pauger	irregular	4-rooms w/ <i>cabinets</i> *	timber; brick- between-post; stucco	hipped w/belcast edges	Not extant
ca. 1820 Jean L.	1455-57 Pauger (p)	4-bay	unknown	timber; brick- between-post; weatherboard	dual- pitched hipped	unknown
ca. 1820 Jean L.	820 Elysian Fields* (p)	4-bay	unknown	timber; brick- between-post	hipped w/belcast edges	unknown
1822 Jean L.	939-941 St. Philip (d)	unknown	unknown	brick; tile	unknown	unknown
1831 Jean L.	800 block Magazine (d)	4-bay	4-rooms w/ <i>cabinets</i>	timber; brick- between-post; shingles	side-gabled	2-story; 4-room kitchen

⁷¹ This dissertation emphasizes the work of Jean-Louis as more of his work is extant. Additional research may reveal more about the buildings that Joseph constructed, such as those in Faubourg Franklin, that are no longer extant.

Date/ Builder	Location	As-Built Description				
		Form	Plan	Construction	Roof Type	Outbldgs
1831 Jean L.	1300 block St. Philip (d)	unknown	2-rooms w/ <i>cabinets</i>	timber; brick- between-post; shingles	unknown	kitchen; latrine
by 1832 Jean L.	1125 St. Philip*	3-bay w/ side gallery	unknown	brick; frame	side-gabled	unknown
by 1832 Jean L.	1127 St. Philip*	3-bay w/ side gallery	unknown	brick; frame	side-gabled	unknown
by 1832 or 1834	1123 block St. Philip (d)	4-bay	4-rooms w/ <i>cabinets</i>	unknown	side-gabled (p)	1-story kitchen; 2-room latrine
ca. 1834 Joseph	1223-25 St. Philip (d)	4-bay; 1 ½ story	4-rooms w/ <i>cabinets</i>	brick	side-gabled (p)	4-room kitchen w/ rear gallery
ca. 1834 Joseph	1227 St. Philip	2-bay	unknown	brick	side-gabled	kitchen
ca. 1835	1010 Burgundy (p)	3-bay	unknown	unknown	gabled; double- pitched	2-story kitchen
by 1838	927-929 St. Philip	4-bay	unknown	timber; brick- between-post; stucco	side-gabled	2-story, 2-room kitchen
by 1838	935-937 St. Philip	4-bay	unknown	timber; brick- between-post; stucco	side-gabled	1-story kitchen
1839 Joseph	923-25 N. Robertson (d)	unknown	4-room w/ closed gallery	frame	unknown	2-story kitchen (extant)

The Souliés

Architectural Association

Coming of age in the world of the post-fire Vieux Carré, Norbert Soulié and his siblings would also have known the city's French- and Caribbean-influenced Spanish colonial architecture. The family likely resided in a cottage when they lived on Dumaine Street in 1805. On the property that Jean Soulié owned at the corner of Bourbon and St. Peter streets from 1808 to 1810, he built two houses: a tile-clad, brick-between-posts

Creole cottage with four rooms, *cabinets*, and a gallery, and a smaller brick-between-posts Creole cottage containing three rooms with a closet and small gallery. The cottages (the former facing Bourbon, the latter facing St. Peter) were separated from one another by a wall with a two-part partition fence.⁷²

Unlike the Dollioles, however, the Souliés' kinship ties provided opportunities and exposure to expand their knowledge outside the *gens de couleur libres* community of New Orleans. As a freemason and city official, Jean Soulié had personal, social, and professional connections to many important individuals. Further, he and Vincent Rillieux, the consort of Soulié's "sister-in-law" Constance Vivant, were veterans of the New Orleans militia; like Jean-Louis Dolliole, they fought in the Battle of New Orleans.⁷³ Rillieux's father, also Vincent, was a wealthy Creole cotton merchant and plantation owner who had served as a naval captain under the Spanish.⁷⁴ On his mother's side, Norbert was related to Vivants and Chevals, *gens de couleur libres* families long-established in New Orleans. Given the Soulié family's wealth and connections, Norbert may have been sponsored with a trip to France some time before 1811. Younger brother Bernard appears to have gone on one, noting life events of several of his "friends from 1817" in his journal. That year, Bernard would have been 16 years-old, an appropriate age for an educational trip abroad.⁷⁵

⁷² Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Old New Orleans, a History of the Vieux Carré, Its Ancient and Historical Buildings*, facsimile reprint (Westminster, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2007), 225; Chains of title, 633 Bourbon Street, 635-637 Bourbon Street, 639-806 St. Peter Street, Vieux Carré Survey.

⁷³ Christopher E. G. Benfey, *Degas in New Orleans: encounters in the Creole world of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable* (New York: Knopf, 1997), 27; Michael R. Poll, "A Foundational Study of the Grand Consistory of Louisiana (1811-1815)," <http://www.masoniclight.com/papers/09A%20FOUNDATIONAL%20STUDY%20OF%20THE%20GRAN1.txt> (accessed April 1, 2012)."

⁷⁴ Benfey, 124. The elder Vincent Rillieux was the great-grandfather of painter Edgar Degas.

⁷⁵ Bernard Soulié, "Journal of Bernard Soulié," *New Orleans Genesis* 25, no. 99 (July 1986): 330.

If Norbert did not have a "grand tour" and education abroad, he was afforded one of the best opportunities available to a builder-architect of that time. Eighteen-year-old Norbert began working with architect Henry Sellon Bonneval Latrobe (1792-1817) after the latter arrived in New Orleans in 1811 to oversee the construction of the New Orleans Waterworks Engine House, designed by his father Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820). When the younger Latrobe succumbed to yellow fever in 1817, Soulié wrote to the elder Latrobe. In a letter to his New Orleans lawyer John Rogers, Benjamin Latrobe describes the missing from Norbert:

I have received [letter] from Mr. Norbert Soulié who appears to have been a principal agent or foreman of my lamented Sons [sic]. He does not say in what capacity, but he says he has been with Henry ever since his arrival in the country, that he was in his office when he last wrote to me, and that he remained until [sic] he breathed his last. He also states that my Sons workmen united and in an hour erected a tomb over his grave, which he (Soulié) directed. He also mentions that to Henri he owes chiefly his knowledge of the Arts.⁷⁶

As in the fields of medicine and law, studying with and assisting an established professional was becoming standard in architectural training.⁷⁷ It is likely that Soulié obtained the same kind of training that Henry Latrobe received from his father Benjamin Henry Latrobe who is considered the first professional architect in the United States responsible for private, civic, and public works in New Orleans, Richmond, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., including the United States Capitol (1803-1811, 1815-1817). This training would have included drawing and structural knowledge developed from the study of theory and hands-practice.⁷⁸ He also would have learned the skill of

⁷⁶ The letter was dated September 6, 1817. Benjamin Henry Latrobe to John Rogers, October 6, 1817, John Van Horne, 948. Norbert's letter to Latrobe, dated September 6 and received by Latrobe on October 4, is missing. Latrobe responded to him on October 6, 1817.

⁷⁷ Woods, 60.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

building supervision and how to establish authority with clients and builders.⁷⁹ In the senior Latrobe's office, his students were also assistants. They received annual salaries after learning the necessary skills of preparing materials, copying and making drawings, and of assisting with land surveying and site supervision.⁸⁰ The potential for similar training of Norbert by the younger Latrobe is possible, but no evidence has been found regarding how Henry Latrobe actually ran his practice. One can know, however, the types of buildings that Norbert would have been exposed to. As Henry Latrobe's apparent right-hand man, he would have worked with him on several major projects in New Orleans between 1811 and 1817—New Orleans Waterworks (1811-1812), Charity Hospital (1815), Christ Church (1815), and the Orleans Ballroom (1816). These monumental public works were designed in a variety of styles—Federal, Gothic Revival, and Greek Revival (*Figure 53*).⁸¹

Henry Latrobe also designed and/or built residences for important New Orleanians such as Jean-Baptiste Thierry (1814), Bernard Marigny (1816), William Kenner (1816), Richard Butler (1817), and Margaret Chabot (1817).⁸² The contract for the Chabot house was made on April 24, 1817.⁸³ Latrobe, designated as a "master builder" was commissioned to erect a four-bay, four-room house and an outbuilding in eight months (*Figure 54*). In lieu of *cabinets*, the ends of the rear gallery contained a

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸¹ Mitchell, 29; Benfey, 24; Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans, Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), xxii. Latrobe would have worked on the addition to the Orleans Theatre (1813). His work featured a ballroom, hence the building's more well-known name, Orleans Ballroom, Curt Bruce, *The Great Houses of New Orleans* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*; Index to Richard Butler Papers, 1795-1899, LSU Libraries Special Collections, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

⁸³ Building contract between Margaret Chabot and [Henry Sellon] Bonneval Latrobe, Michel De Armas notary, volume 2, act 212, April 24, 1817.

small chamber and a pantry following Mrs. Chabot's specifications.⁸⁴ Unlike this typical Creole cottage—which was to have familiar architectural features of Chabot's existing house and those of her neighbors—Latrobe's house for Jean-Baptiste Thierry is the earliest surviving building with Greek Revival stylistic influences in the city (*Figure 55*).⁸⁵ Thierry House (721 Governor Nicholls) has the basic form of a four-bay cottage but features a front gallery with an arcade supported by Doric columns and an interior courtyard.⁸⁶ Latrobe also worked outside of the city, likely designing the detached wings (1811-1819) for Richard Butler's Ormond Plantation upriver.⁸⁷ These buildings reflected Henry Latrobe's mastery of the Greek Revival Style (courtesy of his father), familiarity with other popular styles (Federal and Gothic Revival), and willingness to work in local vernacular traditions (perhaps with Norbert's knowledge) but ability to create individualized buildings as each project demanded. Any of Henry Latrobe's completed works in New Orleans would have served as guides for Norbert Soulié to learn his profession as a builder and architect.

After Henry Latrobe's death, Norbert's "apprenticeship" was complete. His first known individual commission was made in a private contract with *homme de couleur libre* Jean Longpré to build a *maison à étage* (two-story house) surrounded by galleries on three sides at the corner of St. Peter Street facing the Carondelet Canal.⁸⁸ While he

⁸⁴ The Chabot cottage is not extant. The property (221-225 Bourbon Street) is occupied by a ca. 1834 three-story, Creole townhouse.

⁸⁵ Toledano, 32.

⁸⁶ The portico was revealed during the building's renovation in 1940. At that time the rear outbuilding of the adjacent building has been incorporated into the floor plan of the Thierry House. The house and one-story outbuilding were divided into apartments. The ell connecting the house to the outbuilding is a later addition, Vieux Carré Survey.

⁸⁷ Latrobe, *Impressions*, xxii.

⁸⁸ Agreement between Jean-Baptiste Longpré and Norbert Soulié, May 6, 1818, Jean-Baptiste Longpré archive, 1798-1846, Williams Research Center, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans. Norbert also built a two-story kitchen building and privy on the property.

does not appear to have worked with Benjamin Henry Latrobe after the latter came to New Orleans in 1819 to take over his son's work, Norbert's association with the Latrobes likely opened many other doors for him.⁸⁹ Indeed, when the City of New Orleans solicited bids for the completion of a central clock tower at St. Louis Cathedral in 1819, Soulié was one of the builders or architects that Mayor Augustin Macarty recommended the City Council contact.⁹⁰ While the winning bid went to Benjamin Latrobe, the clock tower's designer, Norbert obviously had a positive reputation that enabled him to secure commissions and acquire property.

Architectural Assimilation

Given the sheer number of properties that the Soulié family owned and the inconclusive, inconsistent, or nonexistent nature of building descriptions in land transactions, it is difficult to determine which properties they actually built as opposed to those they only commissioned. In addition, archival research has not brought to light any commissions undertaken by Norbert between 1817 and 1829 though he is listed as a builder in the 1822 and 1824 city directories.⁹¹

The first of Norbert's works that can be attributed to him with certainty is the extant cottage at 509-511 Burgundy Street. He purchased the property from Marcelin

⁸⁹ Benjamin Henry Latrobe's last work in New Orleans was the Louisiana State Bank (1819). Jean Soulié was a member of the board of directors. Albert Emile Fossier, *New Orleans: The Glamour Period, 1800-1840* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1957), 63-64; Poll, "A Foundational Study."

⁹⁰ Van Horne, n. 1, 1035.

⁹¹ Norbert's supposed work at Evergreen Plantation likely would have been in this period. Samuel Wilson notes: "...the names of Norbert Soulié, who worked with Henry S. Latrobe, architect, and Louis Pilié, architect and New Orleans city surveyor, are mentioned in financial statements of the plantation, Samuel Wilson, *A Guide to the Architecture of New Orleans, 1699-1959* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1959), 54. The nature and duration of his involvement are unknown to this author as Evergreen Plantation is privately owned, and the financial documents are not publicly available. Norbert Soulié would not have been involved in the major remodeling undertaken at the plantation starting in 1832.

Batigne in 1829. The lot had previously belonged to Norbert's maternal aunt Constance Vivant from 1818 to 1825 (*Figure 56*).⁹² When Norbert re-sold the lot to Vivant in 1831, buildings are mentioned for the first time.⁹³ On the site, Norbert built a four-bay, Creole cottage with a partial-hipped roof (it is gabled at the rear) featuring a gabled dormer with arched fanlight window (the dormers on the side faces of the roof were added ca. 1967). As indicated on the 1876 Sanborn map, the house appears to originally have had a rear gallery; the property also contained a series of one- or two-story outbuildings, one of which was likely the standard two-story building housing the kitchen and slaves quarters. While maintaining the balance and symmetry of the original fenestration, the existing front and side facades are a skin with Greek Revival entablature and door surrounds added at a later date. At this cottage, Norbert followed traditional design conventions, but incorporated some unusual features, including the building's rear roof gable and slightly larger scale.

Architectural historian Edith Long offers no evidence, but states that Norbert Soulié was also responsible for the house at present-day 810 Dumaine Street (*Figure 57*).⁹⁴ It would have been constructed after Norbert acquired the property in 1830 and demolished the existing buildings. The brick residence is an interesting conundrum having qualities of two Creole building forms. With its arrangement of four bays across the front and a gabled roof, it is a two-story version of the Creole cottage, although with its massing and verticality it resembles a townhouse.⁹⁵ Vieux Carré historian Malcolm Heard discusses the development of the Creole townhouse at length, noting that the

⁹² Constance Vivant acquired a thirty-foot portion in 1805 from Marie Louis Tavier in 1805 and a fifteen-foot portion from her mother Louison Cheval in 1818. Chain of title, 509 Burgundy Street, Vieux Carré Survey; Free People of Color Index, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

⁹³ Norbert Soulié to Constant Vivant, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 66, February 26, 1831.

⁹⁴ Edith Long, "Creole Cottage Blooms under Scott Touch," *Vieux Carré Courier*, March 17, 1967, 2.

⁹⁵ Heard, 35.

type developed in the early nineteenth century into a regularized urban type based on the loosely-organized Spanish Colonial house.⁹⁶ The Creole townhouse typically was two to three-and-a-half stories and three to five bays wide and featured a passageway from one or more of any street-facing facades leading to an interior courtyard around which the interior rooms and staircase loggia were arranged.⁹⁷ Unlike the typical Creole townhouse which shared party walls with adjacent structures, 810 Dumaine Street was originally a completely freestanding building; examination of the roofline indicates that the rear section of the attached outbuilding is an addition; the complex, therefore, did not abut the adjacent property with a party wall when it was built.⁹⁸ Comparison of the house's form and roofline with a freestanding "tall cottage" built by Norbert Soulié one block away at 814 Governor Nicholls Street (ca. 1830, *Figure 58*) strengthens the evidence that he built the house on Dumaine the same way.⁹⁹ In these two dwellings, Norbert began moving away from the one-story cottage type to increasingly vertical buildings with more complicated massing.¹⁰⁰

One such dwelling was a house on Bourbon Street. Edith Long notes "A pleasant pink house, with rather sophisticated detail, on Bourbon in the 300 block...was also designed by Soulié."¹⁰¹ Norbert owned the property at present-day 330-332 Bourbon Street from 1830-1858. Earlier transactions note that the lot had buildings, so Norbert would have demolished them to accommodate the two-story brick *porte-cochère* townhouse. It featured a centrally disposed arched carriageway on ground level (a less common example as the carriageway of a *porte-cochère* townhouse was usually placed

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 38-43; Edwards, , s.v. "Creole townhouse," 80.

⁹⁸ This addition was made before 1876 as it appears in the Sanborn Fire Insurance map of that year.

⁹⁹ Chain of title, 814 Governor Nicholls, Vieux Carré Survey.

¹⁰⁰ Heard, 35.

¹⁰¹ Long, 2.

to one side) that led to a rear courtyard with a two-story service building at a right angle to the rear of the house (*Figure 59*). A historic photograph shows that the Federal Style house still possessed most of its original window and door openings in 1893 (*Figure 60*).¹⁰² The dwelling incorporated several characteristics of Federal Style architecture including exposed brick, header stretcher-end brick lintels, and the carriageway fanlight.¹⁰³ This building portrayed Norbert's ability to adapt a style imported from the American East Coast and incorporate it into a more local form—the Creole townhouse—that was suitable for the narrow lot. It became a victim of the cyclical introduction of new forms and types into New Orleans' urban environment—it was demolished when the 300 block Bourbon was razed to make way for the Royal Sonesta hotel in the late 1960s.¹⁰⁴

The Soulié rowhouses constitute Norbert's interpretation of another vertically-oriented urban form (*Figure 61*). In the early 1830s, Norbert constructed rowhouses on property that he had purchased in 1819.¹⁰⁵ At 229 and 231 North Rampart Street, two of

¹⁰² The historic photograph shows that the carriageway was marked by double paneled doors topped by an elliptical fanlight. At the flanking doorways, two on each side, were glazed and paneled casement doors fronted by paneled shutters (the leftmost opening had been replaced by a projecting bay window by 1893). The second-level windows and doors were concealed by louvered shutters, but they were likely casement openings. A wrought-iron balcony extended from the second story at the three central doors. At the roofline was a simple entablature.

¹⁰³ A 1963 photograph of the house in the Vieux Carré Survey shows that the exterior was later painted. This is noted by Edith Long as well.

¹⁰⁴ Long, 2. The five-story Royal Sonesta (1968-1969) was designed by Curtis & Davis in association with Koch and Wilson Architects to follow the form of traditional row houses built around an interior courtyard, Vieux Carré Survey.

¹⁰⁵ In *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI* (p. 178), the authors date the rowhouses to ca. 1834 based on the information that "The city directories for 1834 and 1837 list Bernard Soulié, Norbert's relative and business associate, at 377 Rampart, *the old address for one of the houses*." [emphasis mine] Since Norbert had relocated to France in 1831, however, he was long gone by that time. If built by Norbert before his departure, these rowhouses constitute very early examples of Greek Revival townhouses (The Greek Revival style did not make an entrance into New Orleans vernacular architecture before ca. 1835). Otherwise, the townhouses would have been built by Bernard and Albin or, in reality, "built" by the Souliés in the sense that they commissioned the buildings.

the rowhouses survive.¹⁰⁶ The three-story, masonry Greek Revival-Style dwellings originally had cast-iron lintels, dentiled cornices, and wrought iron balconies.¹⁰⁷ Features and floor plans of the rowhouses when first built can be assessed by comparing them to archival drawings for buildings that once stood a block away at the corner of North Rampart and Conti streets (*Figure 62*).¹⁰⁸ The two groupings of buildings had several features in common including multiple dwellings behind unified facades in a simplified interpretation of the Greek Revival Style. Both groups of rowhouses also had multi-story outbuildings attached to the main dwelling on one side of the courtyard. The rowhouse offered Norbert Soulié the ideal property type to serve as an income property and rent it out as a whole or subdivide it to increase his profit.¹⁰⁹

In the early 1830s, Norbert received a commission to build a sugar refinery for the partnership owned by Alexander Gordon and Edmund J. Forstall. Norbert, and his first cousin Edmond Rillieux, were contracted to build the complex's buildings on a

¹⁰⁶ At present, archival research has not revealed if Norbert constructed three or four party-wall townhouses at this site. The 1819 purchase noted the sale of only three lots. However, the Soulié Family Ledgers show that Norbert collected rents as an absentee landlord for four properties—nos. 41, 43, 45, and 47 Rampart—here in the 1840s. It appears that Norbert acquired an adjacent lot with an extant building or built a fourth townhouse. Or, he divided his three lots into four.

¹⁰⁷ Toledano and Christovich, 178.

¹⁰⁸ Constructed in 1847, the three-story grouping at North Rampart and Conti contained three individual dwellings, but the street façades were unified by a continuous cornice line and roofed, wrought-iron balcony at the second level. The multi-light windows were uniform in size on each level and protected by louvered shutters. An unpedimented door surround with simple entablature framed each entry doorway which consisted of a single paneled door topped by a transom. Concealed hallways from the entries provided access to the ground floor rooms, staircases, and/or rear courtyards.

¹⁰⁹ While the Soulié rowhouses have retained much of their original form, the ground floors of the extant buildings were severely altered when converted to storefronts by the 1970s, Toledano and Christovich, 178. The facades of the rowhouses have subsequently been restored to their present, more historic, appearance. Alterations to the rear of the buildings have been extensive. At No. 229, the outbuilding was extended into the courtyard (partially by 1876) and the roof line changed. An elevator tower was added between the main dwelling and the outbuilding. At No. 229, a story has possibly been added to the story to the outbuilding (by 1876). The rear of the each courtyard has been infilled with a non-historic garage opening onto Basin Street.

portion of Forstall's plantation, located about two miles downriver of the city.¹¹⁰ The building contract was made in early 1831.¹¹¹ This project expanded Norbert's repertoire to industrial works. The "extensive" group of buildings in an "irregular pile," as described by John Gibson in his city directory of 1838, were dominated by a sugar house and would have contained the space and apparatus needed for the processing of sugar into raw sugar, molasses, and refined white sugar.¹¹² The buildings were laid out in a formal arrangement facing the levee (*Figures 63 and 64*). Entry into the plant complex was via a gabled arcade topped with dormers. Flanking the arcade were two front-gabled wings each with blind facades at ground level; arched doorways provided access to a balcony at the second level. Beyond the arcade was a three-story, front gabled building, probably the main sugar house. A four-story, side-gabled building brought up the rear of the building grouping. The disparate buildings were unified by gabled and arched roof dormers and multi-light windows. The large smokestack for the boiler was visible between the downriver portion of the front wing and the sugar house.¹¹³ According to a description of the plant in the 1838 *Gibson Guide*, the land, machinery, and buildings cost about \$370,000.¹¹⁴ Greek Revival stylistic characteristics imbued the buildings with an air of formality and dignity not seen in more utilitarian, brick mills on sugar plantations. This type of stylistic treatment to an industrial type was repeated in New

¹¹⁰ The site of the refinery was along the levee at St. Peter Street between Reynes and Forstall streets.

¹¹¹ Benfey, 27.

¹¹² John Gibson, *Gibson's Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana, and the Cities of New Orleans & Lafayette* (New Orleans: John Gibson, 1838), 318.

¹¹³ The author created this description of the Louisiana Sugar Refinery through comparison with the refinery formerly at Ashland Plantation. <http://www.crt.state.la.us/archaeology/virtualbooks/greathou/sugar.htm> (accessed April 3, 2012). When Henry Howard made additions to the Louisiana Sugar Refinery in the 1850s, his work included connecting the sugar house and rear building and creating an upriver extension in the ell between the front wing and sugar house.

¹¹⁴ Gibson, 318.

Orleans at the Levee Steam Cotton Press constructed in 1832 (*Figure 65*).¹¹⁵ The project had the potential to place Norbert Soulié into further prominence of the field of architecture in New Orleans, but ultimately led to his departure from the city. Some disagreement or altercation, the particulars of which are unknown to posterity, brought the sugar refinery building project to a halt when the buildings were almost complete. Edmond Rillieux disappeared from New Orleans for almost a year-and-a-half.¹¹⁶ Norbert, meanwhile, began making preparations to relocate to Paris, France—permanently.¹¹⁷

Having sold the Burgundy Street property back to his aunt in January, Norbert filed a procuration delegating power of attorney over his personal and business affairs to Leon Courcelle, "husband" of his maternal aunt Adelaide Vivant, on April 21, 1831. The following day, he made a joint procuration, again giving Leon Courcelle power of attorney, with older brother Lucien noting:

"that they have formed among themselves a society in which they are each half and whose purpose is to use and grow in common the manner most advantageous some capital funds provided each half. And wanting to leave Louisiana...they make and form their corporate name of Norbert and Lucien Soulié...."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 318; Both buildings were represented on *Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity*, Charles F. Zimpel surveyor, 1833, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹¹⁶ Benfey, 27, 29.

¹¹⁷ The conflict also created lasting enmity between the Rillieux family and Edmund Forstall. Even after Forstall hired engineer-inventor Norbert Rillieux, Edmund's older brother, to serve as head of the refinery in 1833, that business relationship ended unsuccessfully. Forstall later publicly opposed Norbert Rillieux's plans for improving New Orleans' drainage and sewer systems. Benfey, 128; Jean M. West, "From Sugar Bowl to the International Space Station: Norbert Rillieux, African-American Inventor," http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/narratives/bio_norbert_rillieux.htm (accessed April 3, 2012).

¹¹⁸ Procuration from Lucien Soulié to Leon Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 151, April 21, 1831; Procuration from Norbert Soulié to Leon Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 152, April 21, 1831; Joint Procuration from Norbert and Lucien Soulié to Leon Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 153, April 22, 1831.

Though Norbert's known body of work is incomplete,¹¹⁹ his building practice and landholdings provided him enough income to live life comfortably as a gentleman Europe.¹²⁰ Upon Norbert's departure for France, his acquisition of property did not cease, but the role of builder was passed on to younger brothers Bernard and Albin. The brothers had privately formed a company, "B. & A. Soulié," to purchase property and slaves in 1827.¹²¹ Bernard and Albin were listed as "B. & A. Soulié Builders" in the 1832 city directory. Their partnership was legally recognized on April 22, 1833.¹²²

Unlike Norbert, who perhaps was the only of the brothers to receive training from an architect, Bernard and Albin only built Creole cottages. Two cottages built as investment properties can be attributed to Bernard Soulié. He purchased property from the city along an extension of Tremé Street in 1837. Here he built a brick four-bay Creole cottage (*Figure 66*). At the rear of the property was a one-story outbuilding.¹²³ Also in 1837, Bernard acquired a corner lot on Ursulines at Robertson; he sold it to Lucien one year later.¹²⁴ Although Lucien owned the property he lived abroad. So, Bernard likely built the one-and-a-half story, brick, corner store-house that subsequently occupied the lot to serve as a rental that generated an income for his absentee older brother (*Figure*

¹¹⁹ Among undocumented buildings in New Orleans, research completed by architect Samuel Wilson, Jr., indicates that Norbert also did work at Evergreen Plantation in Edgard, Louisiana, based on Soulié's name in the plantation's financial records. The plantation is privately owned and its records not available to the public.

¹²⁰ In French legal documents, Norbert's occupation is noted as "*propriétaire*" or landowner. In the summer of 1834, he was travelling throughout Europe, visiting Italy, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, Stockholm, and Moscow, Benfey, 23.

¹²¹ *Société* between Bernard and Albin Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 6, act 202, April 22, 1833.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ This house was retained by the Soulié family as an income property for many years. It was not sold until 1885, after Bernard had moved to Paris in 1875 and after his death in 1881. After years of alterations and neglect, the cottage was renovated from 2009 to 2011.

¹²⁴ Toledano and Christovich, 196. The author had not found the original acts documenting these transactions.

67). Demolished after 1974, the building form consisted of a typical Creole cottage but with the first floor being reserved for commercial use.¹²⁵ As such, the side façade facing the street had an entry (in addition to the doorways at the primary (front) façade) and more windows than usually seen on a Creole cottage. A canopy with signage may have been placed over the corner-facing doorways. The attic space in a store-house served as a residence, usually for the proprietors of the store; it was accessed via a narrow doorway where a rear *cabinet* was traditionally located. The Tremé Street store-house marks the only departure from the traditional Creole cottage made by Bernard and/or Albin in their building activities. Buildings on the brothers' property that they acquired after 1838 are less likely to be attributed to them as builders. For one, they changed their primary means of business and were listed "B. & A. Soulié" commission merchants from that year onward. Thenceforth, the brothers both frequently traveled to sell and acquire goods.¹²⁶ Also, Albin was increasingly in France; he moved to Paris permanently in 1845.¹²⁷

The buildings that are positively credited to the Soulié brothers were constructed mostly in the 1830s (*Table 10*). They range from Norbert's more cosmopolitan urban forms to traditional vernacular houses built by Bernard and Albin. While the Souliés' known or extant body of work is much smaller than that of the Dollioles', their contributions to the built environment are not diminished. Jean-Louis Dolliole and, to some extent, Joseph Dolliole, explored and perfected the range of the Creole cottage. Norbert Soulié was responsible for the architectural assimilation of new

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6, 117.

¹²⁶ Bernard Soulié's frequent trips, and those of many relatives and close acquaintances are noted in his journal.

¹²⁷ Procuration, Albin Soulié to Bernard Soulié, C. V. Foulon notary, volume 16, act 189, 5/20/1845. Albin departed on May 26, taking Bernard and Eliza's two young sons with him, Soulié, 325.

concepts such as vertically-oriented buildings and the Greek Revival Style into familiar forms and existing environments. Albin, too, made his mark carrying the Creole cottage into newly developed areas of the city, utilizing a traditional form in various ways for financial gain.

Table 10. Known Soulié built works. (d)=demolished

Current Address or Description	Date	Builder	Form	Style
St. Peter Street (at Carondelet Canal)	1818	Norbert	<i>Maison à étage</i>	Vernacular
509-511 Burgundy	1829-31	Norbert	4-bay cottage	Vernacular
810 Dumaine	ca. 1830	Norbert	Creole townhouse	Vernacular
814 Governor Nicholls	ca. 1830	Norbert	Creole townhouse	Vernacular
330-332 Bourbon (d)	ca. 1830	Norbert	Creole townhouse	Vernacular
229 and 231 N. Rampart	before 1831	Norbert	Rowhouse	Greek Revival
Louisiana Sugar Refinery (d)	1831-32	Norbert	Sugar mill/refinery	Greek Revival
1226 Tremé	1837	Bernard	4-bay Creole cottage	Vernacular
1529-1533 Ursulines (d)	1838	Bernard	Corner store-house	Vernacular

Builders in both families constructed houses in the forms and styles with which they were familiar. The antebellum landscape of New Orleans was their pattern book and, in turn, became the site of their contributions to the city's architectural heritage. A survey of properties associated with free people of color (extant in 1974 and 1980) emphasizes the widespread use of the many varieties of the Creole cottage by builders, owners, and developers as well as its popularity and adaptability by the very nature of its survival (*Figure 68*). Of a total of 42 extant properties in Faubourg Tremé and 38 properties in the Creole faubourgs, the Creole cottage was overwhelmingly the most popular choice. Accordingly, of the known builders of these buildings, most of them constructed Creole cottages (*Figure 69*). Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole were among those builders who perfected the Creole cottage, increasingly adapting the form to

unique property situations, and transporting it into newly developed neighborhoods throughout the antebellum period. Bernard Soulié contributed to the continued use of the Creole cottage building type in the 1830s. These three builders' dedication to the Creole cottage form underscores the fact that the *gens de couleur libres* were responsible for the persistence of the Creole cottage in antebellum New Orleans but also brings home the point that not only *émigré* builders were responsible for its introduction and proliferation.

The *gens de couleur libres* also built in non-Creole forms. Norbert Soulié built only one known Creole cottage and, even so, modified the roof form and scale. Instead, his repertoire consisted primarily of taller building forms—the Creole townhouse and Anglo-influenced rowhouse. Norbert's output is particularly important in that he built the townhouse and rowhouse within a few short years before leaving New Orleans. Had he remained in the city, he would likely been influential in developing these forms even further in the *gens de couleur libres* community. And, with his more formal architectural training, Norbert Soulié was more poised, even more so than his brothers, to utilize American styles such as Greek Revival which required greater understanding of the use and application of detailed architectural ornament.

While the Dollioles and Souliés had varying approaches to architectural form, they all worked more or less in vernacular styles and, through varying means, responded to the need for increased housing in a diverse and changing urban environment. The different house types built by the Dollioles, Souliés, and other *gens de couleur libres* are characteristic of the Transitional Period of New Orleans architecture (1820-1835) when colonial and Creole types were increasingly influenced and joined by American

traditions (e.g. classical forms and ornamentation and central hall plans).¹²⁸ The physical boundaries and urban fabric of New Orleans changed greatly during the first half of the nineteenth century. So too did the building forms used in the expanding metropolis. Men like the Dollioles and Souliés ensured the persistence of traditional types. These native sons were prolific builders despite competition from other *gens de couleur libres* builders, many of whom were Saint-Dominguan refugees. With their extensive real estate dealings and connections to white and black New Orleanians alike, the Dollioles and Souliés appear to have had an advantage over *émigrés* in their ability to obtain commissions.

¹²⁸ Toledano, 15-16.

Chapter Four: "Uncommon Industry" – *gens de couleur libres* builders in antebellum New Orleans

"His talent in architecture definitely contributed to the beautification of our city."
Rodolphe Desdunes, *Nos Hommes et Notre Histoire* (1911)

The Dollioles were reaching adulthood and the Souliés coming of age during the territorial period, immediately following the periods of mass migration when thousands of when masses of white and black French Creole fled to New Orleans from the West Indies during the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804). Many of the "foreign" *gens de couleur libres* were trained as builders who brought their experiences and skills with them to Louisiana. In January 1810 New Orleans mayor William Claiborne lauded the "'uncommon industry'" of black carpenters, noting that, "'Many houses have been built in little time and at less cost than before.'"¹ The need for architecture in the new Louisiana territory provided a setting for black artisans and was also perpetuated by the large number of native *gens de couleur libres* building artisans as well as those from other areas of the Atlantic world seeking refuge in Louisiana in the wake of political turmoil and revolution.

In the colonial U.S., most early building artisans were carpenters because of abundance of wood and its predominant use as a building material. Carpenters in particular were in high demand because they possessed technical and supervisory skills. In New Orleans their knowledge of producing complicated timber framing as well as

¹ Paul Lachance, "Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution in Louisiana," in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, edited by David P. Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 214.

local techniques dealing with specific problems such as humidity (i.e. *briqueté-entre-poteaux* construction) would have proved useful. Later, others who developed specified skill sets—joiners, bricklayers, masons, glaziers, painters, and plasterers—became prevalent in major colonial cities, including New Orleans.² By 1850, almost 64% of employed free black males in the Lower South and in New Orleans were artisans, higher than all major U.S. cities.³ While this number included free men of color who were not *gens de couleur libres* and skill sets such as tailors and blacksmiths, black Creole builders made up a significant portion of this group. Leonard Curry provides three reasons for the large number and success of black Creole builders as opposed to in other regions: 1) southern whites were fully accustomed to the presence of black artisans (having been familiar with slave labor and the persistence of the *gens de couleur libres* population , 2) the presence of black artisans ensured secure apprenticeships for young blacks and allowed those occupations to perpetuate, and 3) New Orleans contained a free black community largely created by selective manumission not mass emancipation allowing for artisans come from able, energetic, and talented slave population or to be individuals educated, trained, and financed due to familial relationships.⁴ Thus, the Dollioles and Souliés had many black Creole contemporaries who likewise contributed to New Orleans' antebellum architecture in various ways.

² Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 11.

³ Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 25, 260, 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

NATIVE SONS

François Boisdoré (ca. 1779/1782-1859)⁵

François Boisdoré, natural son of Dubrisson and Adelaide Boisdoré, was another Louisiana-born *homme de couleur libre* builder and real estate speculator.⁶ Boisdoré was Louis, and later Joseph, Dolliole's neighbor on Bayou Road. He appears to have been productive in early in the antebellum period and was listed as a builder living on Burgundy below Orleans Street in the 1822 city directory. From the late 1820s through the 1840s, he owned numerous properties in the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé—including one small lot on Dumaine Street to Norbert Soulié—and undoubtedly built some of them. Boisdoré contracted to build a *maison de maître* for *femme de couleur libre* Marceline "Marcely" Cornu on Bayou Road in 1828.⁷

His best known commission, however, was that of a Creole *porte-cochère* townhouse for Joseph Soniat Dufossat (1133-1135 Chartres Street) in 1829 (*Figure 70*). Originally, the 2 ½-story house displayed an interesting combination of French and Spanish colonial forms (*Figure 71*). The *porte-cochère* entrance at the ground floor provided access, through paneled doors, to a courtyard at the rear and one side of which was a two-story L-shaped outbuilding. The loggia incorporated into the rear of the dwelling provided access to the private floors of the house. Like the carriageway entrance, the ground floor openings were arched (they were shortened and infilled with rectangular windows after 1965) and had iron or wooden bars in the transoms. Boisdoré also introduced aspects of Anglo-American architecture. By centering the carriageway,

⁵ Boisdoré's age was given as 68 years at the 1850 federal census, but as 80 years in his death record. USGenWeb, Orleans Parish Death Index, <http://www.usgwarchives.org/la/orleans/death-index.htm>.

⁶ The 1850 census notes that he was born in Louisiana. See also Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 93.

⁷ Toledano and Christovich, 93.

the building had ties to French townhouses, but also appeared more like a central-plan American house. He also incorporated various aspects of the Federal Style—stone door and window lintels, louvered shutters, a main level entry door with sidelights and a transom fanlight, a projecting dentiled cornice, segmental-arched roof dormers with pilasters and arched windows, and gable-end chimneys—and left the red brick exterior walls exposed. The ground-floor fenestration of the Soniat House has been altered, and the original wrought-iron balcony replaced with a much more ornate one, but the dwelling would still be recognizable to its original owners.

Boisdoré continued purchasing land in the 1830s and 1840s, primarily in Faubourg Tremé. In 1841 he acquired three lots near the corner of Villeré and Bayou Road, this time neighboring property belonging to Jean-Louis Dolliole (*Figure 72*).⁸ Little real estate activity by François Boisdoré is found after he and Joseph Dolliole sold their Bayou Road properties in the mid-1840s. Boisdoré died in 1859.

Laurent Ursain Guesnon (1780-1842)

Among the earliest of the black Creole builders was Laurent Ursain Guesnon. Guesnon was born in New Orleans on August 10, 1780.⁹ He was the natural son of Jacques Guesnon and Marie St. Martin (alias Manon Boisseau).¹⁰ Ursain Guesnon was among the first to purchase property from Bernard Marigny in the latter's newly developed suburb in 1807 making him the neighbor of Catherine Dusau, and, later,

⁸ *Ibid.*, 93; Plan Book 84, folio 14, Plan Book Plans Collection, New Orleans Notarial Archive.

⁹ Ursain Guesnon (1843), "Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846," index and images, FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JJ28-443> (accessed March 27, 2012).

¹⁰ Ursain's parents are listed in the death certificate in his estate file. The municipal notes that on July 9, 1828, Jacques Guesnon was paid \$4.00 for the hire of his slave Marie. From the online collection overview of the New Orleans Municipal Records, 1782-1925, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University, New Orleans, <http://specialcollections.tulane.edu/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=35&q=&rootcontentid=118621> (accessed April 10, 2012).

Jean-Louis Dolliole, on Bagatelle Street.¹¹ According to Ursain's will, a house was not erected on the lot until after his marriage to Marie Eugenie Reynes (alias Marie/Mathilde Zolla) in 1811.¹² It was there by the time Ursain was listed as a carpenter living on the site—17 Bagatelle near Esplanade—in the 1822 city directory.¹³ The four-bay brick cottage on the site at present-day 1428 Bourbon Street is of brick-between-post construction (*Figure 73*). The side-gabled roof features a chimney (noting the presence of a double fireplace shared by the cottage's two front rooms), segmental-roofed dormers with pilasters and multi-light windows topped by fanlights, and a cant in the roofline for the *abat-vent*. The primary façade contains casement doors and windows with fanlight transoms and louvered shutters. While previous scholarship argues that the cottage's fenestration is a retention of the French colonial tradition of arched openings across the facades of buildings,¹⁴ Guesnon's use of fanlights and the louvered shutters is more indicative of Federal stylistic conventions. In either case, his attention to detail in this cottage was a testament to his skill as a builder and makes this building particularly important as it is Guesnon's only known extant work. When he died in 1842, Jean-Louis Dolliole served as his testamentary executor. Dolliole was also responsible for building his tomb.¹⁵ The Guesnon family owned their Bourbon Street house until 1854 when 'his widow sold it.¹⁶ The connection between the two families of

¹¹ Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 94. The site plan for the Dussau/Dolliole property identifies the property as belonging to Jacques Guesnon, h.c.l. which means that Jacques Guesnon originally purchased the property and was misidentified as a person of color or that the lot belonged to Ursain and his father's name was indicated on the plan erroneously.

¹² Ursain's death certificate notes that they were married on September 21, 1811.

¹³ Ursain Guesnon's residence at that address is also accounted for in the 1832 and 1842 city directories.

¹⁴ Toledano, *et. al.*, 94.

¹⁵ "Account and tableau of distribution," Ursain Guesnon (1843), "Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846," index and images, FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JJZ8-443> (accessed March 27, 2012).

¹⁶ Toledano, *et. al.*, 94.

builders was strengthened when Dolliole's son Louis Drausin married Guesnon's daughter Marie Eugenie in 1858.¹⁷

Louis Vivant (1796-1870)

Familial connections with free builders of color proved even stronger for the Souliés. Louis Vivant was a prominent builder in the antebellum period. As the youngest offspring of Louison Cheval and Charles Vivant, Louis was the uncle of the first-generation Souliés, but he was the same age as his nephews. Given his family connections, Louis Vivant could have learned his trade from any number of successful builders—black or white—in the city. His earliest known work is a two-room, b rick-between-posts kitchen outbuilding with *cabinets* and a gallery he contracted with N.L. Lauriano to build on Melpomene Street in Faubourg Annunciation in 1832.¹⁸

In his capacity as a builder, it appears that Louis did a lot of work for his nephews. The Soulié Ledger books indicate that in 1843 he earned income providing maintenance and building services for properties owned by Norbert, Bernard, and/or Albin Soulié. On May 8, Vivant enclosed the kitchen of the house on Tremé Street, redoing the gallery and replacing the roof.¹⁹ At the main dwelling he made repairs to or replaced one stairway, two steps at the façade, two hinges and one hook, set eight locks and vises. He also made six new keys and covered the northern gable of the house in batten. At the same house, Vivant painted the newly covered gable with two coats, replaced ten panes of glass, and painted the north side of the house. A few months later

¹⁷ Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans (La.) Justices of the Peace, Index to Marriage Records, 1846-1880, <http://nutrias.org/inv/jpmarrindex/jpmarrindex.htm>. They were only married for a year, Marie Eugenie died on September 24, 1859. USGenWeb, Orleans Parish Death.

¹⁸ Building contract between N. L. Lauriano and Louis Vivant, L. T. Caire notary, volume 21, act 683, June 29, 1832.

¹⁹ Soulié Family Ledgers, Book 1, page 1, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

in September he made repairs to the property at No. 79 Hospital, working on the framework for the well and adjusting two pairs of sashes and two pairs of solid doors.²⁰ While Vivant likely had learned his trade before working for the Souliés in his late forties, this type of work appears to have gone hand in hand with providing experience and drumming up clientele for his own commissions. Vivant does not appear again in the available Soulié ledgers, and his other known houses were built after 1843.

Vivant constructed a Creole cottage at 1729-1731 Laharpe for Joseph Conner, a free black man, in 1846 (*Figure 74*). Conner contracted with Vivant to build the four-bay house for \$700.00.²¹ Per the specifications, the 26'x32', four-room cottage was clad in shingles and mounted on a brick foundation. Indicative of the period of construction, the Conner cottage featured small dormers and a cant where the *abat-vent* was incorporated into the gabled roof.²² The dormers may have been added at a later date; they are not noted in the building contract. As depicted in a drawing for the 1865 sale of the property, the cottage was located at the corner of Laharpe and Derbigny streets and occupied approximately one-quarter of the block. By virtue of its location on a corner, the house also had doors and windows on the façade facing Laharpe (possible later additions). In addition to the buildings erected by Vivant—the cottage, a two-room kitchen, a well, and a double latrine—the property featured a vegetable garden laid out in squares.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, page 5.

²¹ Building contract between Louis Vivant and Jesse Connor, Lucien Hermann notary, volume 12, act 55, February 13, 1846. The house was completed by builder André Gregoire for an additional \$265, Toledano and Christovich, 170.

²² *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI* notes that house at 1729-1931 could be the Connor house built by Vivant, 170. Later in the century, Victorian shotguns were added to the neighborhood. It was probably during this period that the cottage was demolished. It does not appear on the 1883 Robinson Atlas.

In the fall of 1846, Louis Vivant contracted with *femme de couleur libre* Uranie Roy to build a Creole cottage on Burgundy Street between Ursulines and St. Philip streets.²³ The contract stipulates that the house was to be a typical brick-between-posts, four-room Creole cottage with *cabinets* and a gallery. One of the *cabinets* was to have stairs to a garret lit with four windows. Vivant was also responsible for the installing doors "made in the most fashionable way" and hinges and locks "of the best quality." For this "work to be done with the best and soundest material of every kind," Vivant was paid \$1,080.00. Aside from the kitchen building and two cottages, little else is known about the building activities of Louis Vivant.²⁴ The same cannot be said for Soulié kinsman Myrtille Courcelle.

Myrtille Courcelle (1805-1872)

Myrtille Courcelle was a prolific black Creole builder and property owner. Courcelle lived in Faubourg Tremé, where all of his work was built, at various addresses on St. Philip Street from 1841 to 1858.²⁵ The oldest son of Adelaide Vivant and Leon Courcelle, he was the first cousin of the first-generation Souliés.²⁶ The relatives often

²³ Building contract between Uranie Roy and Louis Vivant, Felix Percy notary, volume 25, act 344, November 24, 1846. Search of the Vieux Carré Survey yields that only one property owner with surname Roy owned property in this block at 1031-1033 Burgundy. The cottage built by Vivant is not extant.

²⁴ Louis Vivant died on June 7, 1870 at the age of 74. USGenWeb, Orleans Parish Death Index, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/vitals/deaths/index/1870disz.txt> (accessed March 17, 2011). Bernard Soulié recorded Louis Vivant's death date in his journal. Louis Vivant was married to Caroline Hastier. They had at least three children: Louise, Madeleine Celeste, and Louis, Jr. per this author's survey of the *Sacramental Records* volumes. Louis, Jr. is listed with his family at the 1880 census, his occupation that of brick mason.

²⁵ New Orleans city directories, 1841-1858. His address was located between Villeré and Marais streets from 1841-1846. It was 269 St. Philip Street from 1849 to 1858 and then to 317 St. Philip Street in 1859.

²⁶ Myrtille Courcelle's succession record and estate file do not identify Leon Courcelle's natural children. The identities of his children with Adelaide Vivant are gleaned from analysis of the baptismal records of the archdiocese. Myrtille's name however, does not appear in these records. The author determined Myrtille Courcelle's parentage from the fact that he bears the last name Courcelle, lists his sister (a confirmed daughter of Adelaide and Leon) as an heir in his will, and is identified as the son of Adelaide and Leon in several genealogical family trees in online searches. Leon Courcelle (1843), Louisiana, Orleans

exchanged property between one another in Faubourg Tremé. One of the many buildings that Courcelle constructed was erected on such a lot. In 1836, Courcelle purchased undeveloped property from cousin Norbert Rillieux. When he sold the lot, and several others, to the Soulié sisters on February 4, 1843, the sale included "the buildings which the owner built since his acquisition."²⁷ The cottage, still standing at 1509-1511 Dumaine, has the typical four-bay, four-room form (*Figure 75*). In 1980 it retained many original features including batten shutters, strap hinges, French doors, and wooden lintel openings. It has been restored since. The two-story outbuilding at the rear of the property line is also extant. The house was probably rented out or occupied by Courcelle relatives. Myrtille Courcelle also built a cottage at present-day 1622 Dumaine that was replaced by a two-story, side hall house in the Italianate Style.²⁸

Also in 1836, Courcelle purchased an undeveloped lot from the Company of the Architects of the Eight District (1523-1525 St. Philip).²⁹ On it, he built an atypical cottage with five bays across the primary façade (*Figure 76*). It is likely that Courcelle made one of two adaptations to the Creole cottage, the forms of which are obscured by later alterations. The building may have been a dogtrot cottage where a smaller (usually at-grade) central doorway provided access to a passageway between two cottages to a shared rear courtyard. Or, one of the end doors could have opened onto an inset gallery servicing the adjacent dwelling. In any case, this form would have been useful allowing for Courcelle to maximize the number of units and living space to use the cottage as

Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846, index and images, FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JJZ7-X4C>, accessed March 27, 2012).

²⁷ Toledano and Christovich, 161.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 189.

income property.³⁰ Other details characteristic of an 1830s Creole cottage include the doorways with multi-light transom, batten window shutters, and gabled dormers with arched window openings.

In addition to building houses as income property, Courcelle also erected homes for his neighbors. He built a house for Marguerite Boisdoré in the 1600 block of St. Philip Street in 1836 (1609-1611 St. Philip, *Figure 77*).³¹ The roof of the four-bay cottage was canted at the front façade to form the *abat-vent* overhang. The arched dormer fanlight has been infilled. While the other windows and doors on the house have been altered, the transoms over the doorways and the overall proportions of the fenestration have been retained.³²

On July 9, 1846, Courcelle signed a contract with Doctor Charles Henry Daret for the construction of a three-story Creole townhouse (*Figure 78*).³³ It was to be built on St. Philip between Bourbon and Dauphine on undeveloped property that Daret had purchased the previous year.³⁴ Though Myrtille served strictly as the builder for the house of someone else's design—French Creole architect François Correjolle was the supervising architect who furnished plans for the design of the dwelling—the six-page document provides explicit instructions leaving no doubt as to Courcelle's understanding of building practices and ability to erect a house of this complexity. The Creole townhouse was a type developed from the traditional Spanish Colonial house

³⁰ A non-historic rear addition has expanded the house almost to the rear property line allowing for increased interior space so that it can function as three residences, continuing its use as a multi-family dwelling in the present.

³¹ Building contract between Marguerite Boisdoré and Myrtille Courcelle, A. Mazareau notary, April 28, 1836.

³² The cottage is now a wing of the Charbonnet-Labat-Glapion Funeral Home. It has been adjoined to the adjacent building via a connector in the passageway and a rear addition.

³³ Building contract between Myrtille Courcelle and Doctor Henry Daret, Lucien Hermann notary, volume 9, act 266, July 9, 1844.

³⁴ Chain of title, 832 St. Philip Street, Vieux Carré Survey.

that increased the volume of the residence by adding stories and growing upward.³⁵ Typically, Creole townhouses feature a carriageway, loggia, courtyard, and balcony.³⁶ This is a later version of the building type with a regularized three-bay façade hiding the Creole features of an open side passage with access to the rear loggia stairway and courtyard behind one of the outer bay doors. Though the house adapted aspects of the increasingly popular American townhouse on its façade, Courcelle was still required by the contract to use French building conventions such as the cypress framework of the roofing and French glass in the door and window glazing.³⁷ He also had very careful instruction regarding aspects of the carpentry including the tongue-and-groove cypress flooring, crown molding, ceiling cornices and rosettes, paneled interior doors, paneled and louvered door and window shutters, and turned mahogany balustrades at the rear loggia.

While he was building what is perhaps his most ambitious work, the 1840s saw Courcelle working for the Souliés in the same capacity as Louis Vivant (also his uncle). Between August 1843 and November 1847, Myrtille did a variety of work on several Soulié properties. He was hired for simple maintenance such as repainting, cleaning, replacing grills as well as more complicated tasks like repairing roofs and installing new floors at least once a year during this period. Myrtille Courcelle was also a tomb builder. Leon Courcelle's estate files note that Myrtille was paid for building and plastering his

³⁵ William Heard, *French Quarter Manual: an Architectural Guide to New Orleans' Vieux Carré* (New Orleans: Tulane School of Architecture, 1997), 38.

³⁶ *Ibid.*.

³⁷ The building contract notes that "La vitrerie sera se premiere qualité en verre francais." and "La charpente pour supporter le toit sera en bois de cypres et fait à la francaise."

father's grave. Myrtille also possessed some type of drafting ability for he was also compensated for completing the sepulture drawings.³⁸

Aside from his skills as a builder and extant built work, little is known about Myrtille Courcelle's personal life. He appears to have been married twice. One April 29, 1857, a license was granted for Father Rousselon to marry Myrtille Courcelle and Marie Dalcour.³⁹ He later married Evelina Davis on October 23, 1871.⁴⁰ When Myrtille died less than one year later on February 13, 1872, his estate was valued at \$36,967.60 leaving no doubt that his career as a builder and property owner enabled him to be competitive and make substantial earnings.⁴¹

Joseph Chateau (ca. 1816-unknown)

Though little is known of his background, Joseph Chateau was one of the most prolific free black builders in antebellum New Orleans. At the 1850 census, Chateau is listed as being a 34 year-old mulatto builder born in the city. His household consisted of his wife and teenage son as well as two men and a teenage boy (all white) with the surname Dupont. Michel and Basset Dupont, both natives of France, were also builders; the two men undoubtedly worked with or for Chateau. Given the fact that at least seventeen contracts documenting his building services were made by New Orleans

³⁸ Leon Courcelle (1843), Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846, index and images, FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JJZ7-X4C>, accessed March 27, 2012).

³⁹ University of Notre Dame, Archives Calendar 1857, <http://archives.nd.edu/calendar.htm> (accessed October 17, 2012). See also Louisiana Division, Index to marriage records.

⁴⁰ Louisiana Division, Index to marriage records, http://nutrias.org/inv/jpmarrindex/cos_coz.htm (accessed December 12, 2011).

⁴¹ USGenWeb Orleans Parish Death Index, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/vitals/deaths/index/1872diad.txt> (accessed March 18, 2011); Myrtille Courcelle (No. 35262), Louisiana, Second District Court, Successions, 1846-1880, Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library. The date of Myrtille Courcelle's death was also noted in Bernard Soulié's journal.

notaries between 1844 and 1851 (see *Table 11*), Chateau would have needed the extra assistance.⁴²

Due to the nature of later work in this block, twin cottages at 416-418 Burgundy can be attributed to Chateau (*Figure 79*). *Homme de couleur libre* Jean Baptiste Couvertie contracted Chateau to build the houses for him in June 1844.⁴³ Chateau was tasked to replace an existing *briqueté-entre-poteaux* house and wooden kitchen with identical 1 ½-story, two-bay, three-room cottages (*Figure 80*).⁴⁴ Each cottage features fire walls at the gables ends and a gabled dormer on the front and rear roof slopes. A passageway between the two houses provides access to the rear courtyards, each with a two-story, shed-roof kitchen outbuilding. The cottages remained in the Couvertie family until 1923.

In April 1845, Chateau contracted with *homme de couleur libre* Ramon Vionnet to build a two-bay *maison de maître* on the latter's property on St. Philip between Burgundy and Rampart (not extant).⁴⁵ The contract stipulated that the one-and-a-half story, side-gabled brick-between-post dwelling was to have three rooms with a brick fireplace painted to imitate marble in each.⁴⁶ A plaster rosette and cornice was called

⁴² Sally Reeves, "French Speaking '*Hommes de Couleur Libre*' Left Indelible Mark on the Culture and Development of the French Quarter," <http://frenchquarter.com/history/freepeople.php> (accessed April 8, 2012). Only 13 contracts with Joseph Chateau as builder are noted in Naohito Okude, "Application of Linguistic Concepts to the Study of Vernacular Buildings: Architectural Designs among New Orleans' Free Persons of Color, 1820-1880," Ph.D. dissertation (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 1986)..

⁴³ Building contract between Joseph Charles [Chateau] and Jean Baptiste Couvertie, Charles Foulon notary, volume 14, act 185, June 13, 1844; Chain of title, 416-418 Burgundy Street, Vieux Carré Survey. The alias used here may account for the confusion as to the number of Chateau's building contracts as noted above.

⁴⁴ The reconstructed floor plans of Joseph Chateau's works are based on Okude's analysis of the building descriptions in the building contracts.

⁴⁵ Building contract between Ramon Vionnet and Joseph Chateau, Amedee Ducatel notary, volume 26, act 107, April 11, 1845.

⁴⁶ Reeves.

for in the front room. The overall proportion of the building was considered as the height of the roof was to be a third of the length of the house. The roof featured a dormer window and a four-foot wide, coffered *abat-vent*. The exterior wall treatment was scored to resemble stone except for the gables ends which were clad with whitewashed battens. The contract also included the construction of a two-story, brick-between-post kitchen building clad with slate as well as adjacent stables. The outbuilding, at the rear of a brick-paved courtyard was accessed through a porte-cochère corridor adjacent to the house. Chateau captured the house's proposed layout and a cross section through the courtyard in a dimensioned plan that was attached to the contract (*Figure 81*).

The following month, *femme de couleur libre* Sophia Philips hired Chateau to build another brick-between-posts cottage, this one with four bays, on her St. Ann Street property.⁴⁷ The framework of the cottage was cypress; the floors, pine. Chateau drew a plan depicting the cottage's four first-floor interior rooms, *cabinets*, and gallery as well as a profile of the gabled roof which had two street-facing dormers (*Figure 82*). Again, Chateau was instructed to score the primary façade of the house to imitate stone. This dwelling was intended to serve two families or tenants—a corridor on each side of the dwelling provided separate access for each unit to a shared courtyard. At the rear of the courtyard was one outbuilding; the kitchens were separated by a double latrine at the center.

In July 1845, Chateau returned to Burgundy Street, building a townhouse for Geneve Arnault adjacent to Couvertie's twin cottages (412-414 Burgundy, *Figure 83*).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Building contract between Sophia Phillips and Joseph Chateau, Theodore Guyol notary, volume 1, act 256, May 15, 1845.

⁴⁸ Building contract between Joseph Chateau and Mrs. Geneve Arnault, L. T. Caire notary, volume 99, act 352, July 12, 1845.

Sharing a party wall with one of the smaller houses, Arnault's three-story home combines form elements of the Creole townhouse form with architectural and stylistic elements of the American townhouse. The exterior of the building features double-hung windows (perhaps shortened at the ground floor) with stone lintels and sills as well as a dentiled brick cornice and gable-end chimneys. The transomed primary entry door provided access to the ground floor rooms and exterior staircase in the rear courtyard via a side passage (*Figure 84*). The ground floor and banquette were protected by an *abat-vent* supported by iron rods that also served as a balcony at the first floor.

In January 1846, Chateau was commissioned to build a fourth building on Burgundy Street—another two-bay cottage for Couvertie after the latter added to his property holding on that block in February 1845 (*Figure 85*).⁴⁹ In the Vieux Carré Survey, it is assumed that the building's present form was created when half of a four-bay cottage was destroyed by fire. Chateau intentionally built the unique, narrow, four-room linear dwelling with its half-hipped roof (*Figure 86*).⁵⁰ This type of linear dwelling, the *appentis* (shed-roofed) cottage, served as typical post-fire emergency housing.⁵¹ This work of Chateau is significant in that it shows a creative response to fitting a house

⁴⁹ Chain of title, 422 Burgundy Street, Vieux Carré Survey; Building contract between Joseph Chateau and Jean Baptiste Couvertie, Charles Foulon notary, volume 18, act 10, January 17, 1846.

⁵⁰ Chimneys from the fireplaces in the three front rooms rise from the projecting fire wall on one side of the building. On the other, the roof overhang provides shelter over the corridor to the rear courtyard. Attention to detail is paid at the front façade with projecting sills and lintels at the batten shutter-covered door and window, dentiled cornice, and iron bar-supported *abat-vent*.

⁵¹ This temporary linear house form began to be moved from the rear of properties the street. *Appentis* cottages continued to be built until the 1840s. Jay D. Edwards, "Shotgun: the most contested house in America," *Buildings & Landscapes* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 70-71; Jay D. Edwards, "New Orleans Shotgun: A Historic Cultural Geography," in *Culture after the Hurricanes: Rhetoric and Reinvention on the Gulf Coast*, edited by M. B. Hackler (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010), 63-64. The *appentis* cottage merged with the Haitian *ti kay* house to form the linear Creole cottage and was precursor to the shotgun house.

on an extra narrow lot as well as continued creolization of Caribbean and Gulf Coast forms.⁵² The one-story house and kitchen were noted in the act when Couvertie sold the property in 1856. With the completion of this third building for Couvertie, four Chateau buildings were located adjacent to one another. Occupying half of the block, they provide a striking assembly of Chateau's works (*Figure 87*).

Chateau's work was in demand even in the newer-settled neighborhoods upriver. In addition to commissions in Faubourg Sainte-Marie, he also built in the City of Lafayette.⁵³ Andrew Oscar Murphy commissioned Chateau to build a wood-frame American townhouse on Magazine Street between First and Second streets in 1847.⁵⁴ The two-story residence was designed in the Greek Revival Style with five-foot cornice and four full-height pilasters. The front façade was to be scored to resemble stone. Chateau's drawing for the dwelling clearly shows the balloon frame construction, introduced to American architecture in the 1840s, that was to be applied to the building's construction (*Figure 88*). This new method of building was responsible for the rapid pace of building in the Garden District in the 1850s.⁵⁵

Joseph Chateau is important as a native-born contemporary of the Dollioles and Souliés for many reasons. He built in several forms and stylistic idioms throughout the city, keeping up with changing local and national trends in architecture. He incorporated new techniques, such as scored or *fleche* facades. He was also a draftsman; over half of the record number of building contracts in his name have drawings with floor plans and,

⁵² Reeves.

⁵³ Building contracts with John Dowson (Octave De Armas notary, volume, 36, act 80, June 20, 1844), Pierre Heno (Octave De Armas notary, volume 36, act no 83, June 29, 1844), and Mrs. Nicholas Johnson (L. T. Caire notary, volume 97, act 337, July 3, 1845).

⁵⁴ Building contract between Joseph Chateau and Andrew Oscar Murphy, Edward Barnett notary, volume 37, act 519A, April 30, 1847.

⁵⁵ S. Frederick Starr, *Southern Comfort: The Garden District of New Orleans* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 115.

sometimes, elevations and sections.⁵⁶ 'Not least, his work shows a level of sophistication higher than that of both his fellow Louisiana-born and immigrant *gens de couleur libres* builders.

ÉMIGRÉS

Antebellum New Orleans benefited from the design and building skills of those who were bred in the city as well as individuals (and their descendants) from other parts of the Gulf seeking refuge in Louisiana in the wake of political turmoil and revolution. The skills and abilities of *gens de couleur libres* builders who immigrated to New Orleans from Saint-Domingue, Jamaica, and Cuba in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been specifically acknowledged as influencing New Orleans' antebellum architecture in scholarship.⁵⁷ An examination of specific foreign-born *gens de couleur libres* builders whose names and activities are listed most frequently in secondary source material **and** who were active primarily from 1820 to 1850, however, is relatively small.⁵⁸ Among those whose work is touted are Pierre Roup and Louis Nelson Fouché.

Pierre Roup (ca. 1799-1836)

Saint-Dominguan native Pierre Roup emigrated to New Orleans in 1805.⁵⁹ Three years later, he is depicted on Pilié's map as owning property at present-day 1031-1041 Governor Nicholls Street and 1011-1013 Ursulines Street.⁶⁰ Also in 1808, he purchased property on Hospital Street (present-day 1018-1020 and 1024 Governor Nicholls) and

⁵⁶ Reeves.

⁵⁷ Roulhac Toledano, *The National Trust Guide to New Orleans* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), 11, 13; Lachance, 14; Hunt, 45.

⁵⁸ This is based on the author's search of names of specific *gens de couleur libres* builders active primarily from 1820 to 1850 and whose names and activities are listed most frequently in the *New Orleans Architecture* volumes on Faubourg Tremé and the Creole faubourgs and in Okude's Ph.D. dissertation.

⁵⁹ Edwards, "Shotgun," 93, n. 39.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

built a *colombage maisonette*. Here, Roup departed from his native- and foreign-born contemporaries in his construction of the type of linear cottage that influenced the development of the shotgun house.⁶¹ which is no longer extant.⁶² He resided there until purchasing a lot on North Rampart Street in 1816 (1035 North Rampart) where he built an urban-style Creole cottage (*Figure 89*).⁶³ The one-and-half-story exposed brick house was unusual in that the door surrounds were of articulated stone. The house featured four rooms and a rear gallery as well as double fireplaces with marble mantels in the front rooms. Outbuildings in the brick-paved courtyard included a four-room, shingle-roofed kitchen; washing shed; and double latrine.⁶⁴ Roup sold the house to Marc Lafitte in 1823.⁶⁵ Between 1823 and 1827, Roup again resided at the Governor Nicholls Street *maisonette*. In December 1827, he purchased property on the newly developing Esplanade Avenue.⁶⁶ On the lot, he built a cottage where his family resided until 1835. Roup then moved to North Rampart Street in Faubourg Marigny (at former 374 Love

⁶¹ The single *maisonette* (also called the *maison longue*) is similar to a French Creole cottage in that it has a hipped roof supported by Norman roof trusses and French doors that open onto the banquette. The disposition of the interior rooms, however, is arranged single-file like the shotgun. *Ibid.*, 72; Edwards, "New Orleans Shotgun," 69-70.

⁶² Edwards, "Shotgun," 93, n. 39; Chains of title, 1018-1020 and 1022-1024 Governor Nicholls, Vieux Carré Survey. Roup is listed as the owner of this property in a private survey conducted by Barthélémy Lafon, *Arpenteur-général des territoires Sud du Ténnessée*, April 8, 1808, Williams Research Center, Historic New Orleans Collection.

⁶³ Toledano and Christovich, 22. Roup also purchased property in Faubourg Pontchartrain in 1816, Edwards, "Shotgun," 93, n 39.

⁶⁴ This description is from the house's subsequent sale in 1845, Toledano and Christovich, 179. Today, the cottage's dynamic façade is obscured behind coats of paint, and the entry steps have been removed. The gated wall to the rear courtyard and fire wall have been removed to allow for expansion of the adjacent lot

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁶⁶ Mary Louise Christovich, Sally Kittredge Evans, Roulhac Toledano, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume V, The Esplanade Ridge* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1977), 48-49. The cottage and outbuilding built by Roup were demolished after 1947.

Street) where he died in 1836.⁶⁷ He probably built the four-room-deep *maisonette* that was on the property at the time.

Roup's known and/or extant building stock is not limited to houses he built for himself. In 1823, he built a five-room-deep *maisonette* for *femme de couleur libre* Helen Lepage on a lot that he had subdivided from his Governor Nicholls Street property and sold to her (*Figure 90*). The hip-roofed dwelling is possibly the oldest shotgun-type house extant in New Orleans and the nation.

Roup also contributed to his profession as a builder in other ways. With other Saint-Dominguan *émigré* building artisans, both black and white, Roup was instrumental in establishing *La Loge Persévérance numéro Quatre* (Perseverance Lodge No. 4, founded in Saint-Domingue in 1806) in New Orleans in 1808. By 1820, as an officer of the Masonic lodge, he had signed the building contract for the construction of a new meeting hall.⁶⁸ In March 1825, Roup's abilities as a builder were recognized when he was selected to serve as the supervisor for builders Bickel and Hamblet commission to add a story to and repair a house owned by Dr. Germain Ducatel on Royal Street.⁶⁹ Pierre Roup was an immigrant *gens de couleur libre* builder whose skills and ability allowed him to participate in the physical and social aspects of the building profession at high levels.

⁶⁷ Edwards, "Shotgun," 78. Roup died at age 37 on March 19, 1836. Death Index. He was married to Catherine Coralie Lafitte was the daughter of Pierre Lafitte (brother of pirate Jean Lafitte) and *femme de couleur libre* Marie Louis Villard, Toledano and Christovich, 102. See also William C. Davis, *The Pirates Lafitte: The Treacherous World of the Corsairs of the Gulf* (Orlando: Harcourt, Inc., 2005).

⁶⁸ Toledano and Christovich, 102. Perserverance Lodge is currently part of the Louis Armstrong Park complex in Faubourg Tremé.

⁶⁹ Building contract between Dr. Germain Ducatel, B. F. Fox, and Bickel and Hamblet, Felix De Armas notary, volume 3, act 217, March 31, 1825.

Nelson Fouché (1800/1806-unknown)⁷⁰

Nelson Fouché was another black Creole who, like the Dollioles and Souliés was heavily involved in real estate speculation. Born in Jamaica or Cuba, Fouché married Cuban free woman of color François Lefebvre in New Orleans in 1825.⁷¹ Between April 1825 and February 1828, he served as master to several young apprentices.⁷² He was noted as a bricklayer in the 1832 city directory. Fouché also made many real estate investments, some with his kinsman Louis Dutreuil Fouché.⁷³ Nelson Fouché owned property in Faubourg Tremé in the 1200 block of North Claiborne Avenue and in the former City Commons.⁷⁴ Among Nelson Fouché's dealings was the purchase of several properties from Joseph Dolliole in early 1835.⁷⁵ He also acquired lots on Washington Promenade in Faubourg Franklin jointly with Jean-Louis Dolliole in May 1835.

The only known extant example of Fouché's built work was his own home at the corner of Mandeville and Chartres streets (2340 Chartres, *Figure 916*). Constructed in 1836, the detached 2 ½-story townhouse is Creole in form. The primary façade contains four arched openings with doors protected by paneled shutters. Though a cursory survey is not definitive, the fanlight transoms likely concealed an *entresol* storage area that separated the ground floor from the first floor commercial area. The first floor of

⁷⁰ Fouché's age and place of birth are not certain, because at the 1850 and 1860 federal censuses, they are noted as age 50/Jamaica and age 54/Cuba, respectively. Search of the NOPL Louisiana Division/City Archives' Louisiana Biography & Obituary Index and the USGenWeb Orleans Parish Death Records Index did not reveal Fouché's date of death. As he does not appear at the 1870 census, he likely died between 1860 and 1870.

⁷¹ Charles R. Maduelli, Jr., *Family Relationships of New Orleans, 1820-1830* (New Orleans: Charles R. Maduelli, Jr.), 78; Toledano and Christovich, 102; Marriage contract between Nelson Fouché and Francoise Le Febvre, Marc Lafitte notary, volume 2, act 145, January 28, 1823.

⁷² Paul Lachance, comp. and ed., *Index to New Orleans Indentures, 1809-1843*, Louisiana Division City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library, <http://nutrias.org/~nopl/inv/indentures/indent-fh.htm#f>.

⁷³ Toledano, *et. al.*, 32-33.

⁷⁴ Toledano and Christovich, xv.

⁷⁵ Theodore Seghers notary, volume 11, acts 642 and 645.

the primary façade features shorter double-hung windows with batten shutters; these openings are also present on the first floor of the Chartres Street façade. The façade facing Mandeville Street is actually grander with four arched and transomed door openings at the ground floor and four rectangular doorways with multi-light French doors and vertical board shutters that open onto a balcony (non-original) at the first floor. The different fenestration on the street-facing facades is unified by granite lintels. Rectangular door openings at the rear façade open onto a wood-frame, shed-roof balcony with turned porch supports. On all levels, the attic story is articulated by a projecting string course at the sill level of the rectangular casement windows. Under the hipped roof is a dentiled cornice formed by sawtooth rows of bricks. The roof has gabled dormers with arched windows, two at the front and three at the rear. The townhouse features various influences of Federal Style architecture including the arched openings with fanlights, emphasis on horizontality, and decreasing height of each successive story. Fouché owned the property (which also had a stables and a two-story detached brick kitchen, now demolished) from 1832 to 1838 and again from 1845 to 1858.⁷⁶

Nelson Fouché's personal life becomes less clear and his building activities diminished. Interestingly, he is listed as a beer merchant at the 1850 federal census with real estate holdings valued at \$10,000.00.⁷⁷ Shortly thereafter, Fouché suffered a change in fortune; he declared bankruptcy in 1853, and ultimately sold the Chartres Street house in 1858.⁷⁸ In 1860, he is listed in the census as a kettle setter (with an additional notation that says "mechanic"), and all real estate and personal property

⁷⁶ Toledano, *et. al.*, 107.

⁷⁷ The city directory from the following year indicates that the commercial function of the ground floor of the Chartres Street house was a "beer house."

⁷⁸ Toledano, *et. al.*, 33.

values (\$10,000.000 and \$3,500.00, respectively) are entered under his wife Françoise's name. Historians have confused the names and professions of Nelson and his son Louis Nelson; it is the latter who was an architect in 1850 at age 26, the first African-American, of mixed blood or not, to ever be listed as such in the federal census.⁷⁹ Louis Nelson (1824-1886) is the family member who Rodolphe Desdunes wrote was trained in masonry, architecture, and mathematics.⁸⁰ Some historians, however, have imbued the senior Fouché with these skills. Further, it is likely that the draftsman illustrating houses for sale from the 1840s through the 1860s was not the father but the son.⁸¹ It is less clear, however, which man was involved in the establishment of and/or taught mathematics at the *École des Orphelins Indigents* (Catholic School for Indigent Orphans, founded 1847).⁸² Regardless, Nelson Fouché's contributions remain important to the output of *émigré* builders of color in the antebellum period.

Within this brief examination of specific *gens de couleur libres* builders who practiced contemporaneously with the Dollioles and Souliés, it becomes clear that, while the work of *émigré* builders was important and certainly contributed to the retention of Creole forms and inclusion Anglo forms as the city expanded in the antebellum years, native builders certainly held their own as far as the use of Creole forms, development of the Creole cottage, adaptation of Anglo architectural elements and style into traditional building, and in sheer numbers. While black Creole builders did

⁷⁹ The 1850 federal census was the first to list to compile occupations by race, Woods, 99. It listed one African-American architect in the country who lived in New Orleans. This was Louis Nelson Fouché.

⁸⁰ Most of the men discussed in any detail in Desdunes' account were still active in their fields after the Civil War and in the late 1800s.

⁸¹ Toledano, et. al., 33. A depiction with the elevation, floor plan, and survey of a now demolished cottage in the 700 block of Franklin Street is one example of his output. Louis Nelson Fouché's work in this capacity is documented until 1864.

⁸² Corinna Knight, "Builders and Building in New Orleans, Louisiana, 1790-1830," Master's thesis (Newark: University of Delaware, 1996), 78. The Institution was a school for orphaned children of color and founded by Marie Couvent, widow of a prominent builder.

build large numbers of Creole cottages (see *Table 11*), they increasingly designed or erected buildings of various types, incorporating popular styles and conventions, but always working within the conventions of New Orleans' unique architectural environment.

Table 11. Selected built works by Dolliole and Soulié contemporaries. (d)=demolished

Builder	Date	Form	Client Time Frame Cost	Current Address or Historic Location	Faubourg
Louisiana-born Builders					
François Boisdoré	1828	unknown (d)	M. Cornu	Bayou Road at Tremé	Tremé
	1829	Creole townhouse	J. S. DuFossat	1133 Chartres	Vieux Carré
Laurent Guesnon	ca. 1811	4-bay cottage	self no contract	1428 Bourbon	Marigny
Louis Vivant	1832	2-room kitchen building (unknown)	N. L. Lauriano 2 month \$500.00	Melpomene	Annunciation
	1846	4-bay cottage (d)	J. Connor fmc 60 days \$700.00	Laharpe at Derbigny	Tremé
	1847	4-bay cottage (d)	U. Roy fwc 60 days \$1,080.00	1031-1033 Burgundy	Vieux Carré
Myrtille Courcelle	ca. 1836	4-bay cottage	self no contract	1509-1511 Dumaine	Tremé
	ca. 1836	4-bay cottage	self no contract	1523-1525 St. Philip	Tremé
	1836	4-bay cottage	M. Boisdoré fwc \$900.00	1609-1611 St. Philip	Tremé
	1847	Creole townhouse	C. H. Daret 8 months \$10,200.00	832 St. Philip	Vieux Carré
Joseph Chateau	1844	2 2-bay cottages	J. B. Couvertie fmc \$6,700	416-418 Burgundy	Vieux Carré
	1844	4-bay cottage (unknown)	J. Dowson fmc	undetermined	undetermined

Builder	Date	Form	Client Time Frame Cost	Current Address or Historic Location	Faubourg
	1844	4-bay cottage (unknown)	P. Heno fmc	undetermined	undetermined
	1845	2-bay <i>maison de maître</i> (d)	R. Vionnet fmc 3 months \$1,325	St. Philip bet. Burgundy and Rampart	Vieux Carré
	1845	Creole townhouse(d)	R. Vionnet fmc \$4,100	St. Philip bet. Rampart and St. Claude	Tremé
	1845	4-bay cottage (double) (d)	S. Philips fwc	St. Ann bet. Villéré and Robertson	Tremé
	1845	4-bay cottage (d)	Mrs. Johnson \$1,700	Jackson bet. Tremé and Marais	Sainte-Marie
	1845	2-bay cottage (d)	V. Perilliat \$1,300	Rampart bet. St. Peter and Toulouse	Tremé
	1845	Undetermined (unknown)	V. Perilliat \$1,650	Chartres bet. St. Louis and Conti	Vieux Carré
	1845	Creole townhouse	G. Arnault \$5,100	412-414 Burgundy	Vieux Carré
	1845	4-bay cottage (d)	J. McLaughlin \$2,350	cor. Jackson and Franklin	Tremé
	1846	2-bay <i>appentis</i> cottage	J. B. Couvertie fmc \$	422 Burgundy	Vieux Carré
	1847	American townhouse (d)	A. O. Murphy 3 months \$2,500	Magazine bet. First and Second	Lafayette
	1847	American cottage (unknown)	C. Morel \$3,700	Bayou St. John	Tremé
	1851	2-bay cottage (unknown)	N. Gibbs fwc \$3,500	bb. St. Claude, Rampart, St. Philip, Dumaine	Tremé
St. Dominguan Émigrés					
Pierre Roup	1808	Shotgun <i>maisonette</i> (d)	self no contract	1018-1020 Governor Nicholls	Vieux Carré
	1816	4-bay cottage	self no contract	1035 N. Rampart	Tremé

Builder	Date	Form	Client Time Frame Cost	Current Address or Historic Location	Faubourg
	1823	Shotgun	Helen LePage fwc	1024 Governor Nicholls	Vieux Carré
	1827	Creole cottage (d)	self no contract	1012-1016 Esplanade	Esplanade Ridge
	Ca. 1829	<i>Shotgun maisonette</i>	self no contract	1744 North Rampart	Marigny
Louis Nelson Fouché	1836	Creole townhouse	self no contract	2340 Chartres	Marigny

Chapter Five: "Raised to the Trade"—Building Practices of *gens de couleur libres* builders in antebellum New Orleans

"Son, once you learn this, ain't nobody can take it away from you."
Desoto Jackson, bricklayer, quoting Mr. Martinez, *Raised to the Trade*

Whereas has been made of the building forms or typologies constructed by the *gens de couleur libres*, the profession of building as it related to the *gens de couleur libres* community is relatively unexplored. Whether born in Louisiana or abroad, *gens de couleur libres* builders had to find ways to obtain work and get the job done to sustain viable careers. What is apparent is that no matter their place of birth, the Dollioles, Souliés and most of their contemporaries had backgrounds in woodworking. This skill and at least some business aptitude were the only requisites to become successful builders in antebellum New Orleans.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Those involved in the construction of buildings were primarily referred to as builders, carpenters, joiners, or cabinetmakers, in historic documentation (*Table 12*). A carpenter (*charpentier*) employed timber-frame construction using mortise-and-tenon, scarf, and lap joints to construct the frame, walls, and trusses of a building.¹ More specifically a joiner or carpenter-joiner (*menuisier*) fabricated decorative portions of a building such as wainscoting, moldings, doors, paneling, sashes, and other trim work.²

¹ Jay D. Edwards and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), s.v. "charpenterie," 52, s.v. "menuiserie," 137.

² *Ibid.*; Cyril M. Harris, *McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Architecture and Construction*, 4th edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc, 2006), s.v. "joinery," 555.

The cabinetmaker (*ébéniste*) was a highly skilled furniture maker with more status than an assistant *menuisier* who was considered a journeyman.³ Most of these specialized terms were usually applied to men at higher levels in the building trades as opposed to the simple term *bâtisseur* (builder). The terms joiner, cabinetmaker, and carpenter were applied to Jean-Louis Dolliole over time, an indication of the increase in his experience and type of commissions he pursued and obtained by the 1830s. Norbert Soulié and most of the black Creole builders emphasized in this chapter were simply recognized as builders. Joseph Dolliole's identification as a joiner as late as 1850 perhaps signifies that he was no longer actively practicing at this point in his life. Some type of change in status is also reflected for François Boisdoré who went from being identified as builder to carpenter. On the other hand, the term applied to an individual's profession could have simply been at the whim of the individual, directory writer, or census taker—for all intents and purposes, the role of the builder in contractual documents was relatively the same. In the 1830s and 1840s, building contracts referred to a builder as an *entrepreneur* or *entrepreneur en bâtiments/de bâtisses*—contractor or building contractor. This distinction is significant. Mary Woods notes that most master craftsmen were not employers, much less contractors. "They worked alone, but they worked for themselves."⁴ However, as builders some of the men were also general contractors who coordinated all aspects of a building project. In addition to physically taking part in construction, they were in charge of acquiring materials and labor as well as directing

³ Edwards, s.v. "ébénisterie," 88. A journeyman was an individual who had completed his apprenticeship and was qualified to work in his trade but under a master's employ. Harris, s.v. "journeyman," 557.

⁴ Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 12.

work on the site.⁵ The professional responsibilities and capabilities of *gens de couleur libres* can be gleaned from examination of building contracts.

Table 12. Title/roles of *gens de couleur libres* builders.

Builder	Contracts	City Directories	Federal Census
Jean-Louis Dolliole (1779-1861)	building contractor (1831)	joiner (1811) cabinetmaker (1822) carpenter (1832/1838)	builder (1850)
Joseph Dolliole (1790-1868)	—	carpenter (1834/1838)	joiner (1850)
Norbert Soulié (1793-1869)	—	builder (1822/1824)	—
François Boisdoré (1779/82-1859)	—	builder (1822)	carpenter (1850)
Laurent Guesnon (1770-1842)	—	carpenter (1822/1832)	—
Louis Vivant (1796-1870)	building contractor (1832/1846)	—	builder (1850)
Myrtille Courcelle (1805-1872)	building contractor (1844)	builder (1849/1850)	—
Joseph Chateau (1816-unknown)	contractor (1845)	cordwainer (1832) builder (1850)	builder (1850)
Pierre Roup (dates unknown)	builder (1825)	carpenter (1822) builder (1832)	—
Nelson Fouché (1800-unknown)	—	bricklayer (1832)	beer merchant (1850) kettle setter/ mechanic (1860)

CONTRACTING AND CONDUCTING WORK

In his doctoral dissertation, Naohito Okude utilizes building contracts to break down the architectural grammar of buildings built by free blacks in antebellum New Orleans. He breaks down the linguistic components provided in contracts between *gens de couleur libres* builders and their clients—contractual obligations, buildings types, linguistic preferences, and racial classifications. This information provides information on the social, cultural, and economic aspects of commissioning a building. The surviving building contracts concerning the Dollioles, one private agreement for a commission by

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

Norbert Soulié, and a select group of their contemporaries contain basically the same type of information: identification of the parties involved, specifications outlining the type of building(s) to be erected, and contract terms (schedule and compensation). The contracts assessed for this study underscore the fact that black Creole builders built a variety of forms, for diverse clients—black and white, Anglo and Creole, male and female. The documents are generally two to three pages long. Longer and more detailed contracts are usually for a large building or one that has more architectural or stylistic details like the Creole townhouse that Myrtille Courcelle built for Dr. C. H. Daret (eight pages).⁶ One exception is the twelve-page contract between Courcelle and Marguerite Boisdoré for her Tremé Creole cottage. As would be expected, more complicated buildings, like Creole townhouses, brought in a larger income, and builders were provided longer periods of time to complete them. Contracts generally stipulated that builders were themselves responsible for acquiring the necessary building materials of good quality. As was typical for master builders of the period, *gens de couleur libres* builders charged a single fee for design (if applicable), contracting, craftsmanship, and supervision.⁷ They were paid in increments, sometimes with a deposit to get a job started, and then at various stages of the project's completion. The final payment was typically made when the client approved the work and the builder handed over the keys. More often than not, no plans were included with a building contract. Notable exceptions are the contracts involving Joseph Chateau who had at least a floor plan if not an elevation or cross section included with contracts for buildings which he was to construct. In addition to their lack of having theoretical study of architecture, this is

⁶ Building contract between Myrtille Courcelle and Doctor Henry Daret, Lucien Hermann notary, volume 9, act 266, July 9, 1844.

⁷ Woods. 23.

likely another reason why *gens de couleur libres* builders were not identified as architects. For, in general, master builders/carpenters, even in the colonial and Federal periods, were known as architects if they drafted basic architectural drawings.⁸

Not all building contracts were made at the inception of a new construction project or for actual building for that matter. Both Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole were sellers in land transactions in which a building under construction was included in the conveyance. In June 1831, Joseph sold Marie Demony a lot in Faubourg Tremé where he agreed to construct a two-room, brick-between-post cottage, a kitchen outbuilding, latrines, and well on the property as part of the sale.⁹ Similarly, a few months later in November 1831, Jean-Louis sold Madeleine Rillieux land with a nearly completed house and kitchens that he was obligated to finish within a month after the sale. Instances of these types building contracts within property sales may exist for other *gens de couleur libres* builders. Agreements for other types of services may not clearly be indicated in the party names of a transaction. Knowledge of Pierre Roup's role as supervisor of other builders' renovations to a property is based on a building contract reference mentioning his name in 'the chain of title for 600-608 Royal Street in the Vieux Carré Survey. Similar contractual obligations for black Creole builders may be found for other buildings in the Vieux Carré that are indexed by the owner or primary builder/architect name or for buildings located in other parts of the city that have not been surveyed in such a manner.

Information regarding black Creole builders' acquisition of work is relatively easy to find in the available building contracts, but facts regarding how the work was actually accomplished are scarce. One property transaction between brothers Jean-Louis and

⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁹ Joseph Dolliole to Marie Louis Demony, Theodore Seghers, volume 4A, act 313, July 29, 1831.

Joseph Dolliole sheds some light on the types of tools and materials they used.¹⁰ In addition to selling two lots of land and two slaves to his younger brother in September 1814, Jean-Louis also sold him the "funds" from his "shop" consisting of "his carpentry tools, wood and flooring to manufacture, finished and started furniture, and generally all that there is" to add up to the sale price. No historic documentation exists to ascertain why Jean-Louis would have sold his tools, but whether he did so in need of the funds or to aid Joseph in his own career as a builder, his builder's tools and materials were given monetary value. The importance of the tools of a builder's trade was also recognized when Nelson Fouché was allowed to keep his when he filed for bankruptcy.¹¹ Fouché noted that the bankruptcy sale liquidated most of his possessions with the exception of personal clothing, "arms and military accoutrements, and the instruments whereby I make a living, which the law authorizes me to keep."¹² This enabled him to continue to pursue work and improve his economic standing. None of the estate inventories available for the Dollioles (or that of Soulié cousin Myrtille Courcelle) in New Orleans succession records contain references to building tools. These men died at advanced ages, however, so they may have no longer been actively building and may not have retained such items.

There is no doubt that the Dollioles, the Souliés, and their peers were hands-on builders. In his journal, Bernard Soulié notes that in August of 1848 he "made many repairs on the [Rampart Street] house."¹³ As such, *gens de couleur libres* builders faced the physical hazards of their work. Bernard Soulié certainly understood and underscored

¹⁰ Jean-Louis Dolliole to Joseph Dolliole, John Lynd notary, Volume 11, act 386, September 21, 1814.

¹¹ Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 33.

¹² *Ibid.*.

¹³ Bernard Soulié, "Journal of Bernard Soulié," *New Orleans Genesis* 25, no. 99 (July 1986): 325.

this when he reported that Paul Lacroix, a white builder and acquaintance, died on April 22, 1847, when the framework for a house he was building collapsed on him.¹⁴

Certainly skilled at what they did, *gens de couleur libres* builders would have needed assistance completing their commissions in a satisfactory manner and on time. Members of the Dolliole and Soulié families owned slaves. The mulatto slave François was part of the sale between Jean-Louis and Joseph mentioned above. The transaction stipulated that Joseph "should be able to teach a decent trade (such as that of carpenter) to said mulatto François, and that at the age of thirty years, he will be free in all forms of law."¹⁵ Other than this transaction, only one other of the *gens de couleur* builders studied is documented as using or hiring out slave labor for building construction. In 1816, Pierre Roup received \$50.00 from the City of New Orleans for work that two of his enslaved carpenters completed on public works over the course of a month.¹⁶ No adult slaves mentioned in the available Dolliole and Soulié estate inventories and files were skilled in the building trades or, therefore, utilized by the families in their careers as developers and builders. Further, the small numbers of adult male (over age ten) slaves listed in census records, slave schedules, or estate inventories do not indicate that the Dollioles or Souliés utilized slave labor in any significant way for their building activities (*Table 13*). The one exception is Norbert Soulié who was listed as head of a household with ten male slaves over the age of 10 in 1830. This was at the peak of Norbert's building career before he left for France, so these men could have assisted with his building projects. And, as opposed to using their own slaves, the Souliés—most of them absentee landlords for a majority of the antebellum period—

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Jean-Louis Dolliole to Joseph Dolliole, John Lynd notary, Volume 11, act 386, September 21, 1814.

¹⁶ Jay D. Edwards, "Shotgun: the most contested house in America," *Buildings & Landscapes* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 93, n. 39.

compensated others' slaves for menial tasks such as cleaning the outhouses on their properties.¹⁷

Table 13. Number of adult male slaves owned of gens de couleur libres builders in New Orleans.

	1820 census	1830 census	1840 census	1850 census slave schedule	Estate Inventory ¹⁸
Jean-Louis Dolliole	0 (0)	not found	0 (5)	1 (5)	2 (2)
Joseph Dolliole	not found	0 (5)	2 (9)	not found	0 (0)
Norbert Soulié	not of age	10 (17)	not found	not found	not found
Bernard Soulié	not of age	not found	1 (3)	not found	not found
Albin Soulié	not of age	not found	2 (7)	not found	not found

*total no. of slaves owned in parentheses

Responsible for all aspects of a building's completion, the Dolliole and Soulié brothers, Courcelle, Vivant, Fouché, and all the others would have hired free black carpenters, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, woodworkers, and painters. In addition to relatives, François Loubarde, Charles Etienne, Louis Contat, Louis Petit, Gardes and Lefebvre, Belsunce Liotau, S. Maspereau & Co., T. A. Dupin, and Charles Etienne were builders that the Souliés employed regularly to work on their houses and rental properties.¹⁹ It would have been good business on the part of black Creole builders to hire dependable subcontractors with whose work they were familiar. White architect and contemporary James Gallier, Sr. (active in New Orleans from 1834 to 1850) mentions the merits of such a practice: "I let out the brickwork, stone work, plastering, painting, slating, and ironwork, to persons already established in those several trades,

¹⁷ The Soulié's compensated "Negro Ned," slave of A. Laucher, as well as other men identified as "Negro [name]" only for cleaning the outhouses on some of their properties. Soulié Family Ledgers, book 1, Williams Research Center, the Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹⁸ New Orleans archival repositories contain portions of the Souliés French succession records. No estate inventories are included; they are filed in France.

¹⁹ Soulié Family Ledgers. Belsunce Liotau was either a relative or close acquaintance. He is the only one of these men mentioned in Bernard Soulié's journal; he recorded Liotau's death on April 10, 1873, Soulié, 329. No other biographical information could be found on Liotau except that Belsunce Louis Liotau (or Liataud) was married to Charlotte Hudson (1812-1837) the sister of *homme de couleur libre* painter Julien Hudson, Erin Greenwald, *In Search of Julien Hudson: Free Artist of Color in Pre-Civil War New Orleans* (New Orleans: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 2010), 12.

and I made it a practice to employ the same people, when possible, in each department, as long as I remained in business."²⁰ When black Creoles did contract (informally or through other means that did not necessitate notarial documentation), they seem to have enjoyed a range of journeymen, including other *gens de couleur libres*, free blacks, French, and American craftsmen.²¹

Like their white counterparts, *gens de couleur libres* builders also established partnerships in order to successfully obtain and produce work and to acquire property. Any work that the Dolliole brothers or Soulié brothers would have done together for financial gain constituted a business partnership where the parties were familiar with one another personally and professionally. Though not a legal partnership, Norbert Soulié and Edmond Rillieux formed a joint venture when they worked on the design and construction of the Louisiana Sugar Refinery. In 1831, Lucien and Norbert Soulié created a partnership to enable them to successfully obtain capital as absentee landlords.²² Similarly, younger brothers Bernard and Albin did the same, creating a formal partnership in 1833 although they had had an informal arrangement since 1827.²³ Initially Bernard and Albin were primarily builders. Their partnership later expanded to cover their pursuits as landlords and merchants. The practice of forming business partnerships was common in the antebellum *gens de couleur libres* community. Sometimes, collaborations were not restricted to building construction. Julien Colvis and Joseph Dumas were partners from 1830 to 1869. Real estate speculators, the men also

²⁰ James Gallier, *Autobiography of James Gallier* (Paris: E. Brierre, 1864), 33.

²¹ Corinna L. Knight, "Builders and Building in New Orleans, Louisiana, 1790-1830," Master's thesis (Newark: University of Delaware, 1996), 77.

²² *Société* between Lucien and Norbert Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, act 153, April 22, 1831.

²³ *Société* between Bernard and Albin Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 6, act 202, April 22, 1833.

were tailors; their shop was located at 124 Chartres Street in 1849.²⁴ Among work that the firm commissioned were rowhouses on Common Street (1839) and houses on Carondelet Street (1840)—all in the developing business sector of Faubourg Sainte-Marie—in addition to those on their dual-owned properties in Faubourg Tremé.²⁵ Etienne Cordeviollé and François Lacroix also established a partnership as tailors and real estate speculators (ca. 1825-1849).²⁶ The duo had a successful business on Chartres Street.²⁷ In addition to their commercial locations, one of their jointly owned properties on which they built was at Architects' Row where they commissioned a Creole townhouse (2701 Chartres).²⁸ In her discussion of the emergence of partnerships in the nineteenth-century American architectural practice (1820s and 1830s), Mary Woods recognizes that white architects established professional collaborations to "rationalize and specialize" their architectural work.²⁹ Working less on expansive and complicated projects that required rationalization and specialization of building design and construction, the *gens de couleur libres* formed associations with like-minded family members and peers, strengthening their communal ties to one another and the built environment.

²⁴ Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 101.

²⁵ Building contract index, New Orleans Notarial Archives; Toledano and Christovich, 101.

²⁶ Both men had different careers prior to the partnership. Cordeviollé is listed in the 1822 city directory as the owner of the dry goods store at 127 Bourbon (at corner of Main) while Lacroix was a cabinetmaker whose address was 23 Bagatelle (at corner of Peace).

²⁷ The firm can be documented at several addresses over the years: 141 Chartres, 150 Chartres (1832) 123 Chartres (1838). Toledano, *et. al.*, 35; New Orleans Public Library, "The World of François Lacroix," online exhibit (accessed October 2, 2007).

²⁸ Toledano, *et. al.*, 35, 112.

²⁹ Woods, 111.

PAYING IT FORWARD: APPRENTICE MASTERS AND FAMILY ROLE MODELS

Teaching the building trades to younger generations was inherent in New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres* community. While black Creole building artisans may not have been involved in the more traditional types of crafts organizations or formal workshops serving white artisans, they did accomplish their work using apprentices and journeymen, a common practice in all areas of the building trades, thereby transferring their skills and knowledge and perpetuating one of few professional career bases viable for young free men of color.³⁰

Black Creole youth were first introduced to the vocation of building in the home. Jean-Louis Dolliole's oldest son Louis Drausin, born in 1812 from his first marriage, came of age by the 1830s and 1840s period. Eventually becoming a builder himself, Drausin (as he is often listed in legal and statistical records) undoubtedly learned his trade from his father (no indentures with Drausin as the student or evidence of other formal education have been found) and was old enough to work with/for his father by the time Jean-Louis' was practicing in the 1830s and 1840s. Drausin's assistance would have lessened Jean-Louis' need for slave labor and for other free black builders to complete his commissions and development projects. At the other end of the spectrum is Louis Nelson Fouché whose father was also a builder but who received formal education in mathematics and architecture. Many young men who became builders had training in the middle of the spectrum—they learned their trades from master builders via apprenticeships.

While family tradition was significant for the continuation of the practice of black Creoles in the building trades, in some cases, men learned skills from others outside of their families. Many a document from the indenture books of the Records of the Office

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

of the Mayor of New Orleans makes arrangements for a *jeune de couleur libre* (free youth of color) or *jeune homme creole* (young Creole man) to learn a building skill. The indentures were formal contracts that specified the responsibilities of the master, student, and even the individual sponsoring the youth to pursue a trade. As opposed to the coercive character of apprenticeship for which the South is known, all parties entered into these agreements willingly.³¹ Nor were these the "casual arrangements" of the antebellum period illuminated by Mary Woods.³² Indentures for apprenticeships were spelled out in very specific terms. In an act regulating apprenticeship in 1806, the legislature of the Territory of Orleans created a format that all indentures for "any art, mystery or occupation" were to follow.³³ Each document contains the following information:

- name of apprentice and age;
- consent and name of sponsor (with relationship to apprentice) if apprentice under the age of 21; consent of mayor, judge, or two justices of the peace;
- name and occupation of master;
- art or occupation to be learned;
- date of start of term and length of term;
- specifics as to what the apprentice will be taught;
- specifics as to responsibilities of the apprentice and the master; and,
- other provisions regarding apprentice's care, if applicable (i.e. room, board, clothing, medical care, etc.).

In a search of the indenture books, the author examined eight contracts involving Jean-Louis Dolliole, Norbert Soulié, and Myrtille Courcelle from the 1810s and 1820s (*Table 14*; see *Appendix E* for original documents). Generally, all of the contracts were similar in

³¹ Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 104.

³² Woods, 55.

³³ "The Law on Indentures passed on May 21, 1806," <http://nutrias.org/~nopl/inv/indentures/ind-law.htm> (accessed April 16, 2012); Acts Passed at the First Session of the First Legislature of the Territory of Orleans (New Orleans: Bradford & Anderson, 1807), 44-56.

that each apprentice was to reside and work with his master. Ranging in age from 12 to 14, the apprentices served terms of four to six full and consecutive years. Interestingly, the two twelve year-olds had the shortest apprentice periods (to learn masonry) at four years. The contract between Norbert Soulié and Etienne Gallot was longer at five years despite the fact that the youth was already fifteen years old. The difficulty in learning all of the nuances of the carpentry trade probably prompted the longest term for Augustin Polidor at six years.

Alfred Hunt notes that, "St. Dominguan free blacks were employed in most of the journeyman trades in New Orleans as a result of apprenticeships that often called for formal education as part of the indenture contract."³⁴ One documented example is that of Jacques Daniel St. Ermain who, in July 1811, was apprenticed to the architectural firm of Frenchmen Latour & Laclott for three years as a brick mason and was to be taught construction and drawing in the architects' spare time.³⁵ None of the contracts with black Creole builders, whether for youth who were native born or *émigrés*, indicated that the youth would be taught drawing or drafting or any building skills related to but not directly applicable to the trade they were to learn. The 1818 indenture between Soulié and Caldero, however, stipulated that Soulié would furnish a school master to teach the boy to read, write, and cipher; Caldero had at least had some schooling—he was able to sign his name on the contract. Research has indicated that these *gens de couleur libres* builders did not use any significant amount of slave labor for their building work. One instance, though, shows Nelson Fouché training a slave,

³⁴ Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 50.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-51; Paul Lachance, comp. and ed., *Index to New Orleans Indentures, 1809-1843*, Louisiana Division City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library. The firm of Latour & Laclotte had an atelier in a Creole cottage at 625 Dauphine Street.

Pros, at the request of his slave owner F. Dupuis. Courcelle was the only one of the builders contracted to train a youth who was not a black Creole. Pierre Gallot and his mother are assumed to have been white—neither has the notation indicating that they were people of color in the indenture.

In addition to mandating the mechanics of trade that a youth was to learn, the indentures included the quality of student's performance and the master's instruction. The contracts stressed that students were to serve faithfully, obey, and not leave service without permission. As a matter of fact, Benigno Caldero's sponsor, his aunt, was required to compensate Norbert Soulié \$200.00 for breach of any part of the contract by Caldero. In turn, an apprentice master promised to teach all aspects of his trade, withholding nothing. In the antebellum period, along with good instruction and constant supervision, "...the employer in the building trades could control [an apprentice's] general conduct to the end that a good mechanic should be the result...."³⁶ These contracts between *gens de couleur libres* builders and, particularly, black Creole youth, again allowed for the young men to learn viable trades and to become productive and constructive members of the *gens de couleur libres* community. In the case of these indentures between masters and (mostly) apprentices of color, the value of the apprenticeship for both parties was understood—no financial compensation for gain or profit for either party was specified in any of the documents.

³⁶ Woods, 55.

Table 14. Apprenticeships indentures in the building trades involving select *gens de couleur libres* builders.

Date	Master	Apprentice, age	Trade	Sponsor (Relationship)	No. Years of Service
1815	Jean-Louis Dolliole	Augustin Polidor, <i>h.c.l.</i> age 14	carpentry	Bastion, <i>negro libre</i> (father)	6
1818	Norbert Soulié	Bénigro Caldero, <i>h.c.l.</i> age 12	masonry	Heloise Marcos <i>f.c.l.</i> (aunt)	4
1819	Myrtille Courcelle	Etienne Gallot, <i>h.c.l.</i> age 15	masonry	Julie Gallot (mother)	5
1821	Myrtille Courcelle	Theogene Fondal, <i>h.c.l.</i> age 12	masonry	Marie Pierre <i>f.c.l.</i> (mother)	4

Most frequently, expertise in the building trades passed along male lines via fathers, grandfathers, and uncles (i.e. the Dolliole family) and also by way of male masters to their students. Women also strengthened ties among builders via marriage. Building skills were inherited through maternal lines as free men of color were invited into trade by fathers- and brothers-in-law.³⁷ Further, many builders' daughters married other builders or into families of builders. Jean-Louis Dolliole's daughters Marie Eugenie and Marie Rosella married mason Pedro Barthélémy Brue and carpenter Pierre Jean Bonnecaze, respectively.³⁸ Even Victoire Galaud, daughter of Magdeleine Dolliole, was influenced by her uncles' occupations; she married builder Thomas Urquhart.³⁹ In turn, Jean-Louis' son Louis Drausin married Marie Eugenie Guesnon, the daughter of builder Laurent Ursain Guesnon.⁴⁰ In addition, *femmes de couleur libres* saw to the education of

³⁷ C. Ray Brassieur, "Builders' Voices: Reflections on the Fruits of Labor," in *Raised to the Trade: Creole Building Arts of New Orleans*, edited by John Ethan Hankins (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2002), 113.

³⁸ Brusle's and Bonnecaze's occupations are noted at the 1860 census when they, their wives, and their children are all living in Jean-Louis Dolliole's household. This might suggest that the men helped their father-in-law with his work if he was still actively building.

³⁹ Urquhart's occupation is listed on the Death Certificate of Genevieve Dolliole which he witnessed. Genevieve Dolliole, Estate of 1838, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

⁴⁰ Guesnon succession petition found on FamilySearch. The couple was married on February 16, 1858. She died a year-and-a-half later on September 24, 1859. They had no offspring. Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans (La.) Justices of the Peace, Index to Marriage Records, 1846-1880, <http://nutrias.org/inv/jpmarrindex/jpmarrindex.htm>; USGenWeb, Orleans Parish Death Index, <http://www.usgwarchives.org/la/orleans/death-index.htm>.

their young male relatives as builders. In five of the eight indenture contracts highlighted above, the sponsors were women, four free women of color. *Femmes de couleur libres* also apprenticed their sons to black Creole and white artisans and firms. Adelaide Duplessis apprenticed her son Pierre Dolliole, age 15, to Jean Conrad in 1829 to learn the trade of cabinetry.⁴¹

One woman's sponsorship of her son with *hommes de couleur libres* builders was particularly beneficial for the Dolliole family. In July 1827, Laurette Baudin sponsored the training of her 16 year-old son Emile Errié with the firm of Cherubin & Dessource.⁴² He spent three years and four months learning the profession of carpenter-cabinetmaker. On April 9, 1836, Jean-Louis Dolliole and Bodin signed a marriage contract before notary Carlile Pollock. By 1838, stepbrothers Louis Drausin Dolliole and Emile Errié were working together when they signed a building contract to construct a brick *maison basse avec attique* (one-story house with attic) for Roman Planas at the corner of Frenchmen and Amour (North Rampart) streets.⁴³ Jean-Louis Dolliole witnessed and signed the contract to vouch for his sons' work. By 1840, the pair had formed a legally binding partnership. In 1840 and 1841, they contracted to serve as masters to teach young men of color the profession of carpentry building ("*profession de menuisier de bâtiment*"). Another building contract survives for the men's

⁴¹ The author has not found a link to this Pierre Dolliole and the black descendants of Louis Dolliole and François Dolliole. His name appears in census records and city directories, his occupation that of carpenter.

⁴² The firm of Cherubin and Dessource was formed in 1820 between Julien Amothe (alias Chérubin) (ca. 1792-1828) and Laurent Dessource Quessaire (ca. 1792-1832). They were listed in the 1822 city directory at 151 Dauphine corner Ursulines and in 1824 at 325 Dauphine c. Ursulines. The index of indentures shows the men serving as masters in six indenture contracts between February 1823 and June 1828. The partnership was short-lived as both men died young. Julien Amothe died on July 13, 1828. Laurent Quessaire died on November 3, 1832. Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole were the appraisers for Quessaire's estate inventory.

⁴³ Edwards, s.v. "maison basse," 133; Building contract between Roman Planas and Drausin Dolliole and Emile Errié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 29, act 346, September 12, 1838.

construction of a double Creole cottage, and outbuildings—kitchen, double latrine, well, cistern, for Marguerite Dauphine on St. Philip Street between Prieur and Johnson streets in 1848.⁴⁴ Either Drausin or Emile had learned at least the rudiments of architectural drawing for the contract included specifications with plans (floor plans and elevations) that were prepared by them (*Figure 92*). In the 1840s and 1850s, the firm's shop was listed in city directories at Jean-Louis Dolliole's properties on St. Philip Street in Faubourg Tremé. The partnership (alternately referred to as Dolliole & Errié or Errié and Dolliole) last appears in the 1851 city directory; both men continue to be listed individually as carpenters. Through this partnership, the Dolliole family perpetuated familial involvement in the building trades in several ways: via paternal training and support, female (in this case maternal) sponsorship of education, and intermarriage. This type of passing down of the trades has had long-reaching consequences in the Dolliole family. Young men in every generation have pursued careers in building/construction related trades (*Table 15*). Louis Dolliole's line died out—neither Pierre nor Joseph nor Jean-Louis' sons had male offspring⁴⁵—but continued via Jean François' descendants. Milford Dolliole (1903-1994), world-famous jazz trumpeter was a plasterer. As late as 1996, Albert Basam Dolliole, Jr., was noted as being a "self-employed construction worker."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Building contract between Dolliole and Errié and Marguerite Dauphine, Octave De Armas notary, volume 43, act 319, November 23, 1848.

⁴⁵ The author did not trace the offspring of Jean-Louis Dolliole's stepson Emile Errié to determine if they were employed in the building trades.

⁴⁶ D Obituaries, Orleans Parish, Louisiana, submitted by New Orleans Volunteer Association, updated April 2005, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/obits/1/d-13.txt> (accessed January 19, 2011).

Table 15. Occupations of Male Members of the Dolliole family (jobs in building trades in **bold**).

Family Member	Occupation
Louis Antoine (1742-1822)	Publican/Planter
Jean-Louis (1779-1861)	Joiner/Cabinetmaker/Carpenter/Builder
Louis Drausin (1812-1864)	Carpenter
François (1821-unknown)	unknown
Pierre (unknown-1822)	Shoemaker
Joseph (1790-1868)	Carpenter/Joiner
Jean François (1760-1815)	unknown
Louis Laurent (1806-1828)	unknown
Etienne Adam (ca. 1809-1871)	Mason
Joseph Hypolite (1834-1837)	n/a
Giraud William (1839-unknown)	Plasterer/Cigar Maker
Jules R. (1863-unknown)	Carpenter?
Mathias (1841-1908)	Cigar Maker
Jean Simon (1870-1919)	Cooper
Joseph Isidore (1873-unknown)	Cooper
Milford (1903-1994) ⁴⁷	Plasterer
Louis Eugene (1881-unknown)	Cooper
Albert (1876 or 1886-1881)	n/a
Zepherin Bernard (1843-unknown)	Shoemaker
Bernard (1869-unknown)	Unknown
Joseph Adrien (1846-1879)	Unknown
J. Armand (1873-1878)	n/a
Guy (1871-unknown)	Unknown
Dionis Adrien (1886-unknown)	Unknown
Jules Eveque (1848-1877)	Shoemaker
Jules (1886-unknown)	Carpenter?
Joseph Pantheleon (1809-1847)	Clerk
Edmond (1816-1894)	Carpenter
Jean Edmond (1842-)	Unknown
Jean François (1844-)	Unknown
Pierre (1848-)	Unknown

The Dollioles and the Souliés were "raised to the trade"—learning the business of building construction, property development, and real estate speculation from their parents, relatives, and other members of the *gens de couleur libres* community. They continued the cycle of tangibly improving the city, enhancing Creole architectural forms

⁴⁷ Milford Dolliole had four brothers whose occupations are unknown to the author. For more biography on Milford Dolliole see: by John Ethan Hankins, ed., *Raised to the Trade: Creole Building Arts of New Orleans* (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2002) and D Obituaries, Orleans Parish, Louisiana, submitted by New Orleans Volunteer Association, updated April 2005, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/obits/1/d-13.txt> (accessed January 19, 2011).

and introducing newer popular building types and styles, all the while creating enclaves for the black Creole community in the changing physical and social climate of antebellum New Orleans. The distinction between Louisiana-born and foreign *gens de couleur libres* had little effect during the antebellum era. Conflict in the practice and art of building did not exist not between native-born and *émigré* men of color who worked together, hired one another, taught one another. Instead, free men of color builders battled the developing hierarchies in the building profession and the popularization of Anglo forms, two issues which were exacerbated by increasing racial and ethnic tensions in the antebellum South.

In order to keep up with the diversification necessitated by the influx of Americans, northeastern architects, and Federal Style architecture, free builders of color expanded their range of work and the economic possibilities of property ownership by buying immense amounts of property. But, the restrictions and disadvantages under which urban blacks labored in their "occupational opportunity" were of two kinds—legal and societal.⁴⁸ In addition, craft training became superseded by educational training.⁴⁹ At first, few changes occurred financially as far as the economic standing of well-to-do *gens de couleur libres* entrepreneurs. But, in the 1830s, the arrival of Irish and German immigrants in large numbers began to cause the displacement of free persons of color from various vocations, including the building trades; this trend was particularly apparent by the 1840s and 1850s.⁵⁰ The status of builders of color changed in that they were lumped together as craftsmen. The addition of theoretical knowledge to the

⁴⁸ Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 16.

⁴⁹ Woods, 5.

⁵⁰ Paul Lachance, "The Limits of Privilege: Where Free Persons of Colour Stood in the Hierarchy of Wealth in Antebellum New Orleans," *Slavery & Abolition* volume 17, no. 1 (1996): 70.

training of architects and a new degree of corporate (as opposed to communal) organization changed the field from architecture as craft to architecture as profession. For the new American architect, like Benjamin Henry Latrobe ("The First Professional" architect), *gens de couleur libres* builders were men "who know nothing but the practice, and whose early life being spent in labor, and in the habits of a laborious life, have had no opportunity to acquire the theory."⁵¹ For one of the few occupational fields in which *gens de couleur libres* did have the "possibilities of enrichment," they came into conflict with builders and architects whose ideas and work fast became the status quo in the young American city.⁵² Latrobe went on to say that the struggle with such mechanics would be "long and harassing."⁵³ The battle that was more difficult, however, was for *gens de couleur* builders to gain the recognition that they deserved.

⁵¹ Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Robert Mills, July 12, 1806, in John Van Horne, ed., *Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, vol. 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 239.

⁵² Lachance, "The Limits of Privilege," 70.

⁵³ Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Henry Ormond, November 20, 1808, cited in Woods, 10.

Chapter Six: The *Status Quo* – French, Creole, and Anglo builders and architects in antebellum New Orleans

"I have been at war with architecture all my life and will continue so to the end, *having all New York in my favor*."
William Brand according to Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1819)¹

"...determined to the run the hazard of New Orleans."
James Gallier, Sr., *Autobiography* (1864)

The first architects in New Orleans were French engineers who laid out the city grid and established the vernacular and high-style French architectural vocabularies of the Vieux Carré. Inserting some of their own building sensibility, the Spanish maintained the work and traditions and the French, even after devastating fires destroyed large portions of the city in the late eighteenth century. Spanish rule brought about the birth of the *gens de couleur libres* population and the beginnings of the Creole builder—black and white. The Treaty of Paris (1800) entitled French immigrants to the status of native-born Louisianans.² The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 was followed by an influx of Anglo settlers, as well as new immigrants from Britain and France, seeking economic gains in New Orleans. The newcomers included new builders answering the needs of the growing, nascent American city and looking for their own personal and professional gain. From the 1820s through the 1840s, *gens de couleur libres* builder-architects and

¹ Mary Louise Christovich, Roulhac Toledano, and Betsy Swanson, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume II: The American Sector* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1972), 38; Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 211; Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans, Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 106-107.

² John Kendall, *History of Louisiana* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 115.

their white Creole counterparts were simultaneously influenced by American, British, and French architects looking to cater to New Orleans' diverse population and to leave their own stamp on the city.³ The 1840s brought to the scene additional European immigrants—Irish and German—who transformed the built environment via their settlement patterns and willingness to work in almost any capacity for social and economic advancement. It was here, with the establishment of all these competing groups, that the nineteenth-century prejudice against black craftsmen—slaves, manumitted slaves, or *gens de couleur libres*—began.

Little competition existed between free Negroes and whites in the colonial period or in the territorial era (1804-1812).⁴ When looking for a builder to construct the new clock tower of the St. Louis Cathedral in the summer of 1819, Norbert Soulié was one of the those from whom the city council suggested Mayor Augustin Macarty, member of a prominent Creole family, solicit proposals when no other bids were forthcoming.⁵ The other architects recommended were the leading white practitioners of the day—Benjamin Henry Latrobe (English), Claude Gurlie (French), Joseph Guillot (French), and Joachim Courcelle (Creole). While the vague reference to Norbert as "Mr. Soulié, Jr." perhaps denotes some unwillingness on the part of the city's governing body to draw attention to the fact that they were soliciting work from a free man of color whose white father was a staff member of the Macarty administration,⁶ the fact

³ Roulhac Toledano, *The National Trust Guide to New Orleans* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), x.

⁴ Eugene D. Genovese, "The Slave States of North America," in *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972), 263-264; Toledano, 15.

⁵ City Council Resolutions, June 16, 1819 cited in John Van Horne, ed., *Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Vol. 3, 1811-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1035.

⁶ This was undoubtedly Norbert who was purchasing property and serving as an apprentice master by this time. Soulié "Senior" would have been his father Jean who was city recorder during the Macarty administration. The other recommended architects were referred to by their full names. The appellation

remains that they did, and that they considered his work (if not the man) equal to that of the others. The city's request stems from their first-hand knowledge of Norbert's work, familiarity with the services and skills of *gens de couleur libres* builders, and the general labor situation in New Orleans. The fact that most whites harbored little resentment toward labor by men of color "'reflected the prevailing shortage of all kinds of labor in America.'"⁷

Civic improvements, particularly the watering and paving of streets, installation of lamp posts, and improvement of sanitation conditions, were primary goals of Macarty's successor Louis Philippe Joseph de Roffignac. Early during Roffignac's term (1820-1828), in a change from their hiring practices just a few years earlier, New Orleans' city council, "in an action of little practical economic importance to blacks—directed the 'municipal labor manager' to employ only white workers" in 1822.⁸ While exclusion from working on municipal projects ultimately did not jeopardize the output and economic gain of black Creole builders who worked primarily in the residential sphere, this action curtailed any possibility of their involvement in lucrative municipal projects during the city's greatest period of economic growth. Though the City Council was still dominated by French Creoles, the decree was likely influenced by the growth of the city outside of the Vieux Carré and the developmental aims of the predominantly Anglo inhabitants of those areas. With the increasing number of white building practitioners in New Orleans, removal of free blacks from the roster would have eased

supplied for Norbert Soulié placed less focus on his individual identity (and race) and more on his white heritage and father's status.

⁷ Genovese, 264.

⁸ Roffignac served an uninterrupted eight-year term. Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library, "Administrations of the Mayors of New Orleans, Louis Philippe Joseph de Roffignac (1766-1846)," <http://nutrias.org/info/louinfo/admins/roffignac.htm> (accessed April 23, 2012); Kendall, 116; Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 17..

any competition they had with white builders and architects. The rivalry for physical space and economic prosperity between the French, Creoles, and Americans played a large part in the designation of *gens de couleur libres* builders into a lesser sphere. Further, most European and Anglo builders and architects (French Creoles being a notable exception) worked in high-style forms and architectural modes drawing on a different building culture than that of the *gens de couleur libres*.

FRENCH ARCHITECTS AND THE HIGH-STYLE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE IN NEW ORLEANS

The city of New Orleans was designed by French engineers and architects, many of whom were in military service. During the Spanish colonial period, Guilberto Guillemard (dates unknown)⁹ was responsible for rebuilding the Cathedral of St. Louis, King of France (1791-1795), the Presbytère (1791-1813), and the Cabildo (1795-1799) after the original buildings were destroyed in the fire of 1788.¹⁰ His designs reflect the Spanish Colonial neoclassicism that was prevalent in the city at the time (*Figure 93*). In an effort to improve the building's appearance and appeal, a central tower in the same fashion was added by Benjamin Henry Latrobe in 1819 (*Figure 94*).¹¹

Over the course of the 1810s and 1820s, city surveyors replaced colonial architects and took up the reins of designing for and building in the city. Barthélémy Lafon (1769-1820) immigrated to New Orleans to escape the French Revolution.¹² The engineer and surveyor drew many city plans and maps; he also platted new subdivisions

⁹ Guillemard was a French architect in the service of the Spanish government.

¹⁰ Patricia Heintzelman and Charles W. Snell, The Presbytère, National Register of Historic Places nomination form, June 30, 1975.

¹¹ These features include two stories, a lower-level arcade with Doric pilasters, second story gallery with Ionic pilasters, and a central pediment. The Presbytère was originally called the *Casa Curial* and was intended to house the priests serving St. Louis Cathedral. This use never transpired—upon completion it was used by the U.S. government, Heintzelman,.

¹² Jim Fraiser, *The French Quarter of New Orleans* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 33.

such as Faubourg Sainte-Marie and Faubourgs Duplantier, Soulet, La Course, and Annunciation from former plantations. Lafon's private commissions included designs for homes for prominent New Orleanians such as notary Pierre Pedesclaux in 1795 and Vincent Rillieux (grandfather of first cousins Norbert Soulié and Edmund Rillieux) in 1800.¹³ The Vincent Rillieux residence (ca. 1800, *Figure 95*) is Spanish Colonial in form and style.' Lafon's work shows that the influence of Spanish architecture, while late to arrive with the persistence of French Colonial architecture, lasted well beyond Spanish rule of the city.

City Surveyor Jacques Tanesse (dates unknown) also created numerous city maps, and, in 1813, designed a permanent *Halles des Boucheries* or meat market after the original was destroyed by hurricane in 1812 (*Figure 96*).¹⁴ Tanesse's new building was a simple, classical design and the first building in what has become known as the French Market.¹⁵ Major Arsène LaCarrière Latour, military engineer, and Jean Hyacinthe Laclotte were additional Frenchmen who worked both independently and as a team on various New Orleans commissions in the 1810s and 1820s.¹⁶ Lafon, Tanesse, Latour, and Laclotte transferred European architectural sensibilities to the colonial and territorial city, imbuing many civic and religious buildings with grand European styles, at the same time incorporating Creole building forms and design elements, primarily in residential buildings.

French builder-architects productive in the antebellum period maintained the architectural traditions of city's French founders and Creole progenitors, but became

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33, 37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁵ William R. Mitchell, *Classic New Orleans* (New Orleans: Martin~St. Martin, 1993), 29. Later renovations and repairs include the addition of a hipped roof and Doric columns. Fraiser, 47.

¹⁶ Fraiser, 37.

increasingly proficient in the Federal and Greek Revival styles introduced by architects from the American eastern seaboard. Builders and partners Jean Felix Pinson and Maurice Pizetta (dated unknown) were among the most popular builders and architects (*Figure 97*). In the Vieux Carré they had a hand in two *porte-cochère* townhouses with a mixture of Creole and Greek Revival Style architectural details—one a speculative venture on Royal Street in 1825, the other designed for Paul Lacroix in 1833.¹⁷ The former is clearly a more traditional Creole townhouse (the attic frieze level and molded window lintels were added ca. 1837) while the latter has a Greek Revival Style paneled door and surround as well as Creole arched openings. Both houses retain their Creole wrought-iron *garde-de-frise* balconies.¹⁸ On the edge of the Vieux Carré on Canal Street, the team built storehouses—essentially rowhouses adapted for the ground floors to serve as commercial space—in the Federal Style in the 1820s.¹⁹ Independently Pinson and Pizetta were also property developers in Faubourg Tremé in the 1820s and 1830s. Like the Dollioles, Pinson's property acquisitions included former *College d'Orléans* property.²⁰

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 126, 129. Currently known as the Pinson-Pizetta House (at 732 St. Peter), the speculative townhouse was built on the site of the St. Peter Theater (1791-1816). The Lacroix House is located at 837-839 Royal Street. It was built by Joseph Peralta. 837-839 Royal Street, Vieux Carré Survey.

¹⁸ The term *garde-de-frise* initially described the wrought-iron spiked lattice placed between the upper floors of adjacent Creole townhouses to prevent thieves from moving between galleries. It eventually came to also describe the wrought-iron railings on the actual balconies placed on Creole townhouses in the first half of the nineteenth century. Jay D. Edwards and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), s.v. "garde de fries," 107; Fraiser, 40, 92, 109, 126, 130.

¹⁹ These commercial buildings are extant at 501-509 Canal Street and 633-637 Canal Street. Christovich, et. al., 134, 137; Vieux Carré Survey.

²⁰ Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 17.

Jacques Nicholas Bussière de Pouilly (1804-1875) established a high-profile career designing and building some of the city's greatest landmarks.²¹ One of his earliest works was the Greek Revival St. Louis Hotel in the Vieux Carré (1835)—the Creoles' attempt to keep up with building activity in Faubourg Sainte-Marie (*Figure 98*).²² He also designed Federal Style, Creole *entresol* townhouse in the middle of the decade.²³ In 1837, he created a master design for a pedestrian approach from Canal Street to the new St. Louis Hotel (*Figure 99*). *Passage de la Bourse* or Exchange Passage was an experiment in city planning. For a length of four blocks, the buildings lining Exchange Passage (Place) were to have facades with more or less uniform arcades at ground level and classical architectural features. The design was subsequently realized by de Pouilly and other leading architects, both French and American (618 Conti Street/336 Exchange Place, *Figure 100*).

De Pouilly's practice expanded when he established a partnership with builder Ernest Goudchaux between 1842 and 1845.²⁴ The firm of J. N. de Pouilly and Ed. Goudchaux, Architects and Builders completed contracts for St. Augustine Church (1841-1842), the new American Theatre, and various private residences.²⁵ The pair continued to work together after the dissolution of the partnership. In 1845 de Pouilly served as superintending architect for remodeling of the Orleans Theatre and built a series of five

²¹ De Pouilly was born in France and educated at l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts. He immigrated to New Orleans in 1833 and began making use of his background in architecture and engineering,

²² Fraiser, 141.

²³ One of the townhouses was built in 1836 for the Olivier family, the other in 1837 as business and residence for Louis J. Dulfilho, Jr., the first licensed pharmacist in the U.S. *Ibid.*, 146.

²⁴ Goudchaux was born in France in 1813 per his household entry at the 1850 federal census. His death date is unknown.

²⁵ Anne Masson, 2010, "J. N. B. de Pouilly," *KnowLA Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, <http://www.knowla.org/entry.php?rec=473> (accessed April 26, 2012).

Greek Revival houses on Chartres Street as rental properties (*Figure 101*).²⁶ His work is highlighted by two religious buildings. In 1846 he designed Notre Dame des Victoires Church adjacent to the Ursulines Convent. He then re-designed the majority of the front façade of St. Louis Cathedral in an early Classical Revival Style in 1850 (*Figure 102*).²⁷ 'When the tower and some walls collapsed during construction, de Pouilly was replaced by Samuel Stewart who completed the work with several modifications (*Figure 103*). De Pouilly not only brought French classicism to New Orleans, he gradually incorporated the Greek Revival Style into the city's architectural vocabulary, first combining it with familiar Creole forms.²⁸

Frenchmen Claude Gurlie (ca. 1772-unknown) and Joseph Guillot (ca. 1771-1838) began their partnership in 1795.²⁹ Starting off as builders, their early works in 1811 included designs by Latour and Laclotte—the Castillon House and a Creole cottage housing the other designers' atelier.³⁰ In 1812 Gurlie and Guillot designed the Collège d'Orléans (*Figure 104*) with its classically-inspired columns and, in 1813, supervised

²⁶ Jessie Poesch and Bacot SoRelle Bacot, eds. *Louisiana Buildings 1720-1940* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana University Press, 1997), 181-182.

²⁷ Fraiser, 52.

²⁸ Toledano, 32; Masson. Throughout his career, de Pouilly also designed tombs for many notable New Orleans families and taught drawing at Audubon College which was founded by his son-in-law Simon Rouen in 1853. Leonard V. Huber, Peggy McDowell, and Mary Louise Christovich, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume III, The Cemeteries* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1996), 136-137.

²⁹ Gurlie's dates are taken from a legal document from 1844 that states that he is 72 years-old and has resided in New Orleans for 48 years (which would put his arrival in 1796, after the partnership with Guillot is said to have begun.), Benjamin Howard, Antoine Michod et. al. vs. Peronne-Bernarding Girod, et. al., *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term, 1846, volume 4* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 533; Toledano, 15. Guillot's dates were found in his estate file, "Joseph Guillot, 1838, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846, FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JJZX-XZK> (accessed May 1, 2012). The partners married sisters Marie Louise Paillet (Gurlie) and Catherine Isabel Paillet (Guillot). "Rome, St. Cyr and Early Louisiana Families," <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=SHOW&db=madvintner&recno=39484> (accessed April 30, 2012); Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, "St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 Interments January 1-Deember 31, 1838," <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/cemeteries/louis/00000002.txt>, April 1998, (accessed April 30, 2012).

³⁰ Poesch and Bacot, 365, 370.

construction of Tanesse's meat market and completed the second floor of Guillemard's Presbytère.³¹ The pair later added a fish market to the complex.³² Residential commissions in the 1810s included the 1815 entresol storehouse for Jean Baptiste Cottin, an 1817 Spanish colonial townhouse on St. Peter Street, and an 1819 Creole townhouse with Federal Style features for Arnaud Magnon.³³ In Faubourg Tremé, they built the Classical Revival Style Mortuary Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua (1826-1827), its first floor arcade reminiscent of that at the Cabildo (*Figure 105*).³⁴ They designed and built the Gally House in 1830 and implemented the American rowhouse in the Vieux Carré as speculative commercial buildings and housing for the Ursuline nuns (1830-1832). At the Vignié town houses (1833) Gurlie and Guillot incorporated Federal Style ornamentation and architectural details on rowhouses with Creole characteristics (*Figure 106*).³⁵ The pair also designed neighboring townhouses on Royal Street for Jean Baptiste Zenon Cavelier, president of the Bank of Orleans, in 1831.³⁶ They built a Creole townhouse with Federal Style second-story windows for Dr. Joseph Adolphe Tricou on Bourbon Street the following year (*Figure 107*). Gurlie and Guillot also designed and built commercial buildings in de Pouilly's Exchange Passage. Like de Pouilly, Gurlie and Guillot worked comfortably in traditional Creole forms and colonial styles, but increasingly incorporated characteristics of Federal and Greek Revival Style architecture—wrought-iron balconies, arcaded ground stories, dormer windows, and wooden cornices with garland ornamental detail. While de Pouilly's career extended

³¹ Fraiser, 47; Toledano and Christovich, 59.

³² Fraiser 47.

³³ *Ibid.*, 79-80, 95-101, 190-191.

³⁴ Toledano, 65.

³⁵ Poesch and Bacot, 368-369, 374; Toledano, 30; Christovich, et. al., 174; William Heard, *French Quarter Manual: an Architectural Guide to New Orleans' Vieux Carré* (New Orleans: Tulane School of Architecture, 1997), 125; Fraiser, 130-131.

³⁶ Fraiser, 125-126; 633 Royal Street, Vieux Carré Survey.

into the 1840s and 1850s, by the mid- to late 1830s most French architects and builders had quit design or died. The field was left open to the city's native-born French Creoles.³⁷

CREOLE BUILDERS AND ARCHITECTS

New Orleanians descended from other European nationals (Italian, German, etc.) were also considered Creoles, but, by and large, the French and Spanish dominated that ethnic group. The Spanish presence decreased with the end of Spanish rule when Spanish Creoles, many of the men officials and soldiers, returned to Spain or relocated to other Spanish-ruled dominions.³⁸ Despite their predominance in the city until the vast arrivals of Americans and immigrant Europeans, secondary records yield the name of few high-profile white Creole builders or architects in the colonial, territorial, or antebellum periods. The Creoles were known for living leisurely lives as gentlemen. Indeed many were planters with *habitations* along the Bayou Road and larger plantations on the Mississippi River. But, as the leaders of New Orleans society, many Creole men were political leaders and merchants. Further, in this plantation society, buildings in both rural and urban settings were commonly erected by slave labor. Still, French Creoles—*émigré* and native-born—took part in creating and developing the transitional nature of New Orleans' architecture in the antebellum period.

The Courcelle family, like the Dollioles, consisted of several generations of builders. Achille Courcelle was a master carpenter who immigrated to New Orleans from Vervins, France, by 1768 when he married Marie Anne Bernard in St. Louis Cathedral.³⁹

³⁷ Toledano, 68.

³⁸ Albert Emile Fossier, *New Orleans: The Glamour Period, 1800-1840* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1957), 271.

³⁹ Earl C. Woods, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 1, 1718-1750* (New Orleans: Archdiocesan Historical Archives, 1988), 62.

One of their sons, Joachim Courcelle (ca. 1776-1862),⁴⁰ was an important builder throughout his life. In 1818, Courcelle built twelve *entresol* townhouses facing the Marigny Canal (present-day Elysian Fields) for \$92,000.00 and is listed on a contract to erect a building in Faubourg Sainte-Marie.⁴¹ He entered into indenture contracts as a master in 1829, 1830, and 1832. The first-generation Souliés likely acquired some of their building knowledge from Joachim Courcelle as he was their "uncle by marriage."⁴² Etienne François Courcelle and Achille Barthélémy Courcelle, two of Joachim's white nephews (the sons of his older brother Achille Antoine) also followed in his footsteps. Etienne Courcelle (1800-unknown) built two Creole *porte-cochère* townhouses for Bernard de Santos on St. Ann Street in 1840, making them of the last of that type in Faubourg Tremé (*Figure 108*).⁴³ He is listed in the 1842 city directory as a bricklayer and served as the keeper and a tomb builder at St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 in the 1850s.⁴⁴ Also present in the directory, residing with his uncle Joachim, is builder Achille Barthélémy Courcelle (1803-1864). In addition to building, like the Dolliole brothers, A. B. Courcelle speculated heavily in real estate—Bernard Soulié purchased several Tremé properties from him. A. B. Courcelle's influence lasted longer; he built a unique, central-hall house with Classical Revival stylistic detailing at 823 Esplanade in 1853.⁴⁵ Edward Schinkel

⁴⁰ USGenWeb, Orleans Parish Death Index, <http://www.usgwarchives.org/la/orleans/death-index.htm>.

⁴¹ Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), xiii; Christovich, *et. al.*, 223.

⁴² Leon Courcelle (Joachim's brother) and Adelaide Vivant (the Souliés' maternal aunt) had a lifetime "left-hand marriage" and several offspring (one of the daughters married Bernard Soulié). *Homme de couleur libre* builder Myrtille Courcelle was Vivant's son; he may have adopted his mother's husband's surname.

⁴³ Fraiser, 147-148; Toledano, 41. The third story was added at a later date. The Courcelles are also associated with the altered cottage at 1126 Marais Street, Toledano and Christovich, 172.

⁴⁴ Fraiser, 145; Christovich, *et. al.*, 223. Fraiser erroneously identifies Etienne Courcelle as an *homme de couleur libre*.

⁴⁵ Toledano, *et. al.*, 142.

contracted with him for the construction of a Greek Revival townhouse on Esplanade Avenue in 1856.⁴⁶

One of the Courcelles' *émigré* contemporaries was Jean François Edouard Correjollès; he was born in Baltimore to parents who had fled the turbulence in Saint-Domingue.⁴⁷ After relocating to Caribbean in 1807, the family eventually settled in New Orleans in 1809 when the French refugees were expelled from Cuba. François would have been around fourteen years of age at the time—ripe for training in building or to be sent to France for architectural education. Whichever occurred, he obtained enough skill and reputation to be considered an architect.⁴⁸ Correjollès designed many New Orleans buildings. His most well-known design is the Joseph Le Carpentier House built in 1826 on Chartres Street (*Figure 109*).⁴⁹ The transitional house features characteristics of French colonial and Creole architecture as well as Greek Revival Style architectural details.⁵⁰ By 1830, Correjollès had developed a partnership with Jean Chaigneau.⁵¹ The duo built a two-story house with interior kitchen for Perserverance Lodge No. 4 Masonic Lodge adjacent to Thibaud's lodge hall. Correjollès built an American townhouse for

⁴⁶ Mary Louise Christovich, Sally Kittredge Evans, Roulhac Toledano, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume V, The Esplanade Ridge* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1977), 45.

⁴⁷ The Fitzmeyer/Meunier Family Home Page, "Descendants of Gabriel Correjollès, Generation No. 3," <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/f/i/t/Linda-M-Fitzmeyer/GENE5-0003.html> (accessed April 30, 2012; NOA 6, 69).

⁴⁸ François' older brother Gabriel (1780-1842) was also a builder. He contracted with Jean Chaigneau to build a house on Barracks Street for Louis Moreau in 1831. Gabriel also erected townhouses at the corner of Royal and Governor Nicholls in 1834. Building Contract between Jean Chaigneau and Gabriel Correjollès, L.T. Caire notary, March 23, 1831. Gabriel was born in Fort Dauphine, Saint-Domingue in 1780. He died in New Orleans in 1842. The Fitzmeyer/Meunier Family Home Page, "Descendants of Gabriel Correjollès, Generation No. 3," <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/f/i/t/Linda-M-Fitzmeyer/GENE5-0003.html> (accessed April 30, 2012); 1201 Royal Street, 1205 Royal Street, 713 Governor Nicholls, Vieux Carré Survey.

⁴⁹ Today the residence, at 1113 Chartres Street, is known as the Le Carpentier-Beauregard-Keyes House and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

⁵⁰ Fraiser, 134.

⁵¹ Genealogical and secondary source research did not yield much information on Chaigneau's background.

himself in 1831 but retained the stucco façade of Creole domestic architecture.⁵² Two years later, Correjollès built a house for Eulalie Mandeville, half-sister of Bernard Marigny and *placée* of Eugene Macarty, on Barracks Street.⁵³ The partnership between Correjollès and Jean Chaigneau was dissolved in 1835.⁵⁴ Correjollès continued to build vernacular forms—he was the owner-builder of a house in the 600 block of Dumaine Street in Faubourg Tremé in 1836.⁵⁵ His abilities extended to serving in a supervisory capacity—Correjollès was the supervising architect for the Uranie Roy House built by *homme de couleur libre* builder Louis Vivant in 1846.⁵⁶ Correjollès also served as a master to New Orleans youth seeking careers in the building trades. One of them was a *jeune de couleur libre* sponsored by Louise Paul Cheval, a Soulié relation.⁵⁷ Samuel Wilson, Jr. emphasizes Correjollès' "accidental birth" noting, "He was perhaps the first native born American to achieve success as an architect in New Orleans and his work consistently reflects the American influence in local Creole Architecture."⁵⁸ On the one hand, this observation seems to diminish Correjollès' Creole heritage and highlights the problematic distinction that Creole architecture is something separate from American architecture. While Creole architecture was developed during the colonial period, it was still very much in favor and continuing to evolve after Louisiana became a U.S. territory

⁵² Heard, 45; Fraiser, 134.

⁵³ The house was located at 916 Barracks Street. Eugene Macarty acquired the property in 1808 then sold it to Mandeville in 1810. The house and property were transferred to Eulalie's relative Drausin Barthélémy Macarty in 1847. 916 Barracks Street, Vieux Carré Survey; *Encyclopedia Louisiana*, "918 Barracks, Square 912," <http://www.enlou.com/fq/vc912.htm> (accessed October 9, 2007). This website is no longer active.

⁵⁴ Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume II*, 223.

⁵⁵ Toledano and Christovich, 161.

⁵⁶ Correjollès also built nine houses for Louis Gally and Guillaume Marmiche at Decatur and Marigny streets for \$54,000.00 in 1838, Toledano, *et. al.*, xiii.

⁵⁷ Contract between François Correjollès and [J]Soniat, September 17, 1828.

⁵⁸ Fitzmeyer/Meunier Family Home Page, "Descendants of Gabriel Correjollès, Generation No. 3," <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/f/i/t/Linda-M-Fitzmeyer/GENE5-0003.html> (accessed April 30, 2012)

and then state. But, on the other hand, Wilson's statement underscores that fact that Creole architecture and *Anglo*-American architecture were harmoniously synthesized through the early years of the antebellum period.

ANGLO-ARCHITECTS AND THE FEDERAL AND GREEK REVIVAL STYLES

The differences between American Anglos and New Orleans' inhabitants of European descent were not so drastic when Americans began to arrive post-Purchase and even more so after the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. The Creoles "realized the advantages of American citizenship. They embraced Americanism with fervent devotion and glorified in the change of status from being a subject to that of being a citizen."⁵⁹ While maintaining their building traditions, New Orleans' Creoles adapted aspects of popular American Styles—Federal then Greek Revival—into and onto their traditional forms. Likewise, they welcomed American architects, many of whom worked in Creole forms in addition to bringing their own methods and practices to the city's antebellum building activity. Among the first group of arrivals who would shape the melding of Creole and Anglo architecture and have influence into the antebellum period were Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1761-1820) and William Brand.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe was complimentary of Creole architecture's adaptation to New Orleans' climate and urban environment. The English-born architect embarked on his U.S. career on the East Coast, designing and building in America's largest cities—Richmond, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh. He designed the New Orleans Customhouse (1807) and the engine house for the city waterworks (1811-1812). He relocated to the city in 1819 to finish the waterworks project started by his son Henry.⁶⁰ Latrobe's admiration of the form and design of Creole domestic architecture is visible in

⁵⁹ Fossier, 271.

⁶⁰ Latrobe's pre-1819 work in the city includes the Customhouse (1809), Waterworks (),

the Creole townhouse he built in 1819 for Vincent Nolte on Toulouse Street (*Figure 110*).⁶¹ The architect ushered in the antebellum period with his design for the Louisiana State Bank (1820) (*Figure 111*).⁶² The last work of his career was the central tower for St. Louis Cathedral (1820). Latrobe's residence in New Orleans was brief before he also succumbed to yellow fever in 1820. He opened the door for the introduction and acceptance of Federal architecture in New Orleans early in the post-Purchase period—used by French, Creoles, and Anglo builders alike—and paved the way for the next wave of American architects in the 1830s.

Virginia native William Brand came to New Orleans by 1805, when he is listed in the city directory.⁶³ His early works include the original Theatre d'Orléans (1810), Destrehan House (1811), Orleans Ballroom (1817 rebuild, bricklaying and plastering), and First Presbyterian Church (1819) (*Figure 112*).⁶⁴ His domestic and commercial works were also numerous and located in both the Vieux Carré and the American Sector. Three circa 1827 transitional Creole townhouses still stand on St. Louis Street.⁶⁵ In 1830, he built a group of warehouses on the corner of Magazine and Poydras streets for James Maxwell Reynolds.⁶⁶ The following year, he designed for commission merchant Samuel Hermann the now-famous Federal Style, central hall, American townhouse on St. Louis Street (*Figure 113*). In 1833, Brand built a row of five, Federal-Style, three-story

⁶¹ Fraiser, 89.

⁶² Toledano, 15

⁶³ "The Dolan Family – From Ireland to Missouri," <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/r/a/b/Joni-Rabena-/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-1054.html> (accessed April 30, 2012); Henry L. Abbot, *Biographical Memoir of John Gross Barnard, 1815-1882*, lecture presented before the National Academy of Sciences, April 17, 1902; Christovich, et. al., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 223.

⁶⁴ Toledano, 21; Fossier, 469; Mitchell, 29; Christovich, et. al. *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 223; Latrobe, *Impressions*, 34, n11.

⁶⁵ Poesch and Bacot, 376. They are now part of the Antoine's Restaurant Annex.

⁶⁶ Christovich, et. al., *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 185.

storehouses at the corner of Canal and St. Charles streets (*Figure 114*).⁶⁷ He also participated in various competitions for municipal buildings. While his early public works were in a variety of styles—Federal and Creole in the Vieux Carré but Gothic Revival in the growing American Sector—his works throughout the city were consistently in the Federal Style. Brand's commitment to the latter style was exhibited in his maintain the appearance of exposed brick when he maintained the look of exposed brick by painting the exterior walls "'with two good coats of red paint and the joints penciled neatly with white lead....'"⁶⁸ He also disagreed with his good friend Latrobe when the latter criticized Brand over the "London plan" home he was designing for himself on Magazine Street.⁶⁹

Two decades after Latrobe's death, several Anglo architects arrived in New Orleans including Alexander Thompson Wood, James and Charles Dakin, and James Gallier, Sr. This generation ushered in the Greek Revival Style into the city. Alexander Wood (1804-1854) designed the "Thirteen Sisters" a series of Federal Style townhouses in Julia Street in 1833. But, by 1847 his design for the U.S. Custom House featured all of the characteristics of Greek Revival architecture (*Figure 115*). The building, a significant steel and granite monument occupying a full block on the Vieux Carré side of Canal Street, features a temple front façade with a rusticated base and projecting cornice. The lotus capitals on the entry bays' columns are a nod to the simultaneous interest in Egyptian temple architecture during the early nineteenth century. Some of Wood's contemporaries argued he stole the idea for the Custom House from designs submitted previously by the architectural firm of Dakin and Gallier.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 12, 139.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

Brothers and New York natives James H. Dakin (1806-1852) and Charles Bingley Dakin (1812-1839) arrived in New Orleans in the mid-1830s via separate routes. Charles arrived in the city in 1834 with James Gallier, an Irish-born architect who had immigrated to the U.S. via England in 1832. Dakin and Gallier began an architectural firm together. The firm was favored by wealthy members of the Irish-American community. The partners erected a row of three Greek Revival Style townhouses on North Rampart in 1834 (*Figure 116*).⁷⁰ Their works in the mid-1830s included the Verandah Hotel (1835), St. Charles Hotel (1835) and the Merchant's Exchange (1836) (*Figure 117*). James arrived in New Orleans in 1835, and the Dakin brothers formed their own practice one month later on December 24, 1835. Charles then moved to Mobile, Alabama in 1836, and subsequently was in Europe from 1838 to 1839. St. Patrick's Catholic Church was completed under Dakin and Dakin in 1838. Charles Dakin died in Iberville Parish in 1839. James Dakin then proceeded to have an illustrious solo career in New Orleans designing Greek Revival buildings in New Orleans including the Louisiana State Arsenal (1839) as well as Canal Bank and the Medical College of Louisiana in 1843.⁷¹ Shortly thereafter, James Dakin relocated to Baton Rouge to commence work on his design for the Gothic Revival Louisiana State Capitol in 1847. He died in that city in May 1852.⁷²

James Gallier, Sr. was an Irish-born architect who worked as a carpenter in Dublin then as an architect in London, in New York (at the firm of Town and Davis), and then in Mobile, Alabama, where he met and worked with Charles Dakin.⁷³ In his autobiography, Gallier gives the reason for his deciding to relocate to New Orleans, "But

⁷⁰ Poesch and Bacot, 179.

⁷¹ The latter became part of the University of Louisiana, designed by William Brand in 1847.

⁷² Toledano, 16; John C. Ferguson, 2011, "Charles and James Dakin," *KnowLA Encyclopedia*, <http://www.knowla.org/entry.php?rec=572> (accessed April 26, 2012).

⁷³ Toledano, 26.

having heard that any person well acquainted with the practice of building, as well as having a fair knowledge of architecture as an art, could scarcely fail of success in the United States of America, I therefore came to the conclusion that [in New Orleans] lay the proper field for my labours."⁷⁴

After the partnership with Charles Dakin was dissolved, Gallier pursued a successful solo career with architectural offices on Common and Carondelet streets. He was responsible for a bevy of Vieux Carré residences in diverse forms and styles including the Angel Xiques House (1830s), Jacques-Philippe Meffre-Rouzan House (1838-1840), James Dick House (1847), Charles Briggs House (1849) and the Michel Musson House (attributed).⁷⁵ His civic, commercial, and institutional works were plentiful. When a new waterworks system was designed in the Lower Garden District in the mid-1830s, Gallier did some work on the reservoirs.⁷⁶ He also assisted with the completion of the Gothic Revival St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1839. He occasionally utilized Creole forms and built two 1½-story Greek Revival Style Creole cottages on Annunciation Street in 1843.⁷⁷ In the Lower Garden District, Gallier built Greek Revival Style houses in the Coliseum Square area where he lived.⁷⁸ He is also responsible for the 1844 design of the Greek Revival townhouse for Dr. W. Newton Mercer in the 800 block of Canal Street.⁷⁹ Gallier's commercial projects were also numerous. He designed and/or built storehouses for R. O. Pritchard (ca. 1835), cotton factor John Hagan (1840), and the City Bank of New

⁷⁴ W. Barksdale Maynard, *Architecture in the United States, 1800-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 25.

⁷⁵ Toledano, , 28, 104, 19, 27, 134; Fraiser, 155; Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 40.

⁷⁶ Mary Louise Christovich, Roulhac Toledano, and Betsy Swanson, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume I, The Lower Garden District* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1971), 92.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16, 142; Toledano, 36. Today, this building houses the Boston Club; it is the only intact residential building in the business section of Canal Street.

Orleans (1844).⁸⁰ He also designed a new building for the Canal and Banking Company in 1839 and for the Commercial Bank by 1846.⁸¹ In 1845, the architect made designs for a Commercial Exchange on St. Charles Street. While the building was under construction, Gallier altered the design to accommodate business use on the ground floor and a Masonic Lodge on the second.⁸²

Gallier's Greek Revival townhouses lent themselves to speculative housing for clients. In this vein, Gallier designed rowhouses for Samuel Moore (1836) and Charles Diamond (1838).⁸³ On vacant lots adjacent to his offices and building yard facing Common and Carondelet Street, he erected buildings to serve as boarding houses which provided him a "handsome income" at \$2,000.00 each per year.⁸⁴ The Pontalba Buildings (1849-1851) were Gallier's most influential work in the Vieux Carré (*Figure 118*). For philanthropist Baroness Michaela Almonaster y Pontalba, Gallier designed sixteen Creole townhouses on each side of the *Place d'Armes* as speculative properties. With their Greek Revival architectural details, Philadelphia brick exterior walls, and cast-iron balconies supported by granite columns, the rowhouses are a tour-de-force of urban design.⁸⁵ After Gallier's introduction of cast-iron at these buildings, it became ubiquitous in the Vieux Carré replacing the familiar wrought-iron and *garde-de-frise* work that had been prevalent before. After Gallier quarreled with the difficult Baroness, the rowhouses were completed to final designs by Henry Howard (1818-1884). The Irish-born Howard also added his stamp to 1850s New Orleans. Among this work was an

⁸⁰ Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 158, 160, 198.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 68, 69.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 147; Gallier, 42.

⁸⁵ Toledano, 25.

addition to the Louisiana Sugar Refinery built by Norbert Soulié and Edmund Rillieux twenty years before.

Completed in 1850, Gallier's Municipal Hall for the Second District (begun in 1845) was New Orleans' last civic stamp of approval of the Greek Revival Style and highlighted Gallier's proficiency in the architectural style that he helped to establish in the city (*Figure 119*). "Between 1820 and 1850, New Orleans' most important public buildings were increasingly designed in the Federal, and then Greek Revival styles (*Table 16*). The Municipal Hall is symbolic of the full transition of New Orleans—economically, socially, culturally, and architecturally—into a U.S. city. Two years after the building's completion, the governments of the three city municipalities were merged and Gallier's building became the re-unified metropolis' City Hall.

Table 16. Featured public buildings in New Orleans, 1820-1850.

Date	Building	Architect and/or Builder	Style	Location
1820	Louisiana State Bank	Benjamin Latrobe (architect); Benjamin Fox (builder)	Federal	Vieux Carré
1820	Perserverance Lodge No. 4	Bernard Thibaud (builder)	Federal	Tremé
1821- 1824	American Theater	James Caldwell (builder)	Federal	Sainte-Marie
1826	Bank of Louisiana	Benjamin Fox (architect) Bickle and Hamlet (builders)	Federal/ Greek Revival	Vieux Carré
1830	Perserverance Lodge No. 4 <i>maison à étage</i>	Correjolles and Chaigneau (builders)	Federal	Tremé
1831- 1836	Parish Prison	Pilie/Voilquin/Bourgerol/Crozet (architects) Slack/Correjolles and Chaigneau/ Gobet and Larochette (builders)	Federal	Tremé
1833	Commercial Bank	George Clarkson (architect) Daniel H. Twogood (builder)	Greek Revival	Sainte-Marie
1835	St. Charles Theatre	Antonio Mondelli (architect)	Greek Revival	Sainte-Marie
1835	U.S. Mint	William Strickland (architect) Benjamin Fox/John Mitchell (builders)	Greek Revival	Vieux Carré
1835- 1837	Exchange Hotel/ St. Charles Hotel (d)	Gallier and Dakin/James Gallier, Sr. (architects)	Greek Revival	Sainte-Marie
1835	Merchant's Exchange (d)	Gallier and Dakin (architects) Daniel H. Twogood (builder)	Greek Revival	Vieux Carré

Date	Building	Architect and/or Builder	Style	Location
1836	City Exchange/ St. Louis Hotel	J. N. B. and J. I. de Pouilly (architects)	Greek Revival	Vieux Carré
1837	Exchange Passage	J. N. B. de Pouilly (conceived)	Early Classical Revival	Vieux Carré
1838- 1840	St. Patrick's Church	Dakin and Dakin/James Gallier Sr. (architects)	Gothic Revival	Sainte-Marie
1839	Arsenal	James Dakin (architect)	Greek Revival	Vieux Carré
1839	Tremé Market	A. J. Bourgerol (architect) Gobet and Larochette (builders)	Federal	Tremé
1841	St. Augustin Church	J. N. B. de Pouilly (architect)	Greek Revival	Tremé
1845- 1850	Municipal Building/City Hall/Gallier Hall	James Gallier, Sr. (architect)	Greek Revival	Sainte-Marie
1848	U.S. Customhouse	Alexander T. Wood (architect)	Greek Revival	Vieux Carré
1849- 1851	Pontalba Buildings	James Gallier, Sr./Henry Howard (architects)	Greek Revival	Vieux Carré

ANTEBELLUM ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE OF WHITE ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS

Learning and Teaching

With the exception of those who trained and worked in formal architectural offices or were educated in institutions of higher learning, French, white Creole, and Anglo architects and builders learned skills as building artisans in similar fashions to the *gens de couleur libres*. Knowledge of the building trades was passed down along male lines. No indenture contracts of apprenticeship have been found for any members of the Courcelle family. One can assume that Joachim Courcelle learned his trade from his father and then passed his knowledge on to his nephews Etienne and Achille Barthélémy. Architects also learned their professions from non-relatives. Claude Gurlie's and Joseph Guillot's service as builders early in their career for their French predecessors Latour and Laclotte can be viewed as professional apprenticeships and would have afforded them the opportunity to become familiar with the design conventions and technical knowledge needed themselves to design buildings in the

Early Classical Style appropriate for New Orleans and adapt European architectural conventions to Creole forms.

The formal apprenticeship system was as fruitful for white architects and students as for the *gens de couleur libres*. A survey of the Office of the Mayor's indenture index shows that many white architects and builders served as apprentice masters in contracts arranged between 1809 and 1843 (*Table 17*). Indentures between white builders/architects and their apprentices followed the same format as those between *gens de couleur libres* builders and their students. One noticeable difference is the matter of compensation. Most indentures for white or black architects and builders did not involve a stipend for the apprentice. In the 1832 contract between Joachim Courcelle and Maurice Populus, a free young man of color, however, Courcelle had to pay Populus \$8.00 at the end of each month for the duration of the apprenticeship.⁸⁶ As in an architectural office or other regular course of employment, apprentices were beginning to be compensated monetarily, not just with the knowledge and skills of the trade they endeavored to learn.

Of the builders and architects surveyed in this work, those of French origin had the most indenture contracts, and the only contracts where the apprentice was a slave.⁸⁷ These indentures also spanned the longest time from 1811 to 1833. Creole architects had the next highest number of indenture contracts, primarily from the mid-1820s to the early 1830s. Interestingly, only two Anglo architects and builders highlighted in this dissertation were engaged as masters in apprentice indentures—William Brand in the 1810s and Henry Latrobe with one contract in 1816. The lack of

⁸⁶ Contract between Joachim Courcelle and Maurice Populus, November 23, 1832.

⁸⁷ Felix Pinson served as master for all the indenture contracts examined by the author where the apprentice was a slave.

contracts for the latter is understandable in that he died the next year, likewise his father's tenure in New Orleans was very short and would have lessened his opportunity to serve as an apprentice master. But this dearth of indenture contracts emphasizes the absence of figures like Alexander Wood, the Dakin brothers, and James Gallier, Sr. who were actively building before 1843.⁸⁸ The reason for this is quite simple. Anglo architects at this time were beginning to develop their practices on a new model. Dakin and Gallier especially adopted the more formal office system through which they had been trained in the East Coast and in London. Young men would have gone to work for the architectural firm, gaining their proficiency in particular areas of their employer's expertise as complex building forms and high style architecture such as Greek Revival necessitated much more specialized work and training.

Table 17. Apprenticeship indentures in the building trades involving select builders, 1809-1843.(s) indicates that the apprentice was a slave.

French Architects				
Latour and Laclotte	Arsène Latour	Gurlie and Guillot	Jean Felix Pinson	Maurice Pizetta
July 1811 (4)	July 1813 (2)	November 1823 March 1830 April 1830	June 1826 September 1827 (s) October 1827 July 1832 (2s) December 1834 (2s)	December 1826 December 1828 May 1829 May 1829 January 1832 February 1833
Anglo Architects		Creole Architects		
William Brand	Henry B. S. Latrobe	François Correjolle	Joachim Courcelle	Correjolle and Chaigneau
November 1811 March 1812 April 1812 November 1812 August 1817 August 1818 December 1819 May 1820	December 1816	November 1825 September 1826 October 1826 November 1826 November 1827 May 1828 June 1828 September 1828	September 1829 January 1830 November 1832	May 1830 June 1830 (2)

⁸⁸ The building contract index ends in 1843.

The Architectural Office

In his autobiography, James Gallier, Sr. discusses his architectural offices. By 1835, he notes having "bought some lots of ground fronting on Common and Carondelet in New Orleans, I there established my office and workshops, and occupied them as long as I remained in business."⁸⁹ In contrast to *gens de couleur libres* builders like the Dollioles or even Creole builders like the Courcelles, whose residences or other small residential buildings served as the hub for their practices, white architects in the antebellum period had practices separate from their homes. Gallier's office complex was quite extensive containing a commercial building facing Common Street and a building yard with carpenters' shops.⁹⁰ Higher level positions included that of the "foreman carpenter" and, on the business end, the bookkeeper.⁹¹ The firm would also have employed journeymen. One builder with whom Gallier was known to have worked to construct his buildings was Edward Sewell (1805-1864).⁹² Gallier did point out the "'difficulties in procuring the services of good workmen to carry out the various contracts I had in hand: I found that mechanics who understood their business, even only tolerably well, preferred taking small contracts on their own account to working for others, so that those who were to be had for hire knew little or nothing of their business.'"⁹³ These higher-level builders might have been men such as the Dollioles or Souliés, or even the Courcelles. It is also possible that black Creole craftsmen worked under big-name builders like Fox, Brand, and the French builders who hired them as

⁸⁹ James Gallier, *Autobiography of James Gallier* (Paris: E. Brierre, 1864), 27.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27; Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 146; Toledano, 26; Gallier's address is the 1842 city directory is "Common n. Carondelet."

⁹¹ Gallier 26.

⁹² Sewell's built works include the C. H. Taney House (1835), G. R. Stringer House (1836), and 731-733 Street Girod. He had offices in 600 block of Commercial Place. Poesch and Bacot, 374; Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 16, 159, 165.

⁹³ Gallier, 26.

journeymen. In these cases, the names of *gens de couleur libres* builders would not be present on building contracts, providing one explanation for their being less represented in those types of documents.

Gallier's concerns regarding the type of workmen that one hired and that certain types of work required certain types of expertise and supervision was certainly not unfounded. The building of the U.S. Mint, designed by William Strickland and started in 1835, was left in the hands of master carpenter and joiner Benjamin Fox and master mason and builder John Mitchell.⁹⁴ While under construction, the building threatened to collapse because the support system failed. Gallier was called upon to devise a solution to prevent the building's ruin.⁹⁵ Other architectural disasters of the time included the collapse of Benjamin Latrobe's central tower for the St. Louis Cathedral in 1850. In turn, de Pouilly's tower for the church collapsed after he took over the project; this accident affected de Pouilly's ability to gain work in the latter part of his career.

Acquiring Large Commissions

The technical knowledge required to successfully construct monumental architecture was one reason *gens de couleur builders* (and some of their white contemporaries) had few to no commissions in the way of large public buildings. They simply did not have the knowledge of or means to execute the mastery of wooden piling and wooden cribbing for foundation support required to make the size and weight of large buildings possible.⁹⁶ In addition, the small-scale builder would not have been able to provide all inclusive services and materials for large buildings with high style

⁹⁴ Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume V*, 13.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁹⁶ James Marston Fitch, "Creole Architecture 1718-1860: The Rise and Fall of a Great Tradition," in *The Past as Prelude: New Orleans 1718-1868*, edited by Hodding Carter (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1968), 86.

architectural details. Some builders and architects owned interest in related businesses such as lumber yards, sawmills, or brickyards that aided their building, contracting, and developing endeavors.⁹⁷ One such individual was James Gallier who purchased interest in a sawmill; the speculative endeavor eventually caused him financial problems.⁹⁸ Still, owning or having interest in one's own timber supply would have been particularly helpful as lumber was short in years before the Civil War.⁹⁹ *Gens de couleur libres* builders, perhaps the exception of the Souliés who were mostly absent from the country and developing but not building, did not have at their disposal the materials needed for large, detailed commissions or the funds to acquire them. As evidenced by building contracts *gens de couleur libres* were perfectly capable of providing labor and materials for modest (domestic) commissions.

Location also provided an obstacle. The *gens de couleur libres* worked primarily in the Vieux Carré, Faubourg Tremé, and Faubourg Marigny. By the antebellum period the old quarter of the city was densely built up, leaving little room for the construction of new large buildings without the destruction of others. Tremé, Marigny, and the downriver Creole Faubourgs were primarily residential; their distance away from the river and the city's commercial cores would have made them unsuitable for the location of public buildings other than markets and churches. The economic development brought on by Anglo-Americans spurred development in the areas where they lived and worked, and that were feasible for development—along Canal Street and in the American Sector. Further, most big commissions were civic projects awarded via competition (*Table 18*); the City Council's decree of 1822 prevented *gens de couleur*

⁹⁷ S. Frederick Starr, *Southern Comfort: The Garden District of New Orleans* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 127.

⁹⁸ Gallier, 38-32.

⁹⁹ Starr, 136-138.

libres from submitting entries.¹⁰⁰ Finally, government agencies, financiers, and other individuals would have sought out the most prominent architects and builders working in the most popular styles. Practitioners were aided in this endeavor by placing advertisements in the city's newspapers and directories. James Mooney, a builder-architect, placed a notice in the 1823 City Directory announcing his services as an architect, house carpenter, and measurer highlighting his availability to create architectural drawings (i.e. elevations and sections) and to execute buildings at an affordable price (*Figure 120*).¹⁰¹ Even after returning to New Orleans Soulié cousins Edmond and Norbert Rillieux placed an ad in the New Orleans *Bee* on May 19, 1834, perhaps to counteract any loss of clientele and to their reputations following the Sugar Refinery mishap. Emphasizing skills they learned as a builder and an engineer, the brothers announced that they could "execute 'with neatness, dispatch, and at moderate prices all kinds of maps and plots, of cities, burghs, lots, houses, factories and of machinery of every description.'" ¹⁰² Otherwise, advertisements by *gens de couleur libres* builders do not appear to have been standard; most business was gained through word-of-mouth communication as well as familial and community ties.

¹⁰⁰ The New Orleans chapter of the American Institute of Architects (founded 1857) was responsible for "Removal of responsibility for design of public buildings from the City Engineer's office and establishment of a reasonable method of selecting an architect." AIA New Orleans, "AIA New Orleans History," <http://www.aianeworleans.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=1> (accessed April 14, 2012).

¹⁰¹ Leonard V. Huber, *Louisiana: a pictorial history* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 141 from *Paxton's New Orleans City Directory*, 1823.

¹⁰² Christopher E. G. Benfey, *Degas in New Orleans: encounters in the Creole world of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable* (New York: Knopf, 1997), 29-30.

Table 18. Select antebellum architecture competition participation among New Orleans architects (with winners highlighted in **bold**).¹⁰³

Date	Building	Known Entrants
1808	<i>Halles des Boucheries</i> (Meat Market)	Lafon, Latour , Brand
1813	<i>Halles des Boucheries</i>	Latrobe, Dujarreau, Gurlie and Guillot (construction), Tanesse (design)
1825	Mortuary Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua	Gurlie and Guillot , F. Correjolles, Brand, Mooney, and Lissuete
1848	U. S. Custom House	Dakin and Gallier, Wood , and others

Gens de couleur libres clientele

By no means did white architects only build large public buildings for the city, the U.S. government, church congregations, or wealthy groups and individuals. They designed a range of domestic buildings in diverse forms and styles. Further, their clientele were not solely Anglo-Americans. French, French Creole, and Anglo builders and architects had *gens de couleur libres* clientele. The Notarial Archives and property record searches yield information on building contracts made between several white architects and builders as well as and *gens de couleur libres* clients (Table 19). The contracts examined here were made in the 1830s and 1840s by which time American architects and builders (and the forms and styles in which they built) would have established strongholds in the building trades and acceptance in non-Anglo communities.

¹⁰³ John Magill, "French Market Celebrates 200th Anniversary," *Preservation in Print* 18, no. 4 (May 1991): 7; Fraiser, 47; Toledano and Christovich, 59

Table 19. Selected built works by white architects for non-white clients. (d)=demolished, (e)=extant

Architect or Builder	Date	Form (status)	Client Time Frame Cost	Current Address/ Historic Location	Faubourg
French Builders					
Claude Gurlie	1840	five-bay cottage	Milne sisters \$2,000-3,000	1253-1255 North Villeré	Tremé
Claude Gurlie	1840	undetermined cottage (3)(d)	Milne sisters \$2,000-3,000	Esplanade	Tremé
J.N.B. de Pouilly	1842	Creole townhouse	Madame Lassize \$		Vieux Carré
French Creole Builders					
François Correjolles	1833	unknown	Eulalie Mandeville \$	918 Barracks Street	Vieux Carré
Anglo Builders					
James Gallier	1836	unknown	Austin Janau \$39,120	Canal at Baronne	Sainte-Marie
W.L. Atkinson (architect) Alexander Baggett (builder)	1839	American townhouses (4)	Norbert Soulié 5 months \$29,500	Baronne at Lafayette	Sainte-Marie
Morris Hurley (builder)	1847	townhouse	Magdeleine Oger 2.5 months \$1550	Carondelet at Clio	Saulet

A builder in his own right, absentee landlord Norbert Soulié sought the services of a white architect and a white builder when he commissioned speculative properties on 1839. Norbert (with Albin as proxy) contracted with Virginia native Alexander Baggett (1805-1865) to construct four two-story brick houses with attics and kitchens on the corner of Baronne and Hevia (Lafayette) streets (*Figure 121*).¹⁰⁴ The four-page

¹⁰⁴ Building contract between Norbert Soulié and Alexander Baggett, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 32, act 499, June 4, 1839; Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 222.

agreement contained precise specification from the dimensions of the foundations, windows, and doors to the type of hardware ("locks shall be the best American manufacture..."). Unfortunately, the plans by architect W. L. Atkinson, an Englishman, cannot be found.¹⁰⁵ One of the buildings was demolished by 1876, and the others have been greatly altered (*Figure 122*). The contract notes that at the buildings, "All the work to be done after the same Style and the same workmanlike manner of that done to the house of Mr. William Florance in Camp Street...." Like Florance's townhouses, Soulié's were to be constructed of country brick, faced with "Lake brick," "jointed & painted & penciled" in the best manner," and "trimed [sic] inside with double faced Architraves and plinths...."¹⁰⁶ The copy-cat nature of Greek Revival buildings in New Orleans reflected in the building contract allow for comparison between characteristics of Norbert Soulié's Baronne Street buildings and similar buildings in Faubourg Sainte-Marie.¹⁰⁷ Like Soulié's "tenements," contemporary brick townhouses were also elevated above the *banquette* and featured venetian blinds hung outside the window frames; multi-light, double-hung windows (some with the lower sash "down to the floor"); and iron galleries; and iron gratings sunk in the flagging (*Figure 123*). The repetition of features in these Greek Revival buildings also allowed for quick turnaround. Baggett was under a tight schedule in that he was required to have Soulié's four townhouses completed in just five months, under penalty of having to pay the rent for the properties

¹⁰⁵ Atkinson also designed the Atchafalaya Bank and two-story rowhouses for William Saunders on Camp Street in 1840. Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II*, 40, 70, 129.

¹⁰⁶ Building contract between Norbert Soulié and Alexander Baggett; NOA 2, 193.

¹⁰⁷ Florance's house on Camp Street does not appear to be extant; it was not recorded in volume two of the *New Orleans Architecture* series. Other buildings that William Florance commissioned or Alexander Baggett built in Faubourg Saint-Marie have been demolished or are extant but too greatly altered for historic comparison. Christovich, *et. al.*, *New Orleans Architecture, volume II*, 193.

if he was late. As recorded in the family ledgers, Norbert Soulié collected rents from these properties in the amount of \$40.00 to \$50.00 per month.

Renting properties was a consistent means for *gens de couleur libres* to earn income. Like the Soulié sisters, Nancy and Jane Milne were no exception. Though the Milne sisters were recently emancipated, they were identified as *gens de couleur libres* because of their mixed race.¹⁰⁸ Building contracts from the year 1840 survive for four commissions between the sisters and Claude Gurlie. When Alexander Milne freed the two women "for their services and the great care they had taken of him in his old age and infirmities" in his 1838 will, he stipulated that Gurlie build four houses to serve as income property for them.¹⁰⁹ According to the 1840 building contract between Gurlie and Alexander Milne's executor, the architect was to design and build two brick cottages at a cost of \$2,000.00 each and two brick cottages at the cost of \$3,000.00 each. One of these houses, a five-bay brick cottage on North Villeré Street, is extant but is altered and in poor condition (*Figure 124*).¹¹⁰

In 1842 J. N. B. de Pouilly designed a two-story Creole storehouse for *femme de couleur libre* Madame Augustine Eugenie de Lassize on St. Peter Street (*Figure 125*). It was built by his sometimes associate Ernest Godchaux.¹¹¹ Built after a time when de Pouilly had designed high-style public buildings like the St. Louis Hotel (1836) and Exchange Passage (1837), this house illustrates the builder-architect's retention of features found in his earlier domestic works.

¹⁰⁸ Jane Milne is identified in the 1850 census as being a mulatto aged 35.

¹⁰⁹ Toledano and Christovich, 199.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹¹¹ The cast-iron gallery and third story were added later. The latter was Achille Peretti's studio from 1906 to 1923. Tennessee Williams wrote *A Streetcar Named Desire* from his attic rooms, Fraiser, 202; French Creoles, "Madame Augustine Eugenie de Lassize," <http://www.frenchcreoles.com/Early%20Creole%20Homes/632%20st%20peter%20street.htm> (accessed April 12, 2006).

Toward the end of the antebellum period in 1847, free woman of color Madeleine Clemence Oger contracted with Morris Hurley to build a wood house for her in Faubourg Saulet. Hurley's work was to match exactly Oger's current residence on the adjacent lot that *homme de couleur libre* architect William Kincaide had designed for her six years earlier. This commission is significant in that it provides evidence that *gens de couleur libres* lived and worked in a suburb even farther upriver than Faubourg Sainte-Marie during the antebellum. Further, in an interesting turn, is a white architect building the designs of a very talented *homme de couleur libres* architect.¹¹²

Of the above examples, all of the French architects worked in Faubourg Tremé, the Creole architect in the Vieux Carré, and the Anglo architects and builders in the American Sector. So while their black Creole clients were present in different parts of the city, the architects and builders appear to have conducted work in the neighborhoods in which they were most familiar, in the forms and styles most prevalent in those neighborhoods. While the movement of *gens de couleur libres* clients was much more fluid than might be anticipated, in the realm of private and domestic architecture, white architects and builders, building form, and architectural style was less so.

CHANGE

As far as public architecture is concerned, white architects and East Coast types and styles did not have a problem encroaching on traditionally Creole and, more importantly, black Creole places. For example, numerous buildings were erected in

¹¹² William Kincaide is not discussed in depth in this work in that the author could find little information about him to serve as a point of comparison. Secondary source and limited archival research indicates that in addition to the house for Oger, he built two townhouses in Faubourg Sainte-Marie (1840) and three cottages on Dauphine Street in Faubourg Tremé (1841). These clients were all white males. Naohito Okude, "Application of Linguistic Concepts to the Study of Vernacular Buildings: Architectural Designs among New Orleans' Free Persons of Color, 1820-1880," Ph.D. dissertation (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 1986), 113; Toledano, *et. al.*, 121. Hurley also built townhouses in the 300 block of North Rampart Street that year, near those erected by Norbert Soulié.

Faubourg Tremé—an area that was historically dominated by black Creoles—in non-Creole styles, by builders and architects other than *gens de couleur libres*. The College d'Orléans, Carondelet Canal, St. Augustine Church, Mortuary Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua, the Parish Prison, and Tremé Market were all public works or buildings in which black Creole builders or architects were not involved. One reason for this problem was that the building labor force in which *gens de couleur libres* builders and architects participated gained additional competitors. Increasing European immigration in the brought craftsmen and laborers—mostly Irish and German—who sought to capture the labor market of larger towns and cities.¹¹³ With the influx of Irish and other immigrants, racial prejudice developed within the building trades and the idea that blacks, including *gens de couleur libres*, were incapable as craftsmen began to take root.

Increasing race tensions played a part in the marginalization of *gens de couleur libres* building artisans and architects, but the city's American economy contributed more so. Opportunity and economic development during the antebellum years made growth, prosperity, cooperation, and organization possible for American architects.¹¹⁴ In this period, economies were extremely localized and undercapitalized; municipal governments often depended on money from private sources for public works. Private projects were funded this way as well. Private investors focused on short-term gains.¹¹⁵ This affected the more "professional" white architects like Latrobe who had to be careful in their expenses when designing and constructing large buildings. Likewise *gens de couleur libres* builders, working on a smaller-scale with more limited finances and enterprises, would have been out of the scope of such financiers. Men like the Dollioles,

¹¹³ Genovese, 264. Most of these individuals left Europe as a result of the Potato Famine in Ireland and the mini revolution brought on by the Professors' War of 1848 in Germany, Toledano, xiii.

¹¹⁴ Woods, 26.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

Souliés, Boisdoré, Guesnon, Vivant, Courcelle, Chateau, Roup, and Fouché did not have the means, nor likely the desire, to try to underwrite ambitious private and public projects that architects like Latrobe, Dakin, and Gallier "considered worthy of their training and talent."¹¹⁶ In addition to having theoretical knowledge on top of practical skill, this new professional architect became identified with "public buildings of artistic and structural excellence...."¹¹⁷ Like early American cities—Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Washington, D.C.—New Orleans was developing the East Coast mentality that being an architect expected a certain type of elite professionalism of which the *gens de couleur libres*, no matter their individual education or skills, were not a part. Slowly, the city yielded to the mores of East Coast architecture in practice and appearance. This architectural surrender at the end of the antebellum era coincided with another take over. In the most detailed and lengthy entry in his journal, Bernard Soulié notes that French Creole builder Joachim Courcelle (his uncle by marriage) died at noon on April 29, 1862. After Union troops occupied the city on the previous day [April 28], "He went to throw himself into the Carondelet Canal, pushed by sadness."¹¹⁸ New Orleans surrendered to Admiral David G. Farragut on April 30, 1862, officially ending the antebellum era in Louisiana.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹¹⁸ Bernard Soulié, "Journal of Bernard Soulié," *New Orleans Genesis* 25, no. 99 (July 1986):, 328.

**PART THREE: ENTREPRENEURSHIP –
CONTROLLING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT**

Chapter Seven: Money, Power, and Status in the Building Trades""

"...*property* is the basis of *power*; and this, being established as a cardinal point, directs us to the means of preserving our freedom."

—Noah Webster (1787)¹

In various historic documents written in French, the term "entrepreneur" is utilized to describe the occupation of known black and white Creole master builders and property owners.² Without knowing the trade of that individual or looking at the original French source material, a literal translation yields the term "undertaker."³ The word, however, more explicitly describes someone who undertakes a task. More specifically, an entrepreneur is "a person who organizes and manages an enterprise, usually with considerable initiative and risk."⁴ In antebellum New Orleans, the skill and prestige of master builders and land owners was recognized by the use of the term *entrepreneur de bâtisses*, regardless of their training or ethnicity. *Gens de couleur libres* acquired wealth and financial security by participating in these enterprises. Risk was involved when bad decisions in or economic downturn affecting the practices of building construction and building and land speculation had the potential to result in financial (or

¹ From "An Examination into the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution Proposed by the Late Convention Held at Philadelphia."

² Building contracts: Jean-Louis Dolliole (1831), Dolliole & Errié (1838, 1848), Louis Vivant (1846).

³ The word *entrepreneur* ("undertaker") has been in use since early eighteenth century when first used by Parisian banker Richard Cantillon. Howard H. Stevenson and Teresa M. Amabile, "Entrepreneurial Management: In Pursuit of Opportunity," in *The Intellectual Venture Capitalist: John H. McArthur and the Work of the Harvard Business School, 1980-1995*, edited by Thomas K. McCraw and Jeffrey L. Cruikshank (Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press, 1999), 146.

⁴ *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* (1996), s. v. "entrepreneur."

even social) ruin. By and large, however, the *gens de couleur libres* ventures and chances in real estate were successful.

Kimberly Hanger notes that three factors, developed in New Orleans' Spanish Colonial period, influenced the ability of free people of color to have such achievements. The ability of the nascent *gens de couleur libres* community to acquire wealth and financial security relied on: 1) acquisition of a marketable skill before and after being freed, 2) possession of a reputable reputation in the white community through kinship and patronage, and 3) having access to freedom by being born free or having free kin.⁵ The Dollioles and Souliés, and their black Creole contemporaries met all of these stipulations—they were born free, attained skills as builders and developers, and gained reputations in the white (Creole and Anglo) communities via their familial associations and clientele. Their privileges as free men affected their professional lives allowing them to own real estate, enter into business contracts, lease/rent property, and trade on the open market.⁶ By these means, the Dollioles and Souliés amassed significant quantities of wealth and became pillars of their communities, exerting a measure of control not seen in other antebellum communities of free persons of color.

"PERSONS OF POSITION AND QUALITY"—WORTH OF *GENS DE COULEUR LIBRES* IN THE BUILDING TRADES⁷

The *gens de couleur libres* builders and property owners of the antebellum period physically transformed the city of New Orleans. Yet, the significance of their contributions not only lies in the physical expressions of their work as far as form and

⁵ Kimberly Hanger, "Patronage, Property, and Persistence: The Emergence of a Free Black Elite in Spanish New Orleans," *Slavery and Abolition* (1996): 53.

⁶ Mary Gehman, "Visible Means of Support: Businesses, Professions, and Trades of Free People of Color" in *Creole: the history and legacy of Louisiana's free people of color*, edited by Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 209.

⁷ Rodolph Desdunes, *Our People and Our History*. 1911. Translated by Dorothea Olga McCants (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 80.

building types and architectural style and the means of building and construction, but also in the personal, communal, social, and cultural motivations behind their choices. The *gens de couleur libres* did not simply act upon their world, they controlled it as much as they were able. Scholarship on New Orleans's free people of color community usually includes discussion of François Lacroix, one of the wealthiest *hommes de couleur libres* in the antebellum city. The business of builders and property owners, and the results of their endeavors, is reflected in his dealings and reputation.

François Lacroix (ca. 1806-1876) and Julien Adolphe Lacroix (ca. 1808-1868), were the natural sons of Elizabeth Norwood and French Creole Paul Lacroix (whose accidental death at a building site in 1847 was recounted in Bernard Soulié's journal). The Lacroix brothers owned and developed many properties throughout New Orleans.⁸ François was also a tailor who partnered with sometimes builder Etienne Cordeviolle (a mulatto of Afro-Italian ancestry); their firm was located at several locations on Chartres Street. When his wife Cecile died in 1856, François Lacroix's estate was valued at over \$250,000.⁹ At the end of the antebellum period in 1861, though his worth had decreased slightly to \$242,570, Lacroix was still the wealthiest black man in the city.¹⁰ "In addition to his lucrative business as a tailor, through Lacroix's dealings in real estate as a speculator, landlord, and contractor (he individually oversaw many aspects of the construction and maintenance of his properties) he had influence over the city's

⁸ Among the properties owned by one or both of the brothers, by faubourg were: Vieux Carré—716 St. Philip, 717 St. Louis, 839 Bourbon, 1005 Burgundy, 713 St. Louis, 833 Bienville, 306 Dauphine, 720 Dumaine, 716 Dumaine, 907 Burgundy; Marigny and Creole Faubourgs—2701 Chartres, 1903 Dauphine, 2105 Dauphine, 125-129 Decatur, 2109 Decatur, 503 Esplanade, 501 Frenchmen, 700-706 Frenchmen; Sainte-Marie—117-119 Decatur.

⁹ This amounts to approximately six million dollars in early-twenty-first century currency, Shirley Thompson, *Exiles at Home: the struggle to become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 114.

¹⁰ New Orleans Public Library, "The World of the François Lacroix," online exhibit, <http://nutrias.org/%7Enopl/exhibits/lacroix/title.hrm> (accessed October 2, 2007).

development and over the ways in which New Orleanians saw and experienced that development. As such, "Lacroix the mere owner of property became Lacroix the proprietor, an exemplar of the social status attributed to ownership and the cultural values conveyed beyond it."¹¹ Likewise, the Dollioles and Souliés utilized their acts as builders, contractors, and developers to serve not just as actors within and upon their communities but as architects—planners and creators—wielding a significant amount of control and influence. The building-related endeavors of the two families put them among some of the wealthiest citizens of antebellum New Orleans, black or white.

As *gens de couleur libres* were legally able to enter into contractual agreements, various types of documents shed light as to their financial wealth. A starting point for analysis of the Dollioles' and Souliés' value in comparison to other New Orleans residents is examination of marriage contracts. These documents often provide information on the wealth, literacy, and occupations of the contracting parties. Further, they present a particular point in time and are "selective" as wealthier parties were more likely to enter into the competitive marriage mart and feel the need to make legal provisions.¹² Of the two families emphasized here, marriage contracts between Bernard Soulié and Eliza Sylvie Courcelle (1832) and between Jean-Louis Dolliole and Marie Eugenie Baudin have been located (1836). The contract between Dolliole and Baudin does not declare wealth or value of either party; it emphasizes their intent to have communal property and recognizes their three minor children since they had already been co-habiting for some time.¹³ The Soulié-Courcelle contract, on the other hand, is

¹¹ Thompson, 113.

¹² Paul F. Lachance, "The Foreign French," in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, eds. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 121.

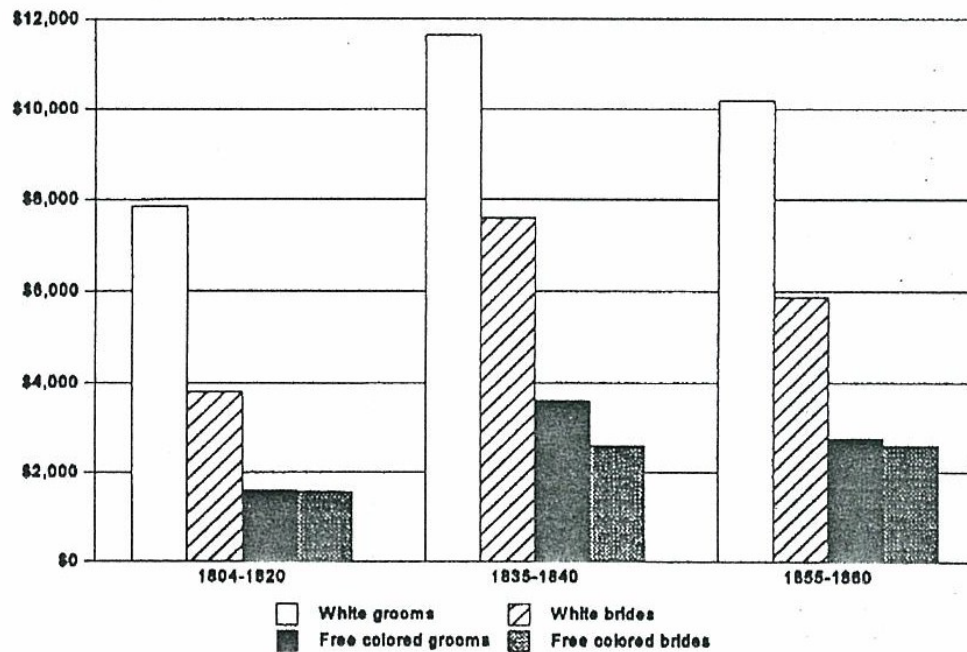
¹³ Marriage contract between Jean-Louis Dolliole and Marie Eugenie Baudin, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 53, act 120, April 9, 1836.

very detailed. On January 19, 1832, Bernard Soulié brought to his marriage \$20,000.00 in property—\$19,700.00 in cash, notes, credits, goods and merchandise (after deducting debts) and a slave valued at \$300.00.¹⁴ Already worth \$20,000.00 relatively early in his lifelong occupation as a property developer, real estate speculator, and commission merchant, Bernard ranked among the wealthiest of any New Orleanian. *Table 20* shows the average value of property declared in antebellum marriage contracts based on historian Paul Lachance's database. White grooms declared the most property, an amount three to five times higher than that of free men of color. The value of Soulié's assets was well above the average declared by the wealthiest group. In 1836, 855 *gens de couleur libres* in New Orleans owned a total of \$2,462,470.00 in property and 620 slaves.¹⁵ This amounted to an average of property valued at \$2,880 per person; putting both Bernard Soulié above his peers in terms of his value in landed wealth.

¹⁴ Marriage contract between Bernard Soulié and Eliza Sylvie Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 5, act 12, January 19, 1832.

¹⁵ Violet Harrington Bryan, *The Myth of New Orleans in Literature: Dialogues of Race and Gender* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 53.

Table 20. Average Value of Property Declared in Marriage Contracts by Period, Gender and Race.¹⁶



In comparison to the marriage contracts from earlier in the antebellum period, the 1850 federal census—the first at which the value of real estate owned by individuals was recorded—illustrates the value of *gens de couleur libres* at the end of the period. New Orleans was the nation's sixth largest city (the largest in the South) and had the country's largest slave market. At that time, Jean-Louis Dolliole, Joseph Dolliole, and Bernard Soulié owned property worth \$10,000.00, \$12,000.00, and \$20,000.00, respectively. Interestingly, the value of François Lacroix's property was not recorded though he was at the height of his real estate and commercial activities. No value for real property was recorded for several other black Creole builders, including Louis Vivant and Louis Drausin Dolliole, either. In 1850, the *gens de couleur libres* (of the "Free Mulatto" category in Table 21) residing in the First Municipality (including the Vieux Carré and Faubourg Tremé) were the wealthiest black Creoles in the city (property-

¹⁶ Paul Lachance, "The Limits of Privilege: Where Free Persons of Colour Stood in the Hierarchy of Wealth in Antebellum New Orleans," *Slavery and Abolition* (1996): 75, figure 4.

wise). Though these individual accounted for only 28.07% of the city's *gens de couleur libres* population, their property accounted for 48.96% of property values. Residents of the Second Municipality's Seventh Ward, the Dolliole brothers and Bernard Soulié contributed to these numbers.

Table 21. Property Values of free people of color in New Orleans, 1850.¹⁷ (no. of owners in parenthesis)

1860 Wards	1850 Municips. & Wards	Total FPC Property Values (number)	Total Free Mulatto Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Black Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Male Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Female Property Value (number)
#1	2 nd M/Wds 1&2	\$ 37,700 (19)	\$ 24,000 (15)	\$ 13,700 (4)	\$ 5,500 (1)	\$ 8,200 (3)
2	2 nd M/Wds 3&4	19,800 (6)	13,300 (4)	6,500 (2)	1,500 (1)	5,000 (1)
3	2 nd M/Wds 5,6&7	980,250 (184)	914,000 (162)	66,250 (22)	28,750 (12)	37,500 (10)
4	1 st M/wds 1&2	63,000 (9)	55,000 (8)	7,500 (1)	7,500 (1)	0 (0)
5	1 st M/Wds 3,4&5	918,200 (119)	859,750 (103)	44,950 (16)	5,950 (6)	39,000 (10)
6	1 st M/Wds 6&7	503,600 (73)	471,100 (65)	22,500 (8)	16,000 (4)	8,500 (4)
7	3 rd M/Wd 1	407,980 (219)	358,680 (176)	49,300 (43)	23,250 (20)	26,050 (23)
8	3 rd M/Wd 2	123,490 (54)	123,490 (44)	19,050 (10)	10,700 (3)	8,350 (7)
9	3 rd M/Wds 3&4	51,060 (81)	51,060 (50)	21,400 (31)	11,000 (18)	10,400 (13)
		\$ 3,105,080 (762)	2,830,430 (627)	251,150 (97)	110,150 (66)	143,000 (71)

In the intervening decade between 1850 and 1860, at the end of the antebellum period, the wealth of *gens de couleur libres* builders can be ascertained from municipal property tax records and receipts as well as credit reports. Arranged by individual, New Orleans' tax registers of 1852 and 1853 provide specific information as to the location of a property (by ward, block, and, sometimes, street name), the number and worth of any slaves located on that property (*Table 22*, see detailed entries in *Appendix G*), and its appraised value, for the purpose of levying taxes. With his ownership of a smaller number of more modest properties, Myrtille Courcelle's landed property is appraised at the lowest amount. The Soulié women (with Eulalie, Celeste, and Coralie having a joint

¹⁷ Frank Joseph Lovato, "Households and Neighborhoods Among Free People of Color in New Orleans: A View from the Census," 1850-1860, master's thesis, University of New Orleans, 2010.

account under Eulalie)¹⁸ owned real estate roughly equal to that of their cousin. The values for the real properties of Jean-Louis Dolliole, and the partnership of Albin and Bernard Soulié are commensurate over the year and essentially doubled since they own twice the amount of properties. Though the real estate independently owned by Albin Soulié is also doubled, the sale of one property worth \$6,000.00 that he owned in 1852 makes the 1853 total seem less proportional. In an interesting twist, Norbert tops the list with the highest appraised property values. Though he had been an expatriate for twenty years at this point, he continued to buy, develop, and sell a significant amount of properties.

Table 22. Selected entries from 1852 and 1853 real estate tax registers.¹⁹

Individual	1852		1853	
	No. of properties	Value	No. of properties	Value
Louise Soulié	1	\$3,500	—	—
Eulalie Soulié	2	\$2,600	2	\$4,300
Myrtille Courcelle	1	\$2,500	4	\$4,600
Jean-Louis Dolliole	4	\$7,700	7	\$13,700
Albin Soulié	4	\$15,200	7	\$12,150
Bernard and Albin Soulié	3	\$5,100	6 ²⁰	\$13,000
Norbert Soulié	7	\$36,900	14	\$75,100

R.G. Dun and Company credit reports contain evaluations of the credit worthiness of many of New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres*. The amounts given do not constitute the actual value of personal and real property; they represent the amounts up to which persons were considered safe to loan money and were *based on* actual values of real and personal property, past creditworthiness, and reputation. The partnership of Bernard and Albin Soulié, who would have needed to acquire credit for

¹⁸ Per the family's ledger books.

¹⁹ The numbers presented in this table do not include the number and value of any slaves listed with properties.

²⁰ One property, No. 31 Esplanade was listed on two bills in 1852. The first bill noted that the property was worth \$4,500.00 with two slaves valued at \$800.00. The second property was worth \$2,000.00 with two slaves valued at \$1,000.00. The first entry was used in this analysis.

their business as commission merchants, is listed; the Dollioles, and most of their other contemporaries, are not. In 1853, Albin and Bernard were "good for" \$100,000.00 in credit. The following year, their worth was estimated between \$250,000.00 and \$300,000.00. Throughout the decade (entries for the firm are present until 1856 and are absent until 1868, probably due to the Civil War), the brothers were considered "safe" and "first-rate" capitalists with credit in good standing despite their race.²¹ An individual entry is also present for Bernard from June 1859. It notes that he owns real estate and slaves and is considered worth \$50,000.00. Aside from stating his occupation as a broker, the entry includes personal observations noting that Bernard lives at the corner of Rampart and Barracks, is the agent for parties in France (his siblings), and that he is "married, steady, sober, honest, and reliable."²²

The values of individuals' estate inventories at their deaths provides the key to their worth after accumulating (or losing) wealth from a lifetime of business and personal endeavors (*Table 23*). As Norbert Soulié remained involved with New Orleans real estate and speculation, enough monies remained from his estate for \$62,033.16 in cash legacies to be granted to his heirs in 1869 (only a few thousand dollars shy of François Lacroix's \$67,000.00 estate).²³ Based on the appraised value of his property from the tax registers, we know that most of worth of the estate was likely from real property. The personal property of any free persons of color was generally less likely to appear in any public record.²⁴ Free blacks (of all ethnicities) were among the poorest of

²¹ R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Louisiana volume 11, 30, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston, Massachusetts.

²² *Ibid.*, 19.

²³ Docket No. 30844, Louisiana, Civil District Court (Orleans Parish), General Index of all Successions, 1880-1903. Lacroix's estate would be worth \$1.2 million in today's currency, Thompson, 114.

²⁴ Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 38.

the poor, and they appear rarely to have been credited with any personal property except retail merchandise, horses, carts, and, in southern cities, slaves.²⁵ Jean-Louis Dolliole's 1861 estate amounting to \$13,959.00 included \$2,059.00 in moveable property, mostly furniture and other household goods. Joseph Dolliole's estate (1869) was appraised at \$7,726.00 with \$226.00 worth of furniture. Based on the comparatively modest value of his property in the 1850s, Myrtille Courcelle died in a very wealthy man in 1872 with his estate appraised at \$36,957.50! Cash receipts in favor of the succession and unpaid promissory notes accounted for approximately 39% and 20% of Courcelle's estate, respectively. This indicates that Courcelle was either owed money for building projects or, like his Soulié cousins, was able to use funds generated from his building and real estate activities to serve as a money lender. As opposed to branching out in their professional pursuits by building in a variety of building types, forms, and styles (i.e. architects such as James Gallier), *gens de couleur libres* builders and speculators diversified their activities within the building trades via property speculation, lending monies for the purchase of property, and serving as mortgage holders.²⁶ Individuals also took up other professions, depending on their real estate activities to fund those enterprises. As commission merchants, Bernard and Albin Soulié purchased goods for sale and were compensated for their services by the sale of the goods at a profit or via compensation paid by the owners of the goods. As they became increasingly affluent in this capacity, often traveling abroad, Bernard and Albin spread the demand for building work on their properties to other *gens de couleur libres*, primarily family members. In the antebellum period, "...working as a developer involved

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁶ Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 95.

substantial risks, and architects with little personal capital often found financial disaster, not wealth and leisure in building."²⁷ Free persons of color like the Dollioles and Souliés managed to circumvent the risks involved by taking modest inheritances of money and property as well as their skills and builders to enhance careers in other professions and to provide employment and income opportunities for other black Creoles, for personal and community gain in order to become some of the wealthiest of the city's *gens de couleur libres*.

Table 23. Estate values of selected *gens de couleur libres* builders.

Individual	Assets					Total (Less Debts)
	Cash	Notes	Movable	Slaves	Real	
J.L. Dolliole (1861)	n/a	n/a	\$59.00	\$2,000.00	\$11,900.00	\$5,426.00 (\$13,959.00-8,533.00)
J. Dolliole (1869)	n/a	n/a	\$226.00	n/a	\$7,500.00	\$7,726.00 (\$7,726.00-0)
N. Soulié (1869)	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	\$63,033.16 (debts unknown)
M. Courcelle (1872)	\$14,595.27	\$7,372.33	n/a	n/a	\$15,000.00	\$33,662.87 (\$36,967.60-3,304.73)

EN FAMILLE

An extract from the minutes of death certificates of Paris' Eighth *Arrondissement*, filed with Bernard Soulié's Orleans Parish Civil District Court succession records, does not include the value of Bernard's estate but does inform that his property was bequeathed to his wife Eliza Courcelle as part of their communal property (per their marriage contract and Louisiana's Civil Code laws regarding communal property).²⁸ The bequeathing of real property and cash legacies (often derived from the acquisition and

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁸ Docket No. 8029, Louisiana, Civil District Court (Orleans Parish), General Index of all Successions, 1880-1903.

sale of properties) was one means by which the business of the building and real estate activities of the *gens de couleur libres* provided financial support within families. Within New Orleans free people of color community, the role of family and its intersection with building and real estate was particularly important. The mixed-race families provided the framework for unique cases of filial and romantic affection to be played out but also served as the path by which those relationships could have substance in and persist through the inheritance of wealth and property.²⁹

Much of the communal nature of the Dollioles' building activities remained to the benefit of the immediate family. During his lifetime, some of Louis Dolliole's real property was acquired by his sons Jean-Louis, Joseph, and Pierre, providing them with either homes or means to generate an income. The sons later donated properties to their mother who, in turn, bequeathed them to her sons. In 1820, Jean-Louis made a donation of his Pauger Street house and land to his minor children from his first marriage.³⁰ Both Jean-Louis and Joseph made temporary donations of property that they purchased from their father's estate in 1822 to their mother. Various properties (i.e. 1100 block of St. Philip) exchanged hands between the brothers. And, when the probate of individual family member's estates ordered the sale of property, other Dollioles purchased it. For example, when Genevieve Laronde died in 1838, her two living sons each purchased one of her two slaves.³¹ In addition, Jean-Louis purchased the two properties belonging to Genevieve in the family compound on St. Philip Street that he did not already own. Genevieve's property in the 1100 block of St. Philip Street (which she had purchased from son Pierre) was adjudicated to Joseph Dolliole from her

²⁹ Thompson, 11.

³⁰ Jean-Louis Dolliole to his minor children, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 174, April 22, 1820.

³¹ Succession of Genevieve Dolliole, 1838, Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846.

estate. The Dollioles also acted legally on behalf of one another. The year before his death, Pierre gave power of attorney over his affairs to older brother Jean-Louis.³² Joseph served as Pierre's attorney at their father's estate inventory and was the executor for Charlotte Dolliole (his half-sister).³³ Family support also extended to religious obligation—Joseph and his first wife Magdeleine were the godparents of Jean-Louis' daughter Marie Rosella.³⁴

The same kind of support could be found in the Soulié family. While their parents did not bequeath the first-generation Souliés much by the way of real property, the daughters did retain use of their mother's house and Jean Soulié saw to it that Eulalie Mazange's wishes were carried out on behalf of their children.³⁵ Having acted on behalf of his sibling living in France since the 1830s, Bernard also functioned as Norbert's testamentary executor when the latter died in Paris in 1869.³⁶ Brothers Lucien and Norbert formed a partnership to enhance their property and buying purchase power so that they would have adequate income to live abroad. Younger brothers Bernard and Albin followed suit to fund and supplement their careers as builders and commission merchants in the city of New Orleans.

³² Procuration, Pierre Dolliole to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 526, June 29, 1821.

³³ Succession of Louis Dolliole (1822) and Succession of Charlotte Dolliole (1836) Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846; Joseph Dolliole also witnessed the marriage of Isabelle Macarty and Daniel Nobe, Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, comps., *New Orleans Architecture, Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1980), 161. Nobe was undoubtedly related to Joseph's first wife, Magdeleine Nobe (possibly Jove/Hobe).

³⁴ Charles E. Nolan, Dorenda Dupont, and J. Edgar Bruns, eds. *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 18, 1828-1829* (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 2000), 124.

³⁵ Albin and Celeste did purchase their mother's four slaves.

³⁶ Docket No. 33792, Louisiana Second District Court (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1846-1880, City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library.

The Souliés also had a support system formed of extended family members—their maternal aunts, their aunts' *plaçage* husbands, their mixed-race cousins, and even, their "uncles" white relatives. The importance of family ties were established early on when Juan Soulié and Eulalie Mazange served as godparents to Eulalie's younger sister Lucille Vivant and to Eulalie's nephew Norbert Rillieux, son of Constance Vivant.³⁷ In 1819, Norbert Soulié purchased his aunt Constance Vivant's former cottage on Burgundy from Michelin Batigne four years after she had mortgaged it to Batigne. Shortly before he relocated to France, Norbert built a house on the lot and re-sold the property to Vivant, thereby earning money for his departure and restoring her property to her with improvements.

The Souliés also joined forces with their white Creole relatives to secure family property and strengthen ties within the Creole community at large. When Jean Soulié and his two oldest sons moved to France, Leon Courcelle (aunt Adelaide's consort) was given power of attorney over their affairs.³⁸ Bernard Soulié served as the administrator of Joachim Courcelle's estate when the latter died in 1862.³⁹ With his father and older brothers gone to France, Bernard's marriage contract with Eliza Sylvie Courcelle (Leon's daughter) on January 19, 1832 was witnessed by Vincent Rillieux (aunt Constance's

³⁷ Earl C. Woods and Charles E. Nolan, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 4, 1784-1790* (New Orleans: Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1989), 59; Dupont, and J. Edgar Bruns, eds. *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 10, 1810-1812*, 376.

³⁸ See Theodore Seghers notary, volume 4, acts 151, 152, and 153. Norbert first acted as attorney for his father Jean Soulié (W.Y. Lewis notary, April 16, 1827). Later, Norbert and Lucien signed procurations (referred to in other legal transactions) giving power of attorney to Bernard and/or Albin (see Theodore Seghers notary February 28, 1838, April 11, 1840, April 19, 1842). Bernard and/or Albin also acted on behalf of their sisters (see Theodore Seghers notary, November 5, 1832 and Joseph Lisbony notary, August 21, 1846). When he travelled, Bernard signed a procuration in favor of Albin until his return, see Theodore Seghers notary, April 29, 1833. Procurations from Albin to Bernard are filed in the records of C.V. Foulon notary and dated May 18, 1845 and May 20, 1845. Additional procurations between the Soulié siblings are located in the acts of Theodore Seghers notary, volume 11.

³⁹ Toledano and Christovich, 172.

plaçage husband). The first-generation Souliés also entered into many property transactions with their black and white extended family. Among them were the transfers of properties in Faubourg Tremé and Faubourg Gueno between Bernard and Albin Soulié, Myrtille Courcelle, and the Soulié sisters from 1833 to 1849. On December 27, 1843, Albin was the highest bidder on property sold by the estate of Leon Courcelle that was formerly part of the Cazelar Plantation on the right bank of the river.⁴⁰

The familial influences of the Souliés also contributed to their relatives' careers. In his own right, Drausin Barthélémy Macarty (the Souliés' cousin and husband of another of Leon Courcelle's daughters) was a successful developer and land broker. His endeavors were looked upon even more favorably by his kinship and professional ties to the Souliés. Entries from the R.G. Dun credit reports note that Drausin is the brother-in-law of Bernard and Albin Soulié (via Drausin and Bernard's marriages to sisters) and that he "Has a desk at the Office of 'B & A Soulié.'" ⁴¹ The Souliés also obviously relied on his trustworthiness and held him in high esteem. Macarty received monies from Bernard to take care of the legacies of Norbert's estate.⁴² Drausin Macarty also figures in Bernard Soulié's journal—his many travel activities and death are among the events noted.

BUILDING A COMMUNITY

In order to the legalize and cultivate the benefits of property ownership and building activities, the Dollioles and Souliés also looked to the communal support of their fellow *gens de couleur libres*, other builders and developers in particular. François

⁴⁰ "Sale by Register of Wills," December 27, 1843, Succession of Leon Courcelle (1843), Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846, City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁴¹ The entries are from July 1948 and September 1959, respectively. R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Louisiana volume 9, 97.

⁴² Docket No. 30844, Louisiana, Civil District Court (Orleans Parish), General Index of all Successions, 1880-1903.

Boisdoré and the Dollioles figured prominently in one another's lives. In 1800, François Boisdoré purchased property from Claude Tremé on Bayou Road. Louis Dolliole (1806) and Jean-Louis Dolliole (1807) also acquired lots along Bayou Road. In 1822, Joseph became Boisdoré's neighbor when he inherited his father's property. Boisdoré and Jean-Louis Dolliole were also neighbors on the lake side of Villeré Street, near its intersection with Bayou Road, both purchasing lots there in 1841.⁴³ In other real estate-related activity, Joseph and François together held the mortgage for property being purchased by Charles Harrod and Francis Barber Ogden in Faubourg Lafayette.⁴⁴ Boisdoré also held the note for Jean-Louis Dolliole's and Nelson Fouché's purchase of a square in Faubourg Franklin.⁴⁵ The Boisdoré-Dolliole relationship also extended to the personal. François Boisdoré witnessed Joseph Dolliole's marriage to Magdeleine Noble in 1822.⁴⁶ In turn, Jean-Louis and Joseph both served as witnesses of the will of Marie Joseph Sophie Olivier, wife of François Boisdoré, on May 25, 1828.⁴⁷

The Dollioles' and Souliés' assistance with probate matters and religious obligations extended into the greater community of free person of color. Jean-Louis Dolliole was the executor for the estates of Joseph Prieto and builder Laurent Ursain Guesnon. As native-born Louisianans whose families had been established before 1812, neither the Dollioles nor the Souliés were required to enroll their names in the *Register of Free Persons of Color Entitled to Remain in the State* when the state

⁴³ Plan book 85, folio 14, Plan Book Plan Collection, New Orleans Notarial Archive.

⁴⁴ Release, Francis Barber Ogden and Charles Harrod to Joseph Dolliole et. al., William Boswell notary, volume 12, act 410, August 24, 1830.

⁴⁵ See Sale of Land, M.N.N. Destrehan to Nelson Fouché and Joseph Dolliole, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 12, act 277, May 2, 1835.

⁴⁶ Nolan, et. al., *Sacramental Records, Volume 15, 1822-1823*, 125.

⁴⁷ Marie Joseph Sophie Olivier Boisdoré, "Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846," <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JJZ6-R66> (accessed April 30, 2012). Sophie's mother was Catherine Cheval, aunt of Eulalie Mazange and great-aunt of the first-generation Souliés, making Sophie the first-generation Soulié's second cousin.

legislature mandated that measure in 1830. However, as testamentary executor for Jean Baptiste Mallorquin, Jean-Louis Dolliole was ordered to free Mallorquin's slave Daniel Alexis; he then served as witness of Alexis' enrollment in the registry.⁴⁸ Influential *gens de couleur libres* supported the Dolliole family as well. When Jean-Louis Dolliole began his second family with Eugenie Baudin, François Lacroix served as the godfather of their son, also François, at the infant's baptism in 1821.⁴⁹ In 1832, both Jean-Louis and Joseph appraised the estate of free builder of color Laurent Dessource Quessaie, the same builder who had trained Jean-Louis' step-son Emile as a builder.⁵⁰

Money Matters

Though less involved in any activities with François Boisdoré (Norbert Soulié purchased property from him on Dumaine Street in 1830) or witnesses to matters of birth, life, and death in the *gens de couleur libres* community, the Souliés played a large part in the physical growth of the *gens de couleur libres* community and financial success of its members by financing building and speculation. The Soulié Family Ledgers contains numerous entries regarding the payments made by and on behalf of free persons of color for loans and mortgages. One individual they loaned money to was *femme de couleur libre* Athalie Drouillard. Her name comes up often in the architectural inventory of Faubourg Tremé. Drouillard was the *placée* of Pierre Passebon and was involved in various real estate ventures with and without him; Mademoiselle Drouillard's holdings were valued at \$10,000 in 1850.⁵¹ The Soulié ledgers note that on June 3, 1843, interest was paid on a \$2,500 note that the Souliés had previously

⁴⁸ City of New Orleans, Mayor's Office, Register of Free Colored Persons Entitled to Remain in State, 1840-1863, volume 1.

⁴⁹ Nolan, *et. al.*, *Sacramental Records, Volume 15, 1822-1823*, 125.

⁵⁰ Laurent Dessource Quessaie, Estate of 1832, Louisiana, Orleans Parish Estate Files, 1804-1846.

⁵¹ Toledano and Christovich, 85.

covered.⁵² The note was renewed several times and finally paid off on November 24, 1846.⁵³ The Souliés' loan to Drouillard helped her to cover the mortgage on property she sold to H. Legendre.⁵⁴ The Souliés also loaned money to fund specific building projects. Several transactions in the fall of 1845 and most of 1847 appear to relate one of the contracts Ramon Vionnet made with Joseph Chateau to build a house for him. Apparently, Vionnet owed Chateau monies for one or both contracts, and the Souliés paid that money on his behalf:

September 20, 1845: 1) notes of Roman Vionnet to the order of Joseph Chateau with *ne varieteur* of Amedee Ducatel from September 15, 1845 at six months; 2) another resembling the preceding at 12 months 180 days of discount at 10% \$25.25 and 364 days of discount at 10% \$53.25.

November 26, 1845: for 18 months 479 days of discount at 10%.

March 15, 1847: interest on the note of R. Vionnet to his own order from this day for six months in renewal of his note of \$525, order of Joseph Chateau, bearing the mortgage due the 18th of this month—185 days at 10%.

September 17, 1847: interest on the note of R. Vionnet, to his own order from the 15th of this month for six months at 12%. In renewal of his two notes each \$525 due the 18th of this month and guaranteed by mortgage.⁵⁵

As the Soulié Ledgers are not complete, it is not clear if and when Vionnet repaid his loans.

The Souliés' lending extended to the French Creole and American communities. On February 1846, payment was made by Philipe Lacoste, notary public, on a loan that was initiated in November 3, 1845. The note paid was paid off on September 19, 1846.

⁵² Soulié Family Ledgers, book 1, 2.

⁵³ Renewal dates were: on December 2, 1843; April 5, 1844; December 7, 1844; April 5, 1845; October 8, 1845; April 11, 1846; July 8, 1846. *Ibid.*, 10, 15, 24, 29, 37, 44, 47, 53.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 37, 39, 59, 68.

The Souliés also loaned money to Anglo builder Edward Sewell.⁵⁶ Examination of the account books notes that even James Gallier, Sr. sought financial assistance from the Souliés (no mention is made of the family in his autobiography).⁵⁷ Sometime prior to June 3, 1843, the Souliés lent Gallier \$3,500. On that date, Gallier paid interest on the loan and renewed it for six months at a rate of 10%. The loan was renewed on November 30. Gallier then paid \$500 toward the principal on June 1, 1844 and renewed the \$3,000 balance. The loan was later renewed, this time for a year, on December 4, 1844. The debt appears to have been paid in full on December 8, 1845. One would expect that some of the city's most powerful players in developing the architecture of the city of New Orleans—black or white, Anglo or Creole—should know (or at least know of) one another well enough to have business dealings together.

Here then, in their business dealing and in the Soulié Ledgers, it should come as no surprise that the lives of the first-generation Dollioles and Souliés intersect. The oldest sons of the two families were born a decade apart, so neither they nor their siblings were immediate contemporaries. But their lives touched in other ways. François Boisdoré and Jean-Louis Dolliole appraised the property of Charles Vivant (Souliés' maternal uncle) and Rosette Vivant (Souliés' maternal aunt) in 1823 and 1828, respectively.⁵⁸ Further, Jean-Louis Dolliole sold property on Ursulines in Faubourg Tremé to the Souliés' uncle and fellow Creole builder A.B. Courcelle.⁵⁹ However, on October 22, 1835, the first-generation members of the two families came into direct contact when

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1, 16, 17, 19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 10, 17, 24, 40.

⁵⁸ Successions of Charles Vivant (1823) and Rosette Vivant (1828), Louisiana, Court of Probates (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1805-1846, City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, Louisiana. Boisdoré also held a mortgage for the heirs of Rosette Vivant. Release of Mortgage, Rosette Vivant heirs to François Boisdoré, Joseph Arnard notary, volume 1, act 177, April 9, 1828.

⁵⁹ Toledano and Christovich, 196. The property was located at present-day 1523 Ursulines Street.

Joseph Dolliole served as surety for a title less property that the partnership of Bernard and Albin Soulié purchased from Jean Jacques Montfort.⁶⁰ Ten years later, on May 17, 1845, the Souliés funded a note of Joseph Dolliole to the order of Jean-Louis Dolliole for 95 days at 18% interest.⁶¹ The loan was short-term as it was paid off on September 20, 1845.⁶² It is not certain whether the monies funded a building project or the purchase of property, but the bulk of the Dollioles antebellum property acquisitions had been made at this point. As involved in the construction and development of the City of New Orleans and the free people of color community as the two families were, one would think that they would have worked together more often. Still, the Dollioles and Souliés found ways for their personal and professional skills and gains to aid the greater *gens de couleur libres* community. The collective nature of the activities of free persons of color is reflected in the types of built works they consistently erected, and, by extension of building in the same areas, the neighborhood enclaves they established. Historical record shows that the Dollioles and Souliés understood how to take legal and financial means to protect their personal, familial, and community's interests. Using the business of building and speculating as vehicles, they were able to manage the rapid socio-economic changes taking place around them. Louis and Joseph Dolliole, with François Boisdoré and other neighbors, extended that control into physical space.

As the city started to grow outside of the Vieux Carré in the early nineteenth century, the municipal government and residents sought to settle on the natural ridge that separated the old city and the lakeward backswamp behind it (the upriver side) from Marigny's plantation and new suburbs (the downriver side). Already, Claude Tremé

⁶⁰ Cautionnement by Jean Jacques Montfort and Joseph Dolliole with Bernard and Albin Soulié, Theodore Seghers notary, volume 12, act 609, May 2, 1835.

⁶¹ Soulié Family Ledgers, book 1, 32.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 37.

and others owned and were starting to subdivide plantations on the Bayou Road, a natural portage on the upriver side of the ridge. The doors were opened for significant development of the Esplanade Ridge in 1807 when the U.S. government gave title to the land from Levee (North Peters Street) to Rampart Street that had formerly been part of the old fortifications and the City Commons.⁶³ A new street, mapped by Jacques Tanesse in 1810, was cut into these seven blocks. Esplanade Avenue was conceived as a European tree-lined promenade. As the avenue opened, it was improved with residences in the latest styles. Development came to a halt in 1822, however, when the city sought to complete the section of the new promenade from Rampart to Claiborne streets. The opponents were landowners who had acquired property from the former Morand-Tremé plantation along Bayou Road; the rear portions of their land overlapped the projected path of Esplanade Avenue. The road's continuation was made even more difficult when the city was divided into three municipalities—as the boundary between the First and Third Municipalities, the development of Esplanade Avenue required approval of two autonomous governments. Property owners were already up in arms, because the First Municipality proposed the extension of Barracks Street from Rampart to Marais streets which would bisect their land. As a result of a suit between the city versus Madame Plauché, Joseph Dolliole, and François Boisdoré, the land was not acquired and the Barracks Street project was abandoned. This remains evident in the city's landscape today--Barracks Street ends at Marais Street then starts again at North Prieur Street and terminates at Broad Street. On the other hand, Dolliole and Boisdoré were not opposed to the extension of Esplanade Avenue but knew their properties' worth (and, by extension their own) and refused to not be compensated for it; whereas

⁶³ Mary Louise Christovich, Sally Kittredge Evans, Roulhac Toledano, *New Orleans Architecture, Volume V, The Esplanade Ridge* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1977), xiii.

other property owners acquiesced to bartering their land for the construction of *banquettes*, the two free men of color demanded full monetary value (*Figure 126*). Finally, in a statement from January 1841, the First and Third Municipalities agreed to a sum that amounted to \$2,708.25 for the purchase of 10,833 [square] feet of the Dolliole and Boisdoré lands that were required.⁶⁴ As financially solvent stakeholders, *gens de couleur libres* like the Dollioles and Souliés manifested their ability to control the physical environment of the city in a spectrum of ways—from their selection and interpretation of forms and styles in the buildings that they built for self and others to the broader development of entire neighborhoods and, thus, the city. Legal and financial transactions illustrate that the *gens de couleur libres* were accustomed to coming together for personal and collective gain and to protect their property and interests. They did the same through military and political service and their participation in social organizations and religious life.

EXERTING CONTROL IN THE PUBLIC REALM

"Defenders of the Native land"⁶⁵

After the outbreak of the War of 1812, Governor Claiborne commissioned four companies of black militia comprised of "certain free people of color."⁶⁶ In defiance of the militia bill that authorized the black troops, Governor Claiborne commissioned officers who were not white property owners. Among the three black second lieutenants was Jean-Louis Dolliole. When the troops were officially mustered by the U.S. Army under the Louisiana Militia, many *gens de couleur libres* became privates in

⁶⁴ The municipal governments paid for 10,633 feet of ground at a rate of 25 cents per foot, *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁵ *Daily Picayune*, April 21, 1861.

⁶⁶ Cinnamon Brown, "The Youngest of the great American Family: The Creation of a Franco-American Culture in Early Louisiana," Ph.D. dissertation (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 2009), 226.

Fortier's First Regiment including Jean-Louis Dolliole, Joseph Dolliole (sergeant), Pierre Dolliole, François Boisdoré, Norbert Fortier, Ursain Guesnon, and Charles Vivant.⁶⁷ These men set the standard for military service; their descendants later formed the Louisiana Native Guards for service during the Civil War with their ultimate goal being to protect their property and civil rights.

When first developed, Faubourg Tremé had no educational or religious institutions. Free persons of color, as well as white New Orleanians, who resided in the suburb still attended to St. Louis Cathedral for their spiritual needs. Further the city's public school system had not yet been founded. In any case, children of color would not have been allowed to attend as was the case when the public school system was established in 1841. The block of Bayou Road between St. Claude and Tremé streets became a nucleus for the educational and religious life of the community and was supported in large part by black Creoles. In 1834 Frenchwoman Jeanne Marie Aliquot purchased the former Tremé home and property from the City of New Orleans (which had purchased directly from Claude Tremé in 1810 and briefly operated the College d'Orléans).⁶⁸ She relocated a school for girls and young women of color (established in 1823 by Marthe Fortier, the school also admitted some slaves) to the site. Aliquot sold the property to the Ursulines (1836) who in turn sold portions to the Sisters of Mount Carmel (1840). In the 1830s, Tremé's *gens de couleur libres*, the area's primary residents, petitioned for a neighborhood church. In, the late 1830s, they received

⁶⁷ Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, Louisiana Soldiers During the War of 1812, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/state/military/war1812/index.txt> (accessed May 1, 2012). Vincent Rillieux, Joachim Courcelle, and Leon Courcelle also served, Vincent and Joachim in Captain Chauveau's Company (cavalry) and Leon Morgan's Fourth Regiment. See also French Creoles of America, "The Battle of New Orleans," <http://www.frenchcreoles.com/CreoleCulture/battalion%20creoles/battalion%20creoles.htm> (accessed May 8, 2012).

⁶⁸ St. Augustine Catholic Church of New Orleans, "Summary of Church History," <http://staugustinecatholicchurch-neworleans.org/hist-sum.htm> (accessed March 31, 2011).

permission from Bishop Antoine Blanc.⁶⁹ The Ursulines donated property that they had retained at the corner of Bayou Road and St. Claude Street (on the former Morand-Tremé plantation) for the edifice designed by Frenchman J.N.B. de Pouilly. While no persons of color were hired as the architect or contractor, they surely participated in the church's construction. The Dollioles were among the Creole families, black and white, that contributed to the church's building fund.⁷⁰ St. Augustine Catholic Church was dedicated on October 9, 1842; its black Creole patrons continued their support, and exerted control over the use of the building, by purchasing more pews than the white churchgoers and by acquiring all of the pews in both side aisles for slaves. The Dolliole family was likely involved in other aspects of the church's operation or that of the orders of nuns associated with the church and Faubourg Tremé.⁷¹ A devout parishioner to the end, Jean-Louis Dolliole's estate paid \$50 to the clergy of St. Augustine Church for conducting his funeral services.⁷² Jean-Louis Dolliole died on January 9, 1861, when the first shots of the Civil War were fired, ushering in the end of the antebellum era.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Toledano and Christovich, 142.

⁷¹ In her 1842 will, Jeanne-Marie Aliquot (founder) noted that Jean-Louis Dolliole owed her 260 piastres (on a note endorsed by Joseph Dolliole) and that his stepson Emile Errié owed her 100 piastres. University of Notre Dame Archives, Archives Calendar 1842, <http://archives.nd.edu/calendar/cal1842.htm> (accessed March 20, 2012).

⁷² Jean-Louis Dolliole inventory, Docket No. 17714, Louisiana Second District Court (Orleans Parish), General Index of All Successions, 1846-1880, City Archives and Special Collections, New Orleans Public Library.

Conclusion: The *Gens de Couleur Libres*' Development of Self and Group Identity through Ownership, Formation, Transformation, and Control of the Built Environment

"...these men...have brought honor and prestige to the Creole of color. Each is justifiably recognized for his merits. Unfortunately, the prejudice of some people and the heedlessness of others seem to have erected a barrier of silence around their illustrious names. But this silence will not always endure. The future will probably inquire into the past. It is to be supposed that the men of tomorrow will ask about the men of yesterday."

—Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, *Nos Hommes et Notre Histoire* (1911)

Historically, the possession of the built world has informed the narratives that are passed on to posterity. With the transfer of buildings from black Creoles to white Creoles and Americans, the demolition of portions of the city, and the deliberate erasure of individuals in the historic record, the memory of the builders and original owners has been lost. Social and economic changes in the South and racism before and after the Civil War played significant roles in removing the *gens de couleur libres*' architectural activities from general knowledge. Even when *homme de couleur libre* Rodolph Desdunes wrote his chronicle of the accomplishments of the *gens de couleur libres* in 1911, the antebellum contributions of men like the Dollioles and Souliés were overshadowed by those of Desdunes and his contemporaries who struggled to retain their identity after the Civil War. It was also heavily weighted toward black Creoles whose ancestors were refugees from Saint-Domingue, Cuba, or other parts of the West Indies. In his account, Desdunes mentions several building artisans but only one architect, Louis Nelson Fouché, who, in the 1850 federal census, became the first black

man in the United States (Creole or not) identified as an architect. By exploring the endeavors of the *gens de couleur libres* via architectural progress and the meaning of architecture on social, cultural, and socio-economic levels this dissertation offers a new narrative that fills in bibliographic silences of antebellum black Creole property owners, builders, and developers as well as contextual silences of their collective influence.

In *Silencing the Past*, anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot discusses the labor of transforming a new narrative out of historiographic silences. He discusses the two sides of history—what happened (historical process) and what is said to have happened (historical narrative/production).¹ Trouillot explains the means by which those who have the power in history, be they historic figures or historians, have inadvertently or knowingly embodied silence in historical production through fact creation (the making of sources), fact assembly (making of archives), and fact retrieval (making of narratives).² In the case of the *gens de couleur libres*, who are present in notarial and other historical documentation, silences inherent in sources (artifacts and bodies) and archives (collections of documents and monuments) are circumvented through their re-analysis.³ While few antebellum portraits of New Orleans' black Creoles survive, and no known portraits of the first-generation Dollioles and Souliés, physical remembrance abounds in their built works. Extant buildings as well as notarial acts documenting property transactions serve as concrete sources in light of those that have disappeared (i.e., demolished buildings and the lack of building contracts). Creative combination of these sources through the city's archives—research repositories and landscape of New Orleans—circumvents the silences created in fact assembly. The *gens de couleur libres*

¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 3-4.

² *Ibid.*, 25.

³ *Ibid.*, 48.

have been silenced in the creation of narrative on several levels. After the Civil War, historians like Creole Charles Gayarré (1805-1895) refused to acknowledge the Creole identity of New Orleans *gens de couleur libres* in support of white Creole supremacy.⁴ In a different vein, architectural historians such as the authors to the *New Orleans Architecture* series have quieted the architectural influence of the *gens de couleur libres* by limiting their discussion to essays that are not contextual and failing to bring to the fore the type of analysis of their architectural contributions that is available from the primary source materials utilized in the publications.

I have focused on a new set of rules to recast the narrative of the *gens de couleur libres* by emphasizing their roles as actors and their actions to create an architectural process that becomes the narrative with these conclusions:

1. Property ownership was a calculated endeavor by the *gens de couleur libres* to establish and maintain birthright.
2. The *gens de couleur libres* primarily owned property in the so-called Creole faubourgs or suburbs, but their presence in other parts of the city was more pronounced than has been highlighted in previous scholarship.
3. The *gens de couleur libres*' selection of locales for building and developing properties was deliberate and based as much on personal choice and economic opportunity as racial and geographic divisions.
4. While the *gens de couleur libres* primarily built vernacular forms of architecture derived from colonial "creolization," or the mixture of various types, by no means were their works static or purely repetitive. Free builders

⁴ Gayarré's stance is highlighted in Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans," in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 167-182. His pupil Grace King (1852-1932) likewise promoted pure white Creole supremacy in her writings.

of color perfected Creole forms based on numerous variables. They also incorporated and manipulated features of popular architecture such as the Federal and Greek Revival Styles.

5. *Gens de couleur libres* builders' work was primarily residential, due in a large part to limitations imposed by race and training, but personal preference and financial considerations of the risk and cost involved in building monumental architecture were also factors.
6. Building and real estate activities were means by which the *gens de couleur libres* established and exploited personal and professional relationships to ensure individual economic success and the perseverance and preservation of the community of people of color.

THE PARADOX OF OWNERSHIP

The antebellum period provides a challenging framework in which to view the architecture-related accomplishments of New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres*. They faced a paradoxical situation where the stability of New Orleans' economy and racial hierarchies affected their success in building, developing, and speculating. Both of these factors were driven by a slave society that devalued black lives and, thus, the "blackness of the *gens de couleur libres*."⁵ Still, free builders and landlords of color "were literally [and physically] invested in New Orleans, and their assets thrived in an Americanizing city where racial codes were becoming stricter."⁶ In the antebellum period, the nation's prosperity in trade, manufacturing, and agriculture allowed American artists and

⁵ Shirley Thompson, *Exiles at Home: the struggle to become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 138-139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 138-139.

architects to explore new markets and become independent entrepreneurs.⁷ New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres* were no exception. As they continued to build during the 1830s and 1840s, they exchanged property in significant amounts, creating individual fortunes (large and small) and helping to retain black *and* Creole control in the city. Their success in this was made clear in the *Bee* of March 28, 1836, which observed:

the property owners in the central municipality [Vieux Carré] will neither sell nor improve, that real estate in the upper municipality [Sainte-Marie] is selling greatly beyond its intrinsic value, and that purchasers would buy lots in the central section if they were put up at auction. Lots in the rear ward [Faubourg Tremé], which a short while ago sold for \$300.00, are now selling for \$2000.00 and soon resold for \$7000.00.⁸

By this time, many of the city's *gens de couleur libres* had moved out of the French Quarter and into Faubourgs Marigny, New Marigny, and (primarily) Faubourg Tremé. Individuals of greater means, like the Dollioles and Souliés, settled in Tremé. And, while their generation was not building on the same scale as their predecessors did from the 1810s through the 1830s, their built work remained relevant as changing styles saw newer buildings in the Vieux Carré and the American Sector come and go. Shirley Thompson notes that "The patterns of ownership and stylish amblings of Creoles of color...constituted genuine acts of artistic creation not fully captured by characterizations."⁹ She notes that literature, particularly poetry and fiction by and about the *gens de couleur libres*, does not adequately reflect their accomplishments, especially those made in possessing, engaging with, and controlling the built environment of antebellum New Orleans. Like François Lacroix, whose real estate

⁷ Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 83.

⁸ Albert Emile Fossier, *New Orleans: The Glamour Period, 1800-1840* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1957), 136-137.

⁹ Thompson, 129.

activities she highlights, the Dolliole and Soulié families provide exemplary case studies to illustrate secure proprietorship and belonging achieved through a process legal means as opposed to the lens of anxieties and sentimental expression through which the *gens de couleur libres* are usually examined.¹⁰

FORMS AND CITYSCAPE –TOUT ENSEMBLE OF *GENS DE COULEUR LIBRES*' ARCHITECTURAL PRODUCTION

In her master's thesis on building in New Orleans from 1790 to 1830, Corinna Knight says of François Boisdoré's house for Joseph Soniat Dufossat, "This example...has no distinguishing free-black characteristics or qualities about it."¹¹ She does not, however, go on to say just what "free-black characteristics" are. The antebellum architecture of the *gens de couleur libres* cannot be simply defined as a form or style or a set few physical features or characteristics. Like all American architecture, it is a response to certain conditions at a certain time, in a particular place, in the development of disparate ideas into an American identity. By the very nature of its synthesis of French and Spanish colonial, Caribbean, Creole, and Anglo-American architectural attributes, New Orleans' antebellum architecture *is* American architecture. In their contributions to the city's architecture, the *gens de couleur libres* more or less retained the use of Creole forms, albeit with other influences, throughout the antebellum period even with the influx of classical revival and other early to mid-nineteenth century revival styles. Because of their dedication to the use and manipulation of traditional forms, these builders' contributions have been marginalized. Specific study of builders like the Dollioles and Souliés also illuminates the fact that they should be given more credit for unique adaptations of traditionally Creole forms as well

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Corinna Knight, "Builders and Building in New Orleans, Louisiana, 1790-1830," Master's thesis (Newark: University of Delaware, 1996), 79.

as the implementation of Anglo characteristics in combination with and apart from Creole architecture.

Given the many variables that form New Orleans' antebellum architecture, the individual and collective choices of *gens de couleur libres* should not be ignored. Historian Roulhac Toledano argues, "Buildings...reveal the economy that provided for the material preferences of the citizens."¹² On the one hand were builders' and owners' Creole preferences based on inhabitants' familiarity with French and Spanish colonial forms and their adaptation—via other exposure to the colonial environment of the Atlantic world—to the geography, climate, and urbanity of New Orleans. The spread of the Greek Revival Style and builders' use of the specific elements of classical architecture was aided by the use of pattern books. The practice of "building by analogy" was prevalent and became part of legal and binding agreements in antebellum building contracts as clients requested architectural features or ornamentation that they had seen on another building.¹³ *Gens de couleur libres* builders were capable of residential architecture in both veins to satisfy clients from various backgrounds.

The antebellum era saw the rise of New Orleans' ubiquitous townhouse. With the exception of *émigré* Pierre Roup and his shotgun prototypes, surviving documentation shows that the *gens de couleur libres* did not build *appentis* cottages, *maisonnettes*, or shotgun houses. Builders like the Dollioles and Souliés were not tempted by the evolution of linear forms in the first half of the nineteenth century that led to the development of the shotgun house. *Gens de couleur* builders were absolutely aware of the shotgun form, especially in Faubourg Tremé where the Dollioles and

¹² Roulhac Toledano, *The National Trust Guide to New Orleans* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), 89, vii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 69.

Souliés were present throughout the antebellum period and linear houses co-exist with older Creole cottage and townhouse forms. But, where the opportunity presented itself to utilize newer linear forms on narrow lots, the Dollioles choose to build two- and three-bay Creole cottages instead. The *gen de couleur libres* obviously identified with the Creole forms developed before the antebellum period and chose to retain them even as the city grew and other builders turned to the shotgun tradition.

Inasmuch as the specific forms and styles used by particular individuals sheds light on their education and architectural objectives, it is the *tout ensemble*—literally the "all together"—or general effect of the architecture of *gens de couleur libres* as a whole that is unique. What is so significant where the *gens de couleur libres* are concerned, is the sheer numbers of men who participated in the building trades and the individuals of both sexes who were property developers and speculators. Further, they owned and built in all parts of the city, albeit to greater degrees in the older, Creole-dominated parts of the city. That is not to say that separate, biographical study of personalities like Jean-Louis and Joseph Dolliole or of Norbert and Bernard Soulié is not important. On the contrary, it is the individuals' own motivations and experiences that allowed for the Dollioles, the Souliés, Boisdoré, Fouché, and their other contemporaries to contribute to the creation of an entire genre of architecture.

COMMITMENT AND CONFLICT

Per the definition of the word, the Dollioles' and Souliés' *engagement* with the built world of antebellum New Orleans signified both commitment and conflict. From their initial acquisition and creation of a family compound as well as an older bachelor's domicile, the Dollioles created their own birthright—transferring real estate amongst or bequeathing it to one another before selling outside of the family—allowing them to

continue to prosper despite increasing hardships facing the *gens de couleur libres* in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Sadly, the lack of male issue, in addition to decreased political and civil rights, played a part in the disappearance of the descendants of Louis Dolliole from New Orleans' building scene. Louis' sons Pierre and Joseph had no known offspring. And although Jean-Louis had two sons, Louis Drausin and François, neither had sons of their own.¹⁴ While the mixed-race children of Jean-François Dolliole, the family's other white progenitor, did not own nearly as much property as their cousins during the antebellum period, it is that branch from whom Dolliole descendants currently living in New Orleans descend and who have perpetuated the family's involvement in the building arts and in community service.

Whatever the reasons behind Norbert Soulié's departure from New Orleans, it served as the impetus for the other family members to follow suit. The marriage contract between Bernard and Eliza Courcelle in the summer of 1832 notes: "There shall be community of acquests and gains between the parties during this their future marriage, and the said Community shall be governed by the Civil Code now in force in this State and by...the Civil Code of France *when they shall have fixed their residence in that Country as their intention is*" (emphasis mine).¹⁵ Just as Bernard embarked on his career as a builder, landowner, and merchant, the members of the family had already made it their plan to move to France. Even while the City of New Orleans thrived with a bustling boom economy in the 1840s and the Dollioles and Souliés built and bought on

¹⁴ Louis Drausin had one known daughter, Marie Hortense, with first wife Françoise Eulalie Asmar alias Dolliole. USGenWeb Archives Project, DH through DQ - Alphabetical Birth Indexes for Orleans Parish 1796 – 1900, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/vitals/births/index/nobidhdq.txt>. François died by 1850; he is not listed at that year's census. He would have been around 29 years of age. Furthermore, he is not named as an heir in Jean-Louis' 1861 estate inventory.

¹⁵ Marriage contract between Bernard Soulié and Eliza S. Courcelle, Theodore Seghers notary, Volume 5, act 12, July 19, 1832.

an immense scale, the percentage of *gens de couleur libres* population decreased in comparison to the city's growth. And while individuals and families such as the Dollioles, Courcelles, and Souliés had income greater than most black Creoles, the average wealth of persons of color diminished after 1840. The economic decline of the black Creole community as a whole continued over the ensuing two decades.¹⁶

The Civil War brought its own set of problems to the *gens de couleur libres* community, New Orleans, and the South. Identifying with the place of their birth and seeking to support their business interests, *gens de couleur libres* like Bernard and Albin Soulié, offered funds for Louisiana's separation from federal government.¹⁷ Later, others joined the Confederate Army. In order that they might have a stake in the re-developing personal economies and the economy of the state after the war ended, many black Creole men became involved in Reconstruction politics. Bernard Soulié was among them. Hoping for full enfranchisement, free men of color became involved with the development of the Republican Party. Bernard Soulié, representing the city's Sixth District, was a delegate to the Convention of Universal Suffrage held on September 27, 1865. Bernard was proposed as a vice-president for the permanent organization of the convention and was also selected to serve on a committee of five to write an address to the people of Louisiana.¹⁸ His leadership not ending there, Bernard proposed a

¹⁶ Paul Lachance, "The Limits of Privilege: Where Free Persons on Colour Stood in the Hierarchy of Wealth in Antebellum New Orleans," *Slavery and Abolition* 17, no. 1 (1996), 79.

¹⁷ In a letter to Governor Thomas O. Moore dated January 11, 1861, two weeks before the state seceded, the brothers offered a loan of \$10,000 to the State of Louisiana in support of the "necessities of our country in the present emergency." The author has not determined if the loan was actually realized. Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, 1861-65, National Archives and Records Administration, Publication No. M346, Record Group 109, Roll 0964, <http://www.fold3.com/document/52506234/>, accessed December 1, 2012; Benfey, 10.

¹⁸ Republican Party (La.) Convention, *Proceedings of the convention of the Republican Party of Louisiana held at Economy Hall, New Orleans, September 25, 1865, and of the Central Executive Committee of the Friends of Universal Suffrage of Louisiana, now the Central Executive Committee of the Republican Party of Louisiana* (New Orleans: New Orleans Tribune Office, 1865), available at

resolution that would give the convention the name the "Republican party of Louisiana." He continued to be involved with the organization along with relatives Edmund Rillieux, Drausin Macarty, Myrtille Courcelle, and Charles Courcelle.¹⁹ Soulié's leadership was not forgotten as he was considered for New Orleans' first post-Reconstruction board of officials in 1869. When selected by Governor Henry C. Warmouth for a position on the mayor's administration (based on a list provided by a committee of fifty citizens), Bernard declined for personal reasons.²⁰ That Soulié was one of the two men of color selected for seven administrator positions says a lot about his prestige not only in the *gens de couleur libres* population, but in the entire city. His stature as a wealthy landowner lent him to the post, but also surely played a role in him not accepting the position. For obvious reasons, political office would have taken time from his business pursuits in real estate (according to the R.G. Dun credit reports he had retired as a merchant and broker by this time).²¹ And, surely, with hope diminishing for the kind of city in which he grew up and prospered, Bernard looked to getting his business pursuits in order to join his family overseas. Having previously noted to Henry Clay Warmouth in 1866 that "the spirit of Rebellion is alive and dominant," Bernard's fight diminished, his focus that of his personal survival. Bernard Soulié remained in New Orleans, traveling often, until May 1875 when he permanently relocated to Paris.²²

http://www.archive.org/stream/proceedingsofcon00repurich/proceedingsofcon00repurich_djvu.txt (accessed April 5, 2012), 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-38. Charles Jules Courcelle (1820-1871) was another son of Leon Courcelle and Adelaide Vivant.

²⁰ His cousin and brother-in-law Drausin B. Macarty did not decline his appointment as Administrator of Assessments, however. John Kendall, *History of Louisiana* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 337; "Administrations of the Mayors of New Orleans, Benjamin Franklin Flanders (1816-1896)," <http://nutrias.org/info/louinfo/admins/flanders.htm> (accessed December 1, 2012).

²¹ R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Louisiana volume 11, 30.

²² Bernard Soulié, "Journal of Bernard Soulié," *New Orleans Genesis* 25, no. 99 (July 1986), 330.

For New Orleans' *gens de couleur libres* it was not at cross purposes to continue to seek economic gain and place while continually being disenfranchised and marginalized over the course of the antebellum period. While possessing a great deal of wealth and economic flexibility on the one hand, but faced with diminishing social status on the other, the city's black Creoles worked to establish their legacy by transforming contract into birthright.²³ The *gens de couleur libres* undertook the work of acquiring and improving the urban landscape to proclaim birthright and legacy. They became builders and entrepreneurs, bearing personal, financial, and societal risk to establish self and group identity.

IDENTITY: CLAIMING SELF AND PRIVILEGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Two centuries after Louisiana's statehood and Andrew Jackson's ultimate defeat of the British at the battle of New Orleans ushered in the antebellum period in Louisiana, the specific architectural contributions of the *gens de couleur libres* have not been highlighted and individuals such as the Dollioles and Souliés have rarely been identified and considered as the architects they truly are. In the absence of physical likenesses of the individuals, their buildings and neighborhoods serve as portraits and biographies. By utilizing building as a tool to define individual and communal identity the *gens de couleur libres* claimed privilege through the built environment and created a lasting impact on the architectural heritage of New Orleans. As such, this work underscores their legacy as architects in two senses. First, in the ancient Greek sense of the word, they were the quintessential master builders who, within the *gens de couleur libres* community, possessed the status and prestige sought by architects at large. And, second they were indeed architects—planners and creators—of an architectural legacy

²³ Thompson, 130.

without which there would be no New Orleans and of an architectural identity that is central to the struggles and tensions inherent in American architecture.

Figures

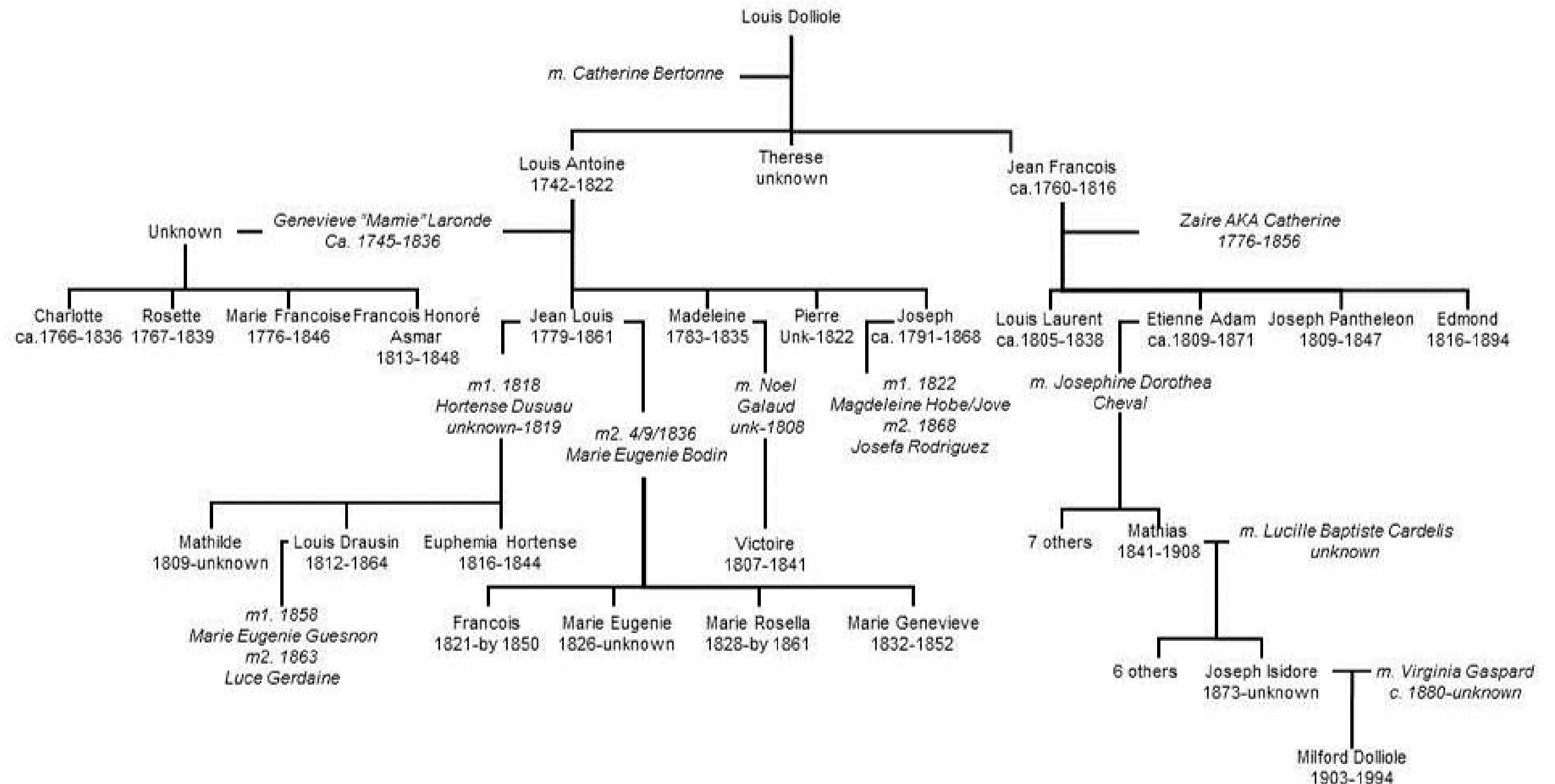
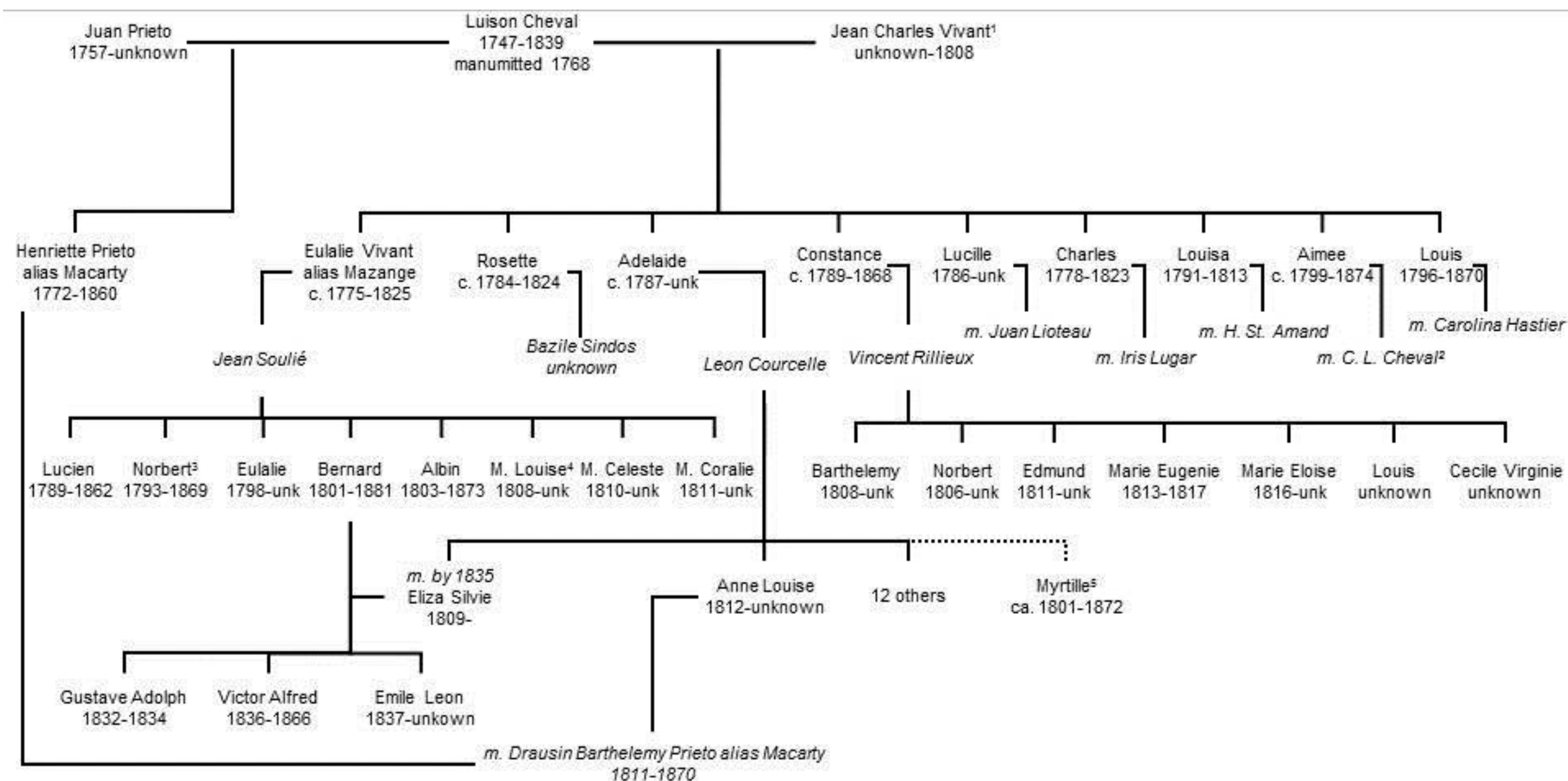


Figure 1. Dolliole family tree.



¹One other child, daughter Emilie born in France

²her first cousin – son of Prudence Cheval, sister of Luison Cheval

³birth date per age at baptism in 1796; his age is listed as 66 in French death register dated 1869 which would put DOB at 1803

⁴Another daughter named Marie Louise was born in 1791; she died by 1805. A son, Benedic, was born in 1802 and died in 1807.

Figure 2. Soulié family tree.

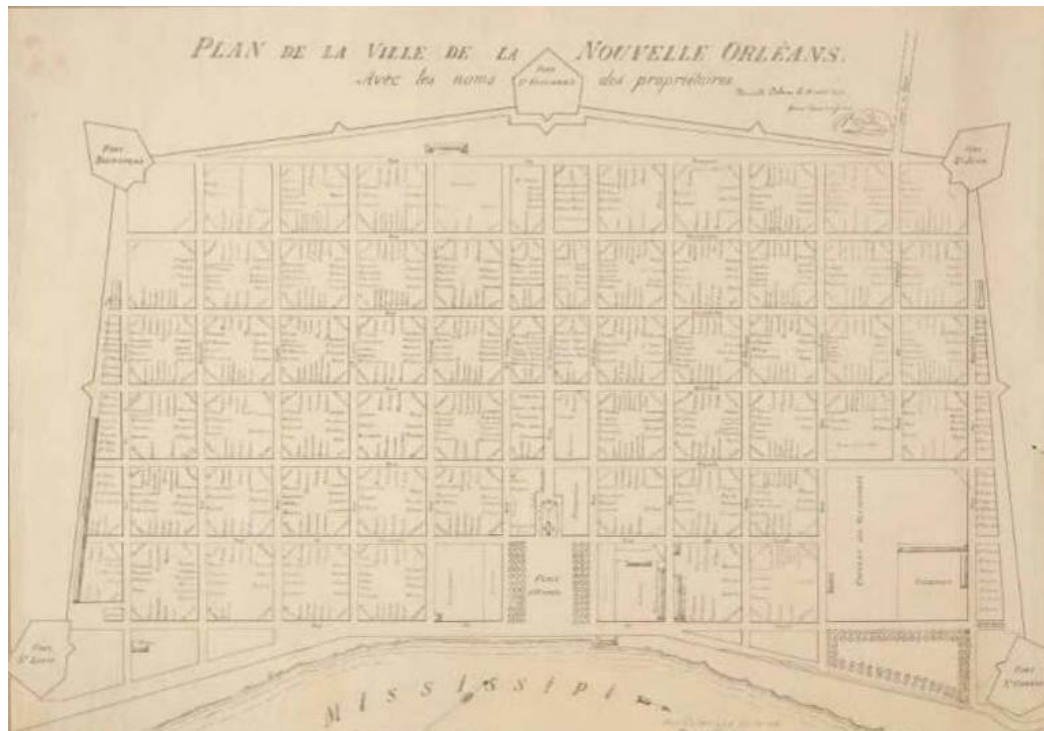


Figure 3. Plan de la Nouvelle-Orléans avec les noms des propriétaires. Joseph Pilié, surveyor. 1808. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

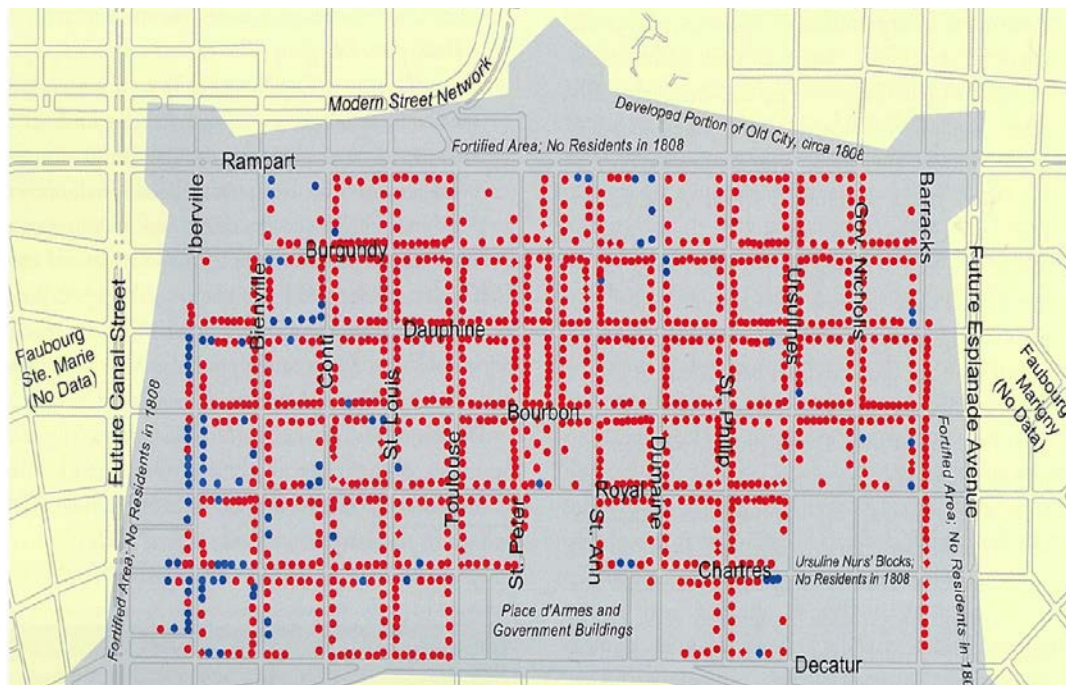


Figure 4. Map delineating Creole (red) and Anglo-American (blue) Property Owners in New Orleans, 1808. Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans* (2005), page 210.

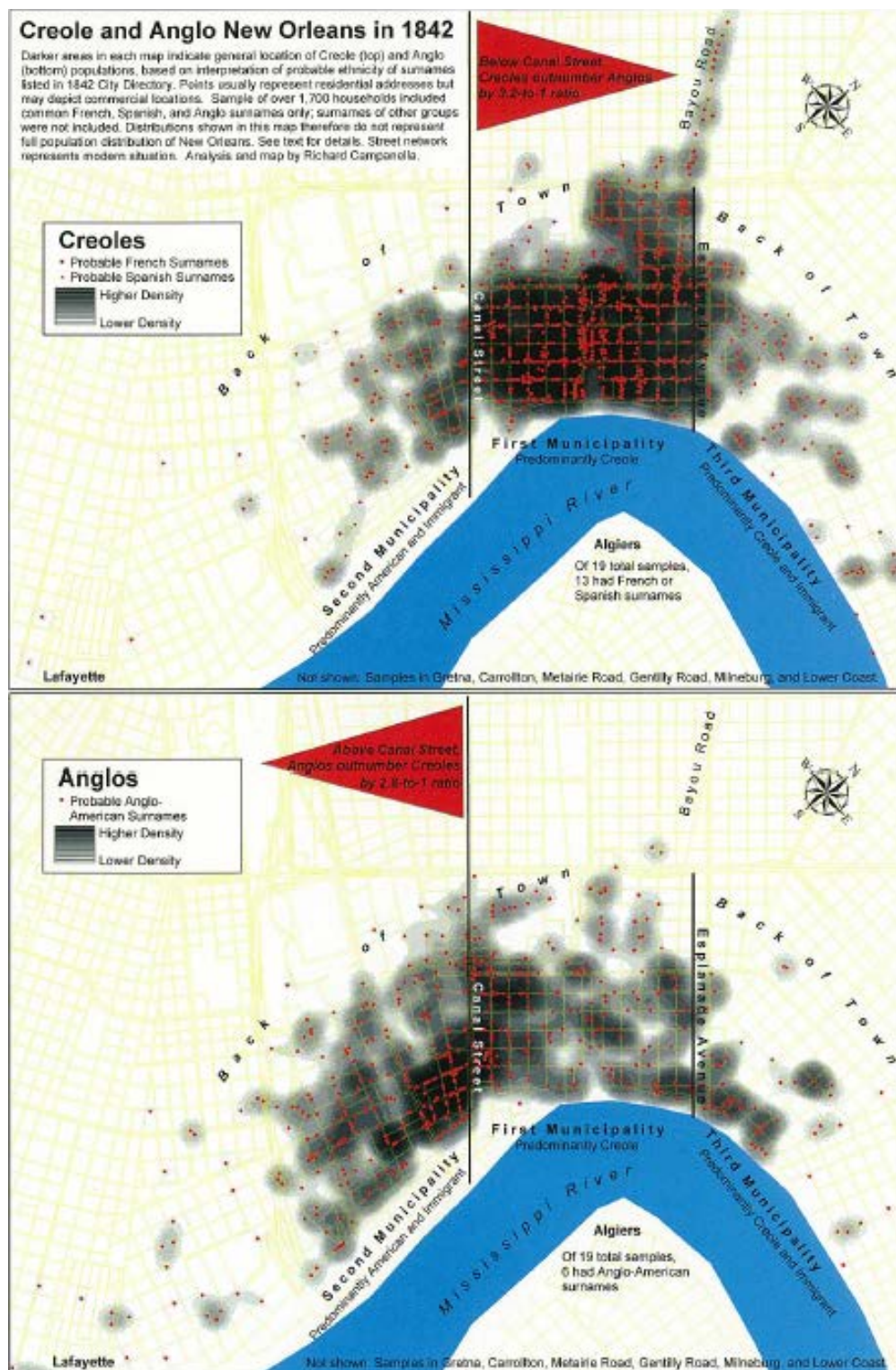


Figure 5. Map contrasting locations of Creoles and Anglo-Americans, 1842. Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans* (2006), page 212.

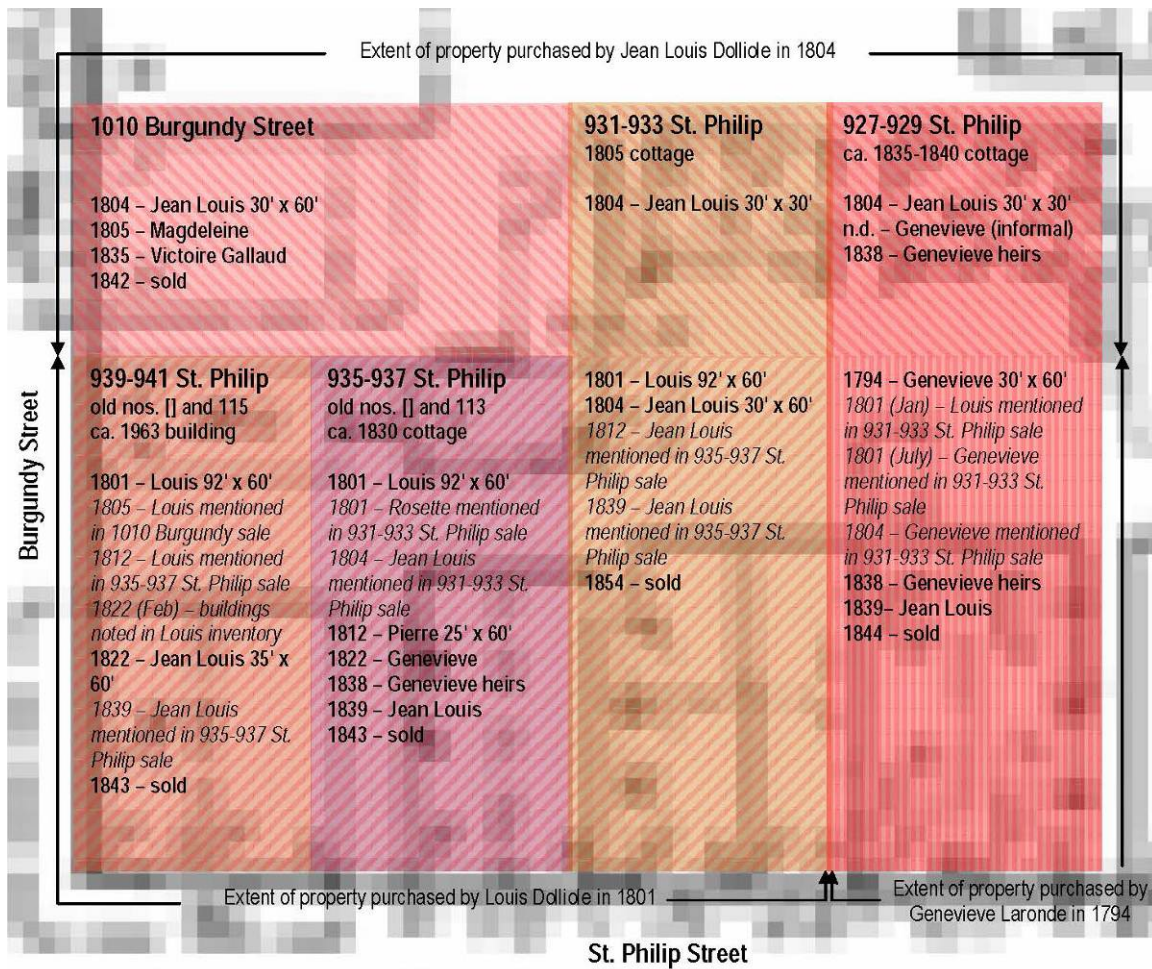


Figure 6. Dolliole-owned property in the 900 block of St. Philip Street, 1794-1854, overlaid on 1876 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map.

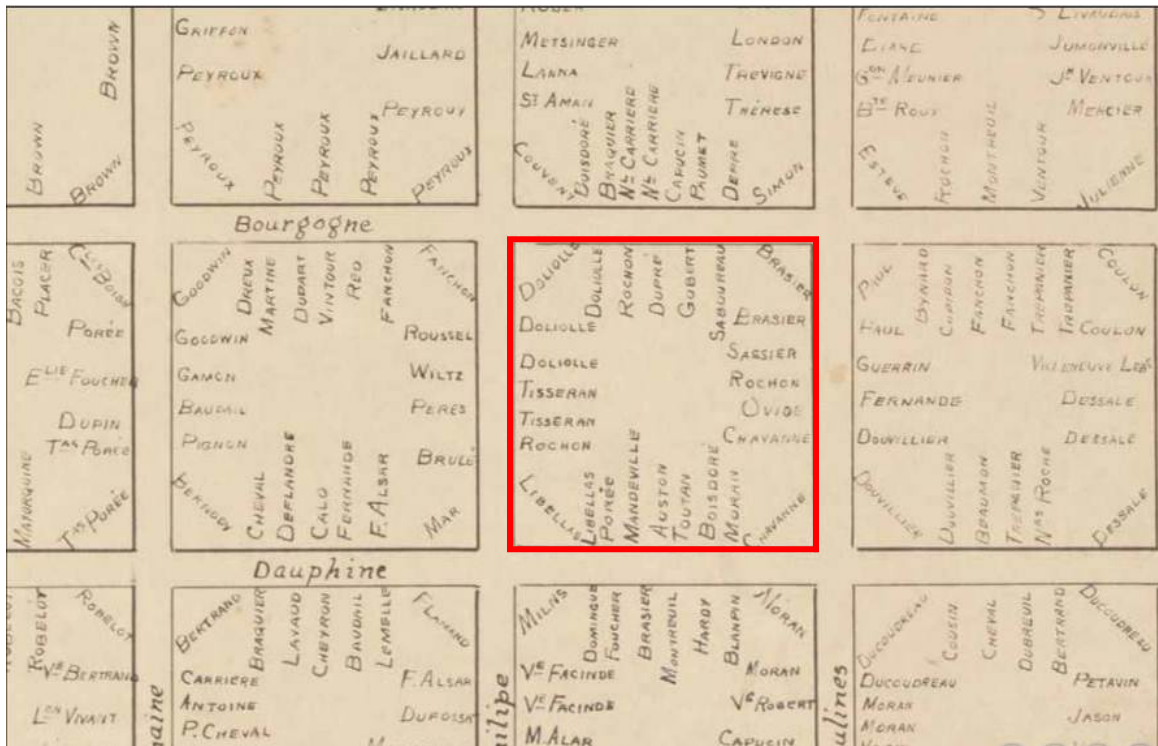


Figure 7. Detail of 1808 Pilié plan showing Dolliolle property in 900 block of St. Philip Street.

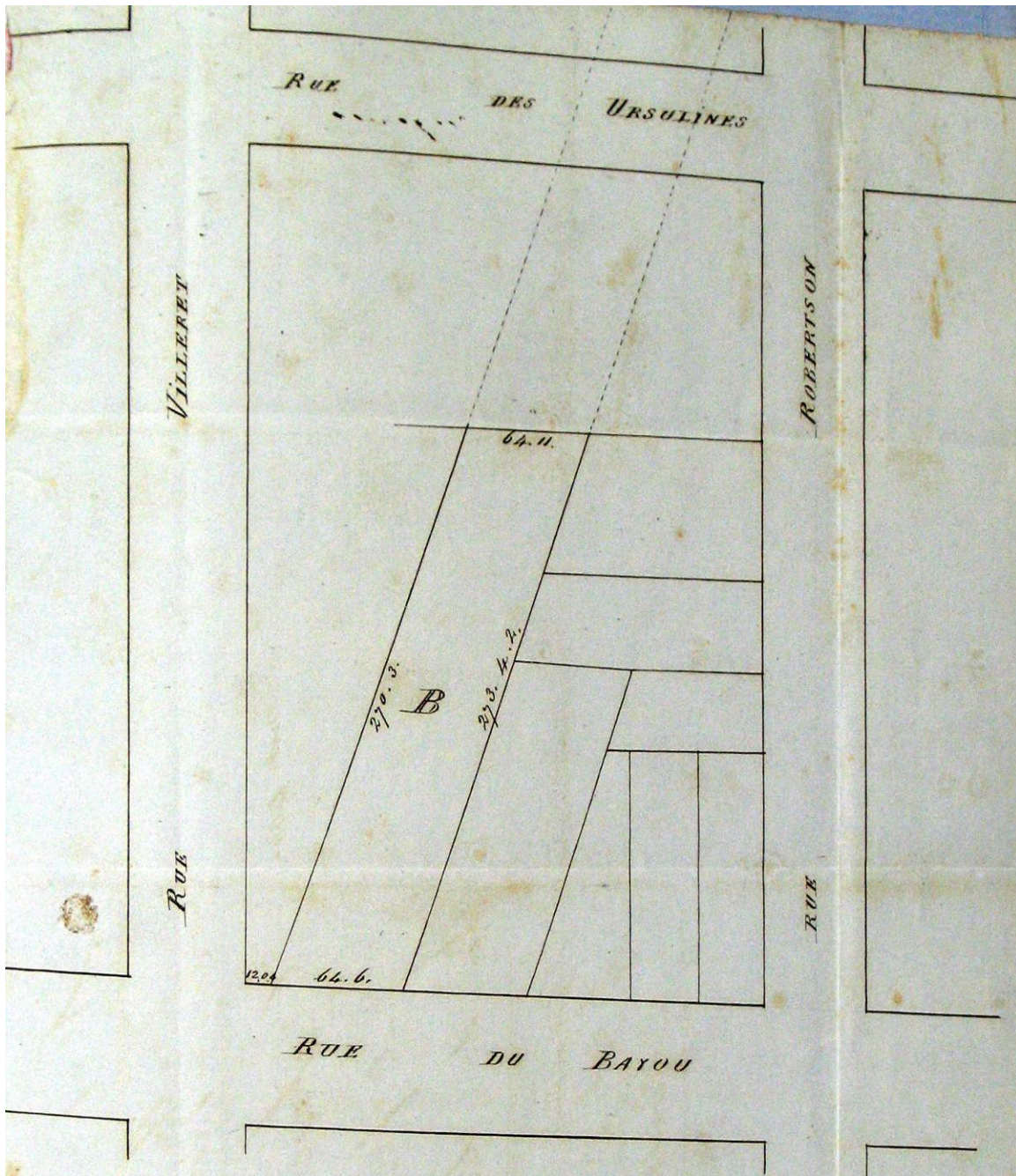


Figure 8. Bayou Road property purchased by Jean-Louis Dolliole in 1807 (indicated by "B"). Plan of a lot of ground situated in the 2nd district of New Orleans and designated by the letter B. J. A. d'Hémécourt. February 14, 1861. Attached to Succession of Jean-Louis Dolliole, A.E. Bienvenu notary, volume 19, act 30, February 11, 1861. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

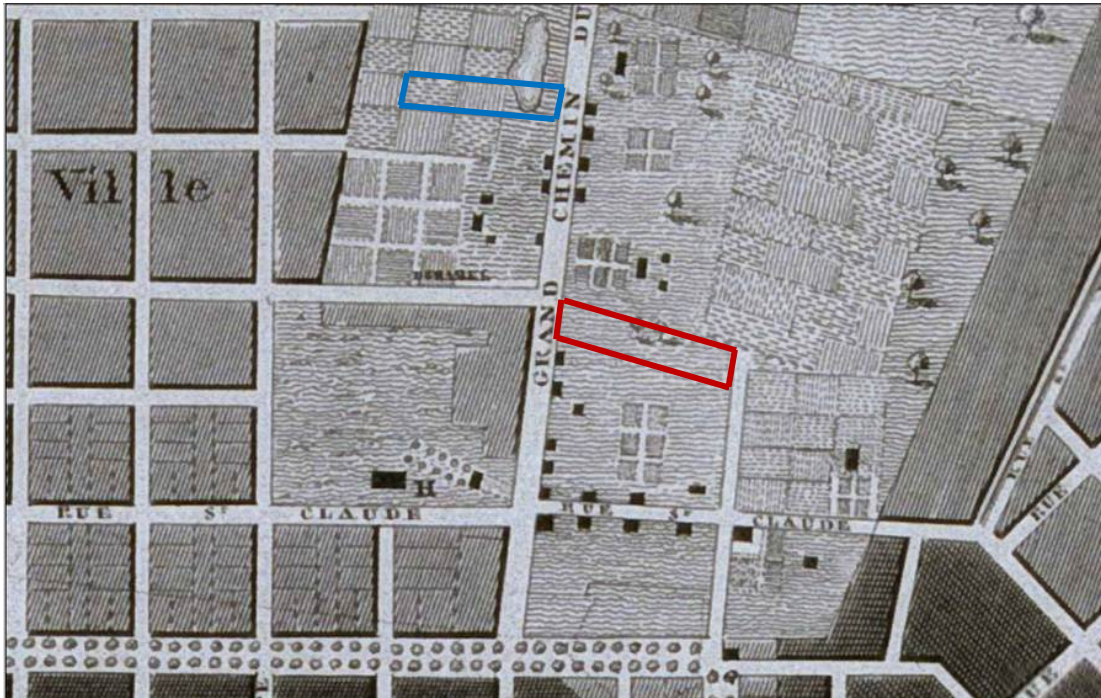


Figure 9. Approximate locations of Louis (red) and Jean-Louis Dolliole (blue) properties on Bayou Road shown on Plan of the city and suburbs of New Orleans: from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse. Published by Charles Del Vecchio (New York) and P. Maspero (New Orleans). 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

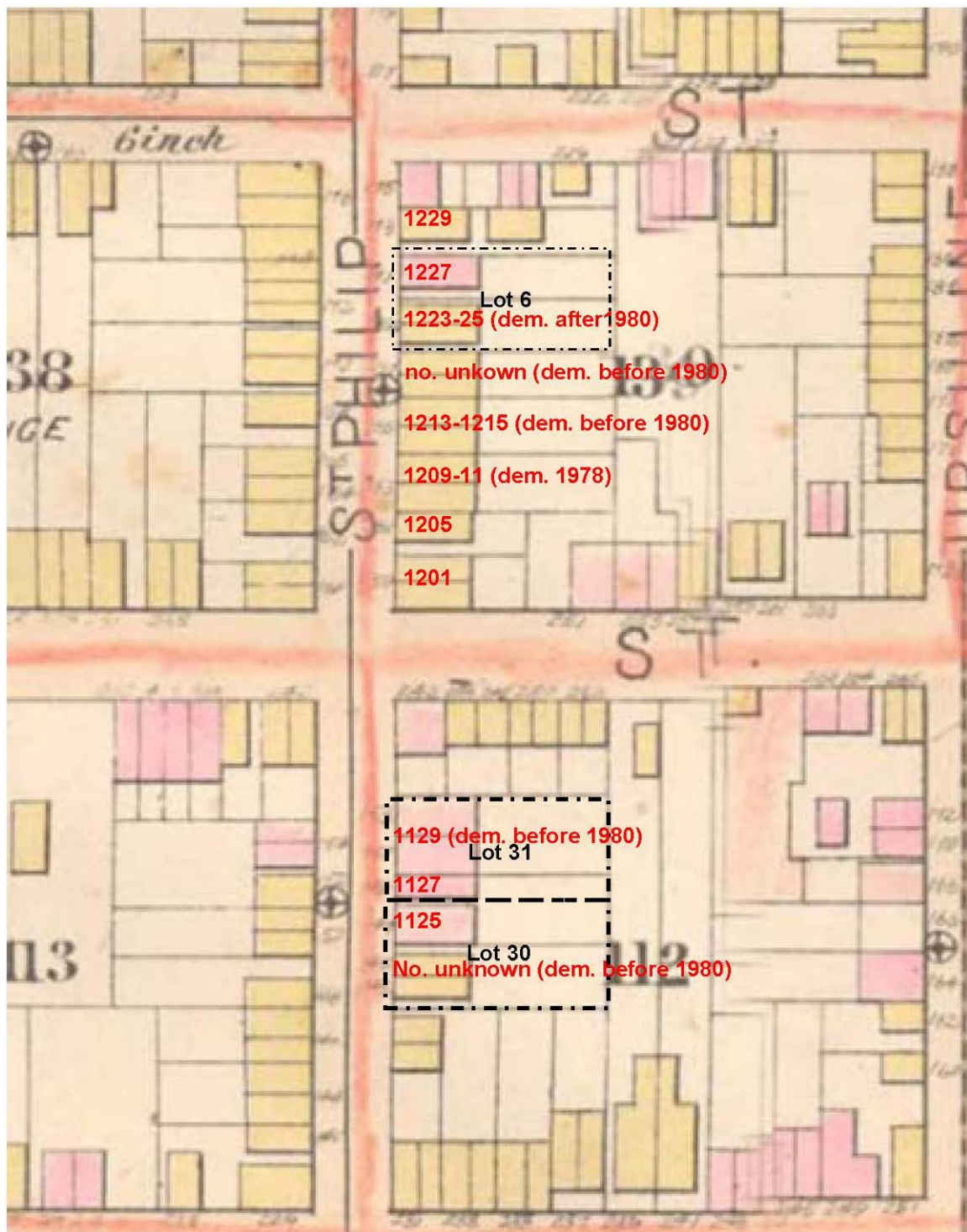


Figure 10. Dolliole properties in the 1100 and 1200 blocks of St. Philip Street indicated on Robinson Atlas, plate no. 7, 1883. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

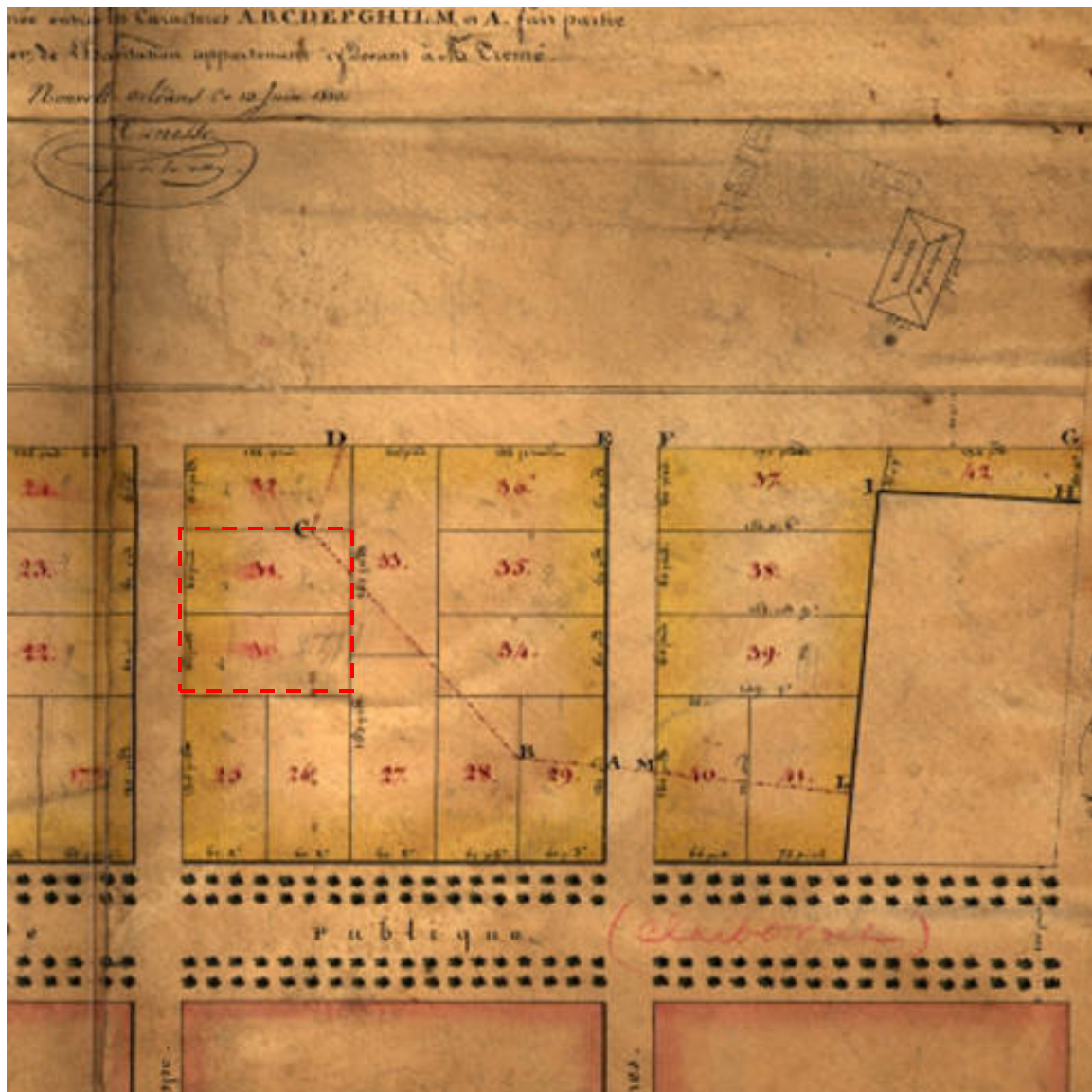


Figure 11. Lots 30 and 31 purchased by Jean-Louis and Pierre Dolliole and Norbert Fortier in 1816. Plan de division d'une portion de terre située, au N.N.O. de la Nouvelle Orleans, et appartenant a la corporation, aux droits de Monsieur Tremé. Jacques Tanesse. 1810. Louisiana Map Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

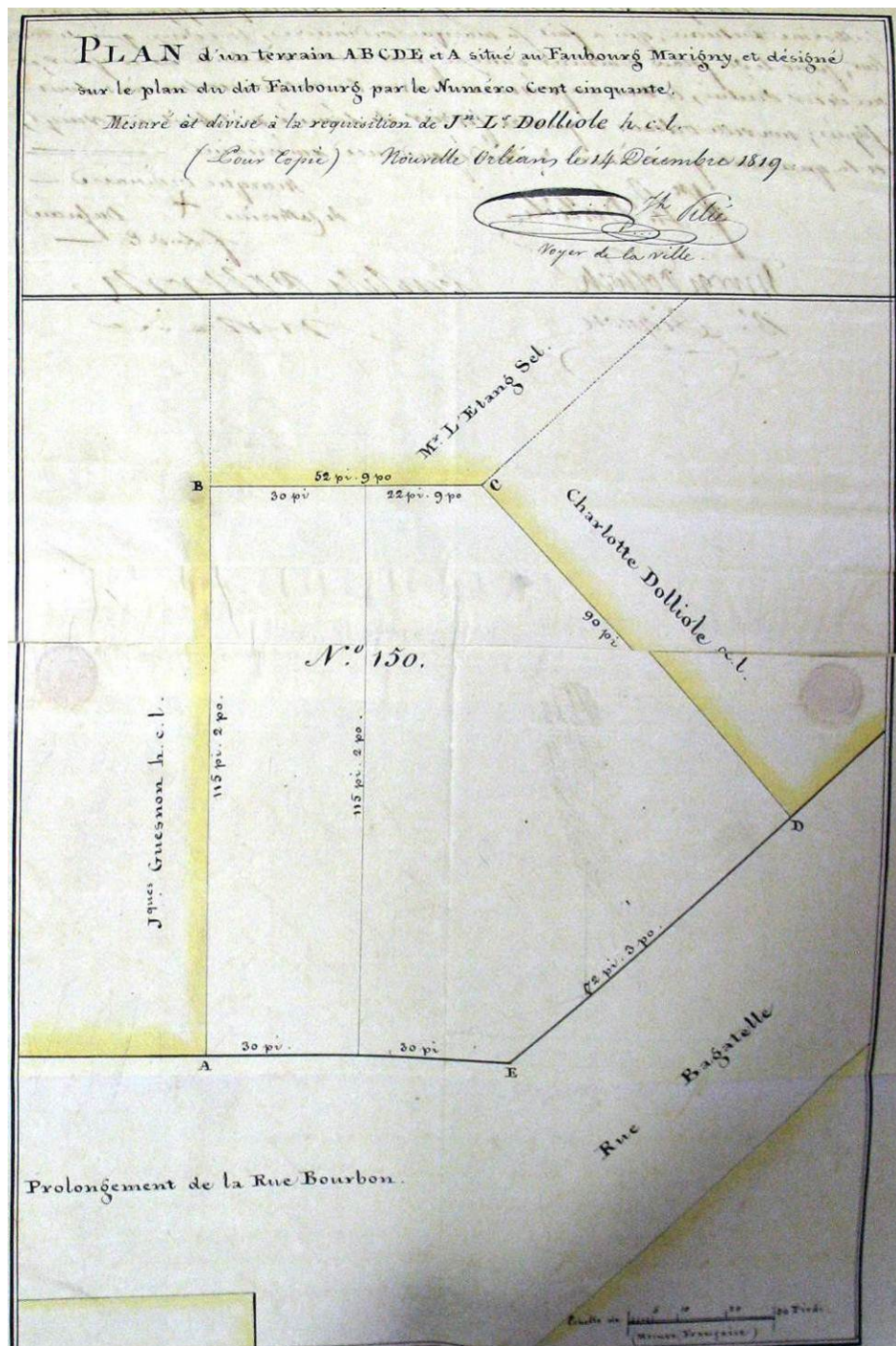


Figure 12. 1436 Pauger Street. Plan of a lot of land ABCDE situated in Faubourg Marigny and designated on the plan of said Faubourg by the number 150. Joseph Pilié, city surveyor. December 14, 1819. Attached to sale of land from Catherine Dusuau to Jean-Louis Dolliole, Carlile Pollock notary, volume 2, act 126, February 4, 1820. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

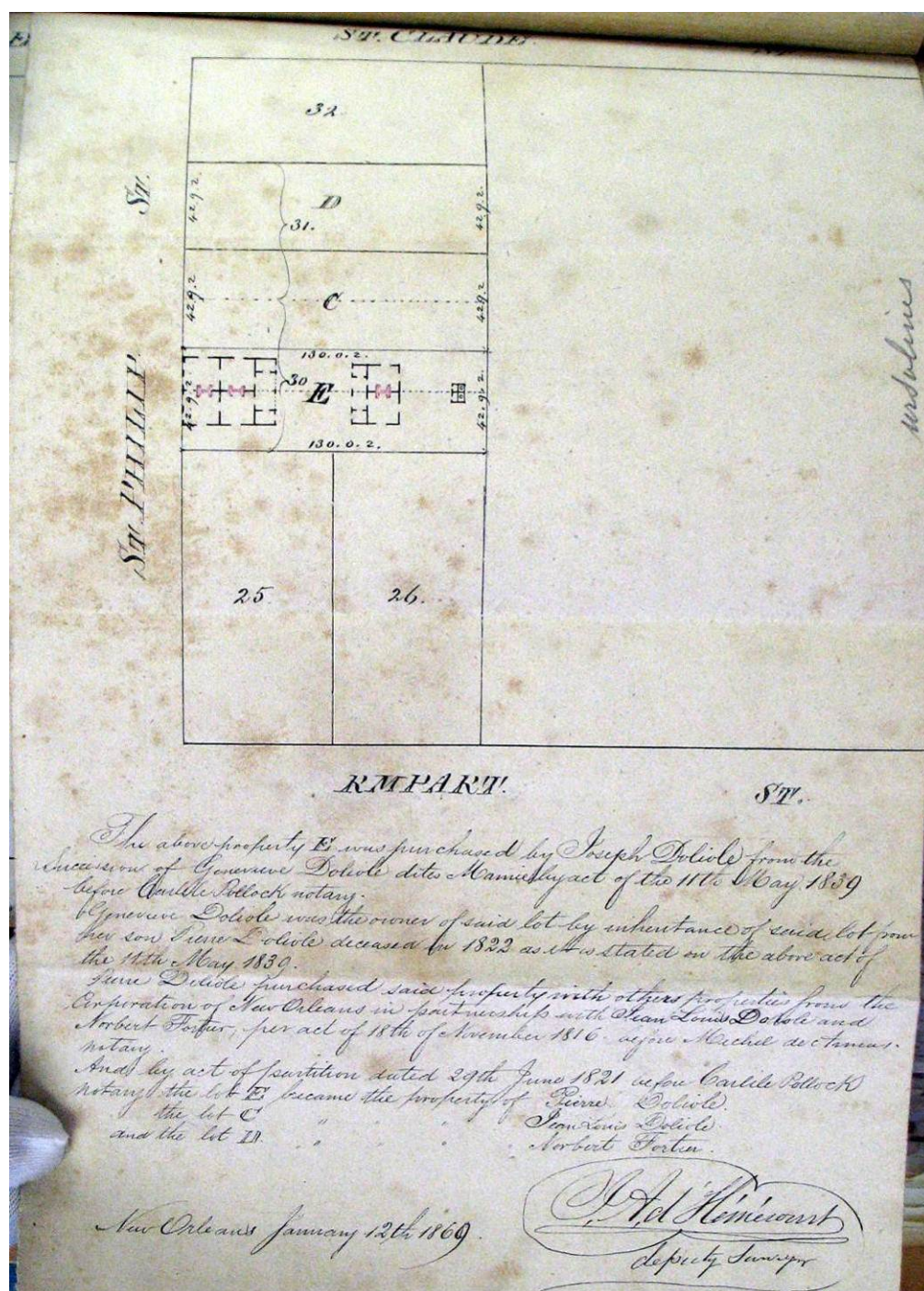


Figure 13. Plan of Dolliole and Fortier properties in the 1100 block of St. Philip Street. Note the indication of whom each third was partitioned to as well as the notations regarding the chain of title for lot "E" (1123 St. Philip Street). J. A. d'Hémécourt. 1869. Attached to Succession of Joseph Dolliole, Joseph Cuvillier notary, volume 83, act 7, December 16, 1868. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

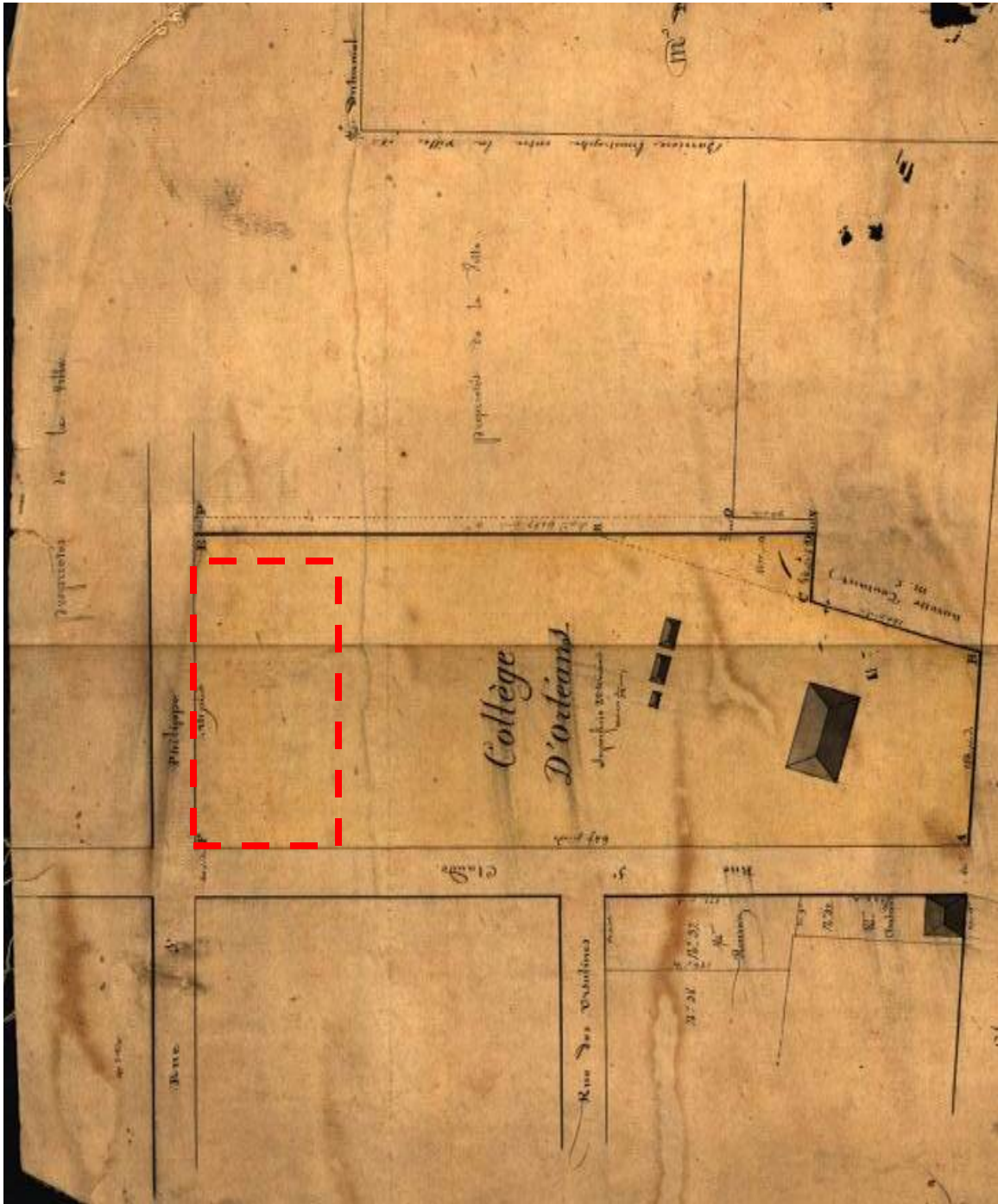


Figure 14. Map showing location of Madeleine and Rosette Dolliole purchases on former College d'Orleans property (1200 block St. Philip Street). Plan of the College d'Orleans. Jacques Tanesse. 1811. Louisiana Map Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

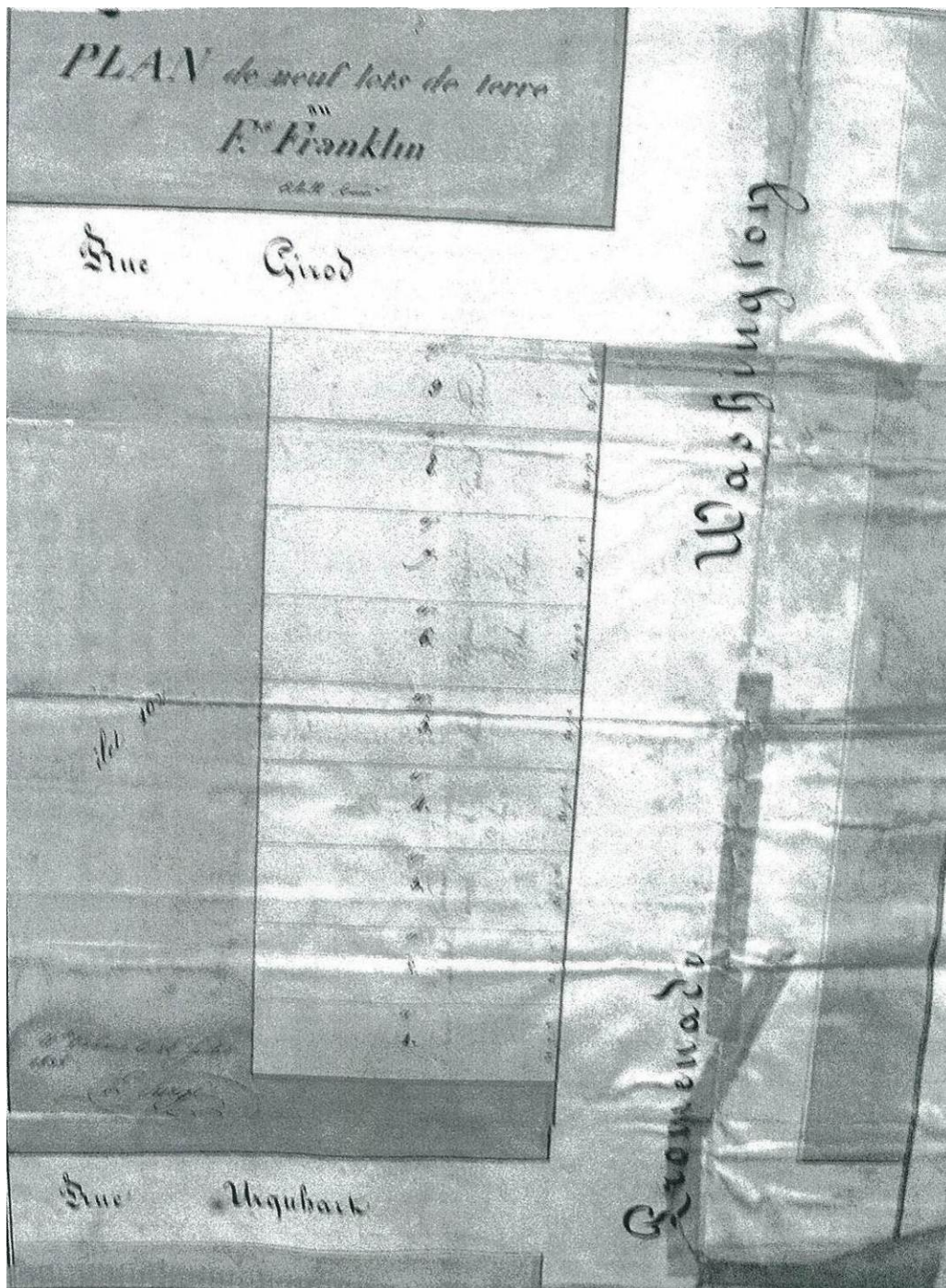


Figure 15. Detail of Plan de neuf lots de terre au Faubourg Franklin. Eugène Surgi. July 28, 1835. Attached to sale of property from Joseph Dolliole and Nelson Fouché to William Lewis, Theodore Seghers, notary, volume 13, act 777, December 29, 1835. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

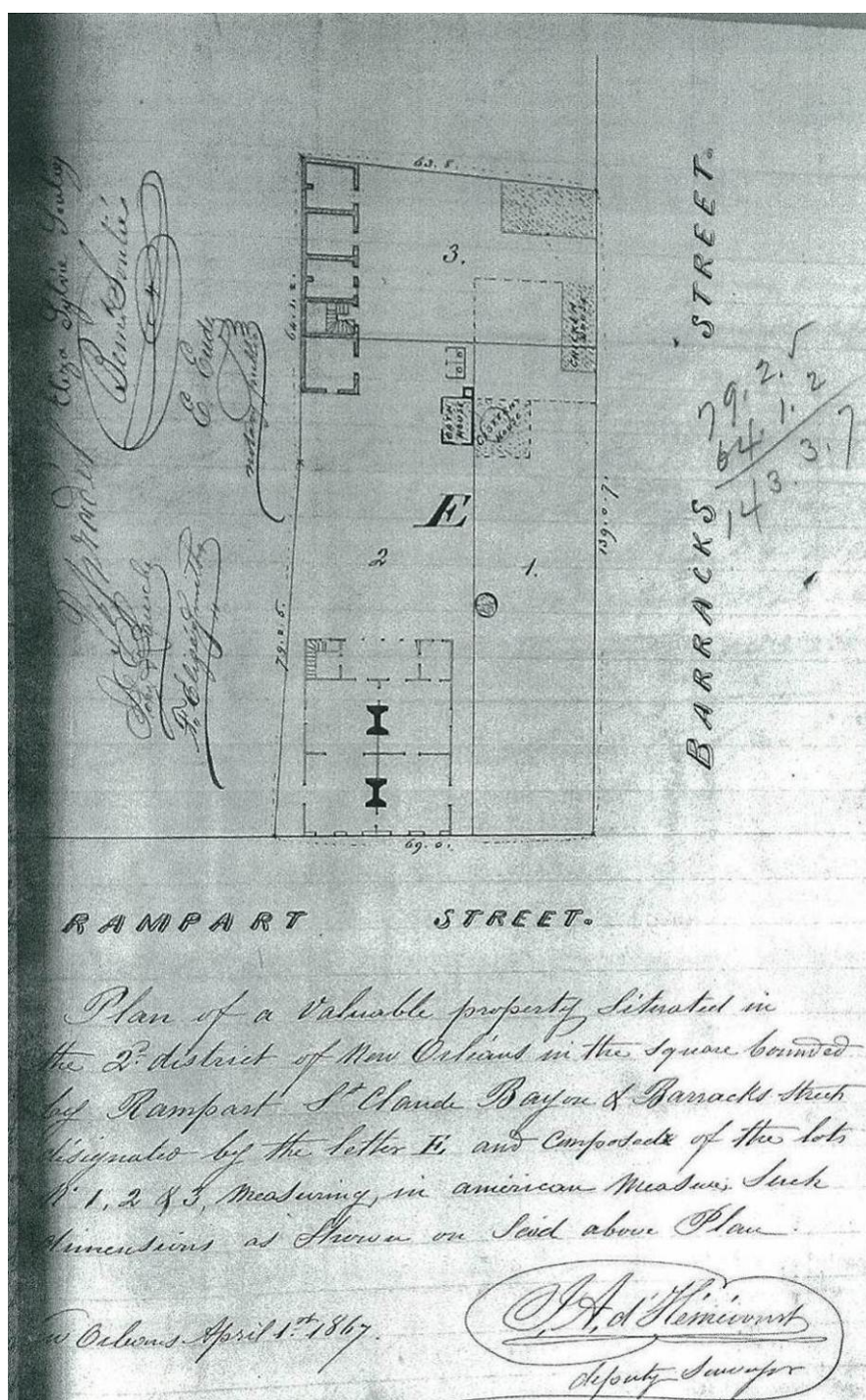


Figure 16. Plan of Soulié property at North Rampart and Barracks streets. J. A. d'Hémécourt. 1867. Attached to sale of property from Bernard and Albin Soulié to Balise Pradel, Ernest Eude notary, volume 2, act 146, April 11, 1867. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 17. Detail of Diagram Showing inundated District, Sauvé's Crevasse, May 9, 1849. Ludwig von Reizenstein, delineator. The Historic New Orleans Collection. Louisiana Digital Library, MAP0056.

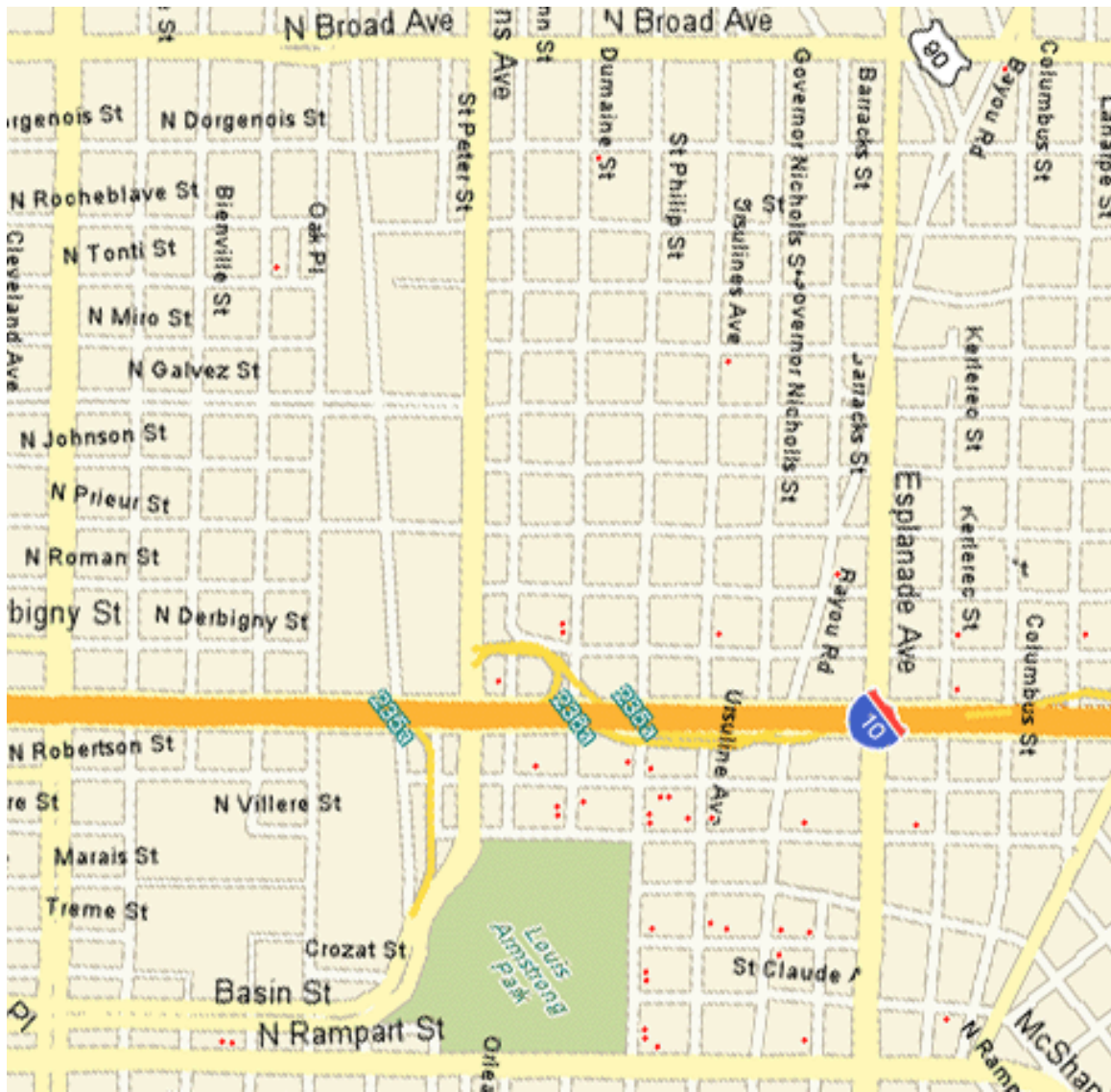


Figure 21. Faubourg Tremé properties associated with gens de couleur libres extant in 1980. Yahoo Maps. 2006.

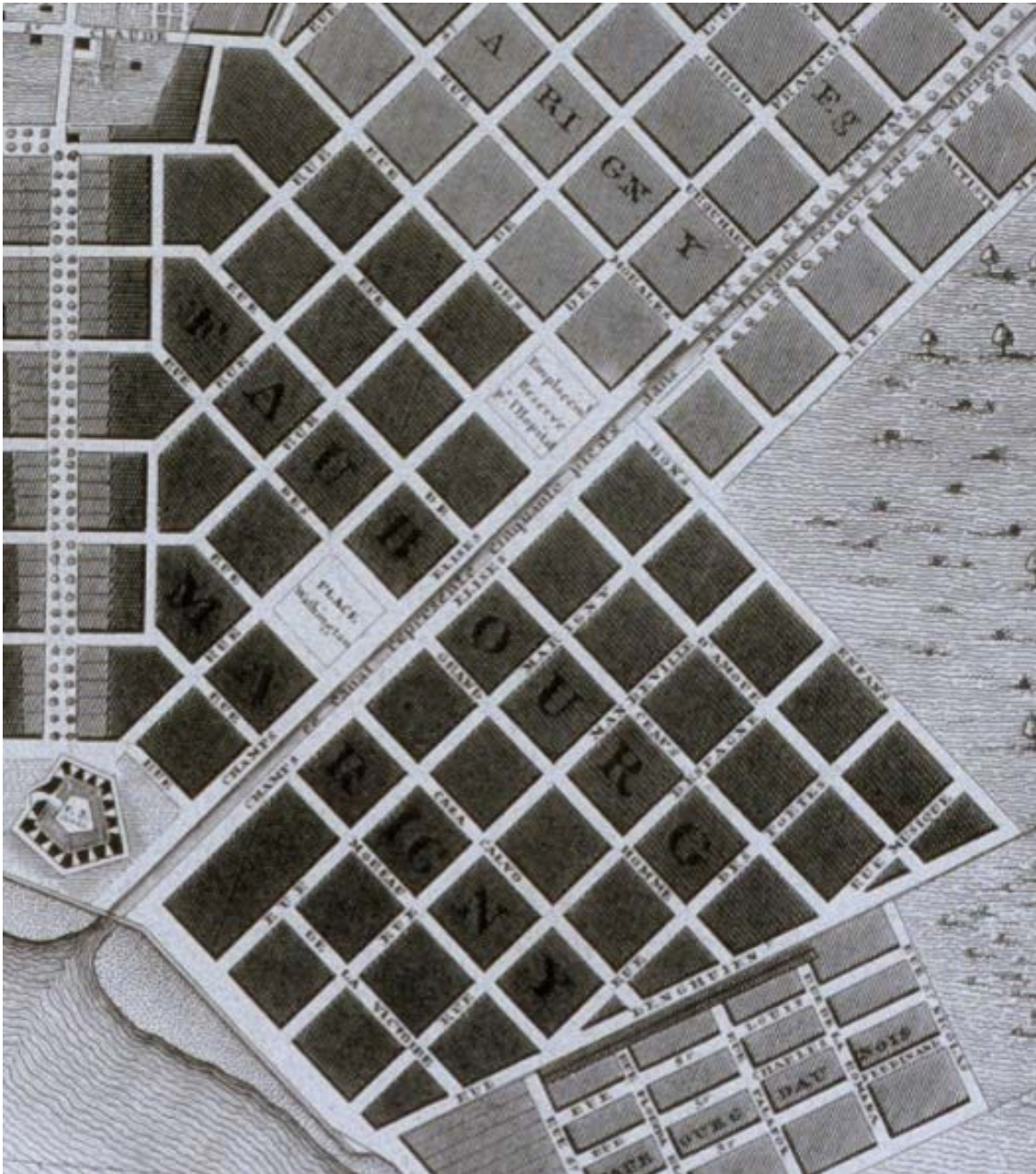


Figure 22. Faubourg Marigny shown in the Plan of the city and suburbs of New Orleans: from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse. Published by Charles Del Vecchio (New York) and P. Maspero (New Orleans). 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

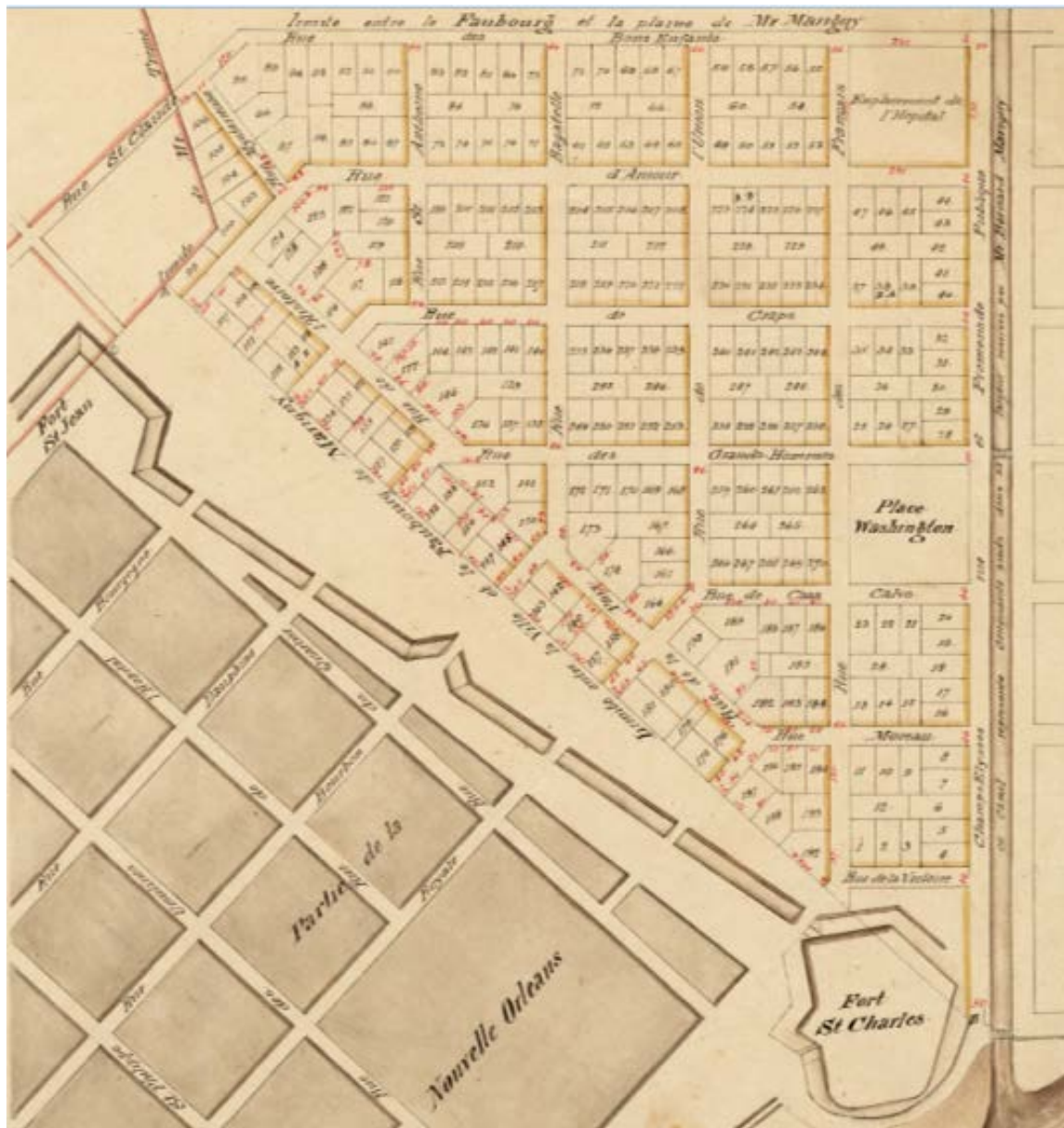


Figure 23. Detail of Plan du Faubourg Marigny. Copied by Claude Jules Allou d'Hémécourt from an 1807 plan by Barthelemy Lafon. ca. 1870. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 24. Faubourg Marigny properties associated with gens de couleur libres extant in 1974. Indicated by author on map from *New Orleans Architecture: Volume IV, The Creole Faubourgs*, page 92.

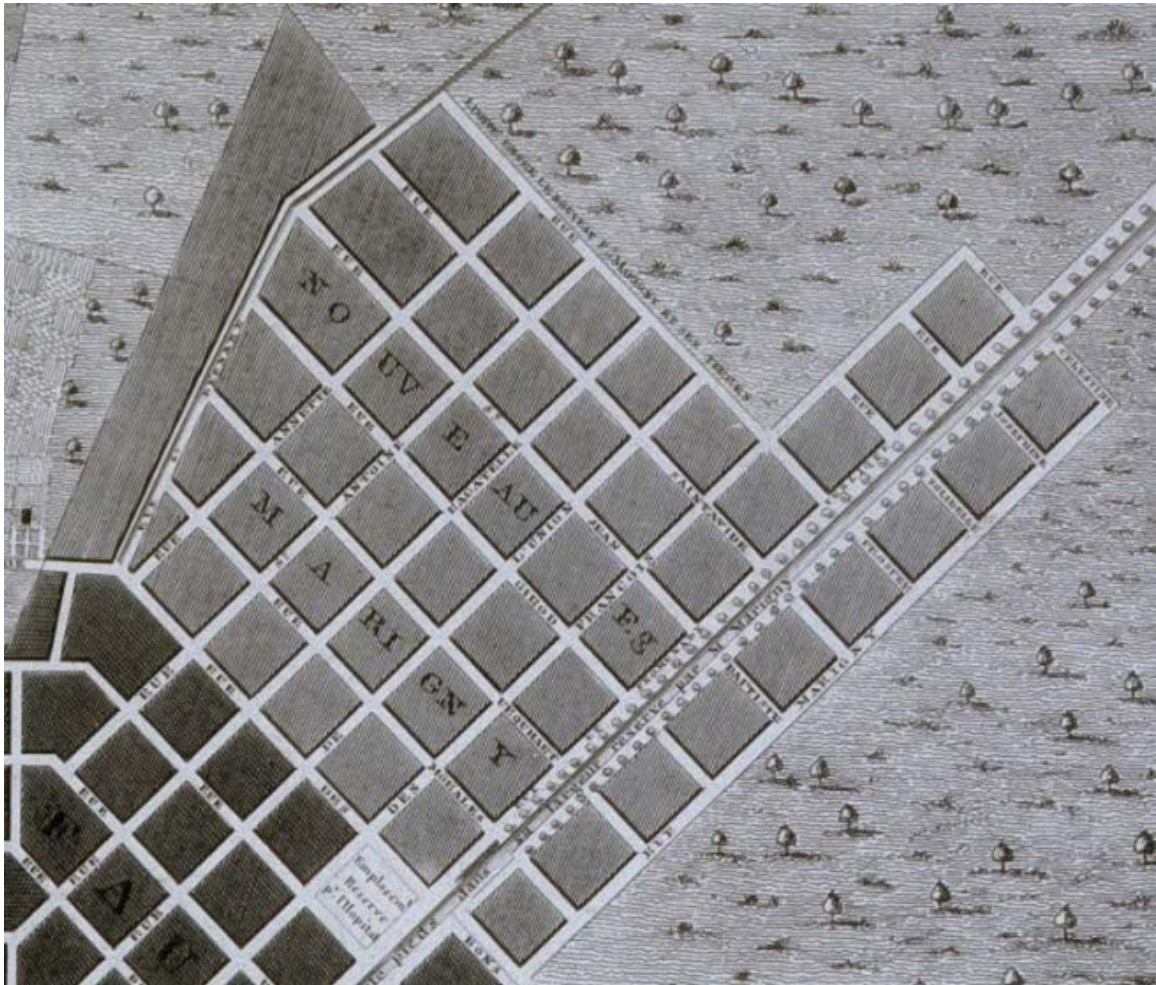


Figure 25. New Marigny shown in the Plan of the city and suburbs of New Orleans: from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse. Published by Charles Del Vecchio (New York) and P. Maspero (New Orleans). 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

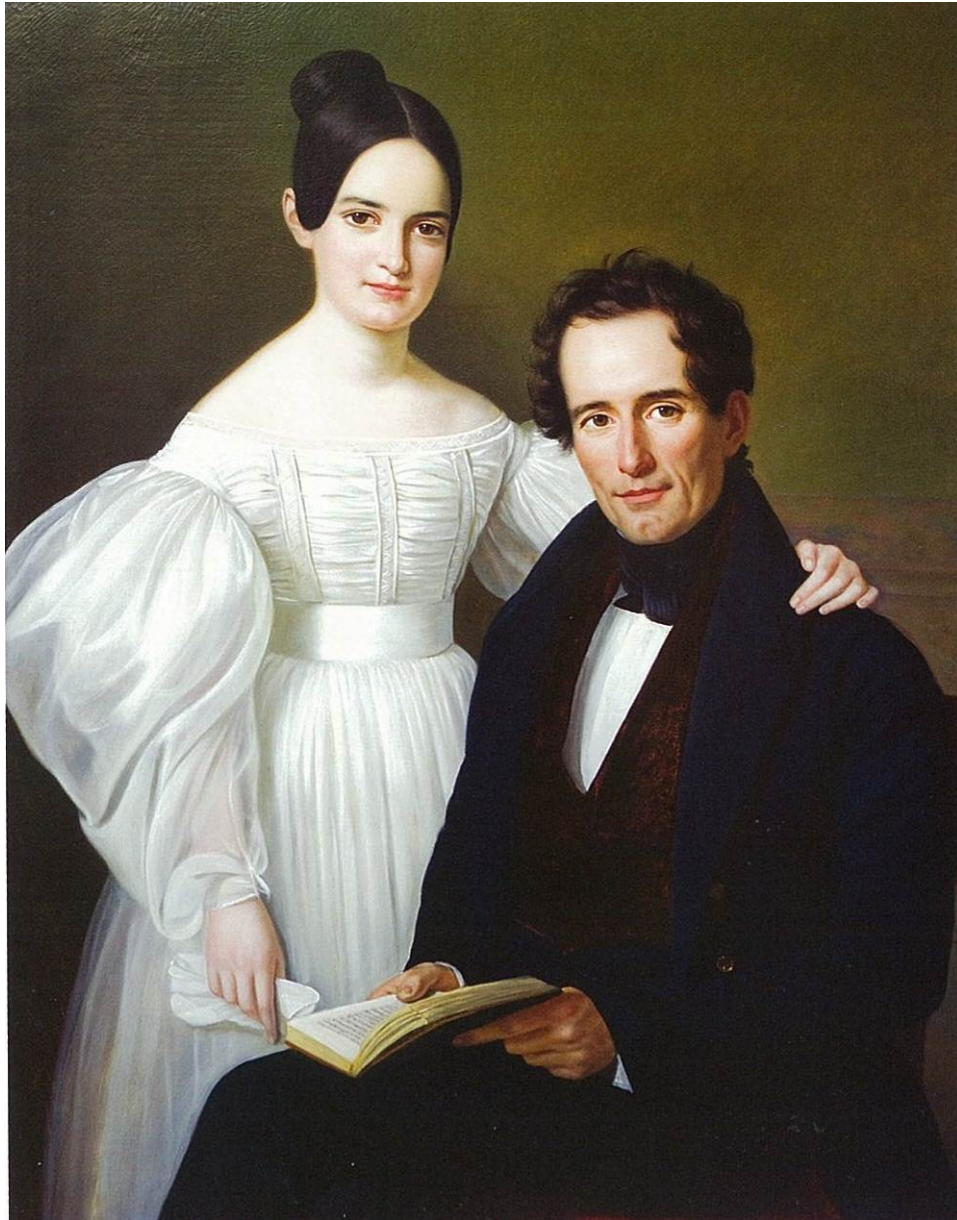


Figure 26. Edmund Jean Forstall. And daughter Desirée. Portrait by Jean-Joseph Vaudechamp. 1836. From In Search of Julien Hudson. The Historic New Orleans Collection. Illustrated in In Search of Julien Hudson, page 49.

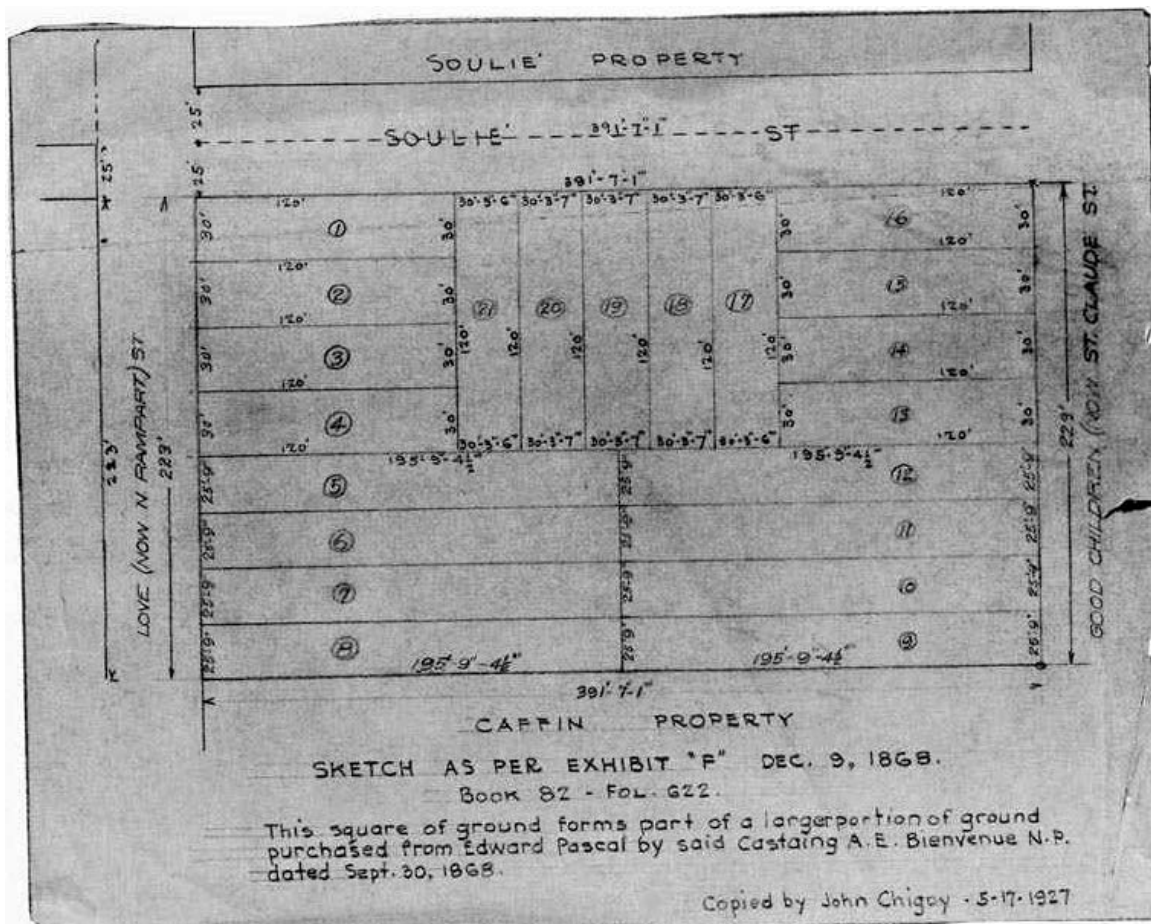


Figure 27. Plan of property bounded by Love (now North Rampart), Soulié, Good Children (now St. Claude), and the property of Caffin, 1868. Louisiana Map Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

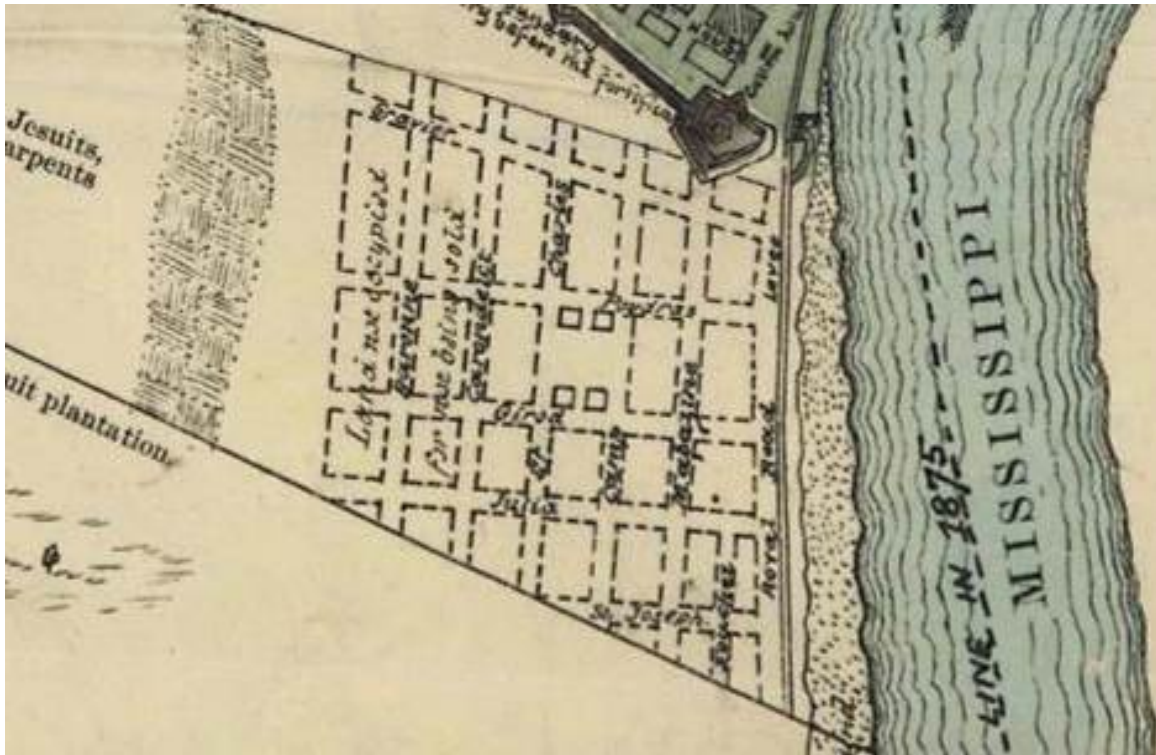


Figure 28. Detail of Faubourg Sainte-Marie from Plan of the City of New Orleans and the Adjacent Plantations. Carlos Trudeau. December 24, 1798. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

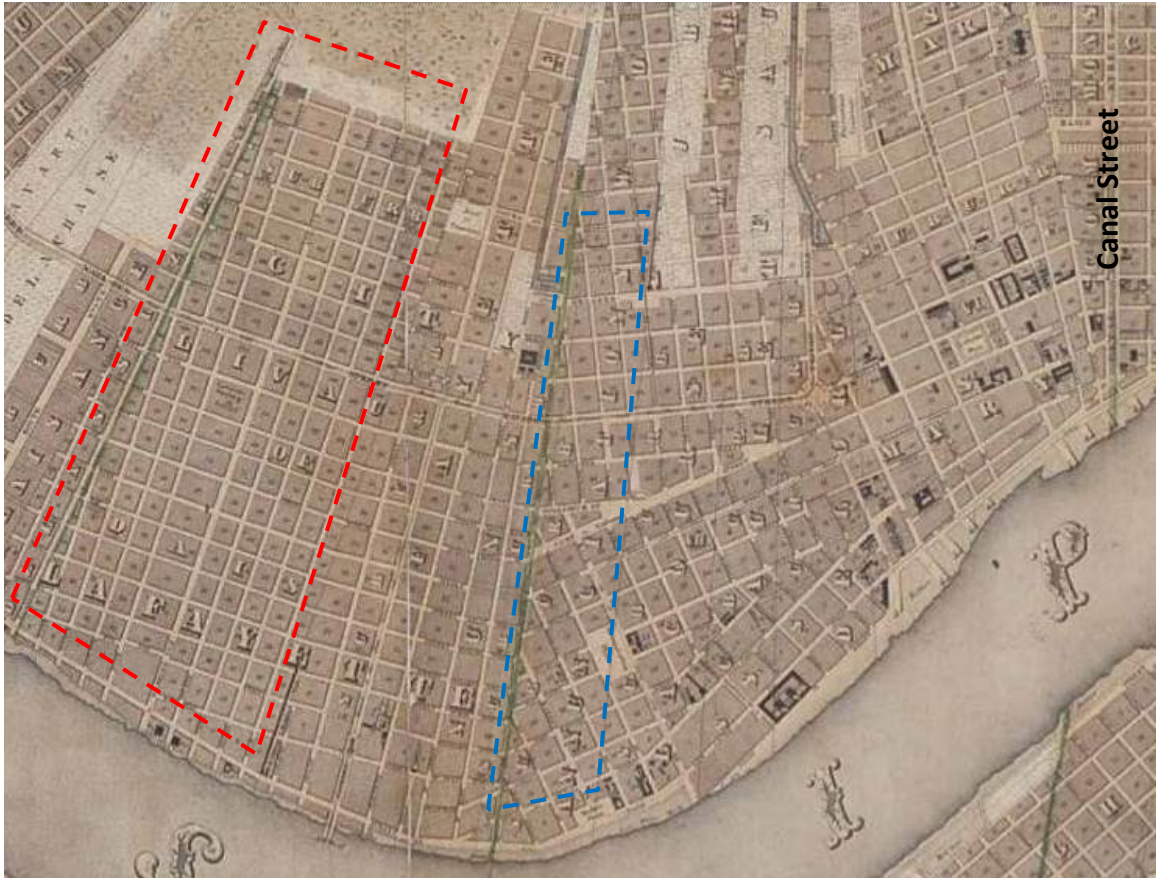


Figure 29. Faubourg Annunciation (blue) and Faubourg Livaudais (red). Detail from *Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity*. Charles F. Zimpel surveyor. 1833. *The Historic New Orleans Collection*.



Figure 31. 628-632 Dumaine Street ("Madame John's Legacy"). Photo by John Watson Riley. 2011. Vieux Carré Survey, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

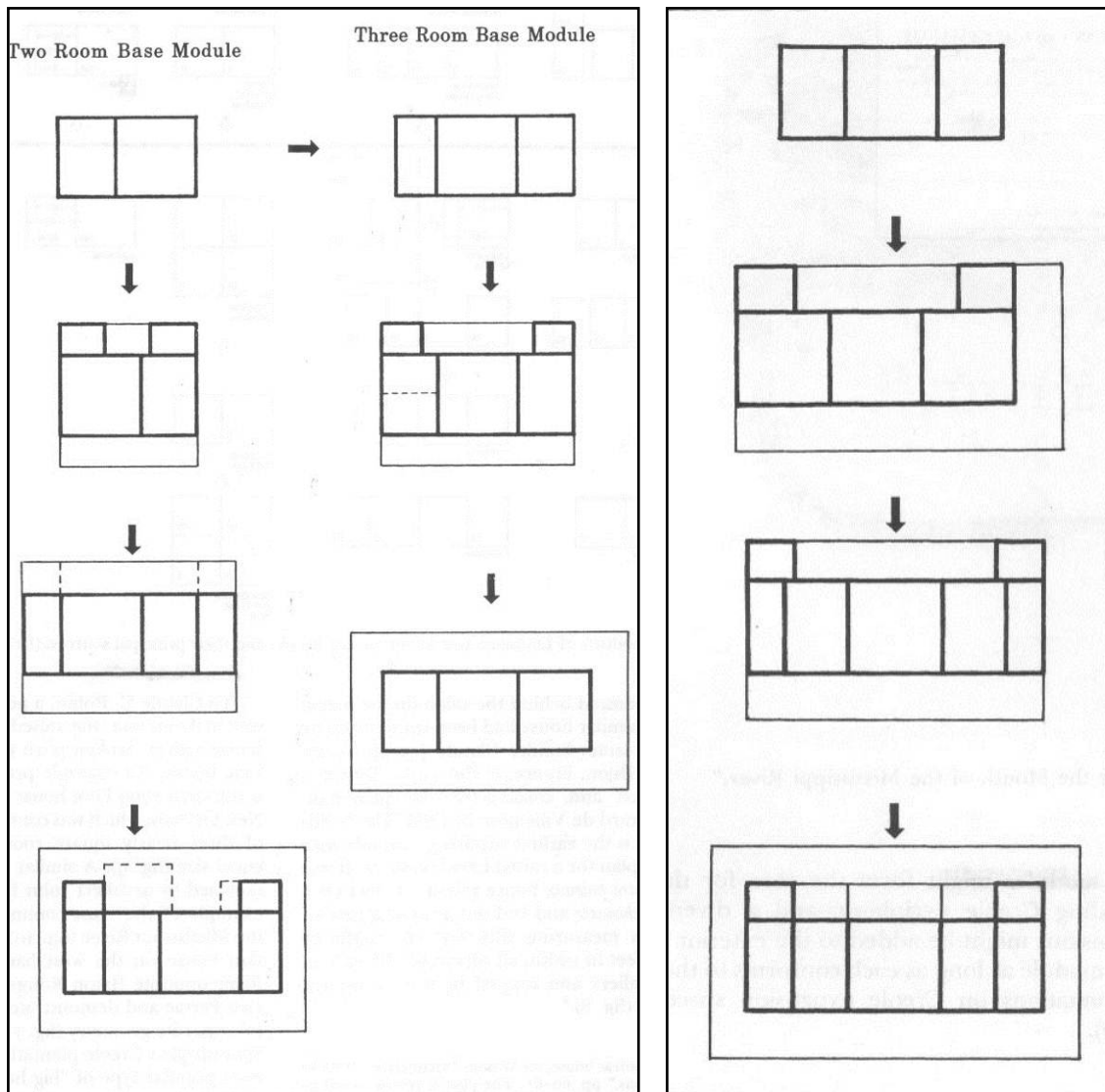


Figure 32. Evolution of Norman Creole plan (left) and Spanish Creole plan (right, with two- and three-room variations). Drawings by Jay D. Edwards from "The Origin of Creole Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio* (Summer/Autumn 1994).



Figure 33. 937-941 Bourbon Street ("Lafitte's Blacksmith Shop"). New Orleans Virtual Archive, Tulane School of Architecture.



Figure 34. 931-933 St. Philip Street (Dolliole-Masson Cottage). Jean-Louis Dolliole. Ca. 1805. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

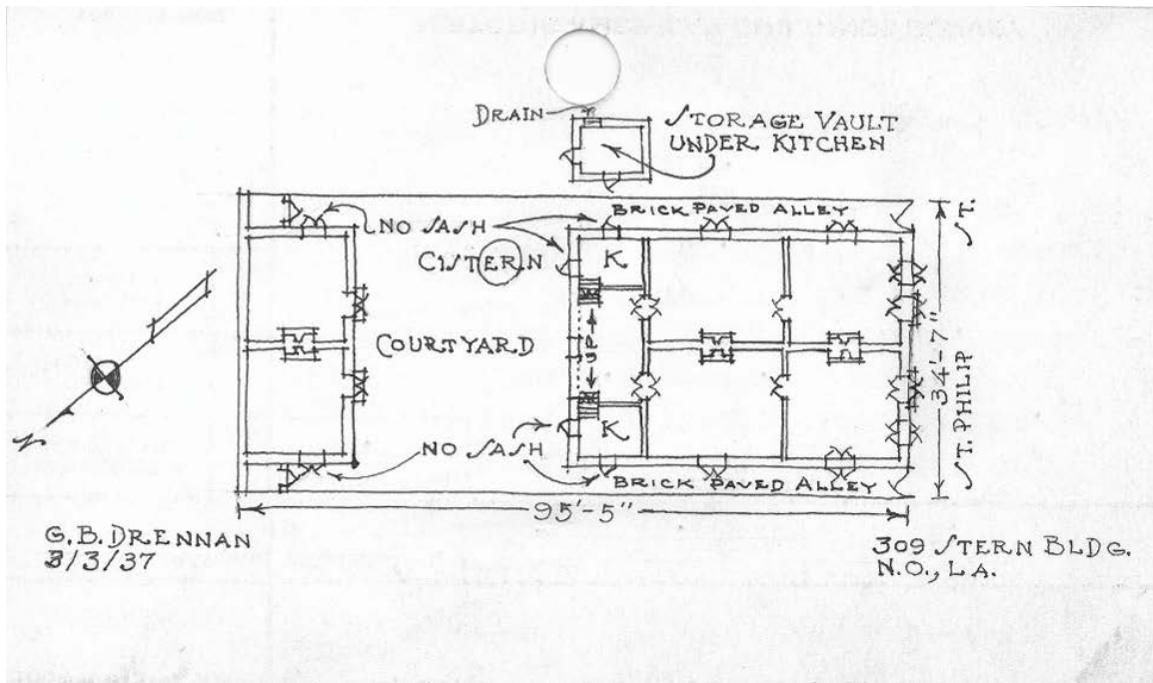


Figure 35. Sketch Plan of 931-933 St. Philip Street. Plan drawn by G. B. Brennan. 1937. Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey. Index No. HABS LA,36-NEWOR,72-. Survey No. HABS LA-160.



Figure 36. 931-933 St. Philip Street. Photo by Richard Koch. 1938. Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey. Index No. HABS LA,36-NEWOR,72-. Survey No. HABS LA-160.

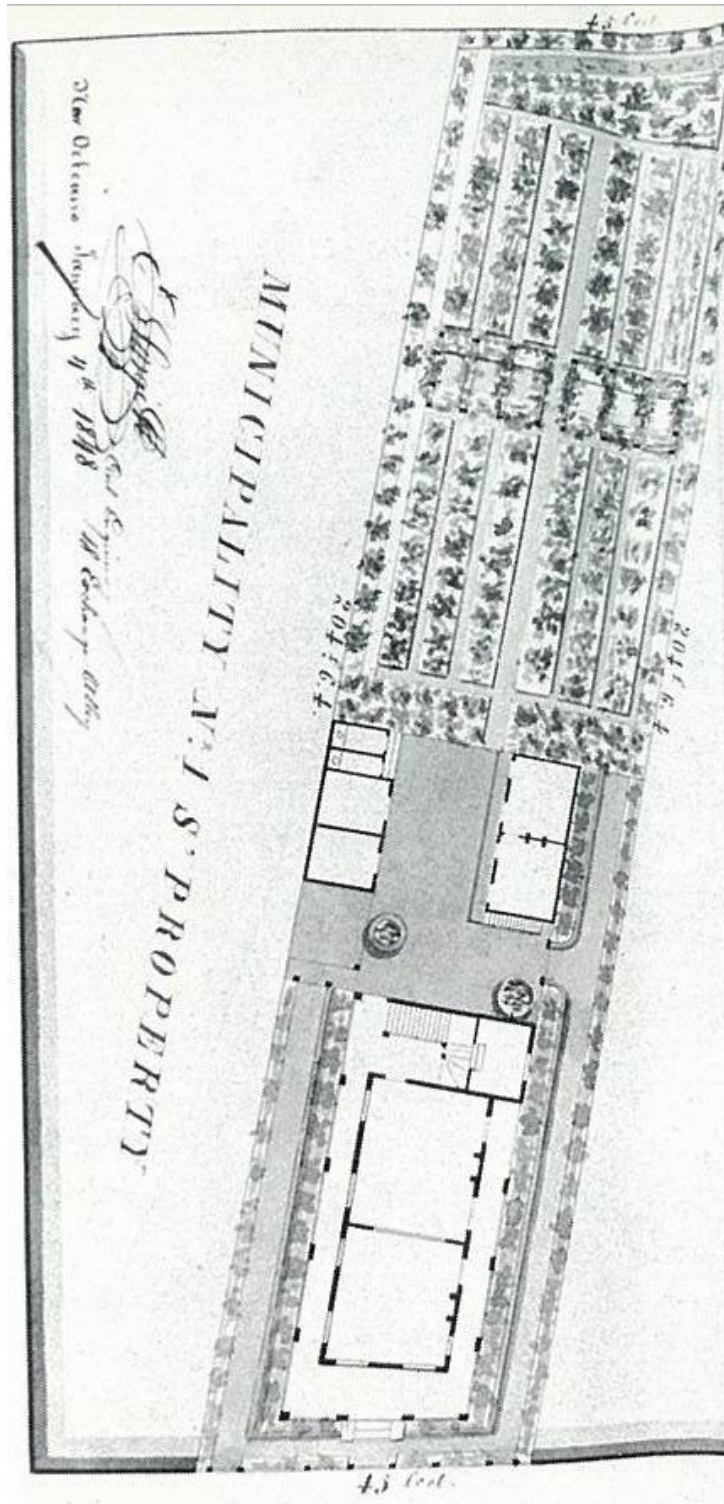


Figure 37. 1244 Esplanade. Eugène Surgi. 1848. Plan Book 65A, folio 63. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

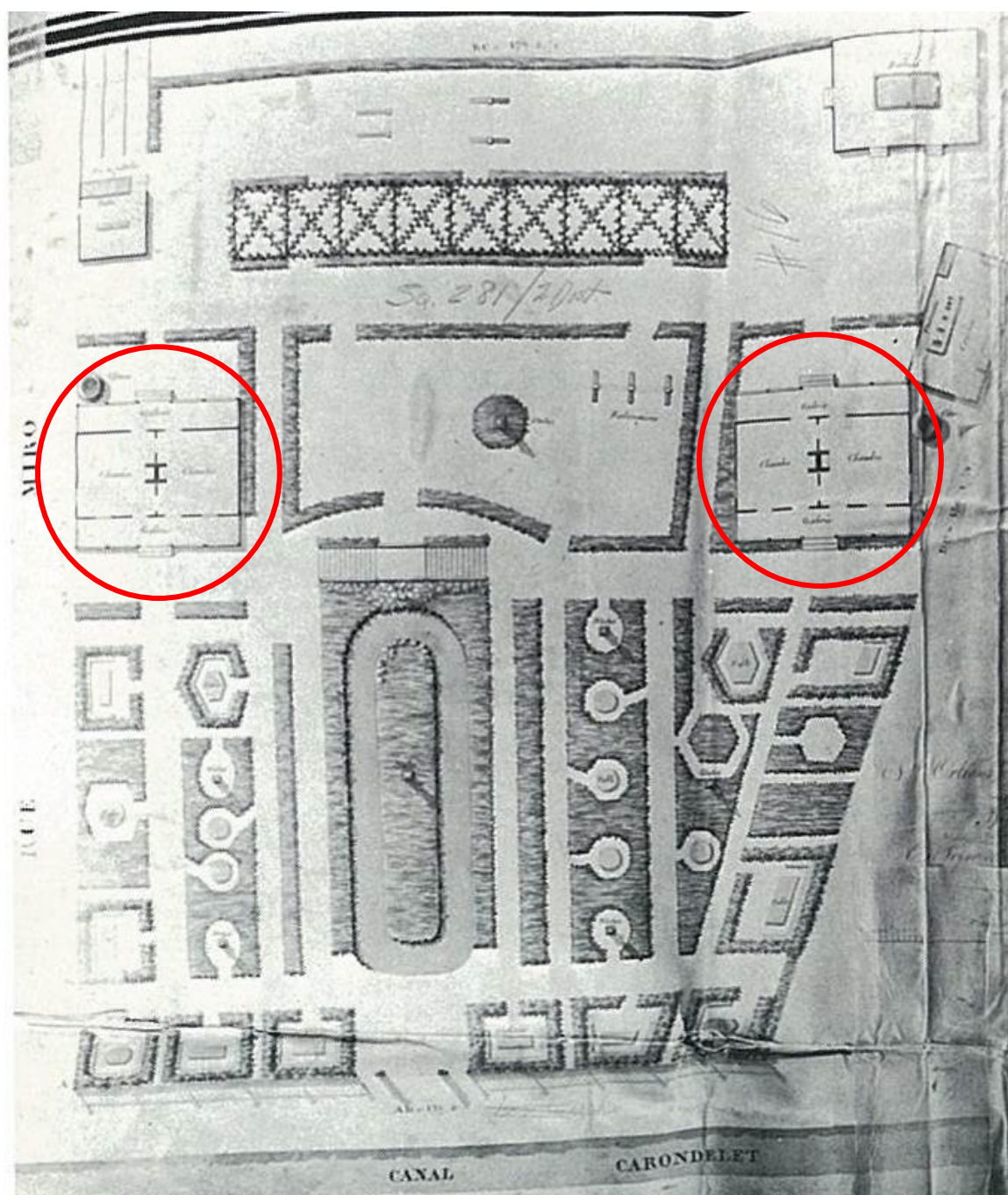


Figure 38. Detail of Plan Du Jardin du Rocher de Ste. Hélène. Bourgerol. September 5, 1844. Plan book 35, folio 16. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 39. 1436 Pauger. Jean-Louis Dolliole. 1820. Photo by author.

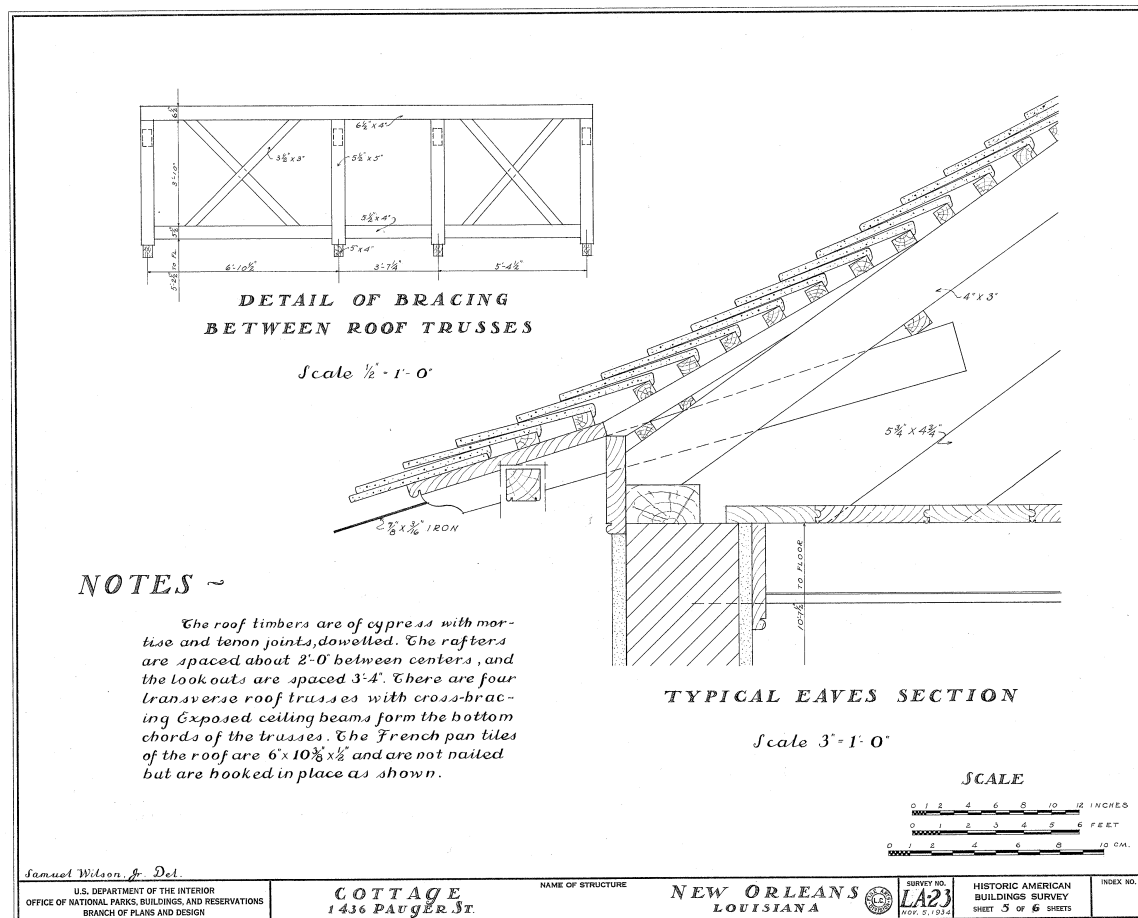


Figure 40. Roof system of 1436 Pauger. Samuel Wilson, Jr., delineator. 1934. Library of Congress. Historic American Buildings Survey. Call No. HABS LA,36-NEWOR,12-. Survey No. HABS LA-23.

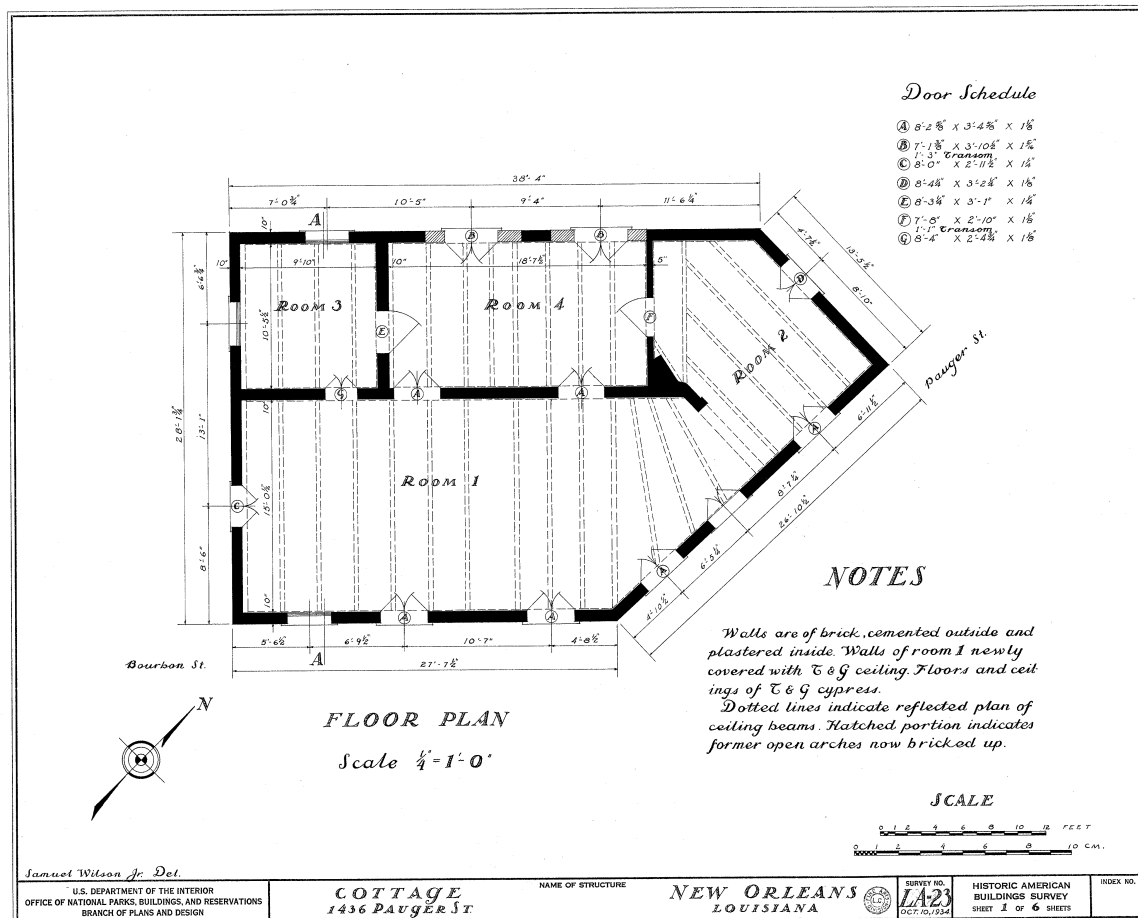


Figure 41. Floor Plan of 1436 Pauger. Samuel Wilson, Jr., delineator. 1934. Library of Congress. Historic American Buildings Survey. Call No. HABS LA,36-NEWOR,12-. Survey No. HABS LA-23.



Figure 42. Rear elevation of 1436 Pauger. Photo by Richard Koch. 1934. Library of Congress. Historic American Buildings Survey. Call No. HABS LA,36-NEWOR,12-. Survey No. HABS LA-23.



Figure 43. 1455-1457 Pauger. Jean-Louis Dolliole. Photo by author.



Figure 44. 820 Elysian Fields Avenue. Jean-Louis Dolliole. Google Maps. 2012.

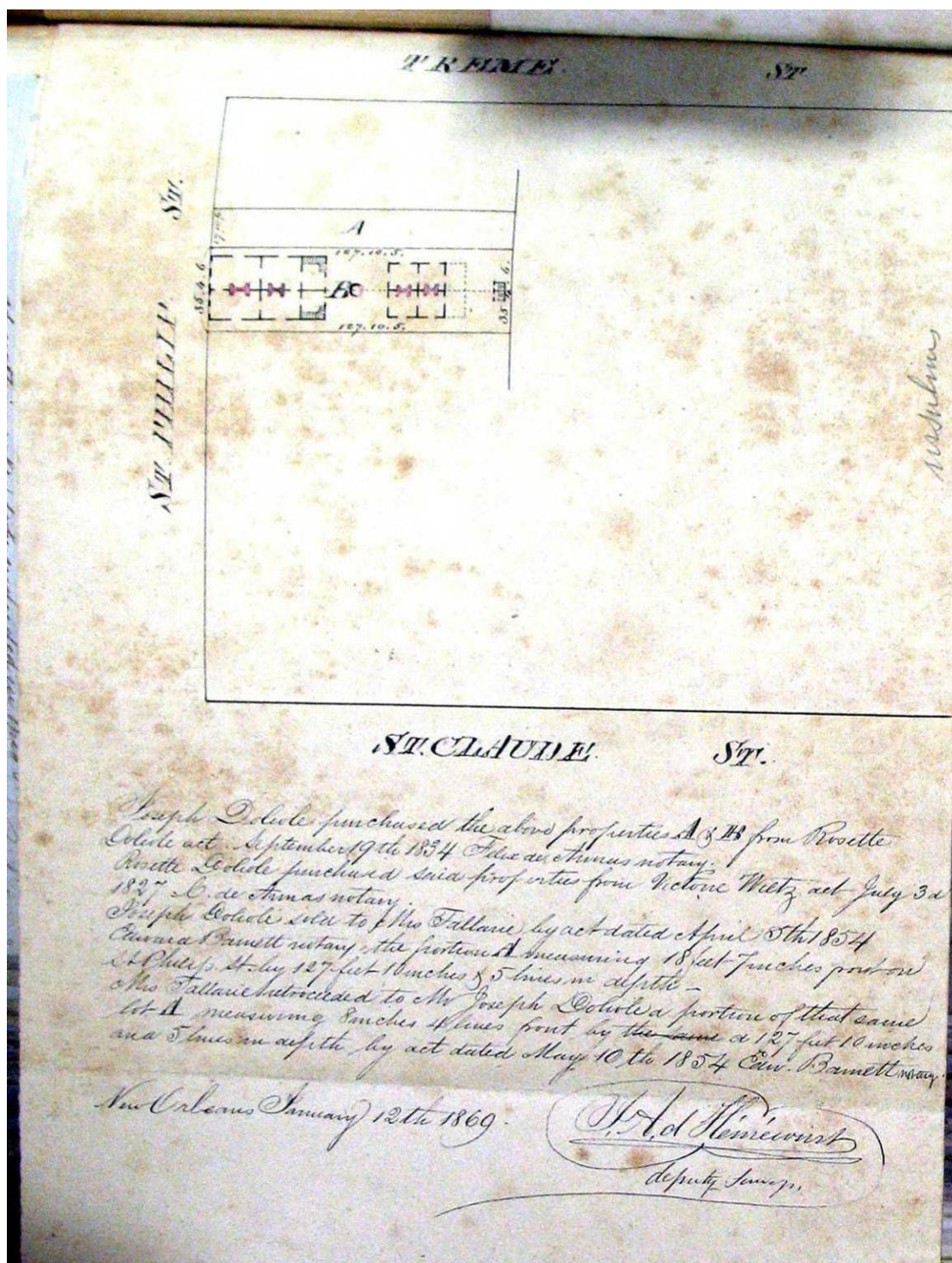


Figure 46. Site plan for cottage and outbuildings at 1223-1225 St. Philip Street. J. A. d'Hémécourt. 1869. Attached to Succession of Joseph Dolliole, J. Cuvillier notary, volume 83, act 7, December 16, 1868. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 47. 1227 St. Philip Street. Google maps. 2012.



Figure 48. 1125 and 1127 St. Philip Street. Photo by author.



Figure 49. Side gallery of (and rear addition to) 1125 St. Phillip Street. Photo from Jazz Quarters Hotel. <http://jazzquarters.com/about/history/>. 2012.



Figure 50. 1010 Burgundy Street. Photo by author.



Figure 51. 927-929 St. Philip Street. Photo by author.



Figure 52. 935-937 St. Philip Street. Photo by author.

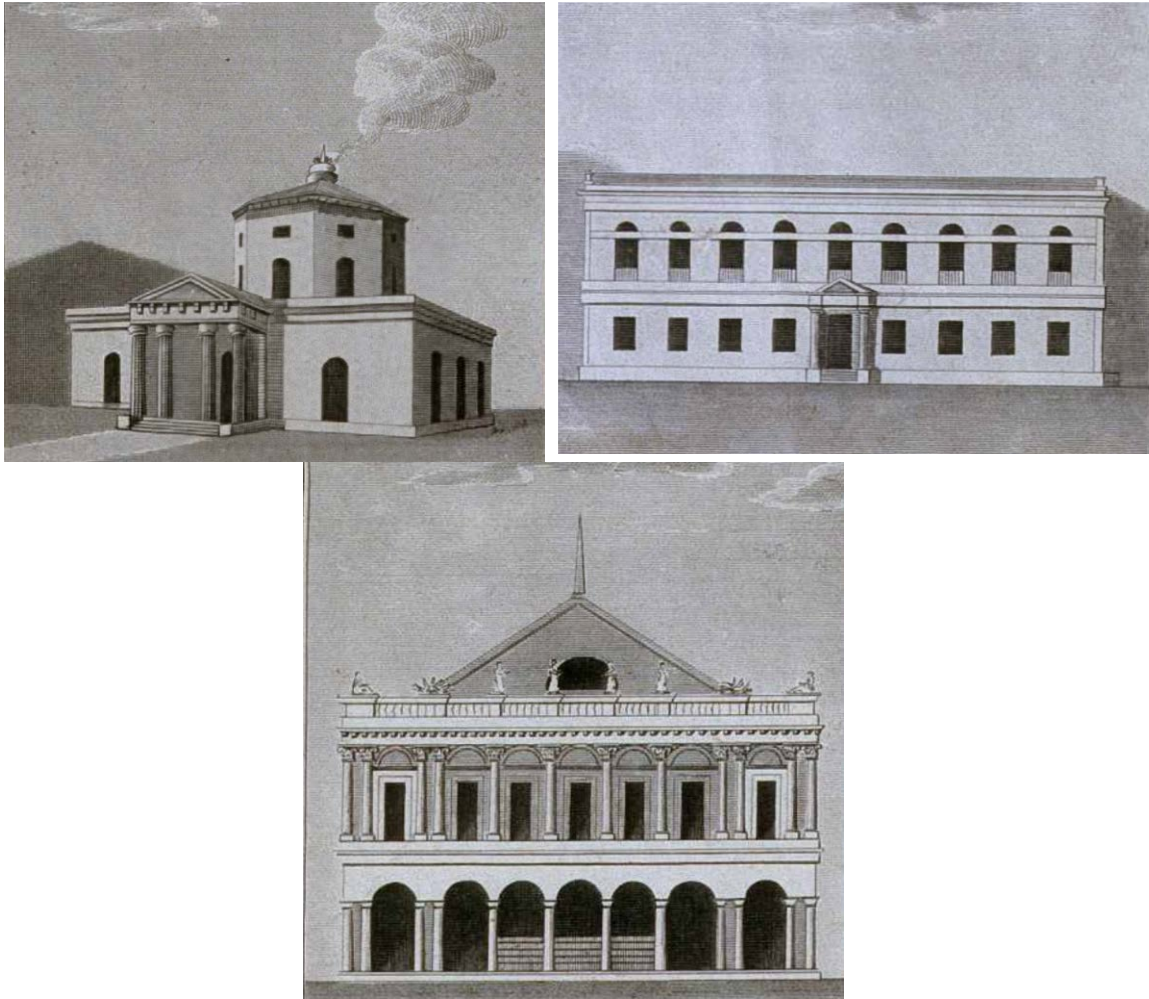


Figure 53. Clockwise from top left: New Orleans Waterworks (1811-1812), Charity Hospital (1815), and the Orleans Theatre (1816). Details from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse City Surveyor. 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

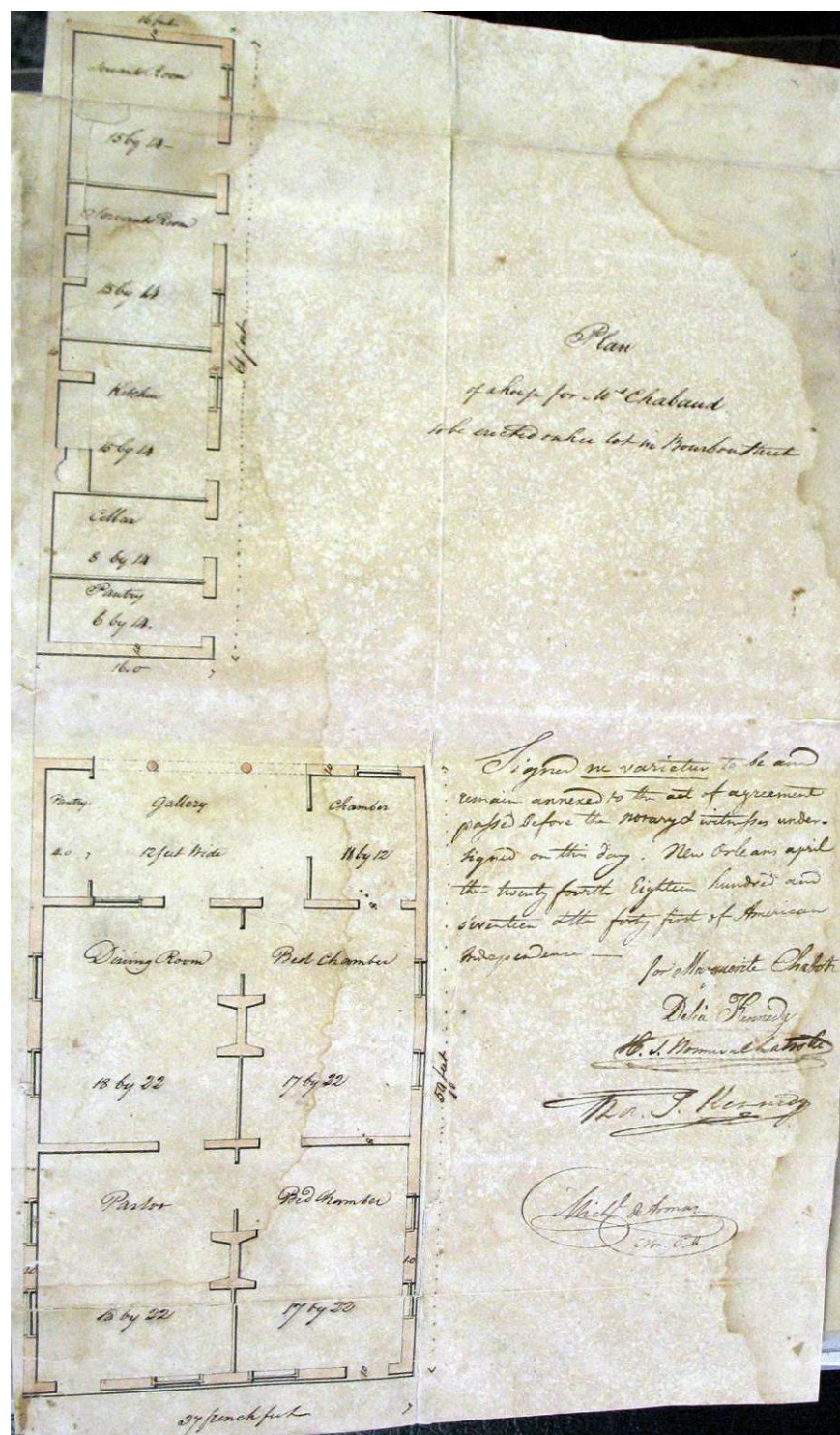


Figure 54. Floor plan of Chabot Cottage. Henry Sellon Bonneval Latrobe. 1817. Michel de Armas notary, volume 52, act 212, April 24, 1817. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 55. 721 Governor Nicholls Street (Jean-Baptiste Thierry House). Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 56. 509-511 Bourbon Street. Norbert Soulié. Photo by author.



Figure 57. 810 Dumaine. Norbert Soulié. Photo by author.



Figure 58. 814 Governor Nicholls Street. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. The Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

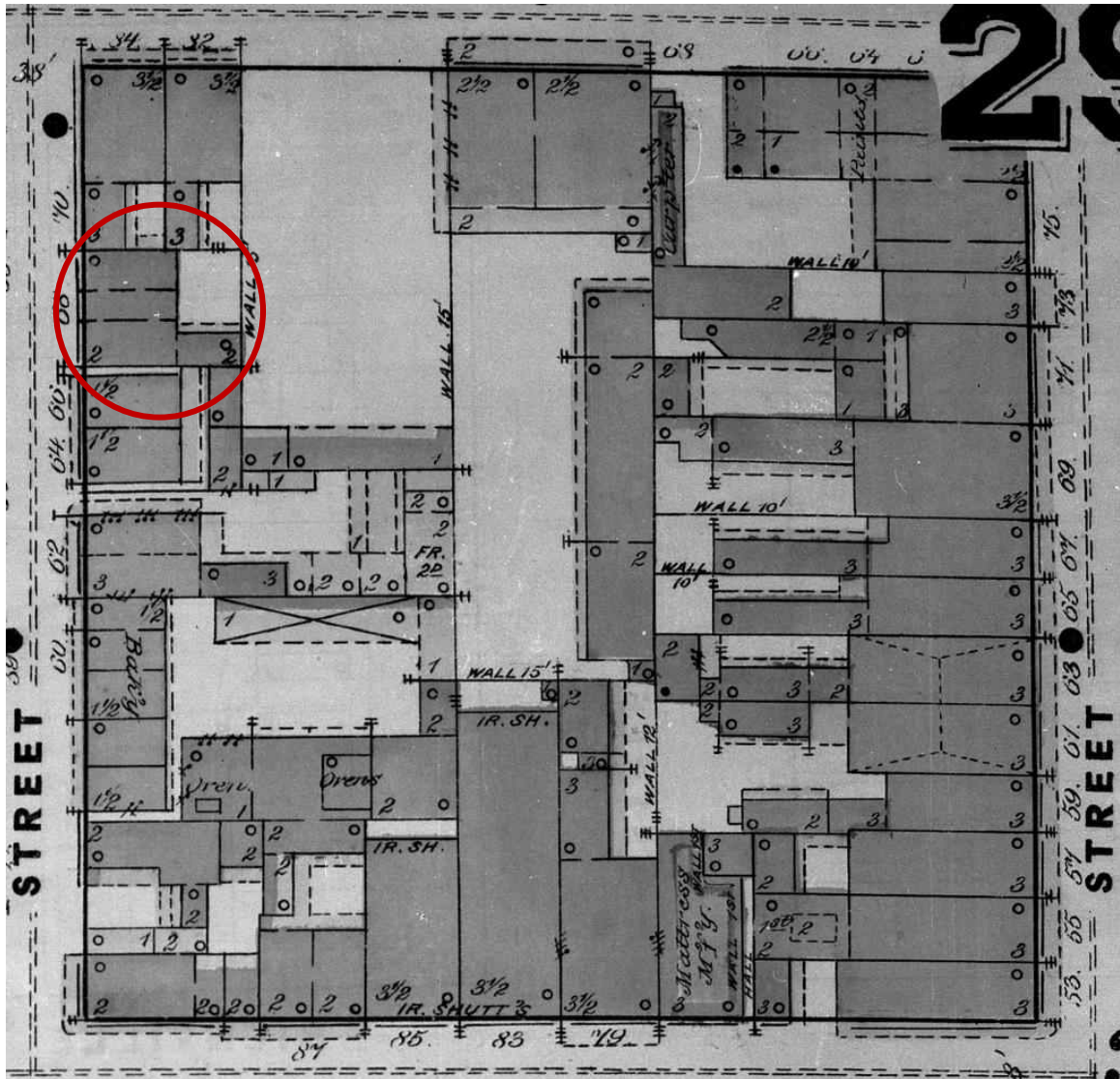


Figure 59. 330-332 Bourbon depicted on the 1876 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map showing the carriageway and orientation of the service building. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 60. 330-332 Bourbon Street (demolished late 1960s). Photographer unknown. ca. 1893. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 61. 229 and 231 North Rampart Street. Norbert Soulié. Photo by author.

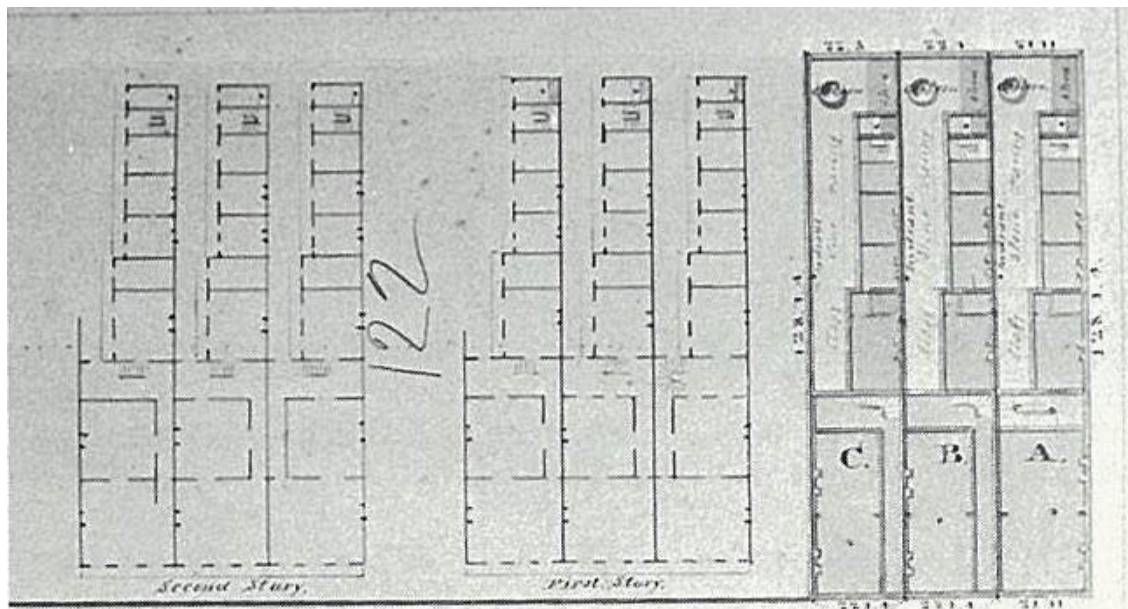
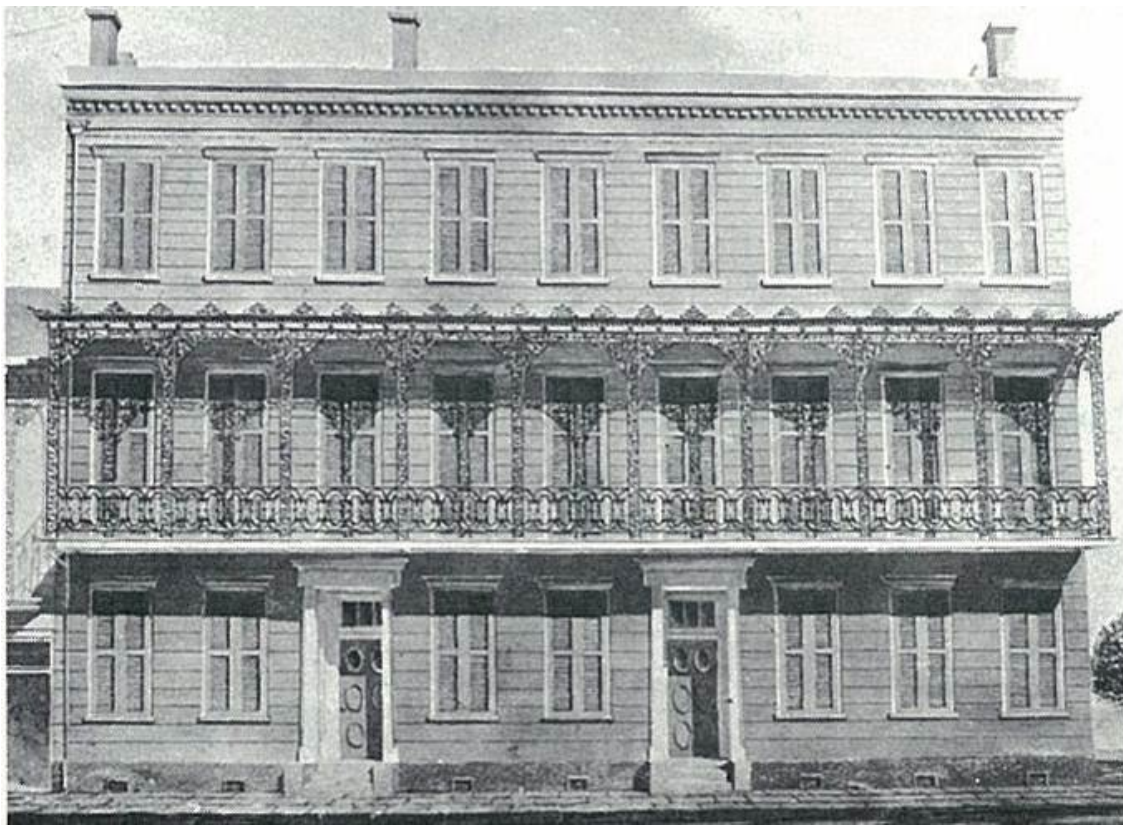


Figure 62. Elevations and floor plans of townhouses at Rampart and Conti streets. Arthur De Armas. February 11, 1870. Plan book 59, folio, 11. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 63. Louisiana Sugar Refinery. Norbert Soulié and Edmond Rillieux. 1831. Detail from Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity. Charles F. Zimpel surveyor. 1833. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 64. Louisiana Sugar Refinery. Norbert Soulié and Edmond Rillieux. 1831. Photograph by Theodore Lilienthal. 1876. Illustrated in New Orleans 1867: Photographs by Theodore Lilienthal, page 237.



Figure 65. Louisiana Steam Cotton Press. Detail from Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity. Charles F. Zimpel surveyor. 1833. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

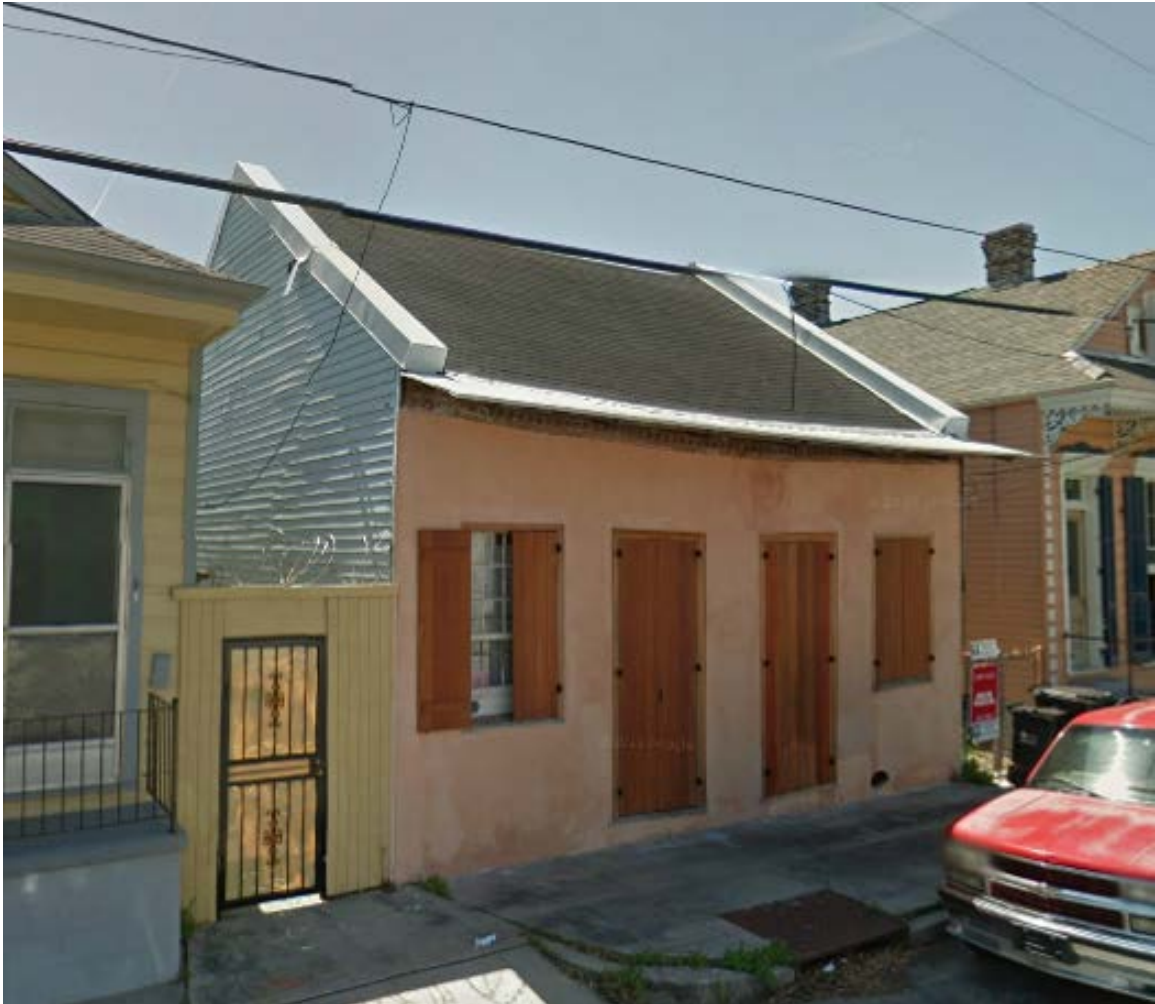


Figure 66. 1226 Tremé Street. Bernard Soulié. 1837. Google Maps. 2012.



Figure 67. 1529-1533 Ursulines Street (not extant). Bernard Soulié. 1838. Illustrated in New Orleans Architecture: Volume VI, Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road, page 196.

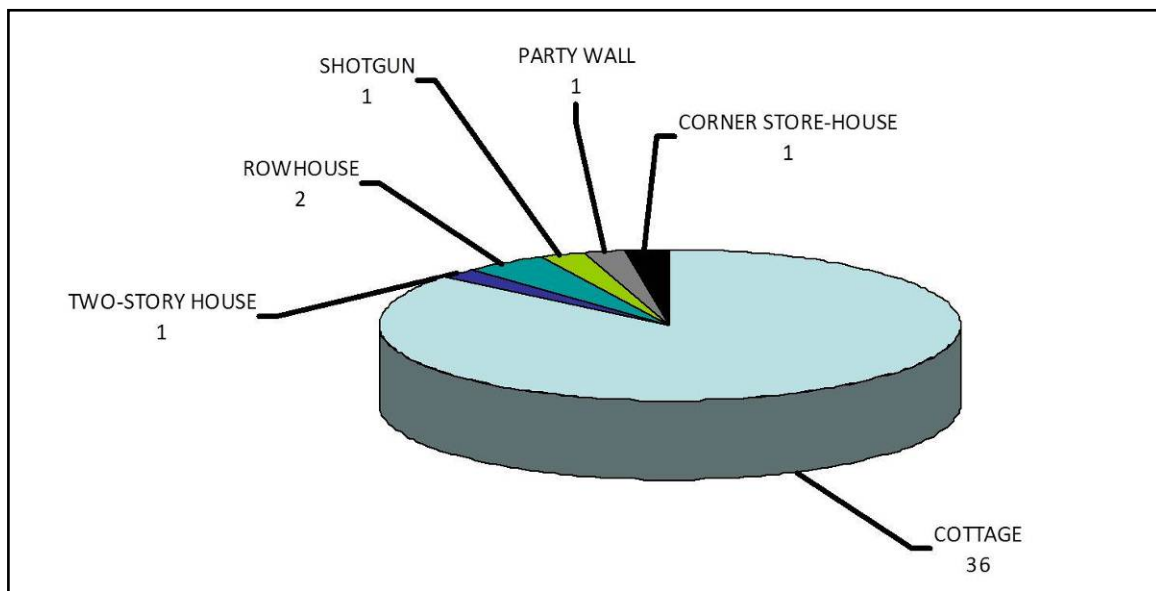
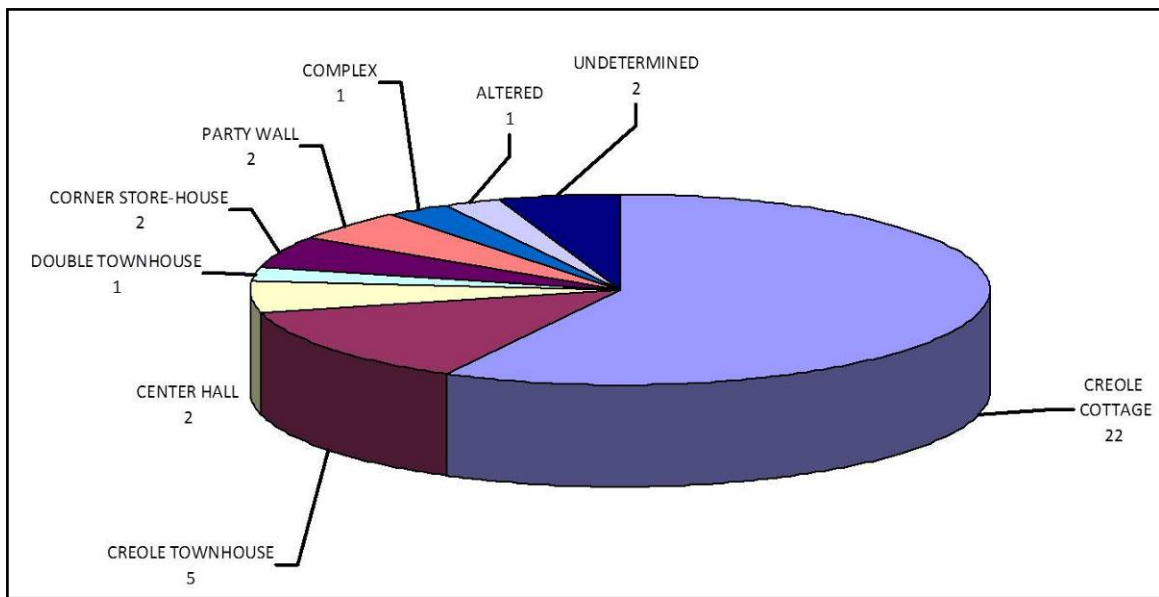


Figure 68. Extant gens de couleur libres- associated properties by type. Based on the surveys in *New Orleans Architecture, Volume IV: The Creole Faubourgs* (top) and *Volume VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road* (bottom). Graphs by author.

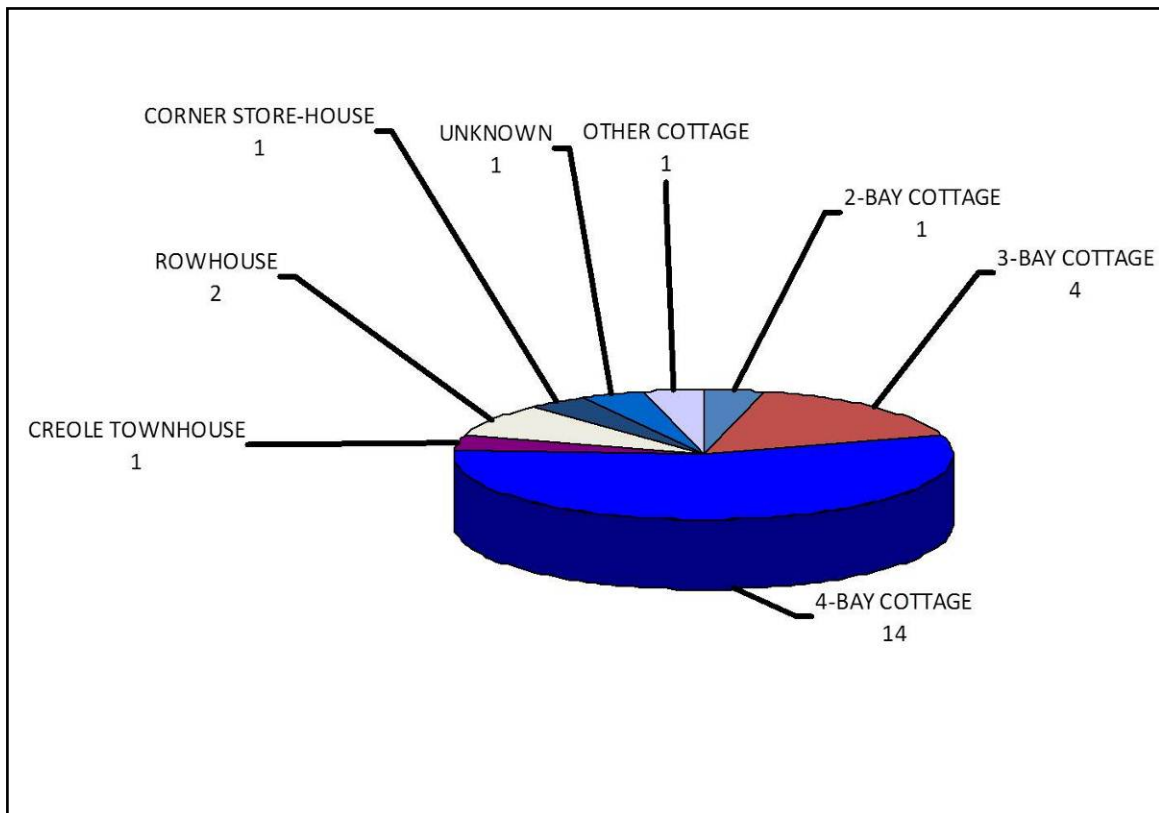


Figure 69. Extant building types as constructed by identified gens de couleur libres builders in Faubourg Tremé and the Creole Faubourgs. Graph by author.



Figure 70. 1133-1135 Chartres Street. François Boisdoré. 1829. Photo by author.

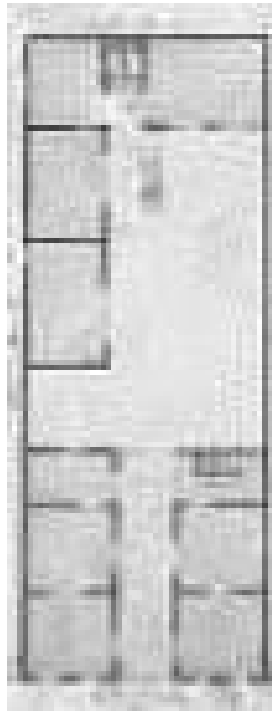


Figure 71. 1133-1135 Chartres Street. François Boisdoré. 1829. Details from Plan of a Val'ble Lot of Ground with a Dwelling House 2nd District. Joseph Pilié and J.N.B. de Pouilly surveyors, January 5, 1865. Plan Book 11, folio 12. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

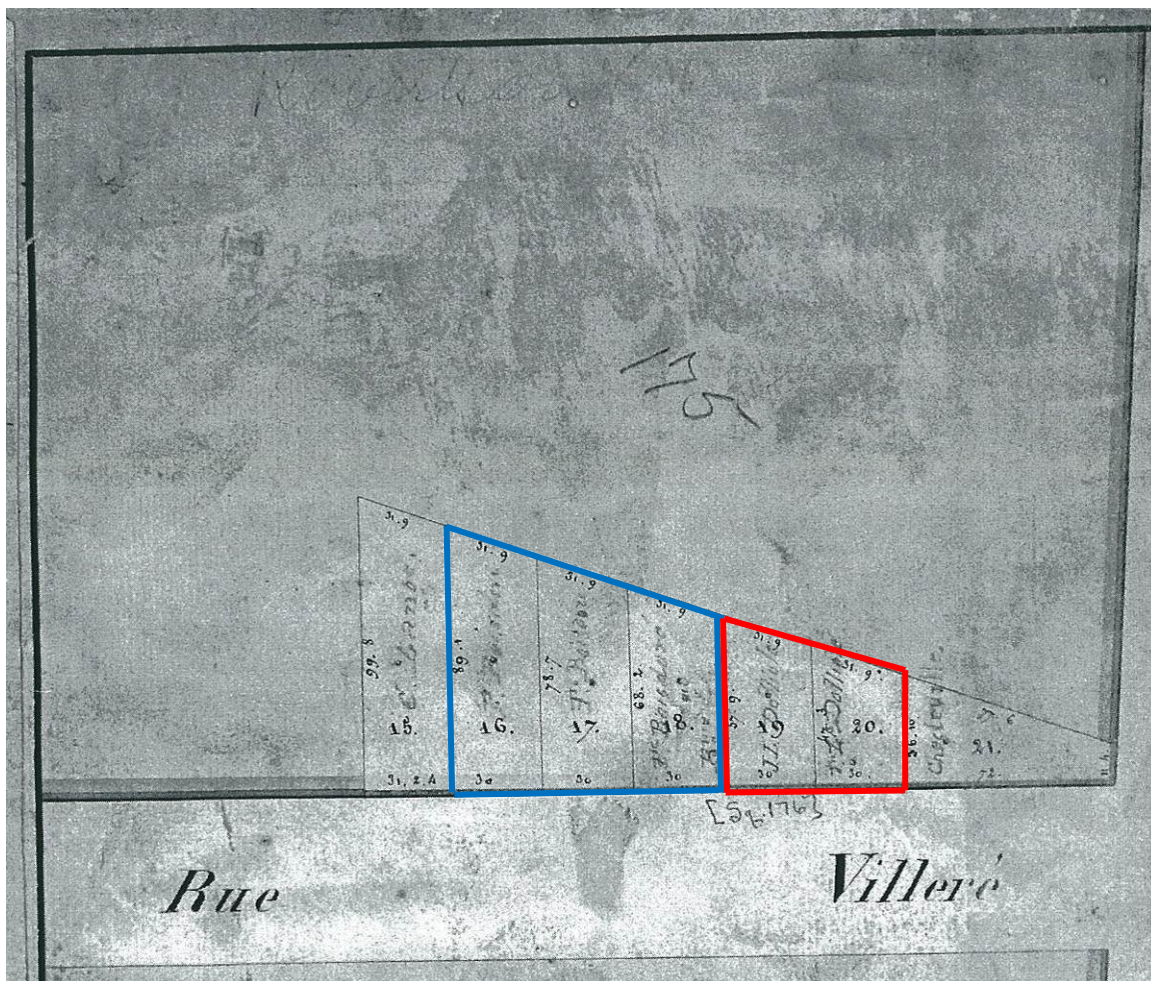


Figure 72. Detail of Plan de 14 lots de terre situés au Faubourg Tremé showing properties owned by Francois Boisdoré (blue) and Jean-Louis Dolliole (red) on Villere Street. J. Commune. January 15, 1841. Plan Book 85, folio 14. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 73. 1428 Bourbon Street. Laurent Ursin Guesnon. ca. 1811. Photo by author.

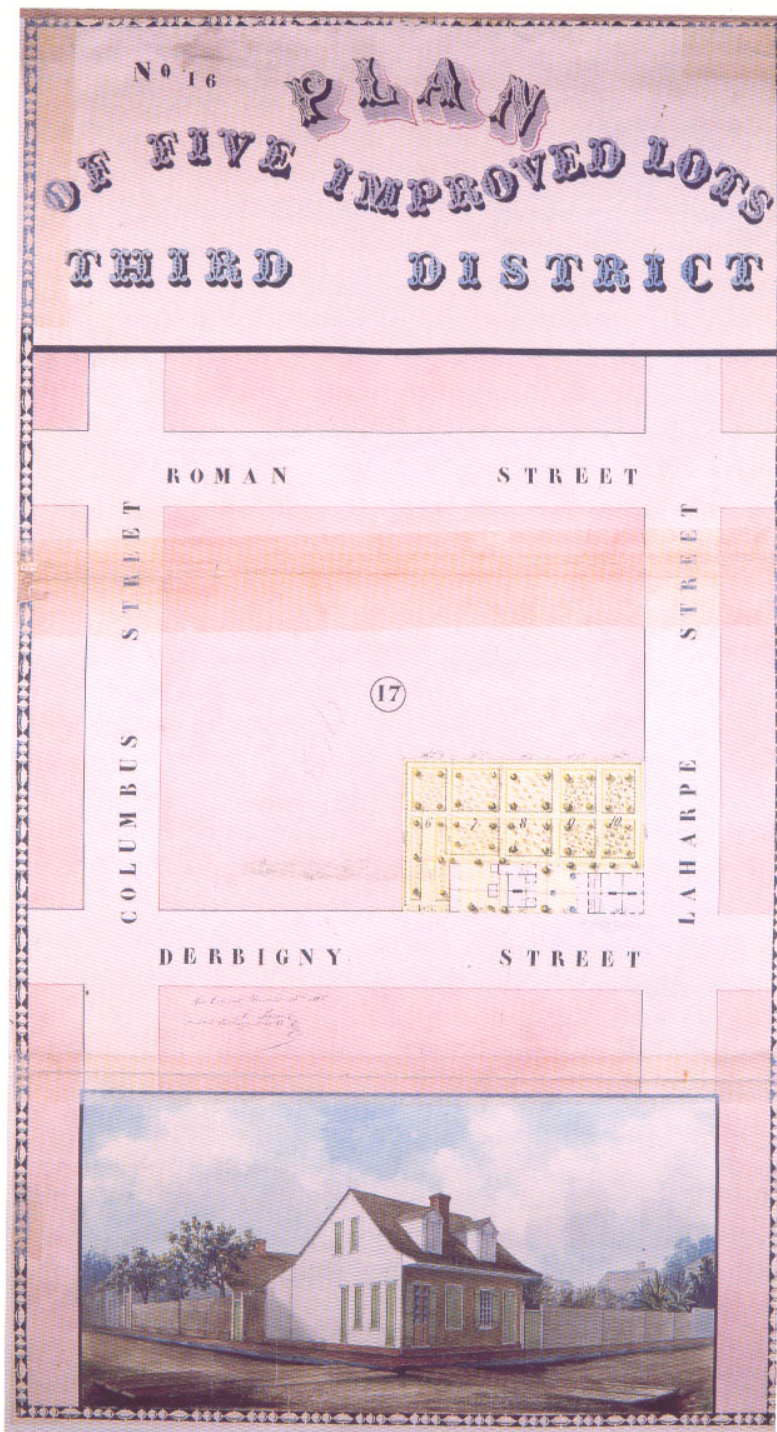


Figure 74. 1729-1731 Laharpe Street. Louis Vivant. 1846. Plan of Five Improved Lots, Third District. Adrien Persac. November 15, 1865. Plan book 38, folio 15. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

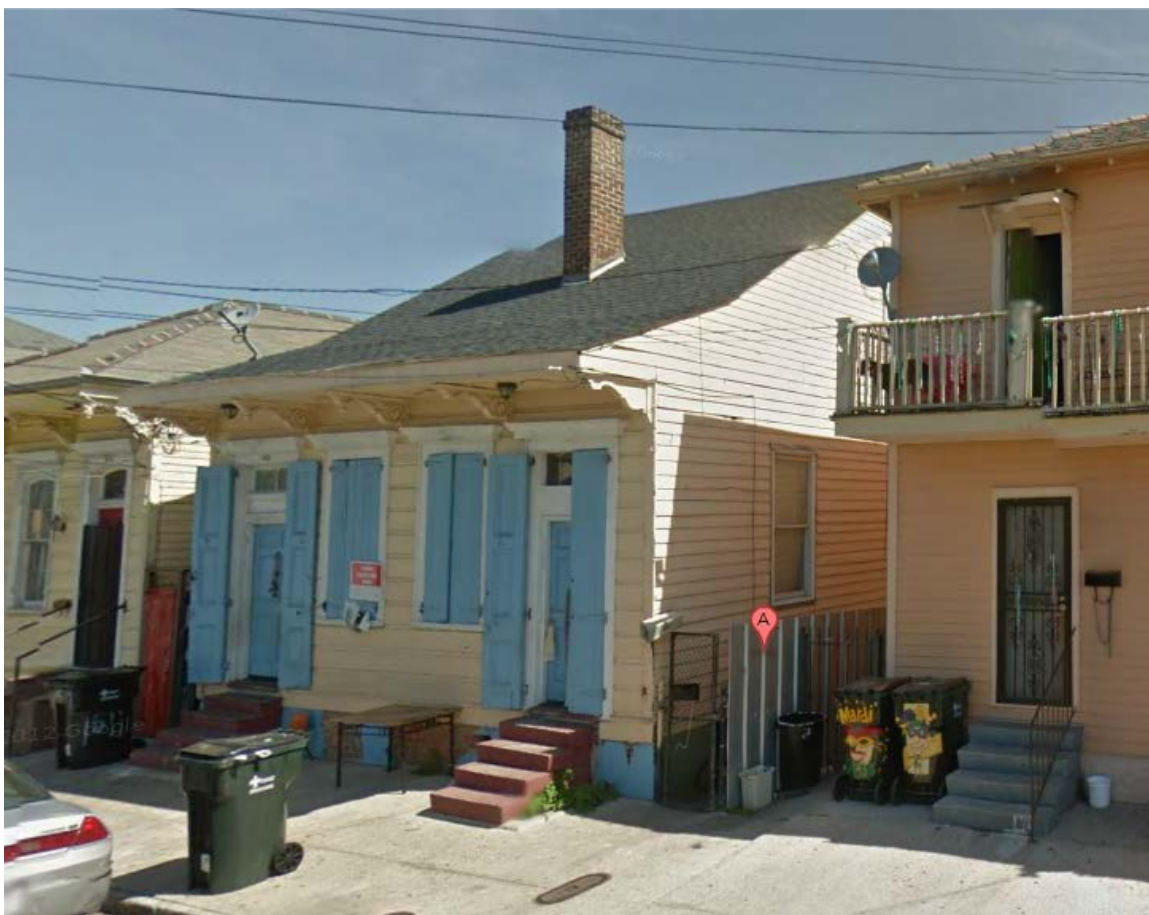


Figure 75. 1509-1511 Dumaine Street. Myrtille Courcelle. 1843. Google Maps. 2012.



Figure 76. 1523-1525 St. Philip. Google Maps. 2012.



Figure 77. 1609-1611 St. Philip. Myrtille Courcelle. 1836. Google Maps. 2012.

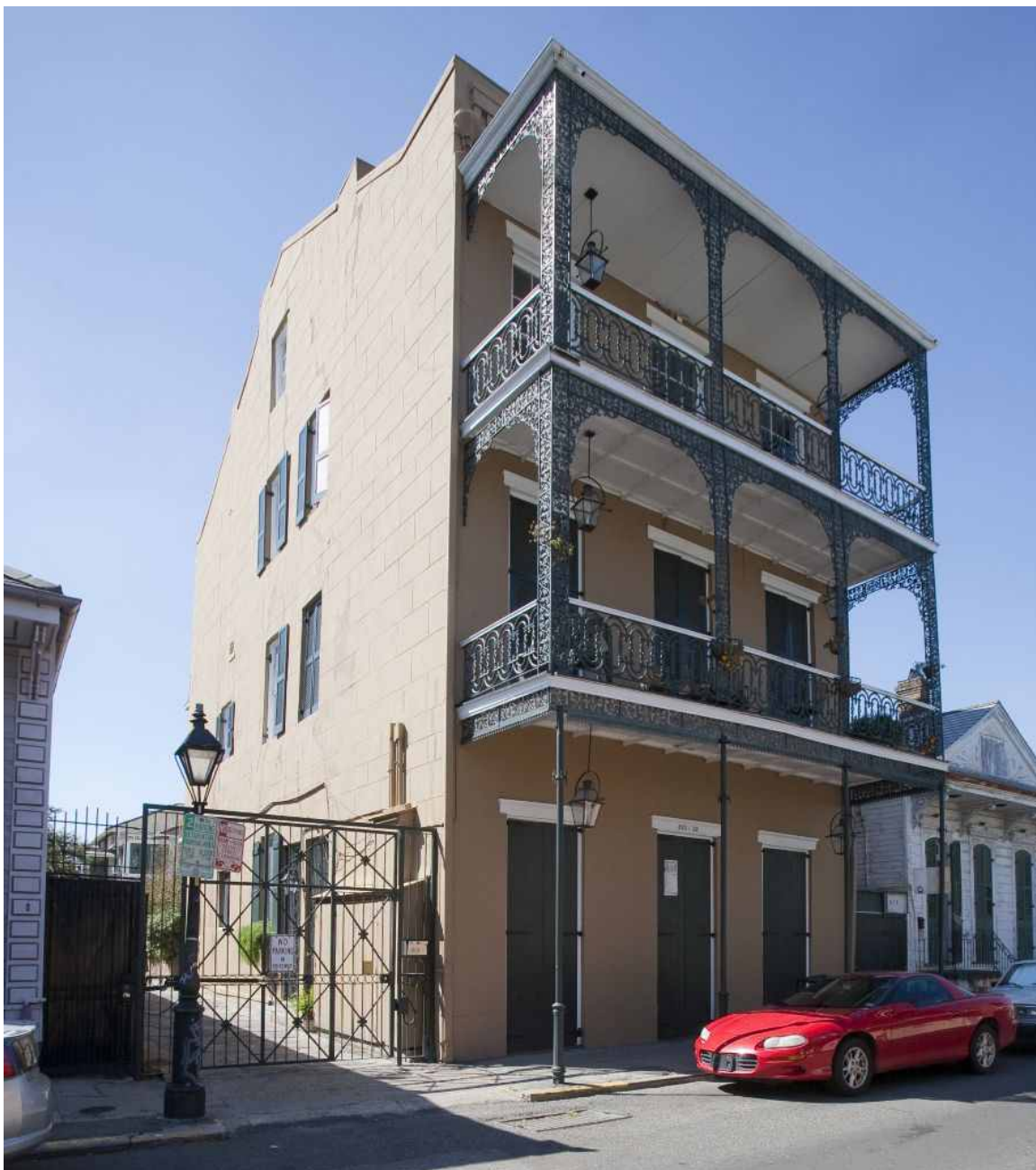


Figure 78. 830-832 St. Philip (Dr. Daret House). Myrtille Courcelle. 1846. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. The Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 79. 416-418 Burgundy. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

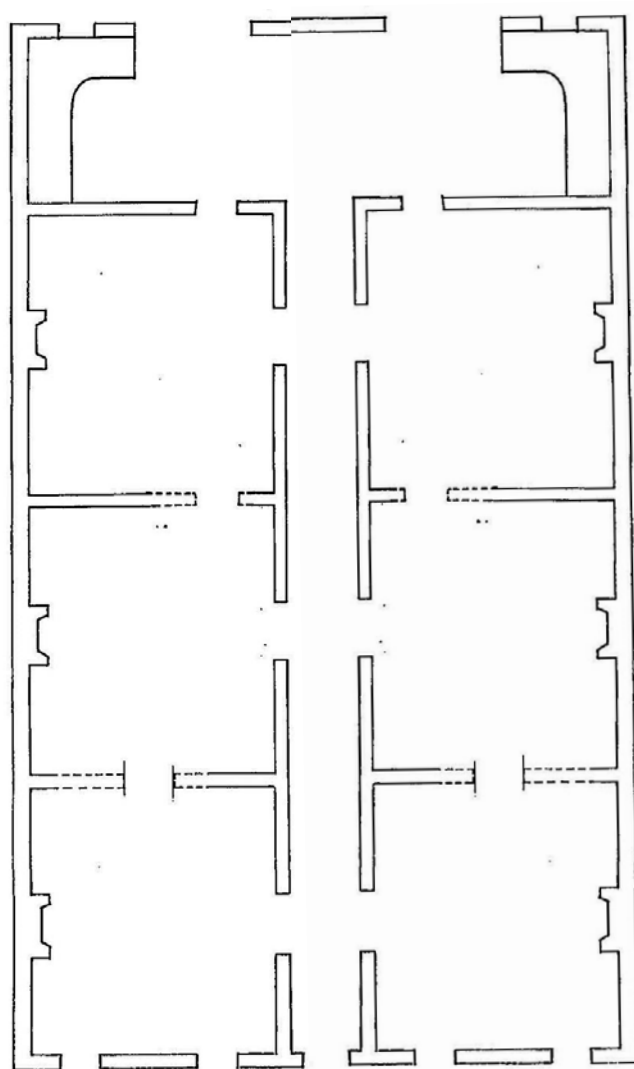


Figure 80. Floor plan of 416-418 Burgundy Street. Reconstructed by Naohito Okude. 1986.

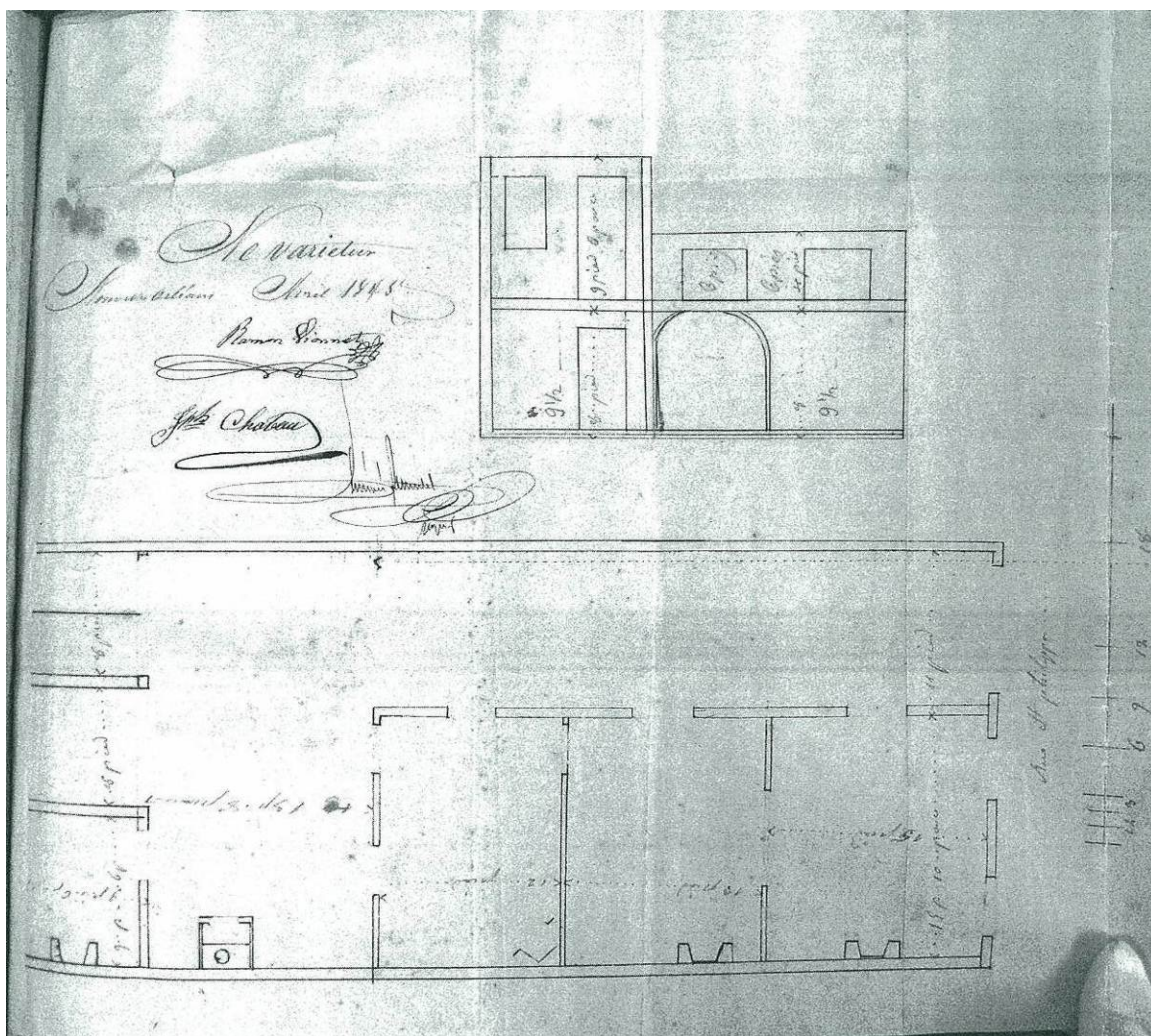


Figure 81. Floor plan and section for Roman Vionnet House on St. Philip Street. Joseph Chateau. 1845. Amedee Ducatel notary, volume 27, act 25, September 15, 1845. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

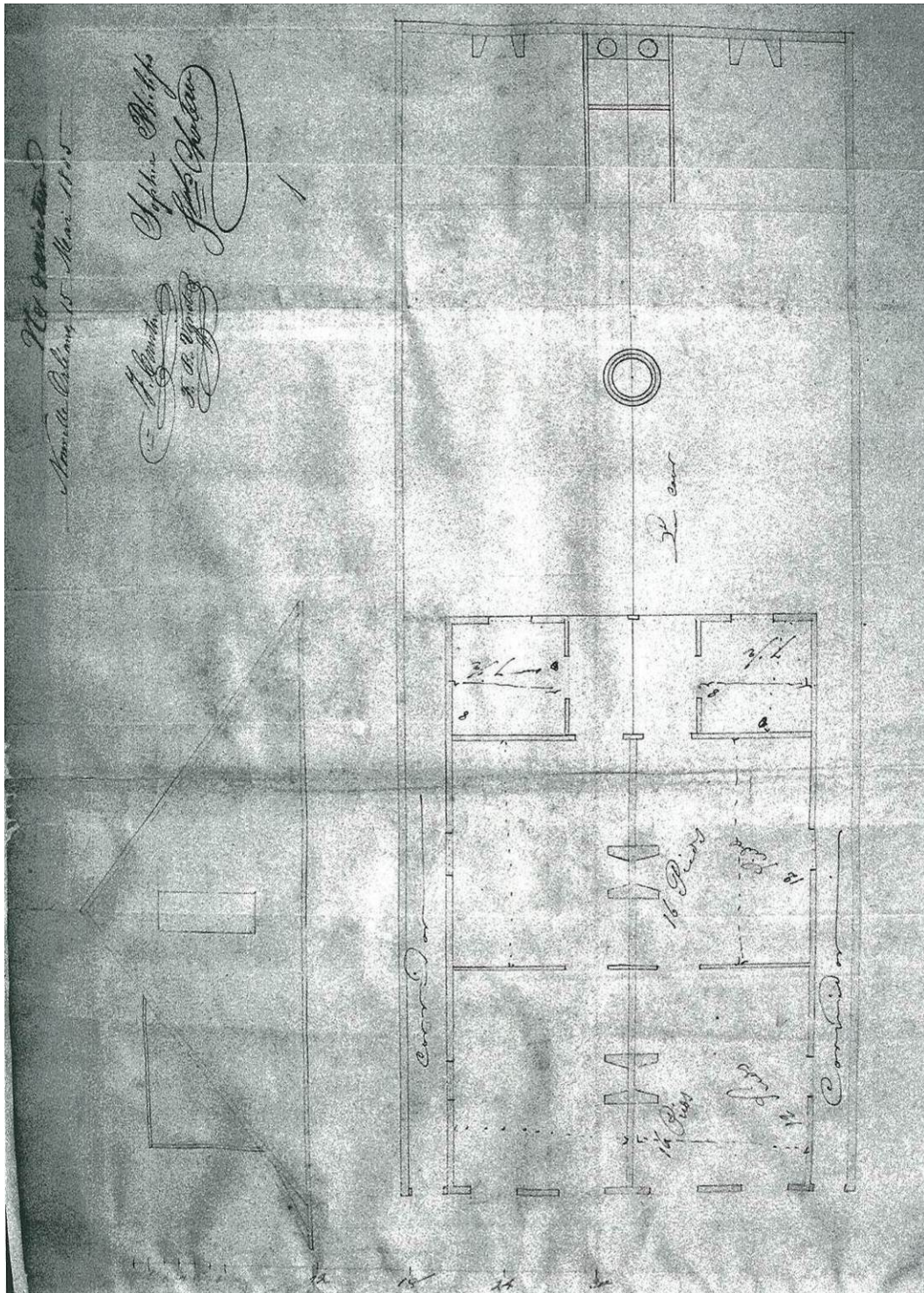


Figure 82. Plan of Sophia Philips cottage on St. Ann Street. Joseph Chateau. 1846. Theodore Guyol. Volume 1, act 256, May 15, 1846. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 83. 412-414 Burgundy Street. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

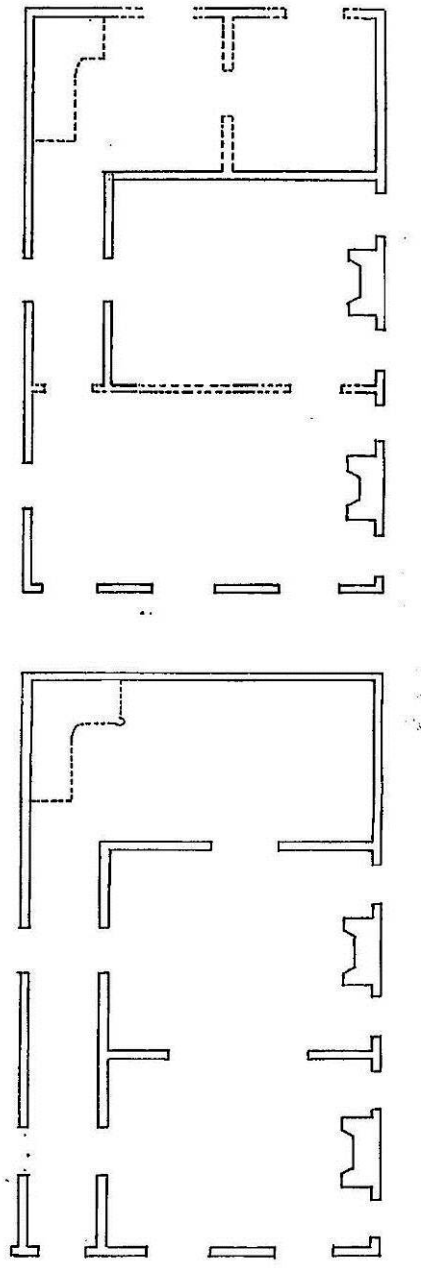


Figure 84. Reconstructed floor plan of 412-414 Burgundy. Reconstructed by Naohito Okude. 1986.



Figure 85. 422 Burgundy Street. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

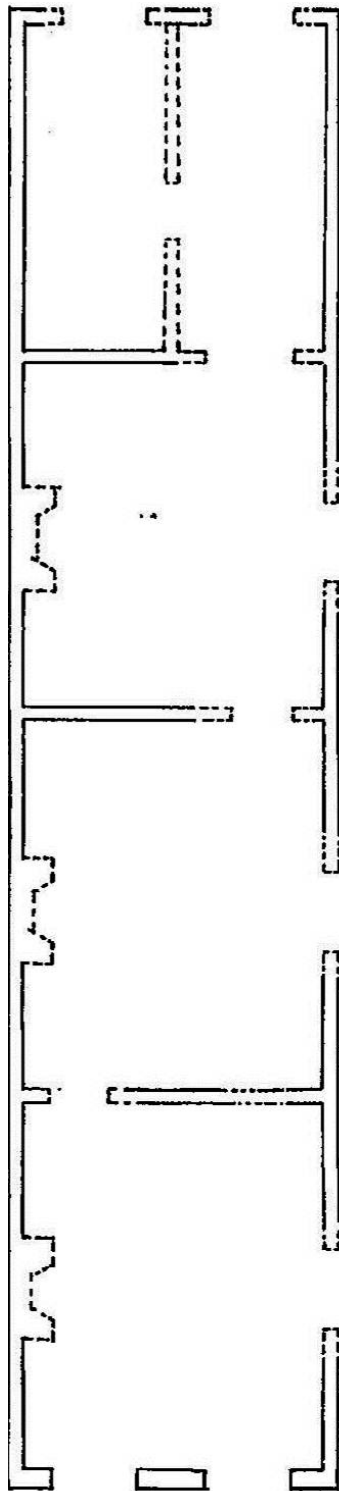


Figure 86. Reconstructed floor plan of 422 Burgundy. Reconstructed by Naohito Okude. 1986.



Figure 87. Assembly of houses by Joseph Chateau (from left to right): 422 Burgundy Street, 412-414 Burgundy Street, and 422 Burgundy Street. Google Maps. 2012.

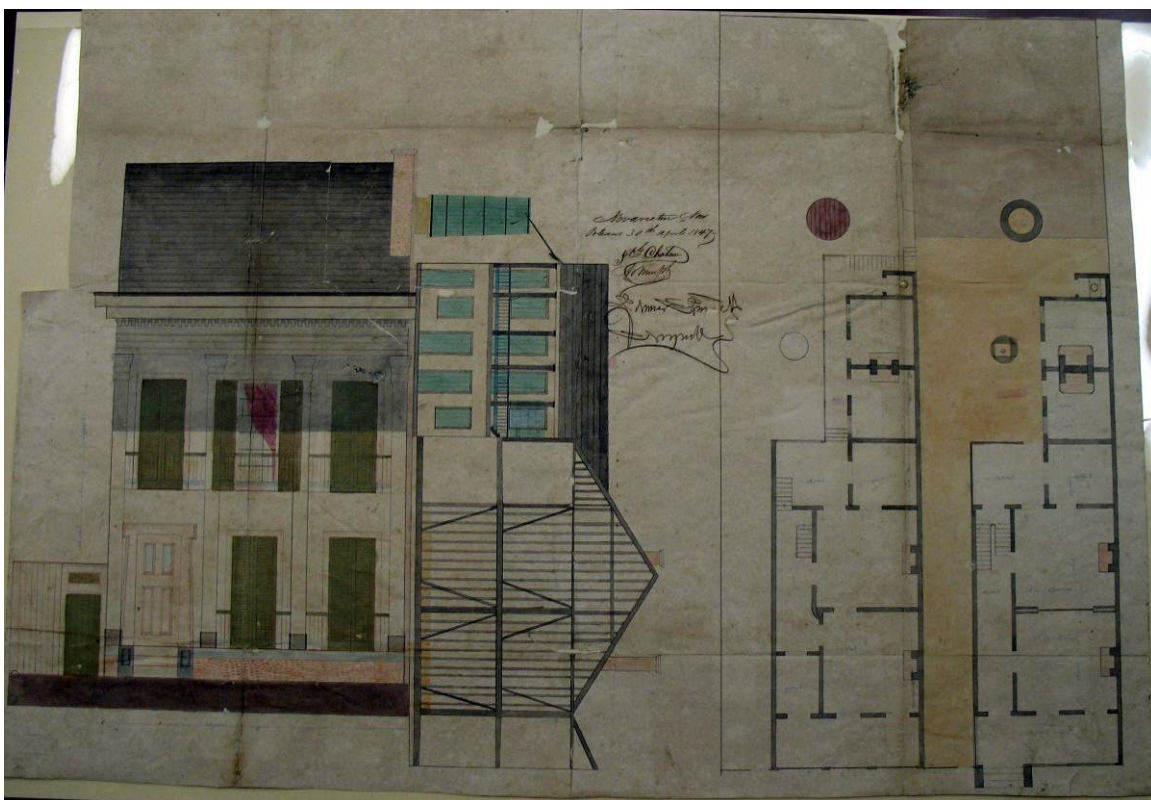


Figure 88. Elevation and floor plan of house on Magazine Street. Joseph Chateau. 1847. Edward Barnett notary, volume 35, act 519A, April 30, 1847. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Auction drawing by Pueyo and Cosnier. April 3, 1845. Plan book 40, folio 11. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.

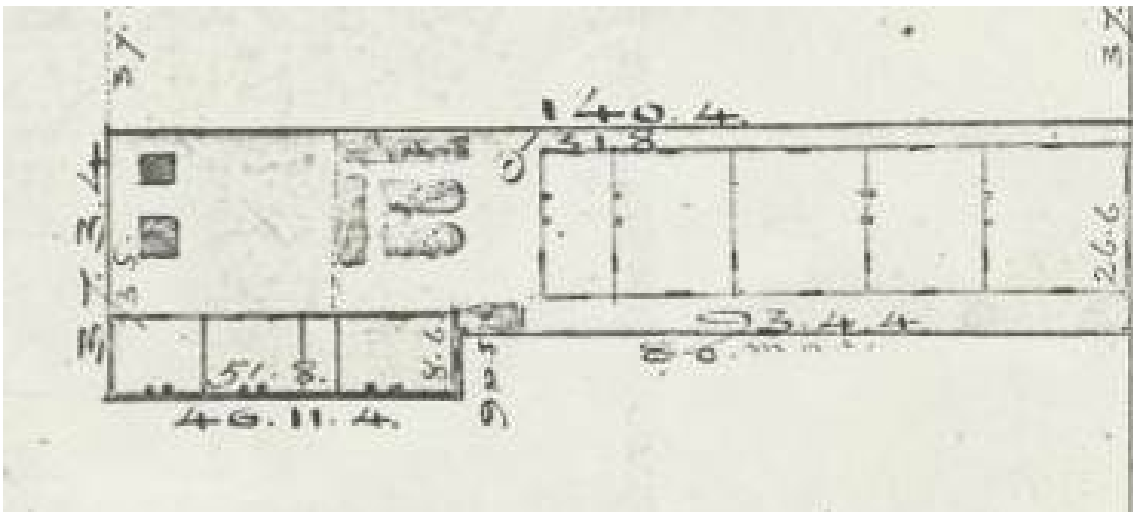


Google Maps. 2012.

Figure 89. 1035 North Rampart Street. Pierre Roup. 1816.



Photo by Dan S. Leyrer. 1964. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Drawing by George de Armas, Deputy City Surveyor. 1891. Attached to Notarial Act of Charles, T. Soniat, notary. Volume 31, act 138. October 21, 1891.

Figure 90. 1024 Governor Nicholls Street (Helen Lepage maisonette) Pierre Roup. 1823.



Figure 91. 2340 Chartres Street. Louis Nelson Fouché. Photo by author.

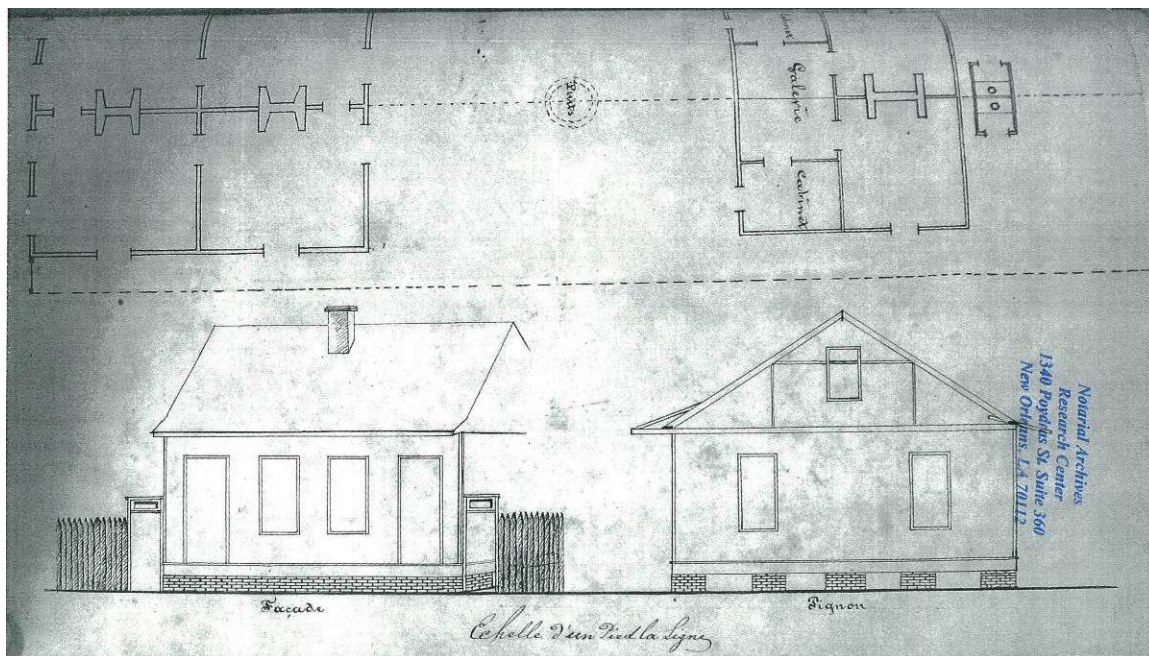


Figure 92. Floor plans and elevations for Marguerite Dauphine house. Louis Drausin Dolliole and Emile Errié. Octave De Armas notary, volume 43, act 319, November 23, 1848. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 93. From left to right: Cabildo, St. Louis Cathedral, Presbytère. Guilberto Guillemard. 1791. Detail from *Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans* from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse City Surveyor. 1817. *The Historic New Orleans Collection*.



Figure 94. Cabildo, St. Louis Cathedral, Presbytère. Detail from *Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity*. Charles F. Zimpel surveyor. 1833. *The Historic New Orleans Collection*.



Figure 95. 339-343 Royal Street (Vincent Rillieux House). Barthélémy Lafon. ca. 1800. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 96. Halles des Boucheries (Meat Market). Jacques Tanesse. 1813. Detail from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse City Surveyor. 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010.



Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010.



Photo by Dan S. Leyrer. 1964.



The Stranger's Guide to the City of New Orleans. 1874

Figure 97. Buildings by Jean Felix Pinson and Maurice Pizetta (clockwise from top left): 732 St. Peter (Pinson-Pizetta House, 1825), 837-839 Royal Street (Paul Lacroix House, 1833), 633-637 Canal Street (1825), and 501-509 Canal Street (1821). Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 98. St. Louis Hotel. J.N.B. de Pouilly. 1835. Photographer and date unknown. George Francois Mugnier Photograph Collection. Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library.



Figure 99. "Exchange Place: Entrance to Hotel Royale." Photographer and date unknown. George Francois Mugnier Photograph Collection. Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library.



Figure 100. 336 Exchange Place/618 Conti Street. J.N.B. de Pouilly. 1835. Photo by Dan S. Leyrer. 1964. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 101. Greek Revival Style double houses in 1200 block of Chartres Street. J.N.B. De Pouilly. 1845. Photo by Susan Gandolfo. Illustrated in Louisiana Buildings, 1720-1940, page 182.



Figure 102. Design for "Cathedrale St. Louis Façade Principale." J.N.B. De Pouilly. 1849. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 103. St. Louis Cathedral. J.N.B De Pouilly and Samuel Stewart. 1851. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2011. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

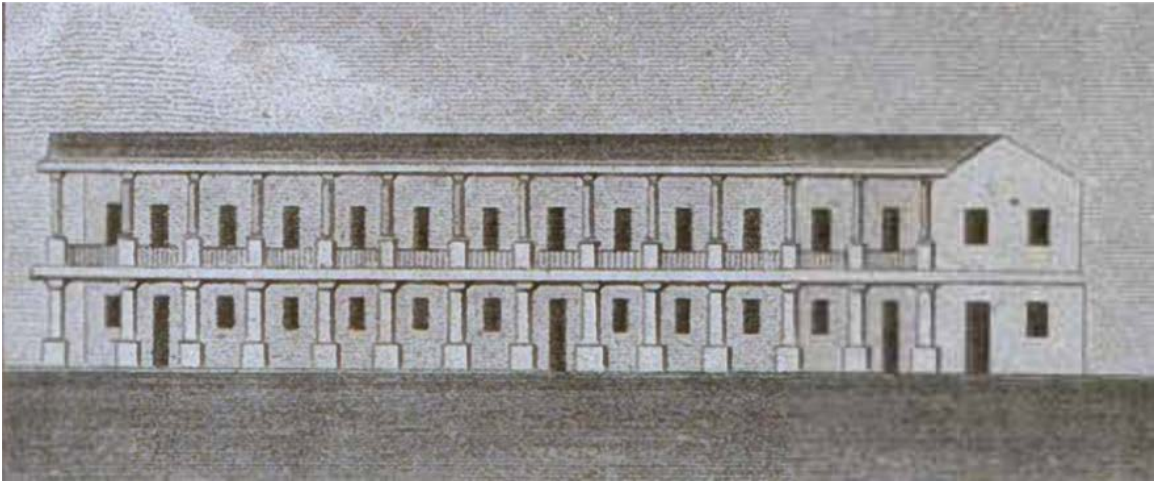


Figure 104. College d'Orleans. Gurlie and Guillot. 1812. Detail from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an actual survey made in 1815 by J. Tanesse City Surveyor. 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 105. Mortuary Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua. Gurlie and Guillot. 1819. Confederate Museum, Louisiana Historical Association, New Orleans. Illustrated in Louisiana: A Pictorial History, page 119.



Figure 106. 713-719 Royal Street (Vignié town houses). Gurlie and Guillot. 1833. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 107. 711 Bourbon Street. Gurlie and Guillot. 1832. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 108. 1009 and 1013 St. Ann. Etienne Courcelle. 1840. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



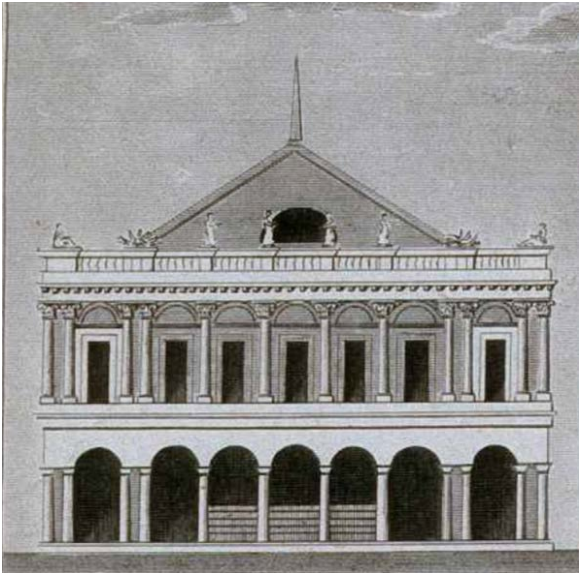
Figure 109. 1113 Chartres Street (Le Carpentier-Beauregard-Keyes House). Francois Correjollès. 1826. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



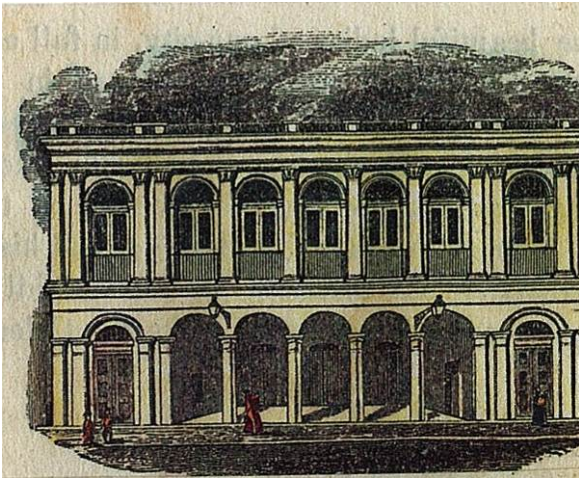
Figure 110. 535-541 Royal Street/708-710 Toulouse Street (Vincent Nolte House/"Court of Two Lions"). Benjamin Henry Latrobe. 1819. Photo by Dan Leyrer. 1963. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



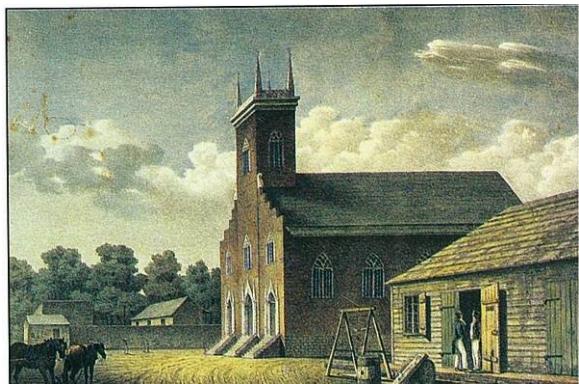
Figure 111. 403-407 Royal Street (Louisiana State Bank). Benjamin Henry Latrobe. 1820. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2010. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Theatre d'Orleans. 1810. Detail from *Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity*. Charles F. Zimpel surveyor. 1833. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Orleans Ballroom. 1817. The Historic New Orleans Collection. Illustrated in *In Search of Julien Hudson*, page 9.



First Presbyterian Church. 1819. From a ca. 1921 lithograph by Felix-Achille Beaupoil de Saint-Aulaire. Leonard V. Huber Collection. Illustrated in *Classic New Orleans*, page 29.

Figure 112. Early works of William Brand.



Figure 113. 818-820 St. Louis Street (Hermann-Grima House). William Brand. 1831. Photographer and date unknown. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 114. Detail of storehouses at corner of Canal Street and St. Charles Avenue. William Brand. Illustrated in *New Orleans Architecture: Volume II, The American Sector*, page 139.

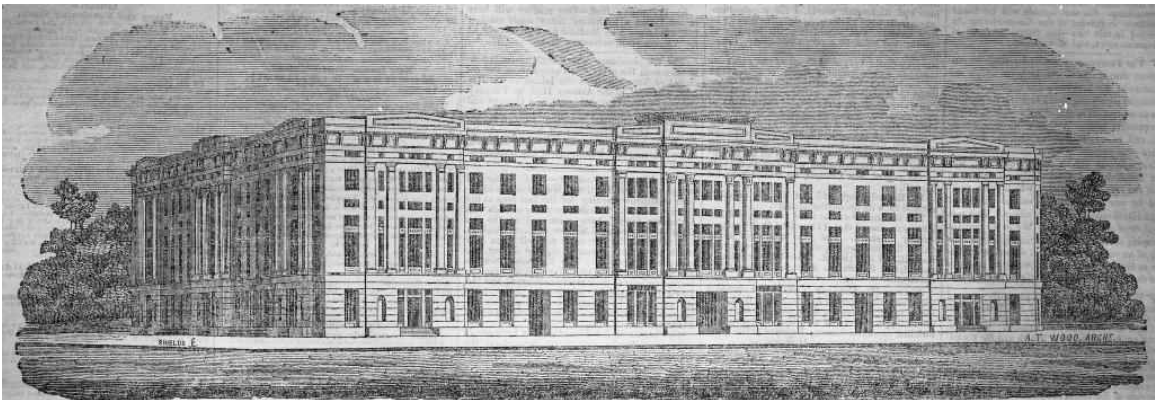
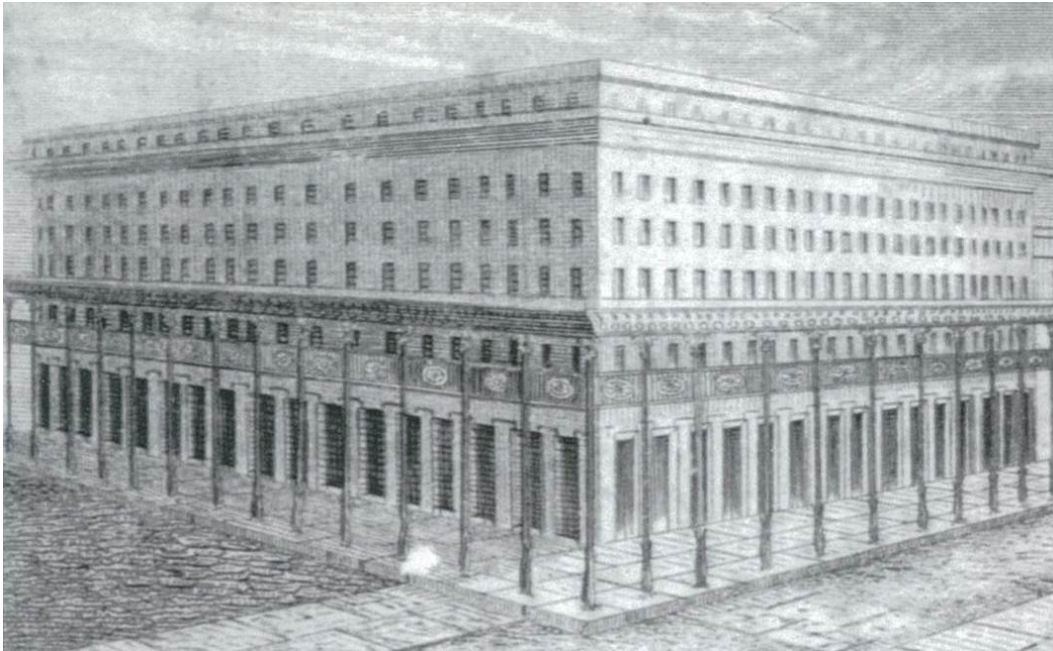


Figure 115. 423 Canal Street (U.S. Custom House). Alexander T Wood. 1848. From The Daily Delta, February 13, 1848. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 116. 228, 232, 236-238 North Rampart (not extant). Photographer unknown. ca. 1920. Courtesy of Louisiana Division/City Archives & Special Collections. New Orleans Public Library. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Verandah Hotel. 1835. Illustrated in *Queen of the South*, page 93.



St. Charles Hotel. 1835. Illustrated in *Classic New Orleans*, page 33.

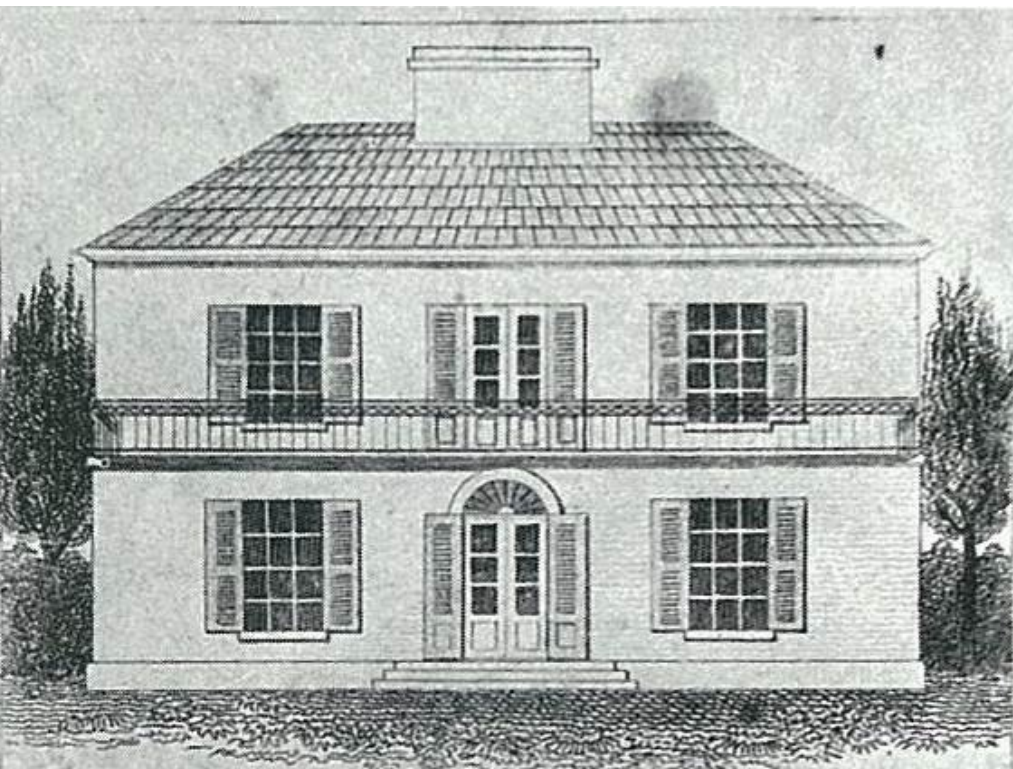
Figure 117. Works of Dakin and Gallier.



Figure 118. 500-546 St. Peter Street (Upper Pontalba Apartment Buildings). James Gallier, Sr. 1849-1851. Photo by George Francois Mugnier. Vieux Carré Survey. The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 119. 545 St. Charles Street (Municipal Hall/City Hall/Gallier Hall). James Gallier. 1850. Photo by Lester Jones. 1940. Library of Congress. Historic American Buildings Survey. Call No. HABS LA,36-NEWOR,21-. Survey No. HABS LA-193.



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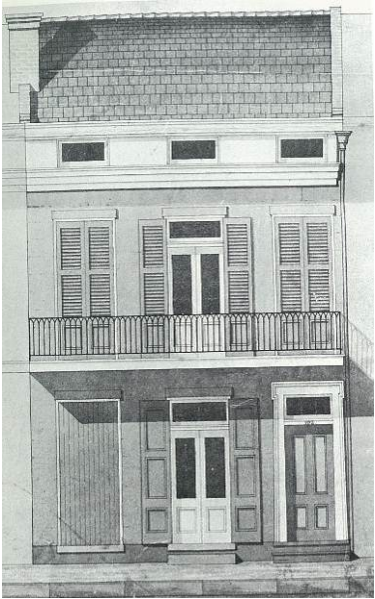
Figure 120. Advertisement for James Mooney. From Paxton's New Orleans City Directory. 1823. Illustrated in Louisiana: A Pictorial History, page 141.



Figure 121. Detail of Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Map, Sheet 23, showing location of Norbert Soulié townhouses at corner of Baronne and Lafayette (formerly Hevia) streets. 1876. Southeast Architectural Archive, Tulane University.



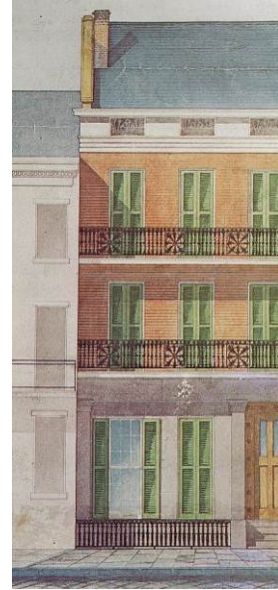
Figure 122. 604-608 Baronne Street. Two townhouses (center) commissioned by Norbert Soulié in 1839. Google Maps. 2012.



755 Carondelet (demolished).
Drawing by Louis H. Pilié. 1880.
Plan book 100, folio 17.



827 St. Charles Avenue. Drawing
by Charles A. de Armas. 1866.
Plan Book 43, folio 68.



Dauphine Street. Drawing by
J.N.B. de Pouilly. 1867. Plan
Book 82, folio 49.

Figure 123. Drawings of comparative townhouses in Faubourg Sainte-Marie. Clerk of Civil District Court, Notarial Archives Division.



Figure 124. 1253-1255 North Villeré (Nancy and Jane Milne cottage). Guillot and Gurlie. Photo by Lynn Long Compton. 1994. New Orleans Virtual Archive, Tulane School of Architecture.



Figure 125. 632 St. Peter Street. Photo by John Watson Riley. 2011. Vieux Carré Survey, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

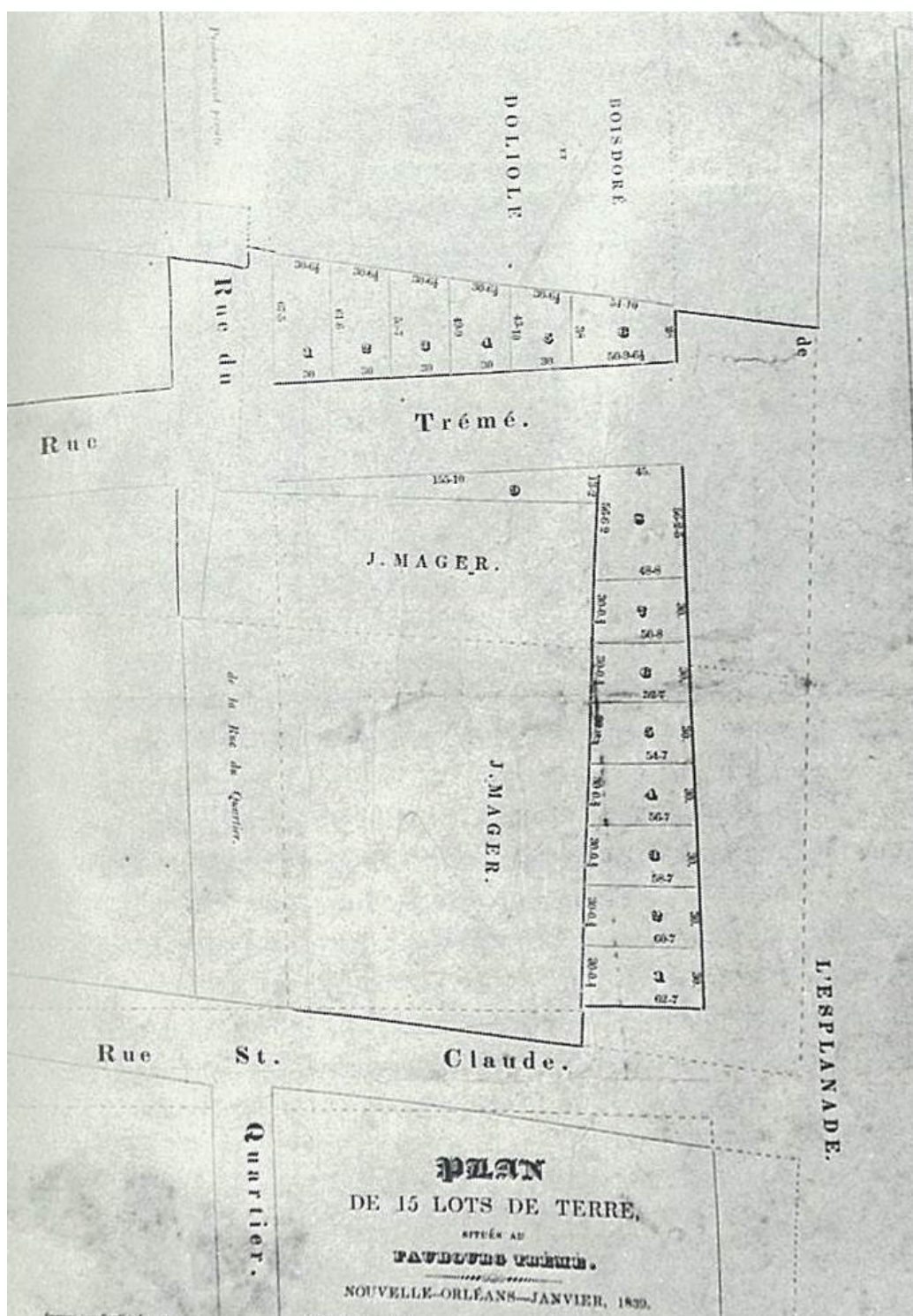
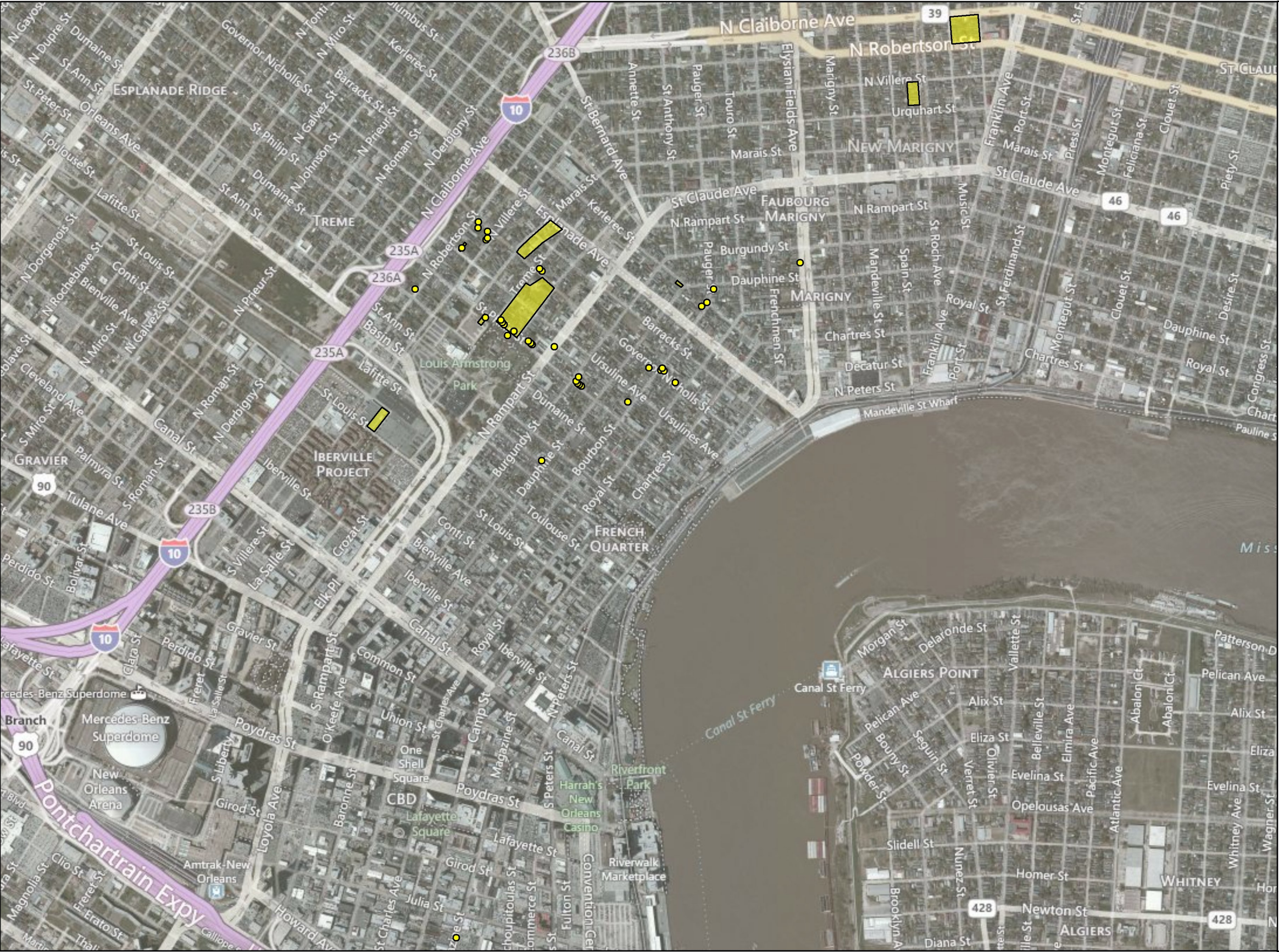


Figure 126. Bayou Road properties of Joseph Dolliole and Francois Boisdoré. Plan of 15 lots in Faubourg Tremé. 1832. Jean Antoine Bourgerol, city surveyor. Illustrated in *New Orleans Architecture: Volume VI, Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*, page 21.

Appendices

APPENDIX A –MAPS OF SELECT DOLLIOLE- AND SOULIÉ OWNED PROPERTIES

This appendix contains maps pinpointing the location of properties owned by the Dolliole and Soulié families as presented in Tables 2 and 3 of the text. A map for each family is including, with bullets designating approximate locations based on current addresses and GIS data.



Resource Location Map for
Dolliole Properties.

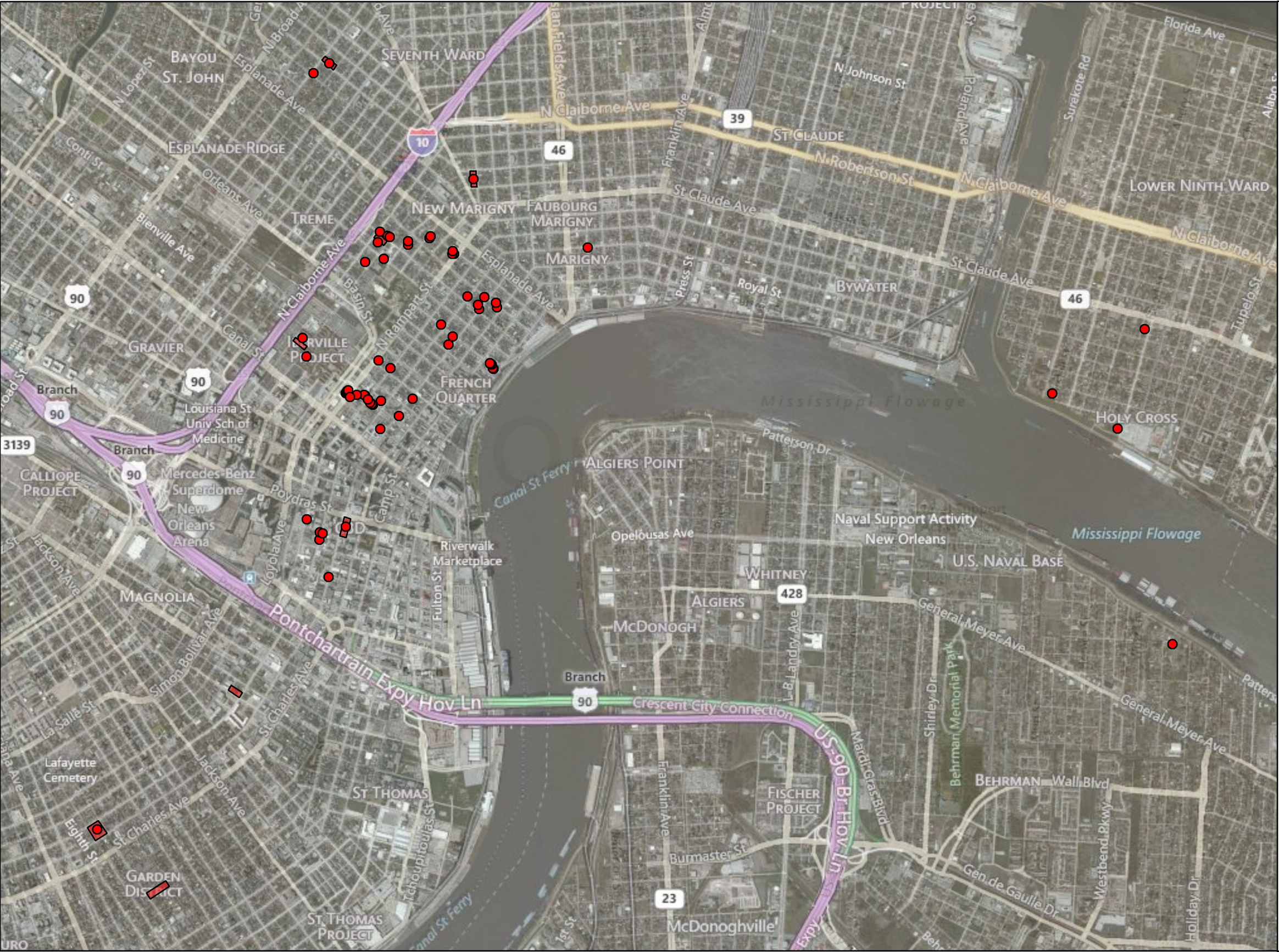
Legend

- Resources
- Boundaries

500 250 0 500 1,000 1,500
Feet

Map Source: Microsoft Bing Maps Basemap





Resource Location Map for
Soulie Properties.

- Legend**
- Resource
 - Boundaries

1,000 500 0 1,000 2,000 3,000
Feet

Map Source: Microsoft Bing Maps Basemap

APPENDIX B –SPREADSHEETS OF SELECT DOLLIOLE- AND SOULIÉ OWNED PROPERTIES AND BUILT WORKS

This table contains the working spreadsheets the author used to assemble information on the properties owned and built by the Dolliole and Soulié families. The tables are arranged alphabetically by current property address.

Street	Current Street No.	Other Street Nos.	Address Other	Neighborhood	Associated Family Member(s)	Role	Ownership Dates	Construction Date	Description	Extant bldg.	New Orleans Notarial Archives documentation	Historic New Orleans Collection	<i>New Orleans Architecture</i> series	Notes
Annette			two lots in square bound by Urquhart, Morales, Annette, and St. Bernard	Marigny	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Norbert	owners	unknown/ 1838-1847	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 3/15/1838 T. Guyol 7:435 7/13/1847			
Bacchus			in square bounded by Dryades, Bacchus, Terpsichore, and Euterpe	Annunciation	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1848	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 11:602, 10/3/1848 T. Guyol 11:668 11/27/1848			
Bagatelle				Marigny	Dolliole, Jean-Louis Dolliole, Joseph	owners	before 1814- unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	J. Lynd 11:386 9/21/1814			
Baronne	600 block		corner of Baronne and Hevia Faubourg Ste. Marie American Sector/CBD	Sainte-Marie	Soulié, Norbert	owner	by 1839- unknown	n/a	n/a	Yes	Building contracts: corner of Lafayette, designed by Atkinson and built by Alexander Baggett for Norbert Soulié at cost of \$29,500; four two-story brick houses with attics and kitchens; 6/4/1839; T. Seghers 32/499; MOB 41/298; specs; release 12/26/1839, ref 33/867	Soulié Family Ledgers		
Barracks	1114-16			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Albin	owners	1839-1867	n/a	n/a	n/a			sold 1/4 of square and house on Rampart on 4/11/1876 (E. Eude)	
Bienville	1019-1025			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1820-1825	n/a	n/a	n/a		Soulié Family Ledgers		
Bienville	1024-1026			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1844	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Bienville	1027-1031			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1820-1825	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Bienville	1400 block			Tremé	Soulié, Albin	owner	1845-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 1:369, 7/7/1845			
Bienville	1500 block			Tremé	Soulié, Albin	owner	1847-1847/1848	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 8:628, 12/6/1847 T. Guyol 8:666, 12/29/1847 T. Guyol 10:241, 4/8/1848 T. Guyol 10:278, 4/26/1848			
Bourbon	330-32			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	builder	1830-1858	ca. 1830	Creole townhouse	No	T. Seghers 3:312, 9/18/1830			
Bourbon	819	241 (1825) 181 (1876 Sanborn)		Vieux Carré	Soulié, Jean Soulié, Norbert Mazange, Eulalie Soulié, Eulalie	owners	1803/1826-1833	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 6:216, 4/29/1833	Vieux Carré Survey		
Bourbon	1029	237/239 (different at 1876 Sanborn)		Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Joseph	owner	1829-1860	n/a	n/a	n/a		Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
Bourbon	1111			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1822-1827	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Bourbon	1113			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1822-1827	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Bourbon	1200-1202			Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Joseph	owner	1836	n/a	n/a	n/a		Vieux Carré Survey		
Bourbon	1204-1206	276? different bldg. bet. 1876 and 1896		Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Joseph	owner	1836	n/a	n/a	n/a		Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
Bourbon	1208-1210			Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Joseph	owner	1836	n/a	n/a	n/a		Vieux Carré Survey		
Burgundy	509-11	109-11 (1876 Sanborn)		Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	builder	1829-1831	by 1831	4-bay Creole cottage	Yes	T. Seghers 2:197 4/30/1829 T. Seghers 4:66 2/26/1831	Vieux Carré Survey		Benfey, 27
Burgundy	1010	240 (1876 Sanborn)	between Ursuline and St. Philip	Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Jean-Louis Dolliole, Madeleine Gallaud, Victoire	owners builder (possibly)	1804-1842	ca. 1835-1840	3-bay French Creole cottage; double-pitched, gabled roof; two-story kitchen	Yes	N. Broutin 10:756 11/8/1805	Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
Canal	1017			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Lucien	owner	1830-1833	n/a	n/a	n/a				

Street	Current Street No.	Other Street Nos.	Address Other	Neighborhood	Associated Family Member(s)	Role	Ownership Dates	Construction Date	Description	Extant bldg.	New Orleans Notarial Archives documentation	Historic New Orleans Collection	<i>New Orleans Architecture</i> series	Notes
Carondelet			lots in square bound by Carondelet, Hevia, St. Charles, and Poydras	Sainte-Marie	Soulié, Norbert Soulié, Lucien Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Coralie Soulié, Celeste	owners	1842-1843	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Carondelet			square no. 116 bound by Seventh, Eighth, Nayades (St. Charles), Apollo (Carondelet)	Livaudais	Soulié, Albin	owner	1847-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 8:648 12/17/1847			
Chestnut				Livaudais	Soulié, Albin	owner	1848-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 11:655 11/8/1848			
Columbus	2339			Tremé	Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Coralie Soulié, Celeste	owners	1843-1849	n/a	n/a	n/a	C. V. Foulon 12:41, 2/4/1843 T. Guyol 13:398, 5/10/1849			
Dauphine	301-311			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1831-1851	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Dauphine	1131-1133			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Coralie	owners	1843-1844	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Dumaine	522	14		Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1830-1866	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 3:185 5/12/1830 T. Seghers 3:208, 5/31/1830	Vieux Carré Survey		
Dumaine	526	16		Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1830-1866	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 3:185 5/12/1830	Vieux Carré Survey		
Dumaine	810			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner builder	1830-1858	ca. 1830	Creole townhouse	Yes	T. Seghers 3:334, 10/19/1830			
Dumaine	1509-11			Tremé	Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Coralie Soulié, Celeste	owners	1843-1845	n/a	n/a	n/a	C. V. Foulon 12:41, 2/4/1843 T. Guyol 1:324 6/18/1845		NOA 6: 161 A. Boimare sold semi-improved lot to Norbert Rillieux in 1836; Rillieux sell to Courcelle one month later on 8/3/1836 for \$1000; Courcelle sell new house and others to Soulié sisters in 1843; later owned by Isabelle Macarty (represented by Joseph Dolliole) from 1854-1870 (161)	
Elysian Fields	820			Marigny	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	builder	n/a	ca. 1820	4-bay, brick-between-post Creole cottage; hipped roof with belcast edges	Yes			NOA 4:131	
Flood	444		bet. N. Peters, Douglas, bb. Andry	Marigny	Soulié, Albin	builder owner	unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a			NOA 4:147 owned property in 1870 and poss. Built house	
Governor Nicholls (Hospital)	714			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1837-1848	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 21:441 5/1/1837 P.E. Laresch 47:20, 7/15/1848	Vieux Carré Survey		
Governor Nicholls (Hospital)	729 different bldgs. Bet. 1876 and 1896			Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Joseph	owner	1836	n/a	n/a	n/a	G. LaGardeur 7:107, 3/25/1836 G. LaGardeur 8:335, 9/3/1836	Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
Governor Nicholls (Hospital)	814			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner builder	1829-1830	ca. 1830	Creole townhouse	Yes				
Governor Nichols (Hospital)	822-824			Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Jean Louis Dolliole, Joseph	owners	1841-1845 1847-1857	n/a	n/a	n/a		Vieux Carré Survey		
Governor Nicholls (Bayou Road)	1200 block			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	1845-1861	n/a	n/a	n/a				Jean-Louis Dolliole estate inventory
Governor Nicholls (Bayou Road)	1300 block		1244-60 Esplanade	Tremé	Dolliole, Louis Dolliole, Joseph	owners	1806-1842	unknown	unknown	No	P. Pedesclaux 53:470 6/7/1806 C. Pollock 10:23, 3/9/1822 C. Pollock 10:28, 3/18/1822		NOA 5:70Boisdoré and Dolliole original purchasers from Tremé in 1800 (61); owned land (jointly) to corner of Plauché (Marais); sold to Francois Escoffier; Boisdoré sold property at 1252 to Escoffier in 1844 as result of suit with Eulalie Mandeville; Escoffier sold to Myrtille Courcelle in 1849 who improved; he sold in 1849; property at 1266 sold by Boisdoré in 1844 and had four early cottages (64-67); Louis Dolliole mentioned in 1813 description of property to the north (70)	

Street	Current Street No.	Other Street Nos.	Address Other	Neighborhood	Associated Family Member(s)	Role	Ownership Dates	Construction Date	Description	Extant bldg.	New Orleans Notarial Archives documentation	Historic New Orleans Collection	<i>New Orleans Architecture</i> series	Notes
Governor Nicholls (Bayou Road)	1502			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean Louis	owner	1807-1861	unknown	unknown	No	P. Pedesclaux 54:144 3/3/1807 A. E. Bienvenu 19:30 2/11/1861		NOA 6:19 Jean Louis purchased the site of the present 1502 in 1807 and built a maison de maitre in which he lived while constructing other houses in the area (xv); Jean Louis Dolliole established by 1807; maison de maitre was still standing in 1883	Jean-Louis Dolliole estate inventory
Governor Nicholls (Bayou Road)	1518-22			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	ca. 1834-ca. 1838	unknown	unknown	No			NOA 6:144 the houses at 1518 and 1522 were built after 1883 as replacements for a row of common-wall Creole cottages owned in 1834 by J.L. Dolliole and by Felix de Armas in 1838	
Governor Nicholls (Bayou Road)	unknown			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis Dolliole, Joseph	owners	before 1814-1822	unknown	unknown	No	J. Lynd 11:386 9/21/1814 C. Pollock 10:91 4/1/1822			
History at Greatmen (Dauphine at Kerlerec)				Marigny	Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, Joseph	owners	1811-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	E. Bouny 24:95 4/15/1811 C. Pollock 2:533, 7/6/1821			
History at Greatmen (Dauphine at Kerlerec)				Marigny	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1828-1831	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 4:177, 4/30/1831			purchased in sheriff's sale 1/15/1828
Iberville	823-827			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Lucien Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Coralie Soulié, Celeste	owners	1840-1845	n/a	n/a	n/a				
Laharpe	2300 block			Tremé	Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Coralie Soulié, Celeste	owners	1843-1849	n/a	n/a	n/a	C. V. Foulon 12:41, 2/4/1843 T. Guyol 13:398, 5/10/1849			
Magazine	800 block			Sainte-Marie	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	builder	n/a	1831	4-bay, brick-between-post Creole cottage with <i>cabinets</i> ; side-gabled roof; 2-story, 4-room kitchen	No	L. T. Caire 17:1010, 11/9/1831 building contracts: built for Voisin, John B. D. and Adam, Louis; \$2,650; a brick between posts house and kitchen, 4 rooms, galerie, cabinet; creole cottage; 11/9/1831; 5 mos. Completion time; drawings Nos. 51 and 52 in plan books of that office		NOA 2:224 JLD noted as a builder in the American Sector	
Marais	500 block			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	1848-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 10:510 7/28/1848			
Marais	1122			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Albin	owners	1835-1848	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers		NOA 6:172 from J. J. Montfort (Seghers 10/22/1835); sold to Barnard de Santos in 1848	
Marais	1126			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Albin	owners	1835-1848	n/a	n/a	n/a			NOA 6:172 sold lot to Alphonse Gardes for \$600 in 1848	
N. Dorgenois	900-02			Tremé	Soulié, Albin	owner	1854-1859	n/a	n/a	n/a			NOA 4:158 purchased from Robert Ker in 1854 in sold corner at 900 to J. B. Crevon in 1859	
N. Rampart	222-224			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert	owner	1844	unknown	unknown	unknown				
N. Rampart	227	41		Tremé	Soulié, Norbert	builder owner	1819-1852	before 1831	Rowhouse	No	M. De Armas 17A:347, 6/22/1819	Soulié Family Ledgers	NOA 6:178	
N. Rampart	229	43		Tremé	Soulié, Norbert	builder owner	1819-1852	before 1831	Rowhouse	Yes	M. De Armas 17A:347, 6/22/1819	Soulié Family Ledgers	NOA 6:178 land acquired from city 5/22/1819 (M. de Armas); rowhouses built ca. 1834; Bernard lived at 377 one of old addresses in 1834 and 1837; sold lot 2 (demo'd) lot 3 (229) and lot 4 (231) in 1852	
N. Rampart	231	45		Tremé	Soulié, Norbert	builder owner	1819-1852	before 1831	Rowhouse	Yes	M. De Armas 17A:347, 6/22/1819	Soulié Family Ledgers	NOA 6:178	
N. Rampart	233	47		Tremé	Soulié, Norbert	builder owner	1819-unknown	before 1831	Rowhouse	No	M. De Armas 17A:347, 6/22/1819	Soulié Family Ledgers	NOA 6:178	
N. Rampart	520			Vieux Carré	Soulié, Norbert Soulié, Bernard	owners	1843-1847 1851	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Guyol 7:247, 5/7/1847	Vieux Carré Survey		
N. Rampart	1225			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Albin	owners	1835/1838/ 1839-1867	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 10/3/1835 C. Pollock 3/29/1838 T. Seghers 4/30/1839 E. Eude 2:146, 4/11/1867 T. Seghers 11:613			

Street	Current Street No.	Other Street Nos.	Address Other	Neighborhood	Associated Family Member(s)	Role	Ownership Dates	Construction Date	Description	Extant bldg.	New Orleans Notarial Archives documentation	Historic New Orleans Collection	<i>New Orleans Architecture</i> series	Notes
N. Robertson	923-25			Tremé	Dolliole, Joseph	owner builder	1838-1839	1839	wood-frame Creole cottage with closed gallery; 2-story kitchen	kitchen only	T. Tureaud 1:29 3/19/1838 F. Grima 7/2/1839		NOA 6:180 sold lot to Emilie Piron in 1839; Dolliole construct house with "four rooms, closed gallery and a two-story kitchen with four rooms, for \$3,600 (July 2, 1839, F. Grima) house demolished but kitchen remains	
N. Villéré	1100 block		between Bayou Road and Ursuline	Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	ca. 1841-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a				
N. Villéré	1100 block		between Bayou Road and Ursuline	Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	1841-1861	n/a	n/a	n/a				Jean-Louis Dolliole estate inventory
Orleans	909-11	65		Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	1826-1834	n/a	n/a	n/a		Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
Pauger	1455-57			Marigny	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner builder	1838-1841	ca. 1820	4-bay, brick-between-post French Creole cottage; dual-pitched hipped roof	Yes			NOA 4:97 inherited from Joseph Prieto (in 1838); sold to Francisco Tio in 1841; similarities to 1436 Pauger	
Pauger	1436			Marigny	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner builder	1820-1858	1819	irregular-plan, brick-between-post Creole cottage with <i>cabinets</i> ; hipped roof with belcast edges		C. Pollock 2:126, 2/4/1820 C. Pollock 2:174, 4/22/1820 T. Guyol, 5/11/1858		4:95 1807 Bernard Marigny to Catherine Dusuau (lot 150) 2/4/1820 Dusuau to Jean-Louis Dolliole (Carlile Pollock); "already begun to construct the framework for a brick house" 1858 Dolliole to Patrick Powers 1868 Powers to ?	
St. Peter	n/a		at Carondelet Canal	Tremé	Soulié, Norbert	builder	n/a	1818	brick and frame 2-story house (<i>maison a etage</i>); 2-story kitchen	No				
St. Philip	927-29	107 (1876 Sanborn)	bet. Burgundy and Dauphine	Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Genevieve Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners builder	1794/1804-1844	by 1838	4-bay, brick- between-post French Creole cottage; side-gabled roof; 2-story, 2-room kitchen	Yes	P. Pedesclaux 21:771, 8/28/1794 E. Barnett 26:524 12/20/1844	Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
St. Philip	931-33	109-11 (1876 Sanborn)	bet. Burgundy and Dauphine Dolliole-Masson Cottage	Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Louis Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners builder	1801/1804-1854	1805	4-bay, brick- between-post French Creole cottage with <i>cabinets</i> ; pavilion roof (now side-gabled roof); 2-story, 2-room kitchen not extant	Yes	N. Broutin 7:521, 12/21/1804 A. Ducatel 64:480, 12/28/1854	Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		Dolliole-Masson Cottage
St. Philip	935-37	113 (1876 Sanborn)	bet. Burgundy and Dauphine	Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Louis Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, Genevieve Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners builder	1801-1843	by 1838	4-bay, brick-between-post French Creole cottage; side-gabled roof; one-story kitchen	Yes		Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
St. Philip	939-41	115 (1876 Sanborn)	NW corner St. Philip and Burgundy	Vieux Carré	Dolliole, Louis Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners builder	1801-1843	1822	brick- between-post cottage	No	C. Pollock 10:22, 3/9/1822 C. Pollock 10:27, 3/18/1822	Free People of Color Index Vieux Carré Survey		
St. Philip	1123			Tremé	Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, Jean-Louis Dolliole, Genevieve Dolliole, Joseph	owners builder	1816-1869	by 1832 or 1834	4-bay,brick-between-post French Creole cottage with <i>cabinets</i> ; 1-story kitchen; 2-room latrine	No	M. De Armas 11:741, 11/18/1816 C. Pollock 2:524, 6/29/1821 C. Pollock 5/11/1839			Joseph Dolliole estate inventory
St. Philip	1125			Tremé	Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners builder	1816-unknown	by 1832	3-bay, brick and frame French Creole cottage with side gallery; side-gabled roof	Yes	M. De Armas 11:741, 11/18/1816 C. Pollock 2:524, 6/29/1821		NOA 6:188 J. L. and Pierre bought property in 1816 (July 18, M. de Armas); 2 other parties sold to J. L. in 1821 and he built three houses; mural by B. Brice	Tanesse survey lots 30 and 31
St. Philip	1127			Tremé	Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners builder	1816-1857	by 1832	3-bay, brick and frame French Creole cottage with side gallery; side-gabled roof	Yes	M. De Armas 11:741, 11/18/1816 C. Pollock 2:524, 6/29/1821		NOA 6:188 J. L. and Pierre bought property in 1816 (July 18, M. de Armas); 2 other parties sold to J. L. in 1821 and he built three houses; mural by B. Brice	Tanesse survey lots 30 and 31
St. Philip	1129			Tremé	Dolliole, Pierre Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owners	1816-1821	n/a	n/a	n/a	M. De Armas 11:741, 11/18/1816 C. Pollock 2:524, 6/29/1821		NOA 6:188 J. L. and Pierre bought property in 1816 (July 18, M. de Armas); 2 other parties sold to J. L. in 1821 and he built three houses; mural by B. Brice	Tanesse survey lots 30 and 31
St. Philip	1200 block			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	1826/1830-1831	n/a	n/a	n/a	F. De Armas 8/1/1826 F. De Armas 8/9/1830 T. Seghers 4A:429 11/24/1831			
St. Philip	1201			Tremé	Dolliole, Madeleine	owner	1826-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a				

Street	Current Street No.	Other Street Nos.	Address Other	Neighborhood	Associated Family Member(s)	Role	Ownership Dates	Construction Date	Description	Extant bldg.	New Orleans Notarial Archives documentation	Historic New Orleans Collection	<i>New Orleans Architecture</i> series	Notes
St. Philip	1205			Tremé	Dolliole, Madeleine Gallaud, Victoire Urquhart, Victoire	owners	1826-1850	n/a	n/a	n/a			NOA 6:188 bought this portion of former College property in 1826; her daughter sold 12/2/1850	
St. Philip	1223-25			Tremé	Dolliole, Rosette Dolliole, Joseph	owners builder	1827-1869	ca. 1834	4-bay, 1 1/2 story brick Creole cottage; 4-room kitchen with rear gallery	No	F. De Armas 9/19/1834 J. Cuvillier, 12/16/1868		NOA 6:189 former College d'Orleans property; 50 foot lot bought from Victoire Wiltz by Rosette Dolliole (C. de Armas 7/3/1827); Rosette sold to Joseph in 1834 for \$800; built house--inventoried in 1868 for \$4000; widow Josepha sold in 1869	
St. Philip	1227			Tremé	Dolliole, Rosette Dolliole, Joseph	owners builder	1827-1854	ca. 1834	2-bay brick cottage; side-gabled roof; kitchen	Yes	F. De Armas 9/19/1834		NOA 6:189 former College d'Orleans property; 50 foot lot bought from Victoire Wiltz by Rosette Dolliole (C. de Armas 7/3/1827); Rosette sold to Joseph in 1834 for \$800; subdivided; built narrow 2-bay house, sold to Mme. A. C. Tallaire, nee Zelime Alphonsine Chopard for \$2,700 in 1854	
St. Philip	1300 block			Tremé	Dolliole, Joseph	owner builder	1830-1831	1831	2-room brick-between-post Creole cottage with <i>cabinets</i> ; kitchen; latrine	No	T. Seghers 4A:313 7/29/1831			
St. Philip Street	1400 block			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Albin Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Celeste Soulié, Coralie	owners	1833 1843-1845	n/a	n/a	n/a	T Seghers 4:22 T. Seghers 6:192, 4/22/1833 T. Seghers 6:210, 4/26/1833 C. V. Foulon 12:41, 2/4/1843 T. Guyol 1:324 6/18/1845			
Tremé	1222-24			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard	owner	1837-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	F. de Armas 51:88, 3/11/1837		NOA 6:193 Bernard and Albin bought after city extended Tremé Street and subdivided property facing it; a house not built until turn of the century [sale date cited incorrectly]	
Tremé	1226-28			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard	owner builder	1837-1885	ca. 1837	4-bay Creole cottage	Yes	F. de Armas 51:88, 3/11/1837		NOA 6:193 Bernard and Albin bought lot as an investment and built brick double creole cottage; retained property until 1885 [sale date cited incorrectly]	restored 2010
Ursuline	1511			Tremé	Soulié, Lucien	owner	1838-1845	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 3/5/1838 T. Guyol 1:312, 6/9/1845			
Ursuline	1523			Tremé	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	unknown-1833	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 6:660			
Ursuline	1529-33			Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Lucien	owner owner/builder	1838-1845	1838	corner store-house	No	T. Guyol, 6/9/1845		NOA 6:196 Bernard purchased from Achille Barthélémy Courcelle in 1837; Lucien built house in 1838 and sold to Claire Conand in 1845 (T. Guyol)	
Ursuline	1500 block		three lots in square bound by Ursuline, Robertson, Villeré,	Tremé	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Eulalie Soulié, Celeste Soulié, Coralie	owners	1837/1838-1847	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 25:141, 3/5/1838 T. Guyol 8:563, 10/27/1847			
Washington Promenade				Franklin	Dolliole, Jean-Louis	owner	1835	unknown	unknown	No	T. Seghers 12:277 T. Seghers 13:777			
square bound by Music, Arts, St. Avide, and St. John the Baptist				Franklin	Dolliole, Joseph	owner	1835-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	T. Seghers 12:277 5/2/1835			
Three lots in the Cazelar Plantation				Algiers	Soulié, Bernard Soulié, Albin	owners	1837-unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a				

APPENDIX C – SPREADSHEET OF SOULIÉ RENTS, AUGUST 1843-JANUARY 1844

This spreadsheet presents a sampling of rents collected on properties owned by the Souliés as presented in Book One of the Soulié Family Ledgers (MSS) located at the Williams Research Center, Historic New Orleans Collection. Each column provides a list of properties by address and the amount(s) collected during a certain period (usually monthly).

Address	May 30, 1843 rents during the month (1:2)			July 21, 1843 rents during the months of June and July... (1:3)			no date rents during the months of July (1:4)			August 31, 1843 rents during the month of August (1:5)			October 31, 1843 rents during the month from September to October (1:8)			November 30, 1843 rents during the month of November (1:9)			January 10, 1844 rents during the month of December omitted in December (1:11)		
Rue Baronne ?	16	4 mois au 30 Avril	\$200.00																9	6 mois au 30 Oct 1843	\$ 300.00
Maison Rue Baronne Kelly	22	1 mois au 30 Mais	\$45.00										7	2 mois au 31 Aout	\$90.00						
Maison Rue Baronne Boucher	11	pour solde de Sept	\$21.68	14	Oct (21.68) and Nov (18.32)	\$40.00	13	un plein de Nov (21.08) a compte de Dec (18.32)	\$40.00	23	pour solde de Dec?	\$21.68	7	pour solde de Janv (21.68)...Fev (18.32)	\$40.00	9	pour solde de Mars (21.68)...Avril (18.32)	\$40.00	14	pour solde d'Avril (\$21.68)...de Mai (\$28.32)	\$ 50.00
	11	a compte de Octobre	\$18.32							23	a compte Janv	\$18.32	11	pour solde de Fevrier (21.68)...Mars (18.32)	\$40.00						
Maison Chemin du Bayou													5	1 mois au 30 Sept	\$10.00						
134 Rue Bienville	?	1 mois au 31 Dec	\$35.00	19	on acct. of Jany?	\$30.00	10	a compte de Fevrier	\$15.00	8	1 mois au 31 Mars	\$35.00	14	1 mois au 30 Avril	\$35.00				8	pour solde de Mai (\$15)...Juin (\$20)	\$ 35.00
				23	in full to 31 Jany.	\$5.00	17	pour solde au 28 Fevrier	\$20.00												
1/2 138 Rue Bienville	20	a compte de Mais	\$11.00				7	en plein de Mai (\$4) y a comp de Juin (\$4)	\$8.00										20	a compte de Dec	\$ 18.00
1/2 142 Bienville cote NE							17	au 31 Janv (5) & a compte de Fevrier (5)	\$10.00				13		\$2.55				14	1 mois au 27 Nov	\$ 17.00
1/2 142 Bienville cote SE																			18	pour solde de Mars (\$4)...d'Avril (\$8)	\$ 12.00
Kitchen of 1/2 No. 142				20		\$4.00															
88 Rue Bourbon													19	4 mois au 28 Fevrier	\$280.00						
Barraque Rue Carondelet													19	a compte de Mars	\$20.00						
? Rue Carondelet							14	1 mois au 12 Juillet	\$4.00	14	2 mois au 12 Aout	\$4.00	23	1 mois au 12 Sept	\$4.00	3	1 mois au 12 Oct	\$4.00	6	1 mois au 12 Nov	\$ 4.00
1/2 du Magasin 17 Rue Dumaine	10	1 mois aus 17 Avril	\$14.00	6	1 mo to 31 April	\$14.00	11	1 mois au 17 Juin	\$14.00	7	1 mois au 31 Juillet	\$14.00	20	1 mois au 4 Oct	\$12.00						
"	29	1 mois au 31 Mai	\$14.00	12	1 mo to 17 May	\$14.00	11	1 mois au 31 Main	\$14.00	26	1 mois au 31 Juin	\$14.00	27	1 mois au 17 Aout	\$14.00	3	Aout (\$12) y Sept (\$6)	\$18.00			
"													29	1 mois au 31 Juillet	\$14.00						
Haut du 17 Rue Dumaine	20	1 mois aus 31 Mars	\$20.00	12	1 mo to 30 Avril	\$20.00	11	1 mois au 31 Mai	\$14.00	7	1 mois au 30 Juin	\$20.00	7	1 mois au 17 Sept	\$12.00						
"													8	1 mois au 31 Juillet	\$20.00				28	pour solde au 30 Nov	\$ 10.00
													7	pour solde de Aout (\$20)...Sept (\$5)	\$25.00	11	pour solde de Sept (\$15) au Oct (\$10)	\$25.00			
Haut 19 Rue Dumaine																			8	1 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 20.00
19 Rue Dumaine													9	1 mois au 30 Sept	\$40.00	11	1 mois au 31 Oct	\$40.00	9	1 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 40.00
21 Rue Dumaine	16	1 mois au 30 Avril	\$40.00	17	1 mo to 31 May	\$40.00	11	1 mois au 30 Juin	\$30.00	15	1 mois au 31 Juillet	\$40.00	14	1 mois au 31 Aout	\$40.00						
													21?	1 mois au 30 Sept	\$40.00						
111 Rue Dumaine	10	1 mois au 31 Janv	\$50.00	12	1 mo to 28 February	\$50.00				10	1 mois au 31 Mard	\$50.00	4	5 mois au 31 aout	\$250.00				31	1 mois au 15 Dec	\$ 45.00
"													14	1 mois au 30 Sept	\$50.00						
maison Rue Hevia				6	1 mo to 31 May	\$50.00				4	1 mois au 31 Juillet	\$50.00	2	1 mois au 31 aout	\$50.00						
Maison Rue Hevia (Taylor)	3	1 mois au 30 Avril	\$50.00	5	1 mo to 30 June	\$50.00							2	1 mois au 30 Sept	\$50.00				7	1 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 50.00
Maison du coignure Hevia & Baronne										?	2 mois au 30 Juin	\$90.00							30	2 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 80.00
79 Rue del'Hopital																					
41 Rue des Ramparts										11	2 mois au 6 Fevrier	\$100.00	20	2 mois au 4 Avril	\$100.00				7	1 mois au 15 Sept	\$ 40.00
43 Rue des Ramparts	12	1 mois au 15 Avril	\$50.00	5	1 mo to 15 May	\$50.00	10	a compte de 15 Juin	\$25.00	7	pour solde de Juin	\$16.66				11	1 mois au 31 Oct	\$45.00	12	1 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 45.00
42 Rue des Ramparts													20	2 mois au 30 Avril	\$90.00						
45 Rue des Ramparts										11	2 mois au 28 Fevrier	\$90.00									
47 Rue des Ramparts	11	1 mois au 15 Mais	\$45.00	16	1 mo to 15 June	\$45.00	10	1 mois au 15 Juillet	\$45.00	?	1 mois au 15 Aout	\$45.00	7	1 mois au 15 Sept	\$45.00				16	1 mois au 15 Dec	\$ 45.00
"													16	1 mois au 15 Oct	\$45.00						
1/2 Maison Rue Treme (Daunoy)				6	1 mo to 3 June	\$15.00	11	1 mois au 3 Juillet	\$15.00	11	1 mois au 3 Aout	\$14.00	15	1 mois au 3 Sept	\$12.00						
"													12	1 mois au 3 Octobre	\$12.00						
1/2 Maison Rue Treme (Labatut)							29	a compte a 30 Juin	\$14.00				29	pour solde de Juin (\$1)...Juillete (\$13)	\$14.00						
"													13	pour solde de Juillet (\$1)...Aout (\$11)	\$12.00						
1/2 Maiston Rue Treme (cote sud)	29	1 mois au 31 Mai	\$15.00																		
1/2 Maison Rue Treme cote NE																			20	2 mois au 30 Dec	\$ 24.00
Maison Rue Baronne Taylor																			13	1 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 45.00
1/2 21 Rue Dumaine																			21	1 mois au 30 Nov	\$ 40.00
1/2 du bas No. 17																			30	1 mois au 17 Nov	\$ 12.00
1/2 du bas No. 17																			30	pour solde d'Oct (\$6)...du nov (\$6)	\$ 12.00

TOTALS

\$629.00

\$427.00

\$268.00

\$622.66

\$1,468.55

\$212.00

\$944.00

4571.21

APPENDIX D – SELECT BUILDING CONTRACTS

This appendix contains photographed and scanned copies of select building contracts discussed in the text. All of the contracts are from notarial records housed at the New Orleans Notarial Archive.

Building contract between Jean-Louis Dolliole and Jean Baptiste Voisin and Louis Adam. L. T. Caire notary, volume 17, act 1010, November 9, 1831.....	385
Building contract between Roman Planas and Dolliole & Errié. Theodore Seghers notary, volume 29, act 346, September 12, 1838.	383
Building contract between Norbert Soulié and Alexander Baggett. Theodore Seghers Notary, volume 32, June 4, 1839	391
Building contract between Roman Vionnet and Joseph Chateau, Amedee Ducatel notary, volume 26, act 107, April 11, 1845.....	395
Building contract between Sophie Philips and Joseph Chateau, Theodore Guyol notary, volume 1, act 256, May 15, 1845	403
Building contract between Louis Vivant and Jesse Connor. Lucien Herman notary, volume 12, act 55, February 13, 1846	405
Building contract between Joseph Chateau and Andrew Oscar Murphy. Edward Barnett notary, volume 37, act 521, April 30, 1847	407
Building contract between Marguerite Dauphine and Dolliole & Errié. Oscar De Armas notary, volume 43, act 319, November 23, 1848.....	409

1810.

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R.

9 Novembre 1831 Aujourd'hui, le Neuvième jour du mois de Novembre de l'année
Contrat de baille mil huit cent trente un et la cinquante troisième de l'indépendance
Jean L. Dollé des Etats Unis d'Amérique

Par devant Louis P. Cause Notaire public dans et pour la ville et
J. B. D. Voisin paroisse de la Nouvelle Orleans dûment commis, nommé et assermenté et
H. P. Adam en présence des témoins ci après nommés et soussignés.

Surent présents

Jean Louis Dollé h. d. demeurant en cette ville, entre-
preneur en bâtiments agissant pour lui et en son nom d'une part.
Et Messrs Jean Baptiste Duforgé Voisin & Louis Adam,
demeurant tous deux en cette ville agissant conjointement et solidaire-
ment pour eux et en leur nom de Seconde part.

Lesquels comparans ont par les présentes fait et accepté un contrat
de baille dont les clauses et conditions sont comme suit, savoir:

Le dit J. L. Dollé s'oblige par les présentes à faire et parfaire
bien et dûment au dire d'experts et personnes de l'art, tous les
ouvrages de Maçonnerie, Charpenterie, menuiserie, Ferrurerie, vitre-
rie, peinture et autres nécessaires à la construction entière et par-
faite d'une Maison et ses dépendances sur un lot de terre situé au
faubourg St. Marie de cette ville de la Nouvelle Orleans entre
les rues Julie et St. Joseph, ayant cinquante pieds de face à la rue
des Magasins sur cent cinquante pieds de profondeur appartenant
par indivis et chacun pour une moitié aux dits Messrs Voisin
et Adam au moyen de l'acquisition qu'ils en ont conjointement
faite de M. Hermogène Cantrelle & Dame Marie Joseph
Amélie Poursine son épouse par acte devant le Notaire Soussig-
né en date du vingt avril mil huit cent trente, le tout dans
les dimensions et proportions suivantes, savoir: (Masure Anglaise)

La Maison sera en Colombage et briquetée entre poteaux; elle aura
dix-sept pieds d'élévation et sera terminée sur des des en briques de dix-sept
pieds de haut (sans la sole); elle aura vingt huit pieds et demi de
face à la rue sur quarante six pieds de profondeur, et sera divisée
en quatre appartements à feu, les deux appartements sur le devant
auront chacun dix-sept pieds et demi, et les deux appartements sur
le derrière auront chacun dix-sept pieds, il y aura une galerie de
vingt pieds avec deux cabinets de plein pied, dans chacun desquels
il y aura un escalier pour monter au grenier; cette galerie aura
deux ouvertures qui seront fermées chacune d'une porte pleine et
d'une porte vitrée terminée sans imposte, l'entree et sortie

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Il y aura devant et derrière deux lucarnes qui seront vitrées, et une fenê-
tre au pignon du côté du corridor.

Le plancher du premier sera à deux paremens dans la partie du comble,
cette partie devant être disposée de manière à pouvoir servir de cham-
bres de par la suite les propriétaires veulent y faire établir des cham-
bres, le dehors de la maison sera doublé à clin en voliches de cyprès.

Tous les paremens des murs ~~extérieurs~~ ^{intérieurs} seront briquetés ~~par~~ jus-
qu'à la hauteur de six pieds, ~~mais~~ tous les dedans des appartemens,
galerie et cabinets seront battis du haut en bas et enduits en
chaux et sablés bien confectionnés; il n'y aura pas de plafond.

Il y aura dans toute la maison douze ouvertures extérieures, dont
les quatre sur la rue seront à cadre et à menuires; le reste barré;
et huit vitrages dont quatre portes avec impostes vitrés et les qua-
tre autres seront des fenêtres à coulisses et vitrées.

Les portes sur la rue et celles des divisions auront des
marches pour faciliter l'entrée. Et à l'intérieur il y aura six portes
deux seront à panneaux et à deux battans, quatre seront à pan-
neaux et un battant seulement, et quatre pour les cabinets seront
simplement barrées; Il y aura deux vitrages pour les portes à panneaux
à deux battans. Il y aura un abat-vent sur la rue de cinq pieds,
et un sur le derrière de deux pieds et demi seulement; ces deux abat-
vents seront plafonnés dessous et couverts en bardeaux.

La maison principale sera également couverte en bardeaux.

Il y aura plâtres et ornemens dans les quatre appartemens et la galerie.

Les quatre cheminées seront boisées jusqu'à y compris la tablette sou-
levant, le tuyau ne devant pas l'être. Le sol des murs sur le devant
et de ceux sur la mitoyenne seront en marbre blanc et les autres murs seront
des des places ~~placés~~ à des distances convenables.

Tous les bois apparents seront peints en gris ~~cristal~~, les ferrements et
serrures seront vernis en noir, et le tout sera peint ~~après~~ à deux cou-
ches; toutes ces peintures seront faites à l'huile. Cependant toutes les
ouvertures extérieures de la D. Maison seront peintes en vert, les portes
vitrées et celles à panneaux de l'intérieur seront peintes en acajou et les
cheminées seront marbrées.

Enfin toute la D. Maison devra être semblable à celle de M^r Peralta,
sauf qu'il y aura un cabinet et un escalier de plus, et ce qui a été
dit à l'égard du plancher du premier.

La cuisine sera à étage, elle aura vingt six pieds de face sur qua-
torze pieds de profondeur, elle sera sur sole, doublée en planches et
non briquetée; et sera munie des des en briques de six huit pouces

de la sole, ¹¹ puis ¹⁰ puis ¹¹ puis ¹² puis ¹³ puis ¹⁴ puis ¹⁵, le bas aura neuf pieds d'a-
rrière et le haut huit pieds et demi seulement, il y aura deux pièces
en bas à usage de cuisine, et deux en haut à usage de chambres, il y au-
ra une cheminée double pour usage des deux pièces du bas seulement.

Les escaliers seront dans les cuisines, il y aura en tout huit ouvertures, filaires et barrières et des marches à chacune des portes, des cuisines ou cuisines d'un bas. Il y aura un balcon sur le devant.

Fin les bois devant le cypre et ceux apparence seront peints en gris à deux couches et à l'huile; Le devant de la d. cuisine seulement sera blanchi et les deux côtés et le derrière seront bruts; Le d. devant sera peint en gris à l'huile et à deux couches, Mais les deux côtés et le derrière seront seulement peints en rouge.

La couverture de la 2. édition sera en hardcover et ne sera pas peinte.

Il y aura au corridor une porte de cour avec les ferremens, serrure et
clef nécessaires; Il sera fait une latrine divisée en deux
parties et d'une grandeur convenable. Il est entendu comme
règle générale que tous les Matériaux et fournitures seront de bonne qualité.
Pour toutes les conditions ci-dessus exprimées, le présent Marché est
fait et accepté Moyennant la Somme de deux mille cent cinquante
piastres que les D^{rs} Vissin et Adam s'obligent conjointement
et solidairement entre eux et l'un d'eux seul pour le tout sans toute
renonciation requise au bénéfice de division et d'exception. Le payer
au D. L'abbé dans les termes suivans: Savoir: 1.^o Cinq cents pias-
tres quand la Maison sera montée; 2.^o Cinq cents piastres quand
elle sera bridée; 3.^o Cinq cents piastres quand la Cuisine sera mon-
tée; 4.^o Cinq cents piastres quand toutes les ouvertures seront posées. Et
les 500 cent cinquante piastres restantes formant la balance qu'elle
sera après la livraison des D. Maison et Cuisine et que les chefs au-
ront à recueillir. Le tout devra être livré dans six mois à compter de ce jour.

C'est ainsi que le tout a été convenu & arrêté entre les parties contractantes. Dont acte. Fait et passé en l'étude de la M^{re} Céleste les jour, mois et an que dessus en présence de Charles & André Successeurs légitimes à ce requin & domiciliés en cette ville qui ont signé avec les parties et moi Notaire après lecture faite. Il pour lesdits colles et le D^{re} Jean V. la P^{te} civile, la 1^{re} fois à la maison prieurale, sera pour sur son ou ses filins & L^{rs} ou renvoi à l'approuvé. 1804
rayés sur les. D^{re} Jean V. la P^{te} civile. N^{re} S. D. All. des

Charles Darcourt

387

J. A. Dolhides
Harris & Sons

A. Durand

[Faint handwritten signature]

14-346

September 1838.

David

... *Prison House*
... *College & Exile*,
... *conception* ...
... *la Prigun*
... *Exile - i*.

Je soussigné Theodore Seghers, notaire public, commissionné par la ville et parvise de la Nouvelle-Orléans, Etat de la Louisiane y demeurant, et en présence de témoins ci-après nommés et soussignés

Frurent présente

Et Drouin D'Alville et Emile Eric, b. c. l. entrepreneurs
Domiciliés également en cette ville, d'autre part.

Lesquels ont fait le contrat de bâtisse qui suit.

Le dit Brassin Bolhola et Emile Evid s'obligent conjointement et solidairement de construire une maison basse avec attique pour ledit leur Placard, sur son emplacement situé au faubourg Marigny de cette ville, en vis-à-vis de la rue d'Amour et de Français, ayant, mesure anglaise, cinquante six pieds de face à la rue de Français, et cent douze pieds de profondeur et face à la rue d'Amour.

Cette maison sera construite en briques, elle aura quarante huit
pieds sur la rue d'Amour, trente six pieds sur la rue du français, elle sera
divisée d'après le plan dressé par M. Leger, Mayor de la troisième municipalité,
le 12 Juillet 1838, lequel plan a été présenté au notaire soussigné, qui l'a
remis de suite aux entrepreneurs, pour qu'ils fassent leur figure en bon et dû.

La uniform aura dix huit pieds de hauteur à partir de la banquette jusqu'à la corniche. Elle aura douze pieds de hauteur de plancher à plancher, il y aura de la banquette au plancher douze poutres du plafond à la corniche cinq pieds.

Le mur extérieur avant d'être posé, est en de l'est de huit
pouces d'épaisseur.

Dans le cabinet de la maison, il y aura quatorze ouvertures dont onze seront encadrées de quatre pieds de largeur sur neuf pieds de hauteur avec chassis et impostes; et les trois autres ouvertures seront à jalousies vitrées et peintes, de quatre pieds de largeur sur neuf pieds de hauteur. Il y aura deux portes à panneaux, dont deux seront vitrées de trois pieds sur neuf pieds. Il y en aura une pour aller dans le cabinet ou chambre haute et une fenêtre vitrée. Il y aura aussi une ouverture dans la cave.

Il y aura trois cheminées bordées avec du grès en cuivre, et une autre en fer sans être bordée.

Les planches seront en bois de Syrie de 12 pouces de large avec des
lambourdes de Cedre. Le plafond sera en bois de Syrie de 12 pouces
de large. Le plancher aura une épaisseur de 12 pouces. Le plancher du haut

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sera également en bois de cygne de dix pouces. Les planches de haut
auront huit pouces. Il y aura une porte de communication à
panneaux.

Le grenier sera divisé en deux appartements. Il y aura dans
chaque chambre une cheminée bûchée avec des grès en fer. Il y
aura dix huit attiques vitrés de deux pieds dix pouces de haut sur trois
pieds dix pouces de large. Les chambres du haut auront dix pieds
d'avancement.

Le grenier, le plafond, le dedans et le dehors de la maison seront
enduits. La corniche sera en plâtre, et la dalle en faïence de fer blanc.

Le comble sera en quatre camps. Il y aura un paratonnerre.

Il y aura, sur la rue du français, une porte de cour bardée en
fer, et une chaire-vie de soixante quatre pieds de long plus ou moins.
La chaire-vie sera établie sur un mur de trois pieds de hauteur sur huit
pouces d'épaisseur. Il y aura trois planches bardes de trois pieds de haut
sur quatre pieds de large, et trente pieds de long plus ou moins. Il y aura
une autre plate-bande, attenante à la chaire-vie, de soixante quatre pieds de
long, trois pieds de hauteur et quatre pieds de largeur, le tout en mur
de huit pouces. Il y aura de plus un bardage sur la cuisine.

La cour sera briquetée aux briques du lac.

La maison sera peinte en blanc. La couverture sera en
ardoise.

Le tout sera fait avec de bons matériaux, d'un Maître de qui ne s'ar-
rêtera pas le mois de mai prochain.

De la part, le dit sieur R. Planas s'oblige à payer, pour le prix
de bâtisse, la somme de six mille trois cents piastres, en trois termes égaux,
chacun de deux mille cents piastres. Le premier, aussitôt que la maison
aura été fondée et rendue sur les lieux; le second, aussitôt que la maison
sera couverte; et le dernier aussitôt que la maison lui sera livrée, et la
clef lui en sera rendue.

Il est bien entendu que le dit sieur Planas ne recevra le clef et
la maison qu'après l'achèvement et la décision de deux arbitres, nommés l'un
par celui-ci, et l'autre par les entrepreneurs.

Ledit Orsini Colloché et suite écrite promettent solennel-
lement de faire assurer la maison aussitôt qu'elle sera couverte.

Et attendu que ledit R. Planas a obtenu de la Banque des
Citoyens de la Virginie, une promesse de prêt pour acquitter le prix de bâtisse

N^o 499.

1st June 1839.

Be it known that on this Day, before me Theodore Saffers,
Notary Public, duly Commissioned and sworn for the City of New Orleans,
Building contract of New Orleans, State of Louisiana, and in presence of the undersigned
Witnesses:
Alex. Baggett.

Personally Came and appeared Alexander Baggett
of this City, builder, on the one part;

And Allen Soule, also of this City; herein acting in
the name and as attorney in fact of Norbert Soule, whose
attorney he is by virtue of his power executed before Saffers
& his Colleagues, Notaries at Paris, a true Copy of which power
was Deposited in this office by an act bearing Date thirteenth
Day of May, Eighteen hundred & thirty nine; on the other part.

The said Alexander Baggett agrees to erect for the
said Norbert Soule, four certain two brick story houses with
attics, and kitchens, on a lot of ground at the corner of Baronne
& Heriva Streets; according to two plans drawn by Atkinson,
architect, which plans have been signed in duplicate by the parties
and one the Notary & remain Deposited in this office as plans N^{os}
fifty one and fifty two of the Book of Plans.

Specifications:

The foundations to be sunk two feet deep, two thickness
of two inch plank laid crossway and four bricks wide at the bottom
regularly offset to the top of the side walk; all the walls to
be covered with Lime above the ground, and to be one and a half
bricks in thickness, (except the Division Walls of the Kitchen which
will be one brick in thickness) and of the country brick laid
in mortar made of equal quantities of River & Sharp Sand and
Chamotte lime; The fronts to be faced with ^{the best} Lake Bricks and
jointed & painted & pencilled in the best manner.

The first floors to have two feet elevation from the level of
the banquette; the first story to be thirteen feet high; the second
story twelve feet; and the Attic to be five feet high in the clear;
the wall plates (five by twelve) on which the rafters will be
secured in the most substantial manner with Iron braces three
front and rear in each house.

All the joists to be three by twelve inches, placed eighteen
inches apart; the rafters three inches thick, five inches wide
at one end and seven inches at the other end.

The floors to be tongued and grooved & sciret nailed from
five to seven inches wide. In the back buildings they will be
nailed in eight.

The windows of the first story to have twelve lights, thirteen
by twenty inches double hung in case frames with Venetian
blinds outside hung with strap hinges and suitable fastenings
to the same.

The windows in the second story will be fifteen lights
thirteen by twenty inches, sash double hung in case frames
the sash to come down to the floor & Venetian blinds hung
with strap hinges & suitable fastenings to complete the same.

The sliding doors to be eight feet wide, ten & a half feet
high and all other doors shall be three and a half feet wide
by eight feet high & one inch & seven eighth of an inch thick.
And all the windows & doors in the lower story shall be trimmed
inside with double faced Architraves and plinths, as in Mr.
Wm. Florence's house in Camp Street; the doors will be
four panells.

The roofs shall be supported by a gallow framing
sheathed with inch board and covered with the best slates, and
tenement shall have a scuttle with a step ladder to go on the
roof. Each house shall have a cistern to contain two thousand
five hundred gallons, and there shall be tin gutters & leaders
to carry the water to the cisterns.

All the locks shall be the best American manufacture with
plated furniture in lower rooms & brass furniture in the second story.
The wood work shall be painted three coats best lead & linseed
oil. The wood work of the kitchen to have two coats.

The Plastering to be of the best kind, three coats hard
finished, and the kitchens to have three coats and also well
done. There shall be a meat cornice to the Halls in the
lower rooms.

There shall be a meat store gallery four feet wide to the
front of each house, divided by a Venetian blind, to be of
a neat pattern, Cost six Dollars per foot running measure.
The stairs to continued rail & fancy tape Banisters and
handsome newells all of Mahogany. The stairs of the corner
house will be on Maria Street and will be finished as the
other principal stairs.

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The yards are to be paved with the best flagstones and also the Alley in the rear, and are to be elevated eight inches above the Level of the Boulevards.

Heat Marble mantles to each of the lower rooms, with grates of hearth stones, to cost not more than three hundred Dollars complete for each house.

All the Wood Work to be Done after the same style and the same Workmanlike manner of that Done to the house of Mr. William Florence in Camp Street, where he resides. The front Doors will be finished after the same style of those two houses at the West corner of Custom house & Dauphin Streets. The front Cornice to be made after the same style of that of Mr. Florence in Camp Street, except that it shall not be so heavy.

To each house there will be two iron gratings in front, and two in the rear, sunk in the flagging; and the house on the corner will also have two on Heriot Street.

The first floor of the back buildings shall be eight inches above the flagging, the lower story twelve feet high, the second ten feet high, with gallery in front four feet wide. The Doors as by the plan, solid frames sash Doors inside and latten Doors outside with suitable fattenings; square Post handrail and Bannisters in front, two fire places to each kitchen with neat wood mantles and stud partitions dividing the rooms & latten and plastered.

The joists to be three by six inches, planed and beaded where they form the gallery and the rafters shall be three by five inches and cover the gallery.

All the materials & Workmanship shall be of the very best quality and all the lumber used, shall be sound & seasoned Cypress. Any thing not specified here shall be Done as if it were specified, so as to make and finish the buildings in a substantial, Workmanlike & complete manner.

The houses or tenements are to be Delivered by the fifteenth Day of November Eighteen hundred & thirty nine, under penalty of paying rent for each house, for such time over that period, until Delivered, at the rate of one Hundred Dollars per month.

Personally Came and interposed ³⁹³ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~this~~ ~~City~~, who Declared that he Does hereby bind himself as security of the said Alexander Baggott for the faithful

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Henry Lockett
H. L.
H. L. S. P.

execution of ~~the~~ all the above stipulations and obligations.

All these four houses and kitchens to be finished for the sum of Twenty nine thousand & five Hundred Dollars payable in the manner following, viz:

Four thousand dollars when the work is over with the ground	\$ 4000.
Four thousand dollars when the joists of the second floor are laid	4000.
Four thousand dollars when the joists of the Attick are laid	4000.
Four thousand dollars when the buildings are covered and slated	4000.
Three thousand dollars when the first coat of plaster is laid	3000.
Three thousand dollars when the third coat of plaster is laid	3000.
And the Balance to wit: Seven thousand five hundred dollars when the whole is completely finished and the keys are delivered.	7500.
Total price	\$ 29500.

And whereas the lot is smaller than mentioned in the plan, the vacant space shown on the plan in the rear of the kitchen will be built upon. The house in Florin street is to have twenty five feet front outside and on the back. The porch to be five feet wide. The kitchen will be thirty feet, and the porch to have four feet.

Thus has the whole been conversated and agreed upon by the parties and passed at New Orleans in my office on the fourth of June in the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty nine by the third of American Independence, in presence of Victor Hughes and Louis Georges both of this city witnesses, who have signed with the parties and me the notary. These words read as read.

At Test: *Victor Hughes*
Louis Georges
Notary

1340 Poydras St. Suite
New Orleans, LA 70119
Research Center
Archives

N^o 107
11 Avril 1848
Contrat de Bâties

entre
Messrs. Ramon Viorret

et
Joseph Chateau.

signé le 12 avril.

c.f.

En la ville de la Nouvelle Or-
léans, dans l'Etat de la Louisiane, ce onze Avril
mil huit cent quarante huit et dans la dixième
annéed de l'Indépendance Américain.

Pardevant, Me. J. Ducatet
notaire public dûment commisssionné pour
cette ville et la Paroisse d'Orléans, y résidant et
en présence des témoins ci-après nommés et
soulignés.

Ont comparu:

Messrs. Ramon Viorret, propriétaire, de-
meurant en cette ville, d'une part;

Joseph Chateau h.c. l. Entrepreneur,
demeurant aussi en cette ville, d'autre part;

Lesquels ont déclaré: que le
dit Joseph Chateau s'oblige à mettre à l'œu-
vre, faire et parfaire tous les travaux nécessaires
à l'érection d'une maison de maître et de
ses dépendances, que le dit sieur Ramon
Viorret se propose de faire bâtir sur un lot
de terre situé en cette ville, rue St. Philippe, entre
la rue Bourgoyne et la rue des Remparts, le
tout conformément aux plans ci-joints et
signés et paraphés Me. Vassillon pour les com-
prendre en présence des notaires et des témoins sou-
signés, et à fournir tous les matériaux néces-
saires aux dites constructions, de quelque nature
qu'ils puissent être, de manière à ce que le
dit sieur Ramon Viorret ait livraison des
dites constructions dans un état parfait,
au quinze juillet prochain sans autres charges
pour lui que le paiement du prix qui sera
ci-après stipulé.

Les plans à exécuter forment
la base du contrat qui intervient entre les com-
parants, et leur exécution complète, sans en rien
diminuer, forme l'ensemble des obligations qu'ils

prend, par ses proportions, le style de Joseph Chastan, et ce qui va suivre se fait par l'indication d'exécution de la manière dont certains travaux devront être exécutés, et on peut le considérer comme décrivant les limites de ce qu'il s'oblige à faire.

La maison principale, faite à la rue sera de quatre entre poteaux et aura quinze pieds six pouces de face, de dehors en dehors, sur quarante pieds de profondeur aussi de dehors en dehors.

Elle sera divisée en trois pièces à la fois les unes des autres, dans chacune de ces pièces il y aura une cheminée.

Il y aura sur la façade, deux portes de neuf pieds quatre pouces de haut sur trois pieds et demi de large, chaque; Sur le corridor ou côté de la maison il y aura aussi deux portes, c'est-à-dire, une dans chacune des deux premières pièces, des mêmes dimensions que celles de la façade. Dans la dernière des trois pièces, il y aura, sur le corridor une fenêtre, et du côté de la cour une porte et une fenêtre.

Toutes ces ouvertures à l'exception de celles du côté de la cour, auront des battants en cadres et châssis vitrés et impostes; les battants des ouvertures du fond seront simplement bardés.

La porte de communication de la pièce de la façade à celle qui suivra sera à panneaux et devra avoir six pieds de large sur neuf pieds de hauteur, sans imposte.

La porte qui communiquera de la pièce du milieu à celle du fond, aura aussi neuf pieds de haut sur trois pieds de large, et devra avoir son imposte.

Les trois cheminées seront en briques et à pilastres, bien finies.

Les deux premières pièces auront des chambranles de six pouces de large et de quatre

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élevé. Les chambranles de la suite de la
façade seront doubles et élevés.

Il y aura aussi dans la suite
de la façade, une rosace et une corniche en
plâtre.

Cette maison aura onze pieds
et demi d'arassement du plancher au pla-
fond, et devra être élevée de vingt quatre pouces
au dessus du trottoir.

La hauteur du comble sera
du tiers de la longueur de la maison, il y
aura sur la façade une lucarne et une
abaissement coiffé de quatre pieds de large.
Il y aura une fenêtre dans le pignon du
côté du corridor.

Le grenier ne sera pas fini,
il y aura seulement un plancher brut.

Les toles de la maison auront
sept pouces sur trois pouces. - Les lambourdes
auront trois pouces sur six pouces, elles seront
placées à vingt quatre pouces de distance les
unes des autres. - Les soliveaux du haut
auront trois pouces sur six pouces et seront
placés à seize pouces de distance de centre
à centre. - Les chevrons du comble seront
de cinq pouces sur deux pouces et demi, et
seront placés à trente pouces de distance les
unes des autres. - Les poteaux de la maison
seront de quatre pouces carrés, ceux des ouver-
tures auront quatre pouces sur six pouces.

Les deux pignons de la mai-
son seront doublés en voliges blanchies jus-
qu'à la hauteur de l'arassement. - Le
reste de la maison recevra deux couches d'en-
duit floché. 397

Les cloisons de l'intérieur
de la maison seront battues et enduites de

deux couches d'enduit noir. La maison sera tapissée, mais le papier sera à la charge du dit sieur Vionnet.

Les plafonds recouvriront deux couches d'enduit noir et une couche d'enduit blanc, glacé.

Il y aura dans la cheminée de la maison principale, deux frankbois (grats), dans la poutre de quinze et de douze fenêtres.

La maison sera couverte en ardoises.

Cuisine

La cuisine sera bâtie dans le fond du terrain et briquetée aussi entre poteaux. - Elle aura neuf pieds et demi de face sur neuf pieds et demi de profondeur. - Il y aura au rez-de-chaussée une cheminée simple et une porte. - Il y aura une cheminée, une porte et une fenêtre et un balcon de deux pieds et demi de large. - Un escalier de trois pieds, conduira de la Cour à ce balcon. - Sous cet escalier, il sera fait une petite latrine de trois pieds et demi sur quatre pieds et demi, avec une porte et une fenêtre.

L'arasement de la cuisine sera de neuf pieds et demi aux deux étages, et elle sera couverte en ardoises.

Ecurie

L'écurie sera construite sur la même ligne que la cuisine, elle aura seize pieds de face sur neuf pieds et demi de profondeur, - le premier arasement sera de neuf pieds et demi, et le second de six pieds. - Le dehors c'est-à-dire le fond sera voligé en volige brute, la façade sera voligée en volige blanchies. - Dans l'arasement du premier étage (celui de six pieds) il y aura deux fenêtres bannies de quatre pieds de large sur trois pieds de hauteur. - Le balcon de la cuisine devra être continué jusqu'en avant de la première fenêtre de l'écurie.

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de manière à livrer passage de cette fenêtre sur le
balcon.

L'éclair sera aussi converti en
esdoir.

Il y aura sur la façade, à son-
der la maison principale, une porte cochère
de huit pieds de large sur deux pieds de haut,
encastrée et à trois feuilles.

La cour sera pavée en briques
du lac de première qualité.

La maison ainsi que la cuisine
recouvriront deux couches de peinture. Les portes
extérieures seront peintes en vert. Les cheminées
seront peintes en imitation de marbre.

Il y aura sur le devant de la
maison principale ainsi que sur le devant de
la cuisine, des dalles et des conduits en fer blanc.
Ces dalles et ces conduits devront être peints.

Tous les châssis seront vitrés de
vitrés de première qualité.

Des ferronniers et des serrures seront
posés partout où il sera jugé nécessaire.

Tous les planchers de la maison
principale seront embourrés et bien finis.

Des manchettes seront placés
partout où besoin sera.

Les planchers de la cuisine et
de l'éclair seront aussi bien faits et embour-
rés, à l'exception cependant de celui du rez-
de-chaussée de l'éclair qui sera brut.

Il sera fait dans l'éclair une
division pour deux chaises, avec arge gracieux.

Des hydrants avec les tuyaux
nécessaires seront fournis et placés dans la
cour aux frais de l'entrepreneur.

le dit sieur Ramon Nomm et s'oblige à payer
au dit Joseph Chateau, la somme de Treize
cent vingt cinq piastres, de la manière sui-
vante, savoir : Cinq cents piastres, comptant,
deux cent soixante quinze piastres dans trois
mois à partir de ce jour, d'un cent soixante
quinze piastres dans quatorze mois, ainsi de
ce jour, et pareille somme de deux cent soixante
quinze piastres dans vingt mois à partir de ce
jour, En conséquence, le dit sieur Ramon
Nomm a payé et compté la dite somme de
Cinq cents piastres au dit sieur J^e Chateau
qui le reconnaît et en donne bonne et valable
quittance et décharge, ci — 500 .

Et pour la balance s'élevant à la
somme de huit cent vingt cinq pias-
tres, le dit sieur Ramon Nomm a four-
ni trois billets de la somme de deux
cent soixante quinze piastres, chaque,
souscrits par lui sous la date de ce
jour à l'ordre du dit Joseph Chateau
et payables respectivement à huit, qua-
torze et vingt mois de date, ci — 825 .

Total — 1,325 .

Lesquels billets signés et paraphés
M^{re} Varieten, par le notaire Monsieur pour les
identifier avec les présents, ont été remis au dit
Joseph Chateau, qui le reconnaît et qui les accep-
te sans rien innover ni déroger à son droit
de privilège comme entrepreneur.

Et aux présentes intervenues
et a comparé Mess^{rs} Ramon Nalle, de cette ville,

Lequel a pris avec soi son
numération et lecture du contrat qui forment
l'acte, par ces présents, volontairement revus
et constatés caution et répondant solidaire

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le dit Joseph Chateau envers le dit sieur
Ramon Viornet, pour la fidele execution
des clauses et conditions stipulees au present
contrat, faisant de tout sa propre affaire
dans le cas ou le dit Joseph Chateau ne-
gligerait de remplir scrupuleusement les
dits clauses et conditions.

Donc acte.

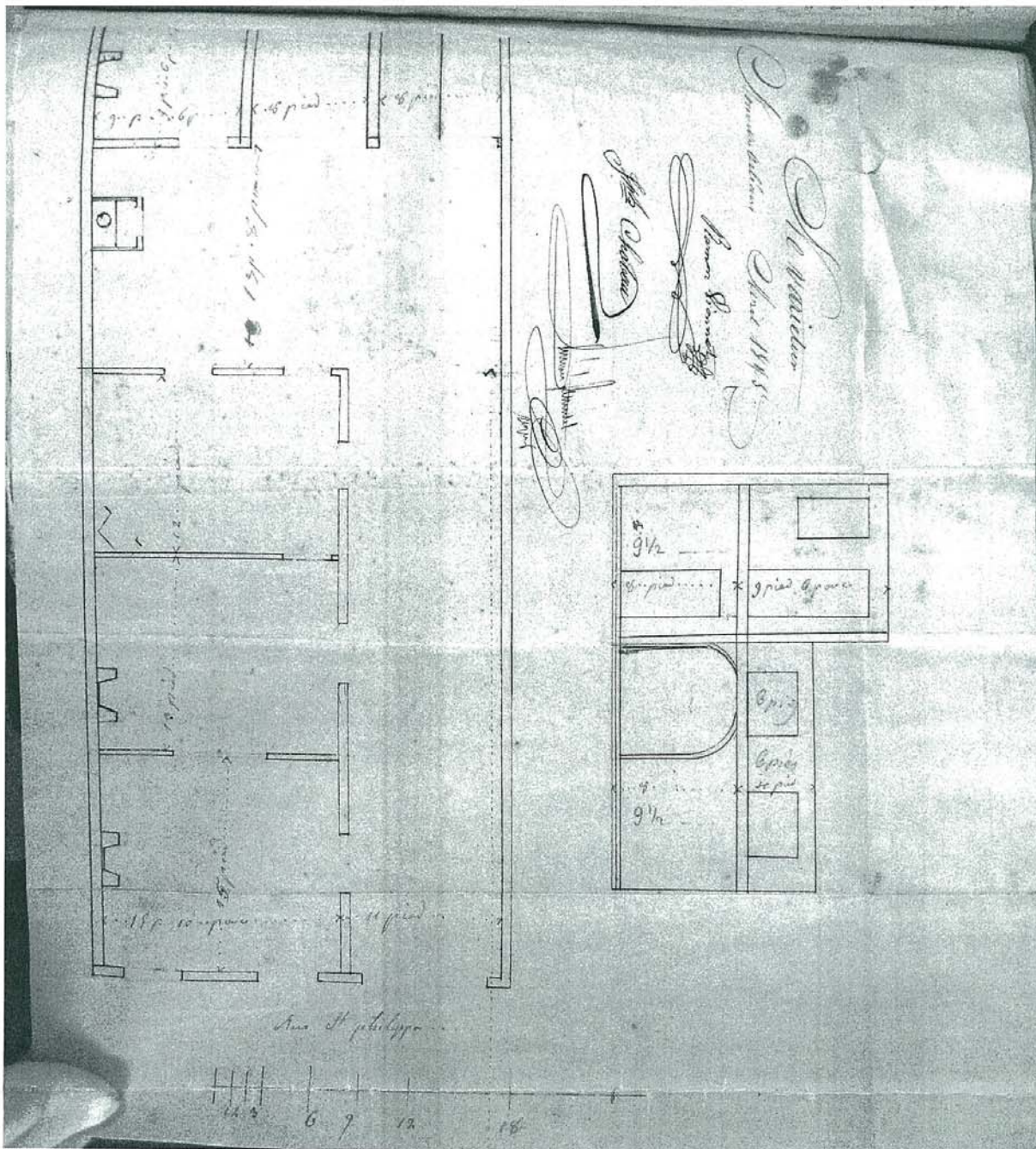
Fait et passe en l'Etude a la Nouvelle Orleans,
le jour, le mois et l'an susdits, en presence de
Messrs Louis Triguere et P. Pascalis LaBarre,
hommes competents qui ont signe avec les com-
parans et le notaire, apres lecture faite.

f. Halle

L. Triguere
P. Pascalis LaBarre

Ramon Viornet

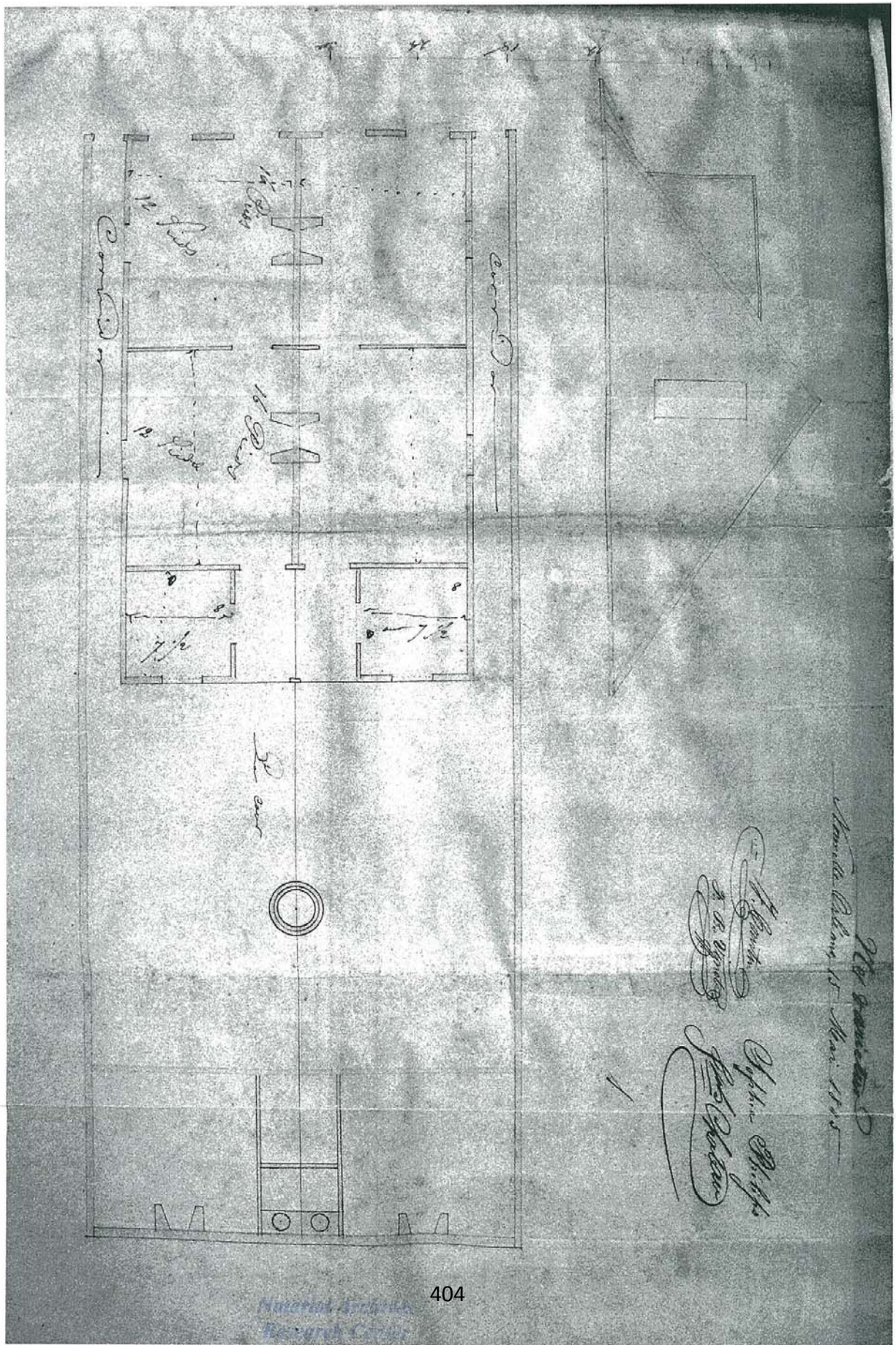
J. Chateau



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partis, le notaire et les témoins soussignés assemblés
aux présentes promesses.

La dite maison aura vingt cinq pieds de face
sur quarante pieds de profondeur; elle sera divisée
en quatre appartements, une galerie et deux cabinets;
elle aura onze pieds d'élévation, elle sera brigue
de centre par le haut. La charpente sera en bois de
cypre. Les solives auront sept pouces sur huit, les lan-
daudes tant du plancher que du plafond seront de
trois pouces sur six et placées à vingt quatre pouces
l'une de l'autre. Le comble aura treize pieds
d'élévation. Les chevrons du comble seront placés
à deux pieds et demi de distance l'un de l'autre,
il y aura deux lucarnes sur la façade. Le plancher
du grenier sera brut. Il y aura quatre portes men-
dées sur la façade, avec chassis vitrés et impostes; il
y aura dans l'intérieur de la maison deux portes à
pauvre auge; deux fenêtres à chaque pignon, deux
portes donnant sur la galerie, une porte de communication
à chaque cabinet. Toutes les portes et fenêtres de
l'intérieur auront des volets barres et des chapeaux vitrés;
il y aura une fenêtre à chaque pignon du comble.
Le grenier ne sera point fini, mais il sera mis en
état de l'être. Les quatre appartements auront chacun
vingt pieds sur seize et les cabinets huit pieds sur
sept et demi. Il y aura deux cheminées doubles,
les devantures seront à galandes; les planchers, à l'excep-
tion de celui du grenier, seront faits de bois de pin, les
planchers auront de cinq à six pouces de large et seront
embouteillés. Tous les plafonds seront latis et enduits
à trois et couchés, la dernière blanche et glazée; la
poutre maîtresse sera latis vingt quatre pouces au-dessus
du trottoir, tout le dehors, excepté la façade, sera
double en roches de trois quarts de pouce d'épaisseur;
la façade sera enduite, l'intérieur sera fleché et divisé
en caisses imitant la pierre. Les murs auront des
pluies et des 403



*My daughter
Charlotte Adams 15 Nov. 1895*

*H. B. Smith
J. B. Smith
J. B. Smith
J. B. Smith*

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C. 18 Février 1806.
Contrat de Patissiers.
L. Tivart
et
J. Comar, h. a. l.

ETATS UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE

Etat de la Louisiane,

Paroisse d'Orléans, & Ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans.

Aujourd'hui, ce Treize Février de l'Année mil huit cent quarante six et de l'Indépendance, la dix-neuvième,

Pardevant, Lucien Hermann, dument
Commissionné Notaire Public, pour la dite Paroisse, rési-
dant en la dite Ville, et en présence des témoins ci-après
nommés et soussignés—

Ont Personnellement Comparu, Louis Tivart, homme de con-
science, entrepreneur de Patissiers, demeurant en cette ville
de la Nouvelle-Orléans, D'une Part;

Et Jossé Comar, nègre libre, demeurant aussi en
cette ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans, D'autre Part;

Lesquels Comparants sont convenus de ce qui suit, Savoir:—

Le dit Comparant de première part, pour et moyennant
le prix et somme de Sept Cents Piastres payable de la manière
ci-après exprimée, déclare Contracter comme de fait et contracte
par ces présentes l'obligation de bâtir et construire, pour le compte
du Comparant de Seconde part, sur une Portion de Terre, appa-
rtenant à ce dernier, située au Faubourg Tremé, derrière cette
ville, Rue Saharpe entre les Rues Roman et Derbigny, une mai-
son et dépendances dont la description et les dimensions se-
ront ci-après données, à cet effet, qu'omettant et s'obligeant le dit
Comparant de première part de faire et parfaire tous les tra-
vaux nécessaires pour la construction des dites Maison et
dépendances, en se conformant strictement et expressément
auavis suivant, Savoir:—

La Maison aura vingt six pieds de face sur vingt pieds
de profondeur. Elle sera divisée en ~~sept~~ ^{deux} Chambres, deux Cabinets
et une Galerie. Elle sera bâtie en bois de Charpente, entourée en
voliges, couverte en bardaux, et montée sur des poutres en briques.
La dite Maison aura ~~deux~~ ^{un} Cheminée doublée avec briques,
une fenêtre au grenier, deux escaliers sur la façade et un
escalier sur le derrière. Les Chambres auront chacune deux
portes barrières sur la façade, une fenêtre à chaque pignon
et une porte de communication. Les Cabinets auront chacun
une porte ouvrant sur la galerie et une fenêtre ouvrant sur
le derrière de la Maison. Les Pignons ainsi que le derrière
de la maison seront peints en rouge. La Façade ainsi que
les ouvertures de la Maison seront peintes en gris. La Maison
sera plafonnée et bâtie, en tous points, semblable (sauf la galerie

et les deux Cabinets précités) à la maison de Madame Remig
Septier, située Rue de Craps, au Faubourg Marigny, de cette
Ville;

— La Cuisine aura vingt pieds de face sur dix pieds de profon
deur. Elle sera bâtie en madriers et couverte en bardeaux. Elle aura
deux Chambres, une Cheminée double et une porte et une fenêtre à
chaque Chambre. Elle sera blanchie au lait de Chaux.

— Les Latrines seront doubles, blanchies au lait de Chaux.

— Il y aura un puits encastré entre la Cuisine et la Maison.

— Il y aura une petite Porte de Cour peinte en gris.

— Toutes les ouvertures seront garnies de ferrements & Serrures.

— Tous les matériaux nécessaires aux constructions précitées se
ront fournis et rendus sur les lieux aux frais de l'entrepreneur;

— La dite Maison et ses dépendances devront être faites, achevées
et livrées dans sixante jours à compter de ce jour.

— Le Présent Contrat est fait, par le dit Comparant de première
part et accepté par le dit Comparant de seconde part, pour et moyeu
nant le prix et somme de Sept Cents Piastres, que le dit Comparant
de seconde part promet et s'oblige expressément et formellement,
par ces présentes, de payer de la manière suivante. La Somme de
Trois Cents Piastres, lors que les matériaux seront rendus sur les lieux,
et ce, sur le simple Reçu de l'entrepreneur, et la balance de quatre Cents
Piastres, à la livraison de l'ouvrage, et ce, encore sur le simple Reçu
de l'entrepreneur, qui, par ces présentes, s'oblige, aussitôt après le paiement
des sommes susinvoquées, de donner mainlevée du privilège résultant
en sa faveur aux termes du présent Contrat.

— Dont acte. Fait & Passé en l'Etude du Notaire Soussigné,
à la Nouvelle Orléans, Etat de la Louisiane, les jours, mois et an
que dessus, en présence de Charles Lardogère Hermier jeune et
Edmond Florian Meaux, témoins Compétents pour ce expès requis,
et à la dit Comparant de première part signés les présentes avec les dits
Témoins et Notaire, et moi le dit Comparant de seconde part qui, ne
sachant signer, a fait sa marque, le tout, après lecture faite.
« trois deux » - « quatre » - « deux » - Ces trois renvois approuvés

Morand, Notaire, S. J.

E. Florian Meaux

L. Vivant

marque & ordinaire
de Dieu & Cour m. l.

Morand, Notaire, S. J.

Being Extract
of Chateau.
by
Murphy
10th April
1847

Page 320
State of Louisiana
City of New Orleans

Be it known that on
this Thirtieth day of April one thousand eight
hundred and forty seven

Before me Edward Barnett, a
notary public in and for the City and Parish of New Orleans,
State of Louisiana, aforesaid, duly commissioned and
sworn, personally came and appeared Joseph
Chateau, f. m. of c. of this City, of the one part, and
Mr. Andrew Oscar Murphy, also of this City of
the other part,

Which said appearers declared that
they have mutually covenanted and agreed, and by these
presents do mutually covenant, contract and agree to and
with each other in the manner and on the terms and
conditions following to wit:

The said Joseph Chateau cove-
nants and contracts that he shall & will at his own
cost and charge furnish all the materials and build
and erect upon the Lot of ground belonging unto said
Murphy, situate on Magazine street, between First
and Second streets, in the City of Lafayette, having
Thirty one feet seven inches & four lines front by one
hundred and twenty eight feet three inches in depth
american measure, a two story frame dwelling house
and a two story kitchen, and other works, according to
the plan and specifications which have been countersigned
Notarietier by the said parties and one the said Notary,
and have been annexed to the margin of this Act—

All the materials to be used in said
buildings to be of good quality and the whole to be done
in a good and workmanlike manner and the keys
delivered on or before the third day of August next
1847, and for every day that the said Chateau may keep
the said buildings after the expiration of said term, he
shall pay unto the said Murphy one dollar for each and
every day, until the keys of said buildings shall have
been delivered and accepted.

And in Consideration of the foregoing
the said Andrew Oscar Murphy hereby binds himself and his
heirs to pay to the said Joseph Chateau his heirs or assigns

the sum of Two thousand five hundred dollars
and to pay the same in the manner following to wit :-
Five hundred dollars in advance for the purpose of en-
abling the party of the first part to purchase the neces-
sary materials to commence the said work -
One thousand dollars, when all the timbers shall
have been laid, the chimneys carried up, the house
lathed and ready to be roofed, and -
One thousand dollars when the whole of said buildings
and works shall have been completed and the keys deli-
vered and accepted -

It is also covenanted and agreed by
and between the said parties that the said Joseph Cha-
teau shall cause the said buildings to be insured
in one of the Insurance offices in this City up to the
amount of fifteen hundred dollars, previous to his
receiving the second payment as above specified -

Thus done and passed, in my
office, at the City of New Orleans, aforesaid in the presence
of Selim Wagner and Alphonse Barnett, competent
Witnesses, who have signed these presents together with
the said parties and me the said Notary the day
month & year first before written & written & Contractor &
This reference approved before signing. The word "two" written
over an erasure, approved.

A. Barnett

S. Wagner

J. Chateau
Notary

Alphonse Barnett
Witness

Specifications of a two story frame dwelling
house to be erected by Joseph Chatham
builder, on the lot of ground belonging to Mr. Andrew
Pearce Murphy in this City, Situated on Magazine
Street between First & Second Streets in the City
of Lafayette having 38 feet 7 inches 4 lines front
by 128 feet 3 inches in depth, American measure

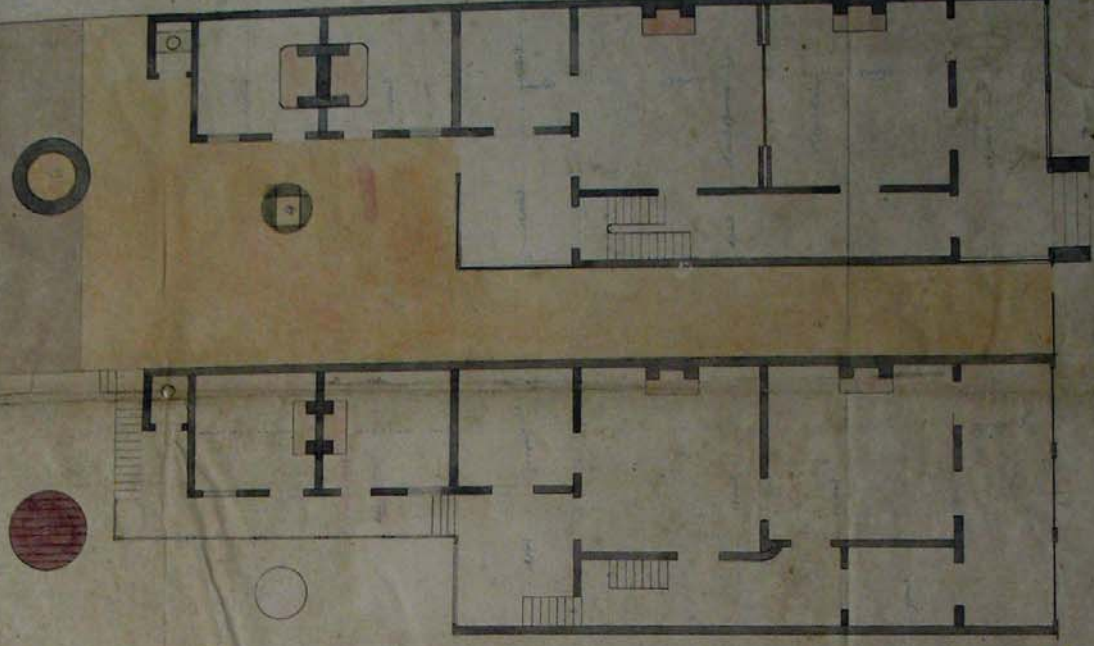
The House to be Twenty four feet front
by Fifty two feet in depth with a Kitchen twenty four
feet by twelve, and a parry of four feet by six. —

The House to be divided into two apartments
that is to say two rooms above and two rooms below, The
house to have a gallery eight feet in front and ten
feet in the rear, also a hall to the house of six feet,
and a winding stairs to the hall, with two cabinets
on the gallery in the rear ten feet square —

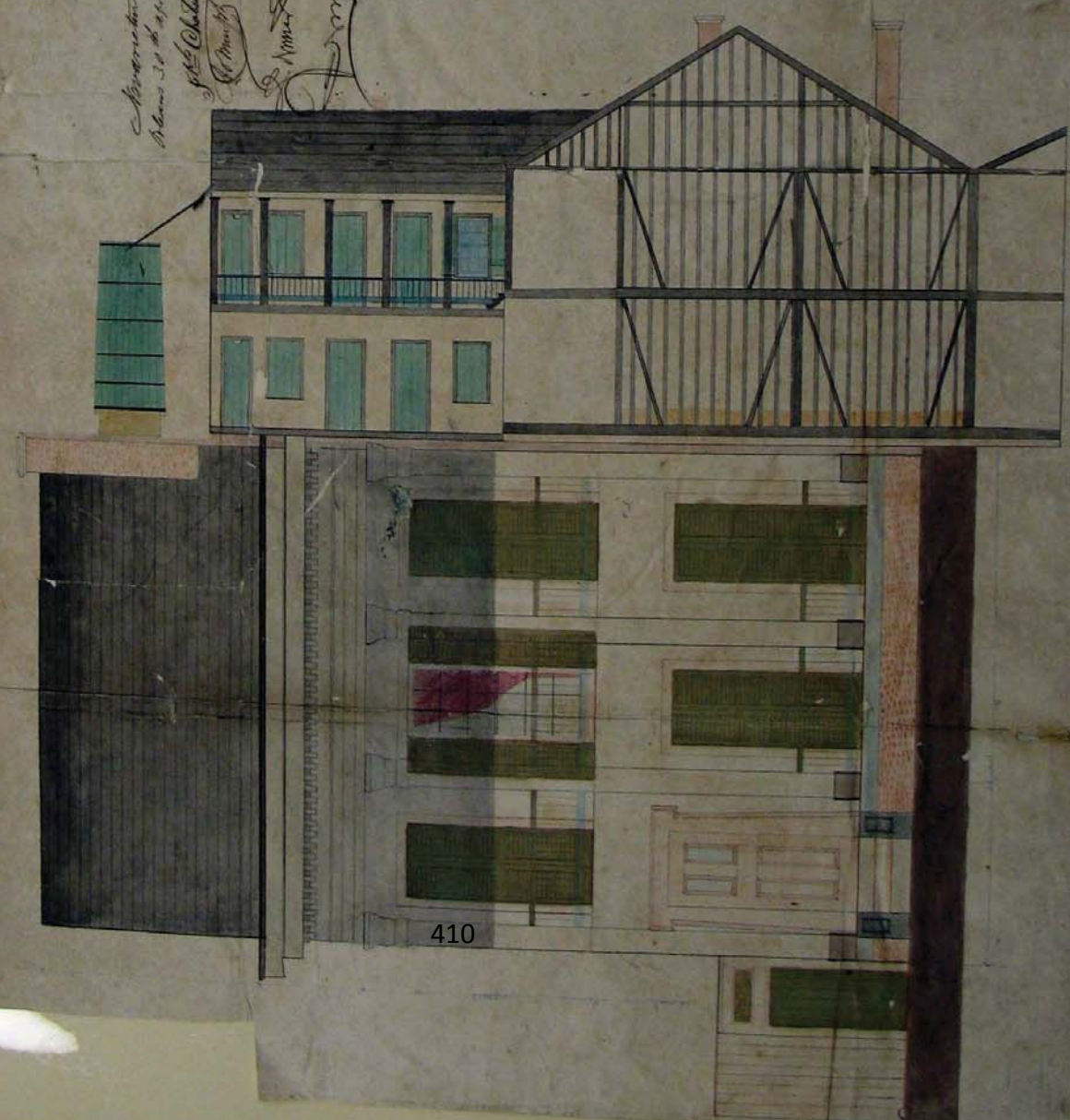
The Kitchen to be divided into four rooms,
two below and two above —

The buildings to be frame buildings, the
posts to be sixteen inches center to center, the sills
six inches by seven, the joists three inches by eight, placed
sixteen inches apart, The last tier of joists to be two
by six inches, and the rafters the same, all to be plain
weatherboarded except the front, which is to be plaste,
fed and the joints striked to imitate stone —

The roofs of the house & Kitchen to be slated,
one ~~sliding~~ ^{sliding} door, Two chimneys with wood mantels,
four grates two below & two above, the two in the first
story at twelve dollars and each, and the other two at
ten dollars a piece, five blinds in front, three above &
two below, with box frames with sashes inside, the ba-
lance to be panel doors, a five feet cornice in front,
with four pilasters, all the casing to be six inches wide,
the base work twelve inches, the railing and banisters
of the stairs to be mahogany —



Handwritten notes:
Approved by
James S. Jones
J. H. Johnston
J. H. Johnston
Plans 32 of April 1847



519.
Nov. 4 1848

Handwritten text: *Handwritten signature/initials*

1. *Diagnosis*
 2. *History*
 3. *Physical*
 4. *Chemical*
 5. *Microscopic*
 6. *Pathology*
 7. *Prognosis*
 8. *Treatment*
 9. *Prevention*
 10. *Conclusion*

Deposited by
the
Treasurer.

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some minor creases and discoloration, characteristic of old paper. A small dark spot is visible near the bottom center. The page is set against a dark background.

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some minor discoloration and a dark vertical stain along the left edge. A small dark speck is visible near the center of the page.

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Hydras St. Suite 360
Pleasant, LA 70112

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En la ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans, Etat de la Louisiane, Etats-Unis d'Amérique Ce Vingt-Trois Novembre mil-huit-Cent-quarante-huit, l'an 73. de l'Indépendance américaine;

mairie public à la résidence de la dite ville
de la Nouvelle Orléans; & en présence des
personnes ci après nommées & soussignées; —
A l'effet d'en faire un acte authentiquement Comparu

De cette ville, j'emprunte une Dame past.
Et Mr. Louis François Dal-

Société de Dollond & Co, entrepreneurs
Orbataires. D'entre autres: —
Lesquels ont déclaré avoir

certains l'attribution qui doivent être faites
pour les dits frs. Dollard & Eric, en bons
matériaux fournis par eux, Sur un Sub de
ceux appartenant à la dite Belle. M^{rs} argu-

ville d'Amphion, située au faubourg Orme
De cette ville ayant Orme près de faire
à la rue St. Philippe, et sur Cent-vingt
pieds de profondeur. Qui est affecté un

Devait être dressé pour être reconnu
semblement repris entre au notaire Chaussoigne, et
demeur annexe aux parois après avoir
été signé par les dites parties, qui déclarent
si l'acte est véritable du présent acte.

Et en considération des dettes
fraternelles & des ⁴¹¹ fournitures de matériaux
la dite Dame Marguerite Dauphine s'oblige
de payer aux dits Constructeurs, la somme

de Onze. Cent. Cinq-vingts piastres, dont
Deux. Cent. Cinq-vingts piastres leur ont été
avancés, ainsi qu'ils le se commencent, en
Donnant quittance.

Et pour les Neuf. cents piastres
De Surplus, la dite Marguerite Dauphin
promet & s'oblige de les payer de la manière
suivante, savoir: 1.^o Trois. cents piastres
lorsque la maison principale sera couverte.
2.^o Trois. cents piastres, lorsque les plan-
chers & ouvertures seront posés, & la maison
entièrement fermée. 3.^o & les Trois. cents
piastres, de balanc, lors de la livraison
de toutes les dites bâties, à l'entière satis-
faction de la dite Marguerite Dauphin.

Et les dits Srs. Pallière &
Crie s'engagent de leur côté à faire acheter
& livrer les dites bâties & de pourvoir,
au plus tard, le quinze Février prochain (1814)
faute de quoi ils seront tenus de payer un
indemnité de Deux piastres par jour
pour tout retard qu'ils feraient éprouver à
la dite Marguerite Dauphin, Sauf les
accidents de force majeure.

Ces présentes sont intervenues
& ont été personnellement comparues Mr. Sr.
Antoine Dupon & Dlle. Eliza beth Mon-
tarn pp. d. c. l. tous deux de cette ville.

Suivent dit. Sr. P. H. Dupon
a déclaré qu'étant Crie intendant. Certifié
De son Delagie Dauphin, muni de la dite
Marguerite Dauphin & de la dite Eliza beth
Montarn, et dans la réception de laquette
elles auront à toucher leurs parts d'héritage
non encore liquidés, il, le dit Sr. Dupon
consent à se faire fort envers les dits Srs.
Pallière & Crie, au nom de la dite Marguerite

Paris

Des Matières à Construire sur un Terrain
face à la Rue St. Philippe entre Prieur & Johnson
Savoir

Une Maison en Charpente, de Vingt Six
de façade sur Trente de profondeur.

Divisée en quatre appartements, à feu, ayant
uniquement de onze pieds.

Le Comble tiendra avec abatvent Coffré, de 5 1/2 pieds
de façade et abatvent rapporté, de 2 1/2 pieds, derrière.

Cette Maison devra être montée sur des dais en briques,
à une hauteur convenable, de manière à ce que

les planchers se trouvant à 2 1/2 pieds au dessus du Carrelage
la banquette, lorsqu'elle sera faite.

Elle devra être doublée en voliges travaillées, à
l'exception de la façade qui sera briquetée entre
toiture et enduite.

L'intérieur sera lissé et enduit et une briquetage
sera entre les poteaux jusqu'à une hauteur de 3 pieds.

Les planchers du bas en planches blanches d'emboîture
de 2 1/2 pouces d'épaisseur sur 1 1/4 d'épaisseur. (De bois gras).

Les planchers du grenier en planches brutes d'apposition
des cheminées boisées, les planches de 8 pouces de hauteur.

Les portes de communication à un battant à panneaux.
2 Portes & 3 Fenêtres de la façade, les 3 fenêtres de

chaque pignon & les 2 Portes de derrière seront à
battants et barres & les dix ouvertures du bas

seront. 2 Escaliers seront posés devant & 2 derrière de la maison.
La couverture devra être en bons bardeaux de cypre.

Toute la Charpente du corps de la maison, ainsi que
la menuiserie sera en bois de cypre; et la

charpente du Comble en bois gras.
La maison devra être peinte à deux couches.

Les enduits & devront être à trois couches.
La menuiserie devra être soignée, mais propre.

Tous les matériaux devront être de bonne qualité,
ainsi que les ferrements.

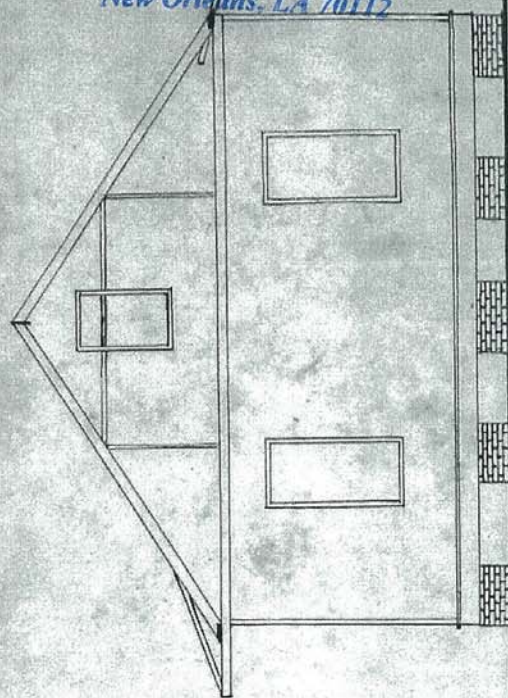
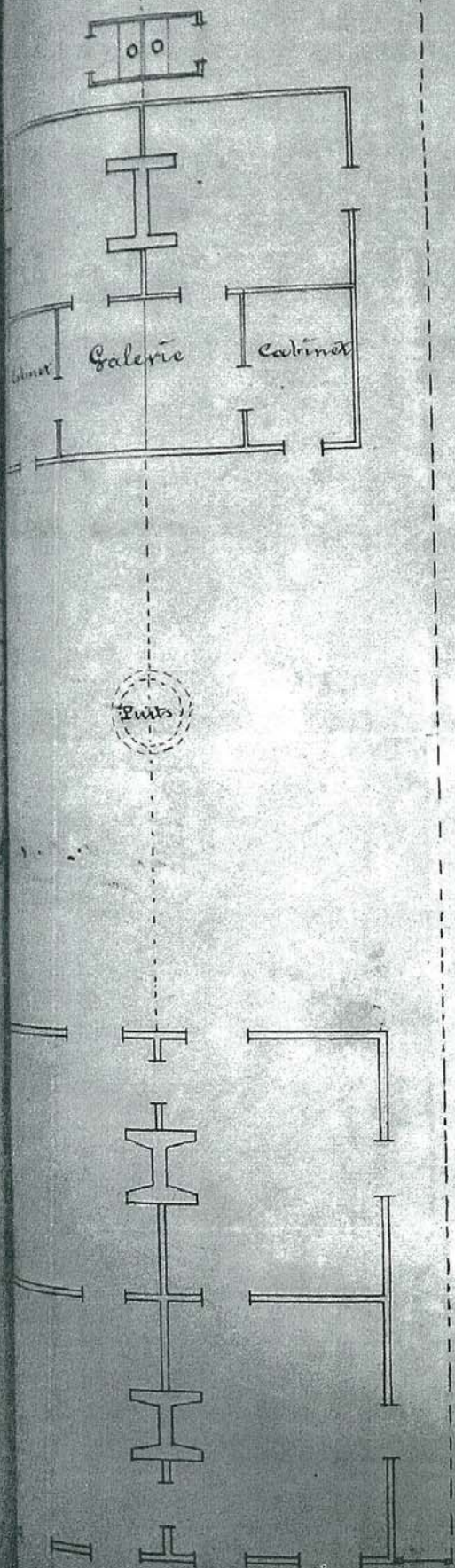
2^e Une Cuisine en Madriers à joint
lattes en dehors et couverte en bandeau.
Mesurant 24 Pieds de façade sur 20 p^{ds}.
Divisée en deux chambres, à feu, et
galerie, avec un Cabinet à chaque bout.
L'arrasement devra être de q^l Pied en dedans.
Le plancher en Madriers. Le plafond en
Celle Cuisine sera blanchie à la chaux en dedans
et peinte en rouge en dehors. Montée sur Dégout.
Les portes et volets seront en bois de Cypre.
Les matériaux et ferrements devront être de bon.
3^e Une Latrine double en Madriers, à
fosse encaissée, sera placée derrière la Cuisine.
4^e Un Puits en briques, avec des fers en
sera fait au Centre de la Cour.
5^e Une Cuve de 1000 gallons sera placée dans
6^e Un entourage en pieux sera fait sur
Côté du Terrain, et un autre pour diviser la Cour
ainsi qu'une porte de Cour de chaque Côté
Maison.

Marguerite Dauphin

Emile J. Doherty

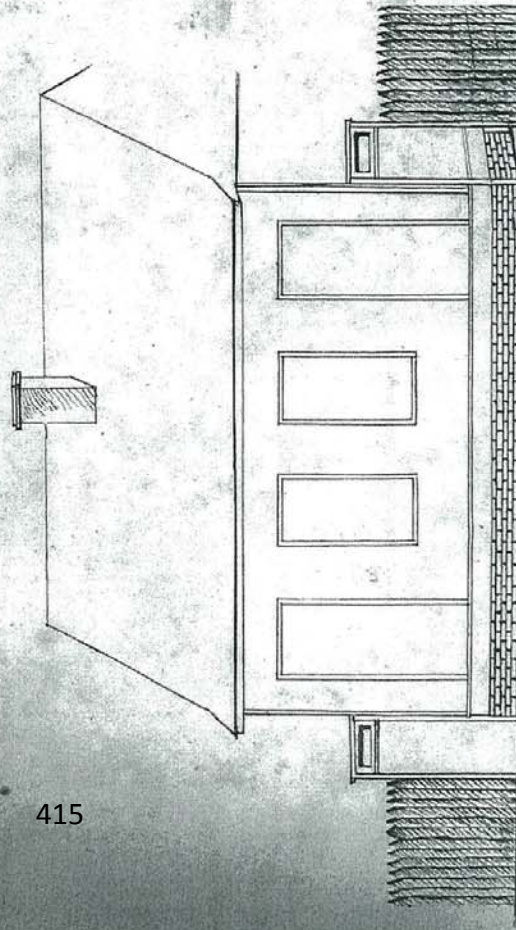
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Signon

École d'Architecture



Facade

le Dauphin pour le paiement de la dite
balance de neuf cents piastres, à payer
ainsi qu'il est ci-dessus déterminé. Des
fonds revenant à la dite Marguerite Dau-
phin dans la dite Succession. Et sur les-
quels il lui a déjà avancé, ainsi qu'elle
le reconnaît, la Somme Cent. Cinquante
piastres que les dits Dollé et Enrie
ont déjà reçus, ainsi qu'il est dit Ci-
dessus.

Et attendu qu'il est assez
certain que la portion d'héritage à recevoir
par la dite Marguerite Dauphin, sera loin
de suffire à la dite somme totale de
Cent. Cent. Cinquante piastres.

En conséquence, la dite Eli-
zabeth Minturn s'oblige envers le dit
Sr. P. A. Dauphin, à lui tenir compte &
à lui rembourser, tout excédant qu'il pour-
rait ainsi avancer à la dite Marguerite
Dauphin, en sus de sa part d'héritage.
Le tout devant résulter du tableau final
de liquidation de la dite Succession, à
présenter par le dit P. A. Dauphin, en sa
dite qualité d'Exécuteur-Testamentaire.

Et la dite Marguerite Dau-
phin voulant garantir les dits P. A.
Dauphin & Elizabeth Minturn, le
remboursement par elle, de tout excédant
que l'un ou l'autre pourrait ainsi avoir
à déboursé pour son compte, ensemble avec
un intérêt de Six pour cent l'an, du jour
des dits avances, jus qu'à final règlement.

De plus, qu'elle veut & entend
qu'elle privilège en faveur des dits Co-
Associés, profite aux dits P. A. Dauphin
& Elizabeth Minturn, jusqu'à con-
currence de la dite somme totale de Cent.

416

Cent. Cinquante piastres; et qu'une inscription
du dit privilège soit prise contre elle, sur
le lot de terre sus-désigné & les bâtiments
qui doivent y être construits.

Dont acte. Fait & passé à
la Nouvelle-Orléans, en l'Écluse, les jours
mois & an sus-dits, en présence de Messrs
Pierre Pascal LaBarre & Jules Person.
Deux témoins connus & domiciliés en cette ville,
qui ont signé avec tous les comparans,
de la nature, après lecture faite.

Marguerite Dauphin

F. A. Dupin

Elisabeth Minturn

Jules Person

Corie & Dolley

P. P. LaBarre

John L. Smith
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APPENDIX E – SELECT INDENTURES FROM THE RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF THE MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS

This appendix contains photocopied and scanned copies of select apprenticeship indentures discussed in the text.

Jean-Louis Dolliole (master) and Augustin Polidor (apprentice), December 1815, volume 2, no. 5.....	419
Norbert Soulié (master) and Benigno Caldero (apprentice), October 1, 1818, volume 3, no. 80.	421
Myrtille Courcelle (master) and Pierre Gallot (apprentice), November 20, 1819, volume 3, no. 153	422
Myrtille Courcelle (master) and Theogene Fondal (apprentice), September 18, 1821, volume 3, no. 232.....	424
Cherubin & Dessource (masters) and Emile Errié (apprentice), July 1827, volume 4, no. 193	425
Francois Correjolles (master) and [] Soniat (apprentice), September 17, 1828, volume 4, no. 234.....	426
Jean Conrad (master) and Pierre Dolliole (apprentice) June 10, 1829, volume 4, no. 264	427
Joachim Courcelle (master) and Fortuné Penne (apprentice), September 1829, volume 4, no. 272	429
Joachim Courcelle (master) and Edouard Lavigne (apprentice), January 1830, volume 4, no. 280	431
Joachim Courcelle (master) and Henry Populus (apprentice), November 23, 1831, volume 5, no. 348	432
Errié & Dolliole (masters) and Theodule Griffin (apprentice), December 1840, volume 5, no. 450.....	433
Errié & Dolliole (masters) and Jean Dinette (apprentice), December 1841, volume 5, no. 455.....	434

legement, habitation d'homme
et de femme, blancifuge, et médiane
en cas de maladie, et si possible
d'école de nuit pour lui app
à l'inspiration de l'écriture commu
ment

Signé Delivé
au présent en nous,
J. L. Lacroix
J. Montamat

En foi de quoi les pres
ont signé le présent
à l'acte approuvé leur
deux copistes, à l'
exécution, les jours
d'aujourd'hui.

Margu orre
d'Augustin Polier

Margu orre
de Bastien

J. L. Dollé

Par devant moi
Aug. Macarty maire

le procureur } Mairie de la Nouvelle Orléans
 Orléans }

Les présents engagements ont été passés à
 la Nouvelle le premier Octobre mil huit
 cent dix huit

Soyt notoire que Benigno Caldero, jeune
 homme creole de cette ville, âgé de douze ans,
 assisté d'Antonio Alvarado, f. d. c. l. sa tante, et
 avec l'approbation de l'honorable Augustin
 Macarty, Maire de cette ville, s'est pour de bonne
 raison et considérations, engagé comme de fait et
 s'engage pour les présents, apprenant sans les ordres du
 Haut et Orbeur Soutie, de l'effet d'apprendre de lui
 la manière de tracer qu'il eût en ce moment
 et le dit Benigno Caldero, engagé et s'oblige
 sous la garantie de sa dite tante, et à peine de
 deux cents piastres d'indemnité qu'elle s'engage à
 payer au dit Sieur Soutie en cas d'infraction
 d'aucune partie de ses présents de la part du dit
 Benigno Caldero, de demeurer et travailler avec
 le dit Sieur et Orbeur Soutie ses parents et
 administrateurs, pendant l'espace de quatre années
 entières et consécutives, de servir de ce fait, pendant
 le quel temps il servira fidèlement son dit oncle
 obéira à ses justes ordres, et ne s'absentera aucun
 moment de son service sans son permission. Et
 le dit S. et Orbeur Soutie en considération de ce
 qui précède, promet et s'oblige d'enseigner au dit
 apprenant le dit métier de tracer, de lui fournir
 toutes les parties sans lui en faire payer, et de lui fournir
 un maître d'école pour apprendre à lire, écrire et
 chiffrer. Convenablement, les autres dépenses telles
 que celles du logement, nourriture, blanchissage
 et des médicaments en cas de maladie et tout ce qui
 convention expresse, et la charge d'Antonio Alvarado

et Scellé
 avec de

En foi de quoi les parties ont signé
 et scellé les présents à la Nouvelle
 Orléans le, jour, mois et an qui dessus

Benigno

Antonio Alvarado

Pardevant moi

Aug. Macarty Maire

Benigno Calderon

Antonio Alvarado

Antonio Alvarado

Ville de Parisse
St Othman

153

Mairie de la M^e Othman

Le présent Engagement fait à Paris le
vingt Du mois D. Novembre mil huit cent Vingt

Soit Notaire que le Sieur Pierre Gallot
né à la nouvelle Othman âgé D. Quinze ans auteur
De Du même Gallot. et avec l'approbation
De l'Honorable Augustin Macarty maire De la M^e
Othman Still pour De certaines bonnes raisons &
Considérations engagé par lui de faire et s'engager
par ces présentes approuvées par les ordres de la
Mairie de la M^e Othman. Les administrateurs au arago
couché pour approuver ce lui l'état de maison
qui se trouvera en ce moment de la M^e Othman
Gallot pour l'autorité et garantie De la M^e Othman
Tutu Gallot promus & obligés à continuer &
travailler avec la M^e Othman. Mairie de la M^e Othman
Les administrateurs au arago saur pendant
l'espace de cinq années entières & consécutives
à compter de la date des présentes, à servir son
dit maître fidèlement obéir à tous ses justes ordres
et à sa absence aucunement De son service sans
sa permission ou consentement de la M^e Othman
Mairie de la M^e Othman en considération de ce qui
précède promus & obligés à continuer &
approuvées de la M^e Othman. Dans tous les
parais de la M^e Othman en son cachet & en outre
Ce lui fournir bonne & suffisante reconnaissance &

boisson De la biere, habiller, Blanchir, entretenir
donner les soins nécessaires en cas de maladie
ainsi que deux années d'écrite Du Vau?

En foi De quoi les parties ont signé les
jour, mois & an qui Dessus.

En présence de
Jules Dauran

Gravure X Gallon
Jules + Marie Gallon

Michele Dauran

Approuvé
Aug Macarty maire

Ville et Paroisse
D'Orleans

232

28

Le present engagement fait et passé à la Nouvelle Orleans le dix huit
Septembre Mil huit cent vingt et un. Soit Notoire que le sieur Theogene
Fondal enfant de couleur libre agé d'environ d'auus ans né à la Nouvelle Orléans
de l'avis et du consentement de sa mère Marie Pierre femme de couleur libre
s'engage avec l'approbation de son honorable Joseph Roffigne pour
de certains avantages et considérations, sous les ordres du sieur Myriel
Gouraud, établi en cette ville pour approfondir de lui le métier de Maçon
qui se donne actuellement en ce moment, et le dit Theogene Fondal sous la
garantie de sa dite mère promet et s'oblige de rester avec le dit sieur
Myriel Gouraud ses heritiers en ayant d'auus jusqu'à ce que, lui Theogene
Fondal apprenti susdit ait atteint l'age de seize ans qui sera conclud
en Mil huit cent vingt cinq le dix huitième jour de Septembre et pendant
tout ce temps et avoir à tout les autres ordres de son dit Maître, de
ne lui faire aucun tort ni souffrir qu'il lui en soit fait de ni
et absente aucunement de son service sans son consentement ou
sa permission et le dit sieur Myriel Gouraud en considération de
ce qui précède promet et s'oblige à enseigner au sieur Theogene Fondal
son apprenti le dit métier de Maçon dans toute sa pratique, et
dans lui un bon Garçon, comme aussi de lui donner un bon d'acte
En foi de quoi les Personnes susdites au présent ont
Signé lesdits Jours, Mois et an que dessus.

Presence de
me Maudou
Cession
BB

Le
Theogene Fondal
Marque

M. Gouraud

Approuvé
J. Roffigne
maître

Marie Pierre
Marque

Le présent Engagement fait & passé à la M^{re} Orléans le M^{re} jour
 du mois de Juillet mil huit cent vingt sept; Attesté:

Que pour de
 certains honores ractans et considérations Emile Erricé, jeune homme
 de son bon libre, age de dix sept ans, environ, originaire de la Louisiane, de
 l'avis & du consentement de sa mère Laurette Baudin, f. L. & avec
 l'approbation de l'honorable Joseph Roffignac, maire de cette ville
 s'est engagé, comme de fait il s'engage par ces présentes en qualité
 d'apprenti, sous les ordres de Cherubin & Desbours, L. C. L. pour
 apprendre d'un l'Etat ou profession de menuisier Ebéniste, que
 les dits exercent actuellement en cette ville; & de demeurer & travailler
 avec les dits Cherubin & Desbours, pendant l'espace de trois années
 & quatre mois, à dater de ce jour, et durant tout ce temps, de servir
 fidèlement les dits maîtres, d'obéir à leur juste ordres & de ne s'absenter
 aucunement de leur service, sans leur permission; Et les dits Cherubin
 & Desbours, en considération de ce qui précède, s'obligent & s'obligent
 à nourrir ou de faire nourrir à leur dit apprenti Emile Erricé, en
 cet Etat ou profession de menuisier Ebéniste, dans toutes ses parties
 et sans lui en rien payer ni débourser, comme aussi de lui fournir
 pendant tout le temps de son apprentissage, les vêtements nécessaires
 à son travail; tout le reste de l'entretien du dit apprenti, demeurant
 à la charge de sa mère.

En foi de quoi, les parties ont signé les présentes, les
 jour, mois & an que de sus.

En présence de
 Grouhaud &
 de J. B. E. Delors

Emile Erricé
 Laurette Baudin
 Cherubin & Desbours

Approuvé
 J. Roffignac

44-284

138

Le présent engagement fait et passé
à la Nouvelle Orléans le dixseptième jour du
mois de Septembre Mil huit cent vingt huit,
entre pour de certaines raisons
raison et considérations, M^{re} Joseph Sanier, maître
de la s^{te} de S^{te} Jean, de l'art et du métier
de la mine, Louis Paul Cheval, négociant, et
avec l'approbation de l'honorable Denis
Pichon, maire de la Nouvelle Orléans, sont
engagés, comme de fait il s'engage pour le
présent, sous les ordres du dit M^{re} Sanier, pour
apprendre de lui le métier de Maçon,
qu'il exerce actuellement en cette ville, et de demeurer
et travailler avec le dit M^{re} Sanier pendant
l'espace de cinq années, entières et consécutives
à dater de ce jour, et durant tout ce temps, de
obéir fidèlement son dit maître, d'obéir à tous
ses ordres et de ne point s'absenter de son service
sans sa permission, ou son consentement, et
le dit M^{re} Sanier, en considération de
ce qui précède, s'engage et s'oblige d'enseigner
ou de faire enseigner à son dit apprenti, son
dit métier de Maçon, dans toutes ses parties,
et sans lui en rien cacher, comme au pi de
lui fournir, pendant tout le temps de son
apprentissage, tous les vêtements dont
il pourra avoir besoin, sans l'exercice de



de la Guinée
de la Perse
de l'Océan.

385 244
Mairie de la N^o Océan

Le présent Engagement fait & passé à la
N^o Océan le deuxième jour du mois de Juin, mil huit
cent vingt neuf; Atteste: que pour de certaines bonnes
raisons et considérations, Pierre Dolinelle fils, enfant de
coulum libre, âgé de quinze ans, de l'avis et du con-
sentement de sa mère, Adélaïde Duplessis J. O. L.
et avec l'approbation de l'honorable Denis Priour, Maire
de la Nouvelle Océan, s'est engagé, comme de fait il
l'engage, par ces présents, sous les ordres de M^o Jean
Conrad, pour apprendre de lui le métier d'Ebéniste
qui ce dernier exerce actuellement en cette Ville; et de
demeurer avec le dit Sieur Jean Conrad, pendant
l'espace de quatre années entières et consécutives à
dater de ce jour, et durant tout ce temps, de servir fidèle-
ment son dit maître, d'obéir à tous ses ordres, & de
ne point s'absenter de son service sans la permission
et le dit Sieur Jean Conrad, en considération de ce
qui précède, l'engage et s'oblige d'enseigner ou de
faire enseigner à son dit apprenti, le dit métier
d'Ebéniste, dans toutes les parties et sans lui en
rien cacher ni dissimuler; Tout l'entretien nécessaire
au dit apprenti tant en santé qu'en maladie
sera constamment à la charge de la mère Adélaïde
Duplessis.

En foi de quoi les parties ont volontairement

signé le présent le jour, mois & lieu qui suivent

signé, en présence de.

E. Moinet

J. de Jules Duvet

J. Moinet

maire

Jean Conrad

Ciceppe Policella

Adelace Duplessis

272. 384 223.

Etat de la Louisiane
Ville & Paroisse d'Orléans, Mairie de la S^{te} Orléans.

Le présent Engagement fait et passé
à la Nouvelle Orléans, le premier Septembre
Mil huit cent vingt-neuf; Attesté:

Que pour
de certaines bonnes raisons et considérations
Fortuni Pénre, jeune homme de couleur, libre,
agé de treize ans, Crisé de la Louisiane, de lavis
et du Consentement de son père M. F. Pénre,
et avec l'approbation de l'honorable Denis Priner,
Maire de la Nouvelle Orléans, s'est engagé, comme
de fait il s'engage, par ces présentes, en qualité
d'apprenti, sous les ordres du Sieur Schirer
Courcelle, entrepreneur, pour apprendre de lui
le métier de Macou, qu'il exerce actuellement en
cette ville, et de demeurer et travailler avec le dit
Sieur S. Courcelle, pendant l'espace de quatre
années entières et consécutives à dater de ce
jour, et durant tout ce temps, de servir fidèle-
ment son dit Maître, d'obéir à tous ses ordres
et de ne point s'absenter de son service, sans
sa permission, Et le dit Sieur S. Courcelle,
en considération de ce qui précède, s'engage
et s'oblige, d'enseigner ou de faire enseigner
à son dit apprenti, le dit métier de Macou
dans toute ses parties, et sans lui en
rien cacher ni déguiser, comme aussi de lui
payer régulièrement, la somme de huit piastres
par mois, pendant tout le temps de son

apprentissage. M. F. Penne se chargera
tous les frais de l'entretien de son

En foi de quoi les parties
respectivement signées le présent les
jours, Mois & an que dessus. —

En présence de
Léon Davaud
& de
E. Monregault

F. Penne
F. Penne
J. m. Courcelle

approuvé.

Après, main

le 18^o 1839. Etat de la Louisiane 281. (N^o 27)
Ville & Paroisse d'Orléans. Mairie de la Nouvelle-Orléans.

Le présent Engagement fait et passé à la Nouvelle
Orléans, le vingt-cinq Janvier, mil huit-cent-trente;
Atteste:

Que pour de certaines bonnes raisons et
Considérations, Edouard Lavigne, jeune homme de couleur
libre, âgé d'environ quinze ans, originaire de la Louisiane, de
l'avis et du consentement de sa mère Jeannette Leloy f. & L.
et avec l'approbation de l'Honorable Denis Priou, maire de
la Nouvelle-Orléans, s'est engagé, comme de fait il s'engage
par ces présentes, sous les ordres du Sieur S. Courcelle, entrepreneur,
pour apprendre de lui le métier de Maçon qu'il exerce
actuellement en cette ville, de demeurer et travailler avec le
dit Sieur S. Courcelle, pendant l'espace de trois années
entières et consécutives à dater du 31 Septembre 1839; et
durant tout ce temps, de servir fidèlement son dit maître,
d'obéir à tout ses ordres, et de ne point s'absenter de son
service, sans sa permission; Et le dit S. Courcelle, en
considération de ce qui précède, s'engage et s'oblige d'enseigner
ou de faire enseigner à son dit apprenti, le dit métier de
maçon, dans toute ses parties et sans lui en rien cacher,
comme aussi de lui payer régulièrement la somme de huit
piastres par mois, pendant tout le temps de son apprentis-
sage.

En foi de quoi les parties ont signé le présent les
jours, mois et an qui dessus.

Je soussigné de
la Nouvelle-Orléans

Edouard Lavigne

Je soussigné de la Nouvelle-Orléans

Jeannette + Lavigne

Approuvé

Maire

Je soussigné de la Nouvelle-Orléans

Etat de la Louisiane } 348 November 28. 1801
Ville de Nouvelle Orleans. } Mairie de la N^o Orleans.

Le Présent Engagement fait & passé à la nouvelle Orleans
le Vingt trois Novembre, mil huit cent trente deux,
Monsieur: que pour de certaines bonnes raisons & considérations
Henry Populus, jeune homme de couleur, libre, âgé d'environ seize
ans, originaire de la Louisiane, de l'avis et du consentement de son père
Maurice Populus, s^l, & avec l'approbation de l'honorable Denis
Prieur, maire de la nouvelle Orleans, s'est engagé comme de
fait il s'engage par ces présentes, en qualité d'apprenti, sous
les ordres de M^r Sachin Courcelle, pour apprendre de lui le
métier de Maçon qu'il exerce actuellement en cette ville, - de de-
meurer et travailler avec le dit sieur Courcelle pendant l'espace
de trois années entières et consécutives à dater du premier jour du
mois de ~~Septembre~~ de l'année courante; et durant tout ce temps, de
servir fidèlement son dit maître, d'obéir à tous ses ordres, et de ne
point s'absenter de son service, sans sa permission; Et le dit sieur
S^r Courcelle, en considération de ce qui précède, s'engage et s'oblige
à nourrir avec de faire enseigner à son dit apprenti le dit métier
de Maçon dans toute ses parties et sans lui en rien déguiser ni
cachier, et en outre de payer régulièrement à son dit apprenti la
somme de huit piastres à la fin de chaque mois et ce, jusqu'à
l'expiration du présent engagement.

En foi de quoi les parties ont signé le présent les jours,
mois & an que dessus. Le mot "Septembre" interligne, approuvé

En présence de
H. Prieur
M. Courcelle

Henry Populus

M. Courcelle

S^r Courcelle

Approuvé. 432

M. Courcelle

457 December 8. 1840.

ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE, }
Ville et Paroisse d'Orleans. } MAIRIE DE LA N. ORLEANS.

Le présent **Engagement**, fait et passé à la Nouvelle-Orléans le 8
De cembre mil-huit-cent-quarante, ATTESTE :

Que pour de certaines bonnes raisons et considérations, Théodore Griffin,
enfant de couleur libre, âgé d'environ quinze ans, du consentement de
sa mère, Mary Wilson, — et avec l'approbation de l'honorable
William Priet, Maire de la Nouvelle-Orléans, s'est engagé, et
de fait s'engage par ces présentes en qualité d'apprenti, sous les ordres de M.
Errie' & Dollice, pour apprendre d'eux la
profession de menuisier de bâtiment, —

qu'il exerce actuellement en cette ville; le dit apprenti s'obligeant de demeurer avec
ledits Errie' & Dollice pendant l'espace de quatre
ans, et durant tout ce tems, de les servir fidèlement, d'obéir à tous leurs ordres légaux, et
de ne pas s'absenter de son travail sans la permission de son dit maître.

Et ledits Errie' & Dollice, en considération de ce qui
précède, promet^{tent} et s'engage^{nt} d'enseigner ou de faire enseigner à ledit apprenti le dit
état de menuisier de bâtiment, dans toutes ses parties, sans lui en rien
cacher ni déguiser, —

— et en outre, de fournir au dit apprenti,
chaque année de son apprentissage, trois habillemens
complets d'été, et un habillement d'hiver, et de lui faire
donner des soins médicaux en cas de maladie.

En foi de quoi, les parties ont respectivement signé le présent engagement
les jour, mois et an que dessus, en présence de MM.

Témoins,

Théodore Griffin
Errie' & Dollice

Approuvé,

Théodore Griffin
Errie' & Dollice
sa
Mary + Wilson
mère

Wm. Priet MAIRE.

455

December 13. 1841

ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE,
Ville et Paroisse d'Orleans.

MAIRIE DE LA N. ORLEANS.

Le présent **Engagement**, fait et passé à la Nouvelle-Orléans le *Treize*
Décembre — mil-huit-cent *quarante* **ATTESTE** :

. Que pour de certaines bonnes raisons et considérations, *Jean Noël Dinette*, *un*
jeune homme de c. l., âgé d'environ *seize* ans, du consentement de *son père J. Bte Dinette*, et avec l'approbation de l'honorable
William Greer, Maire de la Nouvelle-Orléans, s'est engagé, et

de fait s'engage par ces présentes en qualité d'apprenti, sous les ordres de M. *Gris & Solliot*, pour apprendre *d'ouv*
le métier de menuiserie de maison,

qu'il exerce actuellement en cette ville; le dit apprenti s'obligeant de demeurer avec
ledit *Gris & Solliot* pendant l'espace de *quatre*
ans, et durant tout ce tems, de les servir fidèlement, d'obéir à tous *leurs* ordres légaux, et
de ne pas s'absenter de *leur* travail sans la permission de *ses* dits maîtres.

Et ledit *Gris & Solliot*, en considération de ce qui
précède, promet et s'engage *tout* d'enseigner ou de faire enseigner à *son* dit apprenti le dit
état de *menuiserie de maison* dans toutes ses parties, sans lui en rien
cacher ni déguiser, ~~et de lui fournir tout ce qu'il lui faudra pour son entretien, en~~

~~sa nourriture, son logement, ses vêtements, et en cas de maladie, de lui faire donner les~~
~~soins qu'exige son état.~~ et en outre, de fournir au dit apprenti,
chaque année de son apprentissage, *trois* habillemens complets
d'été, et un habillement d'hiver, et de lui faire donner des
médicaments, en cas de maladie.

En foi de quoi, les parties ont respectivement signé le présent engagement.
les jour, mois et an que dessus, en présence de MM.

Témoins,

J. W. Waters

Chas. J. ...

Approuvé,

Jean Noël Dinette

Gris & Solliot

J. Bte Dinette

MAIRE.

APPENDIX F – DOLLIOLE AND SOULIÉ FAMILY TREE SPREADSHEETS

This table contains the working spreadsheets the author used to assemble primary and secondary source information on the members of the Dolliole and Soulié families.

1	2	3	4	5	Dates	Maudell	Archdiocese	New Orleans Architecture series	Other
Louis Antoine					1742-1822		vol. 15. p. 125 native of Provence interred 2/13/1822 age 80 years	NOA 6:91 immigrated at end of Spanish period; prominent builder; will 11/18/1915; left everything to four natural children excpet: 400 piastres to brother Jean; silver, furniture, utensil to Genevieve; special bequest to granddaughter to to his ister Therese's daughter; lived on BR; owned FQ property; turned house on Burgundy bet. St. Philip and Ursulines 4/16/1822; died 1822	1822 will and inventory
m. Genevieve "Mamie" Laronde					ca. 1745-1836			6:91	Estate File: died 9/1/1836 about age 89, says she is a native of NOLA, mostly about Azemar minors' tutorship; 1838 inventory (with succession); death index
	Jean Louis				1779-1861	C. P. 3/18/1822 DON 2:103 jean Louis Dolliole to Genevieve		NOA 4: born 1779; veteran of Battle of NO may have contributed to refinement of four-bay hipped roof cottage; 1436 Pauger 1819; 1455 Pauger; 820 Elysian Fields; lived on BR bet, Robertson and Villere (1500 blk Governor Nicholls); father lived on Gov. N; uncle live on Gov. Nicholls at corner of Dumaine; built 1127 St. Philip; leader in Third District; executor for Jospeh Prieto and Laurent Ursain Guesnon; died 1861 age 82 (32) NOA 6: property on Bayou Road, house still standing in 1883 (19); by 1815 live in maison de maitre on 1500 blk. Gov. Noc. (formerly Bayou Road); marry Hortense Dusuau February 1818, natural daughter of Msr. And Catherine Dussau; already have 3 kids; accepted legal responsibilities for fpc 1822 census cabinetmaker, planter 1850 census builder, age 71, estate \$10,000 (92) with Boisdore negotiate 1832-37 for widening of Esplanade	obituary Bee 1/10/1861 p. 1 col. 5 named in Genevieve's succession
	m. Hortense Dessau				-1818			NOA 4: mother Catherine Dusuau f.w.c.; grandmother Magdelaine Dupeau f.w.c. (95) NOA 6: married February 1818; deceased by 1820 (92)	1820 inventory; died 8/8/1818 per JLD petitions dated 4/20/1819 and 1829 in her estate file
		Mathilde			1809-		vol. 10 p. 146 born 12/6/1809 baptized 1/13/1810 mom listed as Constanza		
		m. Joseph Jean Pierre Lana							
			Marie Josephine		1849-				
		Louis Drausin			1812-1864		vol. 10 p. 146 born 1/6/1812 baptized 11/12/1812	NOA 6: 1850 census carpenter-builder; age 35 (92)	
		w. F. Eulalie Asmar alias Dolliole			c. 1818-1843				Death Index 2/6/1843 age 25
			Marie Hortensia		1842-1857				Birth Index; Death Index died 4/2/1857; age 14

1	2	3	4	5	Dates	Maudell	Archdiocese	New Orleans Architecture series	Other
		<i>m. Marie Eugenie Guesnon</i>			1814-1859				vows before Fr. Henry Aubert on 2/16/1858 (ND Calendar) JOP Marriage Index 2/16/1858 VEF 678:888-889 familysearch--daughter of carpenter Laurent Ursain Guesnon nO death reocrds died 9/24/1859;age 45
		<i>m. Luce Gerdaine</i>			1822/23-1895/96?				JOP Marriage Index 2/14/1863 VEF 678:274-275
		Euphemia Hortense			1816-1844		vol. 12 p. 120 born 2/19/1816 baptized 7/20/1816		death index 4/13/1844 age 28
	<i>m2. Marie Eugenie (Laurete) Bodin/ Beaudin/Baudin</i>				c. 1790-1867	C.P. 4/9/1836 MAR 53:20		NOA 6: 1850 census age 60 mulatta from French West Indies (92)	her son is Emile Erriee per apprenticeship; Etienne Dolliole b. 1821 death index died 6/22/1867
		Francois			1821-by 1850?		vol. 15. p. 125 baptized January 14, 1822 born October 22, 1821 s. Francois Lacroix and Mathilde Dolliole SLC		
		Maria Eugenia			1826-		vol. 17. p. 121 mother listed as Maria Eugenia Beaudin born 6/26/1826 baptized 12/11/1826 s. Luis Erie and Maria Genoveva Michel		
		<i>m. Pedro Barthelemy Brusle</i>			ca. 1820-				
			Marie		ca. 1852-				
			Louisa		ca. 1854-				
			?female		ca. 1856-				
			?female		ca. 1858-				
		Marie [Rosella?]			1828-		vol. 18 p. 124 born 7/1/1828 baptized 5/9/1829 s. Joseph Dolliole and Magdeleine [R/N]obe		deceased by 1861 per JLD succession
		<i>m. Pierre Jean Bonnecaze</i>			ca. 1820-				married JOP index 12/14/1853
			Marie		1855-				
			Marie Alumena		1856-				
			<i>m. Jules August</i>		1849-11/2/1886				
				Corinne					
				Augustina	1875-				
				Stella	1880-1922				
			Marie Laura		1857-				
			<i>m. Joseph Azemar</i>						
				Joseph Azemar	1890-				

1	2	3	4	5	Dates	Maudell	Archdiocese	New Orleans Architecture series	Other
		Marie Genevieve Hermina			1832-1852				Birth Index April 11, 1832; second middle name and death date from mundia--she died in St. Charles Parish; husband and kids also from mundia; NO death records died 1/7/1852 age 19
		<i>m. Victor Taylor</i>			1836-1918				
			Eason Taylor		-1960				
			Eugene Taylor						
			Margaret Taylor						
	Madeleine				ca. 1783-1835		Maria Magdalena "Diolon" vol. 6. p. 95 married Noel Galeaux 11/3/1798 SLC		
	<i>m. Noel Galaux</i>				-1808				Noel Gallot [sic] estate file died July 6, 1808; he died intestate
		child							
		child							
		Victoire Galaud			1807-1841				named in Genevieve's succession; death index died 10/4/1841 10:158
		<i>m. Thomas Urquhart</i>				C. P. 1/15/1828 MAR 2:475 Thomas Urquhart to Victoire Gallaud daughter of Noel Gallaud and Madelaine Dolliole			
			Victoire Urquhart						
	Pierre				between 1783 and 1791-1822			NOA 6: own 1127 St. Philip bet. 1816-21	
	Joseph				ca. 1791-1868		vol. 15 p. 125 parents listed as Luis and Genevive Doliol m. Magdalena Nove 3/16/1822, witnesses of Santiago Jason, Francisco Boisdore, and Joseph Canps	NOA 4: built 1227 St. Philip (32) NOA 6: d. 1868 1827 pur. College d'Orleans property with Jean Louis (92) 1850 census age 59, joiner, \$12,000 estate (92)	named in Genevieve's succession; tutor of Azemar minors
	<i>m. Magdaline Hobe (Jove)</i>				ca. 1801			NOA 6: married March 1822 (92); daughter of Nicholas Hobe and Margarita Jason	still living in 1857 per property transaction on Gov. Nicholls
	<i>m2. Josepha Rodriguez</i>							NOA 6:92	11/21/1868 VED 678:470; 658:153
Therese (w)									
Jean Francois Dolliole					ca.1760-1816		vol. 12 p. 120 son of Luis and Catharina Bertone Ca. 56 years; interred 9/27/1816 bachelor	NOA 6:92 wrote will in 1816 at residence at Dumaine and Promenade Publique (Claiborne) (91-92); appointed brother as executor; left Catherine and each child \$100 (92)	1816 will and inventory
<i>w. Zaire alias Catherine</i>					1776-1856		named in Louis Laurent inventory--sole heiress		
	Etienne Adam				1799-1871		present at Louis Laurent inventory		St. Louis Cathedral building committee est. 10/12/1863; responsible for securing bricks to build the church (Ochs, 195)

1	2	3	4	5	Dates	Maudell	Archdiocese	New Orleans Architecture series	Other
	<i>m. Josephine Dorothea Cheval</i>								
		Joseph Hypolite			1834-1837				
		Mellon Celeste			1836				
		Giraud William			1839				Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Solider...; bith index last name "Dolicle" 4/7/1839 1870 census Giraud? Cigarmaker
		<i>m. Isabella Ortiz</i>							
			Jules R.		1863				1870 census
		Mathias			1841-1908				
		<i>m. Lucille Baptiste or Cardelis/Cardelisse/ Carmelite</i>							
			Jean Simon		1870-1919				
			Marie Alice		1871				
			Joseph Isidore		1873				
			<i>m. Virginia Gaspard</i>		c. 1880-				
				Joseph	1902-1969?				death date in SS death index?
				Milford	1903-1994			NOA 6:106	
				Lucille (George)	c. 1905-				
				Albert	c. 1906-				death date in SS death index
				Josephine (Mitchell)	c. 1908-				
				Nellie (Foy)	c. 1910				
				Henry Sr.	1917-2004				
				<i>m. Florabell Dauphin</i>					
				Lydia (Thompson)					
				Rose (Smith)					
				Louise (Condiff)					
				Lucien	1919-1970				death date in SS death index
			Louis Eugene		1881				WWI Draft Registration Card: born
			Victorine Mathilde		1883				
			Albert		1886				
			Emilie		1888				
		Zephirin Bernard			1843-1876?				several entires in US Civil War
		<i>m. Virginia/Nirzina Nicholas</i>							
			Orelia		ca. 1877				
			Bernard		1869				
			Laura		1866				
		Joseph Adrien			1846-1879				
		<i>m. Frances Johnson/Lemuel</i>							
			J. Armand		1873-1878				
			Guy		1871				
			Celina		1875-1876				
			Dionis Adrien		1886				
		Jules Eveque			1848-1877				1900 census
		<i>m. Georgina Landry</i>							
			Jules		1886				

1	2	3	4	5	Dates	Maudell	Archdiocese	New Orleans Architecture series	Other
		<i>m. Irene Petilat</i>			1865-1926				
			Irene		1898-1898				
			Mary L.		1900-				
		Marie Aubin			1851-1865				
	Louis Laurent				1806-1828		1838 inventory - residence at death Bagatelle between Greatmen and Craps (Faubourg Marigny)		estate file: died 6/7/1828; Joseph Dolliole testimony that LL and Zaire son and mother; extract from cburch record says born 4/3/1806
	Joseph Panthelon				1809-1847		present at Louis Laurent		
	Edmond				1816-1894		present at Louis Laurent inventory		
	<i>m. Annette Bonne/Bonni</i>								
		J. Edmond			1842				
		J. Francois			1844				
		Pierre			1848				
Children of Genevieve Laronde									
	Charlotte				ca. 1766-6/9/1836			NOA 6: Carlisle Pollock 2/4/1820 (95)	1836 will; aged 70 (born about 1766); natural daughter of Genevieve Dolliole, brother Joseph listed as Executor; death index 6/9/1836, age 72
	Rosette				1767-1839			NOA 6: buy and sell St. Phillipe properties between 1827-1834 (92)	named in Genevieve's succession; death index died 3/12/1839 age 72
	Marie Francoise				1776-1846	H.P. & L. C. 9/25/1834 DON 4:47 Francoise Dolliole to Sophie Peyroux			named in Genevieve's succession; death index died 5/29/1846 age 70
		Jean Baptiste							petition to free her son Jean Baptisite in 1834 Digital Library on American Slavery PAR No. 20883424
	Francois Azemar (alias Dolliole)				unknown-between 1822 and 1838				named in Genevieve's succession
		Francois Honore			1813-1848				named in Genevieve's succession; tutor of Azemar minors Death index Francois Asmard died 6/19/1848, age 35
		Felix Firmin			ca. 1816-				named in Genevieve's succession
		<i>m. Marie Fillier(t)/Philie/Tellier</i>			ca. 1826-				J.O.P. Marriage Index 10/31/1846 Felix Asmar to Marie File
			Julien		1850-				birth index 6/19/1850; under Asmard
			Marie		1852-				birth index10/19/1852; under Asmard
			Felicie Theresa		1858-				birth index 4/18/1858; under Asmard
			Francois Leon		1860-				birth index11/17/1860; under Asmard
			Octavie		1863-				birth index 6/2/1863; under Asmard
		Constance							named in Genevieve's succession

1	2	3	4	5	Dates	Maudell	Archdiocese	New Orleans Architecture series	Other
		Eulalie			1818-1843				named in Genevieve's succession; birth index--had a daughter with her first cousin Louis Drausin; death index F. Eulalie Asmard died 2/6/1843, age 25
		Joseph			ca. 1822				named in Genevieve's succession; married cousin Marie Laura Bonnecaze
	Children of Marie Eugenie Laurette Bodin								
		Emile Erie			ca. 1811-1866				NO death records died 2/12/1866 at age 55; joiner age 38 at 1850 census
		<i>m. Josephine</i>			ca. 1819-1875				1850 census - age 30 death index: died 7/29/1875 age 56
			Joseph		ca. 1837-1866				1850 census - age 13 death index: died 8/14/1866 age 28
			Marie		ca. 1839-				1850 census - age 11
			Louis		ca. 1842-				1850 census - age 8
			Madeleine		ca. 1848-				1850 census - age 2

1	2	3	4	Dates	Archdiocese	R. G. Dunn Collection	New Orleans Architecture series	Online Genealogical Research	Bernard Soulié Journal	Other
Eulalie Mazange				ca. 1775-1825	vol. 16 p. 266 d. 5/16/1825 age ca. 50 i. 5/17/1825		NOA 2:163 124-132 Exchange Place part of 1792 Spanish land grant to Francois Liotau family. Family member willed portion of square to Eulalie Mazange. Her heirs sold to Gilbert Vance in 1828		died 5/16/1825 remains moved to new cemetery 4/10/1835	deceased but her children named in Louison Cheval inventory (1839)
<i>w/Juan Soulié</i>				1760-1834	vol. 10 (under Albin) native of Rogue Courbe, province of Languedoc in France (Dept. of Tarn); son of Luis Soulié & Maria Chaver/Chaber				9/15/1760-12/10/1834 brother Bernard born 4/11/1764 sister Louise born 6/11/1765	
	1. Juan Luis Leonard Luciano (Lucien)			1789-1862	vol. 5 1791-95 p. 358 baptized 12/23/1789 born 5/27/1789 mother listed as Eulalia Mazange		NOA 6: shared ownership of 1529 Ursulines with Bernard from 1838-1845 (102) sold lot at 1511 Ursulines to Widow Therese Conand in 1845 (June 9, T. Guyol) (196) 1529-33 Ursulines--purchased lot from Achille Barthelemy Courcelle in 1837; lot and 1838 house sold by Lucien to Claire Conand (June 9, 1845, T. Guyol)	Soulié website died 8/13/1862 9th Arrondissement 75009	died 8/13/1862	
	Maria Luisa			1791-ca. 1805 (not in directory)	vol. 5 p. 261 born 8/14/1791 s. Carlos Vivant and Maria Luisa Liauteau mother listed as Eulalia (Masange) father not identified					
	2. Norbert			1793-1869	vol. 6 1796-1799 p. 258 born 10/24/1793 baptized 4/12/1796 mother listed as Eulalia Mazange		NOA 6: built 229 and 231 and two others N. Rampart ca. 1834; acquired land from city 5/22/1819 (m. de Armas)--1834 and 1837 directories list one old address 377 as Bernard's home; sold three of the houses in 1852; lot 2 built as invenstment, lots 3 and 4 built as owner residences (178)	Soulié website died 11/30/1869 8th Arrondissement 75008		
	3. Eulalie			1798-	vol. 7 1800-1803 p. 295 "Olaya" born 3/2/1798 baptized 10/17/1801 SLC mother listed as "Olaya Mazange"			living in England in 1871		
	4. Bernard			1801-1881	vol. 7 1800-1803 p. 294 born 5/13/1801 baptized 6/28/1802 SLC siblings Juan Luis Lusien and Eulalie Lusien godparents? mother listed as Cataline Mansans	No. 2 LA vol. 11 p. 30 Bernard and Albin Soulié Merchants/Brokers 84 Bienville 5/53 - good for \$100m 5/54 - f.m.c. 45 to 50 bros. are agents for some large estates loan mony on ppy.se. are vy wealthy estimated from 250 to \$300m. Thr. Cre & standing are 1st rate. 7/55 - They are capitalists, are dg. but a sm. bus. and are momentarily absent. 5/56 - rich & good cr. dg. bus. are well of enjoy a very gd cr & are safe 7/16/68 - A is in France, are wealthy and retired from active bus 1000\$ 10/29/68 - are wealthy and retired from bus.	NOA 6: 1850 manuscript census 40 yr old male mulatto merchant with two children Victor and Emile Leon, estate valued at \$50,000; own 1226-28 Treme and twin townhouses in 2nd block N. Rampart (102) owned property at 1114-16 Barracks (E. Eude, April 11, 1867) (148) pur. lots on Marais on 10/22/1835 (T. Seghers); built house at 1122 selling with six other lots and seven slaves to Lucien Constant Adam on 11/21/1851 (A. Ducatel) (172) Administrator of Courcelle estate (172) sold lots at 1126 Marais to Alphonse Gardes in 1848 for \$600 (172) 1226 Treme--this lot and adjacent bought by B & A March 21, 1837, F. de Armas; built double creole cottage as investment; retain ownership until 1885 (193) 1529-33 Ursulines--purchased lot from Achille Barthelemy Courcelle in 1837; lot and 1838 house sold by Lucien to Claire Conand (June 9, 1845, T. Guyol)		godfather of Victor Alfred St. Amand (1876) godfather of Edgar Robert Emile Raoul (1878)	representing siblings who are out of state for Louison Cheval's (grandmother) inventory (1839)
	<i>m. Eliza Silve Courcelle</i>			1809-	vol. 10:104 8/13/1809 s. Henrietta Prieto					
		1. Gustave Adolphe		1832-1834					10/28/1832-1/6/1834	
		2. Victor Alfred		1835-1866				NO Birth Records Index via ancestry.com 20 Jul 1835; Soulié website died 1/10/1866 Paris 8th Arrondissement	7/20/1835-1/1/1866; diedfrom softening of the brain after being ill 2 years and 2 months	
		<i>m. Esther Moyse</i>						listed on son's marriage banns		
			Lucien Theodore Bernard	1864-				Soulié website born 8/26/1863 in Paris		
			<i>m1. Barbe Olinger</i>					marriage banns posted 9/30/1894		
			<i>m2. Laure Marie Fuzellier</i>					marriage banns posted 8/21/1898		
		3. Emile Leon		1837-			NOA 6: moved to France and rented houses and bought land as absentee landlord (102)	NO Birth Records Index via ancestry.com 11 Nov 1837 living in England in 1871; civil engineer Paris and Vicinity electoral roles in 1891	11/11/1837	
		<i>m. Mathilde Esther Fourgassie Castres</i>		c. 1841-				Living in England in 1871; listed on sons' marriage banns; Soulié website married in 1860?		
			1. Fernand Norbert [Jean] Bernard	1862-1864				Soulié website born1862 in Paris 8th Arrondissement, died 3/14/1864		

1	2	3	4	Dates	Archdiocese	R. G. Dunn Collection	New Orleans Architecture series	Online Genealogical Research	Bernard Soulié Journal	Other
			2. Emile Leon Walter [Lucien]	1863-						
			3. Emilie Therese	1865-1874				Soulié website born 4/29/1865 in Paris 8th Arrondissement, died 3/21/1874?		
			4. Albert Raoul	1867-						
			5. Valentine Agathe	1869-1881				Soulié website born 7/31/1869 in Paris 8th Arrondissement, married 7/26/1890, died 2/19/1881 5th Arrondissement; marriage bans to Louis Armand Christian Schefer posted July 13, 1890		
			6. Stella Renee	1874-1955				Soulié website born 3/21/1874 9th Arrondissement 75009, married 6/23/1900, died 6/24/1955 16th District; marriage bans to paul Arthur Fuzier posted June 10, 1900		
			7. Edgar Robert Emile Raoul	1878-						
	Benedi[e/c]			1802-1807	vol. 9 p. 373 ca. 5 yrs l 11/11/1807 mother listed as Eulalia (Vivant) father not identified					
	5. Albin			1803-1873	vol. 10 p. 411 born 6/16/1803 baptized 7/?/1811 one of brothers is parrain mother listed as Eulalia Mazange	1 pt 1; vol. 9 p. 232 A. Soulié - Impt of Gus & Gunsmith 160 Chartres St. 07/48 - coloured man, but as slightly as to not be observed, best gunsmith in the city, imports guns...belongs to a respectable fam. 05/54 - a fmc. Abt 40 single in bus 20 yrs considered worth \$40m Is assessed on RE \$2600 worth \$4 or 5m 6/66 - out of business	NOA 4:147 owned (in 1870) and possibly built house at 444 Flood NOA 6: owned property at 1114-16 Barracks (E. Eude, April 11, 1867) (148) purchased property at 900-02, 919, 923, 925-27 N. Dorgenois in 1854 (158) pur. lots on Marais on 10/22/1835 (T. Seghers); built house at 1122 selling with six other lots and seven slaves to Lucien Constant Adam on 11/21/1851 (A. Ducatel) (172) sold lots at 1126 Marais to Alphonse Gardes in 1848 for \$600 (172) 1226 Treme--this lot and adjacent bought by B & A March 21, 1837, F. de Armas; built double creole cottage as investment; retain ownership until 1885 (193)	Living in England in 1871; Soulié website died 12/2/1873 in Paris, 8th Arrondissement, 75008		representing siblings who are out of state for Louison Cheval's (grandmother) inventory (1839)
	6. Luisa			1808-	vol. 10 p. 412 born 11/10/1808 baptized 7/6/1811 Bernard is parrain; aunt Luisa Vivant is marrain mother listed as Eulalia Mazange			Living in England in 1871		
	7. Celeste			1810-	vol. 10 p. 411 born 3/31/1810 baptized 7/6/1811 siblings Albin and Luisa godparents mother listed as Eulalia Mazange			Living in England in 1871		
	8. Marie Coralie			1811-	vol. 11 1813-15 p. 405 born 10/17/1811 baptized 10/17/1814 godparents Louis Vivant and Amada Vivant (aunt and uncle) mother listed as Eulalia Mazange			Living in England in 1871	godmother of Edgar Robert Emile Raoul (1798)	
Constance Vivant					vol. 10 Albin's marrain					
w/Vincent Rillieux				unknown-1833						
	1. Barthelemy			1808-	vol. 10 p. 376 born 10/20/1808 baptized 7/6/1811 godparents Leon Courcelle and Adelaida Vivant					
	2. Norbert Rillieux			1806-	vol. 10 p. 376 born 3/19/1806 baptized 7/6/1811 godparents Juan Soulié and Eulalie Mazange (aunt and uncle)					

1	2	3	4	Dates	Archdiocese	R. G. Dunn Collection	New Orleans Architecture series	Online Genealogical Research	Bernard Soulié Journal	Other
	3. Edmund Rillieux			1811-	vol. 10 p. 376 3/7/1811 baptized 7/6/1811 godparents Carlos Vivant and Henrietta Prieto	1 pt. 2; LA vol. 10 p. 329 Rillieux Ed & Reggio E D. G. 238 Bourbon 5/59 - doing a good bus are well spoken of as hon. & correct in their dealings. Our warehouse consider them desire custome & sell them freem 12/59 - altho' colored men, they stand very well and are highly spoken of by the trade 6/60 11/60 5/61 5/66 - out of bus. p. 328 8/21/50 successors of D. B. Macarty				
	4. Marie Eugenie			1813-	vol. 12 p. 329 born 9/3/1813 baptized 4/12/1817 s. Juan Chevaux and Eloisa Rillieux interred 4/12/1817					
	6. Marie Eloise			1816-	vol. 12 p. 329 born 7/26/1816 baptized 7/5/1817					
	5. Louis			1819-	vol. 13 p. 376 baptized 9/25/11819 born 9/23/1818 S. Luis Melchor Reynaud and sister Maria Heloise Rillieux SCL					
	7. Cecile Virginie			1821-	vol. 15 p. 328 born 3/22/1821 baptized 8/21/1823 s. Louis Vivant and Rosa Vivant aunt and uncle SLC					

APPENDIX G – NEW ORLEANS (LA.) TREASURER'S OFFICE, TAX LEDGERS, 1852 AND 1853

This appendix presents a table that presents compiled tax information for members of the Soulié and Dolliole families.

Last Name	First Name	Year	Page	Bill	District	Folio of Roll	No. of Square	Name of Street	Description of Property		Amount Assessed	Notes
									Real Estate	Slaves		
Cheval	L (Widow)	1853	310	2849	2	31	68	Main	800		800	
Courcelles	M.	1852	424	3625	2	11	17	St. Philip & Dauphine	2500		2500	
Courcelles	M.	1853	292	2673	2	37	73	St. Philip	2500	3	1500	6100
					2	32	69	Main	1200			
					2	35	73	Marais	800			
					3	97	172		100			
Dolliole	Catherine	1853	408	3876	3	24	38	Bagatelle	500		500	
Dolliole	Jean	1852	467	3643	2	13	21	Dauphine	2000			
					20	35	Bayou St. John		1800			
					25	45	Bayou St. John		2500	2	1000	
					29	29	St. Philip		1400			
Dolliole	J. L.	1853	352	3278	2	23	45	Bayou Road	2500	2	1000	14700 carried over to folio 432
					2	10	21	Dauphine	2000			
					2	14	29	St. Philip	1400			
					2	16	35	Bayou Road	1800			
					2	21	45	Bayou Road?	1000			
					3	2	4	Bagatelle	4000			
					3	89	154	Columbus	1000			
Dolliole	J. B. (J. L.)	1852	469	3164	2	52	69	Main	1200		5100	
					2	55	73	St. Philip	2000	2	1000	
					2	55	73	Marais	800			
					3	76	170	Rocheblave	100			
Dolliole	D.	1852	479	3756	2	24	44	St. Philip	9000		9000	
Dolliole	D.	1853	367	3443	2	20	44		1000		1000	E. Mathilde Courcelles on same page
Dolliole	Valcour (Widow)	1852	561	4731	3	70	154	Laharpe	500		500	
Dolliole	Valcour (Widow)	1853	433	4142	3	90	155	Laharpe	500		500	
Dolliole	Pierre	1852	587	5089	3	17	53	Music	300		300	
Dolliole	Pierre	1853	456	4396	3	17	53	Music	300		300	
Dolliole	Jean Louis (son)	1852	595	5201	3	10	23	Spain	400		400	
Dolliole	J. L. Jr.	1853	464	4476	3	12	23		500		500	
Rillieux	A. V. & M.	1852	43	7081	1	52	171	Pylania	3000		3000	
Rillieux	F J	1852	448	10031	3	64	142	Galvez	500		500	
Rillieux	F J	1853	435	9771	3	83	143	Galves	500		800	
								Johnson	300			
Soulié	Albin	1852	152	7749	1	7	111	[Const]	4200		9200	
					2	24	50	Customhouse	3000			
					3	6	9	Love	2000			
Soulié	A	1852	575	11452	4	71	201	Bal Nayades	6000		6000	f.m.c.
Soulié	A.	1853	132	7120	1	3	111	Mei	4200		12150	transferred to folio 530
					2	41	123	18 lots	3150			
					2	41	123	18 lots	1500			
					2	62	129	Main	300			
					2	36	90	2 lots	600			
					3	5	10	Love	2200			
						77	252	12 lots	200			
Soulié	B & A	1852	379	9369	2	19	31	Esplanade	4500	2	800	
						20	35	B & Tremé	600		5900	

Last Name	First Name	Year	Page	Bill	District	Folio of Roll	No. of Square	Name of Street	Description of Property		Amount Assessed	Notes
									Real Estate	Slaves		
Soulié	B & A	1853	60	6448	1	94	217	Eut.	1200		14000	
						2	58	122 Corner.	400			
						2	58	122 Roman	400			
						2	18	31 Barracks	6000	2	1000	
						2	15	31	4000			
Soulié	B A	1852	93	9370	2	16	35		1000			
						2	19	31 Esplanade	2000	2	3000	
						66	218	Bac	4500			
						1	66	218 Eupt	2500			
						1	64	203 [] Hevia	18000			
Soulié	N	1853	61	6454	1	72	203	Corner.	2500			
						1	72	203 Hevia	18000			
						1	72	203 St. John	5000			
						1	14	272 St. John	1800			
						2	13	24 Bourbon	5000			
						2	25	50 Marais	3000			
						2	12	26 Main	15000			
						2	14	29 Main	5000			
						2	34	71 Tremé	2500			
						2	42	85 Carond. W.	1500			
						2	42	85 Carond. W.	1500			
						3	31	63 Indep.	300			
						3	44	100 Levee or Love	6000			
						3	51	141 [] Pl.	8000			
Soulié	Eulalie (Miss)	1852	194	8002	1	84	262	St. John	2000		2600	
						3	14	26 Casacalvo	600			
						1	88	240 Phil	3500		4300	
						3	13	26 Casacalvo	800			
						5	9	Customhouse	3500		3500 A Soulié agt	
Vivant	Lse. (Miss)	1852	281	8596	2	65	217	Eupt	1200		1200	
						1	65					
						2	37	71 Main	5000	2	8500	
						2	29	65 S. Claude	2500			
						7	6	Burgundy	5500			
Vivant	Constance	1852	306	8770	2	3	3	4 Greatmen	2200	3	8600	Previous two entries: H. Prieto (\$19,000) and Celeste Macarty (\$8,100)
						3						
						6	6	Burg.	6000		6000	
						2	54	173 Euterpe	1200		7600	
						1	54	173 Polyn	1000			
Vivant	Lucille	1852	44	7098	1	56	146	Chestnut	1300			
						1	56					
						4	65	182 Philip	3800	1	300	
						1	81	173 Eut	1300		3800	
						1	81	Pol	2500			

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