SHOTGUN HOUSE:

THE 300 YEAR ODYSSEY OF AN ATLANTIC HOUSE TYPE

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Complete Manuscript

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Preface + Chapters 1 – 8 + Conclusions, Notes and Bibliography

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Cover Letter

Herein, please find our completed draft of a book on the Shotgun House of Louisiana. This manuscript is ready to be submitted to a publisher. Before that, it will be read over and edited one more time, carefully. Corrections will be made, and it will then be delivered to a publisher. Since the Historic New Orleans Collection has requested to see it, we will probably submit it there, first. Your suggestions will, of course, be very welcome.

The editing of a new book usually requires about two months by the HNOC. If we submit by the end of October, we hope to have their answer before the end of 2017. If and when the book is accepted for publication, a great deal of work remains for us in getting the required changes made to the text, getting permission to publish the illustrations (very laborious), and proof-reading the publisher's drafts. So, beyond the date, suggested, we cannot provide an estimated date of publication. In previous cases, this has taken from one to two years after acceptance by a publisher. If the book is not accepted by the HNOC, we shall probably submit it immediately to the LSU Press.

The current manuscript is a full and complete work. One of the changes from the version in your hands which we expect is that the number of multiple maps in Chapter 8 will probably be much reduced. We have included them because of the interest by officers of the Division of Historic Preservation in having the most detailed information available on the historic architecture of New Orleans.

If you wish to obtain a brief overview of the book and its topics, read the Final Considerations chapter. It covers the main issues raised in the volume.

We here, acknowledge, with gratitude, the funding which has been supplied by the Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation which made this work possible. This includes not only the funding over the past two years, but also previous years of funding in which we conducted architectural surveys of the historic architecture of New Orleans. In addition, the Centers for Excellence of the French Embassy in the

United States, and the College of Humanities and Social Sciences supplied funding which helped us to uncover historic information not previously published. In addition, Thanks goes to the officers of the Grand Masonic Lodge in Alexandria, Louisiana, for their kind permission in permitting us to photograph and publish portions of their Barthelemy Lafon Survey Book No. 3, manuscript. This one document has revealed a great deal of new information on the history of New Orleans architecture, including the history of the shotgun house and the Creole cottage. When our work on the Lafon manuscript has been completed, we will turn our attention to revising the previously submitted book manuscript on the Creole Cottage. It should also be acknowledged that Gabriele Richardson devoted an enormous amount of time and energy to the development of the numerous maps which are found on the pages of this manuscript. It is our fond hope that the completed book will bring a new perspective on, and appreciation of, the richness of Louisiana's historic architectural patrimony to the people of the state.

Sincerely,

Jay D. Edwards

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SHOTGUN HOUSE

PREFACE: FUNNY OLD HOUSE

"I suppose that it is a residence, for it does not look like one. That is the rule in that region."

(George Washington Cable, *Old Creole Days*, 1878: 156).

If, walking through the back side of the French Quarter in New Orleans one day, you happened to cross old Rampart Street, you would find yourself in the remains of that curious and historically unique neighborhood called Tremé. It is not a neighborhood of the colonial period. Rather, it traces its origins to the early American period when waves of immigrants to the city were spreading out beyond the old fortifications of the Spanish town. They were settling in new satellite suburbs which the French referred to as *faubourgs* or "false cities" – that is, without their own governments. The new faubourgs were named for the landowner who subdivided extensive plantation holdings and created a new urban neighborhood. Such was the case with Claude Tremé, who owned a plantation directly adjacent to the Spanish fortifications or ramparts of the century-old French-Spanish city of New Orleans. Tremé began to sell off his land holdings beginning about 1800. Free People of Color were among his favored buyers.

In Tremé, as in the *Vieux Carré*, the little wooden cottages sit right up against the *banquette*, or sidewalk. They are smaller houses, usually twenty to forty feet wide on the street, sitting nearly shoulder to shoulder. They are almost all one or two stories in height. Some have only two doors in the façade. Others have three or four, but they are clearly not the typical American style houses one is accustomed to outside of Louisiana. They are the emblems of a local vernacular architecture of the early nineteenth century, one which is unique to New Orleans.

Some of these house forms are well known and respected exemplars of the first decades of American rule in Louisiana. The Creole Cottage and the Shotgun house are two of the most abundant here, but there are others for which there is no common name. Indeed, some are not even recognized as existing by any but the most architecturally knowledgeable residents of this part of the city. It is not that

they are ignored because of some social stigma or some unfortunate association with race or class. Rather, they are simply not recognized as typical house types at all. There is no locally shared vocabulary to describe them.

As I write this, I am seated in one of these little houses near the edge of the French Quarter. It is late January and Mardi-Gras is fast approaching. My house is sufficiently unusual that the causal passer-by might mistake it for another type of building entirely. He or she might assume that some previous owner modified a once-typical New Orleans house in a curious way for some mysterious reason. Its façade is sheathed in weathered clapboards of widely varying widths, all painted in a pale yellow. The house is narrow, only twenty feet wide -- its two front doors opening directly onto the six foot wide *banquette* (Fig. 0.1)



Fig. 0.1. The little house at 1126 Rue Quartier, New Orleans. This was our house for a year and a half on the edge of the French Quarter. The house type is known as an *appentis* cottage, or shed-roofed cottage. It was a common type between ca. 1795 and 1840.

Each door is protected by double batten storm shutters painted blue-green. The doors are set curiously close together in the façade, giving the house a somewhat cross-eyed appearance, but one might walk right past this little cottage and never even notice these colorful peculiarities. Each side is nearly

hidden between tropical trees -- a fruitful lemon tree on one side, and towering magnolia, white jasmine and banana trees in a garden on the other. Pink lagustrum creeps up the left-hand corner and over the roof, hiding the joint between this house and the next. The fruit of the lemon tree is so large that when fully ripe it is taken for grapefruit by causal passers-by. By day, colorful butterflies and dragonflies flit between the leaves of the local jungle, and bright green lizards jump from leaf to leaf. At night, the perfume from the jasmine floods the atmosphere surrounding the house, more overpowering as that of a lady of the evening trolling for her seventh trick.

The house is tiny – only two main rooms deep and one room wide, with an added rear shed that houses the modern kitchen and bathroom. This free-standing house is smaller than most apartments. The yard is only four feet wider than the house, with a small overgrown rear patio where the old kitchen once stood. Who would want to live in such a miniature place?

Not only is the house diminutive, its roof appears to be curiously unnatural. It is a single shed. As viewed from the street, it slopes from left side to right at a thirty degree pitch. On the left side the roof is almost two stories tall where it laps up against the party wall of a three-story tall townhouse, but on the right side it descends to about ten feet above the walk. There, it overhangs the side of the house by about two feet, protecting a walkway which runs along the entire side. In front, the roof breaks, sloping towards the sidewalk and forming a curious triangle. An extension of the front roof, very common in these neighborhoods, juts about four feet out over the sidewalk. In New Orleans this is called an *abat vent* (wind knocker), but it is in reality more of an *abat pluie,* for it neatly protects passers-by from the rain, and on hot cloudless summer days, the blazing sun.

The original house had no windows at all – only French doors front, side and rear. Sliding sash windows are an English invention. Each swinging leaf of these narrow double doors was graced with twelve small glass lights. There were two such doors facing the street and one in each room facing the side. These provided the original inhabitants with abundant light, filtered through the ever-changing vegetation of the surrounding garden. In cold or stormy weather, the heavy outer storm shutters were closed and locked in place with heavy iron hooks, providing both protection and security, but darkening

the house. But despite their undeniable charm, non-locals soon learned to beware the French style double-leaf door. It is far easier to pinch one's fingers when closing a French door than it is a single-leaf door.

This little house is lightly constructed. Its walls are framed up out of what in the early decades of the nineteenth century were called *bois de chaland*, or flatboat planks. They derived from the many hundreds of barge like craft which transported goods down the Mississippi River annually from as far away as Missouri, Kentucky and Pennsylvania (Fig. 0.2). Once their cargoes of grain, oil, hides, hardwoods and other commodities of the country had been disembarked, the boats themselves were broken up on the *batture* (river bank) and sold to lumber dealers. The rough-hewn cypress planks were approximately two-by-twelves, though widths varied in those early days of hand fabrication. To form the wall of a house they were toe-nailed vertically on a heavy sill without a frame of any kind to support or stiffen them, yet this ridiculous palisade arrangement has been standing here now for one-hundred and eighty years through hurricanes and floods, without structural failure.

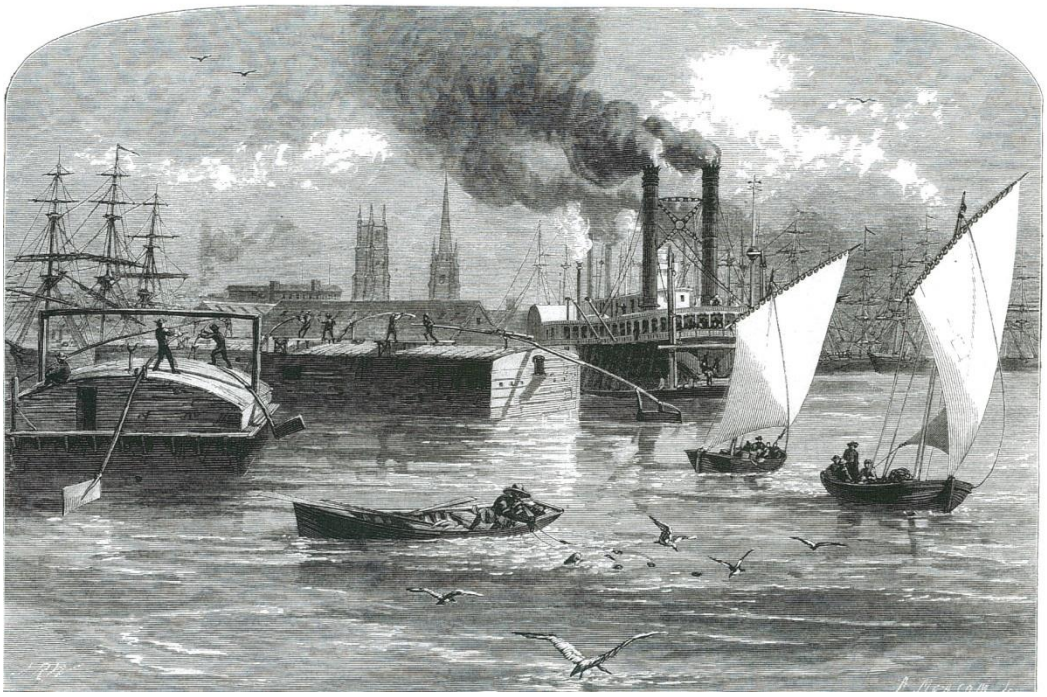


Fig. 0.2. Flatboats and small craft on the Mississippi at New Orleans, from a 19th century sketch. The square-rigger and the steam boat are indicative of the cosmopolitan nature of the commerce of New Orleans. Image Courtesy the historic New Orleans Collection.

The ceilings of these little houses were equally distinctive. In traditional French roofs, the joists which support the ceiling boards are exposed to view from below. To soften the stark structural décor, the carpenter ran a beading plane down the lower edges of each ceiling beam, transforming both edges into what the French referred to as a decorative *baguette*. The result resembled a small three-quarter round decorative rod called a bead at each lower edge of the joist (Fig. 0.3). In later years, many of the exposed joist ceilings have been sealed over with planks in the English fashion, hiding a portion of the charm of the old French ceilings. In the case of my house, the carpenter took pity on a few of us unreconstructed preservationists. He nailed new faux joists below the secondary ceiling boards, but unfortunately *sans baguettes*! Sic transit Gloria!



Fig. 0.3. Beaded ceiling joists, Spanish Custom House ca. 1796, under renovation 2013: Moss Street, Bayou St. John, New Orleans. Note baguettes or beads.

Not everyone is as susceptible to the charms of an old Creole house in New Orleans as were the nineteenth century writers, George Washington Cable and Lafcadio Hearn.[1] While they glorified in the overgrown decay of the old houses, today many feel they must adjust their architectural expectations to

[1] Cable, George Washington.1879. *Old Creole Days*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Hearn, Lafcadio. 1883. "The Scenes of Cable's Romances," *Century Magazine*.

the standards of other parts of the country. For example, the utter and complete lack of any insulation in old New Orleans houses might be a problem for those not used to living a bit closer to nature than we prefer today. The exterior walls of my little house consist of a palisade of two inch thick vertical planks, sheathed with overlapping horizontal clapboards on the exterior, and with lath and plaster on the interior. Excess moisture, not heat, was the principal concern of the builder of yore. In wooden buildings resting near the damp ground and repeatedly subjected to soaking in a climate averaging roughly sixty-five inches of rain annually, local builders quickly learned to design their houses to maximize the flow of air through and around the frame of the house. No matter how wet the house might become in flood or hurricane, properly ventilated wood dried out within a day or two following the storm. A house with adequate air-flow -- beneath, above and around -- retarded the growth of wood-attacking fungus which, in turn, suppressed the ubiquitous and voracious termites native to these semi-tropical climes. Even inexpensive wooden houses, properly designed, might stand for a century or two without major deterioration.

Traditional Creole construction did not guarantee that the old house would not feel the ravages of age. In New Orleans one does not expect an old house to remain square, plumb and level. They lean and sag, some apparently to the point of collapse. Like old men with canes, they may hang on for decades in that condition. No floor is level. No door is fitted snugly to its warped frame. Morning light streams in through the gaps in the storm shutters. Walls stand out of plumb and roof rafters sag with the weight of slate or tile. Domestic life is rather akin to living on a yacht at sea. The floor pitches and rises as one moves from room to room. "The floor was of wide slabs fastened down with spikes, and the sloping up and down in one or two broad undulations, as if they had drifted far enough down the current of time to feel the tide swell."[2] One soon gets used to the rising and falling and never thinks about it. But quaff an extra dram or two and get a bit too active in bed at night and in the morning you awake to discover that your bed has migrated mysteriously down slope to the other side of the room with you still in it.

[2] George Washington Cable, 1889. "Sieur George," *Old Creole Days*. New York: New American Library. P. 186.

In the month of May on a few consecutive nights the termites of New Orleans come out to play. They fill the humid air in clouds and swarm about the streetlights. Should a neophyte resident (like me) happen to leave the outer security lights burning on such a night, at some point he might look down at the threshold to discover a scene taken right out of a horror movie. There, a sheet of wiggling winged termites is flowing in under the door like water. Or, one may awake the early hours of the morning with termites crawling over every part of his body. I have had both of these experiences. Fortunately, mating termites are harmless and nothing that a good can of bug spray, a broom, and a darkened house cannot rectify.

Traditional French houses had no closets. Armoires substituted for the storage of clothing, which was folded and placed on shelves. A really traditional house is not modernized to accommodate twenty-first century tastes in this respect. You don't ask, "Where is the closet?" Rather, find a convenient place to stretch a bar or a chord to hang the few of your more elegant items which would otherwise show their folds. Houses are now fitted with modern bathrooms and kitchens, but in the rear yard or patio you will likely trip across the ancient foundations of the former two-story kitchen which accommodated both the open hearth with all of its iron paraphernalia, and the bedrooms for one or two servants. Also, there were the privies, the cistern, and perhaps a fountain or a diminutive parterre garden as a reminder of old world elegance.

In answer to the question of who lived in these little wooden cottages, I can briefly describe the history of this particular house. In 1834 the Tremé neighborhood was still being settled. Many of the landowners were free people of color. Louisiana was the only place in the United States where free blacks could be legal landowners, and many were. As many free women of color owned property in Tremé, as free men of color. They were artisans, businesswomen and landladies. Most were not literate, so unfortunately, they bequeathed us no diaries or other personal documents which would have revealed the exigencies of their quotidian experiences.

One Berthile Houdart, f.c.l. (*femme de couleur libre*--free woman of color), owned a forty-five foot wide property on old Quartier Street near Rampart. In 1834, the property passed to another free woman of color, Palmyre Berquier, her daughter (also f.c.l.). Palmyre first inherited a fifteen foot wide

strip of land from her mother. The following year she received another contiguous strip only seven and one-half feet in width (all French measure). Apparently, Palmyre had discovered that her original strip of land, about forty feet deep, was inadequate for the purpose to which she wished to put it. The original forty-five foot wide strip of Houdart property was now subdivided into two halves, each 22.5 feet wide on the street. Shortly thereafter (1835), two small *appentis* (shed roofed) houses appear on these lots. In April of 1842, Palmyre sold her combined piece of property, now 22.5 feet wide, to *her* daughter, "together with all *circonstances* (works) and *dependances* (service buildings) thereon." The house and properties were passed to the granddaughter, Marie Rose Arcueil, in the name of *her* own daughter, Victoria Rose Pepin. At the time, Rose Pepin was only about one year old. So four generations of this family were owners of the property. Victoria Rose resided there for many years. Her house remained in her name until her succession of April 7, 1909, when it passed to Mrs. Lucie Lafferrandirie, the wife of Richard Ducros. Lucie also appears to have been a descendant of the Houdart family. The practice of piecing together small pieces of land to make up houseplots was common among free women in New Orleans. So was the successive inheritance from mother to daughter. Even inexpensive houses such as this little *appentis* cottage were highly valued and held tenaciously for many generations. The strength of female family bonds and the willingness to modify the established ground rules of land partition to fit the immediate needs were emblems of the character of the Creole woman of color in early American New Orleans.

CHAPTER 1:

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOUISIANA'S ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY:

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

"Who does your past belong to, today, Baby?"
(Rosanne Cash, "Seven Year Ache")

The anthropologist Rudolf Colloredo-Mansfeld once investigated a whole new set of vernacular housetypes which appeared rather suddenly in an Andean village. In some cases, the owners didn't even live in their elegant new houses. They had moved to more active trading towns. Once built, their new houses just sat there empty – overt statements about the excessive wealth of locals who had gone on to better things and a better life-style. Looking into this social symbolism, Colloredo-Mansfeld determined that under conditions of economic development and globalization, architectural forms may become powerful symbols of new social status, even in remote and culturally conservative Andean settlements.[1]

Certain progressive architects have adopted an anthropological perspective when explaining their conceptualizations of buildings. In his 2005 Ted Talk, the architect Ole Scheeren argued that the people who live and work inside a building are as much a part of the architecture of that structure as the materials from which it is fabricated. "If form follows *fiction,* we could think of architecture and buildings as a space of stories -- stories of the people that live there, of the people that work in these buildings. And we could start to imagine the experiences our buildings create… I'm interested in fiction not as the implausible but as the real, as the reality of what architecture means for the people that live in it and with it" [emphasis added].[2]

Such insightful interpretations encourage us to ponder how our accepted approaches to the study of historic domestic architecture might be expanded and made more explanatory. From whence do new types and styles of houses originate? Why are they remodeled, and how do they die? In exploring these questions, let's begin with some of the ways in which academically trained scholars have constructed the architectural histories of our own city -- New Orleans.

Heroes of Architectural History

The architectural history of the Crescent City is significantly more complex and multifaceted than that of most American places, yet New Orleans is one of the best-studied urban communities in America. Generations of architectural historians have devoted their lives to uncovering the mysteries of the numerous unique styles which are found in no other American place. Many of the centuries-old styles have been given the designation, “Creole.”

Sam Wilson, Jr., the Early Architecture Interpreted. Great reformers succeed, largely, because they bring a variety of different skills and knowledge bases to their efforts. No matter how experienced and dedicated an historian might be, if he or she specializes too narrowly, the product of those efforts are in constant danger of foundering on the rocky sides of a too-narrow channel. In the end, the message fails to get out. In contrast, the contributions of the dedicated generalist may rise above the limitations inherent in a single specialization. Multiple perspectives reinforce one-another synergistically. This was the advantage that Samuel Wilson, Jr. Fellow of the American Institute of Architects brought to the interpretation of historic architecture of New Orleans. His career spanned sixty-years. One of the first well-trained scholars to document our architectural history, Sam was uniquely qualified to educate New Orleans about his passions. Far from being an ivory tower recluse, he was both a multi-lingual scholar of unusual capacity and a hands-on field worker who crawled in, under, and around the old buildings of New Orleans until he had learned their secrets better than anyone else. He was architect, building technician, historian, preservationist, educator, organizer, and champion of French architectural heritage in his native city. He inspired an entire generation of preservationists.



Fig. 1.1. Sam Wilson, 1996, as photographed by John Lawrence. Image courtesy John Lawrence.

Sam was a natural-born scholar. He entered Tulane University at the age of fifteen, and graduated from the School of Architecture in 1931 – not a great year for a new architect to find work. Nevertheless, he joined a local architectural firm headed by the Moise Goldstein and worked on several projects including Dillard University and the Sears building. In 1935 he was hired by the firm of Armstrong and Koch. He soon established a fine working relationship with Richard Koch, another Tulane architectural graduate.[3] Working for the Historic American Buildings Survey, they began documenting the historic buildings of the French Quarter and the river parishes. “I used to go out with Mr. Koch. We’d drive all over the state. He was an excellent photographer. We photographed plantation houses.”

This new Federal program was instituted to put unemployed architects to work during the great depression. Koch directed the Louisiana division, under the architectural historian Charles Peterson, who had proposed the establishment of an Historic American Buildings Survey to the Roosevelt administration's Works Progress Administration. Koch, Wilson, and a team of draftsmen, artists and architects documented numerous important monuments and common houses in and around New Orleans. They did detailed measured drawings of the Cabildo and the Presbytere, the Ursuline Convent, the Beauregard-Keys house, Madam John's Legacy, the Bosque house, Casa Flinard, and dozens of others. In recording the minute details of these historic buildings, they became intimately familiar with the evolution of New Orleans architectural styles. "Mr. Wilson's knowledge of such small details could be astonishing," according to Ann Masson, Executive Director of the Gallier House. "He could look at shutters or baseboards or millwork trim and say, 'This is obviously a replacement.' Each of the periods had its own style, even in small details, and Sam had this ability." [4]

In 1938, Moise Goldstein recommended Wilson for an Edward W. Langley Award from the American Institute of Architects. Its purpose was to conduct historical research on New Orleans in the archives of France. Sam traveled across Europe, including Nazi Germany, before landing in Paris. Sam had studied French for years in high school and college, but he never learned conversational French. Nevertheless, he conducted pioneering research in the architectural records of the Archives Nationales, Ministère des Colonies, and Bibliotheque Nationales, documenting French colonial buildings in the United States. "I could read the stuff pretty well. In fact, by the time I got finished in Paris I could read eighteenth century French much better than I could read the Paris newspaper." After six months he returned with a treasure trove of materials which formed the basis of his numerous articles published throughout the remainder of his life. "I had photographs made. They were all on glass negatives. I still have this box of glass negatives. It weighs a ton. I had to drag it home." [5]

Wilson's lengthy list of publications reveals his broad interests. In part, he focused on the history of individual buildings and in the accomplishments of specific French architects and engineers in Louisiana. He provided detailed descriptions and illustrated interpretations of their contributions.[6] Most of his scholarly effort ended up in rather obscure or difficult to obtain publications. Fortunately, many of his articles have been collected

by two of his protégés, Jean M. Farnsworth and Ann M. Masson. Their book is entitled *The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana*. One of Sam's best articles, "Architecture in Eighteenth-Century West Florida" is included in that volume, but two others are not. They are: "Architecture of Early Sugar Plantations," and "Gulf Coast Architecture." Also not to be missed is his review of the development of the French Quarter and its architecture, in *The Vieux Carré, New Orleans: Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture*.[7]

Wilson's also conducted extensive research into the early-American period and its architects, particularly Benjamin Henry Bonval Latrobe, and his father, Benjamin Latrobe.[8] The elder Latrobe "is generally regarded as the founder of professional architecture in the United States." Many of Wilson's most important contributions were not in his writings, but in his legacy of preservation. He was instrumental in organizing a number of the most important preservation groups in the city of New Orleans, including the Louisiana Landmarks Commission and the Friends of the Cabildo (1956). This latter volunteer group, associated with the Louisiana State Museum, has been responsible for the publication of eight volumes devoted to the architecture and history of specific New Orleans neighborhoods (but not the French Quarter). Sam, with historian Leonard Huber, organized the Vieux Carré Survey in the early 1960s. This invaluable tool documents the history of each property and each building in the 108 squares (blocks) of the French Quarter. Concerning shotgun houses, Sam says, "When we were doing the Survey, little shot-gun cottages were not considered of any great importance, but they were part of the scene and shouldn't be indiscriminately demolished. We didn't think they were terribly important thirty years ago. Late Victorian shot-gun cottages of the late 1880s and 1890s are now looked on with more interest than they had [been] at that time. So we have upgraded them from "part of the scene" (the yellow category), to "of architectural importance" (the green category).[9]

Sam's assessment of the wider cultural landscapes of Louisiana was that they were largely attributable to the work of influential trained architects and their imitators. Wilson worked before scholarly interest had turned to the processes of cultural diffusion and the form of cultural amalgamations called creolization. He eschewed the term "Creole" except to refer to several buildings "which have come

to be known as ‘French Creole’ cottage[s], having a gallery across the front over which the slope of the gable-ended roof extends.…” He appears to have felt that French colonial architecture was best explained as a series of logical adaptations of domestic French forms to the heat and humidity of the tropics.

Unlike Charles Peterson, Wilson did not much explore the cultural diffusion of Caribbean colonial architecture to Louisiana. One of his most complete statements on the influence of the French West Indian colonies is: “French Canadian architecture was modified in Louisiana by influences from the French colonies in the West Indies where climatic conditions were more akin to those of Louisiana…. in Port-au-Prince Haiti, the former French colony of St. Domingue, the typical steep hipped French roof is extended at a lower pitch over the gallery to provide protection from sun and rain and resulting in the distinctive roof line that became a characteristic of the Louisiana colonial house.” [10]

One of the finest surviving “West Indian style” houses in New Orleans is the Pitot house on Bayou St. John. Sam was instrumental in saving and documenting this important house. The house was originally begun in 1799, probably designed by the French architect Hilaire Boutté for Bartholemé Bosque, a wealthy Spanish merchant and shipping agent. Construction continued until at least 1804 or later. The house was eventually sold to James Pitot, a businessman from Normandy via Saint Domingue (1781-92), and later Philadelphia. In 1804-05 Pitot served as the first Mayor of New Orleans, He purchased the house which bears his name in 1810. Sam wrote a small book on this house and its history. He clearly recognized that some of its early builders and owners came from Saint-Domingue before the Haitian revolution, but he does not consider the house to be specifically West Indian in form. “The house was typical of those built in Louisiana during the colonial period – three rooms across the front, opening onto a broad gallery, and two smaller rooms called *cabinets* in the rear with a recessed gallery between them.” [11]

The Friends of the Cabildo – The Written Record Revealed. By 1960, Richard Koch, Sam Wilson and other architects had established an active preservation movement in New Orleans. It was unusually

effective – composed of a mixture of university trained scholars and educated amateurs. Many of its participants had been introduced to preservation through Sam Wilson and his popular courses in New Orleans architectural history at Tulane University. Coming out of Louisiana's educational system, it was not unusual for graduates to be skilled in reading French and sometimes Spanish as well. The preservation movement coalesced around a series of volunteer and governmental organizations, particularly the Louisiana Landmarks Society, the Friends of the Cabildo, the Vieux Carré Commission, and the Louisiana Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, among others. It was supported by John W. Lawrence, Dean of the School of Architecture at Tulane, and by Professor of Architecture Bernard Lemann. It included the local businessman and historian Leonard Huber, the founder of the Historic New Orleans Collection, General Kemper Williams, the architectural artist, Boyd Cruise, the historian Edith Long, the photographer Betsy Swanson, and the archivist Sally K. Reeves. Other active members included: Ann Masson and Roulhac Toledano, Dr. Calhoon of the Pelican Press, and Mary Lou Christovich, who, among her other duties, translated an enormous amount of French from the archives.

Advances Outside of Academic Architectural History

As the architectural history of New Orleans was advancing through the twentieth century, another, completely separate approach was occurring quite outside of the field. A loosely joined farrago of American, British and French disciplines had begun to coalesce. The each shared an interest in the material culture of the common people. Taken together, one might imagine them as a Venn diagram of seven or eight intersecting circles of different sizes, all surrounding a central circle (field). Eventually, the central circle would come to be called Vernacular Architecture Studies. The disciplines included American studies, cultural geography, cultural anthropology, archaeology, social history, material culture studies, structuralism, French postmodern social philosophy, folklore, and, creolization studies, among others. At first, few art or architectural historians were attracted to these new groups.

This diverse group of outside scholars inspired several new approaches to architectural history. Beginning in the 1960s, they began, slowly, to recognize a core of interests, centered upon the cultures of common people and the interrelationships between the built environment and the social construction of culture and architecture. Their interests coalesced around new academic societies and journals. Foremost among these were: The Pioneer America Society (*Material Culture*), the Vernacular Architecture Forum (*Buildings and Landscapes*), and in Great Britain, the Vernacular Architecture Group. Others included the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (*Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*), the American Folklore Society (*Journal of American* Folklore), and the journal *Winterthur Portfolio*.

Fred B. Kniffen – Architectural Geography. Vernacular Architecture Studies originated right here in Louisiana. They begin in 1929 with the conceptual struggles of a new LSU professor to better understand Louisiana's landscapes and its people. Fred B. Kniffen [Pron.: *niffen*] was a recent Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. He was hired to teach geography at LSU, but he had never been to Louisiana previously. Upon his arrival, he was mystified by the cultural complexity of the state. But, Kniffen came well-prepared to investigate this conglomerate of cultures. He had profited from studies

under two of the leading academics of his time – Carl Sauer, the foremost human geographer of the field, and Alfred Kroeber, the leading American cultural anthropologist. Kniffen had taken classes from, and done summer field work with, both. When faced with investigating the cultural divisions of Louisiana, Kniffen selected the "folk" houses of the common people as representing some of the best possible evidence for historical settlement patterns. Settlement patterns represented one of the principal divisions of the earth's surface which so fascinated cultural geographers. Houses were ethnically distinctive, long-lasting, and to a great extent they remained associated with the people who built them (or their descendants). But how to map the enormous variability among the rural houses spread across the state? Drawing upon the classification systems used by archaeologists who assemble the variety of artifacts they recover into unified cultures, Kniffen undertook a typology of rural Louisiana houses. His principal question was, "When anticipating comparative and historical studies, how does one sort houses into their most useful and productive categories?"



Fig. 1.2 Fred B. Kniffen in 1977, as photographed by Don Nugent, Staff Photographer, Dept. Geography & Anthropology, LSU.

Kniffen felt that cultural geographers had failed to define the qualities of the landscape "in precise and unmistakable terms. One emerged with a smattering of this and that, rather than clear, definite qualities and quantities." [12] So, although he was untrained in architectural history or the evolution of American architectural styles, he began to record the overt features of the houses that he could see from the road: overall shape, plan, roof form, full-width in-set porches and other appendages, location of chimneys, number of stories. He also recorded information on the residents – their race and culture. Information on the houses along each segment of rural road was collected on long tally sheets, together with their location as indicated on his odometer. Kniffen observed while his wife drove their "Model A" Ford automobile with spare tires tied to its back. They would eventually drive over ten thousand miles of Louisiana's highways and back roads.

Once Kniffen had described numerous houses on the landscape, he observed that most fell into clearly defined groups, with only a smattering of outliers.[13] The often-repeated combinations of features became his house and barn types. Kniffen coined names for these types, many of which are still used today: shotgun house, I house, dogtrot house, saddlebag house, log pen, etc. Each type received a symbol, and these were the ones entered in the next iteration of his survey sheets. Kniffen surveyed throughout the entire state, eventually compiling 8,000 survey sheets with which he could map the densities and distributions of each house type.[14] What Kniffen had done better than anyone before him was to classify American house types on the basis of their geometrical features alone, while omitting other less diagnostic information such as materials of construction, age of the house, and decorative features. Kniffen had established the first scientific classification of three-dimensional house shapes. Today we refer to these as form classes. His work, "Louisiana house types," was published in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* – the first publication of its type.[15] It convinced geographers and others that, not only did specific vernacular house types exist in Louisiana, but that they clustered into regions. Soon, other scholars were employing Kniffen's method, surveying the vernacular architecture of other parts of the United States. A revolution in the study of American common houses had begun.

Fred Kniffen brought other contributions to the table of Vernacular Architectural Studies. He demonstrated that the long distance diffusion of building geometry was a commonplace phenomenon. The geometrical forms of traditional buildings are somehow firmly lodged in the minds of pioneers as they travel across oceans and across continents.[16] Geometrical patterns of vernacular buildings include room sizes and functions, overall plan organization, placement of functional spaces within the larger plan, and traditional methods of expanding or elaborating a plan. But, perhaps, first among Kniffen's contributions was his leadership in recruiting excellent students and associates. These, he encouraged to engage more fully and more scientifically in the study of cultural landscapes. Foremost among his protégés was Henry Glassie.

Henry Glassie –Architectural syntax and architectural ethnography. Glassie is one of America's most creative students of folklore and vernacular architecture. Henry was an undergraduate at Tulane University in New Orleans in 1963-64, when he first met Fred Kniffen. The two shared their interest in cultural landscapes and folklore. Fred Kniffen recognized Henry's keen analytical talents and recommended that he be admitted to the Cooperstown Graduate Program at SUNY in 1965. Soon, Henry's career in folklore was under way. In the preface to his first book, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, Henry states: "My greatest debt is to Professor Fred Kniffen, who sparked my interest in material culture and who has remained a constant inspiration and friend. Without him, both this book and I would have been quite different.[17]

I believe that it is not unfair to state that Henry almost single-handedly revolutionized the study of vernacular architecture in the United States. The first of his several contributions was in his reconceptualization of the interpretation of house types. While Fred Kniffen had concentrated upon patterns of building forms, Henry dug down into the guts of building typology. Even in his early book, he appreciated the significance of building plans as a basis for comparative study of folk houses. Henry demanded a scrupulous level of recording and documentation. He was the first to apply generative-

transformational grammar to the interpretation of building geometry.[18] Henry separated house forms into plan types and form classes. The result was a more penetrating understanding of the partially interrelated, partially independent components of the traditional house and the distinctive cultural meanings that they embody. Though his grammatical interpretations of individual houses and their multiple layers of formative rules were, perhaps, too detailed for the average researcher to duplicate, Henry showed us that it is possible to investigate institutions of material culture in much the same ways that linguists study the grammars of languages. No more sophisticated methodology has been discovered. For example, Henry showed that Fred Kniffen's I house form was, in fact, an entire series of relatively independent folk plan types derived from a variety of historic and cultural sources, but brought together in the eighteenth century and treated as a common symbol of rural agricultural success and economic independence in the eastern United States. We refer to this kind of conjunction as a vernacular "form class."

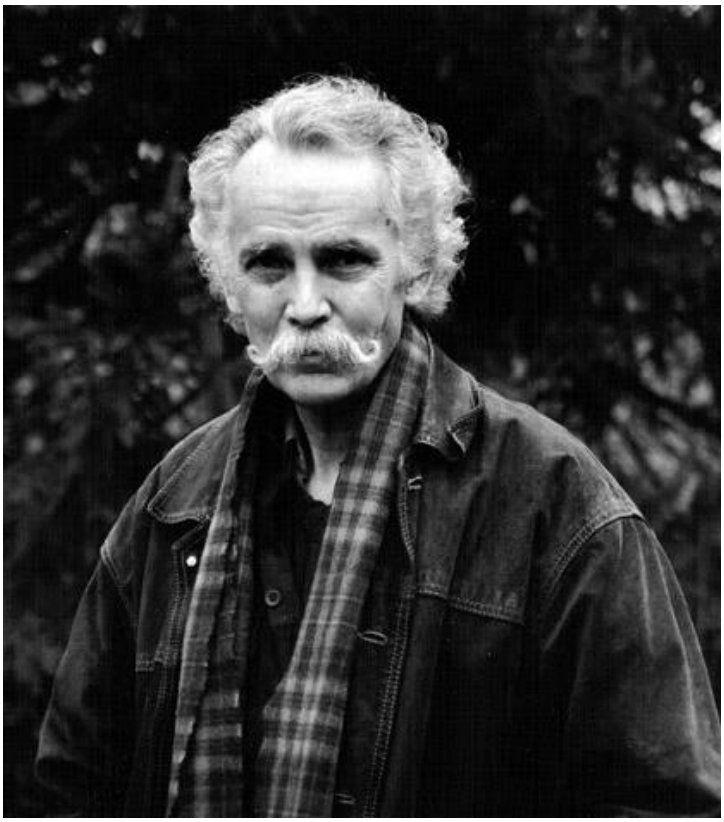


Fig. 1.3 Henry Glassie in Ireland.

Henry's second major achievement was embodied in his ethnographic turn. More than any other field worker, perhaps, Henry came to appreciate that traditional house forms could only be understood when one was intimately familiar with the people who designed them, built them, and lived in them. In its plan and its decorative features, each traditional building is a sensitive indicator of the rules of social etiquette, social identity and social aspiration. When those rules are changed by social upheaval or class competition, traditional vernacular architecture transforms as well. Home owners are stimulated to communicate their new identities through architectural innovations. Broad architectural histories were impossible without a much more detailed ethnography than had ever been practiced by architectural historians. In effect, Henry was turning traditional architectural history on its head. The authority of the Academy was being replaced by the authority of the Folk.

Beginning with years of field work in Virginia, rural England, and Ireland, Henry watched as people revolutionized their architectures under the impact of the capitalistic, money-based societies which inexorably and inevitably came to dominate traditional rural communities across the world. As the values of the homeowners changed under dominating market economies, so did the meanings of spaces inside the traditional home, and so did the symbolic values embodied of the houses. Communal spaces open to outsiders, once so important to the sociability of the mutually supporting community, disappeared. They were replaced by private spaces and increased levels of isolation and independence of individual families. Gradually the house became more of a machine for demonstrating social identity and for separating different kinds of people into different spaces. Social status replaced communitas.[19] New floorplans and new materials of construction symbolized a revolution in the lifeways of the traditional community. Material culture studies now had to include, not only the study of artifacts, but the study of the people who created them and used them.

John Michael Vlach – the Comparative Dimension. Between the years 1972 and 1975, John Vlach [pron: vlatsh] became one of Henry Glassie's graduate students in the Folklore program at the University of Indiana. John was encouraged to write his doctoral dissertation on the origins of Kniffen's shotgun

house. At the time, no one understood the history of this curious but surprisingly popular American house form. Rather fantastic theories of origin had been suggested by various architectural historians and other scholars. Most commentators had generalized on the basis of a single narrow body of evidence. There was no attempt at a big picture. The result was a veritable Rashomon of shotgun house histories, with little connection between any of them.

Conducting field work in Louisiana, John consulted with the cultural geographers, Milton Newton and Fred Kniffen, and briefly with Jay Edwards, all at the Dept. of Geography and Anthropology at LSU. William Knipmeyer [pron: nipmeyer], an earlier Ph.D. student with Fred Kniffen, had developed the prevailing geographical theory of shotgun house origins. Shotgun houses are thickly distributed along the bayous of southern Louisiana. They are also used as tenant and laborer's houses across the state. Knipmeyer argued in his doctoral dissertation that the shotgun house was ultimately derived from the palmetto houses of Choctaw and other indigenous tribes living along the bayous. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, palmetto covered structures were gradually replaced by the "Camp" – a rectangular temporary house type of one or two rooms with its front door in the gabled end and its roof ridge perpendicular to the bayou or the road.[20] Both palmetto houses and Camps usually had full-width front porches. Camps were composed mostly of frame construction, the walls covered with board and batten or clapboards. Knipmeyer argued for a continuous evolution from indigenous palmettos, through camps, and then to shotgun houses. The earlier house types usually contained one or two rooms but, shotguns were typically two or three rooms in depth, often with L or T lateral wing additions at the back. " They were intended for permanent living, as opposed to the seasonal use of the camps. As the camp became larger and better constructed in wood frame, it moved from the "trapper—fisher—swamper complex" into the farming and plantation landscapes of southern Louisiana.[21] Other writers also held that the Shotgun house was a French reworking of a traditional indigenous abode from early colonial days. They also suggested that the shotgun house originated in Louisiana as a strictly rural form, evolving from trappers' cabins. John Vlach set out to provide an alternative history of the Shotgun house.

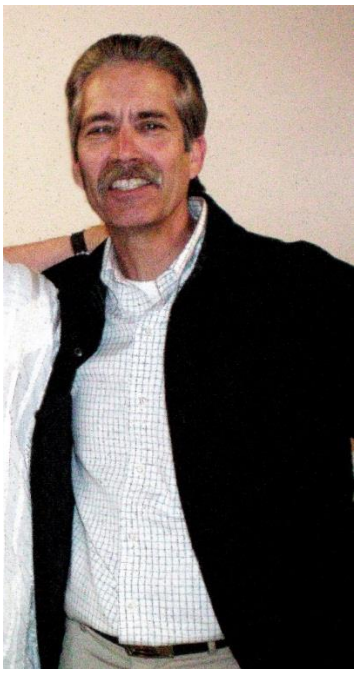


Fig. 1.4. John Vlach. JDE Photo 2008.

In New Orleans, John Vlach interviewed Sam Wilson, who believed that the shotgun house was popularized in New Orleans in late Victorian times because the residential lots of the city had been progressively subdivided into curious segments 120 feet in depth by only 30 or 20 or even 15 feet wide on the street. Such narrow houses were the only form that could fit on such severely segmented lots. It was true that tens of thousands of shotgun houses still stood in New Orleans, being built in the 1870s – 1910s, but documentation seemingly did not extend further back than about 1840. Wilson's account was a clear example of the homely old architectural wisdom – "form follows function." Milton Newton quickly eviscerated the argument: "That the shotgun fits narrow lots is undeniable, but this explains part of its success, not its origin." [22]

John was fully cognizant of the complexity of this particular kind of human artifact. "A house may be the most meaningful object in the material repertoire of a people." [23] John's principal research question became: In what ways was this popular American housetype influenced by African traditions of vernacular architecture? In order to explore this question, John adopted the methods of Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie. He did extensive architectural fieldwork in Louisiana, in Haiti, and in southwest Nigeria

among the Yoruba peoples. He had previously lived in Ghana. The fieldwork methodology required detailed measured drawings of numerous folk houses. One entire volume of John's two-volume dissertation is devoted to plans and descriptions of traditional houses in the three communities, as well as information on the location, the owner, the dimensions, the date of construction, and the materials of construction. John combined these empirical data with whatever historical documentation he could uncover, and with interviews with those familiar with the vernacular architecture of the three regions. He explored the archival records in each of the three places, to the extent that it was possible to do so. We will return to the details of John's findings in Chapter Two. Here, we note that cutting-edge research in vernacular architecture studies, and in architectural history, has never been far from Louisiana. This applies, particularly, to the shotgun house. Louisiana has attracted first-rate scholars who have established a long track record of innovative interpretations of our cultural landscapes.

Each of these scholars, from Sam Wilson to John Vlach contributed enormously to our knowledge of Louisiana Architecture and its history. Each brought different perspectives. Some contributed theoretical frameworks which helped others, including the present authors, in their own studies. However, none of these excellent scholars considered Creolization as a central organizing framework, and none contributed to the larger portrait of the Atlantic World and sought out the place of Louisiana's architecture within it. No previous scholar has begun with the configuration of distinctive historic features which make up Louisiana's Creole architecture, and then sought to tell the story of their diffusion from distant lands and from very distinct and seemingly incompatible architectural traditions. Just how did buildings such as the shotgun house and the Creole cottage get assembled, and why were they selected (or invented) over all of the other possibilities? Since these questions have never been adequately addressed, we begin by exploring the question of the kinds of conceptual framework which might work best in supplying explanations of this kind.

CHAPTER 2

CREOLIZATION AND THE ATLANTIC LINEAR COTTAGE

I. A Prehistory of the Shotgun House

The shotgun house is far older than its first appearance in New Orleans. To trace its origins we must cast our imaginations back through time, across the Caribbean Sea, and ultimately to the coasts of West Africa in the sixteenth century. The architecture which gave rise to today's Linear Cottages is to be found in the first settlements populated by both Europeans and West Africans.

The origins of the Atlantic Linear Cottage are best understood through the lens of creolization. Creolization refers to the radical forms of culture blending which occur whenever groups of people coming from unlike and historically separated cultures are cast together and forced to work and communicate under conditions which require social coordination and intimacy. A recent definition of creolization appears on the University of Warwick's Creole Social and Cultural Studies Program web site:

> The cross-fertilization which takes place between different cultures when they interact. The locals select particular elements from in-coming cultures, endow these with meanings different from those they possessed in the original culture and then creatively merge these with indigenous traditions to create totally new forms.[36]

Creolization is a popular academic topic which has generated hundreds of dissertations and papers in technical journals over the last thirty-five years. Here, we will eschew its nuances and theoretical details. For our purposes it is sufficient to point out that in material culture, including vernacular architecture, creolization occurs on two separate levels simultaneously. It is not possible to understand how this mechanism works without an appreciation of the interaction between these levels of culture (Fig. 2.1).

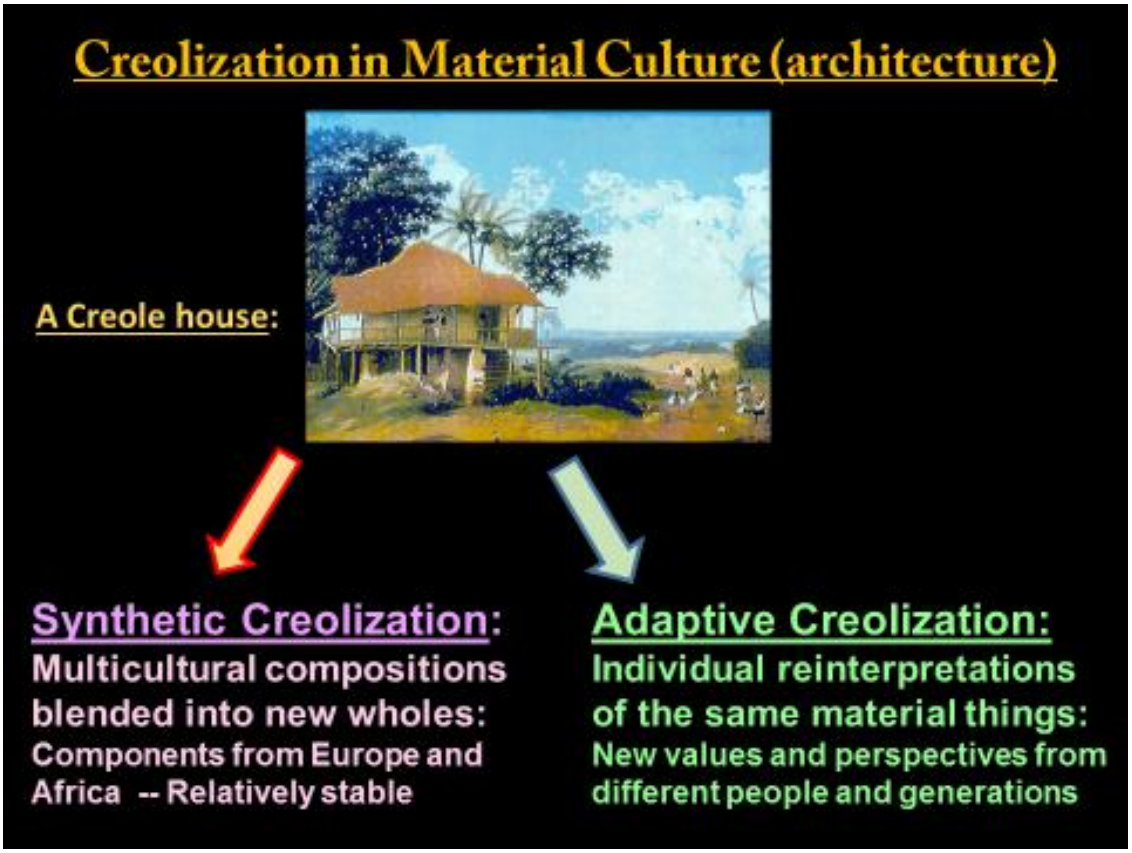


Fig. 2.1. The principal creolization processes of material culture, such as vernacular architecture.

Synthetic creolization. This refers to the "blending of cultural elements from putatively separate and distinct cultural wholes." [37] When the people of two or more, until recently alien, cultures are forced to work together to produce a new architecture, a process of negotiation occurs. Each culture contributes its own important ideas, and together, they create a formula from a large number of possibilities supplied by all cultures. These are filtered through the exigencies of local climate, environment, available materials and social needs, until a minimum number of elements drawn from the repertoires of each of the contributing cultures is established. Alien architectural components are each assigned a specific places in the organization of the new, hybrid, house type. Once established, if the result is transported to new locations by the movement of settlers, additional components may be added to the formula, until a fully adapted house is honed into general acceptability. The curious thing is that the resulting Creole house is so perfectly integrated and suited to its new environment that later generations would not guess that it has

such diverse parentage. The dominant classes of later generations generally take credit for creating the entire type. An excellent example of the synthetic creolization process is to be seen in the cultural make-up of Louisiana's 18th century Creole cottage (Fig. 2.2).

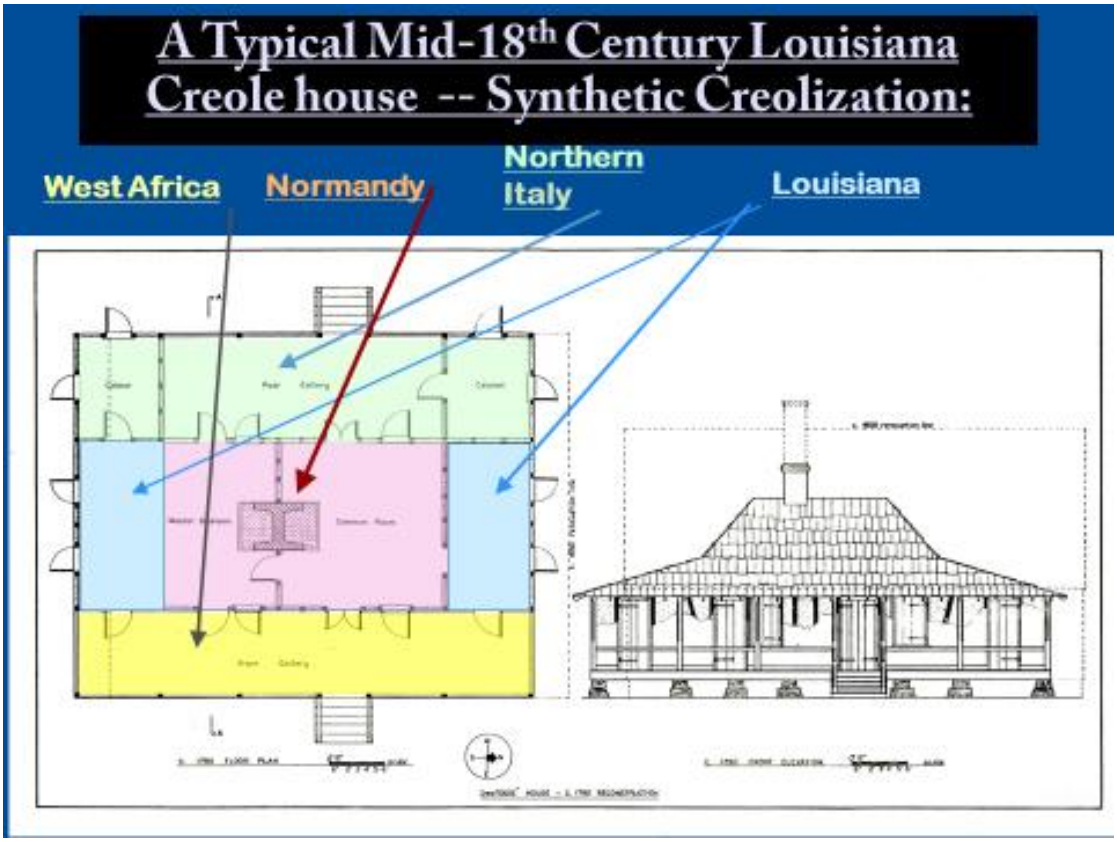


Fig. 2.2. Sources of the cultural makeup of Louisiana's mid-18th century Creole house.

Across the Atlantic World, numerous forms of Creole vernacular architecture were created during the centuries of European expansion into Africa and the Americas. Some of the components of the new architectures were European (Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, English), while others were contributed by coastal West Africans and by enslaved populations in the Caribbean and Brazil, and later in the South. Many of these components were already old when Louisiana was first settled in 1699. Galleries, for example, appear on the vernacular houses of the very earliest French settlements along the Gulf Coast, such as Mobile and Dauphine Island. Travelers to these locations commented on the very un-

European natures of the houses that they saw there. Compare the observations of two French travelers to the Gulf Coast:

> Now for the manner in which the French build their houses in this country. All the houses [of Dauphine Island] are frame and one story high; there is only one house which has two stories. The dwellings are comfortable enough. The walls are made of mud and whitewashed outside in inside. The lime is made of oysters and other shells. Some of these houses have a solid brick foundation; all are two or three feet above the ground to protect the timber work from dampness; most have a gallery all around, and those which haven't are covered from top to bottom with lattices.[38]

Ninety-one years later, Charles Cesar Robin, another French visitor to the Gulf Coast, described the houses of New Orleans with the following words:

> These cleared banks [of Bayou St. John] disclose here and there pretty country houses, of the most varied types. Some are of wood, surrounded by galleries in Chinese style; others are built of brick, and are adorned with galleries in the Italian style, several have columns (p. 10)…. The general construction is of wooden framework with the spaces between posts filled with earth and the whole coated over with lime plaster. The principal body of the house consists ordinarily of only two very large rooms, but the heat of the climate makes galleries a necessity. All have them. Some are the kind which encircle the entire house, others are at either façade only. These galleries are formed by the elongation of the roof, which is twisted in all senses contrary to our [French] curved roofs [with a fringe of lower-pitched roof, rather than the Mansard style in which the edge of the roof is more steeply pitched.] These curved and elevated roofs are supported by colonnettes of wood in a symmetrical arrangement which is quite pretty. Ordinarily, the galleries are eight or nine feet deep. The depth of the galleries offers several advantages, such as preventing the rays of the sun from striking against the walls of the house, thus rendering them cooler, and serving as promenades during the day. While promenading, one walks on the side opposite to the sun. During the oppressive heat of summer, meals are served there, guests are entertained out there, and some families even use them as bedrooms where one may enjoy the cool night air. In a great number of houses, they enclose the two ends of [the rear gallery] in order to make… private cabinets at each end.[39]

Descriptions such as these reveal the curious and remarkably un-European nature of the architecture of Louisiana in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as witnessed by visitors from France. They also indicate that the process of synthetic creolization was well under way when the very first generation of permanent houses was being built along the Gulf Coast. Later, we will see descriptions of the first generation of shotgun houses which are not as detailed as those above, but which also fit into this pattern of curiosity about unusual house types in Louisiana.

Adaptive Creolization. The second basic component of creolization is called "adaptive creolization." It refers, not so much to the physical building itself, as to the ways in which people adapt to and reinterpret the buildings that they create or inherit.[40] While each building is relatively static and relatively permanent, the ideas and values which surround it may differ through time, or even between residents and users at the same time. People of the same community often harbor different interpretations about a house -- how it is to be used and what it means. Is the style appropriate? What behaviors are proper on the front gallery? At its heart, a house is an engine for separating people and their social behaviors into appropriate spaces. But not everyone agrees about these ground rules. People often come from different walks of life and different social backgrounds. Moreover, their attitudes and values change from one generation to the next, so their ideas about good architecture also change. Changing cultural habits soon exert new pressures on the established patterns of spatial geometry – houses evolve. To fully understand these changes, we need to reconstruct the salient shared patterns of domestic life: cooking and dining, entertaining, work, sleep, toilet habits, class differentiation, gender relationships, child raising, disease treatment and prevention, worship and the sacred, and the influence of architectural fads on local traditions. Ideally, in order to paint an accurate portrait of the changes in housetypes through time, we need to understand how people disagreed about their architecture and how they came to demand new forms and patterns in their houses. And, this needs to be done for each generation or each decade, as the patterns of vernacular architecture undergo transformation. In actual practice, this is a very tall order because the details of social life are seldom well-recorded, at least not in detail. The architectural historian must be flexible. He or she must

use every kind of available evidence to reconstruct the history of adaptive creolization in a community. New Orleans is a particularly difficult nut to crack. Up until almost the middle of the nineteenth century the vast majority of the citizens were non-literate. Few diaries in other sources of cultural self-reflection existed, particularly about the standards of local architecture. We must, for the most part, fall back on traveler's accounts and the discussions of visitors such as architects. The historian's emphasis must remain focused upon both sides of the equation of creolization in order to reconstruct a balanced account, not only of how the architecture changed, but *why* it changed. Synthetic creolization and adaptive creolization are not only equally important, they help to explain each other.

Stages in the Evolution of the Atlantic Linear Cottage

With these ideas in mind, we may now begin an overview of the historical creolization of the Atlantic Linear Cottage. Here, we will discuss West Africa and the Caribbean. In the following chapter we take up the story of New Orleans. The Linear Cottage is not a normal house-type. Square houses, rectangular houses and even round houses are fairly common in the world's vernacular architecture, but a house with a single front room which opens progressively into all of the other rooms of the house – that is quite unusual. Today, the Atlantic linear cottage is distributed very unevenly in West Africa. It is also to be found in Hispañola, in Cuba, and across the southern portions of the United States east of the Rockies. Why doesn't it occur on other West Indian islands, such as Martinique, Barbados or Jamaica? In what follows, we briefly summarize the stages in the development of this widely diffused family of architectural types. Each stage occurs in a different geographic theater, and each is characterized by a number of principal transformations resulting from changing social conditions:

II. Upper Guinea from the Sixteenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Century.

In westernmost West Africa, Upper Guinea extends from the Senegal River in the north to the western border of the Ivory Coast in the southeast (Fig. 2.3). Summaries of the indigenous building traditions of this area do exist, but there has been very little historical analysis for the period of first contact between

Europeans and the indigenous populations.[41] The profound global significance of this coastal contact zone remains under-appreciated in both the anthropological literature and that of architectural history. It is in these insular, coastal and riverine zones that the foundations of world colonial architecture were laid at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The area is ethnically and architecturally complex. No brief description can summarize the complexities of the indigenous architectures found there.[42] Yet, it is possible to identify certain widespread themes which are characteristic of large areas of Upper Guinea. A few of these forms and patterns contributed in varying strengths to the development of the Atlantic Linear Cottage in Saint-Domingue/Haiti, and in Louisiana.

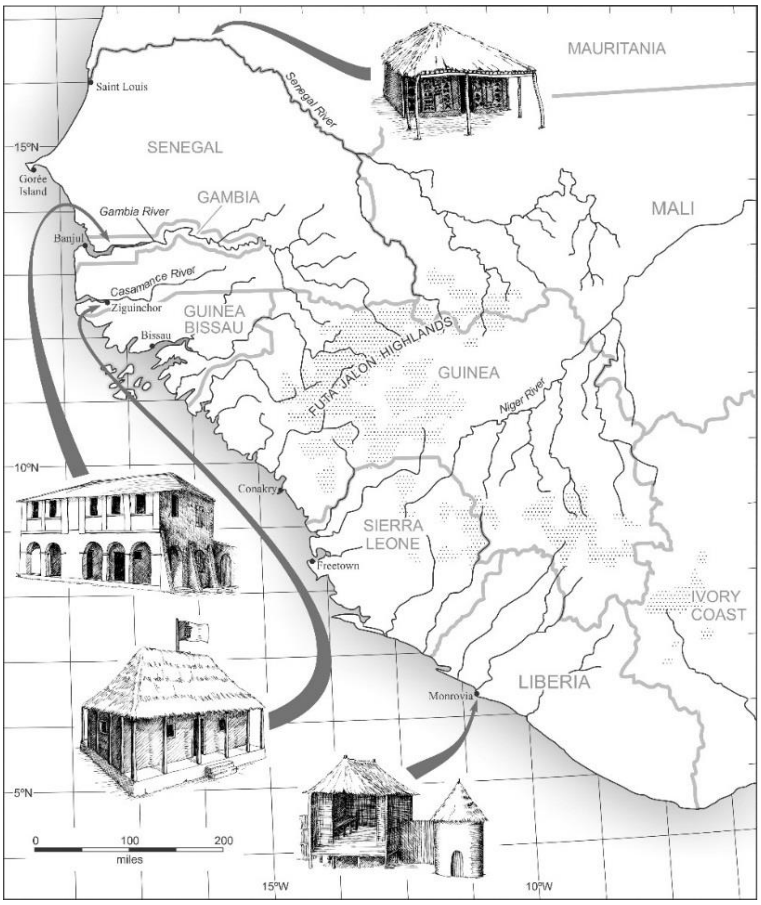
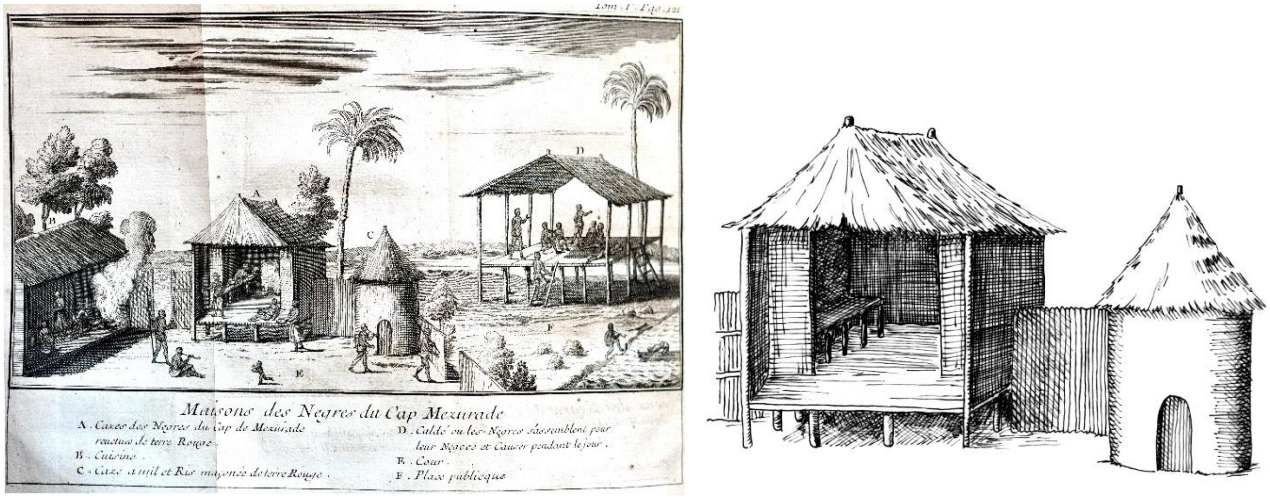


Fig. 2.3. Upper Guinea and its architecture. MLE for the Kniffen Lab.[43]

Indigenous culture patterns contribute to creolized traditions in different ways. Sometimes, specific popular forms are remembered in a new pioneering setting. They function as memory models to

be reproduced in the new environments. Other patterns are more abstract and, perhaps, because of that, more influential. Their underlying affects are harder to assess. An example of the latter is the distinction drawn by West Africans between two components of their typical vernacular houses.

Whether round or square, large or composed of only single room, the indigenous houses of Upper Guinea are subdivided into interior and exterior zones of living. Each zone may receive distinctive interpretations in different cultures, but the basic idea appears to be ancient and widespread. During the period of initial European contact in West Africa, the "inside house" was generally characterized by relatively small interior rooms. Its walls contained few windows, if any. If the house was divided into separate free-standing pavilions, each separate unit (*kombet*, as they were called in the early days of European contact) carried a specific function – bedroom, children's room, store room, kitchen (Fig. 2.4, left side). In cultures favoring circular structures, a typical "house" consisted of multiple kombets (Fig. 2.5). Because the African family was often polygynous, each co-wife had her own set of kombets, as did her husband and elderly males of the family. All of this was usually surrounded by a stockade or defensive wall (*tapanca*).



Figs. 2.4a, 2.4b. A ca. 1724 sketch by Labat. An indigenous African compound near Cape Merserado (Liberia).[44]

A second kind of architecture developed for important local chiefs and for the middlemen who traded through them with the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Each house had an

enlarged meeting place incorporated into it. These roofed exterior meeting places were reserved for the men. They were often elevated several feet above ground level. They might be attached directly to the front of a rectangular *kombet* as an exterior veranda, or they might be positioned as separate free-standing pavilion structures, often near the entrance to the compound (Fig. 2.4, right side). Generally, they were open on at least three sides. An open gallery or "outside house" functioned as a reception zone where men chatted, and as a zone of business where traders and foreigners were entertained and where they slept while staying over. The English traveler Richard Jobson reported the following on the Gambia River: "I was treated to sit downe under their open shades, which are made by the better sort of people on the out-side of their houses, to take the ayre in." The French traveler Labat described indigenous houses and compounds near Cape Merserado on the coast of present day Liberia: "Their chambers are raised three foot above the ground to avoid the inconvenience of the dews. These houses resemble, pretty much, our mountebanks stages in Europe. The front is open, and the floor has a jutting-out of five or six foot broad, where the Negroes, laid on mats, pass the day with their wives and family..."[45]

As successful trade relations between Europeans and West Africans increased in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century in Upper Guinea, the "outside house" took on new importance. It evolved into a place of hospitality and commerce. Rectangular residences with full width front, or encircling, galleries became increasingly popular symbols of social and commercial success, or at least the aspiration to such success. They were adopted specifically into the domestic architecture of the "Tangomaos" -- an important class of miscegenated and creolized traders and cultural brokers who self-identified as "Portuguese." [46]

Indigenous Forms and Portuguese Style Trading Stations in Upper Guinea

Discussing the Jolof (Wolof) coastal culture of the King of Kaffan (Senegal) in 1725, the French traveler Jean-Baptiste Labat, writing as the Chevalier des Marchais, wrote the following critically important description:

> Some of the richer Negroes and the Portuguese Blacks [*Tangomaos* or Luso-Africans] build in the manner of this last Nation, which is much more commodious. These houses have only a ground floor, but they generally raise it two or three foot, to avoid the damp. They build them of a considerable length [depth], divided into several chambers with small windows, on account of the heat of the climate. Before the entry they generally make a porch or vestibule, open on all sides, where they receive their visits, dine, and transact their business. The walls of these houses are generally seven or eight foot high, made of reeds or clay, covered within and without, with fat [sic. F. *grasse*, sticky/gooey] earth, mixed with straw, and white-washed with lime. Their kings and grandees build in this manner. Their villages or towns consist of more or fewer of these kombets, or houses, built together, especially of the better sort.[47]

Luckily for us, the worldwide quest of an unconventional Frenchman following World War II has contributed substantially to our understanding of this fast-disappearing trading architecture of the Upper Guinea Coast. If you should look up the book, *Aspects de L'architecture Populaire dans le Monde* by Monsieur Jean Gaspard Dollfus in your favorite search engine, you may find that it is not even for sale in the United States.[48] You might have to order a used copy from a bookseller in Paris. Dollfus was a geographer concerned with climatic and geographic adaptations of vernacular architecture. He sampled the entire built world, emphasizing those ancient house types built by local craftsmen in each region. He was interested in historically successful adaptations, including the artful use of local materials and special features designed to enhance comfort, such as open loggias and galleries. He sketched a typical house of Casamance – that section of Senegal south of

The Gambia River. Jean-Baptiste Labat, describing the houses there in 1725, couldn't have done a better sketch. Here is early Creole architecture – the prototype of the Atlantic Linear Cottage Fig. 2.5).

Between the late seventeenth century and the late mid-eighteenth century, European maritime nations -- first the Portuguese, and then the Dutch, followed by the French and the English -- began to compete with the Tangomaos. They built their own trading stations and trading directly with the African kings and chiefs. The architecture of a few of these stations was recorded and described by the factors or directors of the stations.[49]

By the time of the establishment of British and French-operated trading posts in seventeenth century Upper Guinea, the front gallery was firmly established as central to the canon of trading post architectural symbolism. In 1733, the "factor" Francis Moore left a plan and a detailed account of the construction of a British trading post building at Juffure on the north shore of the Gambia River, by contracted Mandingo builders (Fig. 2.6). "Their next work was to make a porch called an *alpainter* [Port. *alpendre* - porch on the outside of the wall of a building], by the natives, who pretend a right to have one at every factory, that they may have access and shelter." Moore's account makes it clear that it was the Africans who were responsible for adding the gallery to the European-commissioned building.[50]



Fig. 2.5. A trader's style house in Casamance, Lower Senegal, 19th century, as sketched by Jean Dolfus, ca. 1950.

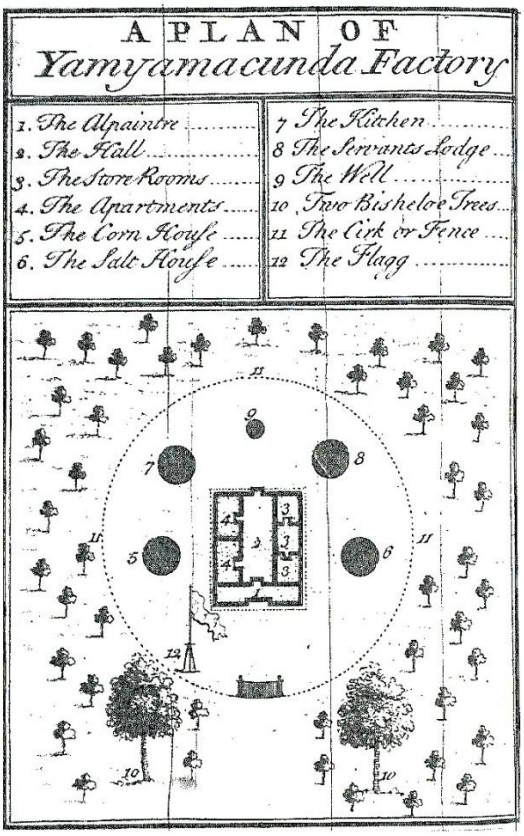


Fig. 2.6. Plan of the Yamyamacunda factory at Jaffure, near Albreda, on the Gambia River, as recorded in 1733 by Francis Moore, its factor.

A French trading station in the "Portuguese Style" at Ziguinchor, on the Casamance River, was sketched by the French traveler, Hyacinthe Hecquard, ca. 1850. Early European trading houses were constructed by local African builders using a system of post-supported thatched roofs and non-supporting walls of clay or wattle-and-daub. The mode of construction is described in detail by Moore. Most post buildings had front galleries (Figs. 2.5 - 2.7).

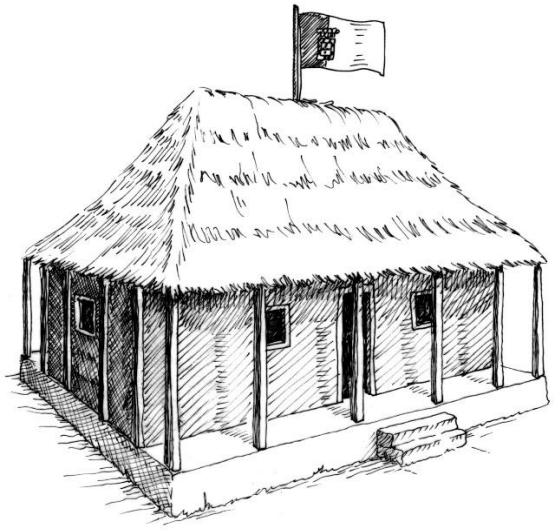


Fig. 2.7. Portuguese Style. The French trading house at Ziguinchor On the Casamance River, as originally sketched by Hyacinthe Hecquard ca. 1850, as redrafted for clarity by MLE for the Kniffen Lab.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the Europeans had begun to incorporate aspects of European high-style architecture into their Upper Guinea trading houses. The buildings were now often two stories tall. Storage and slaves awaiting transshipment to the New World were kept on the ground floors. The living apartments on the better-ventilated upper floors were fronted by broad living galleries. The galleries had become a place of social elegance, evidenced by the wearing of one's best robes and kaftans while entertaining there (Figs. 2.8 – 2.9). This legacy is, perhaps, remembered in the vernacular speech of Trinidad where the term "gallerying" refers to dressing with style and individuality.[51]

By the eighteenth century mulatto traders, many of them female, had assumed ownership of grand trading houses. The female traders, or *signares*, as they were called in the Portuguese-based vocabulary of the coast, traded with, and intermarried with, the local European officers and company officials. Signares were recognizable by the use of their tall headresses. Their histories are in many ways parallel with those of the quadroons of early 19th century New Orleans. Even today, the domestic architecture of Upper Guinea remains profoundly influened by the commercial success of these trading networks and their creolized trading houses.



Fig. 2.8. Maison Anna Colas on Gorée Island, near Dakar, Senegal. This elegant early nineteenth century trading house was run by a *signare* or high-class African female trader. Today it is called the "maison d'esclaves."



Fig. 2.9 A *signare* and attendant in their finery.[52] Hinchman 2000.

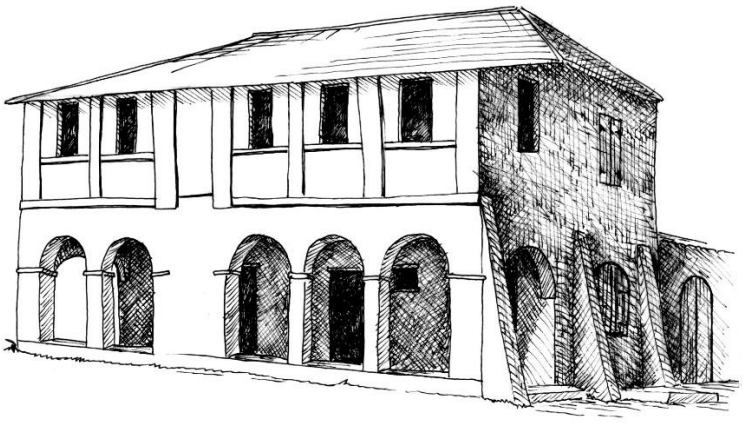


Fig. 2.10. The CFAO French Trading House, Albreda on the Gambia River. This building was built in Europeanized "Portuguese" style. MLE for the Kniffen Lab from a photo by JDE.

Two general processes of creolization are inherent in the sequence of building traditions outlined in Upper Guinea: The first involves the abstraction of functional principles from previous widespread indigenous patterns – specifically the division of domestic structures into interior and exterior living zones. The second finds the application of these principles to newly introduced local forms of architecture – the "Portuguese Style" (Fig. 2.9). This style was constructed first by the early Creole Tangomao traders, then for the Portuguese themselves, and by the early seventeenth century, by other Europeans, particularly the French and the British.

III. Hispañola and the Atlantic World: 16th Century – 19th Century

Farm and Plantation Houses – The Architecture of the Colonists

"Portuguese"- style Creolized trading houses were only one of the vectors of architectural transmission through which Creole house forms were introduced into the vernacular architecture of the Atlantic world. Creole trading-house style galleries were probably first introduced into the Portuguese and Spanish plantation colonies in the late-sixteenth century.[53] By the early seventeenth century the galleried plantation house was well-developed by the Dutch, who, in 1630, had conquered the Portuguese sugar colony of Pernambuco (Figs. 2.13, 2.14). In the Caribbean, the extended front gallery appears to have been at first largely limited to the Spanish Islands of Hispañola, Cuba and Jamaica. There, African slaves were imported by Spanish colonizers and traders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sometime before 1600 the Upper Guinea style full-façade-width open gallery was adopted by Spanish Creole planters and farmers on their rural houses in all three islands (Fig. 2.15). Perhaps it was these rural planters, ranchers and traders, rather than wealthy grandees, who were most amenable to the environmental innovations of coastal West Africa? Beginning about 1640, the Dutch and Sephardic Jews from Pernambuco were beginning to market the entire sugar plantation complex to the French and English in the Caribbean. Together with knowledge of how to establish an *ingenio* or sugar mill, how to acquire and manage African slaves, and how to package and market sugar from the fields came architectural knowledge. Raised, galleried plantation houses enter the French and Dutch colonies at just about this time (Figs. 2.16 – 2.17).

As the industrial slave trade grew in the 1640s, the idea of the full-width open front gallery as a principal symbol of hospitality, social standing, and commerce was increasingly popular throughout the Atlantic World. This occurred in both Spanish colonies and those captured from the Spanish by the French, British and Dutch. The *alpendre* of Upper Guinea was recreated in the form of the *marquisina* (front porch) of the Dominican *bohio* (folk house; Figs. 2.15, 2.23). In Jamaica (after 1655) and in western Hispañola (after ca. 1650) the "living gallery" was adopted by the British as the "piazza" and by the French as the "*galerie*" -- in both cases based upon earlier Spanish Creole colonial models and those

introduced by the Dutch from Pernambuco (Figs. 2.15, 2.27). Raised houses with encircling galleries appear between the mid seventeenth century and early eighteenth century across the Atlantic World, including in the European posts on the coasts of Upper Guinea. They are found on trading post and administrative buildings in Upper Guinea, and on plantation houses in the Caribbean (Figs. 2.11, 2-16 – 2.19).

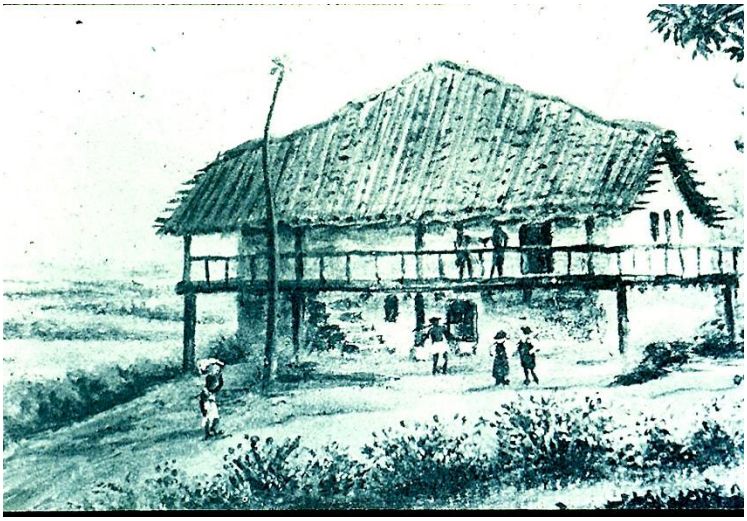


Fig. 2.11. A field painting of a raised plantation house in Pernambuco, 1637-1644, by Franz Post.

In this period, African slaves newly transported to plantations and farms were required to build their own houses. Their "quarters" settlements were said to resemble African villages. Many of these were in a generalized African vernacular style, and some included full-width front galleries (Fig. 2.4). Only later, in the early eighteenth century, did planters plan formalized slave quarters with straight streets and cut-out copies of carefully designed quarters houses. European ideas of landscape architecture gradually replaced the antique forms of Africanized Creole architecture. Still, Linear Cottages were among the most popular forms of slave quarters in both periods (Figs. 2.12 - 2.13).

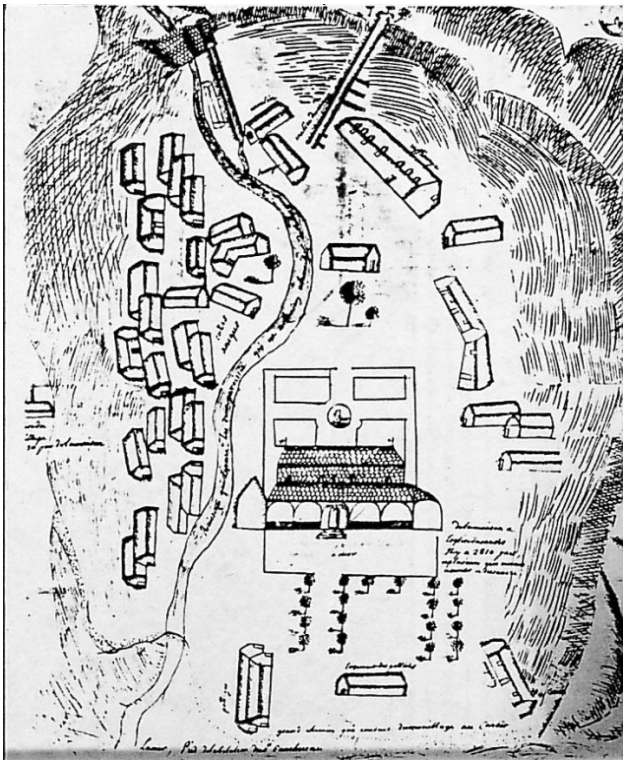


Fig. 2.12. Martinique. A 17th century African style slave *carbet* (settlement) on the habitation of Mr. Banchereau as sketched ca. 1726. Annales Nationales de Outre-Mer. F3 288 37.

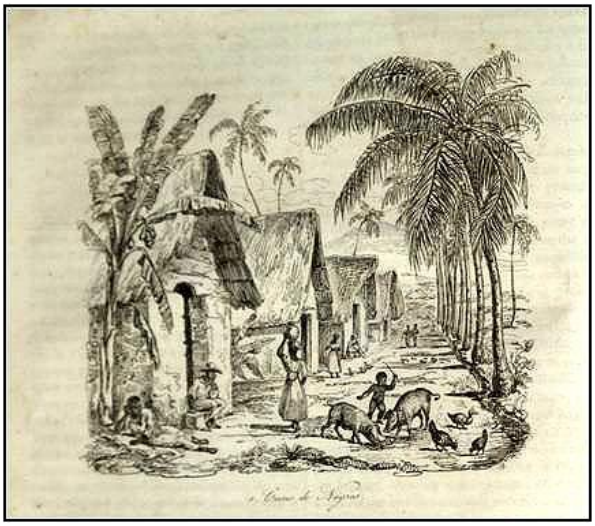


Fig. 2.13. Martinique. A new style 18th century style Caribbean slave quarters with straight streets and similar houses, as sketched in 1828.

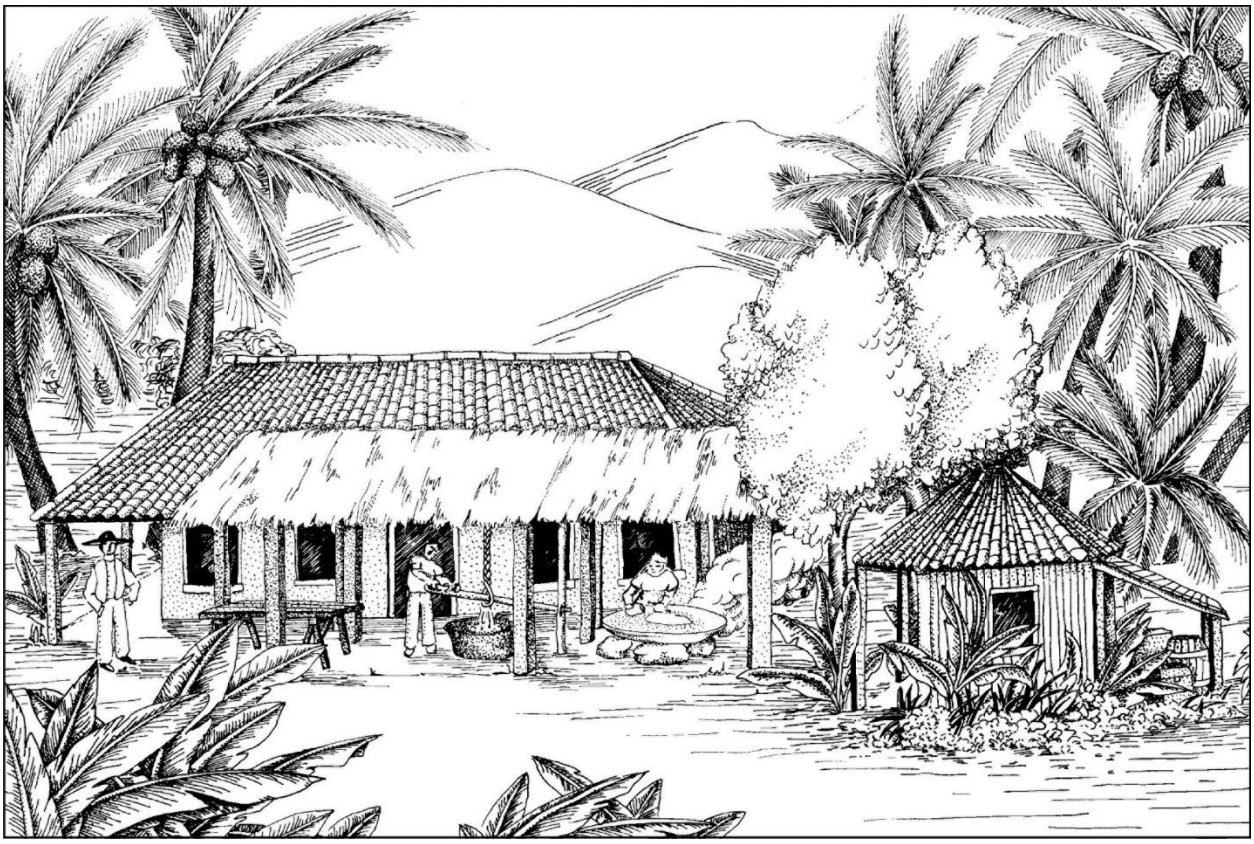


Fig. 2.14. The house of the overseer (broad-brimmed hat) of a plantation in Pernambuco, Brazil, ca. 1637 -- 1644, as originally sketched by the Dutch artist, Franz Post.[54]

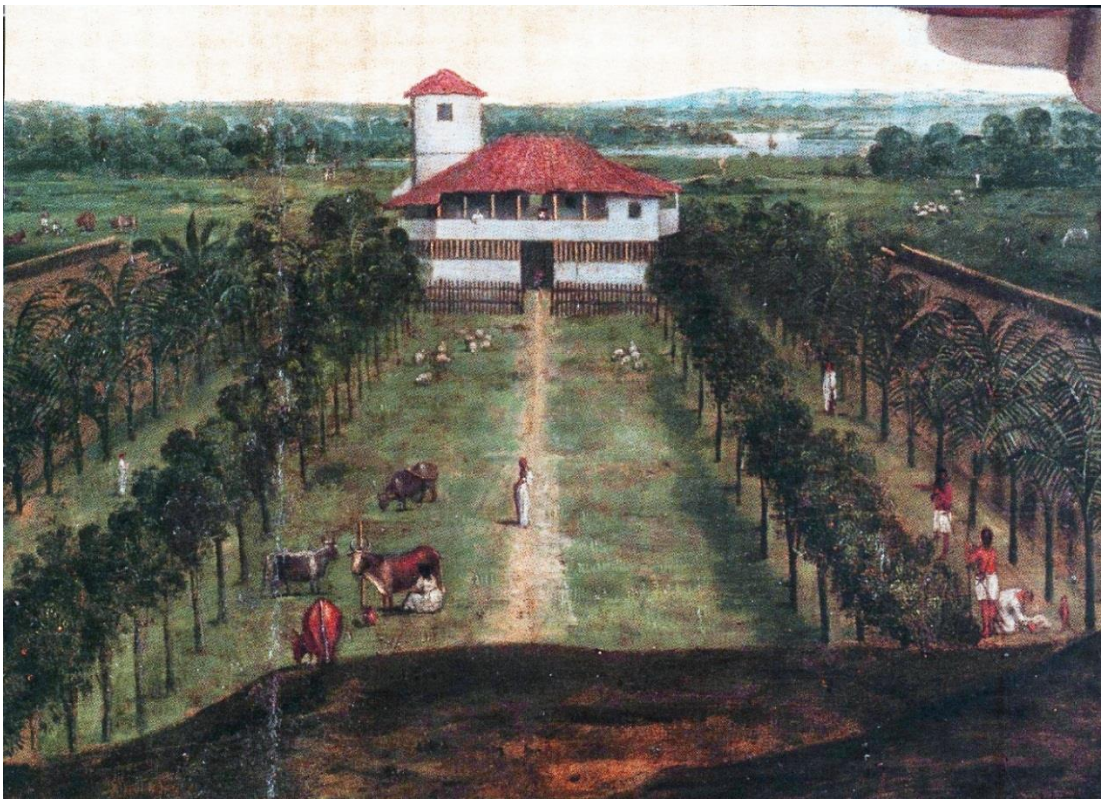


Fig. 2.15. A raised, galleried, *casa grande* tower house on a plantation in Pernambuco, Brazil, 1641. This is detail of the painting, "Tupi Woman holding child," by Albert Eckhout, who was famous for his Brazilian castas paintings.



Fig. 2.16. An early Spanish style Creole house ca. 1655, rebuilt ca. 1775. The Broussard-Laguehaye house, Petite-Anse, Plaine du nord, Haiti. This house was later taken over by French planters, and re-roofed in the French style. The gallery and rear loggia are original. JDE photo, 2006.



Fig. 2.17. Drax Hall Estate great house. An 18th century Jamaican Creole plantation house with surrounding gallery.



Fig. 2.18. Un habitation de plaisance au Port-au-Prince dessin de Gaston Vuillier d'après une photographie. An 18th century raised Creole plantation house in Saint-Domingue. Image courtesy Brown University Library.

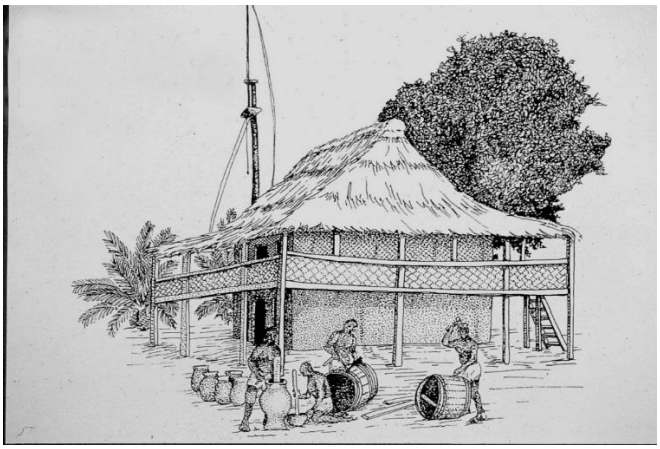


Fig. 2.19. A French *comptoir* on the Ivory Coast after a 19th century photo. Sketch by MLE for the Kniffen Lab.

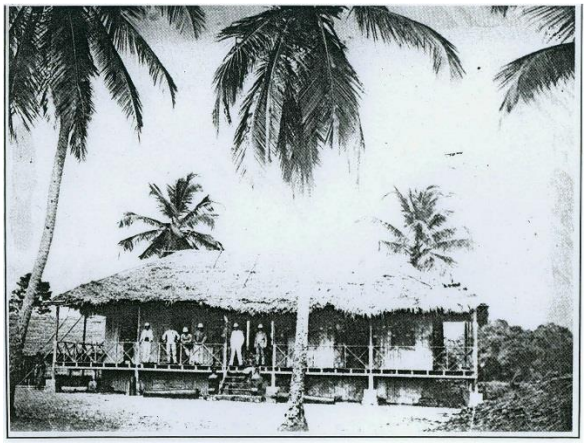


Fig. 2.20. A French colonial trader's cottage at Assinie, Ivory Coast, a 19th century photo.

Even before the early seventeenth century, however, the Upper Guinea style "outside house" (front gallery) had been adopted into the folk architecture of independent farming populations in Hispañola. Perhaps as early as 1532 rectangular houses with open front porches were recorded by de Oviedo (Fig. 2.21).[55]

The Ti-Kay: The Folk Linear Cottage of Hispañola

The "small house" or *ti-kay* of Hispañola was well-established when the Portuguese received the first Spanish *asiento de negros* -- a contract to import shiploads of slaves from their Upper Guinea colonies into Santo-Domingo for the Spanish. The year was 1517. The idea was initiated by Bartolome de Las Casas who complained that the indigenous population in Santo Domingo was disappearing, and that a new source of labor was required if the gold mines and the sugar plantations (*ingenios*) were still to be worked. Previously, the Spanish Crown had agreed to conform to fifteenth century Papal decrees which granted the Portuguese exclusive right to trade in West Africa. So, in 1517, when the demand for slaves increased beyond the ability of the Spanish to supply blacks directly from Spanish territory, King Charles I (Aragon and Castile) sold a contract for the importation of 4000 Portuguese slaves to a courtier, who in turn sold it to a Genoese merchant group for 25,000 ducats. Slaves imported into Santo-Domingo after 1518 came from Portuguese trading posts in Upper Guinea. Geographically, they was the closest available exploitable population outside of the New World, and West Africans had long engaged in enslaving their own people. It was not long before substantial numbers of *bozales*, or "salt-water slaves" (who did not speak Spanish) began arriving in the Spanish Caribbean colonies. Almost immediately, some became runaways, escaping to the mountains of the interior. Hispañola is the second largest of the Antillian islands, and it has the highest mountains east of the Mississippi River in all of the Americas. It was so rugged and forested that despite their technical advantages (horses and guns) it was impossible for the Spanish to reacquire their escaped *cimarrones*. In these remote hideouts, African maroons mixed with the surviving Taino populations and established new settlements of their own. The remote northeastern peninsula was said to be particularly attractive to runaway slaves. Within a few years, reports of their depredations including robberies and murders were being described in memoranda sent back to Spain. Sequestered in the highlands and the swampy coastal plains, the maroons were free to design and build their own styles of houses. What did their architecture look like?

The following explanation is, of course, a hypothesis, but one based on considerable comparative evidence and the thinking of some of the best scholars in the business, including John Vlach and Philippe

Oszuscik. It is my hypothesis, as well. Together, we have years of archival research and many combined months of field work in West Africa, in Hispañola, and other parts of the Caribbean and South America. I have resided on some thirteen different Caribbean islands over a total of about two years. Here, I will try to draw some of this evidence together, recognizing that other sources of architectural influence must remain uninvestigated. Since Eurocentric accounts of Caribbean architecture are so dominant in the literature, here we focus on the often-ignored non-European side of the story.

Spanish-acculturated African (*Ladino*) slaves had begun to escape into the mountains of the Island of Santo Domingo as early as 1502. *Bozales*, newly arrived from Upper Guinea, did so in far greater numbers after 1518. So it should come as no surprise that the vernacular ground-rules common to Guinea Coast architecture would play a significant part in the new architecture of the maroon communities. West African vernacular house forms were syncretized with the building technologies and the selection and use of building materials common to the local Taino, even as their populations miscegenated.[46] A Guinea Coast Linear Cottage became one of the standard house types of the isolated African *cimarrones* and their Taino partners in the mountains.[57] It appears to be the Africans who added the front gallery to the single-room Taino house. An aboriginal Taino house could typically be as large as ten meters in diameter, but among the maroons this was down-sized dramatically to a rectangle as little as two to three meters across (Fig. 2.21 – 2.22). We recall that the inside houses of most Africans are quite small by European standards. This amalgamation created the first generation of Linear Cottages in Hispañola. By the late eighteenth century there were tens of thousands of these little wattled cottages (Figs. 2.23 - 2.24). They were used by slaves, maroons, and free black peasant farmers, but the house form was never adopted by white Spanish Creole colonists (Figs. 2.25 – 2.26).

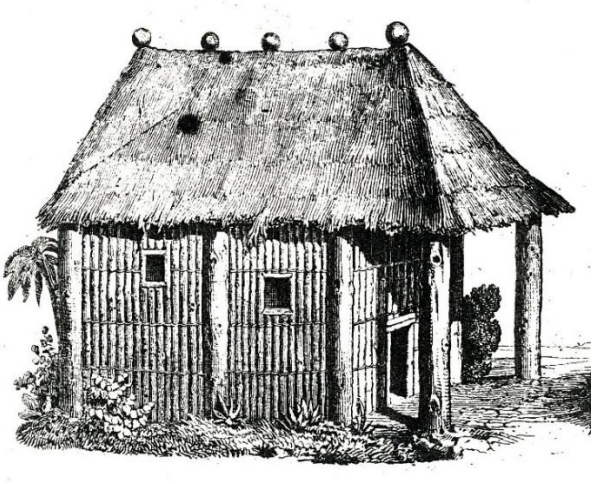


Fig. 2.21. Woodcut of a syncretized Arawak *Bohio* (house), as sketched for Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez, 1516. Since aboriginal Arawak houses were circular or polygonal, this form appears to be creolized with an African gallery and Spanish or African rectangular ground plan. The style of construction is Arawak.

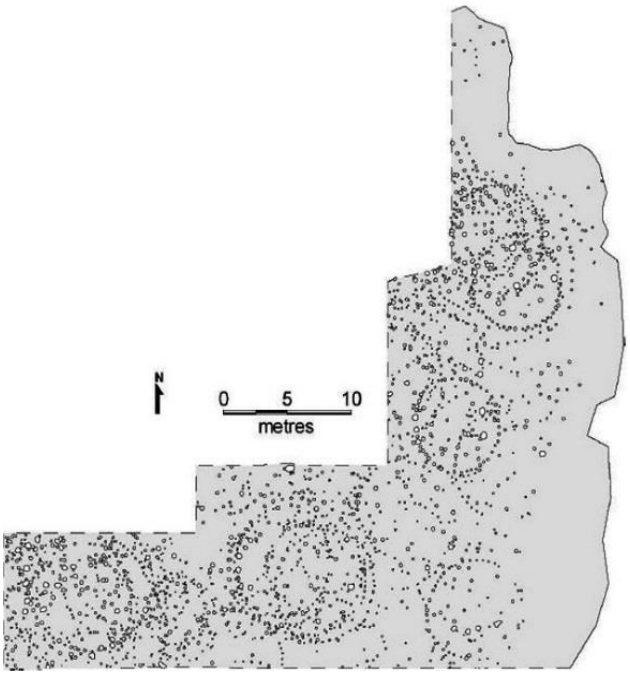


Fig. 2.22. Excavated ground-plans of pre-Columbian Taino houses. They average 7-10 meters in diameter and are built as circular earthfast palisades.

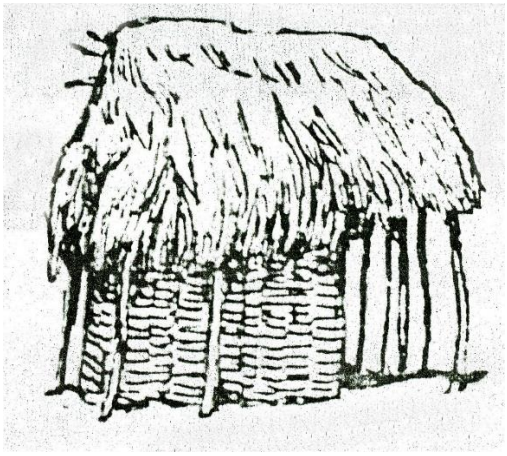


Fig. 2.23 A wattled hut (bohio) in the style of 18th century Hispañola. Recorded by Jean Dollfus .

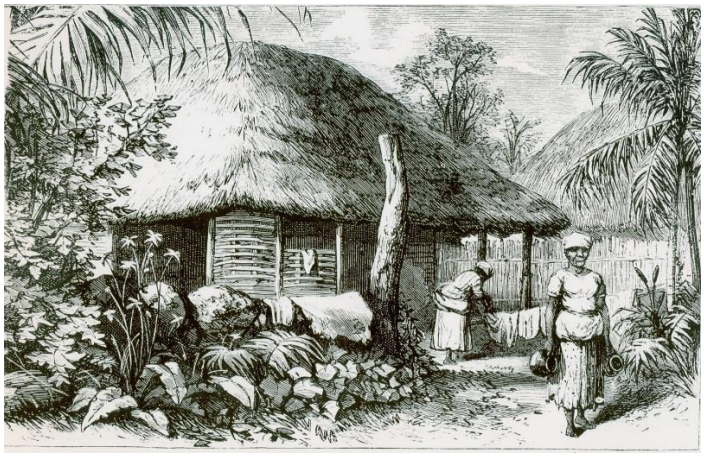


Fig. 2.24. A wattle-walled house in Villa Loba, Dominican Republic. The type of wattling and the inset gallery were employed by "Portuguese" Creoles in West African settlements.



Fig. 2.25. A Haitian *ti-kay* at Dufort, Jacmel. The wattling is covered with clapboards. JDE photo, 1995.



Fig. 2.26. A wattled and plastered *ti-kay*, Southern Haiti, JDE photo, 1995.

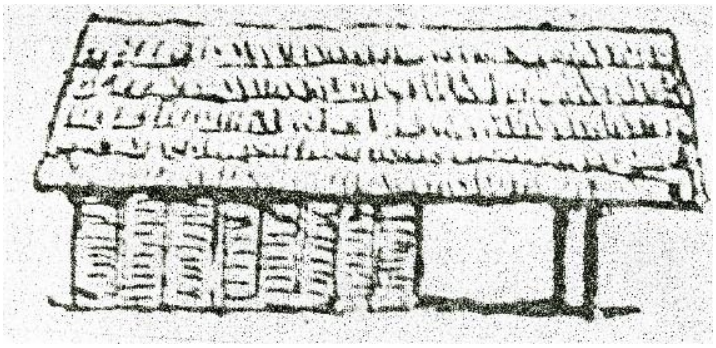


Fig. 2.27. A linear cottage from the coasts of West Africa, as sketched by Jean Dolfus, ca. 1950.

In 1975, John Vlach observed that the geographical distribution of *ti-kay* (folk linear cottage) in Haiti was roughly equivalent with the distribution of the habitation zone of maroons in the colonial period (see mountainous (shaded) areas, Fig. 2.28). Vlach also argued that the *ti-kay* of Hispañola functioned very much like the traditional vernacular house of Upper Guinea. Both groups of vernacular houses shared small interior rooms with abundant open-air living and reception spaces. Interior rooms averaged roughly 100 square feet. The almost ubiquitous porch on the front of the *ti-kay* functioned much like the daytime house of the West African compound, and the Haitian *lacou* (*cour*, or family courtyard) functioned socially much like the African *tapanca* or enclosed family compound (Fig. 2.29). The

residence was largely a woman's preserve. Groups of *ti-kay* were often built together, recalling the close association between the multiple *kombets* of close relatives within a West African compound.[58]

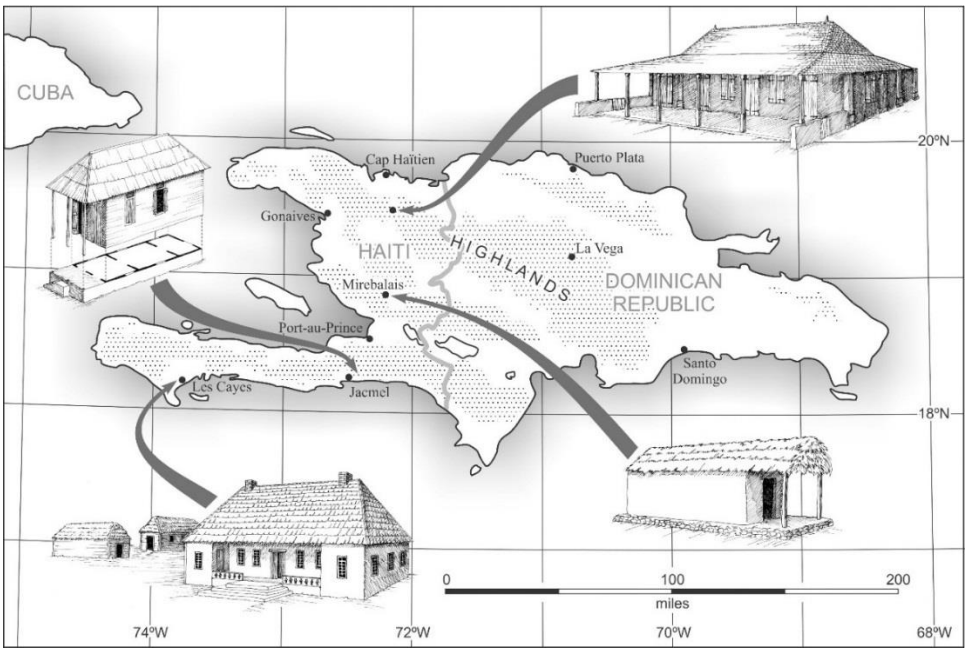


Fig. 2.28. A map of Hispañola, showing some of the colonial house types of Haiti. Shaded areas are highlands Where the original *ti-kay* house was popular, mostly in the central and southern portions of Haiti. MLE for the Kniffen Lab.

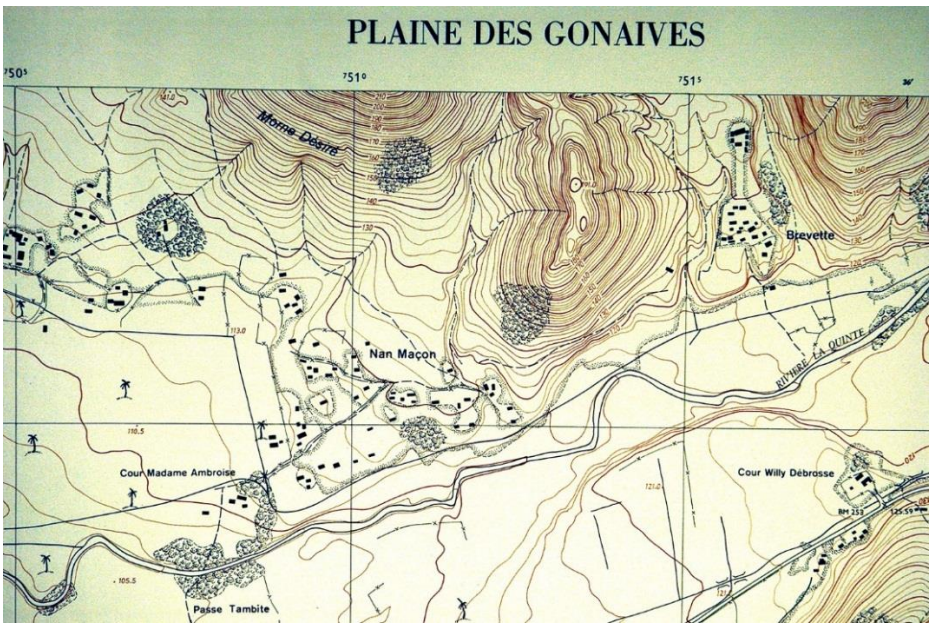


Fig. 2.29. A 1/5000 scale map of a portion of the Plaine des Gonaïves, north central Haiti, showing multiple *cours* (family compounds), some of which are named. Many of the house shapes appear to be *ti-kays*. KLM topo sheet, courtesy the Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress.

French mariners and other "buccaneers" began to take over the western third of Hispañola in the early decades of the seventeenth century. From about 1650 they established permanent settlements in what is today Haiti. The city of Cap François was laid out about 1670. Soon a small folk house (*petite caille* or *ti-kay*) was widespread in the rural and mountainous areas of the Saint-Domingue colony.[59] It was generally characterized by one or two near square rooms fronted by a porch covered by an extension of the thatched roof, either gabled or hipped (Figs 2.28 - 2.29). Sometimes the porch was expanded into an open air reception or bedroom area, as in West Africa (Figs. 2.25, 2.31, 2.35). As in Upper Guinea, the walls were usually wattled (Figs. 2.28, 2.25), and often plastered with clay (Figs. 2.26, 2.32), or they were covered with wooden clapboards or with split palm bark coverings called *guanisnes des palmists* (Figs. 2.25, 2.30). These houses had either one or two doors in the façade (Figs. 2.29, 2.30). Tens of thousands of rural *ti-kay* Linear Cottages still exist in Haiti, and some in the Dominican Republic (Figs. 2.32 - 2.33).

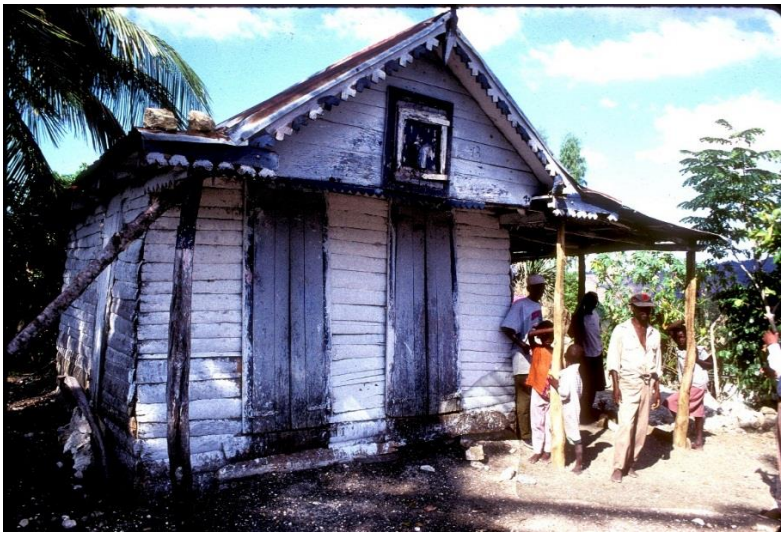


Fig. 2.30. The house of Revoiel Sylvin, on the Duclos Road near DeLamite, southern Haiti. The walls are sheathed with *guanisnes des palmists* (clapboards of palm). JDE photo, 1995.

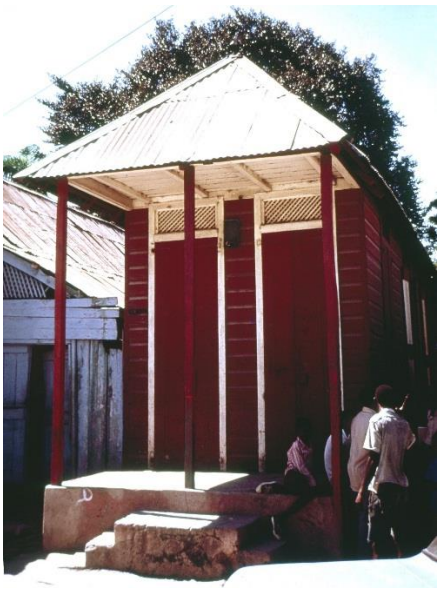


Fig. 2.31. An urban style *maison basse* (low house) in Port-au-Prince. John Vlach photo, 1976.



Fig. 2.32. A sketch of a rural house in the Dominican Republic. It appears to be a two-part Linear Cottage with an inside house and an outside house, hung with hammocks. Sketch from Samuel Hazard, 1871.



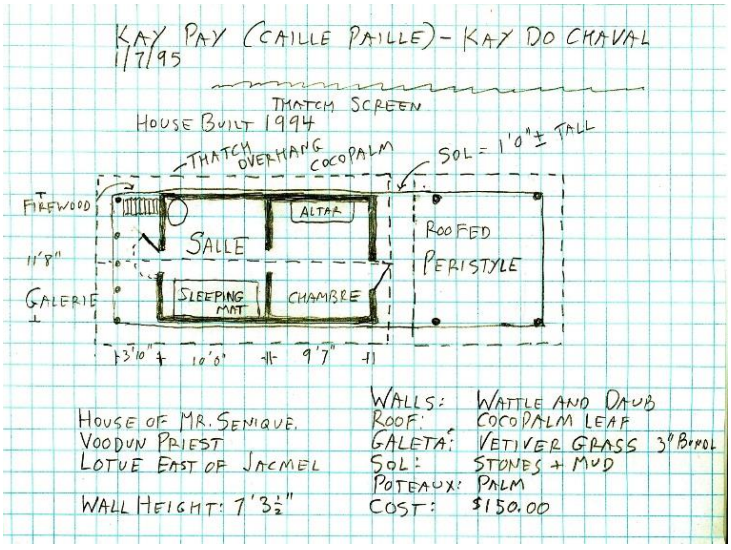
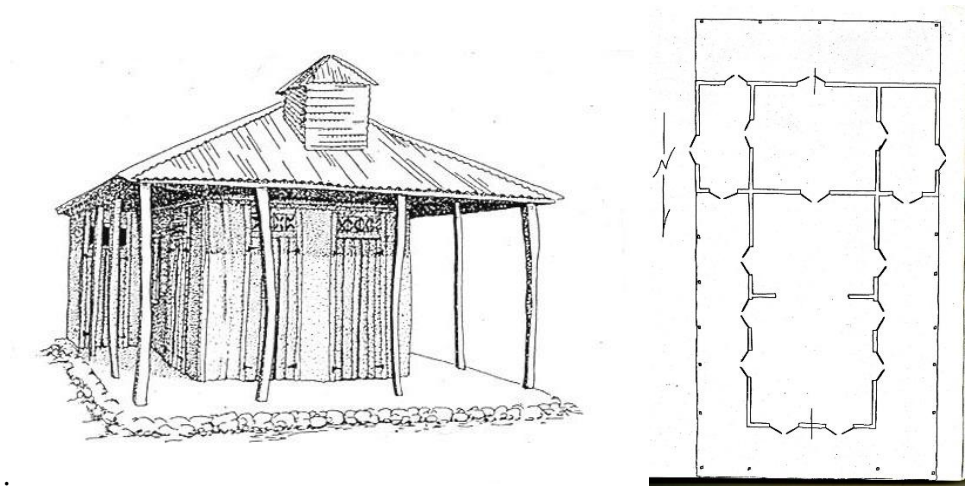


Fig. 2.33a, 2.33b. Two-room *ti*-kay of Mr. Seneque, a Voodoo Priest, located at Lotue on the south coast of Haiti east of Jacmel. At the rear is a roofed peristyle for Voodoo services. JDE photo and field notes, 1995.

The *ti-kay* also served as a model for slave housing on French sugar plantations of the eighteenth century. “Today’s rural… [*ti-kay*] may represent the architecture of the [colonial] plantations. The free Negroes who were eventually to build their half-timbered shotguns became accustomed to the house form during their formative years in bondage. Their city dwellings were simply more elaborate variants of the plantation shotgun house constructed with the techniques of French carpentry.”

In urban settings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the simple two-room urban *ti-kay* was expanded in numerous ways to accommodate to new environments. It was lengthened, expanding to between three and five rooms (Figs. 2.34, 2.35); it was surrounded with galleries (Fig. 2.34); thatched roofs were replaced with shingles, tiles, and later, corrugated iron (Figs. 2.34a - 2.40); it was constructed in *colombage* and *briquette-entre-poteaux* carpentry methods (Figs. 2.35 - 2.37); it was built taller with amenities such as transom spaces over the doors (Figs. 2.30, 2.34a); it was built double-wide (Fig. 2.40); it was given an L or T shaped plan (Fig. 2.34b); and, finally, it was built two stories tall and given the designation *kay enchanmotte* (*caille en chambre haute* – (house with high rooms (Fig. 2.39).[60] In the towns, *ti-kay* were adopted particularly by members of the *affranchis* (freed people of color) class.

More recently, newer versions are being constructed in concrete block, brick, and other modern materials. It was discovered after the devastating earthquake which took place in southern Haiti on January 12, 2010, that these inflexible materials tended to collapse far more readily than the traditional earthfast and wattled methods used in the countryside. Some 250,000 residences collapsed the earthquake, mostly in the heavily urban areas of southern Haiti between Léogàne and Port-au-prince.[61]



Figs. 2.34a 2.34b. An elevation and plan of an expanded *ti-kay* surveyed by John Vlach in 1973. It is located on Ave. Jean-Claude Duvalier in Port-au-Prince.

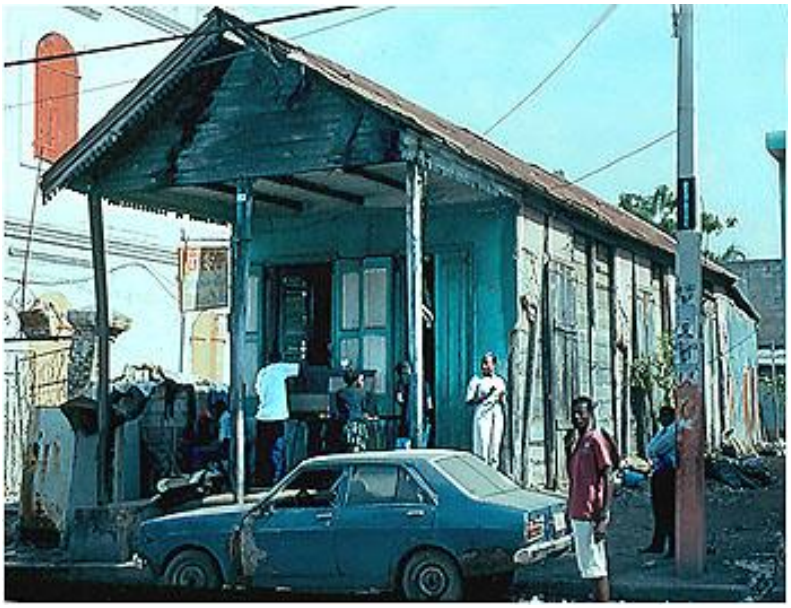


Fig. 2.35. A *maison longue* in Port-au-Prince. The construction is French style timber framing, infilled with bricks. JDE Photo, 1995.



Fig. 2.36. Colombage construction in Vieux Aquin, Southern Haiti. JDE photo, 1995.



Fig. 2.37. A *ti-kay* in *briquette-entre-poteaux* construction On Hwy. 1. Southern Haiti. JDE photo, 1995.



Fig. 2.38. An urban linear cottage in St. Marc, Haiti. The gallery is used as an open-air shop. The walls are wattled, plastered with clay, and painted. JDE photo, 1995.



Fig. 2.39. A two story single *ti-kay* in Vieux Aquin, southern Haiti. The ground floor is used as an Adventist school. JDE photo, 1995.

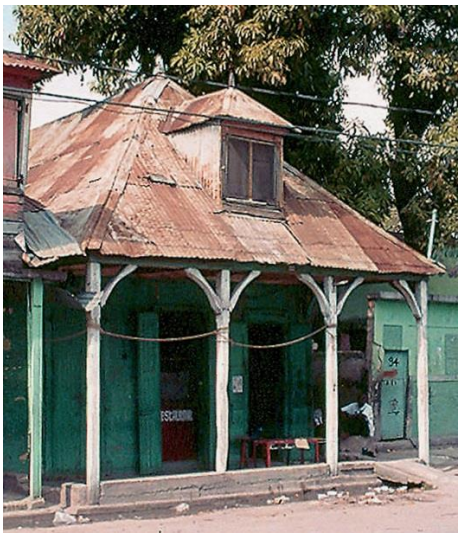


Fig. 2.40. A 3-bay Linear Cottage used as a restaurant at 19 rue de la Reunion, on Government House Square, Port-au-Prince. The curved decorative brackets on the colonnettes are strongly reminiscent of those used on Madam John's legacy and other 18th century houses in colonial New Orleans. JDE photo, 1995.

Some of the earliest hard evidence for the urbanization of the *ti*-kay in the colonial period comes from the town of Les Cayes. In 1729, the French bureaucrat Pierre Caillot, painted the town and a part of the adjacent coast. He depicts with reasonable accuracy about twelve Linear Cottage houses in Les Cayes (Fig. 2.41), and two more near a Creole-style big house on the Plantation of the Company of the Indies (Fig. 2.42). None of the Linear Cottages shown by Caillot has a front gallery, but they all appear to be two to three rooms deep – what would be called "shotguns" in Louisiana.[62] Samual Hazard, a journalist, recorded Linear Cottages both in the towns and the rural countryside of the Dominican Republic in his 1871 travels throughout the island of Hispañola.[63] Even at the time of the 1791 Haitian slave uprising, the Linear Cottage was widespread in central and southern Haiti, both in both rural and urban settings. It was also used for slave quarters on plantations (Fig. 2.42).

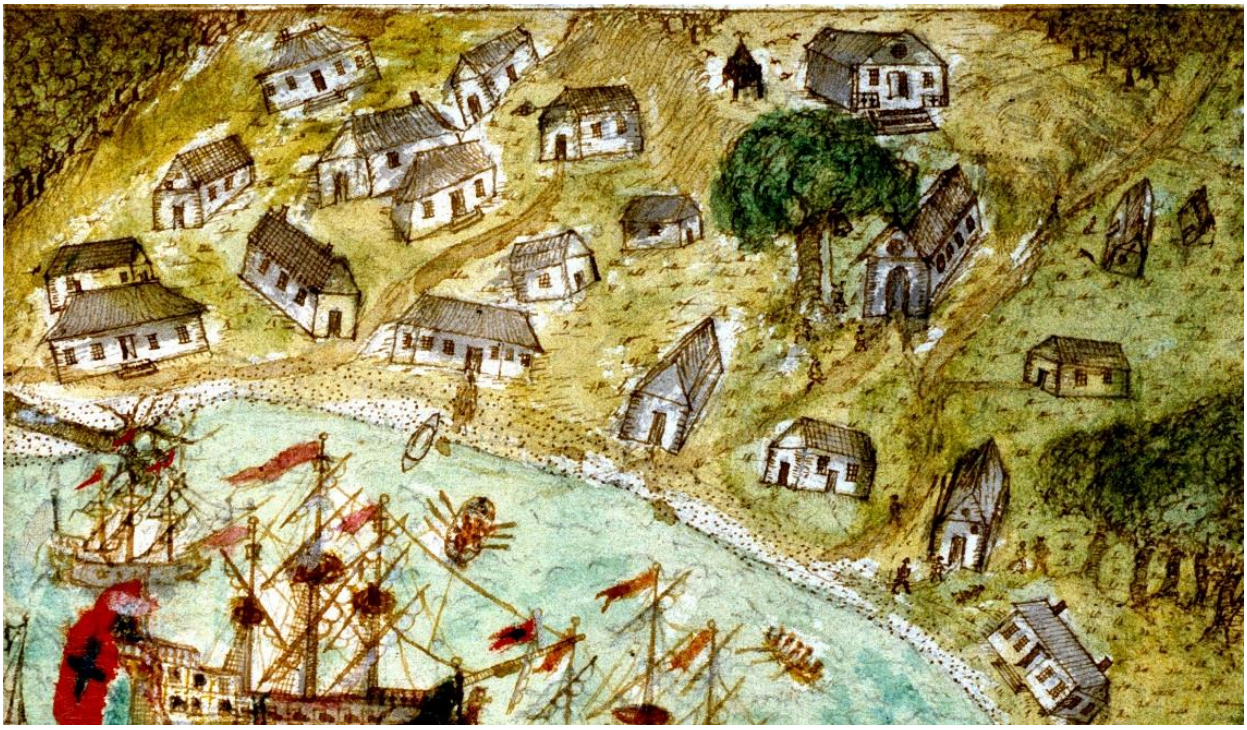


Fig. 2.41. Caye Saint-Louis: a portion of a painting of the newly built French town of Les Cayes in 1729, drawn by Pierre Caillot.[64]



Fig. 2.42. A plantation—probably the plantation of the Company of the Indies -- on the coast, south of the town of Les Cayes, Saint-Domingue, as depicted by the French bureaucrat, Marc-Antoine Caillot in 1729. Note the two linear cottages used as slave quarters, near the manager's house. Detail of the same painting shown in Fig. 2.41. Courtesy HNOC.

In summary, we find several distinct processes of creolization are represented by the diffusion of the Linear Cottage into colonial Hispañola: Synthetic creolization is seen in the amalgamation of Upper Guinea *alpendre* (front gallery) with the Taino rectangular single room house as sketched by de Oviedo in the early years of the sixteenth century (Fig. 2.21). As newly imported West African slaves escaped to become maroons, there may well have been examples of modeling on remembered West African coastal examples (compare Figs. 2.4, 2.5, and 2.27 with Figs. 2.25, 2.26, 2.33). Another possible source from West African prototypes are certain Portuguese and French *feitoria*/*barracoon* (slave trading post) buildings (Fig. 2.43). Encircling galleries were used in Africa in the eighteenth century, if not earlier. We see their legacy in late eighteenth and nineteenth Portuguese and French trading houses and slaving posts

(2.19, 2.20). They may have inspired two-story tall plantation houses with encircling galleries which appear in the French American colonies around the beginning of the eighteenth century. This architecture may have been transported directly across the Atlantic into the raised French plantation houses built at the and seventeenth and in the early eighteenth centuries (Figs. 2.17 – 2.18). It is more likely, however, that the tradition originates with the Portuguese and the Dutch in Brazil at the beginning of the seventeenth century, if not earlier. The idea was promoted by the Dutch as they sold the sugar complex to the French and the English in the Caribbean in the 1640s.

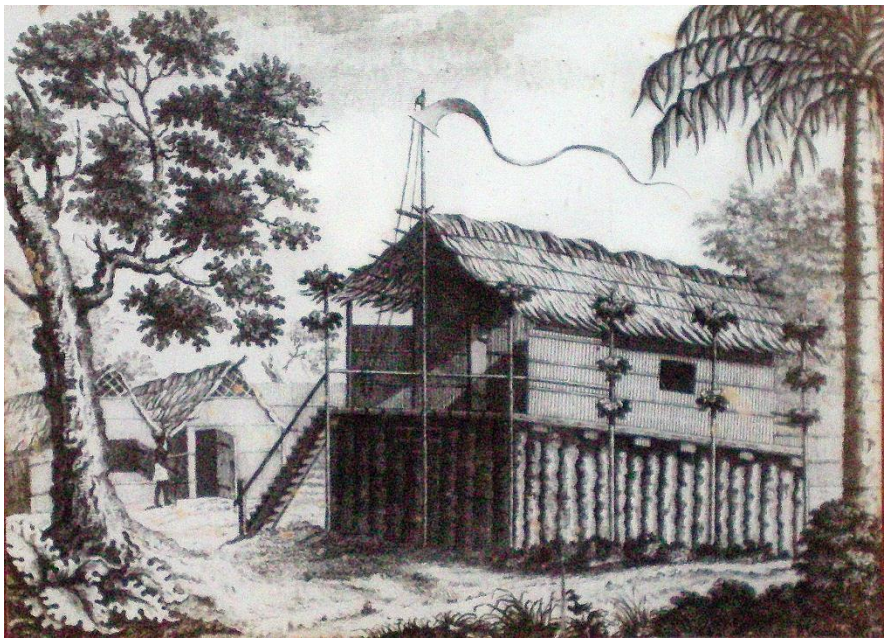


Fig. 2.43. An 18th century sketch of a Portuguese *feitoria* or slave-trading post in the Congo. The building is a linear form which is elevated on a palisade of very stout posts. The basement functions as the slave-holding pen. The building is surrounded by narrow open galleries in the form of from of the early "Portuguese" trading posts of the Creole Tangomaos of Upper Guinea (see Fig. 2.11). Compare the buildings in the background with those in Figs. 2.12 - 2.13. Image courtesy the Museum of slavery, Gorée Island, Senegal.

The earliest forms of *ti-kay* in colonial Hispañola were modeled on rectangular Spanish houses and Upper Guinea front galleries. These were syncretized with the *en-terre* and palisade construction methods of wall construction the indigenous Arawak (Figs. 2.21-2.24). Single-room rectangular houses with integrated front galleries extend back into the sixteenth century. This tiny Creole house was adapted

to the social and domestic needs of planters, who adopted it as plantation quarters, particularly in those areas where sugar production with its huge demands for labor existed. Here was adaptive creolization at work. However, as soon as the Europeans began to demand the right to design their slave quarters in the form of small villages, the wisdom of the front gallery was removed due to their incomprehensive cultural blindness of the needs of the enslaved populations (Figs. 2.13, 2.44). The Linear Cottage had been decapitated.



Fig. 2.44. An 18th century image of a French West Indian sugar plantation in Hispañola by Italian artist, F. Fumagalli. Note that the planter has included the wisdom of an Upper Guinea style open front gallery on his own *Maison de maitre*, but denied the enslaved African workers the privilege of "outside houses" on their quarters buildings, which must, now more closely resemble orderly peasant villages in Europe.

The maroons of eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue often sought employment from French and Spanish free people of color living in the towns and villages. They supplied the products of the forests and countryside. The resulting patterns of contact were prerequisite to the creation of the urbanized Linear Cottage by the *affranchis* class of tradesman and artisans. This is clearly shown in nineteenth century

sketches of towns and villages in Hispañola (Fig. 2.45). Without these cultural interminglings, the *ti-kay* would have remained a humble rural house type, rather than a nation-wide phenomenon adapted to both rural and urban environments. Whenever blacks and free people of color were free to construct their own linear cottages, however, the front gallery remained, as it has throughout Haiti, even today (Figs. 2.25 – 2.26; 2.30 – 2.40).

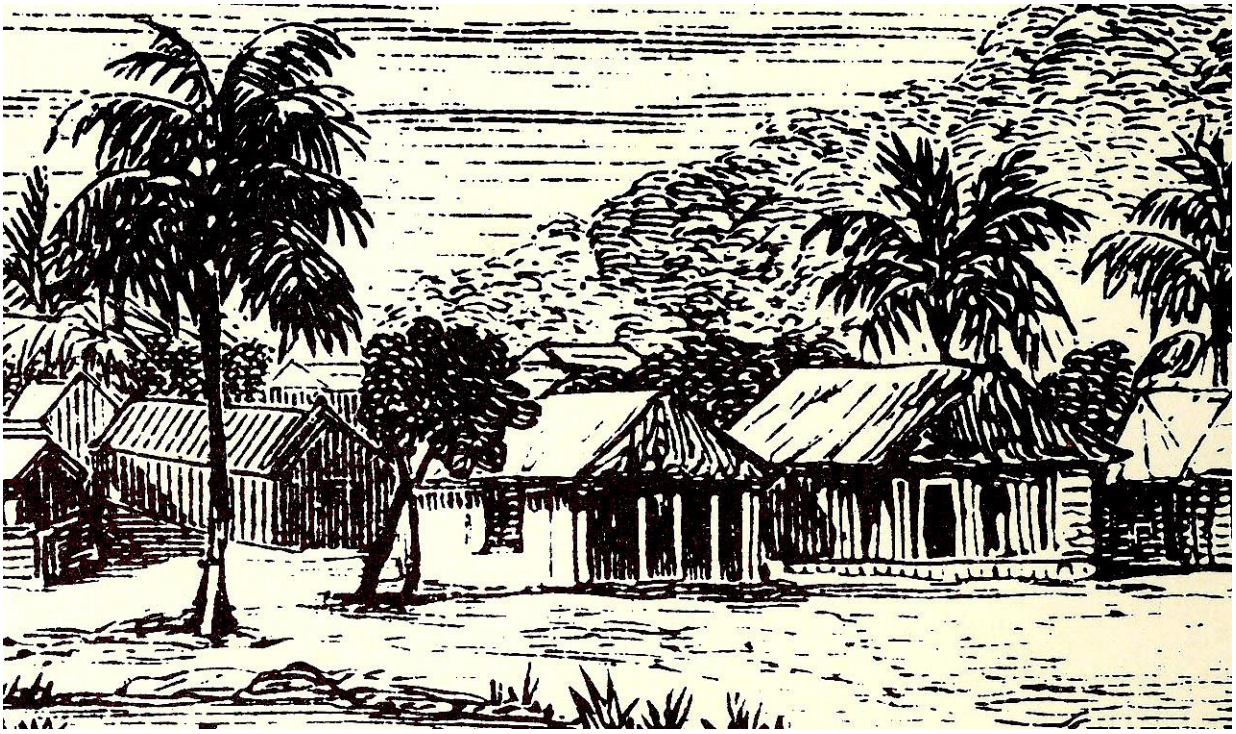


Fig. 2.45. Linear cottages in the town of La Vega, D.R., as sketched by Samuel Hazard, 1871. Detail.

It is in the towns and cities of central and southern Saint-Domingue that the *ti-kay* was reinterpreted by Eurocentric observers as a "French" building type with Gallic construction and decorative features. It was enlarged to fit the needs of the commercial and business classes of the increasingly wealthy French colony. It became the "*maison longue*" and appeared in the very centers of pre-revolutionary towns such as Gonaïves and Les Cayes. The populations of the towns of Saint-Domingue, and particularly on the southwestern peninsula, were driven out in droves by the battles between the northern Blacks and the southern mulatto populations during the Haitian revolution. The Haitians won, under Christophe, while the mulattos and free people of color who escaped, carried their

traditions, including architectural traditions, to other lands – Cuba and Louisiana. In Cuba, the *ti-kay* was Cubanized as the Salchicha or country sausage house. In the towns, it is often built with masonry, where it becomes a Chorizo (a better quality of sausage?). The masonry façade is sometimes decorated with a platibanda, or decorative surround consisting of a flat band about a foot broad, which encircles the entire façade.



Fig. 2.46. A Salchicha house in Pinar del Rio province, Cuba. JDE Photo, 2009. The house is owned by poor white Cuban peasants.



Fig. 2.47. A linear cottage in the town of Vinales, Cuba - A Chorizo house. The gallery is supported by stylized Tuscan columns. JDE photo, 2009.

Between 1792 and 1809, some 27,000 French speaking refugees entered Cuba, trying to escape the horrors of the Haitian revolution. They revolutionized the economy of Cuba. They settled mostly around eastern Cuba and the city of Santiago, but others lived in Havana and in the country, where they established coffee and sugar plantations.[65] Exports of coffee sugar, and cotton increased dramatically. Everything was going well for the Cubans and their francophone immigrants until July of 1808, when Napoleon invaded Spain. The Spanish government expelled all those not willing to swear allegiance to the Spanish Crown. Over then thousand displaced refugees from Saint-Domingue fell into this category. In May of 1809 they boarded ships for New Orleans, and the next great development in the story of the shotgun house was about to begin.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHITECTURAL CREOLIZATION IN NEW ORLEANS: 1795 – 1835.

In the waning years of the Spanish colonial administration in Louisiana, two complex multi-year events were to cause a revolution in the culture of New Orleans and its architecture. The first was the rise of a three-caste social system in Louisiana, and its eventual location as a destination for waves of refugees from the West Indies. The second was a pair of devastating fires which destroyed the old colonial architecture of the city and set the cultural landscapes of New Orleans on a new trajectory.

Despite a rough start, the Spanish became relatively benign administrators of their new North American colony. It was in 1763 at the end of the Seven-Year's (French and Indian) War, that all territory east of the Mississippi River and north of Bayou Manchac, Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, was turned over to the victorious British. As far as everyone in Louisiana knew, the "Isle of Orleans," remained French, but in October of the following year terrible news arrived. France. As part of the negotiations at the end of the Seven Year's War, France had agreed in 1762 to turn its failed colony, Louisiana, over to Spain. Leaders of the Creole colony objected, and when the new Spanish Governor Antonio de Ulloa arrived from Havana I March of 1766, the French Creoles began to organize resistance. Ulloa remained at the dilapidated Balize Post at the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the French flag still flew over New Orleans. When he eventually did move up-river, he arrived without benefit of Spanish troops, and, thus, with no basis of support. The Superior Council demanded his departure, and at the end of 1768, would-be Governor Ulloa left for Havana.

The Spanish responded quickly (for the times), sending a new governor, Alejandro O'Reilly and two thousand Spanish troops to New Orleans. In 1769 they quickly took control of the increasingly impoverished and dependent colony. O'Reilly ordered six of the top conspirators to be shot, and others jailed in Havana. French control of Louisiana was over. The new Governor, Louis de Unzaga y Amézaga, ruled with sympathy for the local Creoles. He relaxed some of the trading regulations and tariffs to which

the Creole rebels had objected. Gradually, Trade increased with the Caribbean and even with the British, and Louisiana prospered. Most of the old resentments engendered against Spain under the Ulloa administration gradually diminished. As the American Revolution was blazing to the north and east, Louisiana's economy advanced to its highest level ever. Unzaga permitted the sale of munitions to the American rebels. Support for the Americans was increased dramatically under Louisiana's new Governor, Bernardo de Gálvez, in 1777. Gálvez established a militia of local Creoles, Free People of Color, Acadians and Germans, including enslaved Africans. He attacked and drove the British from Baton Rouge, securing British West Florida (the Florida Parishes), and the town of Natchez. This effectively drove the British from the entire Mississippi River Valley. Gálvez then turned his army east. In 1780 he attacked and took Mobile and then Pensacola, driving the British from the entire Gulf Coast, and securing Spanish sovereignty from east Texas to the Atlantic coast. This, incidentally, dramatically increased the success of the American Rebels in the new southeastern states.

Racial Demographics and Culture in Colonial New Orleans. "Throughout the nearly forty years that Spain held it, New Orleans remained a colonial French city. It never became Spanish in a cultural sense, and it would still be a colonial French city when the United States took over in 1803." [66] Although the Spanish administrations had permitted local Creoles a dominant role in the Cabildo – the Spanish governing council -- there persisted certain unbridgeable differences of views of the Spanish and the local French Creoles. One of these dealt with slavery and race. Under the French *code noir* (black codes), manumission, or the freeing of slaves was theoretically possible. In practical terms, however, it was difficult, and few French slaves had been freed, except for meritorious military service. Black slaves who had fought and been wounded in the Natchez war of 1729-30 were promised manumission.

The Spanish introduced a more liberal slave law. It found its roots in Roman law, as recast in *Las Siete Partidas del (Ray) Don Alfonso X, El Sabio* (of Castile, 1252-1284), itself based on Justinian legal codes. Although slavery was an accepted condition of both the Holy Roman Empire in the fourth century

and Castile in the thirteenth century, the document provided a rather liberal foundation for the Spanish Law of the Indies governing slavery and the relationships between owner and slave.[67] The *partidas* (legal measures) outlined a number of specific rights to which slaves were entitled, including *coartación*, or the right to purchase one's freedom from one's owner. This was a protection incorporated in to Louisiana's Spanish slave laws under the O'Reilly Code in 1769.[68] Under the French in 1732, only six persons in New Orleans were listed as free – all were *mulâtre(se),*or people of mixed race (Martin 2000:60). Later, all free persons of mixed race would be called *gens de couleur libres*. By 1771 there were still only 99 free persons of color in New Orleans, out of a total population of 3,190 (or only 3 percent of the total population of the city. Under the relative freedoms of the Spanish slave code, however, that number rose dramatically.

Table 1.

Free People of Color as a Proportion of the Total Population of New Orleans

1771-1810 (figures approximate)

Years:	**Total pop. New Orleans:**	**Pop. Free People of Color:**	**Freed Slaves as % of total Population**
1769-71	3,190 (3,127)	99	3.0 (3.1)
1777-78	3,202 (3,659)	315 (353)	9.8
1785-88	4,980 (5,028 - 5,321)	820 (563)	16.5 (15.4)
1791	5,497 (4,516 – 4,816)	1,462 (862 – 1,147)	26.6 (17.1)
1805	8,212 (8,222 – 8,475)	1,556	19.0
1810	17,242 (24,552 in area)	5,727 (4,950)	33.2 (23.3)

The census figures in Table 1 are based on estimates for New Orleans published in several sources.[69] Census figures for the same period disagree, sometimes significantly (in parentheses). However, the overall trends are clear. There was a dramatic rise in both the number and the proportion of Free People of Color during the Spanish colonial period, and again, following the arrival of so many refugees from the colony of Saint-Domingue, by way of Cuba in 1809. Most of the increase between the years 1805 and 1810 in Table 1 is due to the immigration of Haitian refugees from Cuba.[70] Even under a policy established by the French population's Spanish rulers (in force from 1769 to 1807), the most industrious and lucky slaves were able to buy their freedom backed up by authority. Masters also made ordinary, gratuitous manumissions of [mostly female] slaves…. A combination of the two phenomena made the town's free blacks a comparatively large urban population, constituting about one seventh of the parish at its height in 1810.[71]

One additional fact of demography proved to be important in the development of the New Orleans shotgun house. Even prior to the arrival of large numbers of Haitian refugees in 1804 and 1809, the sex ratios of the population of Free People of Color in New Orleans had been curiously skewed. In the countryside, the plantations employed far more males than females, but in the city of New Orleans the opposite was true, and particularly for Free People of Color. For every ten free colored women of marriageable age, there were only about six men of their own class. Unlike any other portion of the United States, Free People of Color were entitled to own land (and slaves) in Louisiana. Women of this class became very prominent land owners in New Orleans, particularly in those sections of the city populated by free Blacks.

Table 2

Phenotype and Sex of Slave by Type of Manumission in New Orleans 1771 - 1803

Phenotype and Sex		Gra-ciosa	Condi-tional	Self-Purchase	Third-Party Purchase	Tri-bunal	Total
Cuarterón	Female	35	4	7	25	3	74
	Male	17	0	1	23	0	41
Pardo	Female	180	23	49	91	30	373
	Male	148	8	26	93	16	291
Grifo	Female	9	0	9	15	2	35
	Male	6	0	1	8	0	15
Moreno	Female	260	25	242	104	55	686
	Male	86	6	116	56	34	298
Not given		57	6	1	30	14	108
Total		798	72	452	445	154	1,921

Source: Notarial Records.

Table 2 is taken from Kimberly Hanger.[72] It shows that in the late Spanish Colonial period, black-skinned slaves were freed most often – there were far more of them. Second came light-skinned females (who were often the children of slaves and masters). Technically, they were ¾ white, and were known as Quadroons (Pardos). Even lighter skinned slaves came next (there were even fewer of them) -- Octaroons (Cuarteróns), and finally mulattos (Morenos, half white and half black). About 1168 female slaves had been manumitted by their masters or their freedom was purchased by themselves or by another (usually a relative). Roughly 645 male slaves were manumitted, probably mostly through self-purchase or purchase by a third party. The ratio of manumissions was, thus about 65% female to 35% male. In New Orleans in the 1805 census Lachance reported that there were 2.2 adult free women of color for every free male of color.[73]

As the Spanish colonial period drew to a close, the populations of *affranches* or freed slaves remained very different in the city and the country. Far more freed females resided in New Orleans, while more freed males resided outside of the city. Thus, the availability of potential light-skinned male mates in New Orleans was extremely limited for freed females of color wishing to marry within their own caste. Because of the racial imbalances of the city, many female free women of color did not seek to marry free people of color. Instead, they sought out white male benefactors. By 1777 there were two white men in New Orleans for every white woman. It is about then that we may date the origins of as full-fledged three-caste society in Louisiana. Many white Creoles sought out the companionship of light-skinned free women of color. Already, by 1788, it was reported that 1,500 Quadroon women lived in homes supported by white men.[74] Under Spanish law, free people of all classes could marry, though it was reported that only three cases of white men officially marrying free women of color were reported.[75] Most white men formed long-term and life partnerships with free women of color. Later, this was referred to as plaçage, after the designation used in Saint-Domingue. Following the Louisiana Purchase, laws interdicting interracial marriage were established and white men were forbidden to marry free women of color. The Civil Code of 1808 not only forbade interracial marriage and concubinage, but it also forbade unlimited

inheritance by “natural” children conceived out of wedlock. They could receive only “what is strictly necessary to procure them sustenance, or an occupation or profession.”[76] There were many other legal restrictions on inheritance as well. This, however, did not change the popularity of *plaçage* arrangements, which persisted for many decades. Because *plaçées* received a “small house in the Ramparts,” a stipend, and other forms of support, they soon became a substantial property-owning class. By custom, the resided mostly in the “Quadroon Quarter” of the French Quarter, Faubourgs Tremé, and Marigny, and the Bayou Road (Fig. 3.1). It was here that the Quadroon ladies of New Orleans would make their impact on its vernacular architecture (see *The Landlady Effect*, below).

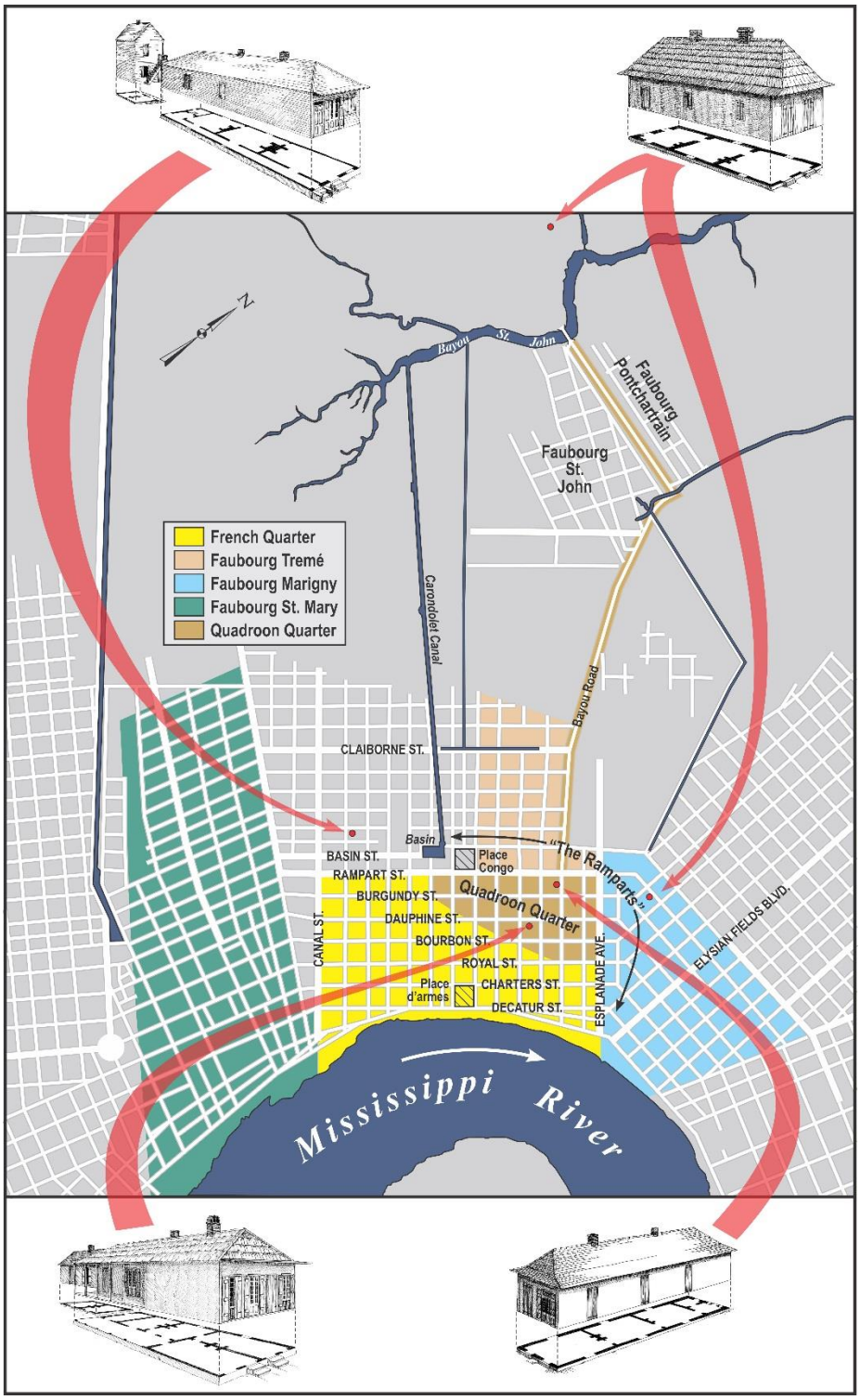


Fig. 3.1 A map of New Orleans as it had developed by 1830, with typical Linear Cottages Illustrated. The names are those used at the time. MLE for the Kniffen Lab, LSU.

As a preliminary exercise, we took a rough census of African-American land owners along the Bayou Road registered on maps and in the Succession Index of 1849. The list contains the names of



Fig. 3.2. A rough list of Free People of Color landowners along the Bayou Road in New Orleans between 1797 and 1822. The list is not complete and does not include additional landowners on Rue de l'hôpital or Governor Nicholls Street in the French Quarter. The informal survey illustrates the very high proportion of female landowners.

twenty-four landowners. The remarkable thing is that one half of them were female – an indication of the relative economic power of free women of color in the city at that time. The ratio of one-half female property owners also extended to the Quadroon Quarter in this period.

Arrival of the Haitian Refugees. In several waves, substantially more than twelve thousand refugees from the Haitian Revolution arrived in Louisiana between 1791 and 1809. They included roughly equal

proportions of colonial French, African slaves, and *affranchis* (free people of color--called *gens de couleur libres* in New Orleans). This latter, largely mulatto, population had become a *petit bourgeoisie* class in Saint-Domingue. Men worked as planters, as small businessmen and as artisans--carpenters, house builders, cabinet makers, carriage makers, masons, barbers, upholsterers, and real estate brokers. They were renowned tailors and shoe-makers. At the end of colonial rule (1803) the city of New Orleans had 1,335 free people of color out of a total population of 8,050 (the colony of Saint-Domingue had well over 28,000).

The refugees arrived in three separate but nearly continuous waves. The greatest exodus from Saint-Domingue occurred in the summer of 1793 when approximately 10,000 residents were driven out of the Capital city of Cap François as it was being besieged and burnt by the rebels. This wave of refugees from the north coast of Saint Domingue crowded onto ships which dispersed many of them to the cities of the American eastern seaboard from Boston to Charleston. Almost none came directly to Louisiana. Later, some who remained in the United States found Louisiana French culture more to their liking and moved to New Orleans. James Pitot, a future Mayor of New Orleans was one of these. Another was Louis Duclor, who came via New York City in 1794, and who established the first newspaper in New Orleans – *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*.[77] In general, though, this group had a small but growing impact on the culture and society of New Orleans. Other Saint-Domingue refugees went to other West Indian islands, including Cuba and Jamaica, whence some later migrated to Louisiana. In 1798, following the departure of the British expeditionary force from the south of Saint-Domingue, another group arrived in the States. Records support a figure of several hundred arrivals in Louisiana between 1792 and 1803, but there were probably more.

The second wave of refugees left Saint-Domingue at the time of the final French evacuation of the colony, and its transformation into the second independent nation in the Americas – Haiti. This occurred in 1803, the year of the Louisiana Purchase. This group of refugees included many free people of color who had resided in the south and west of Saint-Domingue, and who were being massacred under orders of

Dessalines and his conquering black army. Cuba did not accept some of the Haitian refugees, so many came aboard ships which arrived in New Orleans. Others were expelled by the British in Jamaica and arrived at the same time. The total number of refugees in this period has not been calculated, partly due to the turmoil connected with the Louisiana Purchase which resulted in poor record keeping. Perhaps as many as three thousand could be counted in this period. Refugees continued to trickle in from the West Indies and other locations until 1809, when the last and largest influx of refugees occurred.

In 1809, Napoleon attempted to place his brother, Joseph, on the thrown of Spain. In retaliation, the Spanish expelled French citizens from their colonies. Most prominent among these was Cuba, which then held perhaps 25,000 or more French refugees from Saint-Domingue. Cuba declared that all French nationals who were not married to Spanish Cubans, and who had not requested naturalization and declared loyalty to the King of Spain, be expelled. It happened suddenly. Refugees who had made a new life in Cuba, particularly in and near the eastern towns of Santiago and Baracoa, were suddenly uprooted once again. Between May, 2009, and January, 2010, approximately ten thousand refugees arrived in the Mississippi delta via some thirty-five ships. The refugee population was approximately evenly divided into thirds. There were 2,731 whites, 3,102 free people of color, and 3,226 slaves.[78.]

This migration had profound impacts on New Orleans. It doubled the number of French speakers in the city. It more than doubled the number of free people of color who resided there (134%). In all, something between 12,000 and 15,000 refugees found new homes in Louisiana as a result of the Revolution. These refugees introduced to New Orleans a large number of cultural institutions which we now consider Creole. The refugees, and those who proceeded them from the West Indies, have not been given the credit they deserve for their profound contributions to Louisiana. Among these are many aspects of Louisiana's heritage, including literature, publishing, music, dance, education, medicine, agriculture (sugar refining), law, and the military, and also our folk culture, including zydeco and Afro-rhythms, cuisine, folk tales, street parades, and, of course the use of language in its widest sense. The refugees intensified the boundaries of the three caste social system by solidifying the identity of the Free People of Color caste, and by whitening it considerably from a previously more racially-mixed composition. Not

least of the influences coming from Saint-Domingue were our distinctive traditions of vernacular architecture. As we will see, the influence of the refugees made its greatest impact at just the time when New Orleans was being rebuilt and expanded under the pressure of excessive levels of immigration. New Orleans was ripe for new architectural solutions, and it was the numerous experienced West Indian builders and architects which supplied many of them.

The Great Fires. By 1788, New Orleans had grown to a city of over one-thousand buildings. It was still mostly confined to the boundaries of today's French Quarter. On Good Friday of that year, a fire began at the house of the Royal Treasurer, Joseph Vincent Nuñez, at 619 Chartres Street. The house was in the raised Creole style, elevated on a *rez-de-chaussée* (basement) eight feet tall, where bodegas or shops were located. The main portion of the house was three large rooms across the front with a gallery in front and cabinet rooms behind (Fig. 3.3). As part of his worship for the day, Joseph had lighted candles in one of the cabinets. That day there was a strong wind blowing from the south; a curtain caught fire from one of the candles. Before the flames could be extinguished, the house was afire. This was a time before roofing materials were made of slate or tile. Instead, most roofs were covered with cypress shingles, and these were rather loosely attached to lathing strips across the roofs. The intensity of the fire lifted burning shingles and deposited them on the roofs of neighboring houses and shops. Soon, much of the city was aflame. Within four hours most of the central portion of the city was in ruins. Some 856 buildings, including the Parish church, priests' house, jail, and Cabildo – all located on the Plaza de Armas.[79] The recovery was aided by the King of Spain, but it was slow in progressing.



Fig. 3.3. A typical post 1788 Spanish colonial townhouse elevated on a *rex-de-chaussée* used for shops or for Storage and services. The top view (right) shows a plan of the courtyard flanked by two *appentis* or shed-roofed service dependencies. It is this kind of structure which will evolve into the appentis cottage following the second great fire in 1794. NONA 044.076

In December of 1794 boys playing in a house in the 500 block of Royal Street started another fire. This fire, also spread rapidly down river until it had consumed the city jail at the location of the present Cabildo on Jackson Square. Suddenly, as it was about to consume the new parish church, the wind shifted to the north, and the fire shifted towards to line of undamaged colonial houses along the front of Decatur Street, consuming those in the 500, 400 and 300 blocks. In total, another 212 houses, stores and warehouses were destroyed. The monetary loss was as great as that of the first fire, though fewer houses were destroyed. Almost immediately, the Cabildo began to pass ordinances for the prevention of fires. The architecture of the city was to be profoundly affected. The relevant ordinances may be found in Appendix No. 1. All houses and their roofs were to be built in fireproof materials. Limits were placed on the construction of wooden buildings. Buildings were to be set right on the street.

The Origins of the Linear Cottage in New Orleans.

The Surveys of New Orleans, 1795 - 1820. There is no evidence that shotgun style houses existed in New Orleans until after the second great fire of 1794. A few houses were turned with their narrow ends towards the street, for example the "House of the Engineer" at what is today 419 Decatur Street.[81] The Spanish administrators did not produce detailed survey maps of New Orleans in the same way that had been done under the French. They only appointed official surveyors late in the Colonial period. Carlos Trudeau was appointed Surveyor General of the colony about 1785.[82] Another prominent map maker was Vincente Pintado, a cartographer and military engineer, who was born in the Canary Islands. He was posted to Louisiana in 1793, and became the Assistant Surveyor in Spanish Louisiana in 1796. Both Spanish surveyors resigned their positions in 1805. In that year, Trudeau and Pintado divided the Spanish colonial inventory of maps, plats and documents pertaining to land measurements in Louisiana and West Florida. Pintado's portion of the collection eventually went to the Division of Manuscripts at the Library of Congress. Trudeau's portion of the collection remained in private hands until it was recovered by the State of Louisiana. Through a purchase agreement, it is currently curated by the Historic New Orleans Collection.

In 1795-97, Pintado surveyed New Orleans and the surrounding lands. The resulting map was entered into official government records in 1804. It shows property lines and ownership between the city and that portion of Bayou St. John at the end of the Bayou Road. The properties are shown as they stood at the end of the Spanish colonial period. The survey became a kind of official base map for the city.[83]

It was copied and re-used with additional information inserted over the next thirty years or so. The problem with the maps produced by Trudeau and Pintado is that they did not include indications of architecture.

An even more important surveyor of this period was Barthelemy Lafon. Lafon was a kind of universal man – a genius and man of many talents. These included architecture, engineering, geography, surveying, cartography, and land speculation. Lafon arrived in New Orleans as a young man, probably in 1784 (some say 1787). He began work on public projects such as levee repair and replacement of houses lost in the 1794 fire. Immediately following the Louisiana Purchase In 1804, Lafon was appointed Deputy

Surveyor for the Southern District of the Louisiana Territory. In this capacity, he conducted numerous land surveys both within and outside of New Orleans. As Lafon was an architect, he made sure to record the location and nature of the buildings set upon the lots and plantations which he surveyed. He also recorded the dimensions and owners of the lands and those of adjacent properties. Lafon amassed a collection of many hundreds of detailed property surveys between 1804, and 1808. Others were added or resurveyed later. After he retired from the survey business, his personal collection of surveys was organized and placed into three bound volumes. These appear to have become the property of the Perfect Union Masonic Lodge, at the time of his death in 1820. It appears that when that Lodge closed, its archives were transferred to that of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Louisiana, which was located in New Orleans at the time. Later, in the early twentieth century, the archive of the Grand Lodge was, in part, distributed or given away. Two of the volumes of surveys ended in private hands. They were eventually acquired separately by the Historic New Orleans Collection. Although these volumes are numbered No 1, and No. 2, they are, in fact the second part of Lafon's surveys, dating from 1806 through 1808. The earliest volume, dating from January 1804 through 1806 is titled No. 3. It contains about 230 pages of surveys and index material, and is still in possession of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Louisiana, which is today located in Alexandria, Louisiana. The Grand Lodge has kindly permitted us access to the material, which has never before been published or used as documentation for the study of the historic cultural landscapes of New Orleans at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. This document provides the very best look at New Orleans and its architecture at the beginning of the Territorial Period.

Lafon's surveys of the French Quarter and its surroundings reveal that the history of the Linear Cottage in New Orleans is more complex than previously described. For example, the layout of buildings on lots often does not seem to conform to the ordinances of the Spanish Cabildo. In addition, there are building types indicated which are not even described in the documents of the time. It is clear, however, that predecessors of the shotgun house are in existence by 1804. There are at least three different building types which are relevant to our story:

1. Creole Cottages, rotated. On Oct. 9, 1795, the Spanish Cabildo passed an ordinance dealing with wooden houses in the Quarter. Houses made of wood were forbidden along the streets, but small houses of wood could be built in the rear of domestic lots. The regulation reads as follows:

> 1796/01/01. In order to prevent fires in the future, equaling those which have occurred in the past, and in an effort to beautify the city by the erection of future buildings; not to include persons of small means who might erect houses at a small cost… that from now on, the construction of wooden houses fronting on the street be prohibited, and all those to be constructed on the street, must be of brick or timber frame, which must be covered with a stucco or lime coating at least one inch thick, and the roofs to be of tile, or of square brick, or any other fire-proof material. And those who lack means, to build in the rear of their lots, one story wooden houses, with the expressed understanding that their homes will not be more than 30 feet [wide] in front by 25 feet deep to include the porches…[84]

This regulation, and the one of the previous October 9, would appear to outlaw most buildings of the shotgun type. Buildings were required to have their long facades facing the street. Only people with lots less than a half a standard 60 foot lot could rotate the house so that only a single room faced on the street. However, as the Lafon surveys of 1804 reveal, many houses in New Orleans had been set back from the banquette (sidewalks) and many larger cottages had been rotated with their narrow ends converted into the principal façade and opening towards the street. These were not only converted dependencies, but also complete residences, occasionally the only structures on the lot. We must remember that in 1804, no house surveyed was more than ten years old – all had been built under the new fire-prevention ordinances.

The survey of the Adelaide and Felicité Caselard lots in the 800 block of Dauphine Street illustrates these points. In one side of Vieux Carré, square 86, we find five separate structures with their narrow ends turned towards the street (Fig. 3.4). The two houses on the Caselard lots are the only structures indicated on the lots, so they are surely residences. Since the twin lots are each 31 French feet wide, (about 32’ 8” wide in English measure), they constrain the orientation of houses which are thirty feet deep and fifteen and twenty-two feet wide – their narrow ends towards the street. The uptown house (left side) is wide enough to

contain a side gallery or cabinet-gallery range of rooms. Neither of these structures has the configuration of an early shotgun house. They are, rather, typical New Orleans Creole houses which have been turned sideways on their lots to provide more space. If they had remained with their long sides towards the street, as the building codes required, they would have extended from one property line to the other, leaving no room for passage to the rear of the lot.

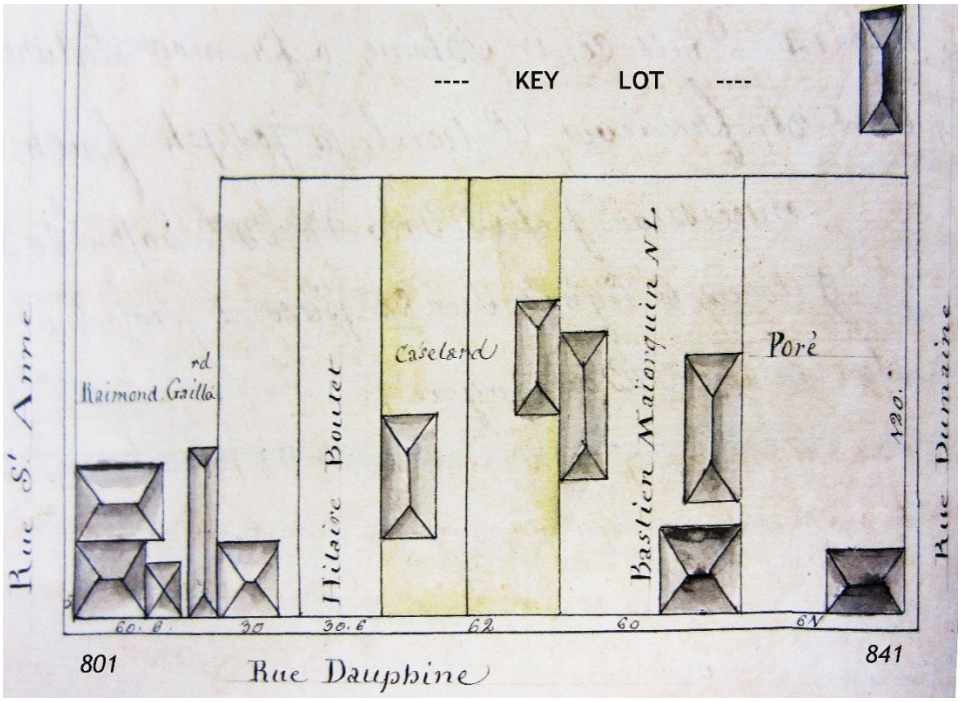


Fig. 3.4. A survey on Sept. 14, 1804, of the Adelaide and Felicité Caselard lots in the 800 block of Dauphine Street. Barthelemy Lafon Survey Book No. 3, 1804, pp. 45-50, courtesy the Grand Masonic Lodge, Alexandria, LA. The long, slender shotgun-like structure on the corner lot of Mr. Raimond Gaillard is probably a service structure. The notation following the name of Bastien Mayorquin (N.L.) indicates, "Negre Libre," or Free Man of Color. Note that the single undeveloped lot is owned by Mr. Hilaire Boutet (Boutté), the famous architect who was active in New Orleans at this time. JDE Photo DSC-7898.

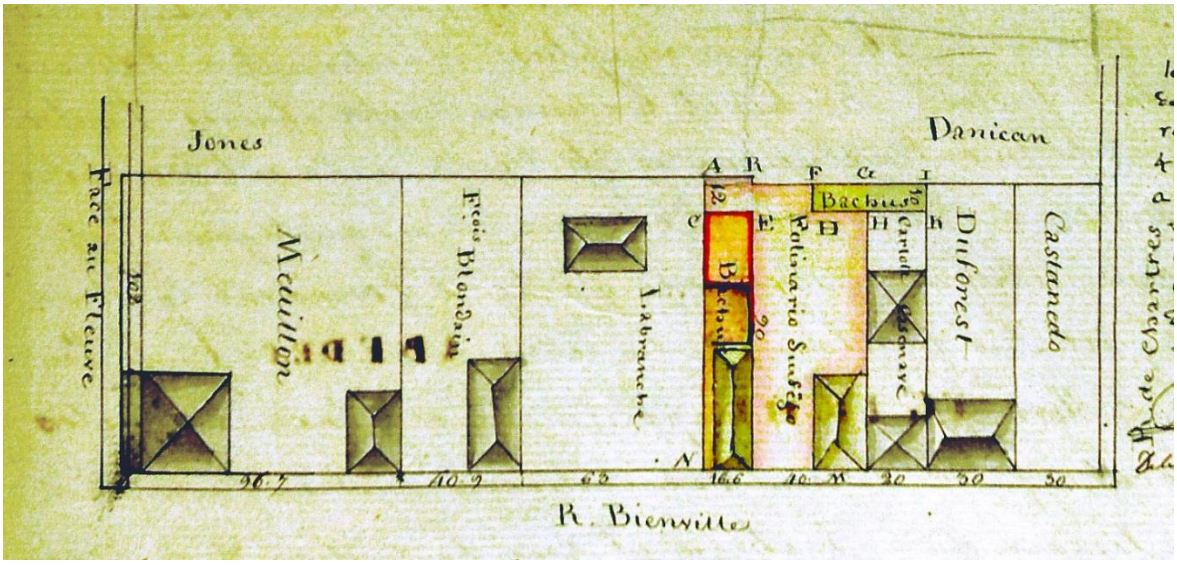


Fig. 3.5. Survey of the downtown side of Vieux Carré, Square 30, the 500 block of Bienville. This survey is a 1718 update of an original Lafon survey of 28th of September, 1804. It shows the property of Palinario Sinfuego, between the house of Bachus, a free black residing in a linear cottage to the left, and Charlotte Casenare, a *quarterone libre* (Free Octaroon), living on the right side. JDE Photo, DSC_7732, courtesy the Grand Masonic Lodge of Alexandria, LA.

In the 500 block of Bienville Street, we see four cottages with their narrow ends opening on the banquette, or sidewalk of Bienville Street (Fig. 3.5). Three of the cottages, including that of Mr. Sinfuego, are typical New Orleans Creole houses rotated 90 degrees. The fourth house appears to be a genuine near Linear Cottage (shotgun house) three rooms deep. This is the cottage of Bachus, a free man of color. The Creole cottages are sufficiently wide that they could have three bays opening on the street, while Mr. Bachus's house of about 14.5 feet in width would normally have two bays. His house has all of the appearance of having Saint-Domingue ancestry.

2. **Appentis Cottages, readapted.** At the end of the Spanish Colonial period, a new and curious form of abode appears in the streets of New Orleans. This is the *appentis* cottage, or shed-roofed linear cottage. Appentis are documented prior to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The cottage at 631 Bourbon Street is an excellent surviving example dating from 1801. It is built with early French construction techniques. The walls are *briquette-entre-poteaux.* Its "Norman" roof truss exposed to view from the interior [Fig.3.6].



Fig. 3.6. The François Languille *appentis* cottage, 1801, at 631 Bourbon Street. JDE Photo 2014.

The term *appentis* refers to a shed roof in French. In colonial times, shed-roofed buildings were often used as service structures set in courtyards behind the main house. They served as storage "*magazins*," as stables, as detached kitchens, as quarters for enslaved servants, and as bedroom *garçonnières* for the teenage men of the family. Their roofs consisted of a single shed with its high side abutted against the brick party wall, and the lower side covering the wall facing the courtyard (Fig. 3.7). The doors of *appentis* buildings opened from the long side directly onto the courtyard. Following the Louisiana Purchase, their roofs were generally hipped, with their (half) hip sheds facing the front and the rear. Curiously, in New Orleans, such "half" buildings were often built as free-standing houses, without the mirror image structure or any other structure being present or even anticipated on the opposite side of the party wall [Figs. 3.9 – 3.10]. Many survive.



Fig. 3.7. Twin two-story mirror image back-to-back *appentis* dependencies at the Hermann-Grima house, 800 block of St. Louis Street. JDE Photo, 2014. Curiously, this arrangement is rarely seen in New Orleans.



Fig. 3.8. The cottages at 1118 Burgundy Street. Here an *appentis* cottage is set against the side wall of a Creole cottage. Vieux Carré Survey photo, ca. 1937. This is a more typical arrangement for the *appentis* cottage in New Orleans. Note that the Creole cottages of the period are substantially taller than the linear cottages.

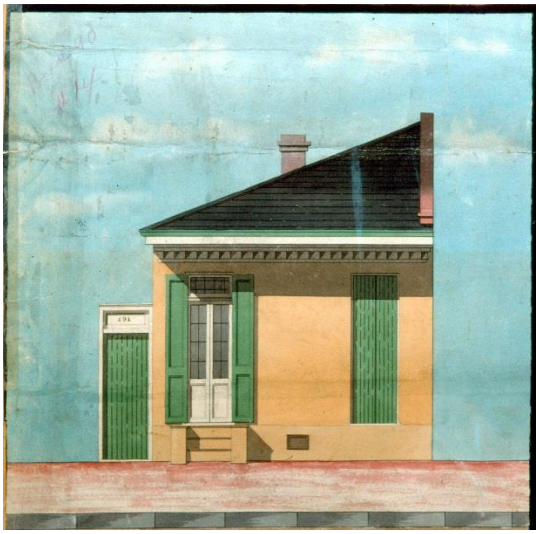


Fig. 3.9. A free-standing *appentis* cottage in the 1300 block of St. Philip, in Tremé. The cottage Dates from 1835 to 1840. NONA 090.014.



Fig. 3.10. The 3-bay side-hall *appentis* cottage at 915 St. Phillip Street. The building dates from about 1820. An R. Hertzberg photo, courtesy the HNOC 1937.2.084.025.

For some unknown reason in the 1794-1810 period, New Orleans residents began moving their courtyard *appentis* service structures up to the front of the lots, and treating them as if they were shotgun houses. They were converted from service buildings into residences. The Spanish colonial *appentis* often had gabled front walls, but very soon, these were converted into hip roofs even before the beginning of American sovereignty (Figs. 3.9, 3.10). Appentis became quite popular. Often, they were the only structures on the lot with the exception of a detached kitchen and a privy in the rear (Fig. 3.11). Front doors opened directly onto the *banquette* or sidewalk. This building type remained in vogue and continued to be built in both brick and frame through the 1840s.



Fig. 3.11. Madame Delphine's cottage 1216 Royal Street. The *appentis* cottage next door, at 1214 Royal, is in the fashion of Spanish Colonial times. This drawing by Joseph Pennell. NOMA 1.440.DSC_7601.

Appentis cottages came in many forms. They could be two bay Singles, three bay Side-Halls, or occasionally even four-bay Doubles. Appentis were often built two stories tall, and they could have galleries wrapped around them (Figs. 3.12 - 3.13). They could be free-standing (Figs. 3.9 - 3.10) or combined with other buildings, as in Figs. 3.7 - 3.8. In 1831, Samuel Hermann or Henry Hummerich who purchased the property that year, built two mirror-image appentis cottages with a courtyard between them (Fig. 3.14). These cottages may have been intended to house *plaçées* for wealthy white gentlemen.

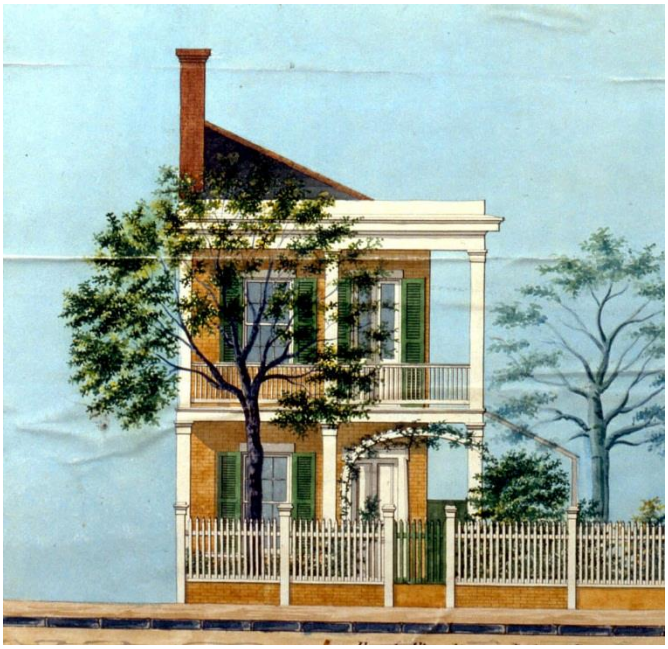


Fig. 3.12. A two-story *appentis* Single on Euterpe Street. NONA 006.035.



Fig. 3.13. An illustration from Harper's Magazine that depicts 923-29 Dauphine Street. A 1-bay, two story 19th century *appentis* Duplex. Courtesy HNOC.

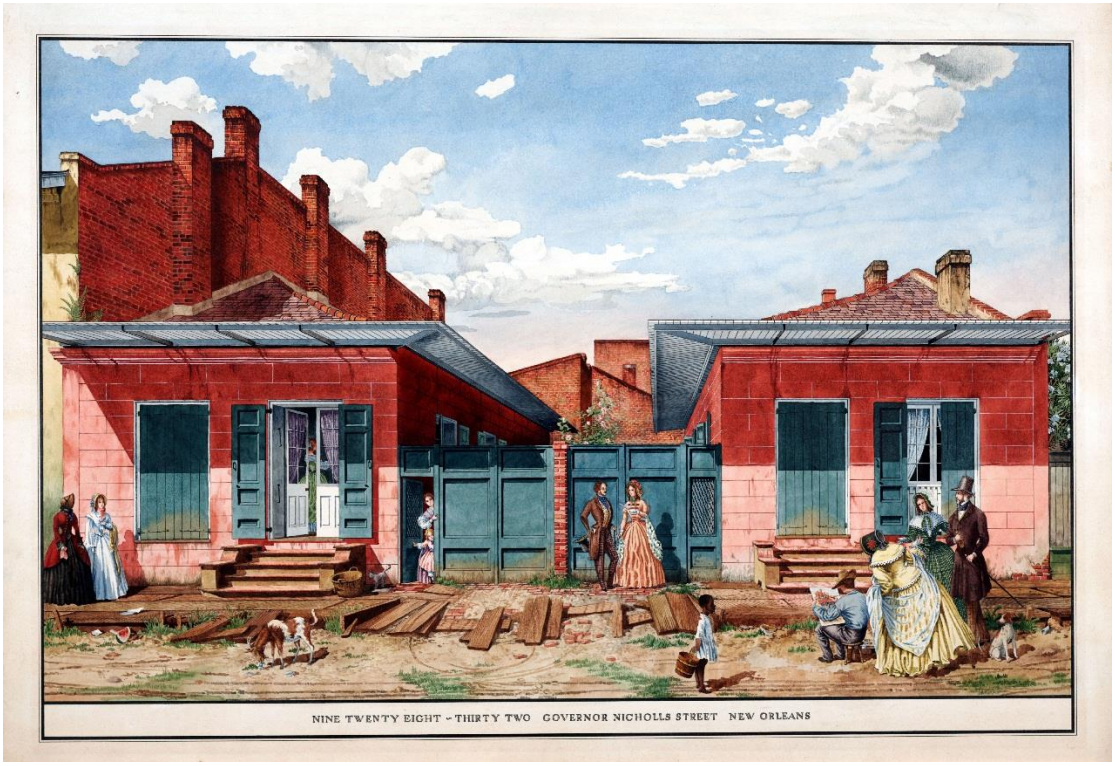


Fig. 3.14. The twin Hummerich *appentis* at 928 and 932 Governor Nicholls Street. These twin cottages were Built in 1831. This is a type of cottage popular with Free Women of Color in the Quadroon Quarter and along the Bayou Road. Painting by Boyd Cruise, 1947. Image courtesy the Louisiana State Museum.

The curious thing about the rotated Creole cottage and the appentis cottage is that their floorplans were not familiar to people of European background. To French Creoles these would have seemed uncomfortable and restricting places to raise a family. Linear floorplans were alien spatial arrangements, popular with black peasants and free people of color from the French West Indies. Why did they become so popular in New Orleans in this period? We do not know the answer to this question. It may have had something to do with the Spanish zoning regulations which permitted only very small cottages to be built with their narrow ends opening onto the banquette. It may have had to do with the fact that land values in New Orleans were increasing due to the enormous levels of immigration being experienced from both West Indians and Anglos from the Eastern seaboard. These were house types previously familiar to the local builders. It was relatively easy to readapt them to the needs of a rising tide of immigrants in emergencies, such as the great fires and the sudden immigration of thousands of new residents (Figs. 3.15 – 3.16). What we do know is that we see a rapid increase in the number of appentis following 1809. The survey plans of Lafon permit us to follow the rise of the *appentis* cottage in New Orleans. Compare the two following plans of the same location.

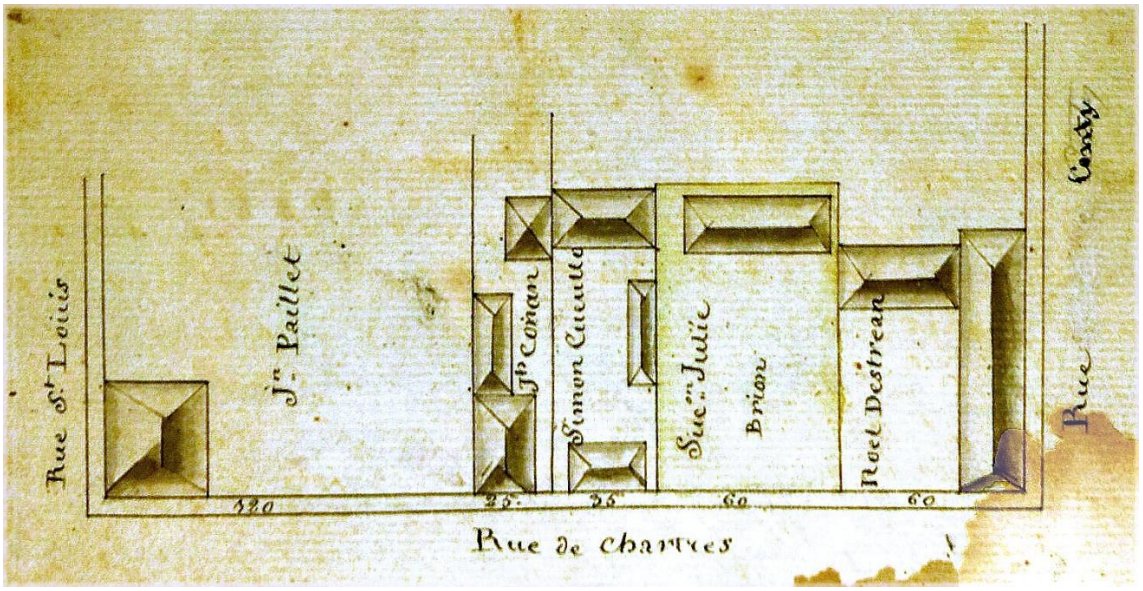


Fig. 3.15. An 1804 Lafon survey of the 400 block of Chartres Street, Square 28, where Maspero's restaurant and the Williams Research Center are located today. JDE Image DSC_7730. Lafon P. 52, courtesy the Grand Masonic Lodge of Alexandria, LA. In this image no *appentis* cottages are present.

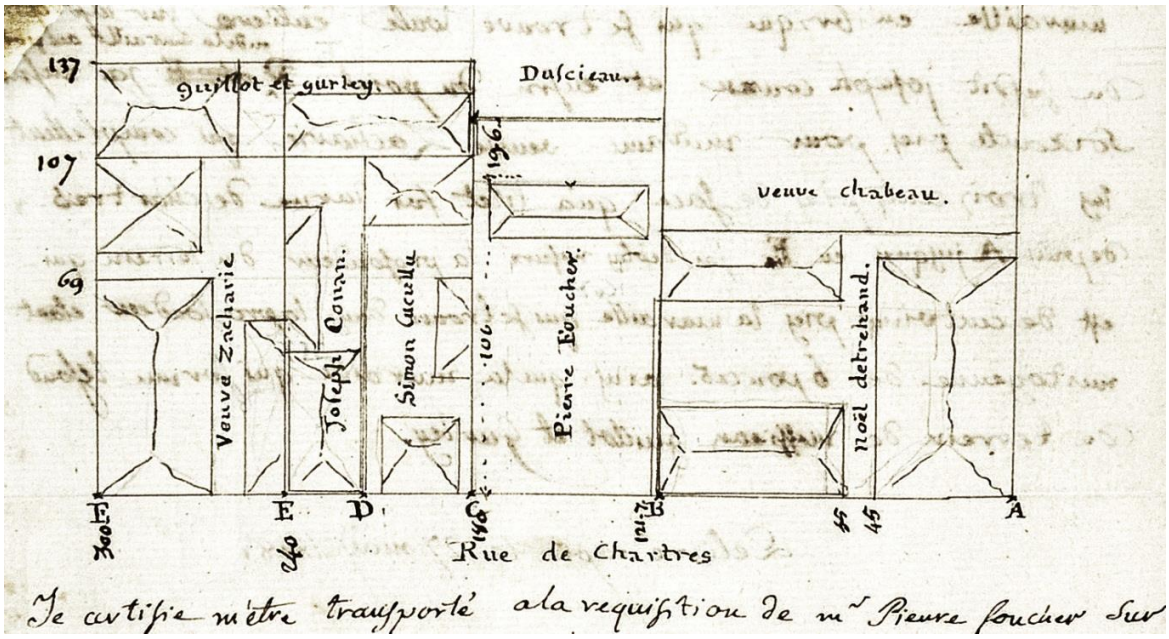


Fig. 3.16. An 1818 Lafon Survey Bk. No. 3, p. 52. A resurvey of the 400 block of Chartres Street, Square 28. This is the same location as that seen in the above figure. It is a very busy commercial part of the city at this time. Three *appentis* buildings are now present. That of the Widow Zacharie on the corner of St. Louis Street has an *appentis c*ottage opening onto Chartres Street. While the two *appentis* belonging to Conan and Cueullo appear to function as service structures, Zacharie's seems to be a residence. Here, several large Creole style residences are set as much as 100 feet back from the street. JDE photo DSC_7732. Images courtesy the Grand Masonic Lodge, Alexandria, LA.

3. Introduction of the *Ti-Kay* from Saint-Domingue. During the period of the Haitian Revolution, and particularly in the period between 1803 and 1815, temporary housing was thrown up for the thousands of refugees pouring into the city of New Orleans. Linear free-standing settlers' shacks were referred to as "*cabannes"* in New OrleansBsomething less substantial than a frame house or one with *murs en dur* (masonry walls). In the local English, the term "shanties" was used, while the Spanish colonial word "*brigadores*" was sometimes applied to the small residences of blacks. Surviving evidence is not abundant for this particular house-type in New Orleans

Temporary vernacular architecture was ignored as huts and hovels by most record makers. Because these were not considered permanent buildings there was little official government interest, except when houses were constructed on "borrowed" property (see below). No building contracts were drawn up and notarized, nor did surveyors even bother to record these structures. No fancy sales posters by professional artists were hung in the coffee houses, advertising property sales at public auction. Many, being cheaply and

quickly constructed, did not survive a sufficient number of decades to be recorded. In short, this was an historically invisible fringe architecture. The first accurate depiction of such a shotgun building in the U.S. known to me was drawn in 1803 on what was at that time the edge of urban New Orleans (Fig. 3.17). It bears a striking resemblance in size and form to the *ti kay* linear cottages which survive in abundance in Haiti, today.

But if official record-keepers were disinterested, who would bother to record such refugee architecture, equivalent to the FEMA trailers of their day? (We didn't record them either.) Because New Orleans was expanding out of its earlier boundaries so rapidly in those years, recordation would be left to land speculators and private surveyors. It would not be unreasonable to assume that these may have been poorly educated opportunists of low record-keeping ability. No doubt some were but, luckily, others proved to be among the most well-trained and important visionaries in the history of the city. They included cartographers and land developers, some of whom would become wealthy entrepreneurs in the new American territory.

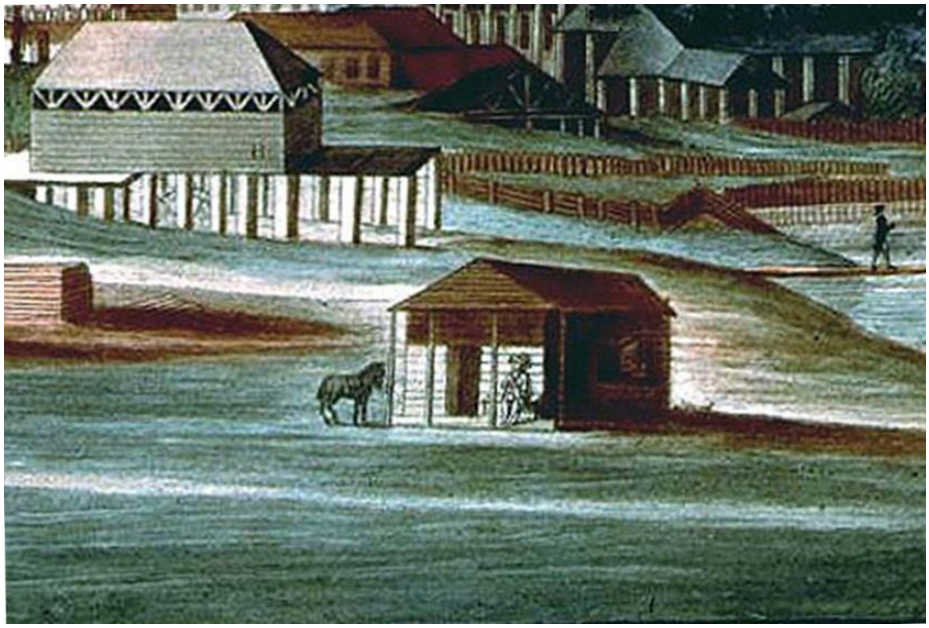


Fig. 3.17. Detail of the commemorative painting, "Under My Wings, Every Thing Prospers." By Bouqueto de Woiseri, December, 1803. The image shows a guard house for a saw-mill (in background) on the Marigny Plantation. The canal which powers the waterwheel of the mill is today at Elisian Fields Ave., near River Road. The house is in the form of a Haitian *ti-kay*, or "small house." Image courtesy the Historic New Orleans Collection.



Fig. 3.18. A *ti-kay* on the south coast of Haiti near Les Cayes. JDE photo, 1995.

Since so few of the 1803 – 1815 *ti-kays* were recorded in New Orleans, comparative evidence such as that used by John Vlach, and seen above, is merely anecdotal and not in itself convincing of the origins and importance of the Haitian *ti-kay* as a refugee style of house in early American New Orleans. Though it is clear that small dwellings in the two places shared the same dimensional and geometric patterns, additional evidence is essential. One useful exercise is to attempt to put ourselves in the place of New Orleans residents at the time of the 1809 influx of Saint-Domingue immigrants from Haiti. Folks in New Orleans don't have to go far to imagine what happens to a city when the housing stock is suddenly found to be inadequate – by about 50 percent! Drastic measures are called for whether the number of houses is suddenly reduced by that amount – as it was following Hurricane Katrina in September of 2005 -- or whether the population of the city is suddenly and unexpectedly multiplied by an amount almost equal to the existing population, as it was in May – September of 1809. And, recall that the Haitian immigrants were almost entirely French speaking, which meant that it was mostly in the Francophone areas of the city that the impact of the immigration fell. Whichever the problem, huge amounts of shelter must be quickly found. Once all available attics and spare bedrooms have been filled, new housing must be created – and quickly.

In 1809, temporary housing filled vacant lots and the open spaces around the fringes of the city. But exactly what was the nature of this housing?

Small amounts of evidence survive. There are both contemporary and later hints at the lost types of New Orleans temporary housing. Again, we turn to the work of Bartholomy Lafon and his land surveys. The architectural "indications" on his surveys permit us to differentiate between Creole cottages and linear cottages (though not in every case). The quality of the architectural indications is apparent in these sketches from the period 1806 - 1810 (Figs. 3.19 – 3.20). It is clear from these and his other surveys in and beyond the French Quarter that many smaller shotgun-like houses existed even before 1810. One example follows.

Our story begins on March 14, 1805, when Lafon assigns his assistant surveyor, Jean Bet Péne, to make a survey of the lands of one Charlotte Roux, free Negresse and sister to Espirit, a free black living in Metairie. The piece of land in question measured three arpents wide and crossed Bayou Metairie and the Metairie road not far uptown from the present location of the New Orleans Museum of Art in what is today, City Park. As was customary, Péne staked out the concession and recorded the boundaries in the presence of the adjoining neighbors. Three years later, on April 18 of 1808, Lafon is called again to survey this piece of land. Charlotte Grenoble (Roux) has died and her testamentary executor, Jean Angelini was in the process of overseeing the sale of one arpent of her property (northwest or downstream side) to Charlotte's brother, Espirit. It was clearly Charlotte's wish that a one-arpent strip be sold to Esprit, while the other two arpents on the uptown side of the original concession be sold to the highest bidder. The funds from the sale would probably be used to support Esprit's purchase of the one-arpent downtown side concession where he now lived. The two arpents section had been sold to Didillet and Peyrellade, who, in turn, had recently sold the land at (private) auction to one Valerie Boisdoré. In his survey, Lafon set the boundaries between the two thirds and the one-third sections of Charlotte's concession with cypress boundary stakes.

By the spring of 1808, the neighbors Esprit and Boisdoré both lived in small *ti-kay* type houses with their narrow ends facing the Metairie Road. Sitting athwart the new property line between their properties stood Esprit's kitchen building. Kitchens were inevitably detached -- free-standing structures in the early

nineteenth century. It appears that Mr. Boisdoré had complained that Esprit's kitchen encroached upon his new property.

So, six days later, on April 24, 1808, Lafon returned to the Metairie properties to conduct yet a third survey. Now, he ignores his own boundary markers of less than one week previous and "adjusts" Boisdoré's property lines by one whole arpent so that they encompass the property of Espirit (1 arpent = 30 *toises* or about 294 feet; Fig. 3.20). In other words, Lafon disclaims the previous official survey and moves Boisdoré's concession one entire arpent in a downtown direction, thus encompassing the total size of Esprit's property. It also separated Boisdoré′s two-arpent claim from his former uptown neighbor, Aususte Savane. This, presumably, rendered the boundary dispute between the two in favor of the Boisdoré. It is not known of Esprit was now supposed to abandon his house and kitchen and move onto the remaining one-arpent uptown strip adjacent to Auguste Savane (Old New Orleans hands might be forgiven for assuming that some exchange of wealth may have occurred in the interim).[26] The houses of both are clearly smaller *ti-kay* type houses set on open long lots. That of Espirit is labeled a "cabane neuve" (new cabin) -- the somewhat larger house of Boisdoré, a "*maison*" (house).

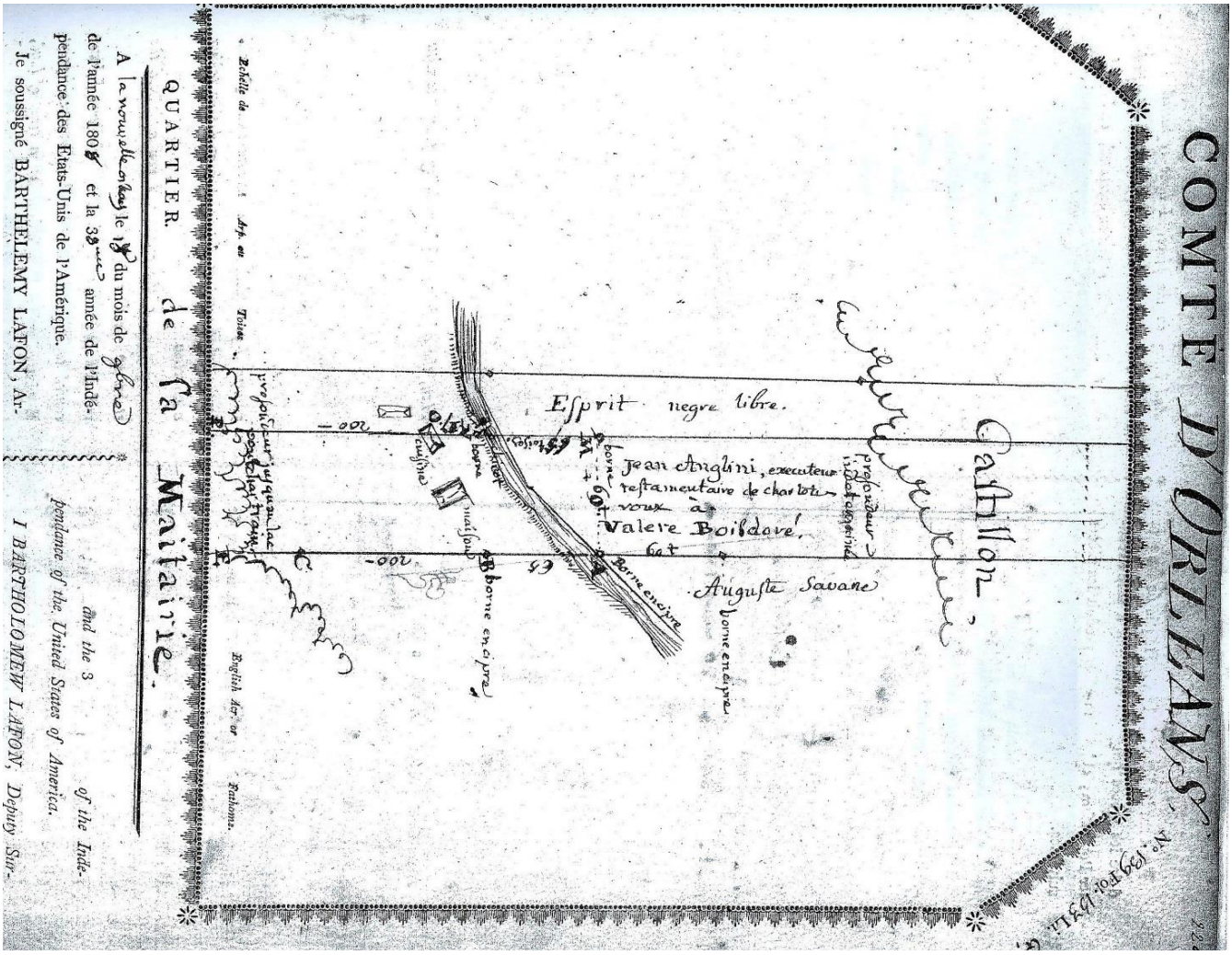


Fig. 3.19. Lafon's April 18, 1808 survey of the Metairie Road concessions of Esprit, brother to the deceased Charlotte Roux, and Valere Boisdoré, a new land owner. In this orientation of the official survey, north is to the left, and downtown orientation is towards the top. Borne refers to a boundary stake. The title, "Comté d'Orleans" refers to the "County of Orleans." After 1803, Louisiana was divided into counties during the Territorial Period. Esprit's *ti-kay* type house is towards the top, in the narrow section. His section is one arpent wide, which equals 30 *toise* or about 191.835 English Feet. His kitchen building sits athwart the boundary between the two properties. Image courtesy the Historic New Orleans Collection, Lafon Survey Book No. 2. MSS 408, Nos 92-51L.

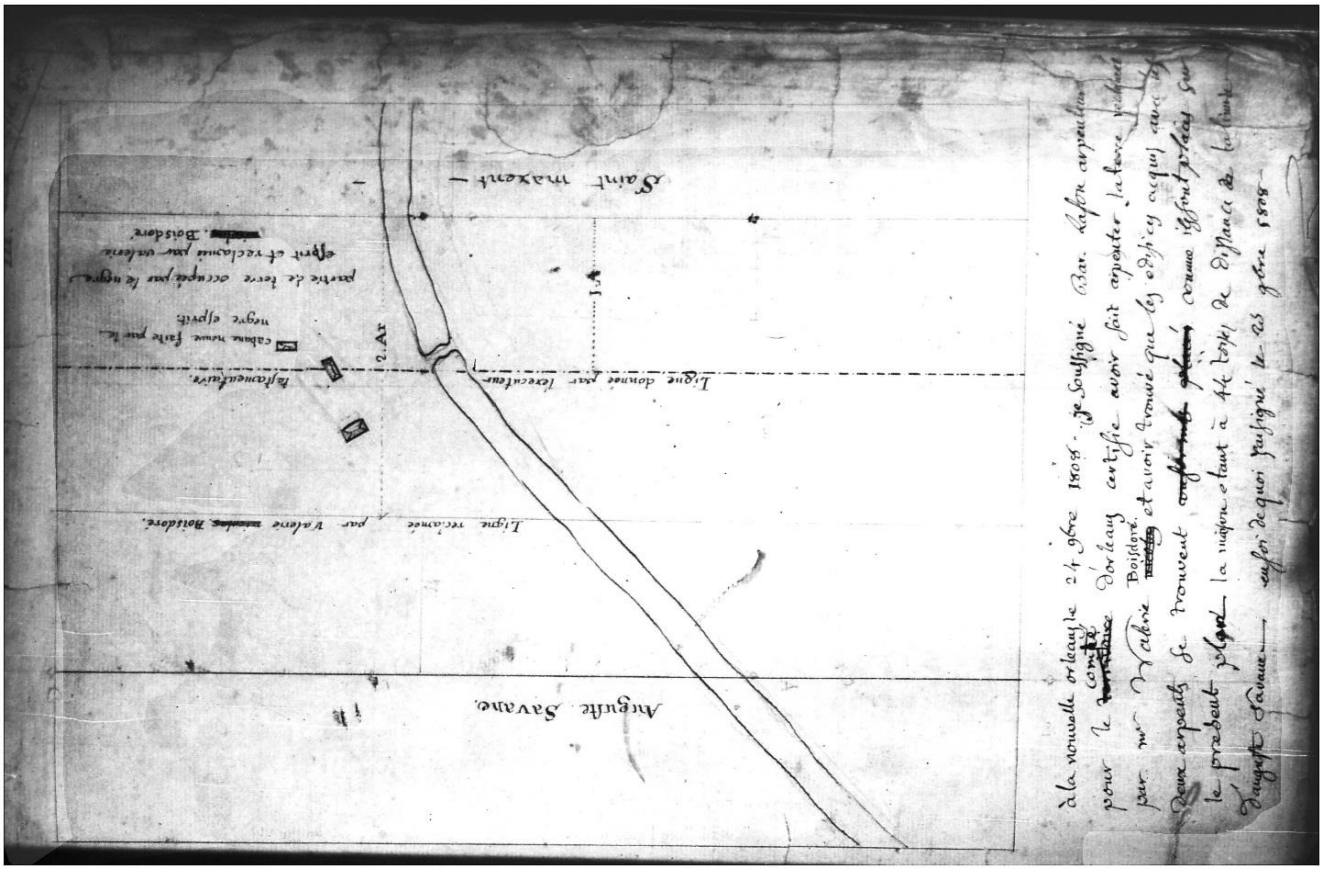


Fig. 3.20. Lafon's April 24, 1808 survey of the Charlotte Roux concession. In this, apparently unofficial survey Lafon moves Boisdoré's property one full arpent toward the downtown side of the original 3 arpent concession. It now encompasses all of Esprit's property, including his house and kitchen. The two *ti-kay* type houses and the kitchen are reproduced, as in the previous survey. This survey was meant to be read from the downtown side, reversing the view of the previous survey. Image courtesy the Historic New Orleans Collection, Lafon Survey Book No. 2. pp. 220-222.

Yet more evidence of small *ti-kay* type "shanties," may be found in the first detailed housing maps of New Orleans. These are the 1876 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps. They provide a great deal of information on the architecture of the decades, beginning in 1875. In several places in the French Quarter and in Faubourg Marigny, small shotgun houses are identified as "Old Shanties." The English word "shanty" probably entered American slang in New Orleans. In French, the term *chantier* refers specifically to a temporary abode which is constructed to provide shelter for a limited time, usually part of a working season. Charcoal burners' hurts in the woods are, for example, designated by this term. It appears that it was

also used for the *ti-kay* type of temporary shotgun houses which were thrown up quickly in 1809, and probably during the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, in the War of 1812 (Figs. 3.21, 3.22).

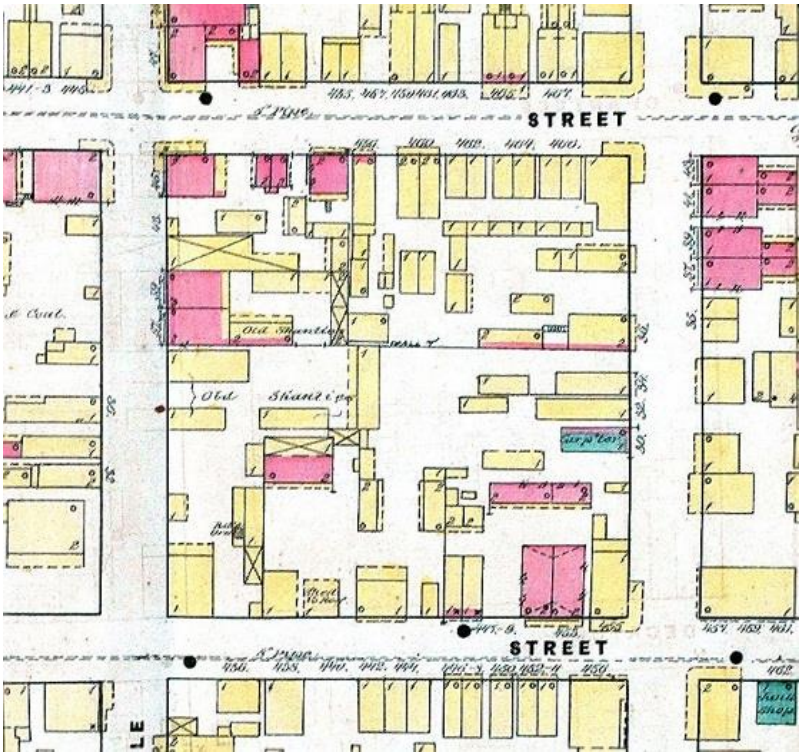


Fig. 3.21. A Sanborn map of the square in Marigny bounded by Mandeville, Spain, Chartres and Decatur Streets, 1876. Note three structures labeled "old shanties." Map image courtesy the Southeastern Architectural Archive, Tulane University.

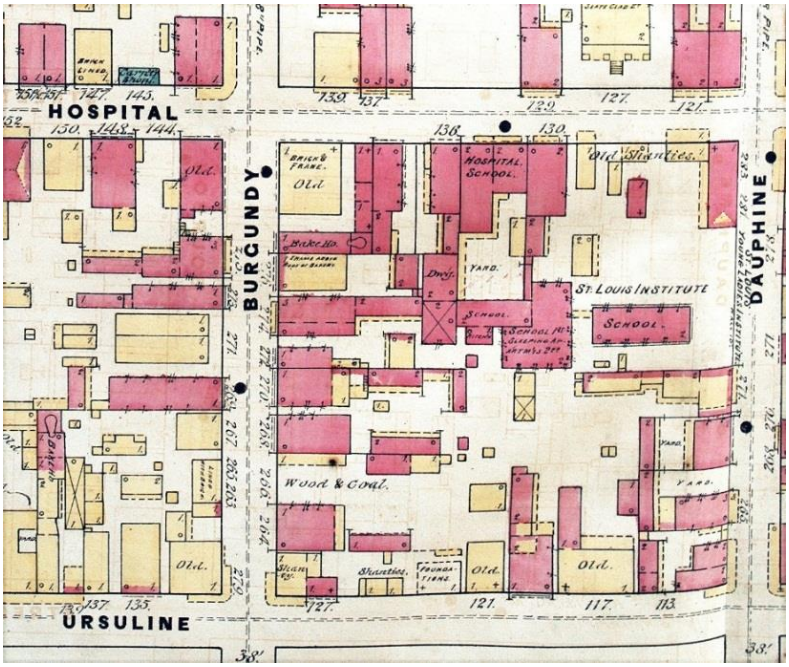


Fig. 3.22. An 1876 Sanborn map of Square 106 in the French Quarter. "Old Shanties on Governor Nicholls (Hospital) Street are labeled in the properties of the St. Louis Institute. Map courtesy the Southeastern Architectural Archive, Tulane University.

If these temporary structures survived from the immigration of 1809, they had lasted seventy-five years – far beyond their expected life expectancy or the intent of their builders. Their dimensions and proportions are precisely what we would expect to find when looking for *ti-kay* temporary houses from that period. They are constructed in wood frame, rather than in brick. No specific mention or description of this house type appears to survive in the legal records of the parish.

The importance of the early Linear Cottages. The principal feature which the rotated Creole Cottage, the appentis cottage, and the *ti-kay* shared, was their linear floor plans. One entered the house through the principal reception room and moved progressively through every room towards the last room, where one might exit into a rear patio or garden area. Attached rear kitchens were unknown as yet. Such a floorplan placed many new restrictions on domestic life, not experienced by people coming from a background of Euro-American vernacular architecture. None of the three kinds of proto-linear cottages survived for very long. After 1820, one seldom sees a rotated Creole Cottage. The *appentis* cottages had a longer run. They were still being built until ca. 1840, and quite a few are in existence today. No *ti-kay* survived the nineteenth century, or even 1885. Yet, together, the proto-linear cottages played a significant role in the development trends of the vernacular architecture of New Orleans. They had the effect of teaching Euro-Americans how to live in a one-room wide house with a linear floorplan. They initiated a kind of popular revolution which was to have profound implications for the future. After the War of 1812, no long-time resident of New Orleans would consider a linear cottage so alien that it could not claim its rightful place in the repertoire of New Orleans architectural types. Though still considered "funny," or "strange," by visitors to the city into the 1830s, the linear cottage had staked its claim on New Orleans -- a rightful place that would not be given up, even after Hurricane Katrina. However, after 1815, it would be left to new generations of linear cottages to fill the residential needs of tens of thousands of home-owners to follow.

The Landlady Effect. New Linear Cottages of the 1815 – 1835 period.

4. Linear Maisonettes: Beginning soon after the Battle of New Orleans, new forms of Linear Cottage began to appear. These are not shoddy or temporary structures, but rather well built houses in the form of the *maison longue* of Saint-Domingue. Their walls were *en-dur* -- in brick or brick between posts -- and their roofs were framed with trusses and often covered with slates or pamtiles. Their frames were mortised and pegged in the style called *bonne charpente* or "fine carpentry" in Normandy. These linear cottages are sometimes referred to as *maisonettes* by local architectural historians, though that term can refer to any small house. Most interesting is the style in which they are decorated. Their roofs are always hipped. They have an *abat vent* or roof extension out over the banquette. These can be seen on the "old shanties" in Fig. 3.23. These *maisons longues* nearly always have double front doors opening onto the street if they are Singles. They were also built in 3-bay Side-Hall and even 4-bay Double forms. A popular decorative feature was the *platibanda* or façade banding. This feature was generally coupled with a decorative frieze molding called a cymantia, or a *corniche* in French (Figs. 3.23 – 3-24). The platibanda quickly became a symbol of Creole identity in those areas of New Orleans settled by French Creoles and by Saint-Domingue refugees. The form probably derives most specifically from the vernacular architecture of Cap François, as reinforced by the vernacular architecture of Cuba. Basically, the *maison longue* is a single shotgun house. However, in the post War of 1812 period, it had begun to take on new functions. This was a period when thousands of unattached English-speaking males were arriving in Louisiana yearly. They swarmed the city looking to make their fortunes in the cotton and sugar brokerage businesses, and other professions. In response, local free women of color began to turn their linear *maisonettes* into rental forms. This occurred in several stages, which can be seen the organization of specific surviving historic houses.[87]

The Michel Fortier Cottage, 819 Burgundy Street, 1827. Michel Fortier built his cottage on Burgundy Street in the fashion of the day. It is a typical *maisonette*, three main rooms deep with a double cabinet range at the rear. The house had all of the features described above.



Fig. 3.23a. A 1930s photo of the Michel Fortier linear cottage at 819 Burgundy Street. The cottage was built about 1827. Image courtesy the New Orleans Vieux Carré Commission.

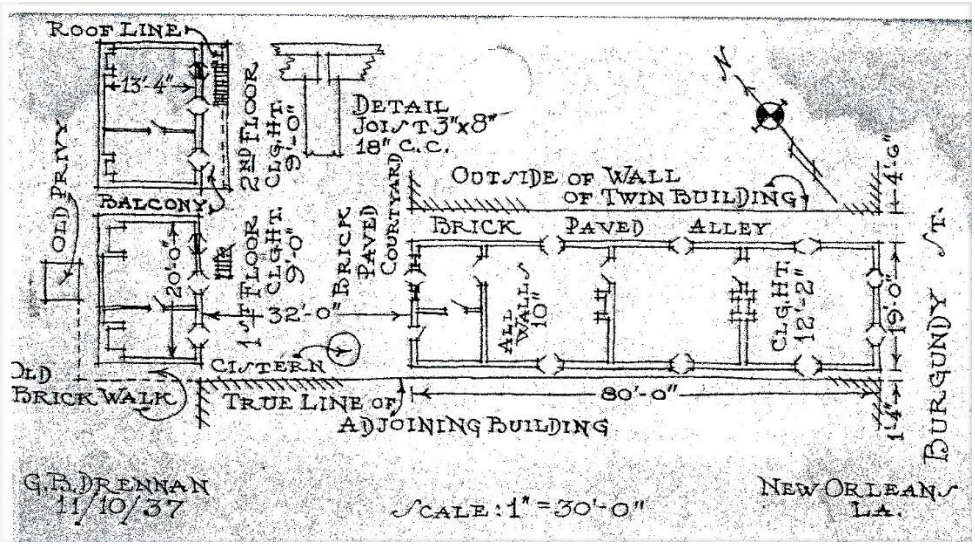


Fig. 3.23b. A HABS survey sketch of the Michel Fortier cottage, drawn in 1937. The house had A two story brick kitchen building behind, with accommodation for the enslaved cook or for room renters, above. Sketch courtesy the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The Helen Lepage Linear Cottage, 1024 Governor Nicholls Street. 1823. Helen Lepage (f.c.l.) was a free woman of color. She purchased a lot of ground from the Haitian immigrant builder Pierre Roup (h.c.l.) in 1823. Roup constructed a five-room linear cottage for Lepage on her lot. This beautifully renovated house is, to my knowledge, the oldest standing example of a linear cottage of the type which used to be known as a *maison longue* in Saint-Domingue and in New Orleans.



Fig. 3.24a. Street view, photograph by Richard Koch, courtesy the N.O. Vieux Carré Commission. Reference: Felix de Armas (N.P.), March 17, 1836. NONA 104:35. The floor the maisonette is raised about a foot above grade and is ventelated with oval *soupiraux* or "sighers."

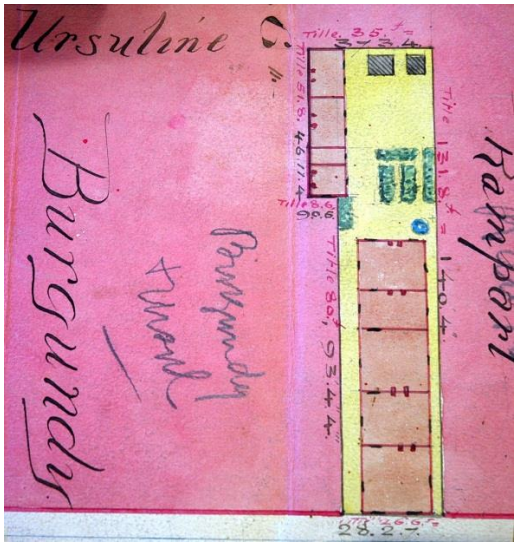


Fig. 3.24b. Plan of the Helen Lepage house ca. 1891. Guy Seghers office records, courtesy of SEAA, Tulane University, Box 19, Folder 2, Square 106.

This form of linear cottage is strongly influenced by the urban form of the *ti kay* or small house of the urban areas of central and southern Saint-Domingue (Haiti). Like them, it has paired front doors. The façade is decorated by a *platibanda* capped by a cymantia (*corniche*), topped with a broad *abat vent*. This popular vernacular tropical Neoclassical design is typical of New Orleans between ca. 1815 and 1830. It was a strong symbol of French Creole identity in that period.

The plan is strictly linear. The front roof is hipped. The construction was of brick, with a timber frame roof support system. The original rear wall of the house had a double brick arch facing the patio in

the pattern of the colonial houses of Santo Domingo City, and Creole Cottages of this period in New Orleans.



Fig. 3.24c Rear brick arch openings which originally opened onto the rear patio. JDE Photo, 2/16.



Fig. 3.24d. Roof support system. Collar beams stiffen rafter pairs. There is no roof ridge.

In 1808, Pierre Roup had purchased a 30 foot by 120 foot lot at 1020-22 Governor Nicholls Street. It was in the position of a key lot in Square 106. He built what appears from the survey to be a hip-roofed double shotgun style house (see below). Lakeside of his *terrain*, Charles Jumonville de Villiers owned a quarter lot at the corner of Gov. Nicholls and Rampart Streets. This he sold off in sections. One 70 foot wide portion of the Jumonville Villiers lot had a *maison principale* set back 110 feet from the street. The house was built of "*colombage* with two chimneys and a *galerie*." It measured about 20 feet in depth by about 44 feet, or three rooms in width, with the gallery spanning the entire front façade. Nearby, there was also an *appentis*-roofed shed almost 100 feet in length by about 8 feet in width. It backed up against the Roup property line.[85]. It was probably in 1816 that Pierre Roup arranged to purchase the 70 foot wide lot adjoining his own from Charles Jumonville de Villiers. In 1823 Jumonville sold a portion of this lot, 35 feet wide, to Helen Lepage and to Pierre Roup, who held a mortgage on the property. Roup razed the existing structures and constructed the present linear cottage in 1823.

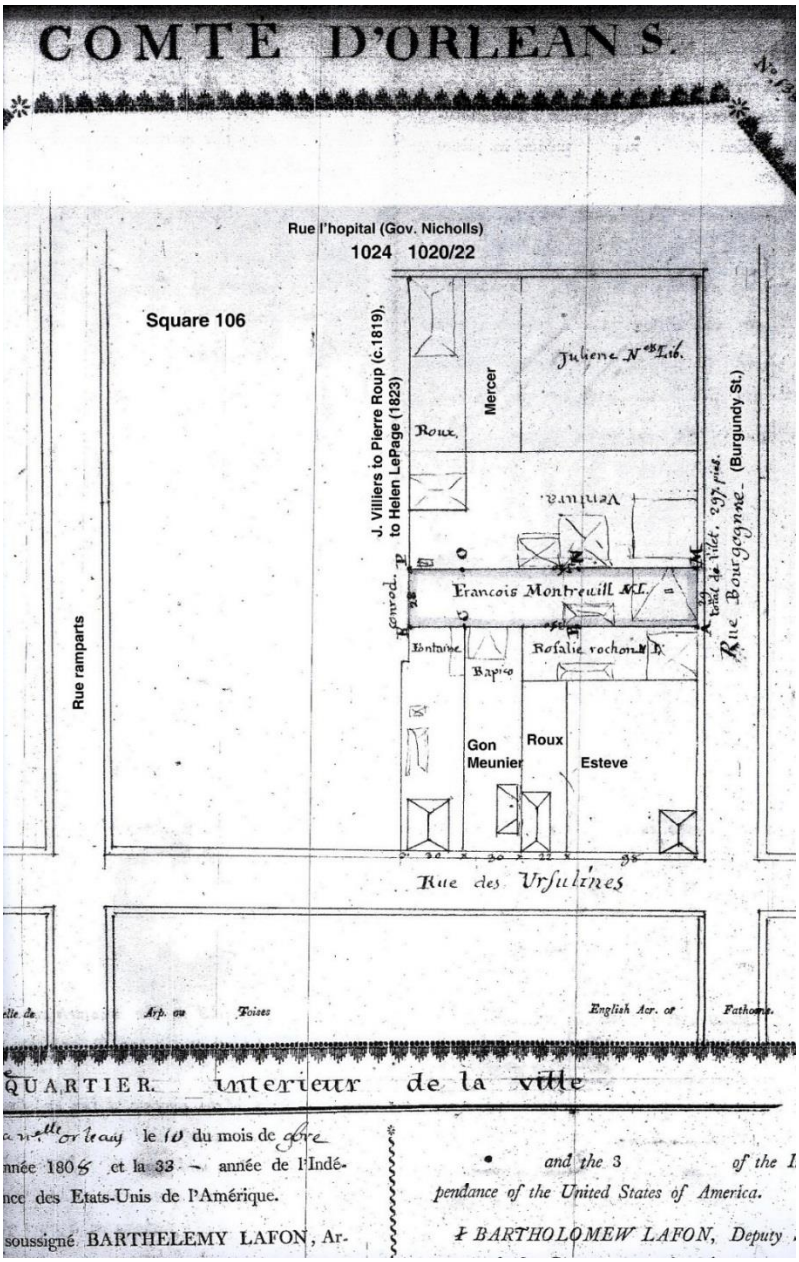


Fig. 3.25. A survey of the riverside of Square 106, bounded by Gov. Nicholls, Burgundy and Ursulines Streets, drafted by Barthelemy Lafon, April 10, 1808, courtesy of the HNOC. The future position of the Helen Le Page property is indicated by an added note. The survey title reads "County of Orleans."

One unusual aspect of the sale by Roup to Lepage is the fact that Roup, whose lot adjoined that of Lepage, cut a 9 foot wide section from the rear of his own property to expand her lot. Why was this done? The period of 1815 through 1840 was one in which free women of color, who were property owners, specialized in room rental to foreign white men who were pouring into the city to make their fortunes. Helen Lepage's lot was only 35 feet in width on the street. She wished to construct detached rear brick

kitchen building “with four rooms...” including rental accommodations. Roup built the *appentis* shed structure, providing Lepage with two rental apartments in addition to the kitchen and sleeping room for her enslaved cook. Access to the rear patio area with its rental rooms was via a renter’s door and narrow passageway along the left side of the house, as viewed from the street. Although the original kitchen building has been replaced by a two-story structure, the original footprint is much the same as seen in Fig. 3.24b. When the current owners renovated this house, they closed the two front doors, and widened one of the rear arches looking on to the patio. Now, the renter’s passage provides access to the interior rooms of this most historic New Orleans linear cottage.

Variations on the Linear *maisonette*. The second decade of the nineteenth century was a period of considerable experimentation and adaptation for the linear cottage. It saw the first of the Doubles. Four-bay double wide linear cottages appear in the decade beginning in 1810 [Fig. 3.26]. In the French Quarter today, the majority of surviving early linear cottages are “doubles” -- double-wide shotgun houses -- set on lots sufficiently wide to accommodate a two-room-wide Creole house if the owner had so desired. Though shotgun-like houses are not yet dominant in the Creole faubourgs in the first decades of the nineteenth century, they are sufficiently commonplace to be recognized as a recurring type.

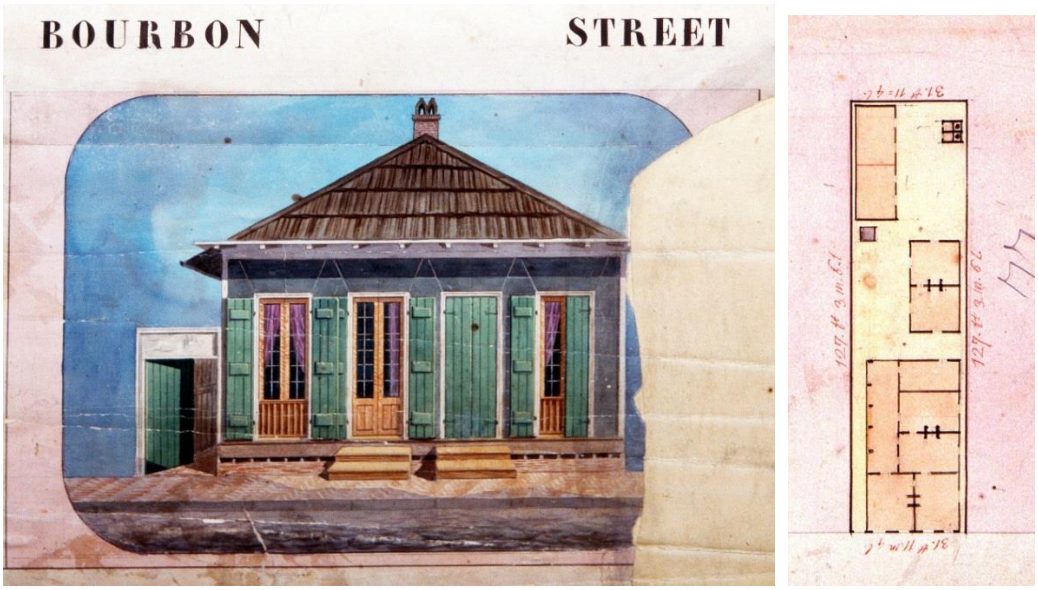


Fig. 3.26. An elevation and plan of the Phillippon Cottage, ca 1810, at 1016 Dauphine Street in the French Quarter. The image was made by Pietro Gualdo, Jan 3, 1855. Courtesy NONA 044.035.

The Phillippon cottage is a 4-bay half Creole cottage, one room deep which has had rooms added to its back. Three rectangular rooms are attached to one side of the house, leaving space for an open gallery behind the main rooms. The last of the three back rooms is a rental room. Access is by the renter's door on the left side of the façade. The renter walks down the alley way, up onto the open side gallery, and then enters his room which is not otherwise connected to the owner's portion of the house. One of the two dependencies in the rear courtyard may also be devoted to rental rooms. The cottage is estimated to have been built in the decade of the 1810s, perhaps before the regulations for fireproof roofing material were enforced.

The rise of the linear cottage in the period following 1810 becomes more fully understandable when set against the background of racial demography and the sociology of the Early Republican period in New Orleans. Under the more liberal manumission laws and protections for the rights of enslaved workers of the previous Spanish administration (1759-1803), Louisiana had developed a society with three legally defined castes or strata: free citizens (white Creoles and Europeans), free people of color (manumitted Creoles or those born of free *mulattas*), and the enslaved (a few *mulattos* but mostly Creole *negres*, and *bozales*—"salt water" slaves).

The demographic patterns of free people of color in New Orleans in the first decades of the American period are worthy of note: Among the *gens de colour libres* caste in 1820, the sex ratio was only 63.88. The sex ratios were reversed on rural plantations, but in the city there were only sixty-four males for every one hundred females of marriageable age (14 - 45 years). This remarkable imbalance meant that many free females of color would not find a mate within their class, even if they had wanted one, which many did not. Within French Creole society the institution of *plaçage*—extra-legal formalized hypergamy--arose to fill the gap. Young *quadroon* ("quarter-blooded") women were described as "highly educated externally [outside of Louisiana], and probably as beautiful and accomplished a set of women as can be found."[86] In their late teens, light-skinned free women of color were introduced and, after background research on the part of their mothers or family members, eventually contracted to well-to-do free white males. The institution was neither equivalent to marriage nor to concubinage. The men entailed considerable financial and other formal obligation to their *placées*. Men typically provided their mates with a small house on or near *rue de Rampart* and a stipend, and they publically acknowledged the parentage of the children who bore the name of the father and received the sacraments of the Catholic Church. Many *placées* claimed family inheritance on the death of their "husband/lovers." For the white male there were several kinds of benefits. Contemporary observer Frederick Law Olmsted is quoted as saying that for many young men, the life of *plaçage* was simply "much cheaper than living at hotels and boarding houses," but he clearly underestimated the power of the attractiveness of the quadroon lady (Fig. 3.27).

The upside of the arrangement was that it left many young free women of color in a better financial position than they might otherwise have been. The downside was that, for most, the arrangement was impermanent. After several years many of the white men married women of their own class and either then or later, terminated the arrangement. The result was a large number of abandoned *plaçage* divorcees who were financially comfortable and property owners. Land values were increasing almost exponentially in these decades in New Orleans. The streets of the quarter were being paved in the 1820s. Many free women of color became successful business women, specializing in rental property and rooming houses in the rapidly expanding city. "Later in life these women were renowned for their successful businesses: rooming

houses accommodating white gentlemen." As historian, Gayarré described them, "those furnished rooms were models of Dutch cleanliness." They served hot coffee in the mornings and had a tub of hot water drawn on the tenant's return in the evening. "They were intent on guessing at your wants, on anticipating your wishes...." "The female quadroons may be said to have monopolized the renting, at high prices, of furnished rooms to the whites of the male sex. This they easily did, for it was difficult to equal them in attention to their tenants, and those tenants would indeed have been very hard to please if they had not been satisfied."



Fig. 3.27. Marie Besant, a Quadroon lady, as sketched by A. R. Woad in New Orleans, 1871. HNOC.1965.90.281.8.

In the Spanish slang of New Orleans, the *plaçée* herself was known as the *casa chica* or "little house" (presumably, the white wife lived in the *casa grande* or big house). One of the most interesting of the un-researched questions about this period concerns the relationship between the free women of color and their little houses. Many lived in what was called the "Quadroon Quarter"--the northernmost sector of the Quarter, bounded roughly by Rampart Street, Esplanade Ave., St. Peter, and Bourbon streets. They commissioned both their own houses and rental properties on narrow lots in this area, and created an atmosphere in which narrow houses, including particularly the linear cottage, came to be associated with a certain excellence of lifestyle. "There are, in some streets, long blocks of one-story houses, with one or two rooms built purposely to be let out to bachelors. Indeed, there are neither hotels nor boarding-houses enough to accommodate one-tenth part of this class of male."

Was it, perhaps, this association with pampered living which was remembered by their increasingly wealthy and influential tenants in future years when shotgun houses began to be built as the primary residences of successful businessmen all over the growing city? Perhaps, a shared architectonic *jouissance* helped to turn the lowly shotgun into a favored form of New Orleans residence. It was certainly the most historically obvious mechanism by which Anglo men were introduced to the unique linear cottage of New Orleans. But who originally designed and built these houses for the quadroon landladies?

Refugee free men of color who had been carpenters, masons, plasterers and cabinet makers in Saint-Domingue, picked up their professions once again in New Orleans. Among free men of color the profession of carpenter is listed as the most common by far. Take the example of Pierre Roup, *h.c.l.* (free man of color). Roup was a builder and contractor who arrived in New Orleans in 1805. By 1808 he is listed as a property owner in the Quadroon Quarter, owning four lots [Fig. 3.25]. He appears to have been comfortable building a localized form of the *maison longue* with which he was previously familiar in Saint Domingue, and his native Gonaïves. Over the next two decades, he and his wife, Coralie Fafitte (f.c.l. and niece of Jean Lafitte), bought and sold properties in the Quarter, Marigny, and along the Bayou Road. Roup died in 1836 in a house almost certainly of his design--a four-room deep Single Shotgun style house

at 374 Rue d'amour (1744 N. Rampart Street in Marigny) [Fig. 3.28]. He and several of his free colored contemporaries, such as Bartholemew Bacas and Jacques Tinchant, specialized in building both Creole cottages and shotgun houses.

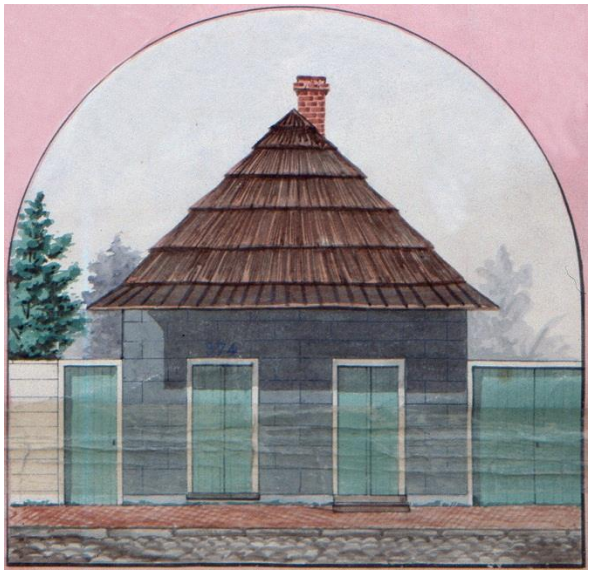


Fig. 3.28. A 1829 Single on Rampart, built by Pierre Roup, a Haitian Free Man of Color and builder. NONA 089.024.

Contemporary observers make special mention of the houses of the "quadroon" women: "Those pretty and peculiar houses, whole rows of which may be seen in the Ramparts," and "Those peculiar little dwellings near the Ramparts." [41] Creole cottages had been commonplace in the French Quarter since early colonial times. They were found throughout the Quarter, not confined to "the Ramparts," so observations of the 1830s about the peculiarity of the local houses almost certainly refer to the more recently popular linear cottages. Conceivably, they may also have referred to the unusual single room wide, two and three bay Creole cottages which were also fairly popular in the Ramparts area, except that other commentators refer to the new houses as "low." Creole cottages in this era are one and one-half stories tall [Fig. 3.28].

By the 1830s and 1840s, the shotgun form was becoming accepted as a basic housetype throughout the Creole faubourgs and beyond, not only among free people of color and their renters but, increasingly, among both white and black businesspeople. Many of these new linear cottages were built only two rooms deep. Each residence was served with a detached kitchen, servants' quarters and privies in the rear yard. Also during this period, the clapboard or board-and-batten cladded shotgun became increasingly popular. An example of an 1830s shotgun presumed to be prototypical is the Greek Revival style frame house at 1031 Clouet (in Bywater).

An important innovation resulting from the sizable number of rental linear cottages being built was the Side-Hall and Side-Gallery Shotgun. The evolution is clearly seen in the floorplans of linear cottages, so carefully documented by the artists of the sales affiches archived in the NONA. Whether single or double wide, they share two distinctive features. Rental rooms were always set at the rear of the main house; they are distinguished by not having direct access into the front portion of the residence where the landladies lived. Rather, the renter had to pass outside to get to and from the street. In order to further the passage of renters to their rooms, side-hall and side-gallery linear cottages provided access under a roof to the rear rental rooms [Figs. 3.29 – 3.30]. The same passageways permitted landladies to service the rooms in all kinds of weather when the renters were absent. An early approximation of the side hall and side gallery accommodation may be seen in certain early linear cottages which have extended roofs running down one side of the building only.





Fig. 3.298 and 3.30. Images of two 3-bay side gallery Linear Cottages. These are designed to accommodate renters, whose rooms are placed at the back of the buildings. JDE image 2010, and HDLC Survey image, 2010.

An important innovation resulting from the sizable number of rental linear cottages being built was the Side-Hall and Side-Gallery Shotgun. The evolution is clearly seen in the floorplans of linear cottages, so carefully documented by the artists of the sales affiches archived in the NONA. Whether single or double wide, they share two distinctive features. Rental rooms were always set at the rear of the main house; they are distinguished by not having direct access into the front portion of the residence where the landladies lived. Rather, the renter had to pass outside to get to and from the street. In order to further the passage of renters to their rooms, side-hall and side-gallery linear cottages provided access under a roof to the rear rental rooms [Figs. 3.29, 3,30]. The same passageways permitted landladies to service the rooms in all kinds of weather when the renters were absent. An early approximation of the side hall and side gallery accommodation may be seen in certain early linear cottages which have extended roofs running down one side of the building only.

CHAPTER 4

AMERICANIZATION OF THE LINEAR COTTAGE: 1835 – 1865.

Greek Revival Architecture and its Impact on the Shotgun House in New Orleans

Beginning about the middle of the 1830s, new styles of decorative treatment began to appear on vernacular dwellings in New Orleans. By 1834 a truly remarkable transformation was underway in New Orleans vernacular architecture. The hugely popular pattern books of Asher Benjamin and Minard Lafever were being used as guides by builders across the country.[88] Architects formally trained in classical "Greek Revival" forms such as those depicted in these pattern books had begun to arrive in New Orleans. As Greek Revival fever swept over the increasingly prosperous Crescent City, those who built even humble traditional vernacular dwellings began to add elegant new forms of decoration to the facades of their otherwise commonplace cottages. Brick and wooden facades were plastered and decorated to appear like ashlar or cut stone. Dental frieze moldings began to outcrop immediately below the eaves of the roof. Doorways sometimes receded behind open vestibules in imitation of the Greek *prothyron* or domestic entrance hall. Fancy decorative treatments of doors of even small houses came to include any combination of transom lights, side-lights, Classical columns, entablatures and occasionally, pediments—all considered "Greek Revival" elements. They were, in fact, a new reworking of the Classical Revival which had been popular since the days of Thomas Jefferson.

This architectonic transformation was part of a broad humanistic revolution which brought to America a new Aaesthetic and libertarian spirit.@ The rigidities of the earlier enlightenment were being tested by a new romanticism. An increased value placed on freedom of thought, a demand for general public education, a new exuberance in American fine arts, an emphasis on professionalism, and a search for a philosophically relevant architecture swept across the nation.

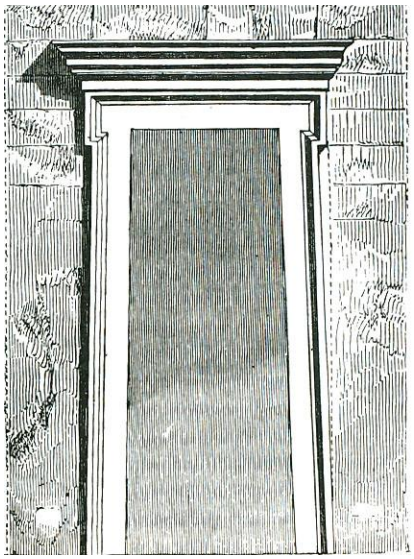


Fig. 4.1. A Doric atticurge temple doorway, 5th century B.C. (Harris 1977:167).

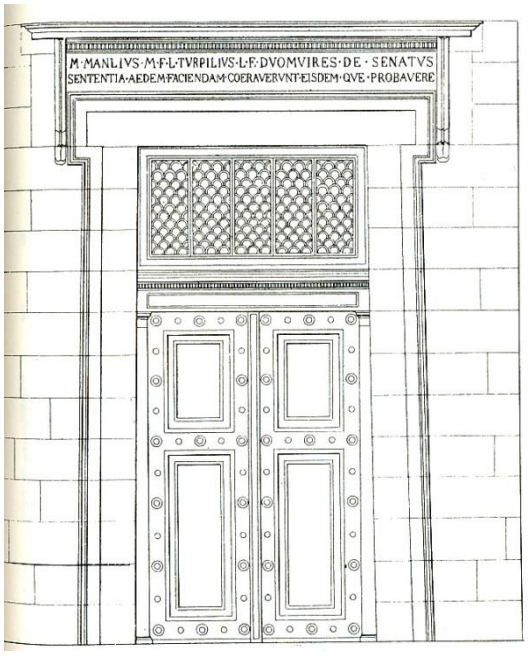


Fig. 4.2 A Roman demi-atticurge doorway (Harris 1977:291).

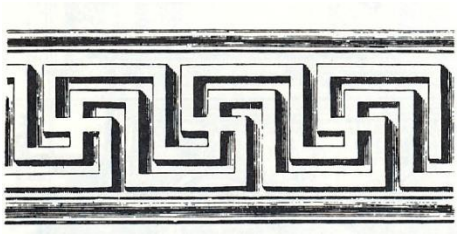


Fig. 4.3. A Greek Key Fret design (Harris 1977)

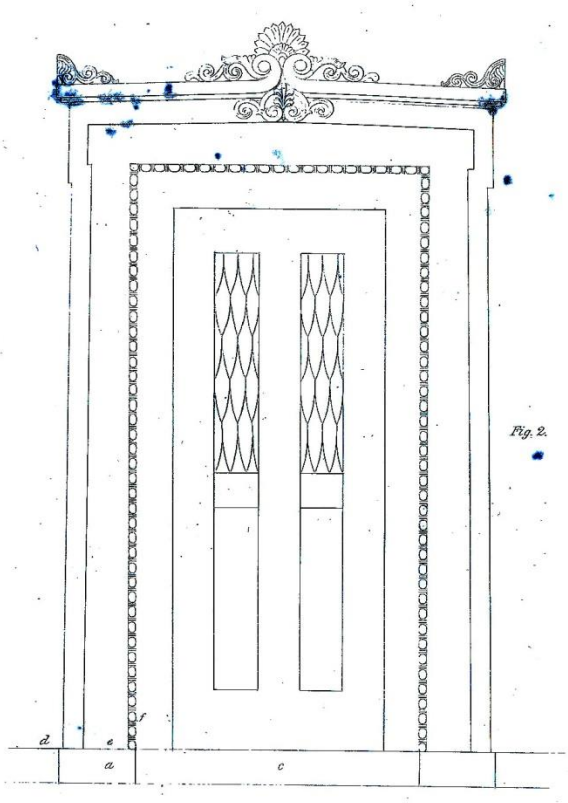


Fig. 4.4. A modern (recessed) Front Door (Lafever 1855: Plate 1).

In New Orleans, a distinctive form of door-surround borrowed from Classical sources was suddenly popular. It was adopted both by architects and by vernacular builders across the city, appearing in a wide variety of variants (Figs. 4.1-4.4). Many hundreds of cottages and town houses were decorated with these new surrounds, but there remains no accepted technical term for it. Somewhat confusingly, architectural historians use the term Aarchitrave@ to refer, not only the lowest of the three bands of a Classical entablature, but also to the decorative surround of a door or window.[89] The architrave surround is composed of wide, flat vertical jambs and a horizontal lintel. Surrounds in which the jambs are Ainclined slightly inward@ are referred to as *Atticurge* surrounds, presumably reflecting an origin, or at least a recognized source, in Greek Attica, the district of Athens. In the Aclassic@ Ionic Atticurge doorway, the lintel is shouldered, i.e., it extends slightly beyond the outside edges of the jambs, and they are canted slightly inward from the vertical.[90] The jambs do not taper. This produces a slightly trapezoid-shaped door opening rather than a rectangle (Fig. 4.1). It must be corrected by inserting tapered elements

beside the door itself. The form is to be seen on the Doric Temple of Zeus Olympius at Agrigentum (c.460 B.C.E.), and on the door of the north porch of the Ionic Erechtheion temple on the Acropolis in Athens (421-406 B.C.E).

There is, however, another form of *atticurge* doorway, and it was this one that was to become most popular in the vernacular architecture of New Orleans. In a Roman-inspired version, the door jambs are tapered slightly inward on their outer edges only--the inner faces remaining rigidly vertical. This permits the door space itself to assume a rectangular form while the faces of the jambs taper as they rise to the lintel (Fig. 4.2). This produces the overall effect of a very steeply inclined pyramid, truncated by a broad overhanging cap or "crossette." Technically, we might term this kind of frame the Ademi-atticurge architrave, @ but that would be an awful name! In the vocabulary of the building contracts of the 1830s, it is referred to as "a moulding with diminshed architraves" – also unacceptably wordy.[91] The local New Orleans vernacular name for both kinds of shouldered door surrounds--when there is a name at all--is the misnomer: the AGreek Key@ surround.[92] A Greek Key is, of course, a set of running fretwork patterns popularized by the Greeks in Classic times (Fig. 4.3). Because this designation became established among the architectural history community and particularly the "Friends of the Cabildo" group who were producing the New Orleans Architecture series, we shall follow their convention and refer to both the Ademi-atticurge@ and the atticurge surrounds as AGreek Key architraves.@



Fig. 4.5. The Saint Charles Hotel, designed by James Gallier and Charles Dakin, 1837-1851. This Greek Revival style hotel was among the finest in the country at the time of its construction.

Door surrounds with inward-canted jambs and crossette "ears" were fairly common in the ancient Classical world. They were used by the Etruscans, the Romans and others, as well as by the the Greeks. Even the stone Lion Gate at Mycenae, ca. 1250 B.C., is roughly in this form, as are Egyptian *propylon* gateways. In Greece, tapered jambs and extended lintels appear to go back to a time when temples were constructed with structurally weak brick or rubble walls, and when heavy canted and tapered wooden door surrounds were structurally required for the support of the lintels. This was a form which better resisted lateral movements, such as might occur in earthquakes. Later, when temple walls could be constructed using ashlar (cut and fitted stones), the necessity for this distinctive tapered surround disappeared. The form, however, survived as a functionless icon—in art history terms, a "kenning" (simplified stylization of), sacred doorways, transposed from structural necessity into decorative symbol. In this way it continued to mark the essential boundary between the sacred and secular worlds through the

centuries. But how could such an ancient monumental form ever become popular in the domestic vernacular architecture of New Orleans?

Though the shouldered door surround was common in the Neoclassical architecture of Great Britain and other European countries in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the United States it appears to have been popularized by a single architect. The most successful popularizers of Greek Revival were the pattern book writers of the 1830s and 1840s. They were Asher Benjamin and Minard Lafever.[93] Their works were Aused by designers and craftsmen the country over.@ [94] Each of these architects modified the traditional Classical styles to better suit smaller American buildings. Scholars consider the products of their art to be both imaginative and sophisticated. Curiously, their creations are unique and unlike one-another. Benjamin emphasized rectangular door surrounds with corner blocks and fluted architrave jambs and lintels. He also popularized a number of transom light designs, such as those with the criss-cross pattern and others with narrow margin lights (Fig. 4.6). This motif used for transoms and French style doors in New Orleans became so popular so quickly that it may be taken as a nearly infallible identifier of the mid 1830s-1840s decade.



Fig. 4.6. A pedimented Greek Revival style Single on Robertson in Tremé, Ca. 1840. NONA 019.001. Note the transom light with narrow margin lights over the door. This is a style popular in the 1830s.

Of the two architects, though, only Lafever was interested in the crossette-capped door surround. It appears so extensively in his pattern books that Greek Revival historian Talbot Hamlin has referred to it as the ALafever-type door@ (1944:plate XCII). Hamlin extolled Lafever=s subtle variations on Greek Revival decorative forms. For example, the flat jambs of the large scale architrave in his AModern Front Door,@ Awiden... from the top downward, from a width of 1 foot 11 inches at the top to 2 feet, 12 inches at the bottom@ (Fig. 4.7).[95] That adds up to a change in width of only 22 inches in a two-foot wide band eleven feet tall! The length of the overhang of the "ears" precisely measures the extent of expansion of the door molding, 2½ inches wider at the foot than it is at the head. Viewed casually from the street, such

subtle geometries are almost invisible, yet their combined overall effect is a series of compositions of the most carefully regimented proportions and design sophistication.

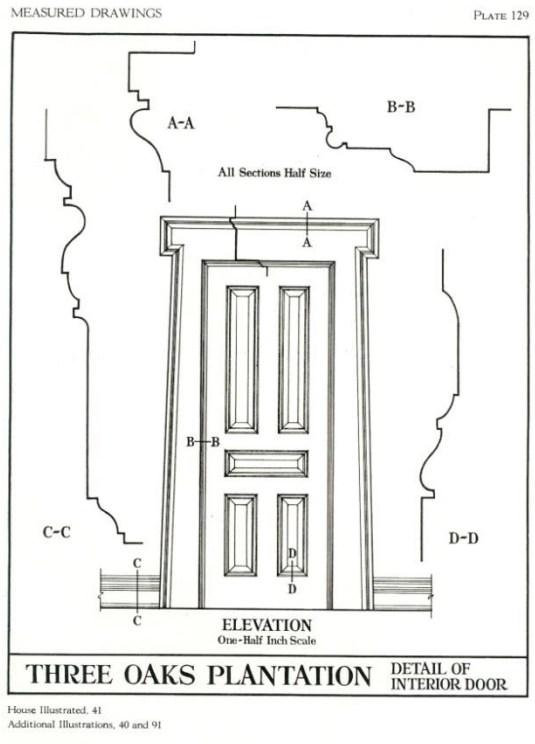


Fig. 4.7. A measured drawing of the front door of Three Oaks Plantation, c. 1840 (Ricciuti 1938 Plate 129).

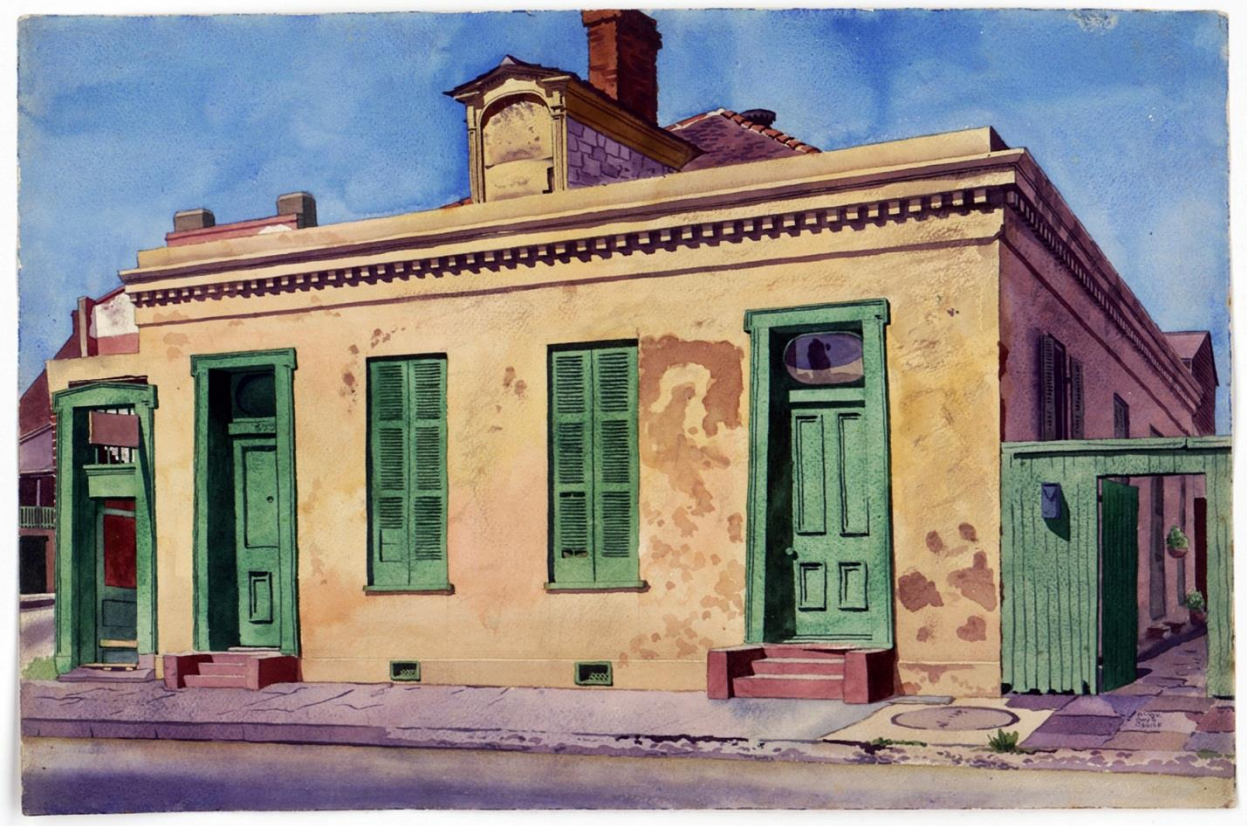


Fig. 4.8. A Boyd Cruise painting of the Norbert Soulié cottage. This may well be an example of a double Creole cottage turned sideways. It was built between 1829 and 1831, and its Greek Revival facade was probably added by Charles Roman about 1860. The cottage is located at 509-11 Burgundy Street. Image courtesy Louisiana State Museum, HABS EL 2007.1.260.

The Irish born architect, James Gallier Sr. (1798-1866), was one of the quartet of skilled and creative architects who dominated the New Orleans scene between ca. 1830 and 1850. The others were the Irish born Henry Howard (1818-1884), James Dakin (1806-1852), and the Frenchman, Jacques Nicholas Bussiere de Pouilly (1804-1875). Benjamin Latrobe had been perhaps an even more talented architect, but he had died of yellow fever only two years after his arrival in New Orleans in 1818.

Early in 1832, Gallier disembarked in New York City. He soon went into business with James Dakin, a partner at that time in a prominent New York firm specializing in Neo-Classical architecture (Scully 1973). After working with Dakin for several months AGallier formed a partnership with the Neo-Classical architect Minard Lafever (1797-1854." [96] A year later in October of 1834, Gallier dissolved the

partnership and sailed for the Gulf Coast with Dakin=s younger brother, Charles Bingley Dakin (1811-1859). Lured by rumors of fabulous opportunities in the rapidly expanding city, they arrived in New Orleans in December and set up an office on Canal Street. Owing to the paucity of trained architects in the city at that time in combination with the high levels of demand for architectural skills, they quickly obtained commissions for houses, churches and public buildings. One of their most important commissions was the magnificent, 350 room St. Charles Hotel, located just off Canal Street (1837-1851). When completed, Ait was the largest and most sumptuous hotel in the nation (Fig. 4.5; Banks 1997:2).

James Dakin left New York and joined his brother in New Orleans in November of 1835. At that time Gallier left the Gallier-Dakin firm to strike out on his own. In this, Gallier prospered, eventually to be called Athe greatest architect this city ever knew.@ He designed buildings in the French Quarter, but according to his autobiography, his special clientele seems to have been successful Irish merchants who were pouring into the city and erecting mansions in the American suburbs.

Both Gallier and Dakin had had close working relationships with Lafever and his shouldered door surrounds. Dakin had provided many of the engravings for Minard Lafever=s architectural books (Fig. 4.9). Shouldered doors began appearing on new buildings in New Orleans almost immediately: in plantation houses (Fig. 4.7), in the grand houses of the Garden District (Figs. 4.9 – 4.10), and in the town houses of the French Quarter and Creole faubourgs (Fig. 4.8). The Greek Key was not limited to doors and windows. They used it extensively for fireplace surrounds and for framing mirrors and book cases. Furniture makers borrowed it for armoires.[97] Henry Howard arrived in New Orleans from Ireland in 1837, also via New York. He began immediately to work with the architectural design manuals of Menard Lafever. He combined Lefever's designs with Irish neoclassical themes familiar from his earlier days in Cork (Brantley 2015:19). Howard quickly adopted the crossette style Lafever door and used it occasionally throughout the earlier (Greek revival) parts of his long amd successful career in both interiors and exteriors Brantley, 2015:89, 101, 104).

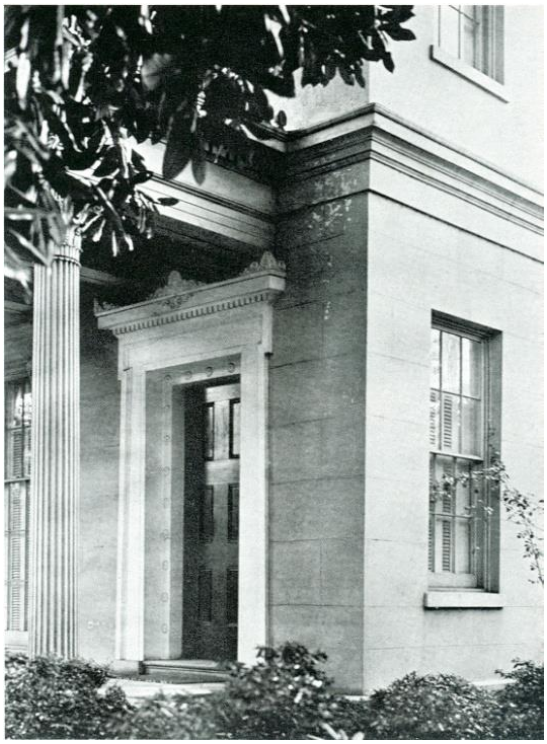


Fig. 4.9 The Logan House in the Garden District This is a Lefever style Greek Key door surround. The house is attributed to James Gallier (Ricciuti 1938: Plate 76).



Fig. 4.10. Interior door in the Forsyth House, Garden District, ca. 1848. (Ricciuti 1938 Plate 101.

This was all the work of high-style architects—Gallier, Dakin, Henry Howard, and other architects imitating their work. Another interesting aspect of the Greek Key motif in New Orleans is the extent and speed with which the style spread to builders and craftsmen, both white and black, who were not formally educated. The Lafever style, for example, is prominent throughout the Sindos-Latorre-Boucvalt townhouse at 1025 St. Louis Street. It was constructed about 1840 by Sevrin Latorre (a builder) and Leon Pierre Sindos (store owner), both free men of color, in what was then being called the AQuadroon Quarter@ of the Vieux Carré (Fig. 4.11; HABS 1993).[98] Indeed, in the 1835-1855 period it was in the two-, three- and four-bay townhouse that the Greek Key style found its greatest expression (Caldwell 1997:178-83; Fig. 4.12).[99] Even more amazing is the expansion of the style by the end of the

1830s to modest kinds of vernacular houses. Small cottages and shotgun houses only two rooms deep adopted it (Figs. 4.6, 4.13 - 4.14). Many of these smaller houses were built by free people of color, for example the J.B. Bordenave house at 920 Spain St.[100] After ca. 1840 shotgun doubles would adopt the style as well (Fig. 4.8. 4.15).

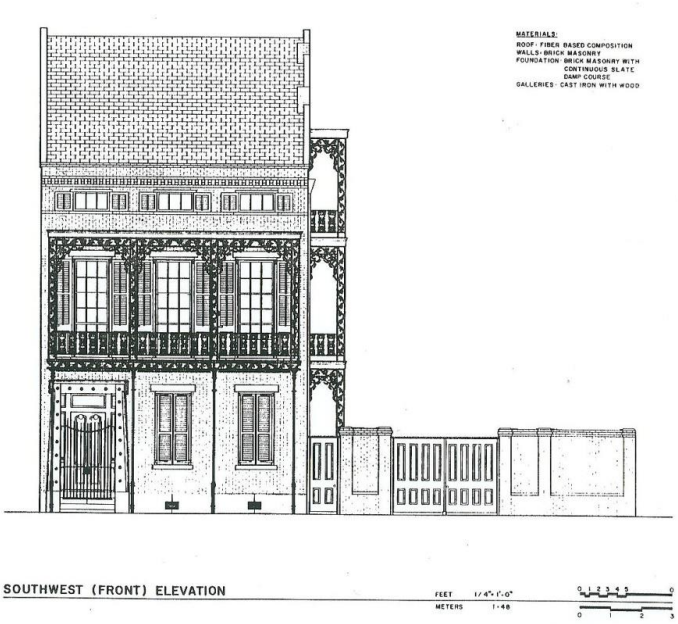


Fig. 4. 11. Street elevation of the Sindos-Latorre-Boucvalt House, 1025 St. Louis Street, ca. 1840. HABS 1993.

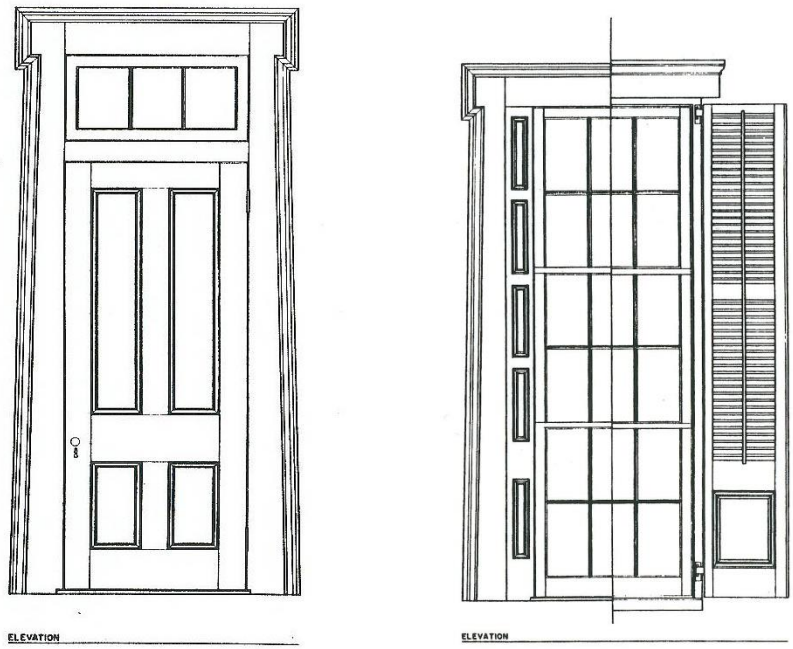


Fig. 4.12. Door and window treatment from the Sindos-Latorre-Boucvalt House. HABS 1993.

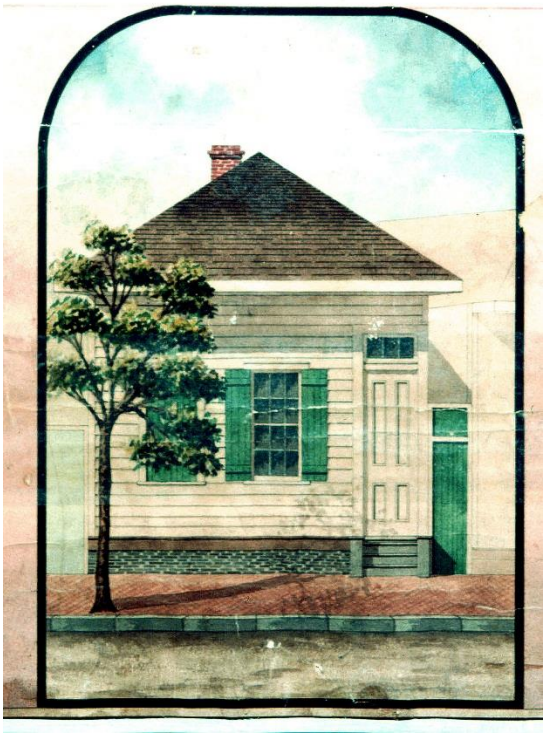


Fig. 4.13. A small linear cottage. HABS 002.008.



Fig. 4.14. The Baure House, 1426 Burgundy in Marigny the 3-bay Linear Cottage has a recessed door, typical of Greek Revival styling. JDE Photo 2007.

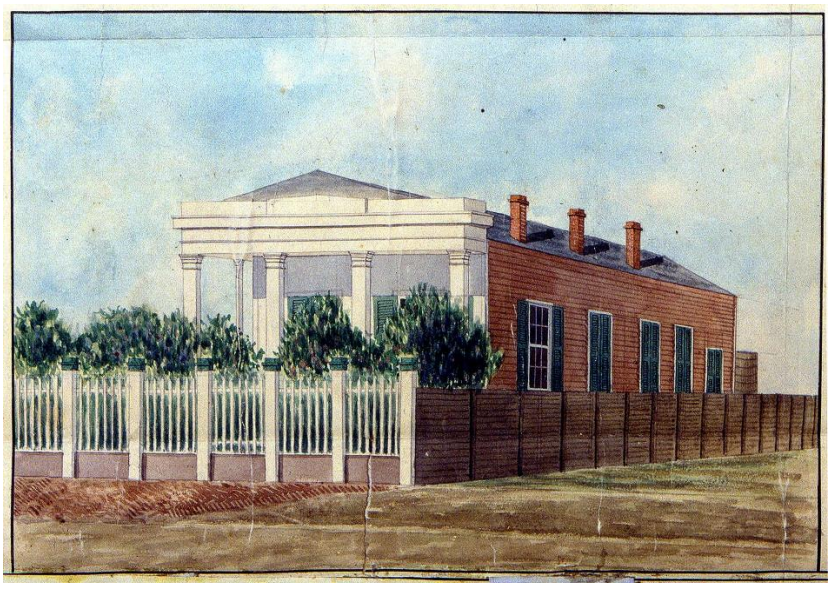


Fig. 4.16. A Greek Revival Double in the 2100 block of Gov. Nicholls, ca. 1850. NONA 044.083.

Greek Revival styling also became particularly popular on the Duplex style of linear cottage. These are two-story tall shotgun houses, either 2 or 3 bays in width (Figs. 4.16 – 4.17).

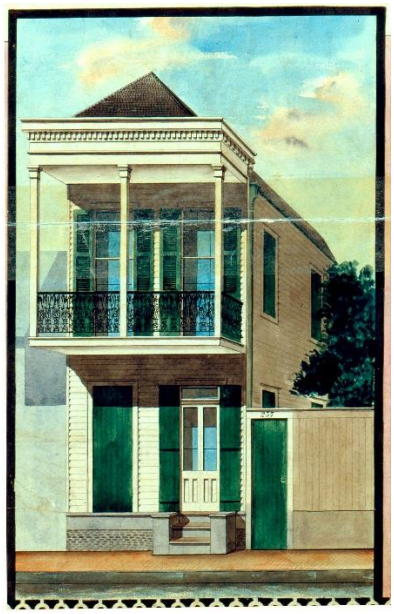


Fig. 4.16. A ca. 1840 Duplex on Ursuline Street. NONA 002.014.

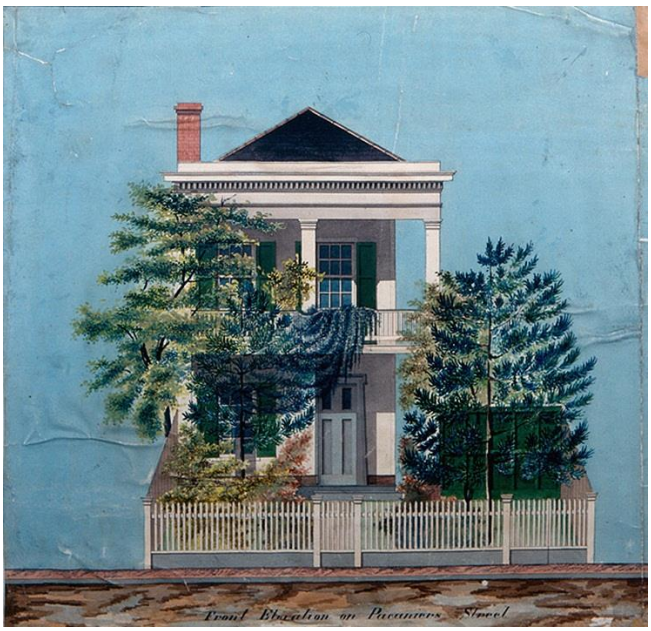


Fig. 4.17. A ca. 1840 Duplex on Pacannier Street. NONA 063.009.

To review then: the ancient Greeks had created the original design for practical reasons. The Greek Key door surround evolved from a structural element used on religious structures into a stylized marker of the boundary between the secular and the sacred worlds. It was not meant to be used on houses. The Romans then modified Greek designs to suit their own aesthetic needs. Lafever was as skilled and sensitive to pleasing form and regimented proportion as any of the original Classical builders of Greece and Rome. He established a new variant of Greek Revival art style, adapting a complex genre to new American needs in much the way that the Greeks and Romans had adapted their earlier Classicism to local tastes in Ionia, Attica or Tuscany. His was no boiled-down simplification of ancient and sophisticated high style classicism. American expression as rendered by Lafever was as true to Greco-Roman architectural spirit as any of the ancient forms that inspired it.

In New Orleans, it was the educated practitioners, Gallier and Dakin, who first translated Lafever=s conceptions into a wide variety of concrete expressions. As Greek Revival mania swept through New Orleans in the mid-1830s, the Greek Key style spread rapidly throughout the business and upper classes. An architectural curiosity expanded quickly into a full-fledged epidemic, one that ravished the old Creole architecture of the city as extensively as yellow fever ravished the human population.

But absent the remarkable army of vernacular builders of the city, enthusiasm for the new Greek Revival style would have remained an upper class phenomenon--something that might have symbolically elevated the well-to-do above the common working person and his family. The real lesson of the Greek Key surround and the dramatic growth of popularity of the Greek Revival in New Orleans is to be found in the surprisingly elevated style-consciousness and high levels of craftsmanship of innumerable small builders and crafts Amechanics.@ It was they who created a vernacular landscape in the new popular style and transformed an elite movement into a groundswell. Through their aesthetic skills they democratized an entire phase of American architectural expression. These tradesmen remain, for the most part, unrecognized and nameless. Many learned the new style through their work on professionally designed mansions. The surprising aspect of this on-the-job education is just how quickly they extended its lessons to the vernacular of the entire city.

History has not dealt kindly with contributions of the professional architects (Vlach 2002). Many of their commissions have now been demolished. In terms of the large-scale urban transformation of these antebellum decades, the volume of work of carpenters, plasterers and masons dwarfs the imprint of the professional architects. A majority of the commissions of Dakin, Gallier, and Howard have disappeared, but those of the craftsmen remain in large numbers across a swath of New Orleans extending from the Irish Channel and the Garden District to Bywater and Holy Cross.[102] In the Ante-bellum decades, thousands of Greek Revival-decorated vernacular buildings were builtBa testament to the breadth and skill of the humble New Orleans builder and the style-consciousness of the working class. In the period immediately preceding the impact of mechanically-shaped wooden decoration, it was the artful hand and the observant eye of the tradesman and the artisan that reshaped the stylistic atmosphere of New Orleans. In this, Lafever=s Greek Key surround played a prominent role, announcing modernity and style-consciousness to every passer-by.

CHAPTER 5

THE VICTORIAN LINEAR COTTAGE, 1865-1925

Influence of the *Abat Vent* tradition on Antebellum Linear Cottages

Several different kinds of influences appear to have coalesced to create a new form of shotgun house in the Antebellum period. Despite the popularity of Greek Revival architecture in New Orleans after ca. 1835, even earlier architectural patterns persisted. One of these was the extended roof overhang, enshrined in the vernacular architecture far back in the Spanish colonial period. The *abat vents* of the late colonial and postcolonial period gradually changed during the Antebellum period. Beginning ca. 1835, roofs of Creole and Linear Cottages were extended out over the sidewalk with a break in pitch, in place of the earlier the *abat vent* (Figs. 5.1, 5.2).

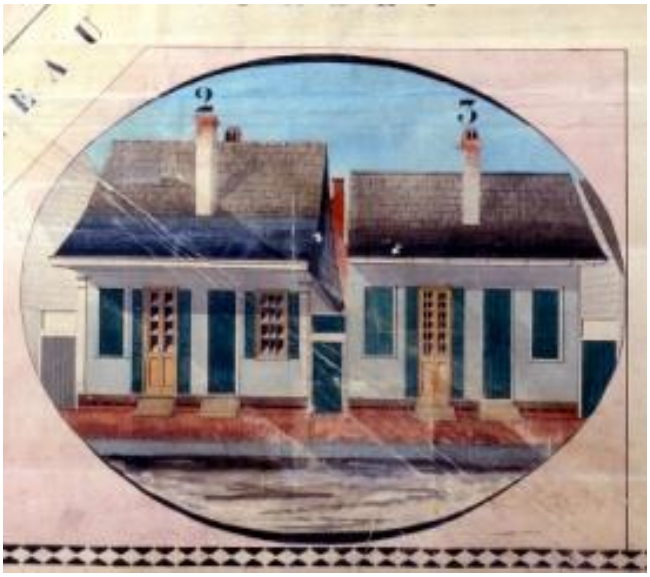


Fig. 5.1. Two ca. 1830 Creole Cottages on Frenchman St. in Marigny. Note break in pitch of roof overhang. NONA 048.002.

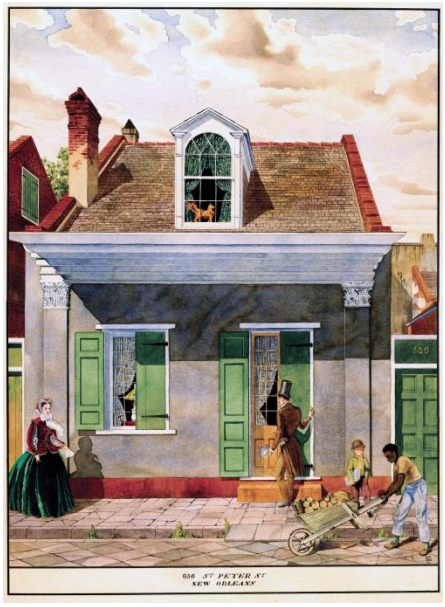


Fig. 5.2. 936 St. Peter Street. A classical styled, Single Creole Cottage with projecting roof over the banquette, built ca. 1830. Painting by Boyd Cruise, courtesy the Louisiana State Museum and the HABS.

Shotgun houses of the Antebellum period often employed a large roof extension over the sidewalk, but with little adornment. This appears to have been simply a continuation of the *abat vent* tradition in

urbanized neighborhoods. Roofs were simply cantilevered out over the sidewalks, sometimes to four or five feet:

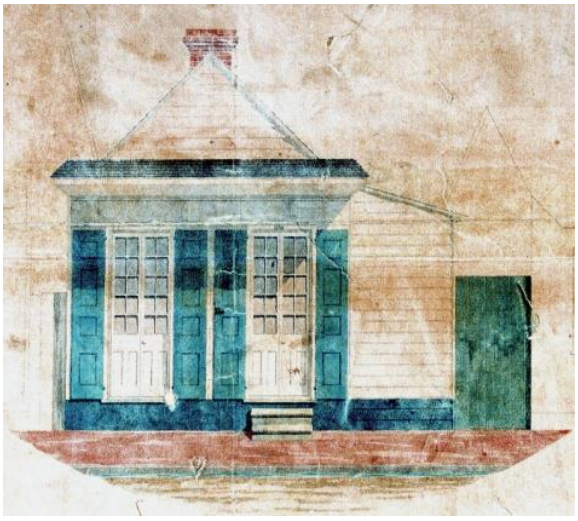


Fig. 5.3. Ca. 1840 Side Gallery Single Shotgun on Craps St. in Marigny NONA 047.036.



Fig. 5.4. Ca. 1840. *Briquetté-entre-poteaux* shotgun rebuilt into a double in the late 19th cent. 1600 block of Dumaine. Razed. JDE Photo 2009.



Fig. 5.5. *Briquetté-entre-poteaux* double onthe Bayou Road, ca. 1840. JDE Photo 2005.

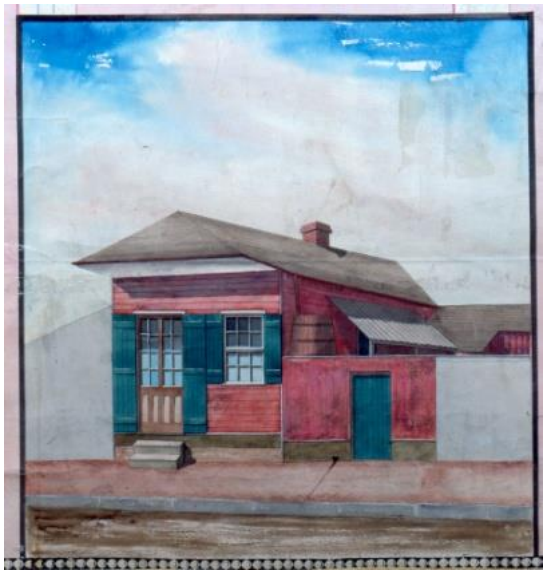


Fig. 5.6. Red shotgun on Rocheblave, ca. 1840. NONA 005.016.

Throughout the Greek Revival era, shotguns continued to display large roof overhangs, sometimes decorated with classical entablatures and sometimes plain (Figs 5.7 - 5.8).

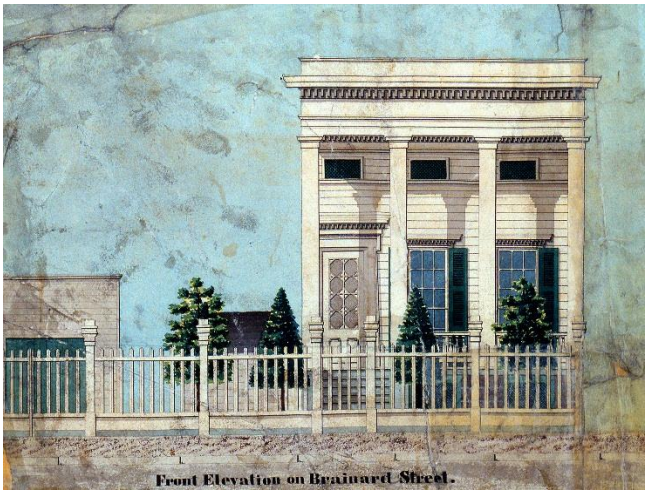


Fig. 5.7. A ca. 1840 side-gallery Single on Brainard St. With Greek Revival entablature. NONA 088.016.



Fig. 5.8. A ca. 1845 side gallery single at 77 Columbus near Villere. Note Greek Key Door surround. NONA. 078.047.

The Rise of the New Orleans Housing Industries

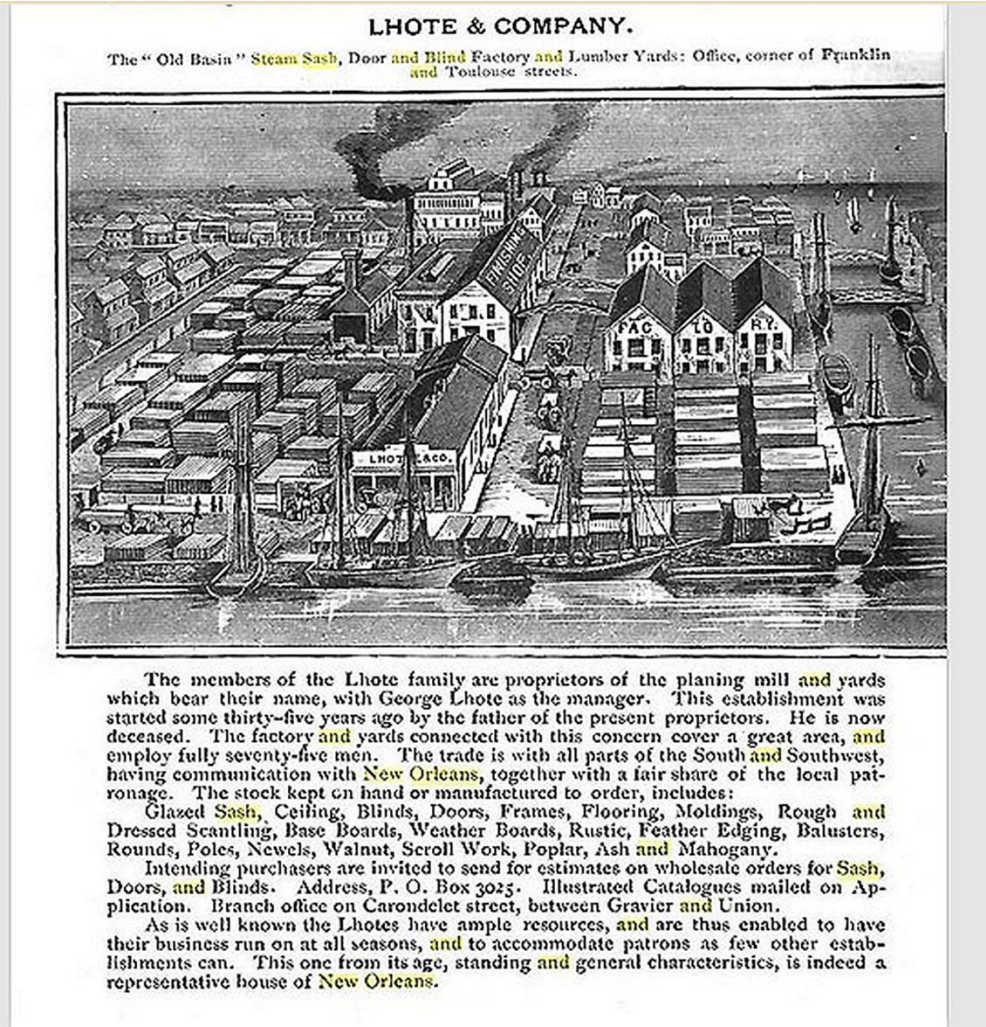
In 1880 the average per-capita wealth of each citizen in the South was approximately one-third that of the average per-capita wealth of American citizens outside of the South.[102] Louisiana was not readmitted to the Union until 1877. The 1879 post-Reconstruction constitution of Louisiana reformed the state, severely limiting taxes and cutting all forms of state financed services. Until approximately 1880, Louisiana was in war recovery mode. It had suffered through a period of severe economic depression. Most of its formerly well-off citizens were impoverished and deprived of their former sources of income, but dramatic changes were in the offing. It isn't possible to understand the growth and spread of the shotgun house without an appreciation of the nature of this dramatic economic turn-around. Despite the relatively small size of the state, Louisiana was blessed with an abundance of old growth forests. Eighty-five percent of the state was covered with them. Roughly twenty-two million acres of timberlands were available for relatively low prices.[103] Of this, the Federal government claimed 6.23 million acres.

Outside the South, the country was experiencing dramatic industrialization and population growth. The demand for new housing and for post-war recovery construction was almost insatiable. Railroads had now spread across the South and new technologies were available for the recovery of

enormous trees from the most difficult of environments such as swamps and marshes. Louisiana and the South were ripe for a new phase of colonial exploitation – an extraction economy. The lumber boom was but one phase of what historians refer to as the New South. All of the Southern states were swept up in the political, industrial, and agricultural changes which transformed its landscapes within a few decades. Industrial lumbering was about to fall upon a weakened Louisiana, and it would never be the same thereafter.

By 1865 the virgin forests of Maine, New York and Pennsylvania were mostly cut and turned into grazing land and farms. Lumbering industrialists from the north were looking for greener fields, and in Louisiana and the South in general, they found them. “Vast regions of virgin forests are to be found waiting for the blade and the saw of enterprising lumbermen. These beautiful timber lands are beckoning with their perennial foliage the lumber industry from the frigid North with the hardships and wasting forests, to the clime of general skies and wealth of uncut timber.”[104]

Large scale, steam-powered lumber mills had begun operation in New Orleans in the 1840s and 1850s. These companies shipped all of the components for wooden houses, from pre-cut frames and roofs to clapboards, flooring, moldings, balusters, newels, doors and baseboards by steamboat and later by railroad to buyers across the country. Lhote and Company and Roberts and Company were two of the best known.



LHOTE & COMPANY.

The "Old Basin" Steam Sash, Door and Blind Factory and Lumber Yards: Office, corner of Franklin and Toulouse streets.

The members of the Lhote family are proprietors of the planing mill and yards which bear their name, with George Lhote as the manager. This establishment was started some thirty-five years ago by the father of the present proprietors. He is now deceased. The factory and yards connected with this concern cover a great area, and employ fully seventy-five men. The trade is with all parts of the South and Southwest, having communication with New Orleans, together with a fair share of the local patronage. The stock kept on hand or manufactured to order, includes:

Glazed Sash, Ceiling, Blinds, Doors, Frames, Flooring, Moldings, Rough and Dressed Scantling, Base Boards, Weather Boards, Rustic, Feather Edging, Balusters, Rounds, Poles, Newels, Walnut, Scroll Work, Poplar, Ash and Mahogany.

Intending purchasers are invited to send for estimates on wholesale orders for Sash, Doors, and Blinds. Address, P. O. Box 3025. Illustrated Catalogues mailed on Application. Branch office on Carondelet street, between Gravier and Union.

As is well known the Lhotes have ample resources, and are thus enabled to have their business run on at all seasons, and to accommodate patrons as few other establishments can. This one from its age, standing and general characteristics, is indeed a representative house of New Orleans.

Fig. 5.9. An advertisement of the Lhote and Company Steam Sash, Door and Blind Factory and Yards, Originally located at the Corondolet Canal Turning Basin, Andrew Marrison, *The Industries of New Orleans,* 1885:88.

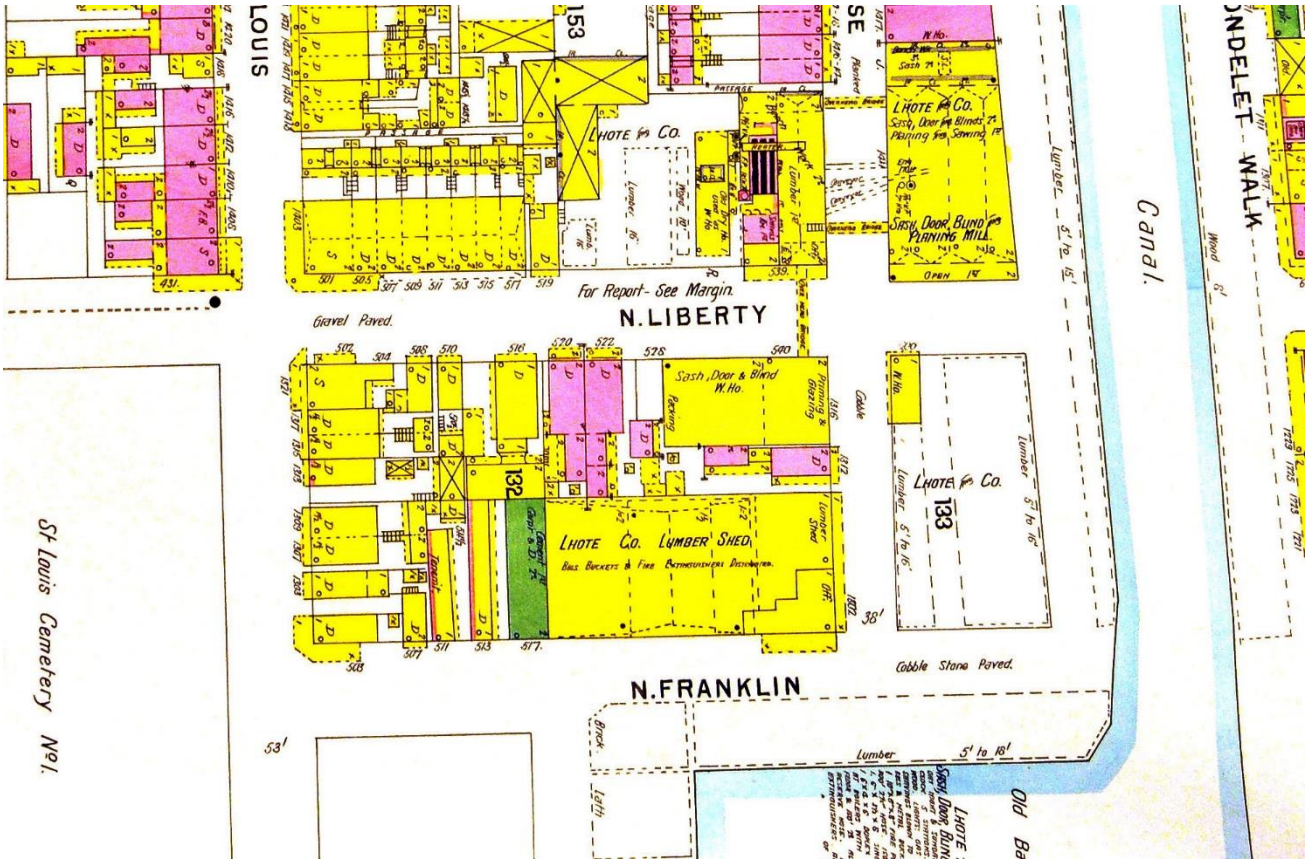


Fig. 5.10. Detail of 1895 Sanborn Map Vol. 1, Sheet 27. Franklin Street at the Old Basin, showing the layout of the Lhote Lumber Company plant. The Carondolet basin is at the bottom right.

The Industrialization of Architectural Decor

Beginning in the 1870s New Orleans steam powered Sash and Blind companies, such as Roberts & Co., The Orleans Manufacturing & Lumber Co., and Samuels & West, had begun turning out increasingly larger catalogs illustrating decorative architectural elements in Italianate and other romantic style patterns then becoming popular nation-wide. Among their products were large brackets appropriate for Italianate houses**.** Perhaps the most successful of these was Roberts & Company's. *Illustrated Catalogue of Moldings, Architectural & Ornamental Wood Work.*[105]

Large brackets, as much as five feet in length cost on the order of $0.50 each. This inexpensive machine-cut decorative wooden ornament transformed the look of New Orleans within a few years. In the 1880s and 1890s, the “bracket style” exploded in popularity, particularly on linear cottages.

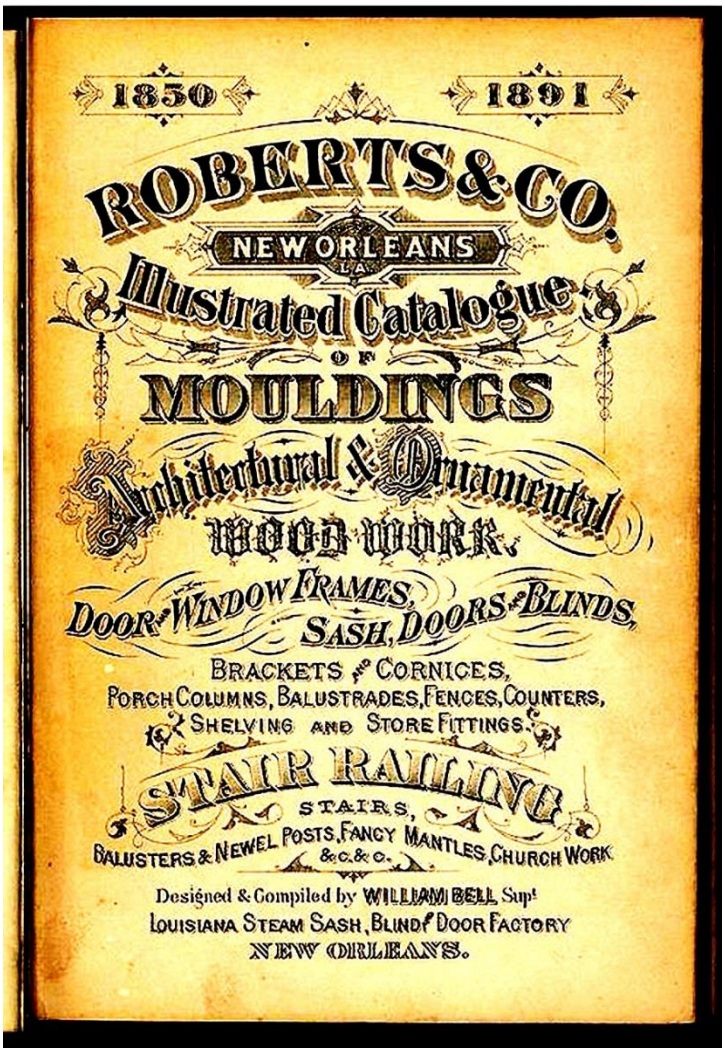
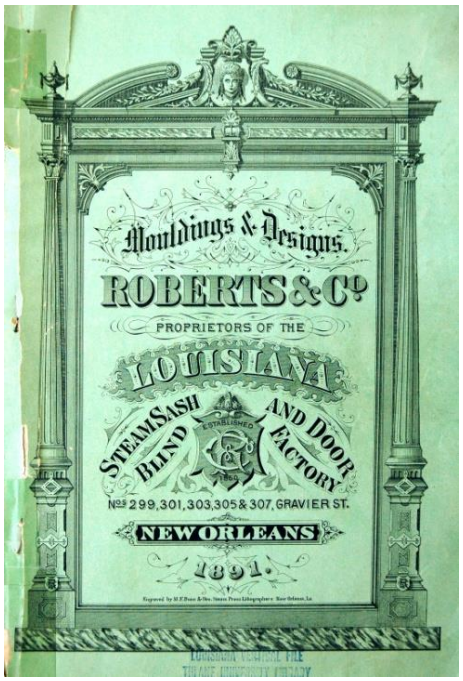
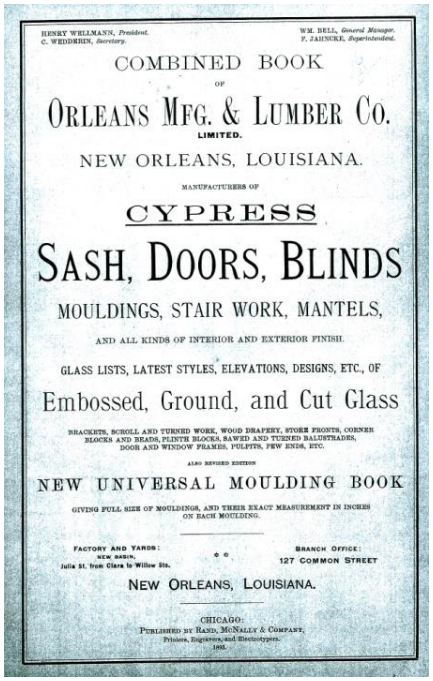
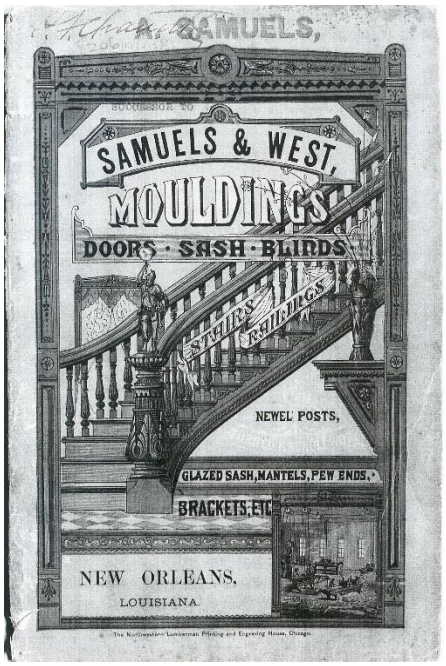


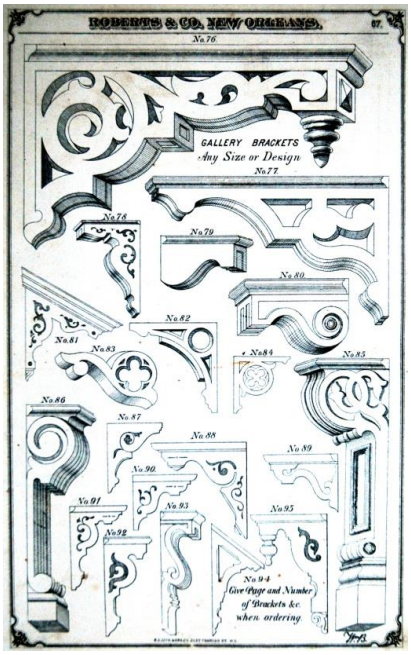
Fig. 5.11. Front page of the 155 page Roberts & Co. catalog for 1891.[106]

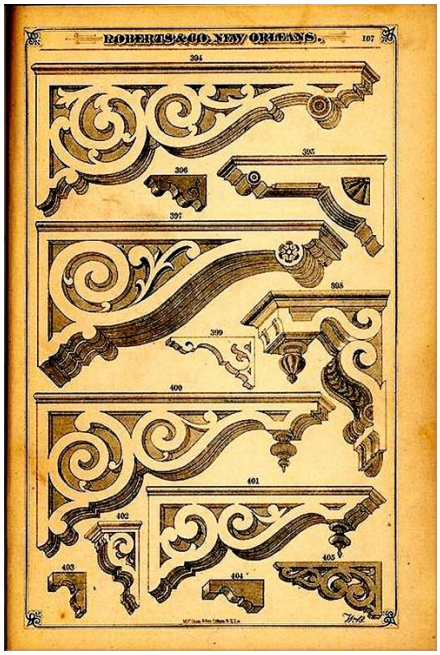


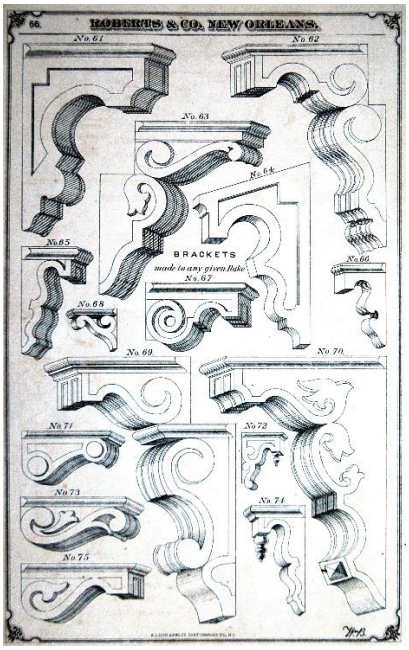




Figs. 5.12 – 5.14. The covers of three Steam Sash and Blind company catalogs from ca. 1880 - 1891, courtesy Southeast Architectural Archive, Tulane University.







Figs. 5.15 – 5.17. Three pages illustrating a sampling of the amazing variety of wooden brackets and consoles available for sale from the 1880 and 1891 Roberts & Co. catalogs.[107]

The Legacy of Italianate Architecture, c. 1850-1880.

At just the time when steam power had been applied to the machines of sawmills and millwork manufacturers, a new style of architecture was becoming popular in America, and particularly in Louisiana. Highly decorated architectural styles had not been popular in Louisiana in the early nineteenth century. The Baroque styles of Europe had been submerged under a relatively restrained French and American Neoclassical. Federal architecture, never very popular in New Orleans, employed samples of classical décor on otherwise restrained facades. Greek Revival had risen in the 1820s and dominated through the 1850s. True, it employed decorative motifs such as entablatures, dental moldings, and Greek Key door surrounds, but in the vernacular at least, these were mostly simplified and restrained. Beginning in the 1850s, American tastes began to change. Ornate decoration was being extolled in publications such as A.J. Downing's popular, *The Architecture of Country* Houses.[108] By 1856, popular New Orleans publications and newspapers were extolling a variety of ornamented styles including the Italianate.[109]

Like Greek Revival before it, a popular new form of the Romantic was introduced in the late 1850s. Soon, the new ornate style was sweeping across the city. In this period, Esplanade Ave. functioned much like the St. Charles Avenue in the Garden District. It became the place to be for two and three-story mansions and townhouses. In a sense Esplanade Ave. serviced the downtown Creole neighborhoods of Marigny and Tremé with the highest levels of architectural refinement. The use of front galleries became a dominant theme of the Italianate. The typical early Italianate town house was fronted by a two story tall "double gallery" (Figs 5.18 – 5.19). Single story cottages, two story town houses, and mansions were all decorated with entablatures, parapet cornices, and freezes with paired brackets above the columns. Italianate was largely introduced through pattern books, and by the end of the decade some mansions had begun to incorporate cantilevered second story balconies, particularly along the flanks of the buildings. These were supported with large wooden brackets (Figs. 5.20 – 5.21).

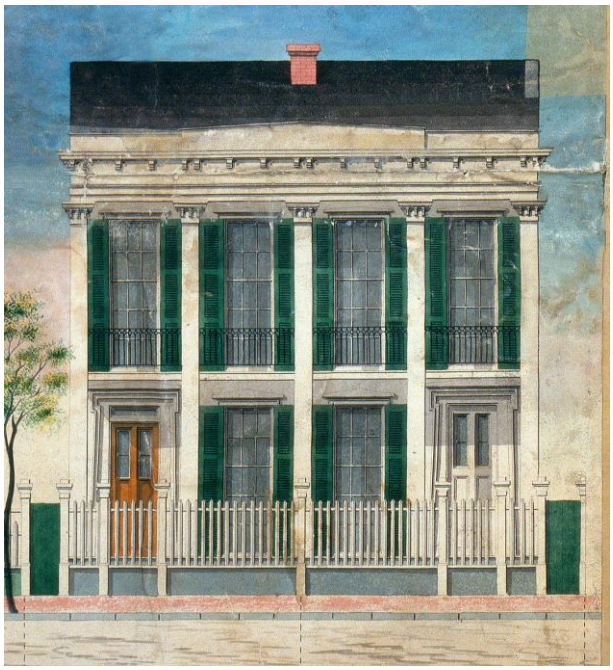


Fig. 5.18. A ca. 1860 transitional Greek Revival/ Italianate Town House with double gallery. Pritanium Walk. NONA 025.056. Note two-story columns and Greek Key door surrounds.



Fig. 5.19. A double galleried Italianate townhouse on St. Charles Ave., ca. 1865. JDE photo. Note paired brackets below the cornice.



Fig. 5.20. The John Cude house, 1415 Josephine. An Italianate townhouse from the early 1870s.[110]



Fig. 5.21. An Italianate townhouse with bracket-supported side balcony. 1415 3rd. St. Ca. 1865. JDE Photo.

It was not long before smaller cottages and linear cottages began to sport Italianate facades (Figs. 5.22 – 5.23).



Fig. 5.22. A Double Shotgun with Greek Revival and Italianate décor in the 1200 block of Harmony, ca 1865. JDE Photo.



Fig. 5.23. An Italianate Double Shotgun, 726-28 Jackson Ave. JDE Photo.

The Bracket Style

By the late 1870s, a dramatic change was occurring in Italianate architecture. The popularity of the two story "double gallery" began to give way before another form. Italianate town houses now had a single story gallery topped by a balcony. Above this at the eves of the roof, a huge roof overhang shaded the balcony. It was cantilevered, and supported by decorative brackets which sometime extended over six feet out from the façade of the building.

Large numbers of these very large decorative brackets were machine cut and mass-produced in New Orleans. They were comparatively inexpensive and could be purchased in a wide variety of forms. Residents with unsupported shotgun roof extensions began to decorate their houses with the new forms of brackets. So completely did brackets take over this role that even New Orleans residents are often **s**urprised to learn that the brackets are entirely decorative, offering no support function at all. So, if you couldn't afford a two story townhouse, you could still appear up to date and in the Early Victorian mode with fashionable brackets and other Italianate woodwork added to the overhang of your modest shotgun house!



Fig. 5.24. 1432 Felicity, a late 1870s style Italianate townhouse with bracketed roof extension. JDE photo.



Fig. 5.25. 2221 Baronne, a "double" 3-bay townhouse from The late 1870s. Note large decorative brackets. JDE Photo.



Fig. 5.26. Bracketed Double shotgun, 734 Jackson Ave. JDE Photo 2010.

Perhaps the most popular of all shotgun house styles in New Orleans is the bracket style. This refers to a shotgun house with an extended roof projection beyond the façade. The overhang typically extends four feet or more, and is supported by a series of decorated brackets. Thousands of Singles, Doubles, Side Halls and Camelbacks sport bracketed roof extensions. In the years between 1875 and 1900 the bracket style was to become the most popular style of decorative treatment on shotgun houses in New Orleans. Brackets were adopted at the time when lumber for construction was cheap and when New

Orleans was expanding rapidly. Homes of the period were decorated with "Victorian trim," including highly imaginative and varied brackets. They are still found throughout the city. Brackets are often combined with other decorative features such as wooden quoins at the corners of the façade, fish-scale shingles on the gable, tray (or cap-molded) window top cornices, and segmental topped door openings. Drop siding often sheaths the façade, with weatherboard on the other surfaces. Guillotine double-hung 2 over 4 windows are common on facades. Sunburst designs and stained-glass windows were popular here, and throughout the country on Queen Anne style cottages, as was Queen Anne trim.[111]

Brackets were fabricated from durable cypress and are often painted in contrasting colors. The artistry of the millwork designers was popularized through catalogs and advertisements. Brackets were surprisingly inexpensive because mechanical jig-saws cut sheets of cypress into imaginative shapes. Most brackets are actually composites of three or more layers of wood glued together and ornamented with hanging spindles and other attachments.[112]



Fig. 5.27. Sketch of a bracketed side-hall shotgun with wide overhang. Sketch by Lloyd Vogt.[113] .



Fig. 5.28. Bracketed side hall shotgun with in-set Entrance, 216 S. Johnson St. JDE photo, 2010.



Fig. 5.29 Bracketed shotgun double. 2420-22 Jackson Ave. JDE Photo, 2010.



Fig. 5.30. Detail of decorative brackets 2420-22 Jackson Ave. JDE Photo, 2010.

New Orleans is blessed with the largest collection of bracketed houses in the world:

> For many humble shotgun houses, brackets serve as the crowning ornamental feature of their front porches, so much so that some homes are referred to as being in the Bracket Style. The brackets usually support hip or gable-on-hip roofs, with four to five foot overhangs being most common. The brackets form part of the decorative scheme of these houses, which often had corner quoins, drop siding, and other decorative elements common to the Queen Anne and Italianate styles. In between the brackets, doors with transoms and full-length double-hung windows (guillotine windows) with decorative cap-molded cornices were commonly placed, both frequently having operable louvered shutters. Together the windows and brackets gave these shotguns their rhythm and sculpted feeling.[114]





Figs. 5.31 – 5.32. Details of bracket styles in Tremé and the French Quarter. JDE Photos, 2010.

On occasion, the love of really Really BIG brackets overwhelms stylistic balance. Perhaps only in New Orleans would one fine mega-bracketed galleries, far outside of the conventions of Italianate, and beyond the proportions of the building to which they are attached. Double shotguns on the 2900 block of Camp Street offer a fine illustration of these oversized brackets. Others are found on St. Claude and elsewhere around the city:



Fig. 5.33. "Mine are Bigger than Yours." A raised double on St. Claude. The deck of the gallery was removed prior to 2002 to provide better access to a store in the low understory. JDE photo, 2014.

So why did this particular style become so very popular? The city of New Orleans was little affected by the Civil War. Although under military rule, the city continued to develop as a commercial center with almost no interruption. A dramatic downturn in the agricultural economy of the state slowed but did not stop architectural development. Houses were built as before. The new Italianate style was popular. The fortuitous conjunction of two architectural patterns seems to have produced the next major stage of shotgun house development.

While the early catalogs from the late 1860s were devoted largely to wooden components for Italianate and other houses, in the Postbellum period entire houses could be ordered from these catalogs. Many were houses designed to be packaged up and assembled quickly as residences for workmen and for share-croppers on plantations and farms. Some were appropriate for the new workers' neighborhoods. Large corporations now supplied dozens or hundreds of houses for their permanent work forces, and these houses could be shipped by steam boat as kits, right to the sites of construction. This was true in Louisiana lumbering and oil workers' settlements and in others Across the South.[115]

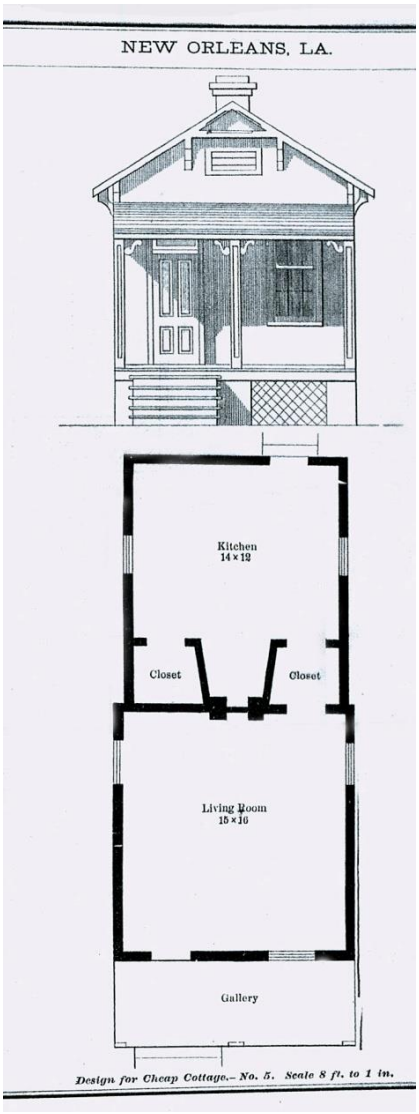


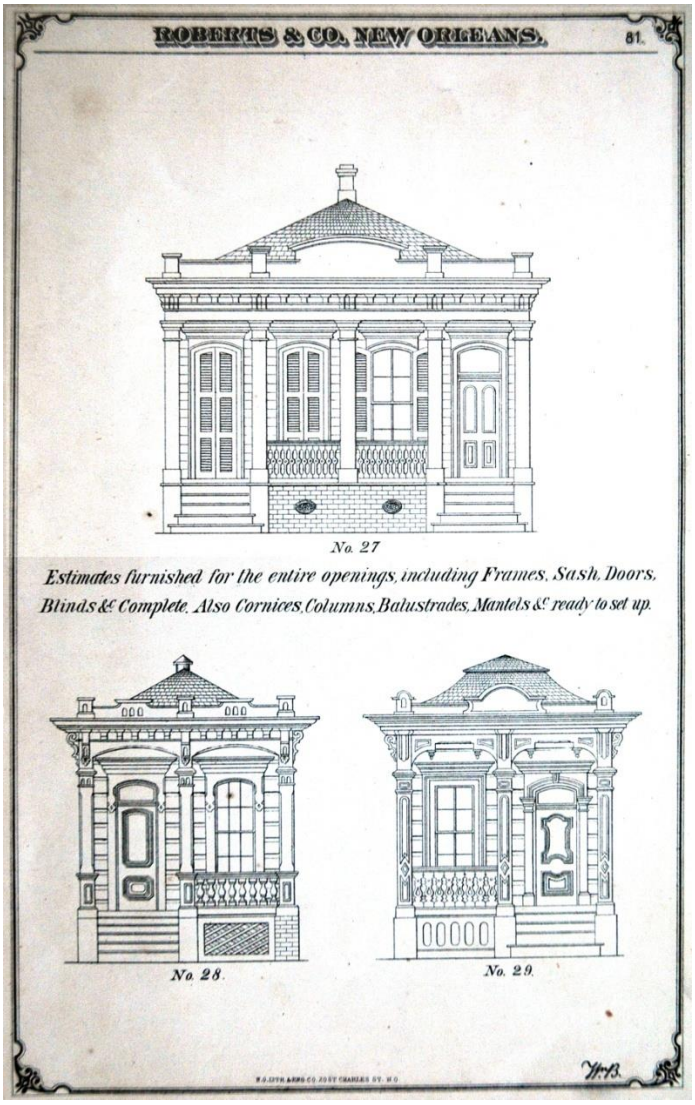
Fig. 5.34. Groups of shotgun Singles may be seen is several of the squares of the Big Jim Lumber Mill at Manchac Point, ca. 1915.



Fig. 5.35. A group of shotgun singles at a lumber workers' camp in Bogalusa, La. This was a segregated residential section, located some distance from the white Section and the commercial section. Photo courtesy Donna Fricker.[116]

Simultaneously, new Linear Cottage neighborhoods were blossoming in cities such as Louisville and St. Louis. Both African-American workers and immigrant workers, including many Germans and Irish, were creating neighborhoods of their own on the fringes of the new industrialized cities. Single and double shotgun houses could be ordered from these catalogs. They were inexpensive. Their parts were cut to the needed lengths, and any amount of decorative ornament could be added to their exteriors. As early as the 1840s, catalog shotgun houses begin appearing in the areas surrounding New Orleans, as well as in uptown neighborhoods (Figs. 5.36 – 5.37). Dressed in "Renaissance Revival" styling before the Civil War, such houses were popular as far away as cities on the Ohio River (Fig. 5.38). After the War, they were illustrated complete with Victorian decoration in several styles including Edwardian and Italianate. Italianate decoration included tall shuttered windows, doors and windows with segmental arched heads, similar to those of Louisiana's colonial architecture of old, and front galleries with entablatures and decorative columns.





Figs. 5.36 – 5.37. Illustrations of shotgun-like houses which could be ordered from the Roberts & Co. 1880 catalog. Images courtesy Tulane University. Howard Tilton Library, Archives.

There is evidence that kit forms of shotgun houses were being transported widely across the eastern and mid-western United States by the early 1870s. In the catalogs they were not referred to as "shotgun" houses – that term would not become commonplace until the 1920s. Rather they were referred to as "Victorian Cottages," and "townhouses." Some were as deep as five rooms. They were often designed by architects or professional designers attached to the Steam Sash and Blind companies. Most were frame cottages which used clapboard or "drop" siding, except on the more elaborate facades.

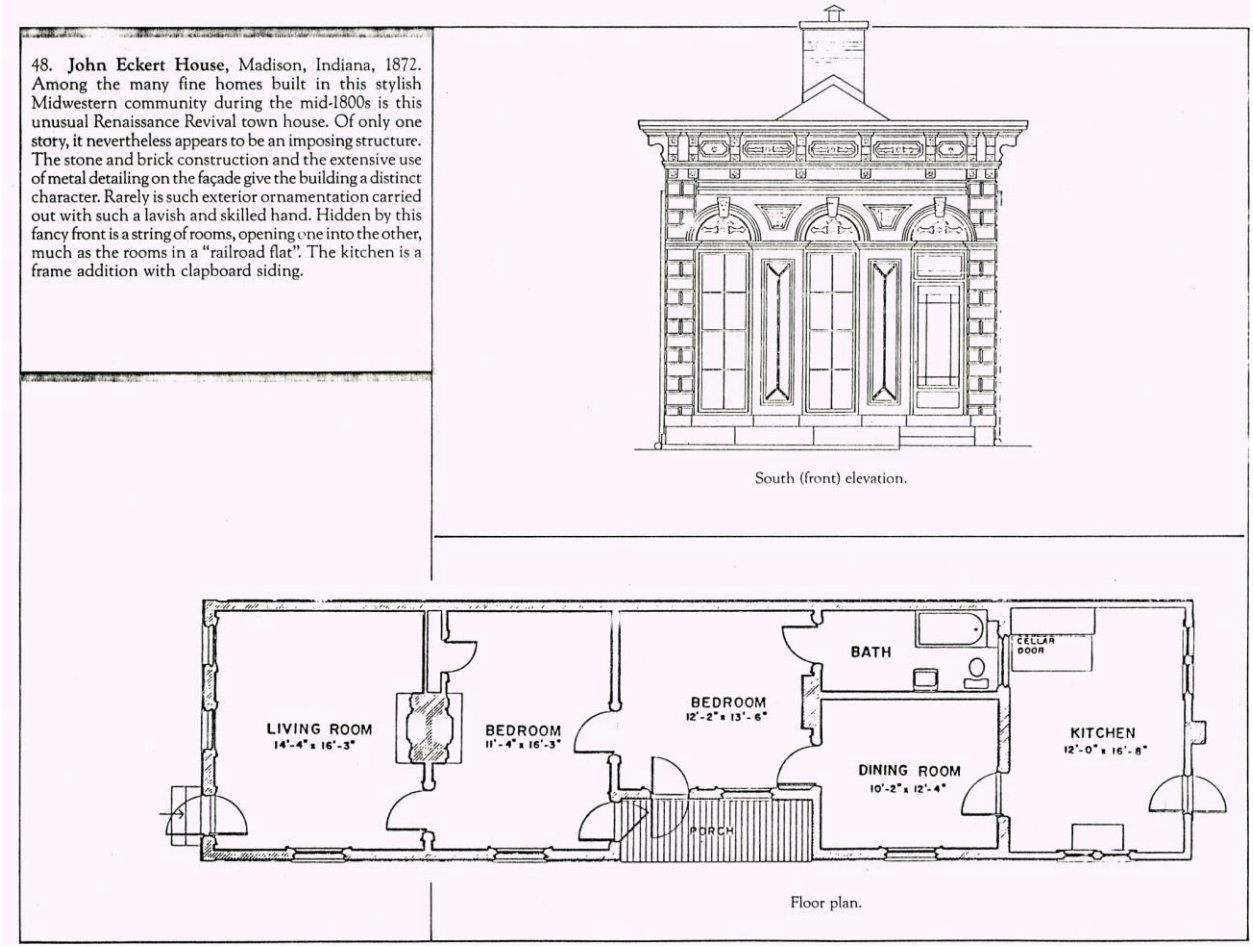


Fig. 5.38. The brick house of the tinsmith, John Eckert, 510 W. 2nd Ave, Madison, IN., erected 1872. This shotgun house is clearly a catalog-inspired house imitating the vernacular shotgun houses of New Orleans (see, also, Figs. 7.2, 7.8 – 7.11). As a maker of metal architectural ornament, Eckert almost certainly supplied the molded sheet metal façade. The house measures about 18 feet by 69 feet (HABS IND-126).

Late Victorian Styles

Henry Glassie, in his career-summarizing work, ***Vernacular Architecture***, discussed the impact of literature and pattern books on the vernacular architecture of the nineteenth century. He believes that "a few nineteenth-century houses [were] built right out of the book by insecure rich people who chose to align themselves with unknown others." The usual pattern, however, was to combine a few new ideas out of pattern books with old ideas from the vicinity. In the South, particularly, vernacular architecture did not undergo the radical change in plan, form, and decoration that was characteristic of the North in the Greek Revival, or Antebellum period. Rather, to the front of his cottage, the style-conscious Southern builder simply added a full-width porch or gallery decorated with an entablature, a pediment, and classical columns. Behind this new façade, however, the house remained pretty much a familiar eighteenth or early nineteenth century form. While the North was busy establishing an entirely new identity through its revised architectonic symbolism, the South was pretty much stating that it was doing just fine with time-honored tradition which could be dressed up in new clothing to symbolize its success.

> The nineteenth century builder's creations tell, then, a simple story…. It is a story of social continuity and stylish change. The plan held steady while the ornaments came and went and the building displays a hierarchy of value that usefully challenges the simple, progressive narrative of the historian. The building says clearly that social interaction matters more than shifts of fashion, the local orders matter more than national orders. It says that what continues matters more than what changes. A history that tells only a tale of change misses the most important part of history.[117]

> Those dead people are supposed to move obediently from Greek to Gothic to Italianate, then on to Queen Anne. What they did, instead, was to bundle influences into a single decorative style for which the best name is the non-specialist's label of Victorian. They took doorways from the Greek Revival, jig-sawed trim and pointy gables from the Gothic, brackets from the Italianate, towers from the Queen Anne, and combined them into a new vocabulary of ornament that they applied in the traditional manner to buildings that broke all the rules, departed from the national sequence, and stood as meaningful symbols of pride in their localities.[118]

Glassie believes that vernacular architecture undergoes radical transformation when people transform their identities. In the North, the early nineteenth century cultural "landscape says that people chose to exchange the confidence of communal life for the excitement of the pursuit for wealth."[119] They abandoned their age-old allegiance to one-another in the true, sharing, "walk right into my house anytime and I'll go to bat for you when you are in trouble" kind of commitment. It was replaced by reliance on institutions such as insurance companies, banks, government programs, corporations, and on family self-reliance. New kinds of social relationships were now reflected directly in the layout of the typical house. "The shift from the hall-and-parlor house to the I-house was a compositional move in massing from the organic to the geometric. The change in massing disrupts entry, separating insiders from outsiders…. The hall-and-parlor house offers a gently asymmetrical array of openings that reveal the interior. The front of the I-house covers the interior with a geometric image of order."[120]

The old American vernacular order underwent a profound transformation. From New England to Virginia, a new "compositional segmentation" provided an array of acceptable house plans which included central hallways in all but the very smallest forms.[121] Facades tended towards the symmetrical, and the more or less standardized and interchangeable spatial parts of houses could be rearranged within a kind of grid pattern. One could select different plans by recombining squarish rooms with hallways. Small three-bay houses had rooms on one side and a hallway on the other. Larger and more formal five bay

(plus) houses had central halls with rooms balanced on either side. These could be single pile, double pile, or even deeper. This profound transformation began occurring during the introduction of Federal style, and continued into the Greek Revival period of the 1820s and 1830s.

Just how was the vernacular architecture of New Orleans affected by these national changes? Profoundly, and in several ways. In Louisiana after ca. 1796, the new vernacular pattern is to be seen in the widespread adoption of houses with multiple square rooms. The old asymmetrical *salle-et-chambre* plan was out, and the new four-square plan was in. It was the very definition of the Creole College. Even very early nineteenth century creole cottages are composed of two or four near-square rooms. While the 1815 Louisiana French tradition was reticent to adopt the central hall, as pointed out by Benjamin Latrobe in his much-quoted critique of New Orleans Anglo-style town houses -- it would not be long before side halls and side galleries took their place in expanded shotgun houses. Linear cottages also developed their own system of compositional segmentation. Shotguns could be double wide, double tall, or augmented by side hallways, all dramatically analogous to the system proposed by Glassie for Federal period American vernacular.[122]

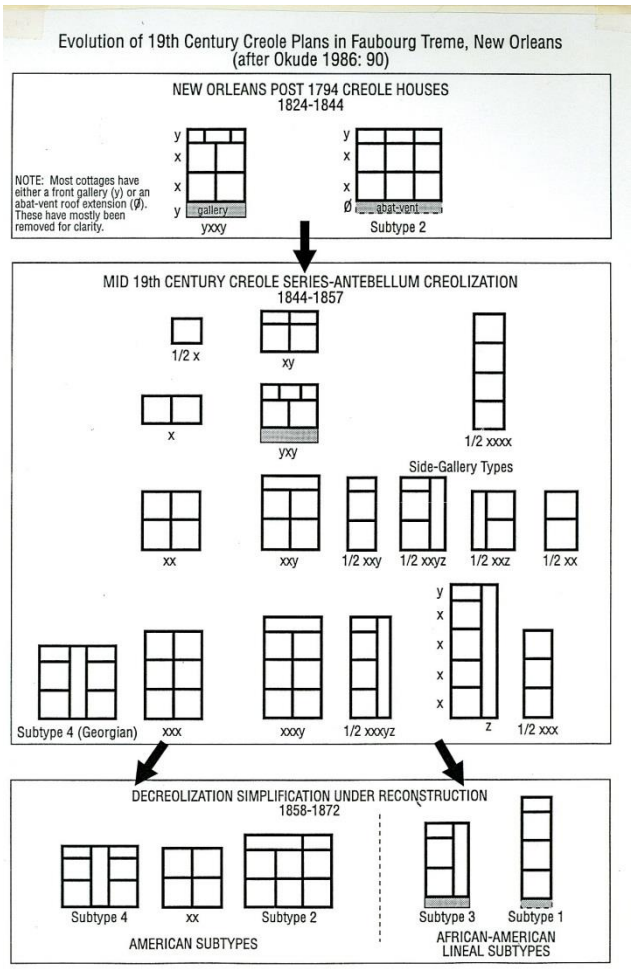


Fig. 5.39. Evolution of New Orleans vernacular plans by "compositional segmentation," according to Naohito Akude, a student of John Vlach.[123]

In his 1986 dissertation, the George Washington University graduate student, Naohito Okude argued that the New Orleans Creole Cottage and the Shotgun house were both configured to fit a common compositional segmentation schema which evolved beginning about 1844. Okude believed that the shotgun house had evolved out of the processes of halving and elongating of the standard Creole Cottage of the previous 1824-1844 period. This perspective arises out of Glassie's theory of architecture, which holds that builders share a very detailed set of geometric rules about the nature of acceptable room spaces and acceptable arrangements for those spaces.[124] This grammar controls the ways in which building plans may be elaborated by

providing a unified vocabulary of units which can be rearranged into many acceptable configurations, but not into others which are considered outside of the appropriate boundaries of the culture. As interpreted by Okude, the theory supports the Narrow Lots theory of Sam Wilson.

When applied to the Linear Cottage, Glassie's theory of the cognitive control of an architectural grammar has, I believe, been proven incorrect (or incomplete) by subsequent discoveries about the origins of the shotgun house in New Orleans. The shotgun is far older in New Orleans than the grammatical theory assumes. That, in itself, would not be fatal. However, it has been shown that the shotgun house has an ancient history all of its own, quite separate from that of the New Orleans Creole Cottage. Not only are its origins geographically separate, but the stages in its sequence of evolution are distinctive and little-connected to that of the Creole Cottage.[125] Although certain buildings, such as maisonettes, built in the 1820 -1840 period do, indeed, have characteristics of both Creole Cottages and Shotguns, the two traditions are essentially separate culturally and historically.

Most of the plans which characterize the New Orleans Linear Cottage had evolved by the beginning of the 1870s. From that time until the 1930s at least, the evolution of the shotgun house was centered on the rather amazing evolution of decorative styles which characterized its development over the next five decades. Glassie argues that many Victorian builders "drew ideas from publications, blended them surprisingly, and invented synthetic new forms…" [126] They took older house types such as the shotgun and redecorated them. They borrowed from the formalized styles of the architects, mixing and blending them into a unique variety of new, local eclectic styles unlike anything in the pattern books. In other words, they redefined the categories of high architecture and popular architecture to suit their individual needs. In effect, the vernacular builders destroyed the formal categories, creating their own new creolized forms.

Prior to the 1870s, two basic styles dominated the decorative aesthetic of the shotgun house in New Orleans. These were Greek Revival and Italianate -- the latter in the form of the bracket style.

New Orleans vernacular architecture did not participate in the sharing of elements of the next two national popular architectural fads. Second Empire, with its mansard roofs, and the Stick Style with its exposed rafters and decorative trusses on the gables, had little influence on vernacular expression in the Deep South. Neither was stick style appealing to local builders. It was not until the period of Postbellum economic recovery that the South began to borrow from the wider popular styles of the nation, once again.

Queen Anne Styling

The first and most popular of the newly adopted Southern styles was the Queen Anne. It achieved its highest levels of adoption in the Old South, outside of Louisiana.[127] The Queen Anne style became the essential symbol of Southern economic recovery, beginning about 1880. The cores of many Southern towns and small cities are crowded with Queen Annes – a testament to the rising economic power of the thousands of people those involved in the lumber industry or profiting from it. Outside of Louisiana, it was typically pine which was being cut, but in Louisiana, beginning in the 1870s, cypress was the new gold. It was harvested across the southern part of the state, and particularly in the Atchafalaya basin. By the 1890s, the cypress industry was highly mechanized. Float logging and railroad skidders, canals and steamboats, multiplied the amount of cypress which was being hauled to the mills. In 1899 Louisiana sawmills produced 248 billion board feet of cypress lumber.[128]

Between Georgia and Mississippi, but less common in Louisiana, the Queen Anne house flourished in this new environment. Eastern architects had popularized it as an elite style in the late 1870s, and by the 1880s, it was becoming a fad all around the country. In the South, particularly, it was characterized by steeply pitched roofs with short ridges. Some roofs were hipped and almost pyramidal. From this central roof, gabled extensions faced in all directions. Sometimes multiple gables faced the front of the house, but at different depths. The Queen Anne house was asymmetrical, its wall spaces being filled with bays, porches, overhangs, towers and projections of various kinds.[129]

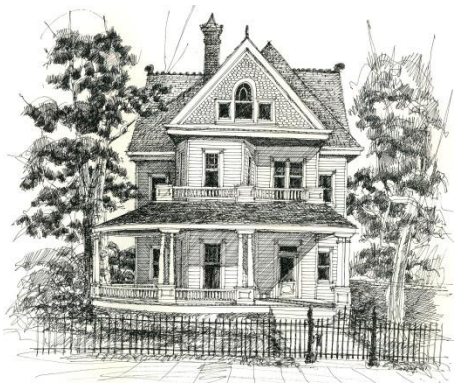


Fig. 5.40. A Louisiana Queen Anne house sketched by Lloyd Vogt.[130]

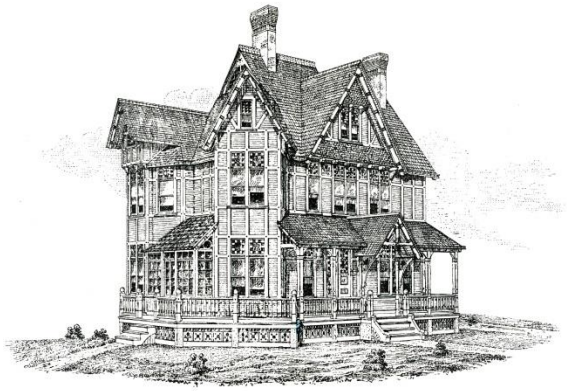


Fig. 5.41. Res. of Frank Underwood, Tolland CN.[131] Note gable-on-hip in right side of roof.

From the Queen Anne style, New Orleans builders took the "gable-on-hip" roof configuration. Gables were often inset under a short extended roof. A steeply pitched shoulder roof stood immediately below the gable window. On shotgun houses, this shoulder roof was expanded into an entire full-width roofline, though less steeply pitched.





Figs. 5.42 – 5.43. A Double Camelback and a Double, both in Holy Cross. These illustrate the use of the Queen Anne gable-on-hip at the fronts of bracketed shotgun houses in New Orleans (HDLC Survey Photos).

After ca. 1885, the Queen Anne gable-on-hip became highly popular in New Orleans. Many hundreds of extant shotgun houses use this form. From the Queen Anne style the builders of New Orleans shotguns also borrowed the smaller "Palladian" window, which was inserted into the forward-facing gable of many houses, such as those pictured (Figs. 5.42-5.45).



Fig. 5.44. 734 Jackson Ave. A bracketed Double with Queen Anne gable and Palladian light.



Fig. 5.45. 311 Adams Street in Carrollton. A Double with Queen Anne gable, Palladian inspired light, and Eastlake porch décor. JDE Photos.

One, final contribution of the Queen Anne fad was the introduction of protuberant bay windows on a select few New Orleans Linear Cottages.

Eastlake and Spindlework Decoration

Coincident with the rise of Queen Anne architecture was a new approach to decorative elaboration. It was made possible by multiple innovations in the mechanical production of wooden decorative elements. In the late 1870s and the 1880s, elements of architectural detail flowed from hundreds of millwork shops filled with routers, planers, lathes and programmable jig saws. At the same time, inexpensive cypress lumber was pouring from the swamps and lowlands of Louisiana. Victorian decoration underwent remarkable elaboration. But what specific forms would the thousands of new elements take? Many were inspired by a furniture book, *Hints on Household Taste*, written by the designer Charles Lock Eastlake, of England.[132] By the early 1870s, his designs were being translated from furniture to porch decoration. Their popularity spread rapidly across the country, blending in many cases with Queen Anne forms as where wooden pseudo-quoins were added to the edges of the facade.

Queen Anne style had begun the process of making domestic architectural decoration more three-dimensional. Eastlake decoration furthered this process. It produced deep bass-relief surface decoration and see-through elements such as porch spindle friezes, gable peak ornaments, and stained glass windows. Filigreed brackets were used to turn inter-post spaces into decorative arches. Cock's combs and ornate metal ridge caps enlivened roof ridges. Projecting wooden cornices over arched door and window tops, decorative see-through wooden panels, rows of spindles, sunburst gables, and fish-tale shingles, all added to the "gingerbread" look – so much so that Eastlake, himself, disavowed any relationship to the overelaborated look of the new style. Perhaps the most authentic aspect of Eastlake decoration was the patterns of turned wooden colonnettes used for gallery and porch support. These, at least, were based ultimately on patterns Eastlake had recommended for furniture legs.

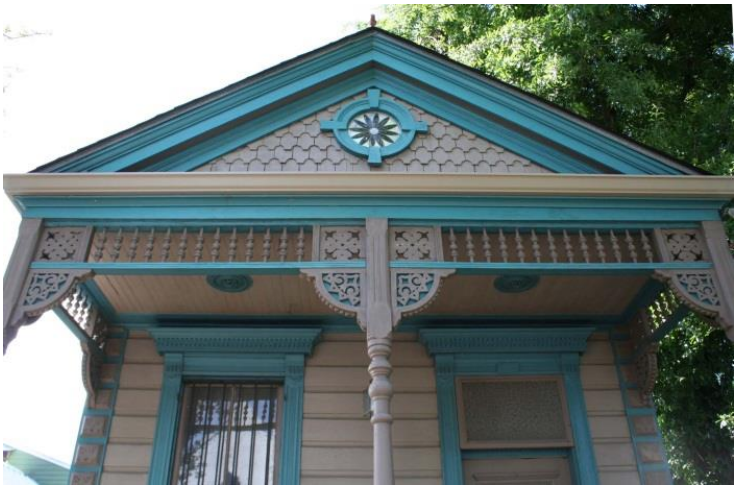
Eastlake decoration could be applied to Queen Anne and other emerging Victorian architectural styles to enhance the complexity and individual nature of houses. But like other forms of Victorian styling, it was often elaborated to the point of exaggeration, leading to a reaction in later decades. All of it violated Horatio Greenough's maxim. "It was Greenough, and not Frank Lloyd Wright in the early 1900s, who first raised the demand that architectural ornament and embellishment should be an organic part of the structure."[133]



Fig. 5.46. 231 Angela in Arabi. Eastlake Camelback. JDE Photo.



Fig. 5.47. 929 Marigny Street. Painted Lady in Eastlake trim. JDE Photo.





Figs. 5.48 – 5.49. Details of Eastlake Porch decoration on shotgun house on Adams Street in Carrollton. Note spindle frieze support brackets and terminal blocks in the frieze, optional add-on features for Eastlake galleries.

Colonial Revival, Classical Revival ("Neoclassical,") and Edwardian Styles

Following on the heels of the enthusiasm of Queen Anne and Eastlake decorative styles, another national architectural fad was in full bloom before the turn of the twentieth century. This was the Colonial Revival style, one of several architectural revivals which were to sweep the country over the next four decades. These styles were popularized through late Nineteenth Century world's fairs, such as the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.[134]

In New Orleans, Colonial Revival and Neoclassical consisted mostly of the application of classical elements, drawn from Georgian/Federal and Greek Revival, to the exteriors of established local architectural types. The elements might be mixed together. The treatments are found on large Victorian houses and more modest vernacular forms. Beginning about 1895, "conventional Queen Anne houses with asymmetrical massing were fitted with colonial style features."[34] The style continued to be popular until about 1920. In some cases, Colonial Revival houses bear a striking resemblance to Classical Antebellum buildings, but the similarity is illusionary. Details such as window forms and rooflines often reveal the true Twentieth Century origins of the Colonial Revival house.

Shotgun houses adopted this style after ca. 1895. At the beginning, the selection of a style appears to have been limited to an aesthetic choice for the Classical order of porch and column employed on the front gallery. In imitation of Greek Revival Temple style, the roof ridge would extend over the porch and be fronted by a pediment, replacing the front gable-on-hip form of the Queen Anne style. The pediment might be fitted with a Palladian window, just as the front gable had in the Queen Anne style (Fig. 5.50).

The use of color changed dramatically under the Neoclassical. The bright "painted ladies" of the late Victorian returned to pure white in Neoclassical dress, though this was not always the case in architecturally exuberant New Orleans (compare Figs. 5.52 with 5.50 and 5.51). The earlier bottle-shaped turned colonnettes of the colonial era, or the elaborately turned Eastlake posts, are replaced by classical columns with full capitals. More complex friezes are often decorated with garlanded or painted chains of floral elements joined by swags. Six-over-six double-hung windows become popular, and remain so until the present.

When applied to local shotgun houses, the form of the Colonial Revival building might remain identical to earlier Victorian forms, but the exuberant Eastlake decoration was eliminated or drastically toned down. Later Neoclassical shotguns employed a more complete array of features, including diamond shaped lights set in windows and transoms, semi-lunate transoms, and dental friezes or the use of modillions surrounding the pediments (Fig. 5.52).



Fig. 5.50. Colonial Revival Single on Angela, In Arabi. Photo, 2012.



Fig. 5.51. A brightly colored Side-hall Single Camelback with Colonial Revival trim. Note offset rear kitchen. **JDE**



Fig. 5.52. A Neoclassical with modillions surrounding the pediment, located in Holy Cross. The plan is a side hall. HDLC Survey Photo.



Fig. 5.53. A camelback Double in Colonial Revival trim, 2255 Brainard, in the Lower Garden District. The painted swag motif is popular on elegant Camelback houses ca. 1900, as are the semi-lunate window transoms in the facade. JDE Photo, 2010.



Fig. 5.54. A five-bay Camelback bungalow, 2401 Dumaine Street. Apartment No. 2403 is entered through the rear of the house. The styling includes elements of Craftsman and Classical Revival. JDE Photo, 2011.



Fig. 5.55. An eclectic Classical Revival Double Camelback at 2149-2151 Hagen, corner Desoto. The gallery is supported by flouted Ionic columns. Note the semi-lunate window transoms. JDE photo, 2015.

Bungalow Types and Craftsman Styles

In America, the term bungalow [Bengali: "house of Bengal"] has come to refer to a one, or a one-and-one-half story house, reminiscent of a simple seaside vacation house.[135] Mansion-sized bungalow style houses were designed by architects, most notably the brothers Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Marther Greene, in southern California, beginning about 1903. They inspired what has come to be known as the Craftsman (or "bungaloid") style. Under the influence of the Greene brothers, bungalow architecture drew upon the English Arts and Crafts movement, but also from Japanese palace architecture, and diverse wooden vernacular architectural traditions.[136] The result was a set of house forms which emphasized a free flow of air and light and movement between the exterior and the interior, an abundant use of porches, and built-in conveniences such as kitchen counters and cabinets, built-in book cases and reading nooks, and internal bathrooms. Craftsman styling was also inspired by the art of Frank Lloyd Wright. It was popular across America between ca. 1905 and 1930. Popularized through magazines such as *Good Housekeeping, Country Life in America, The Ladies' Home Journal, House Beautiful, and the Bungalow Magazine*, the bungalow style had become the most common house form in America by the 1920s. Bungalow plans were sold through catalogs by a wide variety of lumber companies and mail-order

merchants. Complete kits of fully pre-cut parts could be ordered by rail car from Sears, Roebuck and Co., Montgomery Ward and Co., George Palliser, Robert Shippell, Stearling Systems, Aladdin Kit Homes, The Gordon-Van Time Co., the William Radford Co., Pacific Ready Cut, Harris Homes, George Barber, and Latham Brothers Lumber Company, and many other successful companies before the great depression of 1929.

Following World War I, a national movement was begun with the aim of improving the living conditions of working class Americans. Called the "Better Homes Movement," it produced literature and standards for more healthful and efficient living. These were essential in an industrializing nation which now supported a rapidly growing middle class. The Better Homes Movement popularized the bungalow as a glorified goal of modern and convenient living. One of its legacies is the cornucopia of catalog bungalows still to be seen in almost every American city in existence in the 1920s.

Commercially savvy designers and publishers borrowed from the Greene and Greene style, simplifying it into a wide variety of smaller wooden house forms. During the pre-depression building boom, houses of modest size were built by the thousands in the rapidly expanding residential suburbs growing outward from the CBDs of most American cities. Because of the commercial and social institutions which supported it, the Bungalow exerted the greatest level of influence on America domestic architecture of any house form.

One hallmark feature of the Greene and Greene inspired bungalow is the distinctive Japanese palace-inspired "battered" porch post. Short tapered wooden pillars, square in section, are set upon heavy masonry bases.[137] Since essentially all bungalow houses have front porches, the bungaloid pillar is a near universal. This form was also added to thousands of previously extant local vernacular houses to bring them up to date in appearance. This was particularly true of New Orleans shotgun Singles and Doubles (Figs. 5.56 - 5.57, 5.59 – 5.60). The shotgun Double, in particular, was soon being referred to in the local realitors' vernacular as a "bungalow" -- a more prestigious style of house.

Sears and Roebuck, Co., was the most successful marketer of kit houses between ca. 1908 and 1940.[138] Sears illustrated many one-story bungalows in its catalogs. Some were graced with the Green and Green bungalow porch pillar, for example: The "Grant" (1926 catalog), the "Kismet" (1928), and the Crafton (1937

catalog). The Crafton came with three different floorplans while the Kismet and the Grant had only one (Figs. 5.57, 5.56).

All of the plans, plus those of the other Sears bungalow style house kits, shared one significant common feature.[139] Essentially none of the floor plans of commercially-distributed houses was symmetrical. This is exactly the opposite of nearly all of the New Orleans style "bungalows" of this period. Despite the artistic trappings of the Green and Green bungalows, they retained the symmetrical floorplan of the traditional New Orleans vernacular Double in just the way described by Henry Glassie. Two mirror-image runs of rooms were positioned under the same roof. Thus, even in far-away locations, it is possible to distinguish between local New Orleans vernacular versions of the bungalow and popular and kit versions which were designed by professional architects and designers for commercial distribution (compare the plans in Figs. 5.56, 5.57 with those in Fig. 5.58).[140]



Fig. 5.56. A Sears catalog Bungalow style house from The 1926-28 catalogs, "The Kismet." Note asymmetrical floor plan.

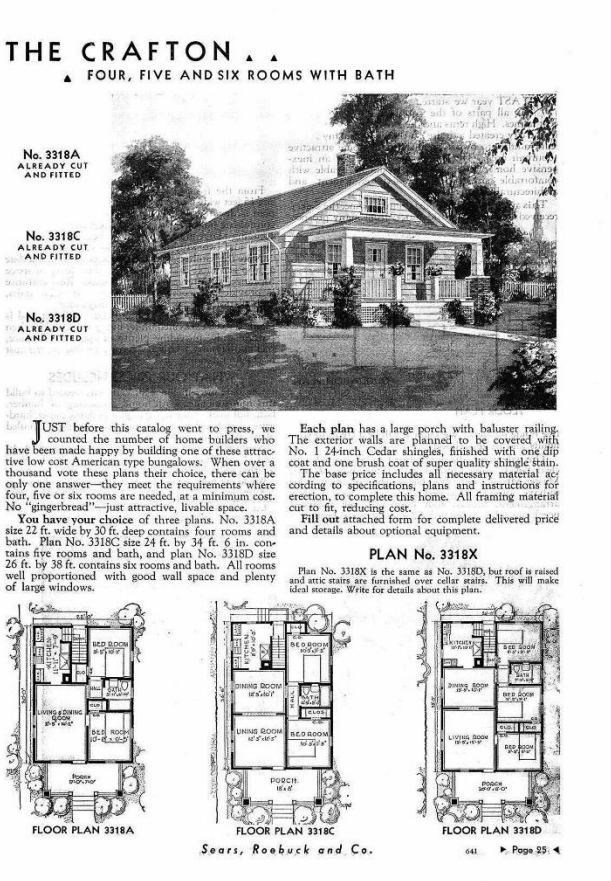
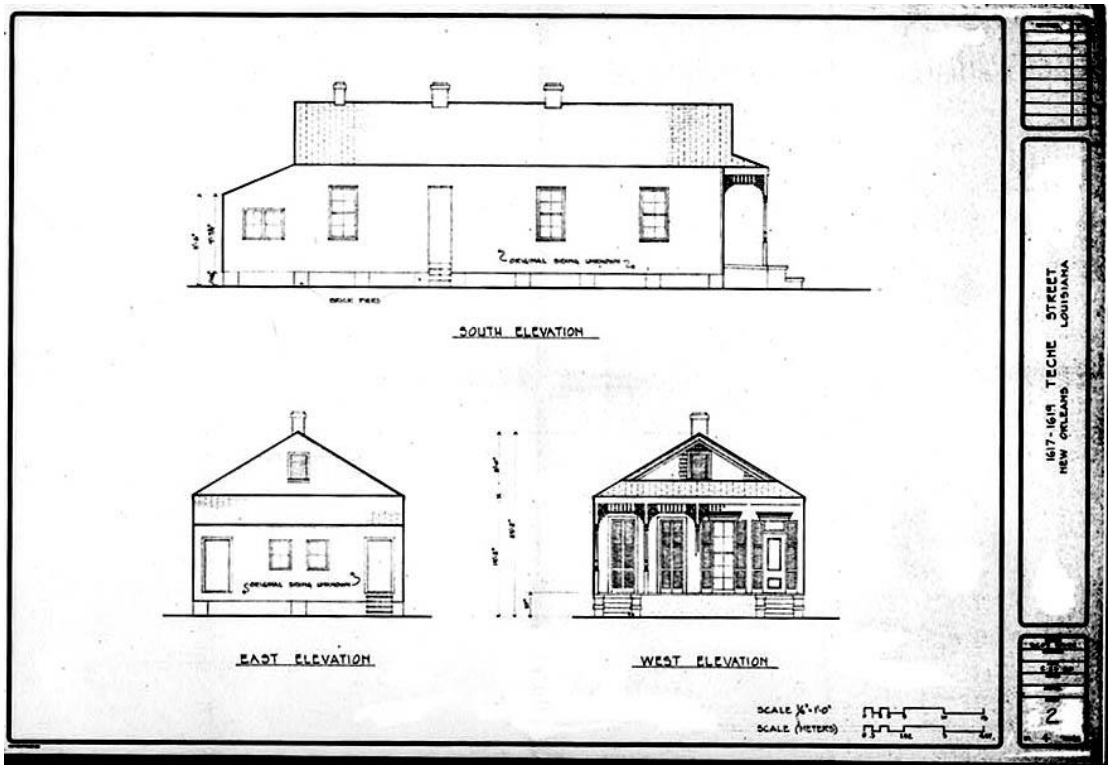


Fig. 5.57. A Bungalow style with three different asymmetrical floor plans (from the 1937 Sears Catalog).



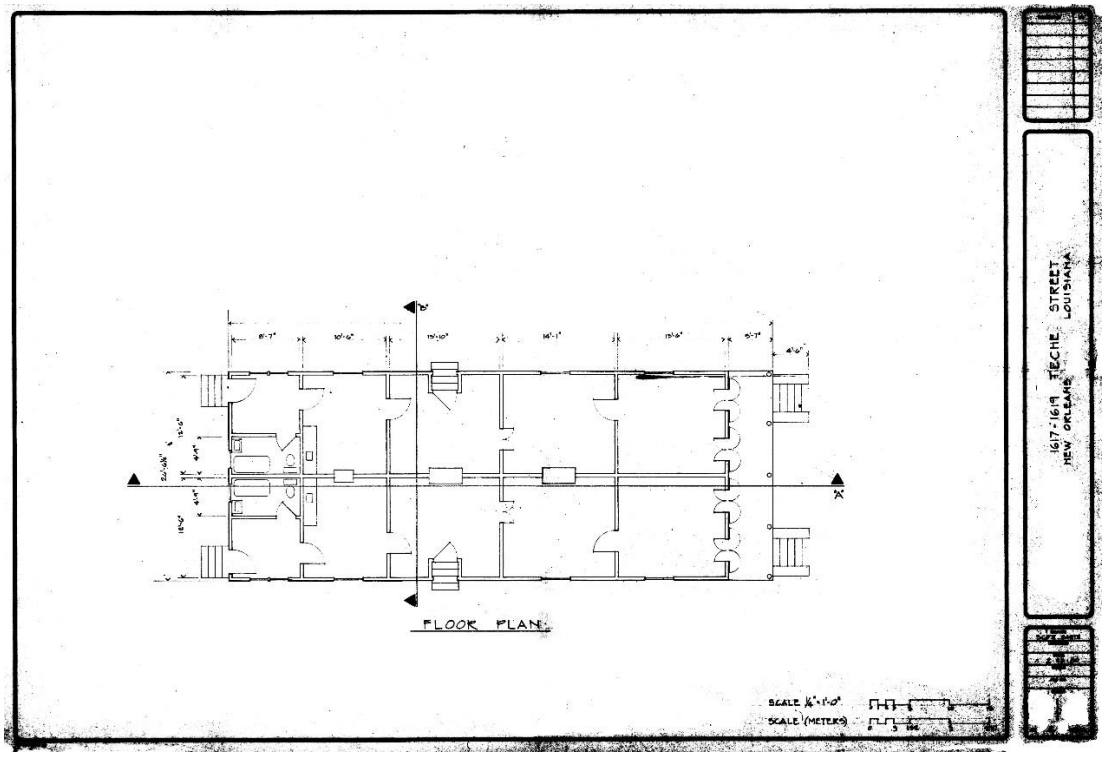


Fig. 5.58a, 5.58b. Elevations and Plan of a New Orleans Double shotgun at 1617-1619 Teche Street. Note completely symmetrical floorplan. The front of the house it towards the right in the plan. HABS

drawings.



Fig. 5.59. A bungaloid Single, 833 Hidalgo Street in Navarre. JDE photo, 2015.



Fig. 5.60. The Craftsman Shotgun Double at 715-17 Maurice Street in Holy Cross, ca. 1900. HDLC Survey Photo, 1995.



Fig. 5.61. A raised bungaloid Double in Bywater. HDLC survey photo. 2002.



Fig. 5.62. A bungaloid Single at 631 France Street in Bywater, JDE Photo, 2006.

Bungalows have low-pitched roofs which are supported by rafters, the ends of which are usually exposed to view from the exterior of the house. Attics are lit with lights set either in dormers in the Queen Anne style hip roof (Fig. 5.58, 5.78) or gabled form (Fig. 5.69 - 5.70). In New Orleans, many bungalow-style houses retain pediments or porches fronted with large gables, into which small windows are set (Figs. 5.59 – 5.60). The use of additional wooden decoration such as knee-brace brackets to support the roof overhangs, adds to the craftsman-like sense of elegance (Fig. 5.60). In New Orleans, first floor windows are typically four-over-one, or two-over-two.

Beginning about 1905 in New Orleans, and continuing more strongly following the First World War, pattern book bungalows were constructed in the neighborhoods surrounding the French Quarter and the CBD. While neighborhoods, such as the Tremé, the Seventh Ward, Bywater, Mid City, Holy Cross, Gentilly, Carrolton, Hollygrove, and Bayou St. John had been settled earlier, a great deal of filling in of blocks was occurring in the rapidly expanding city. The result was that long rows of then popular styles of houses – mostly Doubles – were being built. They took the forms of both Double shotguns and of Bungalows with extended gabled porches supported by the Japanese-inspired battered columns set on brick posts. The significant thing about these houses

is that despite differences in styling, the Bungalows retain their Double shotgun floorplans, rather than the non-symmetrical floorplans recommended in the numerous Bungalow pattern books and sales catalogs. This is true even when the facades and porches of the houses are not symmetrical (Figs. 5.65 - 5.66). New Orleans boasts literally thousands of Double shotguns, but mostly with fully symmetrical facades (Figs. 5.61, 5.63 - 5.68 – 5.70).



Figs 5.63. A row of bungaloid Doubles in Gentilly. from a 1960s photograph. HNOC.



Fig. 5.64. A row of bungaloid Singles mixed with other styles, 2500 block of Verbina, Gentilly Terrace. JDE Photo, 2016.





Figs. 5.65 and 5.66. Two bungaloid Double shotguns in Bywater with asymmetrical facades but with symmetrical Floor plans. The raised Double has been singalized. HDLC Survey photos, 2002.



Fig. 5.67. A row of bungaloid doubles in the 3300 block of Juliet Street, Holygrove. Note that the two Doubles closest to the viewer have non-symmetrical front porches. JDE Photo, 2010.



Fig. 5.68. A row of Doubles in the 700 block of Hagan Street near Bayou St. John, dating from ca. 1910 - 1920. These Doubles have elements of Classical Revival, Queen Anne, and bracket styling. They were rental units. JDE Photo 2007.

In Louisiana, the name "bungalow" is used in two, quite different ways. In the early 1930s LSU Professor of Geography and Anthropology Fred B. Kniffen began to study the vernacular houses of rural Louisiana from a geographical and typological perspective. As he counted and classified the tens of thousands of houses of Louisiana, he was forced to simplify the complexity of the cultural landscape by reducing an almost overwhelming variety of architectural forms into a manageable series of types. In many cases he selected popular names which were used by people residing in the very houses he studied. He canonized the local vernacular terminology. Through his publications, these names became established in the academic community.[141] Today, throughout the United States and beyond, students of vernacular architecture use Kniffen's names to refer to common American house types–among others: the I house, the dogtrot house, the single pen, double pen and saddlebag log building, the shotgun house and the bungalow.[142]

Kniffen was not trained in or even widely read in the field of architecture. He adopted the name "Bungalow" to refer to something quite separate from the Green and Green *style*. In Louisiana, the name was often applied to a house with that distinctive type of linear floorplan consisting of two identical shotgun house plans placed side by side and with doors interconnecting the two sides. The unit was covered by a single roof with its ridge running perpendicular to the front and the street. Typically, a full-width front porch spanned the front of the house. If the two sides of the house did not interconnect, the building would be used as a duplex and was referred to as a "Double shotgun." In either case, between ca. 1910 and 1930, as we have shown, it was very common in Louisiana to decorate such vernacular buildings with the trappings of the Greene and Greene style, particularly the battered porch pillars or straight pillars mounted on brick bases.

Thus, although residents linked their traditional vernacular linear cottages with the new popular style through the addition of stylistic adornments, Kniffen borrowed the name Bungalow to refer to the geometry of the regionally popular Double shotgun plan – the distinguishing feature of a house *type* in his system of interpretation. In discussing the houses of this period, we must carefully distinguish between the bungalow *style* and the Bungalow *type*. They are genetically unrelated architectural patterns. Through historical coincidence in Louisiana, they are conjoined in thousands of individual houses of the 1920s and 1930s. Thus, we may speak of

Craftsman (bungaloid) Singles, Doubles, or Camelbacks, referring to the decoration. We may also speak of the difference between a Double and a Bungalow, the former being a duplex residence, the latter a single family residence with a Double shotgun-like floorplan. They appear essentially identical from the street.



Fig. 5.69. 1401 St. Mary St., a typical bungaloid Double Shotgun house (two family residence). JDE Photo.



Fig. 5.70. 417 Adams Street in Carrolton, a craftsman Bungalow (single family residence – one street address).

To complicate things just a bit further, it is possible to switch a Double Shotgun house into a Bungalow, and vice-versa. The only way to tell the difference is to find if the house has two addresses or street numbers (a Double), or a single street address (a Bungalow). After the turn of the twenty-first century in New Orleans, it became popular to purchase a Double and convert it into single family residence. The process seems to have accelerated following Hurricane Katrina. We might refer to it as "singlization." A seeming oxymoron, we describe such a Double as having been "singlized." Access to the house is now from the street via a single front door only, rather than two doors. In many cases the second front door has been removed. Alternately, one of the paired sets of steps which lead to a front entrance has been eliminated.



Fig. 5.71. 930/932 Ursulines St., A 4-bay Double. This house has two front doors and two steps.



Fig. 5.72. 1128 Dauphine, A 4-bay singlized Double. This Bungalow has a single address and one front entrance.



Fig. 5.73. 1714 Cambronne in Carrollton. A singlized craftsman Double. The original 4-bay façade may have been altered. JDE photo, 2010.



Fig. 5.74. 626-628 St. Patrick Street on the Esplanade Ridge – a Bungalow. JDE photo 2010.

Bungaloid style houses need not always have a front porch. In the French Quarter, in Carrolton, and other New Orleans neighborhoods, it is common for porches to be left off. One steps from the house directly into the street (Figs. 5.68, 5.71 – 5.72, 5.75 - 5.76).



Fig. 5.75. 304 Lowerline in Carrollton, a Bungalow front porch.



Fig. 5.76. 1604-06 Cambronne. A porchless without a Bracketed Double.

California Craftsman Roof Styles

The builders of shotguns and Doubles borrowed specific features from the popular architectural literature of the period. This applies particularly to roofing styles. One popular element added to thousands of Singles and Doubles is the Craftsman hip roofed dormer. It appears equally happy when blended with Colonial Revival bracket style, and Craftsman houses (Figs. 5.77 – 5.78).



Fig. 5.77. 428 Delery St. A Colonial Revival duplex with hip- Fig. roof dormer. HDLC Photo.



Fig. 5.78. A bungaloid Double in Bywater with a hip roof dormer and an enormous 1940s awning. HDLC Survey photo, 2002.

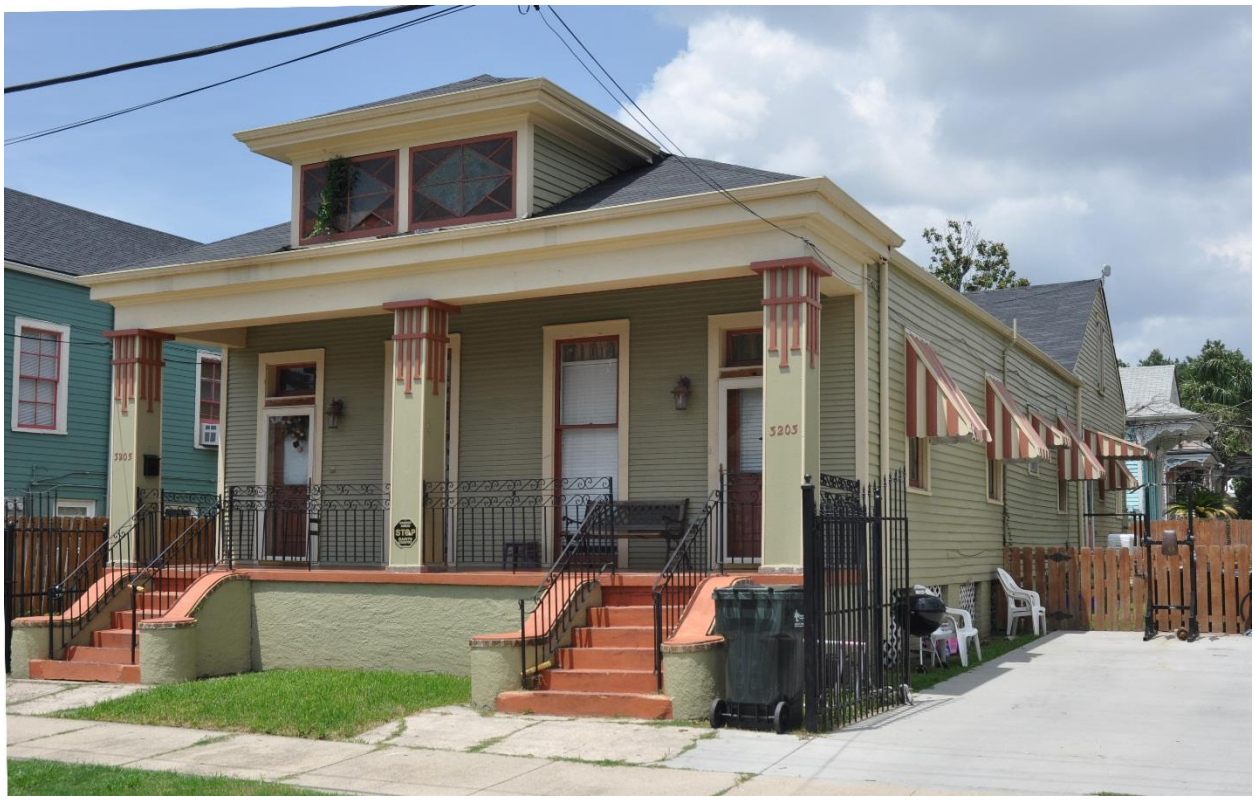


Fig. 5.79. A Double Shotgun with unusually large hip-roof dormer, 5203-05 Frenchmen Street in the Seventh Ward. JDE Survey Photo, 2010.

Another common borrowed Craftsman element is the clipped gable. This is a very short hip roof set at the tip of the roof, just at the peak of the front gable. It was very popular in pattern book houses of the 1920s.



Fig. 5.80. 1424 Cambronne in Carrolton. A Craftsman Single with Clipped gable. JDE Photo.



Fig. 5.81. 1525/27 Hillary, an eclectic style Double Duplex (4-plex), with clipped gable. JDE Photo.

The popularity of the clipped gable extends at least back into the Italianate period, when pattern books such as *Victorian Home Building: A Transcontinental View* showed occasional examples of Victorian houses with clipped gables coupled with hipped roof dormers and ornate roof crest trim.[143]

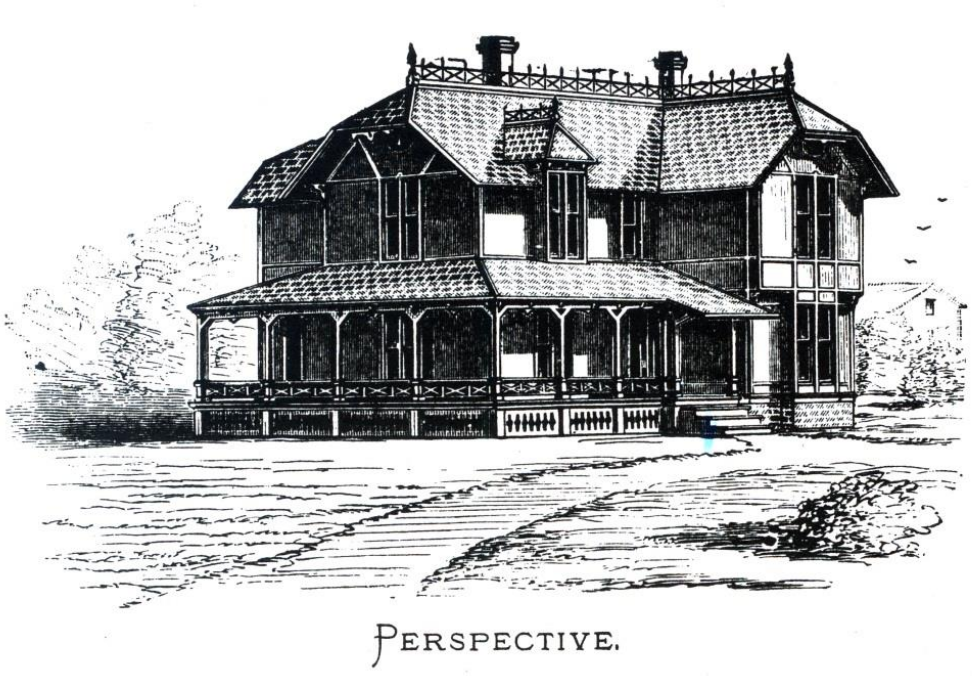


Fig. 5.82. A Victorian home with clipped gables, drawn from an 1875 pattern book.[143]

An interesting question, unanswered at this point, is the relative influence of local bungalow style houses vs. the influence of the pattern books in inducing builders to add elements such as these to their Linear Cottage houses of the 1910 – 1930 period (see P. __, Chapter 7).

Raised Craftsman Doubles

A popular form of double house of the 1905 – 1925 period is the raised craftsman Double. Raised Singles also occur, but they are rare. Shotgun houses do not appear to have been raised on full-story masonry bases much before the second decade of the twentieth century. By then, the traditional Double shotgun had undergone a metamorphosis. It emerged from its cocoon reborn as a prestigious bungalow, appropriate for middle-class

residents. Raised bungalows occur as early as the last years of the nineteenth century, but these are typically grander houses, often designed by architects.[144]

In the raised Linear Cottage of New Orleans, the ground floor is used as service space, garage space and work space. It is often transformed into rental space. The raised Double is widely distributed in the city in those areas which were being developed in the 1910s and 1920s -- along Franklin Ave., in Gentilly, and in Carrollton (Figs. 5.83 – 5.88). Houses of this period are typically accompanied by a grand central stairway rising to the front Gallery. In one popular pattern, heavy masonry handrails with curving or segmented tops flank the stairway. Raised Craftsman cottages built more recently, or those which have been renovated, often have front stairs of a simpler style.



Fig. 5.83. 1118 Adams, a raised craftsman Single. JDE Photo,



Fig. 5.84. 649 Angela, in Arabi. raised Double bungalow.



Fig. 5.85. 2915 Grand Route St. John. A raised 4-plex in the 7th Ward with Classic Revival posts. JDE Photo, 2005. Katrina rescue teams rescued a cat, Oct. 8th.



Fig. 5.86. A raised Bungalow in Bywater with garages below. HDLC survey photo, 2002.



Fig. 5.87. A raised singlized Double with apartments below, 3200 Block, Dumaine. JDE Photo



Fig. 5.88 A raised singlized Double with garage and apartment below, 1526 Bayou Rd. The understory apartment is 1528. JDE Photo

Vernacular Modifications

Throughout New Orleans, one finds many unique modifications of Linear Cottages. Some fit comfortably within the limits of the vernacular tradition, while others are unique expressions, never having caught on with neighbors. Though less traditional, they nevertheless represent local needs and desires. They are in their own ways, valid expressions of architectural preference.



Fig. 5.89. 1324 Cambronne. A Duplex with unusual porch supports below.



Fig. 5.90. 1415 General Ogden. A Craftsman Single with large porch awning popular in the 1940s and 1950s.



Fig. 5.91. 1428 Cambronne. A double modified by the addition of a mobile home style enclosed porch.



Fig. 5.92. 1517 General Ogden. A single with brick veneer and porch.

With the introduction of the California Bungalow into Louisiana beginning ca. 1905, two highly popular traditions of middle-class housing now competed for the attention of home builders and home buyers. Both traditions could take the form of the linear cottage, and in both traditions Double-like floorplans were popular. What happened when these two competing versions of the modern middle-class house collided is the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

The Camelback House: A Problem in Architectural History

Modernization of the New Orleans Linear Cottage 1865 – 1940 and later.

Gabriele Richardson with Jay Edwards

Introduction[145]

On first visiting New Orleans, the newcomer is struck by the foreign -- even alien -- appearance of the urban cultural landscape. Housetypes strangely unfamiliar to visitors from most parts of the United States crowd shoulder to shoulder along the streets of the "faubourgs," or suburbs, which surround the Central Business District (CBD). Creole cottages and shotgun houses: Singles, Doubles, Side Halls, slave quarters and bungalows are decorated in ornate Victorian trim and painted in multi-colored pastels. Many stand on pillars two to three feet above the ground. Some are mounted upon masonry ground floors called "basements" by everyone, even though these basements rise fully eight feet ***above*** the damp earth. Popular nineteenth and early twentieth century American domestic house styles such as Neoclassical, Greek revival, Italianate, and Craftsman are somehow refracted into novel configurations through the eclectic lenses of generations of Creole builders. For the newcomer, the result is a kind of architectonic dreamscape where everything is transformed, yet still somehow vaguely familiar (Fig. 6.1). Part of this pleasantly alienating effect, however, is achieved by the prevalence of a housetype which – unlike the shotguns or bungalows found in many American cities -- is genuinely unfamiliar to outsiders.[146] This is the Camelback House. Well over fifteen hundred of these curiosities stand in the historic districts of New Orleans, alone (Fig. 6.2).



Fig. 6.1. "Old Spanish Houses, Orleans Street (probably Royal) including a two-bay Linear Cottage, "Madame Delphine's cottage 1216 Royal Street, and a Spanish Colonial style *appentis* cottage next door, at 1214 Royal. This cottage is still entered through the courtyard, though a late 19th century photo by Mugnier shows a door opening onto the street (LSM). All of these cottages are adorned with Spanish colonial style *abat vent* roof extensions over the *banquette*, or sidewalk. This image by Wm. Allen Rogers, Jan. 1887, courtesy the HNOC (1974.25.3.665).

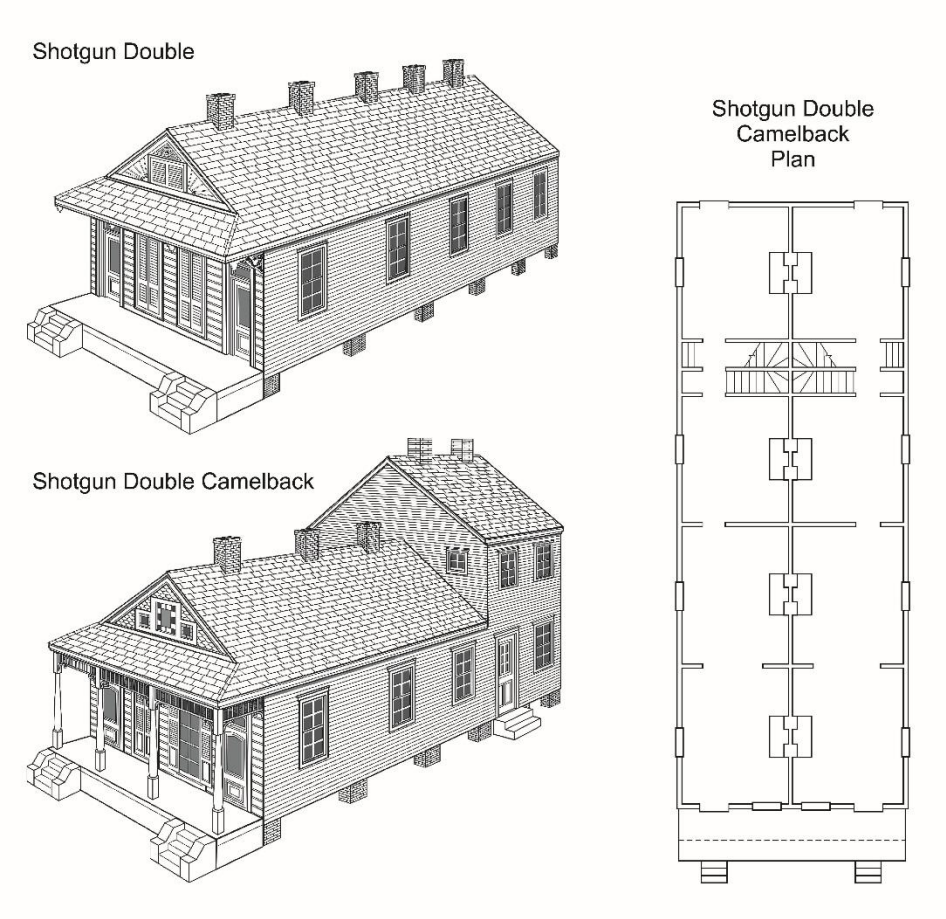


Fig. 6.2. A New Orleans Double shotgun house and a Double Camelback house, showing the plan of the Camelback with its inserted stair-bay. MLE for the Kniffen Lab.

This chapter explores the origins and evolution of [an] this architectural curiosity by taking up the question of its interrelationships between vernacular architectural types and the changing social and economic needs of the people who design them, build them, and reside in them. Our perspective parallels an academic field known as the social construction of technological systems. Our working assumption is that causation in architectural history is complex, but ultimately shaped by the needs and perceptions of the very people who buy houses, reside in them, and modify them for greater suitability. We assume that historic material legacies are less strongly wrought by great innovators and more profoundly propelled into widespread popular building forms by those who share perceptions about their needs in an environment of coincidental co-occurring opportunities. Such opportunities are particularly effective

when the forces that fuel innovation are mutually reinforcing. Ruth Cowan refers to this as the innovating environment, "a temporal association between heterogeneous and interacting elements." Steven Johnson refers to it as "the adjacent possible".[147] In an environment of new pressures and new information, extant traditions are reimagined, redefined, and reassembled into novel material forms. Successful innovations arise out of experiments by common people as well as by specialists and architects who, in fact, often imitate the patterns initiated by creative non-specialists. Though their contributions are subtle and unheralded, innovators come from everywhere: men, women, children, immigrants, and even servants. The humble Camelback house is a product of such forces.

In this and the following chapters we employ large-scale data and recent techniques of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to explicate changes in the urban cultural landscape through time. We combine census data with mapping and archival data to establish a broader portrait of the transformations in urban patterns than have been previously undertaken. We explore civil ordinances, the records of city assessors, personal diaries, and even urban legends, to round-out our story. The focus of Chapter 6 is the odd, resilient Camelback house, a significant but largely ignored portion of American architectural history. In Chapter 6 we turn to the evolution and distribution of the entire New Orleans Linear Cottage family.

So exactly what, then, is a Camelback house, and what do we learn by studying it? To begin, it is not easy to define as concisely as one might hope. From its early nineteenth century beginnings the Camelback seems to have successfully eluded a clear definition. The web sites of the official New Orleans government commissions responsible for regulation and preservation of historic buildings do not provide analytically useful descriptions of the Camelback house, nor do non-governmental preservation organizations or university programs in architectural history. A typical definition might be phrased as follows: "The Camelback Shotgun is essentially a shotgun single or a shotgun double, with a second story rising at the rear portion of the building."[148] No New Orleans architectural historian has attempted to provide a formal definition of this housetype, as may be quickly seen in survey of recent web sites and

classic studies of New Orleans historic architecture. This unwillingness to be sufficiently specific about the Camelback may be partially because it is seen as merely one distinctive variant of a much larger family of vernacular houses – the Shotgun family of Louisiana housetypes.[149]

Housetypes and the Atlantic Linear Cottage Family

In Louisiana, members of the Atlantic Linear Cottage architectonic family are usually referred to as "Shotgun houses."[150] Shotguns are long narrow houses with the narrow end facing the street and the roof ridge running perpendicular to the street. The Linear Cottage tradition entered New Orleans in the first decade of the nineteenth century, or earlier (Fig. 3). By the last decades of the nineteenth century the Shotgun had become the dominant house type of New Orleans numbering in excess of 25,000 examples. It had also spread throughout the eastern United States south of the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon Line (See Chap. 7). But in the United States there are unrelated forms of long, narrow cottages easily confused with shotgun houses, for example gable-fronted "railroad flat houses" from New York, and pediment-fronted Greek revival style cottages found almost everywhere. To be classified as a member of the Louisiana Linear Cottage tradition, a building must arise from an earlier form of the same tradition. Geometrical type is relevant because the development of the Camelback house was directly dependent upon existing legacy of the Linear Cottage type, from which it evolved.[151]

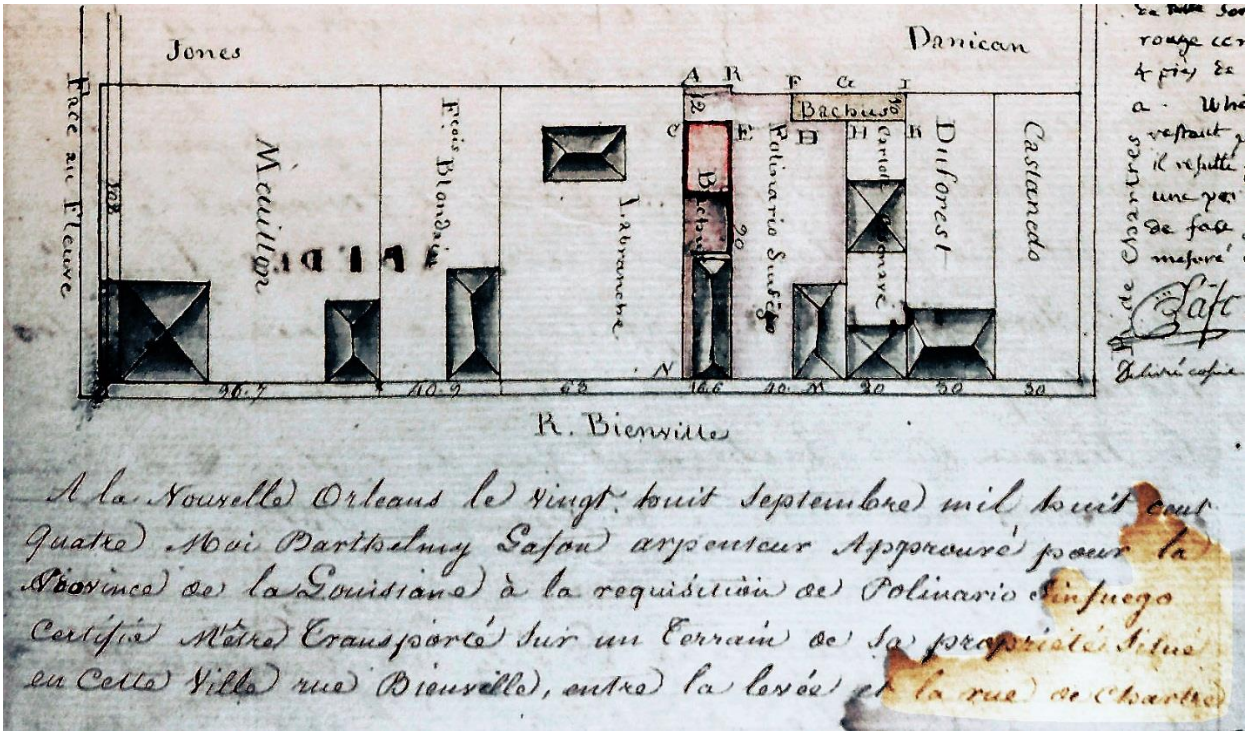


Fig. 6.3. Detail of Property survey of the downtown side of Square 30 in the French Quarter showing the 500 block of Bienville Street in New Orleans. We see Single and Double Shotgun houses. Barthelemy Lafon, Sept. 28, 1804, image courtesy of the Grand Masonic Lodge, Alexandria, Louisiana.

In vernacular architecture, types and sub-types of houses are most usefully defined by a combination of factors -- their shared geometries coupled with the social functions of their spaces, and also by their genealogies.[152] The importance of a type is, in part, identified by its relative abundance in time and space.[153] In the case of the Single or basic shotgun of the early nineteenth century, the distinctive geometrical ground plan was based around a series of similar rooms -- near-square or rectangular -- set precisely in line with one another running back from the façade. The several rooms were generally duplicates of one another.[154] The plan was, therefore, both *enfilade* (in a line) and *ensuite* (each linear series of rooms comprising a unit -- a matching set running from say, gallery, to living room, to bedrooms, (and later, to kitchen). There might also have been a gallery on the front, and an added room at the rear, usually a shed. Single linear cottages were expanded through additions of components and by multiplication. For example, sets of ***ensuite*** rooms could be laid out in a double parallel line and covered by a single roof (Fig. 6.2). Double cottages are based on mirror-image plans. Another variant resulted

from the addition of a second story to a shotgun house, resulting in a tall by very thin structure three or more rooms deep (the Duplex).

Origins

An appreciation of the history of the Linear Cottage helps clarify some of its distinctive and defining characteristics. The New Orleans Shotgun house began life as a couple of small, housetypes that originally functioned as emergency housing. Temporary housing was important in New Orleans following the great city fires of 1788 and 1794. After the building stock of the interior of the city was destroyed in these conflagrations, some people constructed their recovery houses using familiar pre-fire building forms. At the time, many could not afford to rebuild a proper two or three story townhouse on their burned-out properties.[155] Instead, they adopted temporary units that had previously functioned as servant's quarters, located in the rear patio areas of late Spanish colonial town houses. Many of these are to be seen on the 1804 – 1808 property surveys of Barthelemy Lafon. In time, some of these temporary forms were accepted as proper houses and incorporated into the local repertoire of suitable and popular types.

In Francophone New Orleans, the one of the earliest linear cottages was called the *appentis* [apánty] or shed-roofed house. Generally it was one room wide and two to three rooms deep. Twin doors opened directly onto the banquette or sidewalk (Figs. 6.4, 6.5). The roof was a single side-sloping shed, rather than a "peaked" roof with a ridge. Post-fire Spanish government regulations specified that such "low" cottages covered with clapboards had to be no more than thirty feet wide by twenty five feet deep in size including any side gallery, and that their front doors had to open directly onto the sidewalk. Their fronts had to be covered with cement or stucco at least one inch thick, and their roofs had to be made of tile or other fireproof material.[156]

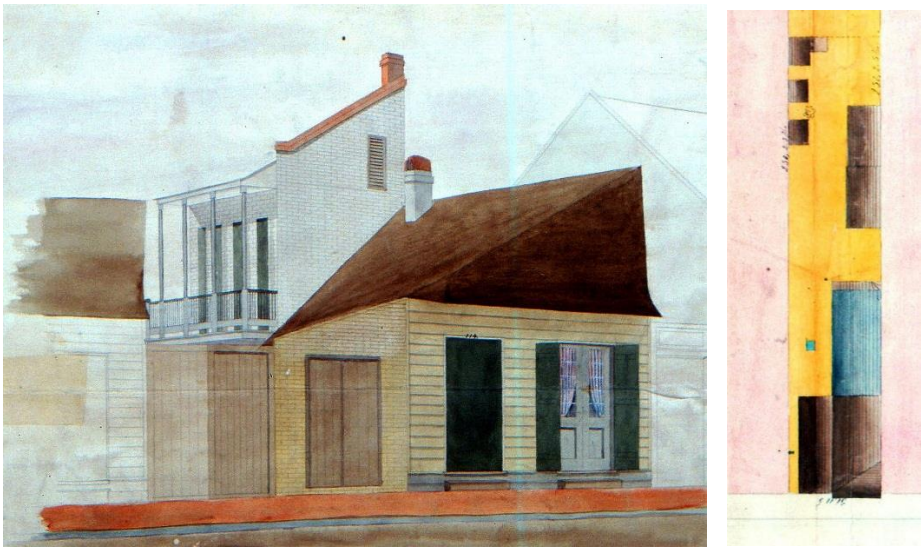


Fig. 6.4. Elevation and roof view of a 2-room *appentis* cottage with added two-story rear shed-roof kitchen/ bedroom addition. The building was located at 819 Toulouse Street, ca. 1820 in New Orleans. NONA 045.051.

In the Spanish Colonial period, many *appentis* houses had gabled-fronted roofs, but by the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, essentially all were being built with hip roofs facing the street (Figs. 6.1, 6.4 - 6.5). Roughly two dozen of these strange houses survive in and around the Vieux Carré (refer to Chap. 7). The significance of the *appentis* linear housetype is that it accustomed New Orleans residents to life in houses with long, narrow enfilade floorplans. This is something that has remained deeply fixed in the architectural ethos of the city until the present time.



Fig. 6.5. The Cecile Chouteau house, a 3-bay *appentis*-roofed, side-hall Linear Cottage at 915 St. Phillip Street In the French Quarter. The house dates from the second decade of the nineteenth-century. The façade is surrounded by a platibanda – a mark of Creole identity in the 1910-1930 decades. Photo by Hertzberg, 1937, courtesy of the New Orleans Vieux Carré Commission.

The post-fire environment of New Orleans also produced a second form of Linear Cottage, again in reaction to an emergency. In 1804, and again more robustly in 1809, thousands of francophone refugees fleeing the revolt in the lost French colony of Saint-Domingue poured into the city of New Orleans. The second wave of about ten thousand, coming by way of Cuba, doubled the population of the city in a single year.[157] Once again, temporary refugee housing had to be quickly erected. One of the more popular new forms was a housetype long-familiar to the refugees from their former homeland, renamed as Haiti in 1804. It was the small linear cottage called *ti-kay* (small house) in Haitian Creole. Free men and women of color constructed many such houses. Later modifications introduced variants of this pattern into New Orleans (Fig. 6.6), middle house).[158] Beginning in the first decade and increasingly after 1810, larger, well-constructed Linear Cottages were built as permanent houses for the same population.[159] They had as many as five rooms in line and were constructed with "Norman" timber frame roof trusses and walls of *briquetté-entre-poteaux* construction.[160] They were often called maisons longues (long houses), a name which had been previously used in the cities of Saint-Domingue.

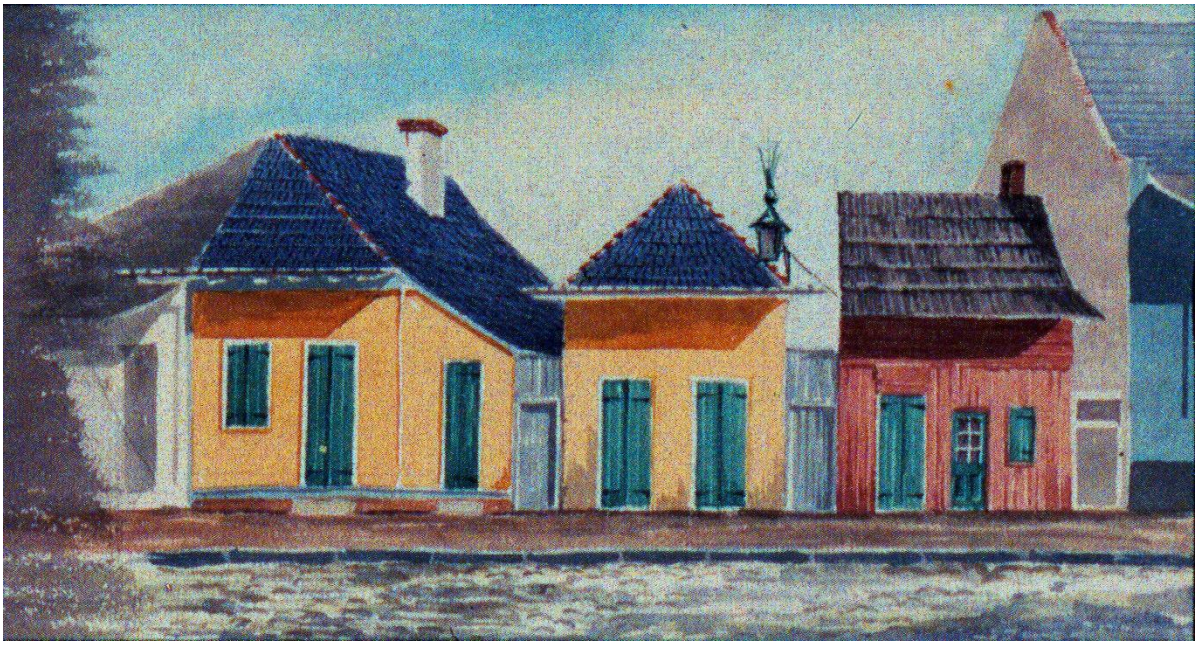


Fig. 6.6. Three ca. 1810-1820 post-fire cottages in the 600 block of Burgundy Street. Left to Right: an augmented *appentis* cottage, a *ti-kay,* and a Creole cottage sheathed with barge-boards and covered in *merrains*. Detail from an *affiche* (auction sales poster) NONA 006.110.

Another of the principal Linear Cottage variations was a three-bay Single Shotgun house with a combination enclosed hallway and open gallery running down one side of the building (Fig. 6.7). The passage usually led to rental rooms at the rear of the house. The best economic advantages were, however, offered by the Double configuration (Fig. 6.2). One side of this duplex functioned as a rental unit, the other as the owner's residence.[161] In the years between 1815 and 1835, particularly, free women of color specialized in a variety of forms of Linear Cottage modified for accommodating renters. By the Antebellum decades, linear cottages had become one of the most popular house types in the city.

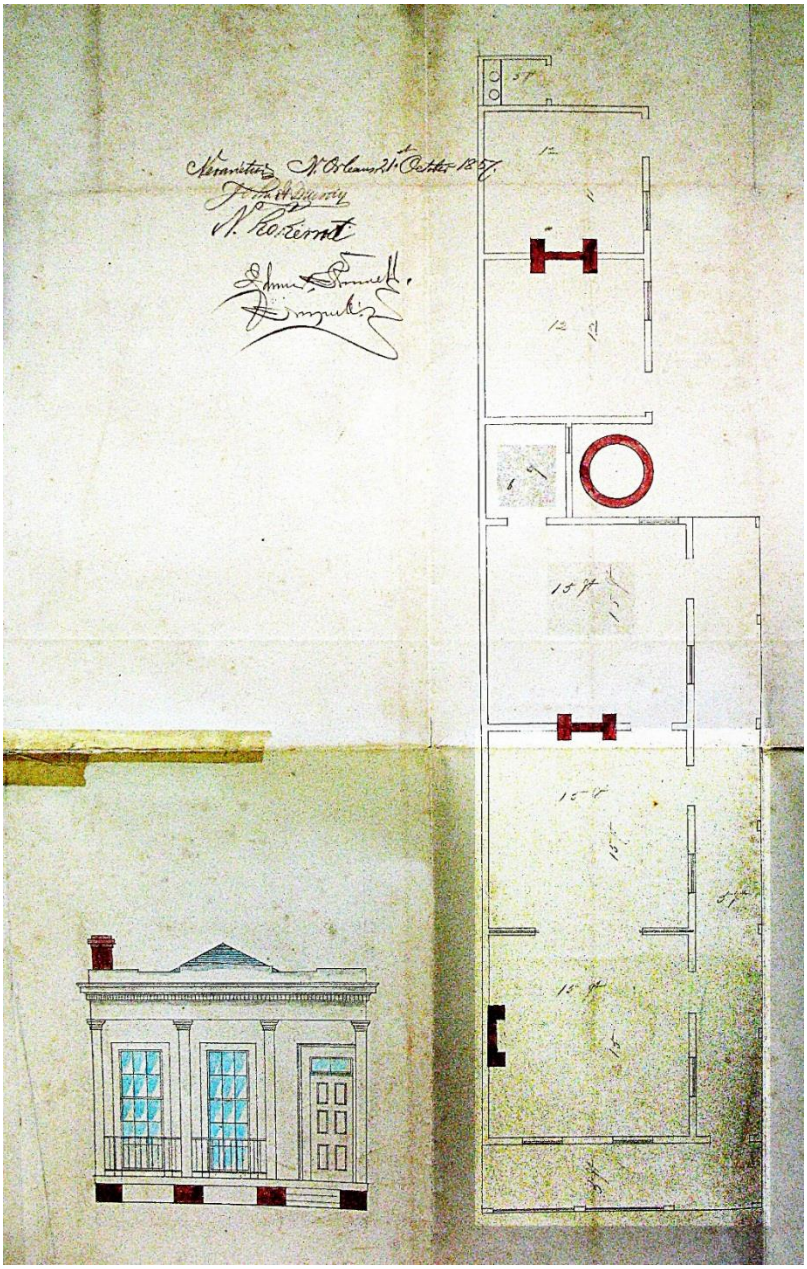


Fig. 6.7. Sketch of an Antebellum Greek Revival style side-gallery Linear Cottage on Dryades Street (Central City), ca. 1857. The house is connected to a two-room rear kitchen by a 6 foot by 9 foot closet or pantry, and by an open cistern emplacement. There is no interior connection to the kitchen, which is entered from the exterior. Food is carried hot into the parlor or the front room of the houses. Drawing attached to E. Barnette, N.P., Vol. 64, Act 444, p. 4. NONA.

Why the Camelback?

The Camelback house did not develop for many decades after the introduction of its progenitors -- the Single and the Double. The floorplan of the later nineteenth century Camelback house exhibits the geometry of a typical New Orleans Linear Cottage. The Camelback is a shotgun, augmented. The idealized floorplan layout is interrupted near the rear of the building by the insertion of a narrow stair bay which provides access to the rooms of the second story. The stairways are always internal. The upper story may contain between one to four rooms. They functioned as master bedrooms and often as rental rooms (identified by side doors opening into the stair bay (Figs. 6.2, 6.12). On the ground floor, one or more rooms are typically positioned behind this stair well. The kitchen is at the rear. Like a Shotgun, a Camelback may be either single or double width.

The Camelback is a post-1865 phenomenon. Its first documented appearance in substantial numbers followed the Civil War. The reasons for its invention and growing popularity are not immediately obvious. At first glance, they seem unconnected with important economic and technical transformations in Postbellum society. Unlike the Shotgun, the Camelback is not obviously associated with the multiplication of narrow lots, or changes in tax or zoning regulations, or the immigration of new ethnic groups bearing architectural traditions of their homelands, so its popularity has always remained an enigma. Neither was a search for additional rental space the primary motivation for the development of Camelback house.

What do New Orleans residents say? Ask any old time resident of the Crescent City and you will probably receive the same answer: “People built Camelbacks because at the street they were only one story tall, so the entire house was taxed as a single story house.” This idea is so widespread that it has become a kind of unquestioned gospel. Curiously, the explanation does not stand up to examination, even at the common sense level. Were the tax assessors of the past really so incompetent or near-sighted that they could not recognize a house which was large at the rear but smaller at the front? Still, no one has

looked at what the tax codes actually said. Therefore, we must look for better explanations of why the Camelback became such a popular house type in New Orleans.

The Evolution of Nineteenth Century Camelback

Many of the houses located on our nineteenth century maps are not the modern Camelbacks which people in New Orleans are so used to in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. On the early series of Sanborn maps we see Camelbacks reflecting the evolution of the housetype over the first thirty years of an odyssey which now spans fourteen decades. Through a georeferenced census of houses based on Sanborn Insurance Company maps, we collected five different categories of houses under the rubric of "Camelback." They appear to form a rough evolutionary sequence from pre-Camelbacks to modern wholly Integral Camelbacks. Within the early decades, 1870s – 1890s, the sequence is dominated by synthetic Camelbacks assembled out of once separate building units (Fig. 6.8). They consist of a main house, a back house and a connector. The ground plans in Fig. 6.9 are footprints taken from the 1876 Sanborn maps of New Orleans. In a hypothetical developmental sequence, they are:

1) **Pre-Camelbacks** – Ante-bellum-style shotgun houses with detached two-story rear kitchens.

2) **A one-quarter Camelback**: The main house is joined to the rear kitchen building by a minimal connecting unit which does not conform to the width of one or both of the freestanding units (Fig. 6.7). It is simply a roofed element connecting the two units. We assume that this was the first tentative conjoining of a main house with a freestanding rear kitchen.

3) **A one-half Camelback**. It is connected by a more substantial connector, which may be the width of the front house, or nearly so (Fig. 6.8).

4) **A three-quarter synthetic Camelback**. This form has had its two-story rear kitchen/dining room unit attached directly to the rear of the main house, though the kitchen may not be perfectly aligned with front segment (Figs. 6.10, 6.11). The connector is no longer present. The kitchen building is often more narrow in width than the main house, or it is offset. Finally,

6) **An Integral Camelback**. This is a house with its two-story rear kitchen unit perfectly aligned and fully integrated with the main house. This is the form of the Camelback which is designed and constructed entirely as a single unit, from scratch (Fig. 6.12).

Our typological sequence is not a temporal sequence. All of the types of Camelback house were being built simultaneously from the 1870s on. Perhaps the sequence reflects historic reality in the period before Sanborn maps were available but there is insufficient evidence to confirm this. By the 1880s, Integral Camelbacks were being identified in their own right as a complete new house type.

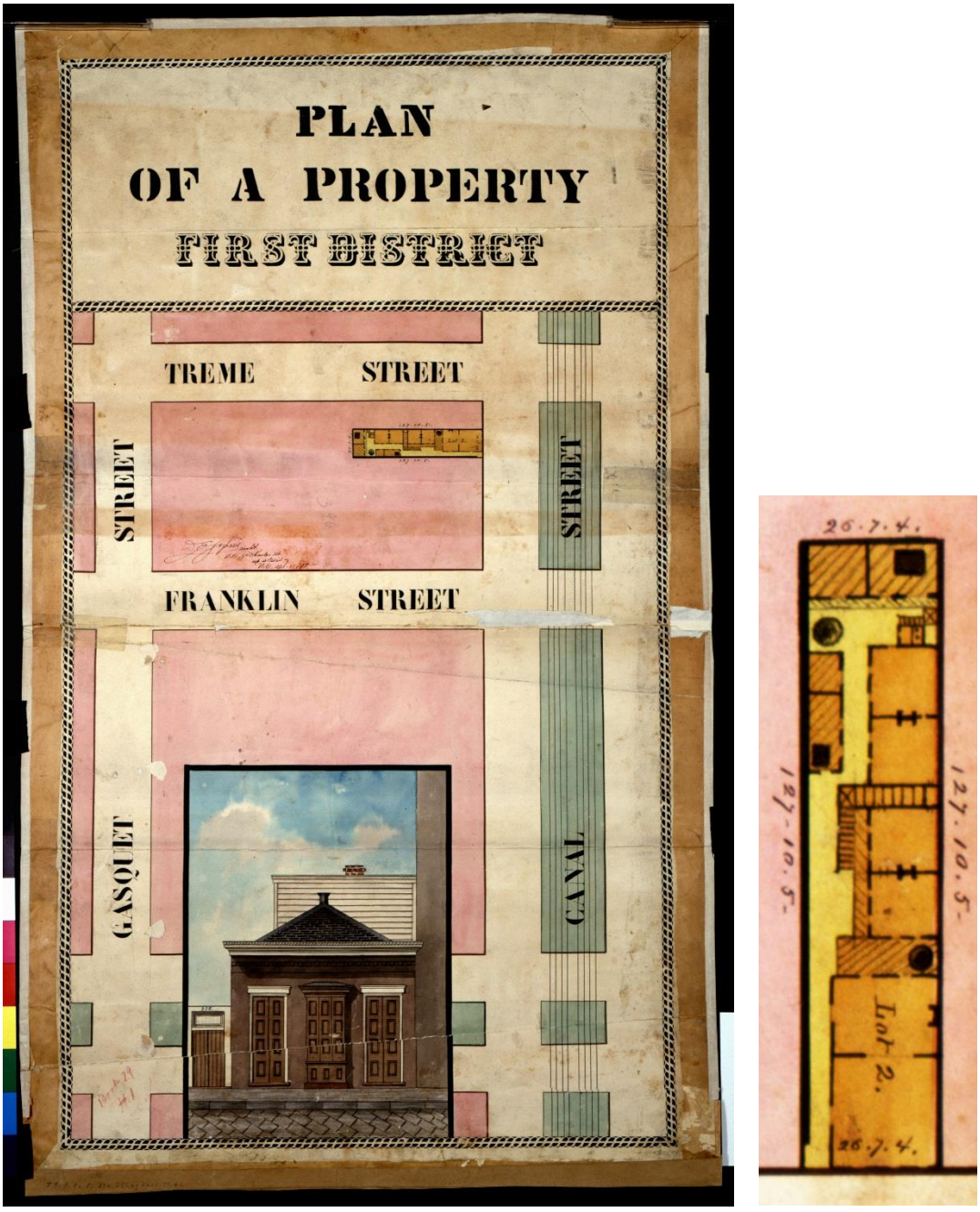


Fig. 6.8. An early synthetic camelback, ca. 1850. The house at 1330 Canal Street was assembled from three two-room sections (see plan). It was drawn in 1879 for a *affiche* or auction sales poster. NONA 079.001.

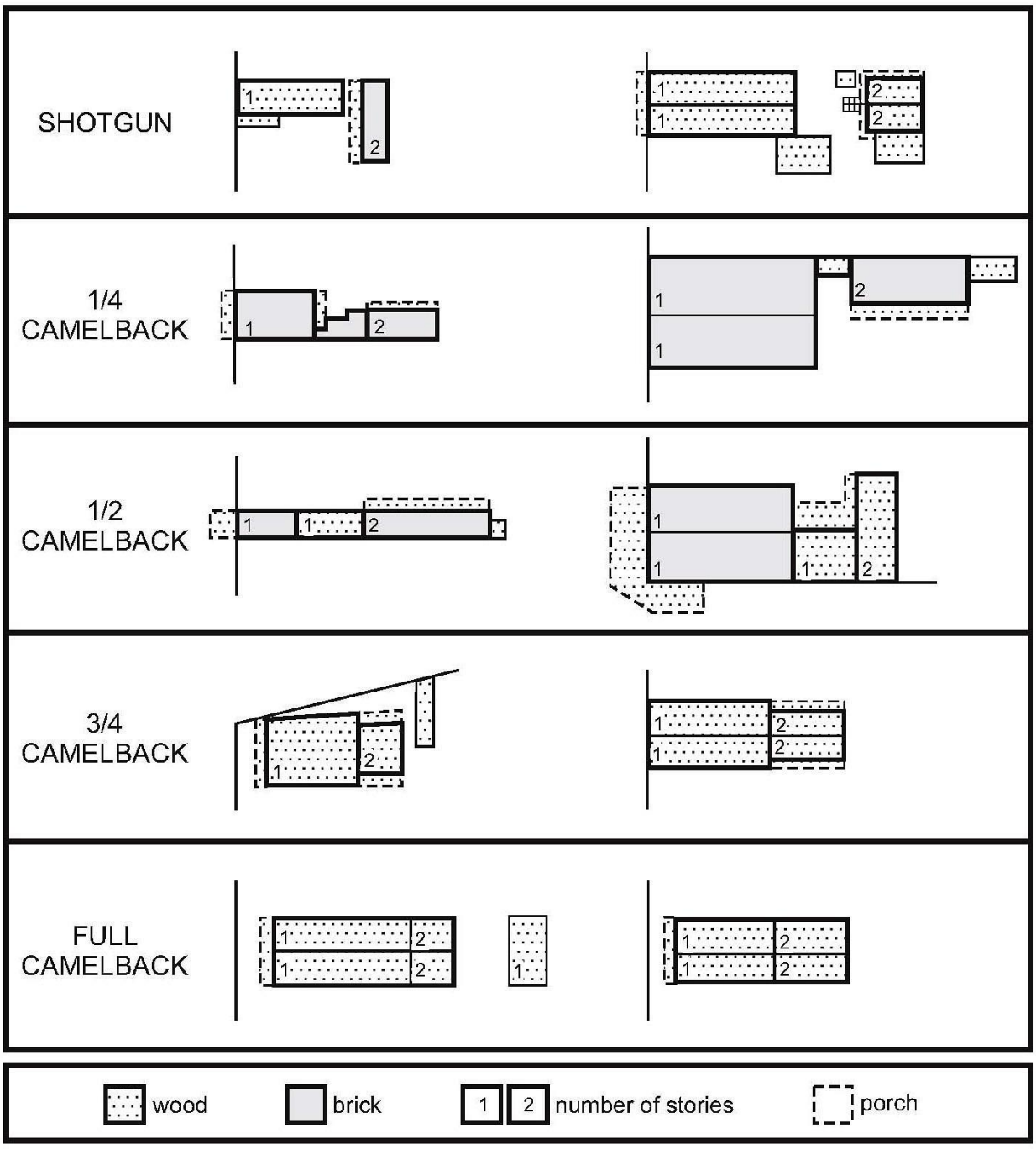


Fig. 6.9. The hypothesized evolution of Camelbacks, as abstracted from the 1876 Sanborn maps of New Orleans, courtesy the Southeastern Architectural Archive, Tulane University Library.

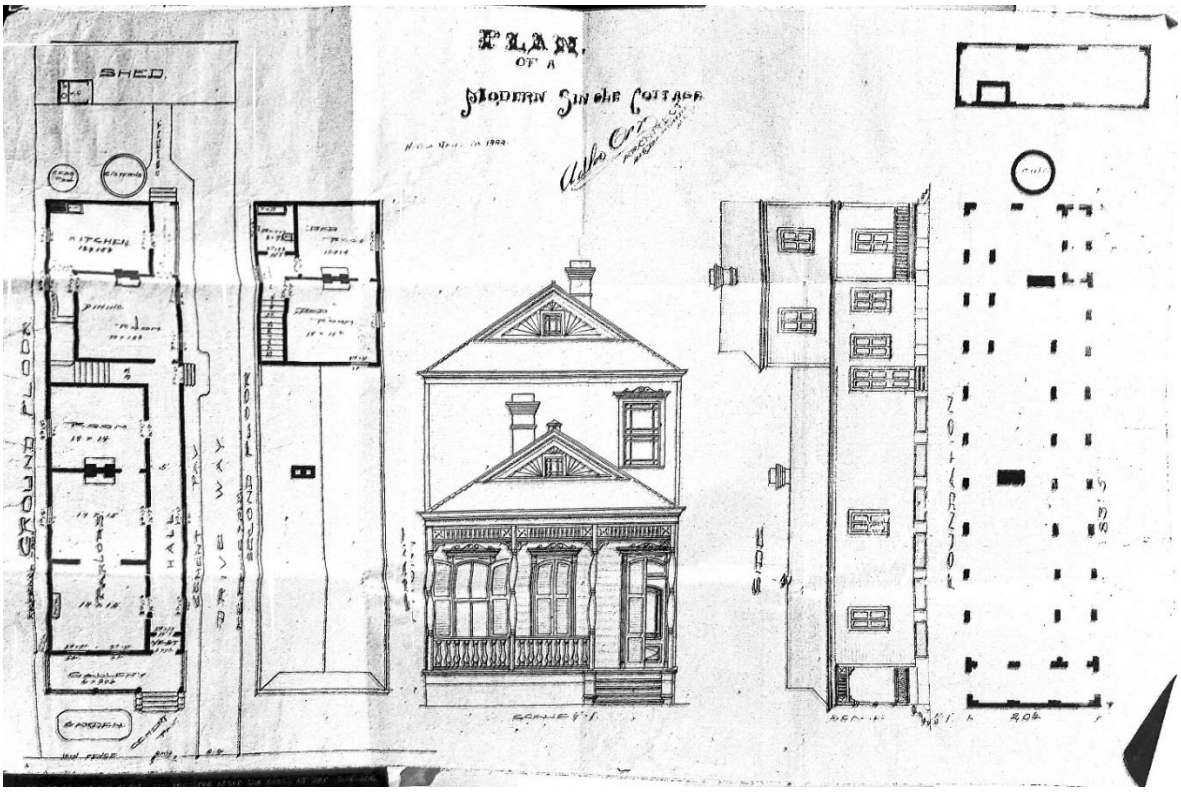


Fig. 6.10. Plan and elevations of a "Modern Single Cottage," by Aldor Orr, architect. They are attached to a building contract for a side-hall Single Camelback, NONA, A. Peters, N.P., Vol. 1a, Act 74, Jan 8, 1903. The dining room is now accessed directly from the kitchen. The front three rooms are traditional for Linear Cottages: two 14' x 14' and one 14' x 15' rooms. The styling is Italianate and Eastlake. The house is fronted by a gallery. This is a ¾ Camelback house.



Fig. 6.11. A ¾ Camelback at 1628 Frenchman Street. The colonial revival style house dates from the 1890s. JDE Photo 2012.

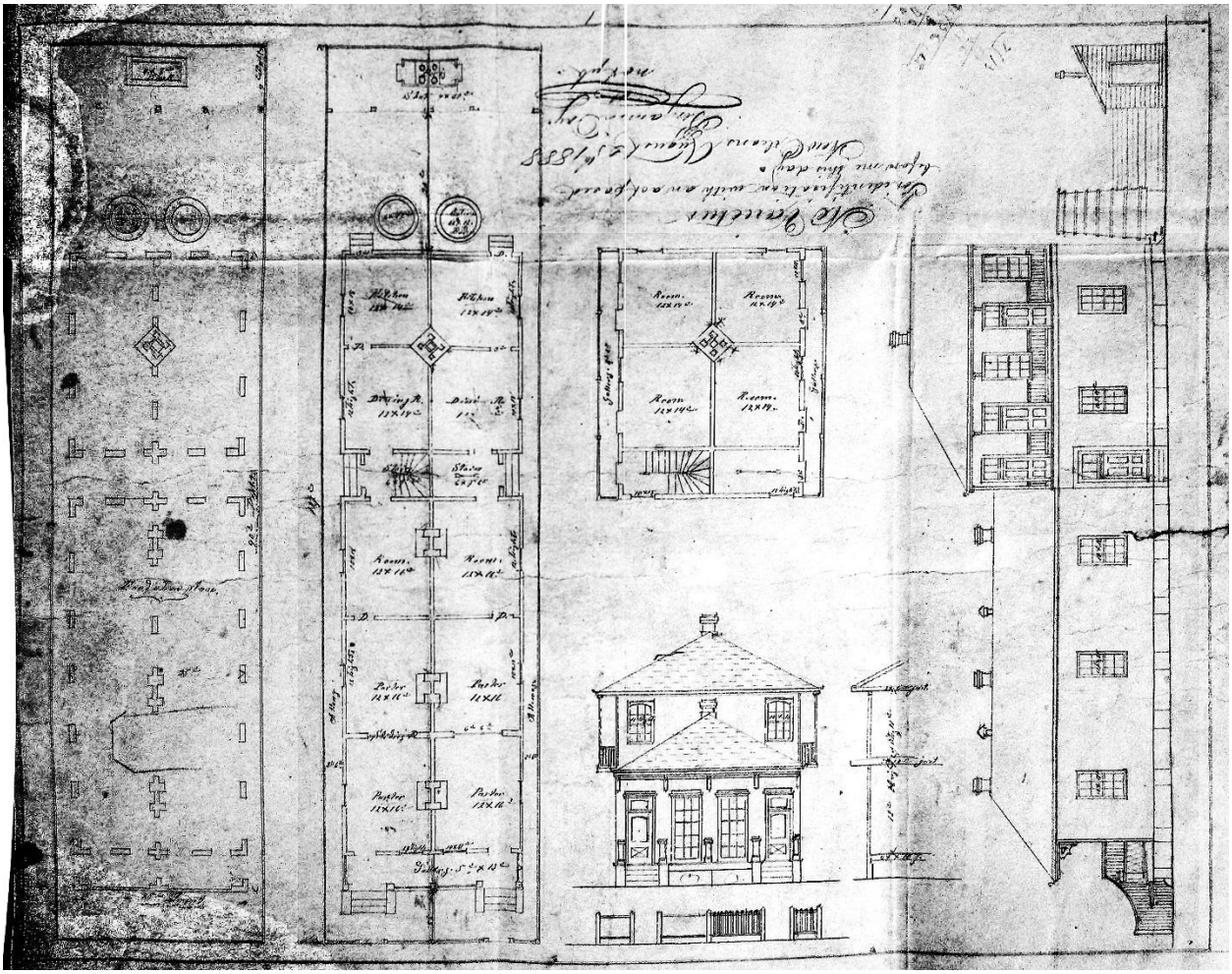
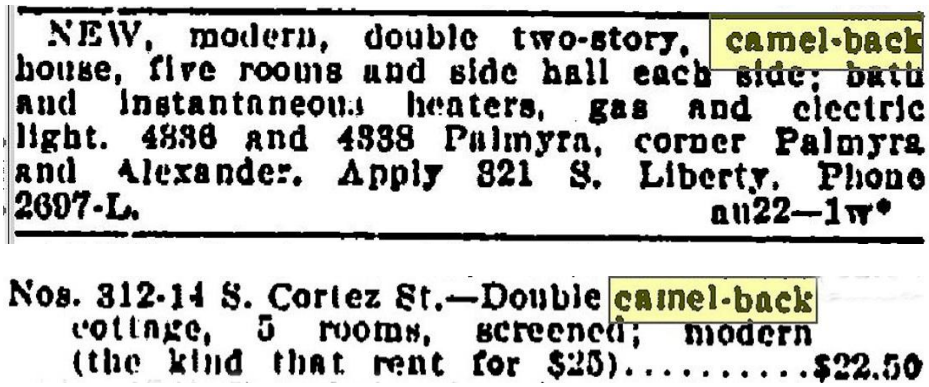


Fig. 6.12. Plans to accompany a building contract before Benjamin Ory, N.P., Aug. 28, 1888. The house stands at 1724-26 Melpomene in the First District of New Orleans. NONA Vol. 17, Act 186, p. 2. The building cost $7,948.00. It is a 14 room Double Camelback. The owner was John Middlemiss. The house survives today. It is a Full Camelback, and contains four rooms in the second story. They were planned as rental apartments.

The Geography of Camelback House Florescence

In nineteenth century building contracts, these strange-looking houses were referred to as "a one-story dwelling house and a two-story kitchen, the kitchen being attached directly to the house." By the year 1900, if not before, this awkward designation had been reduced in builder's contracts and always-brief newspaper advertisements to: "a camel-back" house (Fig. 6.13). By the time of the 1876 Sanborn Insurance Company map of New Orleans, there would be over 170 of them spread across the city (Fig. 6.14). For those who could not afford the costs of a full townhouse or a full two-story linear house

(Duplex), the Camelback house was ideally suited to the needs of the contemporary middle-class nuclear family on a restricted budget.



NEW, modern, double two-story, camel-back house, five rooms and side hall each side; bath and instantaneous heaters, gas and electric light. 4336 and 4338 Palmyra, corner Palmyra and Alexander. Apply 321 S. Liberty. Phone 2697-L. au22—1w*

Nos. 312-14 S. Cortez St.—Double camel-back cottage, 5 rooms, screened; modern (the kind that rent for $25).....$22.50

Fig. 6.13. Newspaper ads for Camelback houses, Aug. – Sept. 1912, from the New Orleans Times-Picayune.

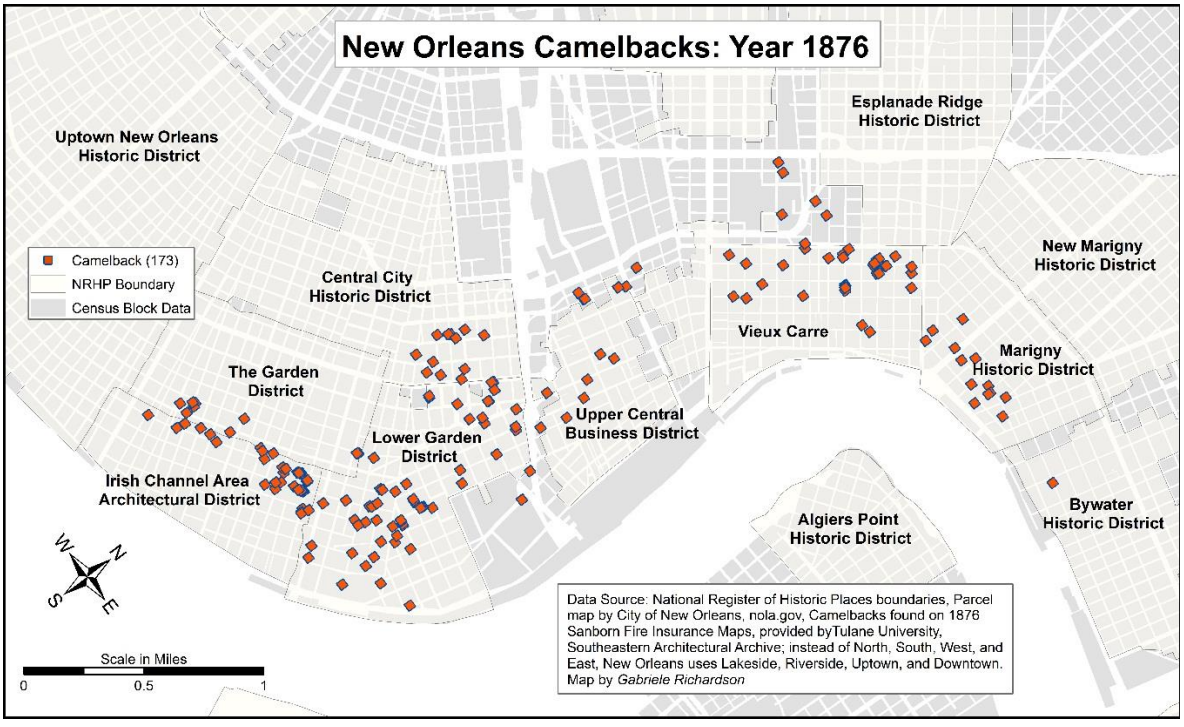


Fig. 6.14. The distribution of 173 Camelback houses in New Orleans, as mapped by the Sanborn Insurance Company in 1876. Note widespread distribution across the city. GR map for the Kniffen Lab.

In watching the dramatic expansion of Camelback houses on the Sanborn Company maps, we appreciate that the Camelback phenomenon was not simply an outgrowth of the old Creole vernacular culture of the city. It was something new -- a reaction to Postbellum conditions which drew upon existing architectural resources but modified them in radically new ways. Over the succeeding decades, the Camelback house continued to proliferate, both in numbers and in its proportion of all housetypes in the city. By 1885, the Sanborn maps show 279 Camelbacks (Fig. 6.15). In nine years, over one hundred new Camelbacks had been added to the city's inventory. They spread both upriver into the Garden District and beyond and downriver into Faubourgs Marigny and Bywater. They disappeared from the growing CBD. The number of Camelbacks in the architecturally conservative French Quarter decreased from thirty in 1876 to eighteen in 1885. The densest concentrations were in those growing residential neighborhoods adjacent to the CBD: Central City, the Lower Garden District, the Irish Channel, and adjacent portions of the Garden District.

By 1908-09, an even more dramatic change had taken place in the popularity of the Camelback. There were now 1,576 Camelbacks (Figure 6.16). The pattern of distribution cut entirely across ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic boundaries. By this time ethnic group residential segregation was underway, but the Camelback was not associated with any special group. Rather, it met universal needs, experienced simultaneously by everyone in the city within a fairly wide social spectrum. Its broad appeal was economic, social and technological, rather than ethnic.

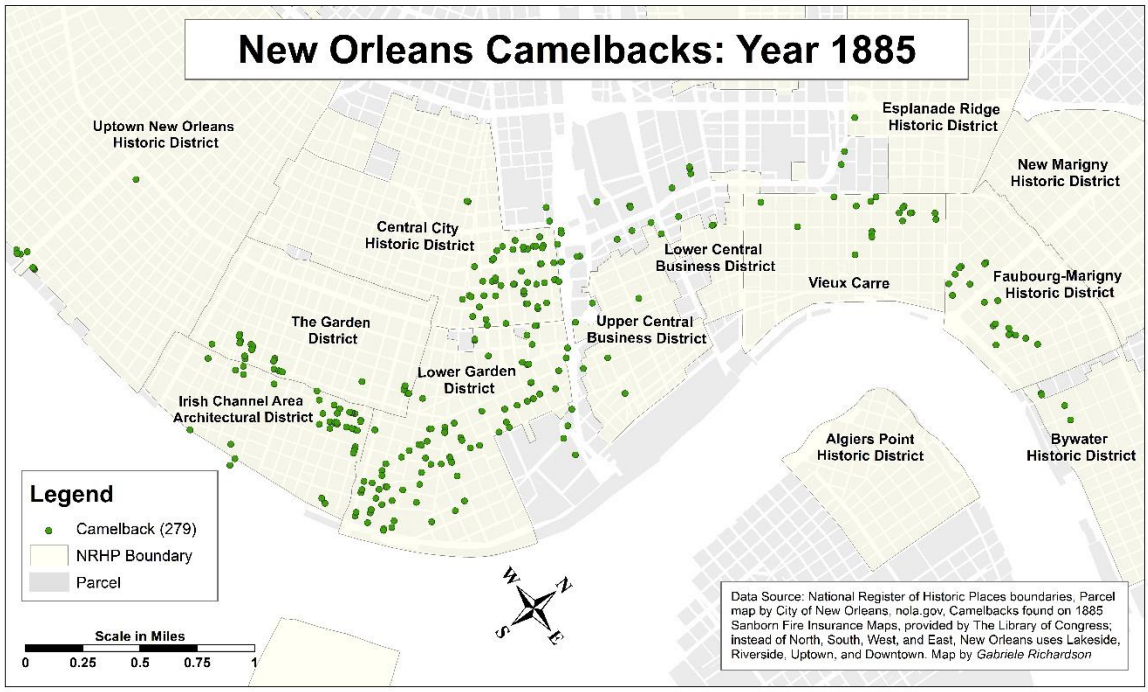


Fig. 6.15. The distribution of 279 Camelback houses in New Orleans, as mapped by in the 1885 series of Sanborn Insurance Company maps. The sample of Camelbacks was selected from within the boundaries of the 1876 Series (refer to the map in Fig. 6.16). RG map for the Kniffen lab.

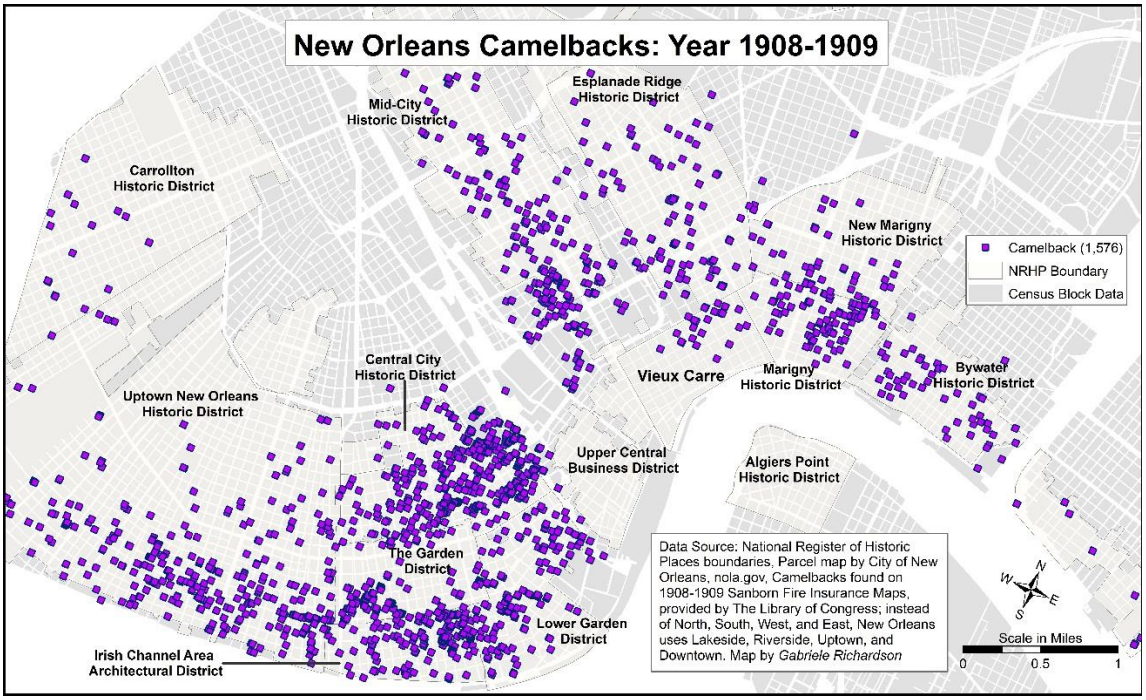


Fig. 6.16. The distribution of 1,576 Camelback houses in New Orleans, as mapped by the 1808-1809 Sanborn Company Map series. RG map for the Kniffen lab.

Methods

To explore better reasons for the widespread adoption of the Camelback, we combined three different methods. First, after determining the varieties of New Orleans Camelbacks, we conducted a longitudinal census of Camelbacks by mapping their numbers and locations at four different historic moments between 1876 and 1909. Second, to determine the truth about the supposed tax advantage for Camelbacks, we undertook archival research on the zoning and tax codes of the municipal government of New Orleans in the nineteenth century. Third, we investigated the social environment and economic determinants of homeowners in the nineteenth century to establish what factors might be most important in stimulating them to buy or construct Camelbacks in such large numbers.

We collected data from a variety of sources, beginning with real estate advertisements and other mentions of house types in local newspapers, trade catalogs, and builder's contracts. Information was extracted from city government records, private, and university archives as well as acts of sale recorded by notaries, tax assessment records from the field books of assessors, and architectural art from the offices of local architects. Insurance company maps of New Orleans dating from the 1870s proved to be particularly useful. From these sources, digital databases were developed to process the information from an historical-geospatial perspective.[162]

A Census of Camelback Houses

We created a database of Camelback information from a variety of sources, starting with the official announcements for property auctions called *affiches* (Fig. 6.8). New Orleans is apparently unique in having an extensive and detailed artistic record of houses which were publically advertised and sold. Architectural drawings of houses to be sold at auction in the nineteenth century potentially provided one of the best sources. Large-scale illustrations are housed in the New Orleans Notarial Archives, History Section -- a division of the Office of the Clerk of Courts. The records include the usual acts of sale recorded before notaries as well as over 1,600 unique large-scale colored survey drawings of buildings

which were being sold at auction. The purpose of the *affiches* was to advertise the sale of a property in public so that, according to Louisiana's French-based civil law codes, the heirs to an estate would be guaranteed full market price when inheriting properties of deceased relatives. Only one *affiche* was posted for each sale.

We found, however, that the Notarial Archives database of Plan Book images contained relatively few Camelback houses. The rise of the Camelback house parallels the rise of photography for documenting properties, so the wonderful professional art which characterized the *affiches* between ca. 1795 and 1890, diminished rapidly throughout the period of the rise of the Camelback. Most of those illustrated prior to 1876 are best considered proto-camelbacks or synthetic camelbacks.

Further data on Camelback locations was located in a supplemental Notarial Archives database called "attached plans" -- architectural plans attached to property sales and building contracts. Just as the *affiches*, they also became a part of the city's legal record. Many were attached to written contracts for building construction or renovation. These mostly date from the late decades of the nineteenth century, so they include more Camelback houses.

A major source of information on all New Orleans housetypes is the Sanborn Insurance Company maps for the city of New Orleans (scale = 1/600 or 50 Ft. to the inch). They depict each building in those sections of the city that were mapped in the relevant periods. One series of maps was published approximately each decade. These large sets of hand-drafted maps uniquely record the external dimensions of each building, the number of stories it contained, and the kind of materials from which it is built. Thus, Camelbacks are easily identifiable in Sanborn maps as linear cottages with a single story front and a two-story rear section. Internal floorplans are not provided, though major internal walls are often indicated.[163]

Later series greatly expand the areas covered as the city grew (Fig. 6.17). High-resolution color photographs of the paper map sheets were individually georeferenced and then stitched together into

digital map layers, enabling us to locate and map the changes within historic properties.[164]

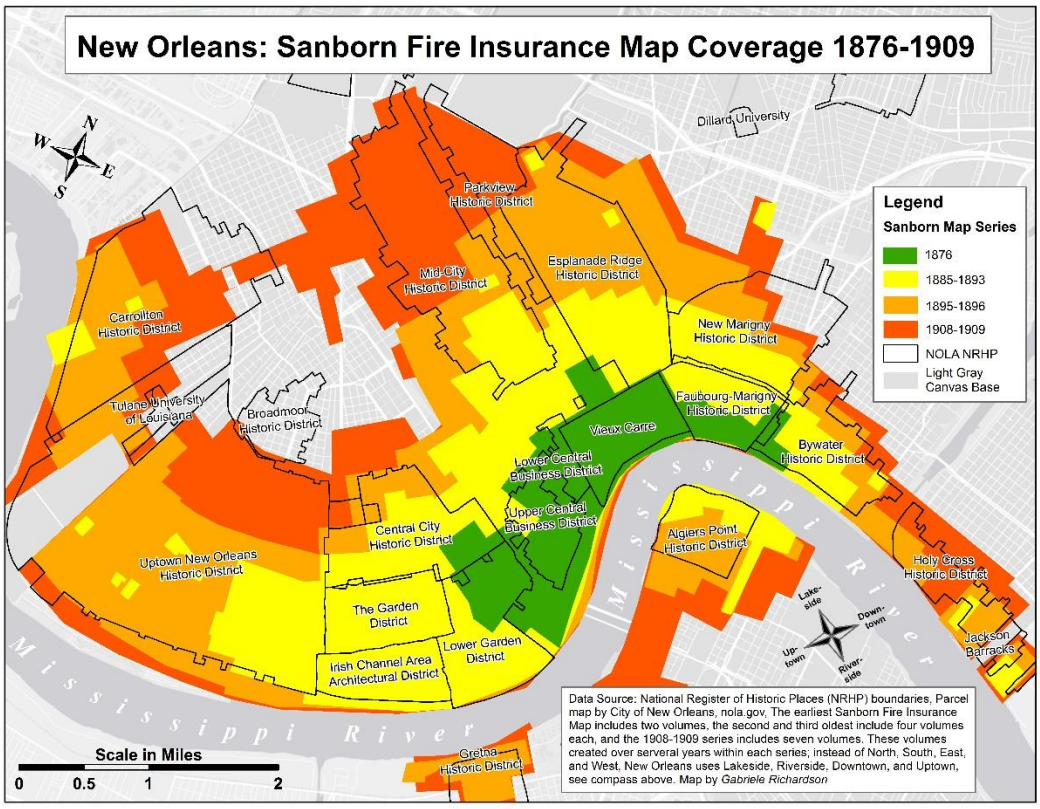


Fig. 6.17. A map charting the expansion of Sanborn Company Map Coverage of New Orleans, 1876 – 1909. GR map for the Kniffen Lab.

Theories of Origin

To determine the validity of the story of the tax advantage that came from owning a Camelback, we examined the records of tax assessors and Louisiana taxation law. Records begin in 1836, with some years missing. Local independent tax assessments in Orleans Parish began with the creation of the Board of Assessors of New Orleans in 1856. Prior to that, assessments were based upon the assessments of state assessors or special appointees. In New Orleans, property was taxed annually. The levels of assessed valuation and the millage rate paid by property owners varied through time, sometimes substantially.[165]

Values were often stable for considerable periods of time before sudden changes were introduced, especially in the period of federal control during and after the Civil War. Assessed valuations for undeveloped urban lots were often set at zero. Properties with "improvements" were assessed for estimated market values. Following the capture of New Orleans in 1862 by Federal forces, assessed valuations were raised to almost double their antebellum levels. The extra funding was used, in part, to improve infrastructure, which had deteriorated to an unacceptable level. The complaints of local property owners were vociferous:

> Everyone feels that the acts of the present government are illegal, that they are usurpation. We are taxed to death, and yet the amount of taxation is not what the people complain so much of as the system of assessment. Under the State government, the assessors, instead of being paid a salary, are paid a percentage on the amount of assessment, so that every assessor is interested in assessing property beyond its value.[166]

But the property owners eventually got their wish. With the end of Reconstruction in 1877 and 1878, local (Louisiana Democratic) officials replaced the federal officers. Assessed valuations dropped by as much as one-half. In 1893, for example, 32 foot wide by 128 foot deep "half lots" were evaluated at about 8.5 cents per square foot, while 64 foot by 128 foot "whole lots" were assessed at an average of about 4.5 to 5 cents per square foot. This produced property taxes of roughly $306.00 for a half lot and $360.00 for a whole foot lot.[167]

Fair valuation was hardly the goal in New Orleans tax assessment. In the Territorial Period (1803-1812), properties had been taxed at a millage rate of one mill (one dollar annually for every thousand dollars of assessed valuation). By 1855, the average tax paid by homeowners was above 3.6 mills, with smaller properties taxed at a higher millage rate than larger and more expensive properties. Whole lots with houses might be taxed at only 3.4 mills while half lots were taxed at 5.9 to 8.4 mills. Thus, both millage rates and assessments placed a relatively higher tax burden on the less affluent home-owner. This

impacted the free African-American population disproportionately. Free people of color, many of whom were small property owners, often favored narrow lots and the shotgun type house.

In an 1893 survey of those areas of the city then being settled, Camelbacks were among the largest and most expensive houses standing on many squares (blocks). Each house was assessed on an estimate of its total value, resulting in higher assessed valuations for many camelbacks. They did receive one indirect tax advantage against smaller houses. Lots of over approximately 4000 square feet (such as whole lots) were taxed at an average rate of about five cents per square foot. Parcels measuring less than 4000 square feet (such as half lots) were taxed at an average of about nine cents per square foot.[168]

Although no direct relationship between house type and the rate of taxation existed, the lower tax rates paid by owners with larger properties may have tended to support the *perception* that Camelbacks provided a tax advantage. There exists a strong correlation between the total value of one's real estate and the *rate* of taxation. At no time were houses taxed based on their type or the arrangement of rooms or number of stories. Tax assessments were based upon the estimated current market value of the real property -- land, improvements and slaves. In this, Camelback houses offered absolutely no special advantage over other house-types.

<u>Assessment changes over time</u>:

It might be argued that in any one year of taxation evaluations were unique or different in some fundamental way from earlier or later years. In order to examine the historical consistency of New Orleans taxation policies, we charted changes in assessed valuations in specific squares. Our survey began in 1859 and ending in 1893. We explored squares in which Camelback houses were mixed together with shotgun Singles, Doubles, bungalows and Creole cottages. If parcels with different characteristics in house size, house type and developed vs. undeveloped land, changed their tax rates relative to one-another as they develop through time, there might have some confirmation of the argument that house type exerted some influence on the changes in evaluation.[169]

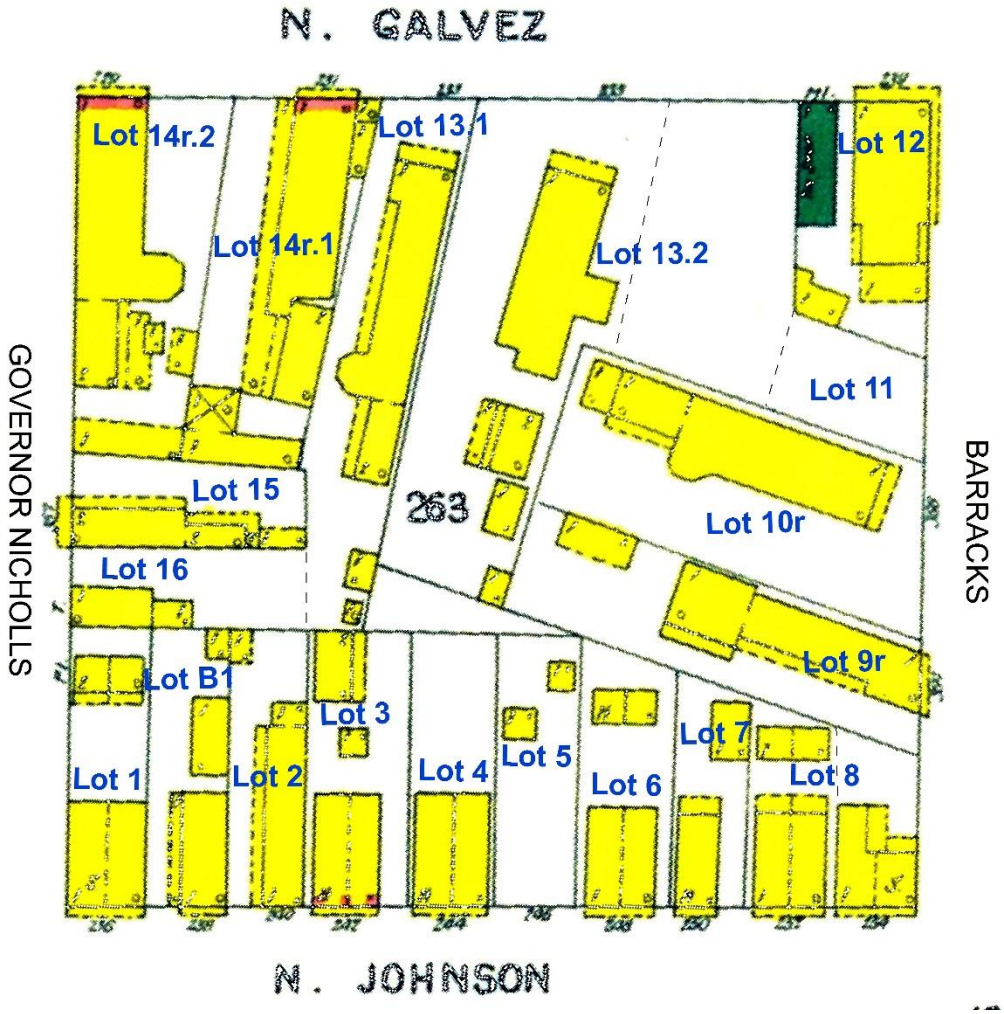


Fig. 6.18. A Sanborn map of Square 263, District 2, in New Orleans, dated 1893. In this one square we follow the evolution of the Camelback house from shotgun with detached kitchen to ¾ Camelback.[170]

Changes in property value following enhancements to standing structures were usually reflected within a year or two in incremental additions in the total assessed valuation of the affected properties. We concluded that valuations were directly related to the size and construction of the house (tile roof, front gallery), but not to its configuration or type.[171]

For properties without recent improvements, changes in values in one year were almost always accompanied by matching changes in assessed valuation of the other parcels in the same square. In those few cases in which only one parcel exhibited a change, enhancement or loss in the value of that property was generally identifiable as unique improvements or losses (fire).

Correlations in the *direction* of changes in valuation between all of the properties on a square are high -- far above the level of chance. Although there were individual changes in the assessed valuations of specific lots from time to time, for the great majority of such changes, revaluations for all properties moved in the same direction. Property values were being raised or lowered across the board at different times. We found no case in which a single (undamaged) lot lost value while its neighbors were gaining assessed value, and vice-versa.

Our conclusion is that the explanation of the popularity of the Camelback being based on its tax advantage is a myth with essentially no basis in fact. Assessed valuations were based upon general principles which affected the values of all properties in Orleans Parish at the same time in the same ways. Individual house characteristics, such as the type or style of house or the number of floors, were not significant in changing assessed valuations but, rather, the total value of the land and its buildings was the determining factor in assessments throughout the nineteenth century.

Forces of Change in the Domestic Architecture of New Orleans, 1865 – 1908

Having established that owning a Camelback was not a way for nineteenth century New Orleanians to save money on their property tax, we must now turn to the less easily solved problem of explaining exactly what *did* cause the rise of the Camelback house after 1865. We assume that the answers are not simple and unitary (like taxation), but rather are multiple, varying over time and place, and found in a broad configuration of changes occurring in the lives of common people following the Civil War. Evidence of these changes will not be found exclusively in data related to Camelback houses but it will

also be seen in parallel developments in a number of contexts and housetypes. Some of these causal factors will be national or regional, while others will be unique to New Orleans or to Louisiana.

The development of each variant should be explicable through an interpretation of the lives of those families which selected a specific form of house as a response to their immediate needs. The forces which impacted those families -- demographic, social, technical, and institutional – affected persons in different economic classes differently. At the beginning of Postbellum times, each class of potential home-owners inherited a distinct historic material legacy within the sphere of its socioeconomic aspirations. Part of this legacy was a scale of house types and sizes popular with and within the purchasing power of each social and racial category. For example, antebellum married free women of color, generally economically secure, had favored Creole cottages, while unmarried independent free women of color who rented rooms to immigrant men favored linear cottages enhanced with rental spaces.[172]

For those who lived through these changes in the later decades of the nineteenth century, architectural change, such as a popular new house type, would not be experienced as a single great leap like the rebuilding of the city after the catastrophic fires at the end of the eighteenth- century, but rather as a series of incremental steps which gradually emerged to produce a new urban landscape.

We focus first upon a single influential class of actors – the working and middle class women of New Orleans. The role of ordinary women – housewives, working single women, enslaved women, women of all kinds -- has seldom been adequately addressed in studies of architectural history. Could it be that women might be the single most powerful agent of architectural change in the creation of a new house type?

In 1860, the population of New Orleans stood at 174,491, including approximately 14,500 black slaves and 11,000 free people of color.[173] The three populations were not evenly spread throughout the city. Whites lived pretty much everywhere, with the descendants of the French population residing largely in and around the old French Quarter. Some Anglo-Americans lived there too, but mostly uptown in the

CBD, Mid City, the Garden District along St. Charles Avenue and westward to Carrollton. Enslaved blacks also lived everywhere. Domestic slaves resided on the properties of their owners, or in tenements located nearby. Free people of Color were mostly descended from the old French population and resided largely in the French Quarter and the Creole faubourgs (neighborhoods): Tremé, Marigny, New Marigny, and Bywater. Many restrictions had been levied on their freedoms after the comparative liberties of French and Spanish times, resulting in considerable emigration, but the city still held the largest population of free African-Americans in the United States.[174]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, while diseases such as yellow fever and cholera were killing thousands annually in the low-lying and unsanitary semi-tropical city, the deceased were replaced by waves of new settlers who more than made up for the population losses. Among the American-born segment of the new arrivals, a substantial number were educated and business-oriented. However, a high proportion of the foreign-born immigrants were uneducated and unskilled. They filled the jobs of day laborers and domestic servants.[175]

New Orleans was virtually undamaged during the Civil War. The war initiated social and technological changes which affected the way people used their domestic spaces. The economic health of the city, though disrupted and weakened, continued without interruption from 1862 through 1865.[176] The Union occupation was comparatively benign despite the vociferous complaints of the citizens. The military cleaned the city and improved its infrastructure. From the perspective of the people toiling in the kitchen, however, by the end of the Civil War New Orleans was becoming a considerably different city than it had been in 1861. The impact of the four years of military occupation on the development of the typical family was profound, with changes not so much due to local events as they were to the effects of broad national and regional transformations, many introduced by waves of newcomers.

The most profound change in domestic life in New Orleans occurred at the end of slavery. New Orleans had been specifically exempted from Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863. Despite the Union occupation, the life of an enslaved person in New Orleans continued as before, with no

freedom. The Northern military leaders thought that by maintaining servitude in Louisiana, the state might be tempted to rejoin the union voluntarily. The tactic did not work, but slavery was not officially ended until the enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment on December 16, 1865.[177] Yet after official emancipation, newly freedmen and women who remained employees of their previous masters, quickly discovered that they were burdened with almost unsurmountable problems and restrictions, including low or non-existent wages. They found no legal protection under such "employment." At first, the former slaves resisted within the households.

> Penrose's diary unwittingly depicted slaves' family ties, community networks, and political connections. It shows that the war for freedom was waged by [enslaved] women cooking in kitchens as well as soldiers massing on battlefields. It shows, moreover, that slavery crumbled in New Orleans not from a single dramatic blow or stroke of a pen, but from the accumulated weight of resistance by slaves…[178]

After official emancipation, the best alternative for formerly enslaved domestics was to leave the service of their former owners and to seek wage-paying jobs elsewhere. New Orleans was industrializing rapidly, and many employment opportunities were opening up. "One of the most significant changes and one of the saddest, too, in this city, is the passing of the faithful old cooks – who felt it a pride and honor, even in poverty, to cling to the fortunes of their masters and mistresses.[179]

The end of slavery in New Orleans had a staggering effect on women of both races, but in different ways. The sex ratio of Orleans Parish was low, at about 89 (males for every 100 females in 1870). Among Black people it was even lower. Between the marriageable ages of 15 and 45, the sex ratio in 1870 was 65 and by 1880 it had risen to only 69. In other words, there were far more women of marriageable age of both races than there were men. Large numbers of women were now economically on their own.

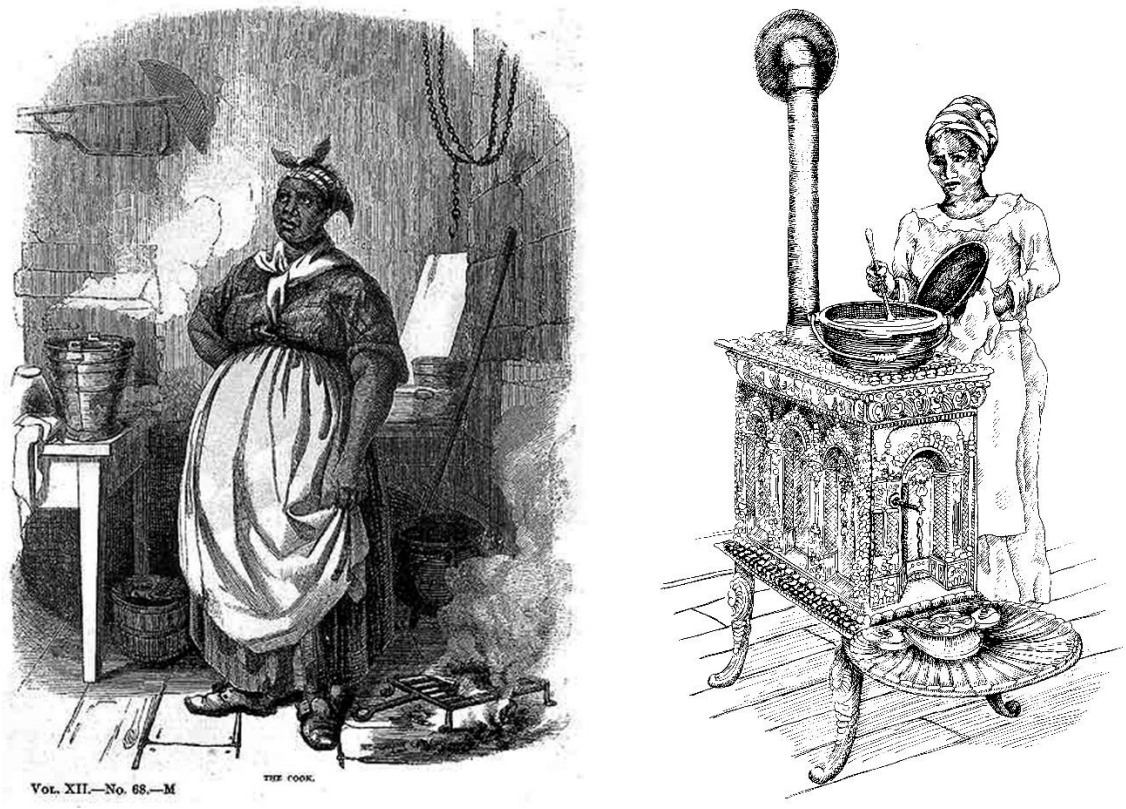
Even by 1880, thirty percent of the white women in Orleans Parish were widowed. When Antebellum white women remarried, they married a more diverse variety of men than they would have

previously. Some married "beneath their station" to immigrants, particularly those who were gainfully employed. Some married colored men. Many sought gainful employment for the first time in their lives.[180] Colored women continued to work outside the house in much higher proportions than white women did. In both colored and white families, though, emancipation brought higher levels of stress surrounded the food-producing activities due to the reduced domestic staffs and extra burdens placed on women connected with the need for extra income.

Until 1865, a high proportion of the non-immigrant white families of New Orleans had owned black female cooks, maids, and housekeepers. About 74 percent of those enslaved women were black, the others of mixed race.[181] The Peonage Act of 1867 abolished the holding of any person in debt servitude or other forms of indenture. In 1860, when over fourteen thousand persons had been enslaved in New Orleans, the sex ratio of enslaved persons had been about 78. That is, seventy-one males for every one hundred females, or over 8,480 enslaved females. Most of this group of women had been domestics. Domestic servants were now free to leave their former masters, and that is exactly what they did – in droves. This sent profound shockwaves through the domestic slave-owning sphere and presented immediate practical problems, starting with "who will cook dinner?" [182]

How did these families adjust? Certain trends heavy with architectural import are clear. In the North, cast iron stoves and ranges had been gaining in popularity since the 1840s. They were still too expensive or too mistrusted for many working class families, but in the South the stove had been hardly used at all except in the houses of the wealthy.[183] The enslaved cook did her cooking on an open fireplace in the detached kitchen building behind the main house. If the homeowner was progressive, she may have cooked on an old-fashioned cast iron box cook stove (Figs. 6.19 – 6.20). Following the Civil War, iron foundries, which had been turning out war materiel, now began to specialize in other things including the fabrication of improved household appliances. Chief among these were new forms of the cook stove and the range. The range was built into a fireplace; the stove was freestanding and had a stovepipe exhaust (Figs. 6.21 – 6.22). Both completely encased the cooking fire behind iron doors and iron plates. Many

heated water in a special tank.[184] Stoves and ranges each had their detractors and supporters, but advertising for cook stoves became far more intense than it had been prior to the "recent unpleasantness." A marketing revolution was under way. The relative price of cast iron appliances was kept low due to competition of hundreds of foundries and specialty manufacturers. The new stoves required less fuel and they could burn coal, which was now increasingly available in Southern cities due to improved railroad transportation.



Figs. 6.19. Earlier evolution of cooking technology in New Orleans. An enslaved cook grilling on an open fire in her kitchen, ca. 1850, and an enslaved cook stewing on a box stove ca. 1860.



Fig. 6.20. The later evolution of cooking technology. A house cooking on a modern range ca. 1875. A.R. Woad drawing courtesy HNOC.1977.137.18.127. Another housewife uses a "modern" coal-burning stove with water heater, ca. 1895. MLE for the Kniffen Lab.

In New Orleans, it had been common for the white mistress of the house to participate in some of the activities of the kitchen. Housewives specialized in the more technically difficult activities such as smoking meat, making sausages, and in canning food. Therefore, while the mistress was certainly familiar with kitchen work, she was not used to carrying out the laborious tasks of carting firewood, carrying water, and washing and cleaning the dinnerware and the kitchen itself. Indeed, most of the routine tasks had been left entirely to the experienced enslaved cook. Now, Southern housewifes observed that they were left to their own devices. One complained that "we have no wood house, no washing machine, no cooking stove… in short, none of the conveniences that you Northern people have been accustomed to. And worse, we have no money to fix these things." [185]

Capitalistic enterprises were not slow in arriving to assist the Southern housewife in handling these time-consuming and laborious chores. Smaller copula smelting furnaces were in operation in the South, including in New Orleans. Cooking stoves could be locally produced, saving on transportation costs for the inordinately heavy appliances. Foodstuffs which required refrigeration were now shipped in boxcars and refrigerated rail cars. Packaged food was increasingly common. Meat, fish, fruits and

vegetables previously only available seasonally or not at all were now available down the street in the local markets, which were evolving into the modern neighborhood grocery store.[186] Iceboxes were considered a necessity. Ice and coal were now delivered by railcar instead of by ship, and the deliveryman carried them right through your door. Technologies which had made these miracles possible – many invented or perfected to supply far-flung armies with adequate diets -- quickly became domesticated and essential to the modern Postbellum home.

The ethnic face of domestic labor changed considerably in the decades after the war. Whereas in 1860 many middle class families had supported two or more enslaved domestic servants. Following the Civil War white immigrant women increasingly took the role of domestics. With the loss of income experienced by most families in the South, paying daily wages for a cook was difficult and many working-class families could not afford the luxury.[187] Now that white housewives were forced to find other sources of domestic help, large-scale immigration of Irish and Germans to New Orleans helped to fill in the losses. European immigrants had long played a central role in domestic service in all of the eastern states.

With white middle class women now facing an entirely different labor situation, management of the kitchen became a kind of popular science, a topic of wide interest. Prior to the Civil War, most housewives had had only oral tradition and a few cookbooks to rely upon. Post-Civil War publishers were distributing new kinds of manuals for the cook and the housewife. Increasingly, household management was being described as a "domestic science." Popular how-to-do-it household manuals urged those employing household domestic servants to treat them with greater respect, "as though they were simply conducting business"[188] Katherine Beecher and others taught about the education of girls in household management. Highly detailed instructions were provided covering the management of time and domestic servants. Wives and their help were given religious-like motivation and calls to duty. Factory-like discipline was extolled. Cleanliness was essential. To help transform the imperious slave mistress into a kind and efficient household manager, studies on the psychology of domestic service called for wives to

recognize the evils of an attitude that assumed one's right to be waited on, and the practical consequences of the exploitation of domestics (i.e., "they will desert you").

In Postbellum United States, the middle class was expanding exponentially. During the last quarter of the century opportunities for employment increased and choosing a household service position was often considered a last resort.[189] It is small wonder that so many domestics were drawn to the call of other employment opportunities. Not only was a domestic on call at all hours, but she was effectively isolated from social life outside of the house. Lists of employments appropriate for young women were published. Wages for domestic service rose.[190]

At the same time, numerous innovations in cooking and in kitchen gadgetry not only saved time and tempers, as advertised, but lessened the number of people needed to run the kitchen. The number of patents for domestic appliances and devices had exploded since the 1850s. Egg beaters, meat grinders, apple corers, and flour sifters saved time and wear on the hands. Wire screens were becoming available to prevent the entrance of vermin into the kitchen and dining room. Easy to clean materials were available for the kitchen -- linoleum, and tin ceiling panels and enameled iron surfaces. "Dry sinks" supplied piped water at the twist of a faucet. Piped gas was soon to follow. All of this meant that a much smaller domestic service staff was required to supply good meals for the increasingly downsized Southern family. A housewife and her female children were often sufficient to run a home.[191] Such great changes in home staffing, however, put strains on the physical layout of Postbellum style homes, and, indeed on houses across the United States.

Changes in kitchen functions meant that the architecture of the kitchen had to change. In the words of Herbert Gottfried and Jan Jennings, "The history of the [American] kitchen focuses on the elevation of a back room into a special place with clearly established functions and special equipment."[192.] In the South, the pre-Civil War city house had consisted of several separate buildings, including the freestanding kitchen. Whether you lived in a single-story Creole cottage or a multi-story townhouse, your kitchen stood apart and behind the main house. Often it was two and occasionally even three stories tall. It

held the kitchen proper with its large cooking fireplace, a bedroom for the enslaved cook, and perhaps other rooms for a laundry, rental, or domestics (Fig 6.4). Now, the domestic servants were gone and the wife was faced with the realization that the work previously done by them now belonged to her and her daughters. Besides cooking and cleaning, it would be their duty to carry the hot meals across the backyard space and into the *salle* (parlor) or the dining room where her family, and sometimes guests, awaited their evening meal.

Although we could find no record of a white New Orleans housewife writing in detail about the disruptions and dislocations of this revolution, one can easily imagine the near universal calls on their part for better cooking and eating arrangements. One widespread result of these transformations was that housewives were demanding a new domestic architecture. "Kitchens were… absorbed back into the main body of the house." New, special-purpose dining rooms were now considered essential to the well-planned house.[193]

But, how to do it? Most traditional New Orleans vernacular house types would not easily accommodate these transformations. Neither the old Creole cottage nor the townhouse had space for a rear kitchen-dining unit (Figs. 6.21,. 6.22).[194] It is from ca. 1865 that we find that new cottages and townhouses houses are no longer being built with rear cabinet-loggias. That is also the year of the last architectural manual which calls for the construction of a freestanding kitchen with an open fireplace for cooking. By the end of the 1860s, the old pre Civil War detached kitchen was fast becoming a thing of the past.[195]

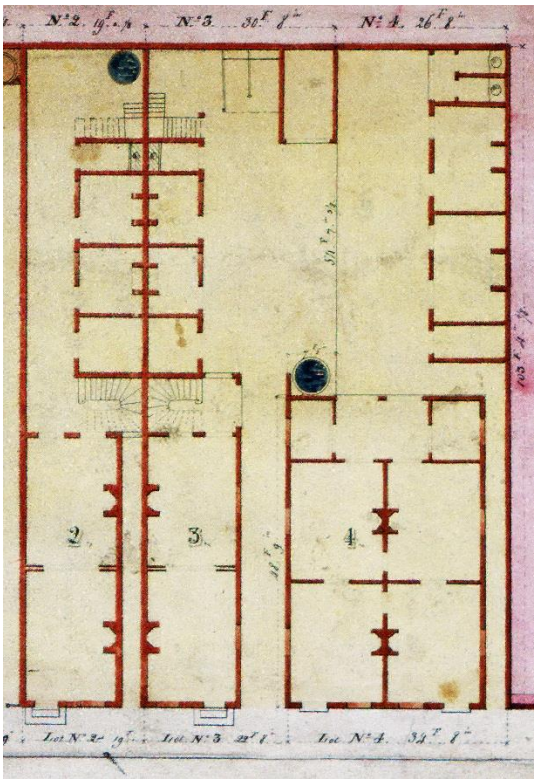


Fig. 6.21. Plans of a traditional New Orleans Creole Cottage (right) and a Center Hall Townhouse Double (left), at 427 and 429 Burgundy Street, ca. 1830. The rear of neither of these popular traditional house types is suitable for the addition of a rear kitchen-dining room unit. NONA 084.028.

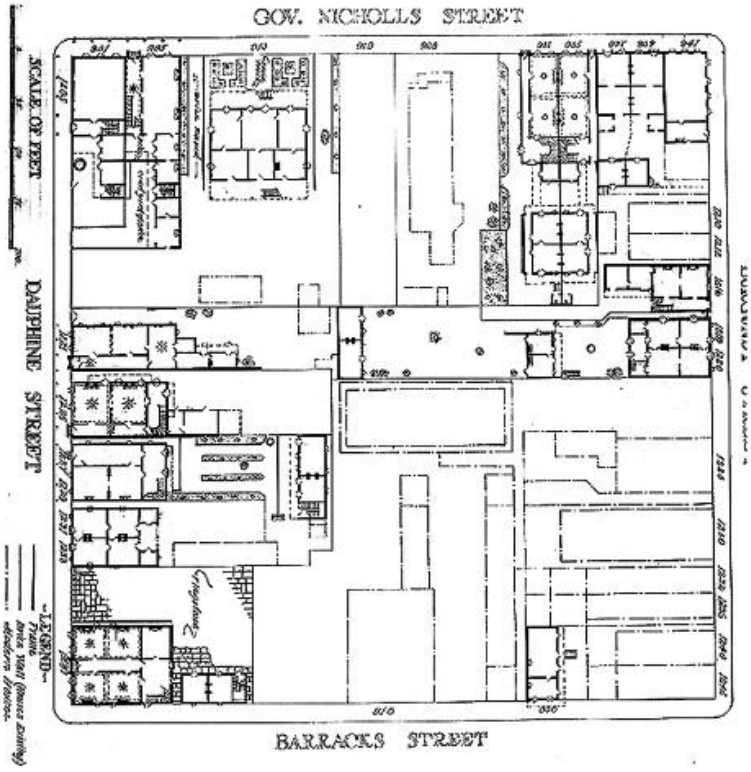


Fig. 6.22. A plan of Cabrini Square in the French Quarter, before many of the buildings were raised to create a park in 1938. Both Creole cottages and Townhouses are present. HABS plan courtesy the Louisiana State Museum Archives.

New Orleans homeowners experimented with a variety of methods for integrating a kitchen and dining into the house. Many had severe limitations. For example, some people turned existing rear cabinet rooms into kitchens and rear loggias into dining rooms. These were generally so small that the results were less than ideal. It soon became obvious that, of the repertoire of existing popular house plans of New Orleans, the shotgun house was most ideally suited for a rear expansion. Shotguns were less expensive to build and they could be extended almost indefinitely towards the rear on the deep narrow lots of New Orleans.

It was often possible to connect an existing two-story detached kitchen building directly to the rear of the owner's single story shotgun house by simply inserting a connecting dining room between

shotgun and the kitchen. One had only the expense of a single additional rear room, plus the modernization of the old kitchen with a cast-iron stove and other up-to-date amenities. The result was one of the more successful attempts at kitchen/dining room integration -- the synthetic Camelback house. Still, there were problems. Many of the old kitchen buildings were not positioned on the centerline of the house. Thus we find older Camelback houses with two-story kitchens displaced from the centerline of the house (Fig. 6.23). A few of these old synthetic Camelbacks are still in existence (Fig. 6.11).



Figs. 6.23a, 6.23b. A pre-Camelback side-hall shotgun (right) and a Creole cottage (left) with detached kitchens. Ca. 1830. Bienville Street in Tremé. Note that detached kitchens are off-set from midline of the houses. HNOC 090.041.

When professional architects began to supply designs for Camelbacks for their customers, some of them simply copied what was occurring in the vernacular of the city. The famous architect, James Freret, for example, created an office illustration for a Camelback house which he presumably designed from scratch. The building was built on St. Claude Street for Julius LeBlane, Esp. about the year 1890. Freret added a rear dining room between the two story rear kitchen and the three rooms of the main

residence. However, he, too, set the kitchen off the center-line of the house, creating a ¾ Camelback (Fig. 6.24).

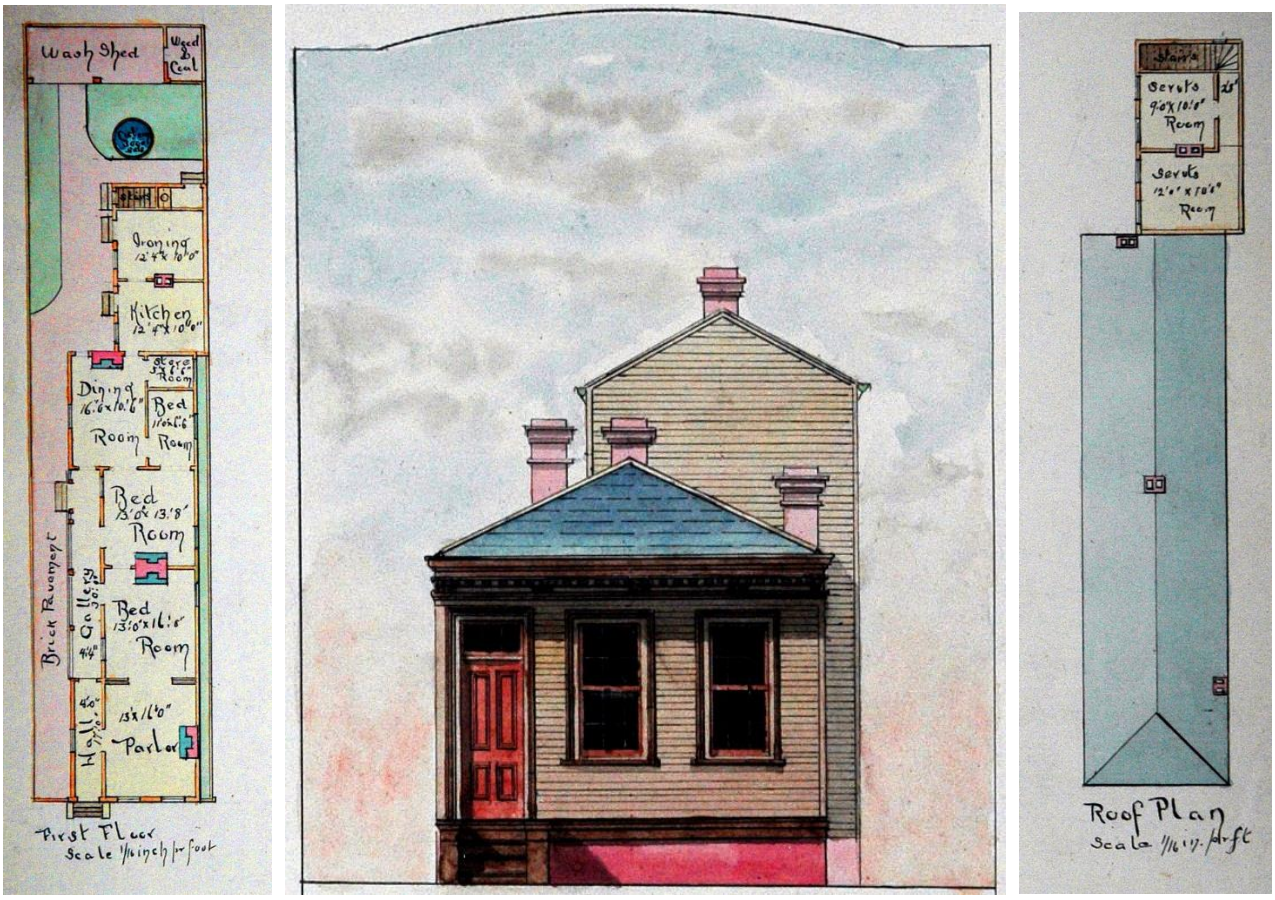


Fig. 6.24a-c. Office illustration from the office of James Freret, Architect, ca. 1890. Freret designed this 3-bay side gallery shotgun with its two-story rear kitchen connected through a dining room/servant's bedroom unit. Illustrations courtesy of the Southeastern Architectural Archive, Tulane University.

Perhaps the most annoying consequence of a Linear Cottage house plan is that its inhabitants suffer considerably reduced privacy. In a Single shotgun, every *en suite* bedroom is also a passageway from the front reception room to the rear kitchen, which functions as the informal gathering place for the family. The two-story rear segment carried a significant advantage over the single-story Shotgun house. As soon as two-story kitchens were integrated into the linear plan, the purpose of the upstairs apartments changed from out-of-the-way renter's or servant's rooms to an elevated and secluded master bedroom. Of course, a side-hall or side-gallery shotgun also protected the privacy of the ground floor bedrooms, but perhaps at the expense of some cooling cross-ventilation.

Camelback Owners and Renters

Having established the likely role of women and their domestic needs in the growing popularity of the Camelback, we turn to the question of who, exactly, built or bought Camelback houses. The 1880 census contains sufficient information to provide a profile of the owner-residents. Used in conjunction with the Sanborn maps dated four years earlier, we obtained an overview of the professions of the owners. The address of each Camelback house was written on the map. The 1880 census is the first decennial census to list the street addresses of residences. This permits census information on the residents to be correlated with their housetype.[196]

In these data there is confirmation that women were partial to Camelbacks. The 1880 records contain information on the sexes of 155 owners of Camelback houses. 73.5 percent were owned by males and 26.5 percent owned by females. That a quarter of these new Camelback-style houses were female-owned points to the high level of female-headed households as well as the high level of enterprise of females in New Orleans society. The average age of the male owners was 42.6 years, that of the female owners 50.0 years. The disparity is, in part, a reflection of the elevated levels of widowhood in Postbellum New Orleans, even in 1880.

In terms of race, the Camelback seems in its early years to be a white phenomenon. Ninety-one percent of the Camelbacks were owned by whites, 4 percent by blacks (former slaves), 4 percent by colored (former free people of color), and one-half of one percent by a Chinese owner.[197] One owner was of unknown race. This raises the question of the place of birth of the owners. Was the Camelback a phenomenon of local culture, or was it due to influence from foreign-born persons? Only 22 percent of 1880 Camelback owners had been born in Louisiana. A total of 44 percent were born in the United States. An impressive 56 percent were foreign born, with Ireland, German-speaking countries, and France being the highest contributors in that order.

The high mortality rates due to diseases, coupled with the high levels of immigration, were certainly significant factors here. The preponderance of foreign-born Camelback owners raises the

possibility that the Camelback itself represents an outside influence on the traditional Linear Cottage housetypes of New Orleans. Could it be that the newcomers were previously used to the convenience of internal kitchens and cook stoves and that they played a crucial role in transforming the Shotgun house with these ideas in mind?

Socioeconomic class is more difficult to assess. The principal occupations of the owners were listed. Among the 41 female owners, the highest proportion were said to be "keeping house," or "at home." This figure includes 37 widows, many of whom worked as landladies. There were only 4 single female homeowners. Occupations of female homeowners included a nurse (1), washerwomen (3), teachers (2), a cook (1), a house servant (1), and a coal and wood dealer (1). For the 114 male owners of Camelback houses the professions are diverse: merchants and grocers (17), government employees (10), laborers (8), clerks and salesmen (5), butchers (5), workers in the fabrics industries (5), saloon keepers and bartenders (4), shoemakers (4), sailors and workers in naval trades (4), bankers and money brokers (3), workers in manufacturing (3), iron and steel workers (3), tailors and milliners (2), and painters (2) rounded out the list.

While there is insufficient information to assign Camelback homeowners to specific social classes, the 155 owners for which we have information seem to be about evenly split between salaried workers, trades people, widows keeping house (landladies), and skilled laborers.[198]

The Camelback house appealed to people of both the skilled working class and the middle class. These were mostly people of steady but limited incomes who could better afford to expand an existing house than to finance the purchase of an entirely new one. Assuming the description of their professions is for the most part accurate, these were solid citizens -- people who were economically secure and often upwardly mobile, but not in any sense wealthy. Unlike African-American New Orleanians of this period, they were for the most part, people who could take advantage of the new and growing credit services of the savings and loan companies and banks. In addition, building contracts often provide details on extended payment agreements. Their socioeconomic status pretty much insured that the first generations

of Camelback houses would be synthetic, resulting from incremental expansions, and that their houses would be variable in their forms.

The Camelback House: 1909 to the Present

Moving now to the perspective of the last one-hundred years, two basic kinds of Camelback house have dominated the cultural landscapes of New Orleans. Almost all of the representatives of the earlier developmental sequence have completely disappeared (Figs. 6.8, 6.11, 6.24). In their stead, we find two basic kinds of Camelbacks. Full synthetic Camelbacks are those which appear to have been expanded through time, perhaps beginning with a shotgun style house, but adding a Camelback section which appears to conform to the width and the appearance of the front unit (Figs. 6.25, 6.26). Full synthetic Camelbacks are probably the most numerous form, though no census has been conducted. Alternatively, some Camelbacks are constructed at one time, completely formed. These are full synthetic Camelbacks -- one-off houses, designed from the beginning as a single unit. Synthetic Camelbacks are those which grew by stages into their present configurations, the result being a unit which appears to be completely integral and complete. They are in the vast majority – an indication of the limitations on building resources of those New Orleanians who built Camelbacks.



Fig. 6.25. A 3-bay side-gallery Camelback in Bywater. HABS photo.



Fig. 6.26. A 4-bay Camelback Double in Bywater. HDLC survey photo.



Fig. 6.27. A 3-bay Camelback house with the appearance of having been built at one time, with the exception of the shed addition behind the Camelback unit. Refer to Fig. 6.12 for another example of an integral Camelback. JDE Photo, Oct. 2015.



Fig. 6.28. A Colonial Revival side-hall Camelback in Bywater. This house has the appearance of an integral camelback, built ca. 1905. HDLC photo 2002.

Camelback houses continued to be built in comparatively large numbers between 1910 and World War II. Even in newly developing neighborhoods such as Bywater and Holy Cross, Camelbacks appeared spontaneously, together with Shotgun Singles, Doubles, Side Halls, and other traditional forms of New Orleans cottages and town houses. Camelbacks were decorated in a variety of styles, beginning with

Greek Revival and passing through Italianate, Victorian eclectic (Edwardian, Queen Anne, Eastlake, Colonial Revival) and into Craftsman. Those neighborhoods developed in the 1910s through the 1930s, when the bungalow style was popular, still retained their fair share of new Camelbacks.

Two subsequent events were to strongly affect the popularity of the Camelback house. The construction of traditional vernacular architectural forms largely ended with World War II. The G.I. Bill which followed, encouraged the returning veterans to build in a different way. Single-story slab houses were constructed by the thousands as New Orleans continued to push outward towards Lake Pontchartrain and towards the East. Many of these were pattern book houses based on plans distributed nation-wide, but the old vernacular housetypes also reëmerged in post-war clothing. Neighborhoods developed between 1945 and 1960 retain more of the traditional vernacular houses than new popular architectural forms. Camelbacks in the late 20th century were built with modern materials and low roof pitches, resembling their pattern-book neighbors in all but having the curious feature of a two-story section mounted behind a single story linear cottage form (Fig. 6.29).

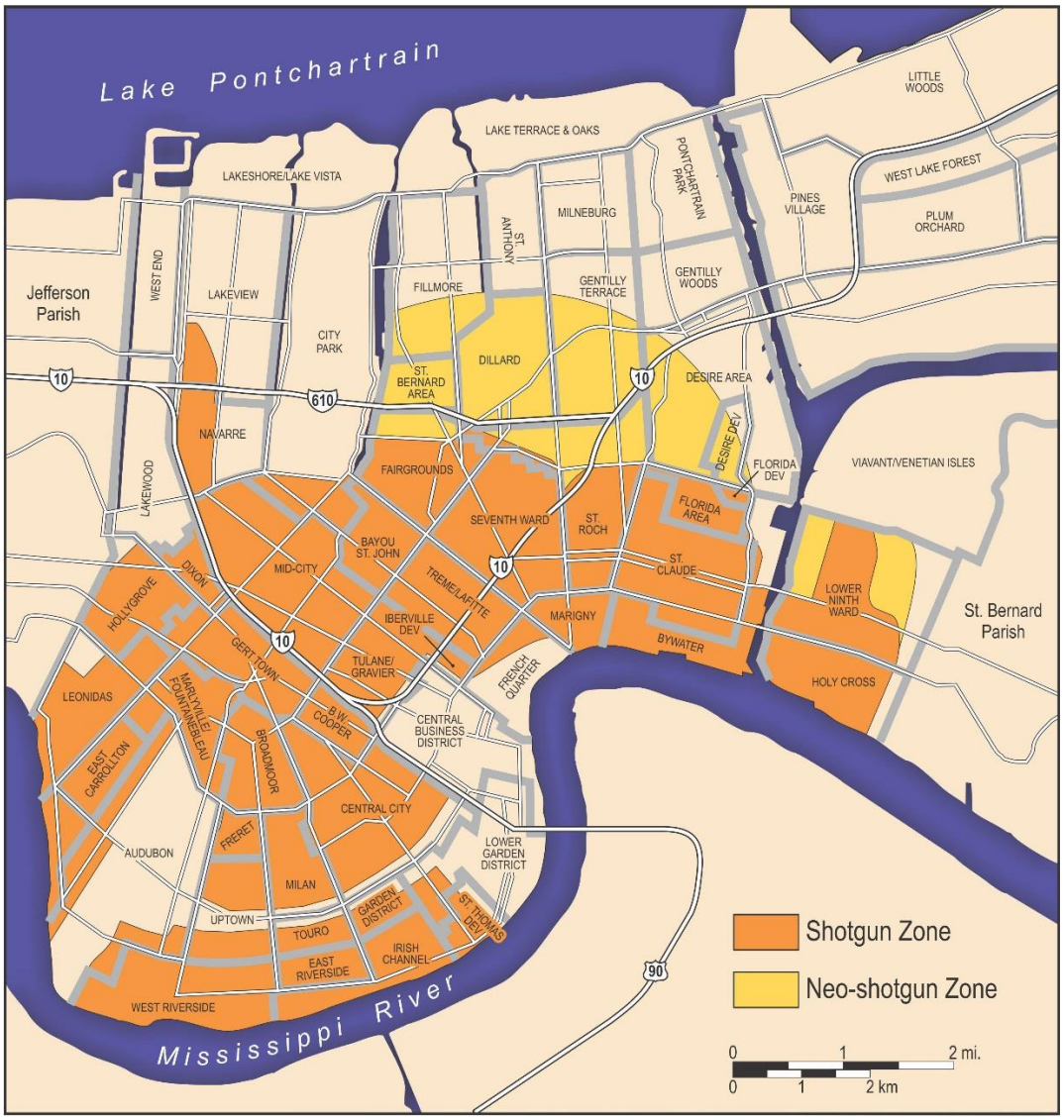


Fig. 6.29. A map of the approximate distribution of historic shotgun houses as reflected in the 1933 aerial Photography of the city (orange), and the areas of expansion of Neo-Camelbacks in the Post World War II period (yellow zones).



Fig. 6.30. A Neo-Camelback being completed in 2009 in Holy Cross at 730 Delery Street. The entrance will be from the side. JDE Survey Photo.



Fig. 6.31. A new Camelback being completed after Katrina in 2007, At 130 Lopez in Mid City. JDE Survey photo.

The second event was considerably more dramatic. In September of 2005, the flooding associated with Hurricane Katrina destroyed thousands of wooden houses in New Orleans. No city in the United States had suffered a comparable level of destruction of its housing stock in a single event. Ten years later the reconstruction of some neighborhoods remained largely incomplete. Did the old Camelbacks survive to be revived once again? The answer appears to be a resounding "yes." Using data from 2011 through 2013 in our most recent survey, 1,579 Camelbacks were standing in and near the historic districts of New Orleans (Fig. 6.36). In other words, the density of the Camelback is roughly equivalent to what it was in 1908-09, over a century before. In the years following Katrina, numerous old Camelbacks were refurbished. Some are still in the process of renovation. Perhaps the greatest evidence of New Orleans' continuing love affair with the Camelback is that an entire new generation of integral "neo-Camelbacks" is being built to replace residences which were destroyed in the flooding and razed. They range from the diminutive to almost monstrous. The Camelback has clearly been accepted by residents who could afford other forms of middle class housing. Because neo-Camelbacks have modern amenities, such as indoor kitchens with islands, dinettes, dens, master bathrooms, and central air conditioning, the original functions of the Camelback section of the house now appear superfluous. Rather, it is in the "strength of tradition" and a symbolic identification with traditional forms which continues to shape the architectural preferences of New Orleanians. Long after the social forces that led to its creation had passed into history, and the old *en suite/enfilade* floorplans have become a thing of the past, houses in the shape of camelbacks are about as popular as ever.



Fig. 6.32. A Post-Katrina Camelback at 4337 Oleander in Holygrove. JDE photo, 2010.



Fig. 6.33. A Post-K Camelback on Marshall Foche in Lake View. JDE photo, 2015.



Fig. 6.34. A Post WW-II Camelback at 814 Hidalgo, in Navarre. JDE Photo, 2015.



Fig. 6.35. A post-Katrina High-Lo Camelback in Holy Cross. JDE photo, 2011.

From the beginning of the twentieth century the Camelback house underwent an explosive radiation into a wide variety of subtypes dressed in multiple styles. Its diversity is constantly fascinating – often astonishing. It seems that no two Camelback houses are identical. Builders have stretched this once conservative form into shapes so diverse as to appear unrelated to one another. Classifying the sub-types would amount to a dissertation-length study in its own right. Naming them would stretch the imagination of the most inventive lexicographer.

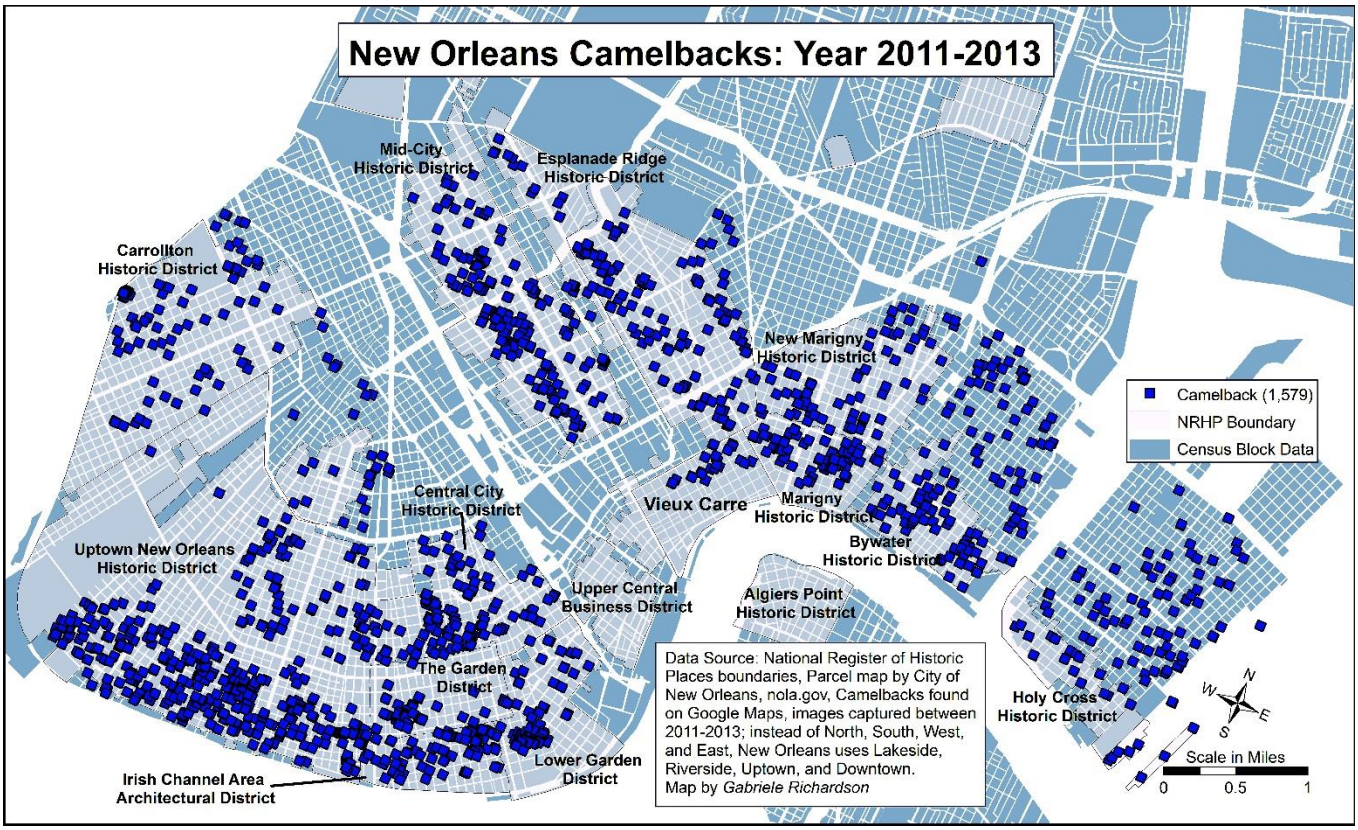


Fig. 6.36. The 2011-2013 distribution of 1,579 Camelback houses in the Historic Districts of New Orleans. This demonstrates that the Camelback house is about as popular today has it was in 1909.

Interpretation

Even in its original setting of New Orleans, the Camelback house is a curiosity requiring public explanation. It is too common to ignore, so, to account for its distinctive nature and popularity, residents fall back upon an urban legend based upon dubious logic and devoid of factual support. From the perspective of American architectural history, however, the Camelback should be viewed as one of a large number of experiments with traditional vernacular architecture which swept the nation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These modifications were set in motion by technological advances in kitchen and dining habitus, engendered by the Civil War and its subsequent emancipation, and by Postbellum industrialization and marketing of household conveniences.

In each region of the country, people struggled to adapt their local vernacular traditions to new demands for "modernization."[199] They fought to achieve a new polite middle class standard of etiquette and sociability. In each case, the dirty, labor-intensive culinary workshop of a previous generation had been set at the rear of the house or separated from it entirely. Now a new form of dining room-kitchen complex was being substituted -- one in which visitors might be properly and even elegantly entertained. Its standards were extolled through books, magazine, and newspaper advertisements, then later with greater impact, through radio and cinema. All of this was being accomplished in an environment of the down-sizing of the old extended Southern household which formerly included servants and relatives.

For those who could afford it, an entirely new house in the popular Italianate or Queen Anne styles came pre-planned with internal kitchens and dining rooms.[200] But for the majority who resided in one of the thousands of earlier vernacular houses in New Orleans, they found no easy way of integrating new and larger kitchens and formal dining rooms into the traditional floorplans of Creole cottages and London plan town houses. This was particularly a problem for the rising middle class -- the fruit of the fast-growing number of industrial and commercial enterprises of the New South and the Gilded Age. The incomes of most wage workers and small business people did not yet rise to a level which permitted the purchase of an entirely new house.

We can watch these struggles being played out across the country. Each local architectural tradition provided a different answer to the food handling revolution, but all of the patterns of adaptation of earlier vernacular traditions included parallel themes. For those successful farmers and town dwellers who had resided in raised central hall Georgian plan houses common to the lower South, a "back hall" or ell was added to one side of the rear gallery. The ell included a kitchen and often a dining room, a pantry, and a servant's bedroom, accessed by walking across the open rear piazza or gallery.[201]

A different kind of adaptation is found in the connected farm buildings of northern New England. The "Little House" unit of the "Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn" sequence of conjoined buildings, was, of course, a kitchen unit, integrated with the main house as a separate but attached

building in the 1850 – 1880 period. According to Thomas Hubka, this was part of an on-going process to improve the efficiency of the farm in an increasing competitive agricultural market, and to add greater domestic comforts and social prestige of people "aspiring to middle-class respectability."[202]

Another popular house of the times was the one Fred Kniffen characterized as the "I house." This came in a variety of floorplans, including hall and parlor, Georgian central hall, three-quarter Georgian, and three- room. Thus, rather than a house type, it was a "form class" of multiple geometric types which had all adopted a similar external shape. By the early nineteenth century the "I" house had become the most common class of farmhouse in the Eastern United States – a symbol of rural attainment and success. The house was only a single room deep, though two stories tall and two or more rooms wide. Regardless of the specific floorplan, the core of the house had no room for an internal kitchen. When these began to be attached, there was no clear right way to do it, so the attempts stimulated a wide variety of kitchen additions. We see, for example, both one and two story rear ell additions. But the most popular addition was the single story shed added across the entire back of the house. So widespread was this form of augmentation that I houses with single-story front galleries and single story rear sheds became known as a distinctive sub-type – the "Carolina I house."[203] Despite the fact that all of these houses have been studied and surveyed by multiple scholars, no one seems to have surveyed and explained the nature and patterns of kitchen-dining room expansion.

In New Orleans, as in other places, workers aspiring to middle class status worked out a variety of solutions to the problem of how to incorporate the integral kitchen-dining room complex. Specific adaptations depended upon the type of house each family owned, but other factors were at play. One of these was the influx of very large numbers of foreign immigrants from Europe and from rural America. Based on our admittedly small sample, they made up at least one-half of the people who built and resided in Camelbacks in the 1870 – 1880 decade. This was part of a group of successful working class New Orleanians who were particularly intent on achieving and communicating their new middle class status. It was also a population which brought with them the strong desire for upward mobile – an aspiration to

participate fully in the American Dream.[204] They came with a strong work ethic and a yearning for modernity. The only population excluded from this grand experiment was the black residents of New Orleans, who were denied avenues for economic advancement and for upward social mobility.

No architectural historian has dealt in detail with the late nineteenth century transformations which occurred in America as modern kitchens and dining rooms were being incorporated into traditional vernacular forms formerly devoid of them. The Camelback house should be seen as one of the boldest of this group of experiments. It was made possible by the strong tradition of linear cottages which existed in New Orleans in late Antebellum times, but it was also shaped by the hands of the hard-pressed women of the city who fought for a new and more modern style of life while not wishing to desert the unique architectural heritage of their home city. Perhaps a consideration of re-saleability kept people from moving too far from the familiar patrimony of long-established architectural forms. The conflicting demands of the age, and of the place, mitigated the introduction of alien middle class house forms. The Camelback was a compromise which satisfied conservative architectural aspirations. It provided added privacy, new rental spaces, if needed, and a culinary and entertainment lifestyle of which people of the emerging middle class could be proud. Once firmly established between the elegant town houses of the upper middle classes, and the lowly single and double shotguns of the working classes, the Camelback not only survived, but thrived and expanded through each new iteration of New Orleans domestic architecture, including the upheavals of the great depression, the Second World War, and even Katrina.

CHAPTER 7

THE SPREAD OF THE SHOTGUN HOUSE OUTSIDE OF LOUISIANA

According to their entry in the Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, its authors, John Hopkins and Marsha Oates, of Memphis, believe that the shotgun house originated in New Orleans and spread across the United States in three separate waves of diffusion.[205] The first wave is believed to have been undertaken by Free People of Color who had resided in New Orleans, perhaps for decades, and then were gradually being forced out by the increasingly harsh legal restrictions placed on them by the Anglo-dominated Louisiana governments. They may also have been drawn north by business opportunities. As an example of this earliest of the outward-bound linear cottages, Madison, Indiana, on the Ohio River, has a fine collection of surviving Antebellum shotgun houses on West 2nd Street.



Figure 7.1. Shotgun house, 510 W. 2nd Street, Madison, Indiana. The building on its right side is seen in Figure 7.2. Screen capture from Goodle Earth Pro (GEPsc).



Figure. 7.2. The John Eckert House, 508 W. 2nd Ave. Madison, IN, 1872. This house retains its original Italianate style cornice and pseudo-ashlar metal façade (See also, Fig. 6.38). GEPsc.

"Shotguns dating from the late 1830s are known to exist in the upper Ohio River Valley in the area between Louisville and Cincinnati. Shotguns built during this period were used by owner-occupants and by tenants, depending upon location and individual situations." [205] Although this hypothesis seems absolutely reasonable, little hard evidence has been uncovered to support the dates of construction of the earliest shotgun houses along the Ohio River and elsewhere.

The shotgun house was the perfect mail order house. It was exceedingly simple. Any semi-skilled worker could assemble one, often in a single day. It was also inexpensive, and many shotguns could be set side-by-side on narrow lots, making the most efficient use of urban spaces. In the 1920s and 1930s, large settlements of shotgun houses mixed with other kinds of cabins could be found outside many of the cities of the South and the Midwest (Figs. 7.3 – 7.4)

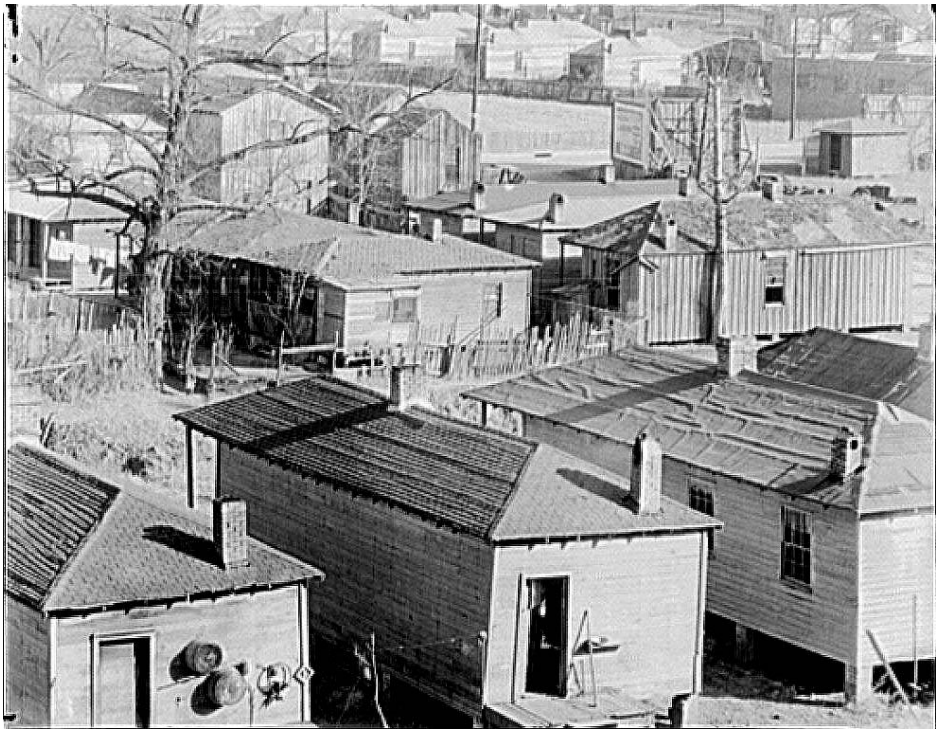


Figure 7.3. Negro Quarter in Tupelo, Mississippi. A 1936 Walker Evans photo, courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Fig. 7.4. Negro Quarters in Winston-Salem, NC. C. 1936. Walker Evans photo, courtesy the Library of Congress.

The second wave of shotgun diffusion began in the early Postbellum period, perhaps as early as 1867. The large Steam, Sash and Blind companies discussed in Chapter 5 were beginning to send out catalogs, and these soon included kit houses. Companies outside of Louisiana, for example in Atlanta, soon followed suit. Some of their kit houses were also in the form of New Orleans shotguns, though often modified and prettified by the architects or draftsmen who designed the entries. Kit house shotguns could be ordered by mail and shipped by steamboat. Some were influenced by Italianate designs and later, by the bracket style, but many were built undecorated. The pattern of diffusion was, at first, strictly geographical. At first it followed the navigable waterways of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. Shotguns were shipped to most of the river towns that were undergoing expansion in this period. They are still to be seen in clusters in or around the old centers of Louisville, Memphis, Cairo and St. Louis (Figs. 7.4, - 7.13). For example, until recently along Greenlaw Alley and in the Vance-Ponotoc neighborhood of Memphis, there were many surviving shotguns from the 1920s and 1930s. Now, they are gone – replaced in part by larger and more modern domiciles. However, not far away in North Memphis, there are hundreds of shotguns, bungalows and neo-shotguns in a thriving African American community which retains many of its earlier linear cottages as well (Figs. 7.67, 7.72, 7.74).

The pattern of diffusion of the shotgun house by waterways appears to be still reflected in its current pattern of distribution. Vestiges of shotgun neighborhoods are found everywhere in Mississippi River towns which were growing in the middle of the nineteenth century. As one travels eastward up the Ohio River from its confluence with the Mississippi, shotguns are very common to the old neighborhoods along the lower Ohio River in towns such as Louisville, KY. But they grow progressively less common as one continues up the river. They are found on both sides--the Indiana-Ohio side, and the Kentucky side. As one approaches South Point, the southernmost dip of the Ohio River between Kentucky and West Virginia, they begin to fade out entirely. As one enters West Virginia, the shotgun house has been entirely replaced by the two story, one room wide railroad style workers' house, so common along the route of the C&O Railroad through the Appalachians into Virginia.



Figure 7.4. Shotgun Doubles in Cairo, Illinois. JDE Photo, 2007.





Figures 7.5 and 7.6. Shotgun houses in Vincennes, Illinois. Vincennes is located on the Wabash River, a tributary of the Ohio River. JDE Photos, 2007.



Figure 7.7. A shotgun row on 26th Street, Louisville, KY. Google Earth Pro screen capture, 2014. This is a popular steep-roofed variant of the shotgun Single, (GEPsc).

Methods

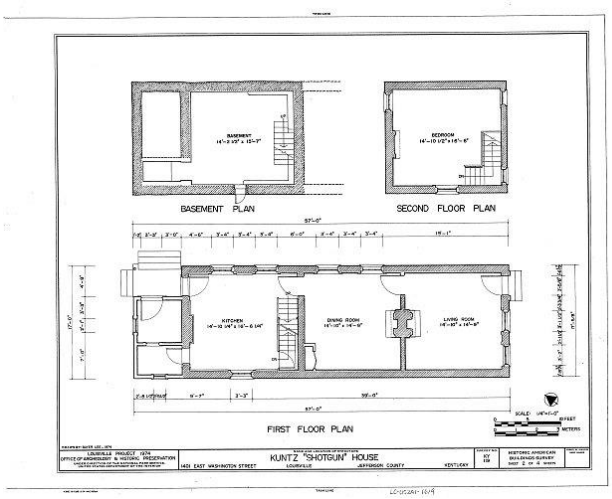
In order to better explore the diffusion patterns of the shotgun house, we studied the domestic neighborhoods of multiple towns and cities across the eastern and western United States. We surveyed appropriate older neighborhoods of the towns and cities in Google Earth (aerial view). We were interested in neighborhoods that dated between the Civil War and ca.1940. Many of these cities still sustain strongly segregated neighborhoods. We attempted to identify African-American neighborhoods and working class white neighborhoods. We discovered that shotgun house Singles remained popular until the 1930s. Rows and entire neighborhoods of shotgun rental units were being dismantled and replaced by the second decade of the twentieth century while Bungalow style linear cottages maintained their popularity between ca. 1910 through 1950. Neo-bungalows are still being built in some places.

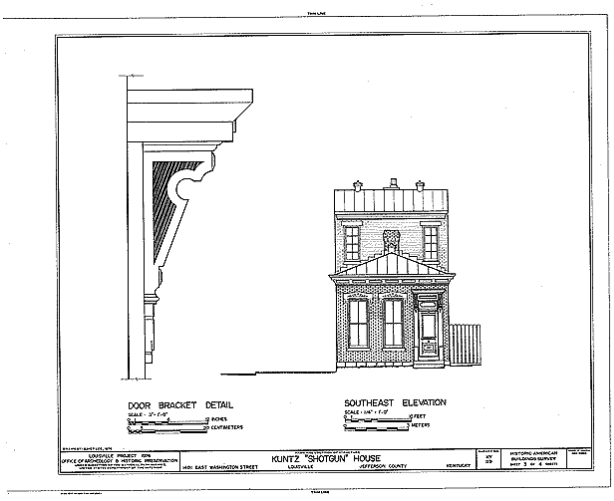
Our focus of this chapter is on vernacular forms, rather than architect-designed houses. If we identified what appeared to be shotgun houses in the older neighborhoods, we employed Google Earth

Street View (GSV) to capture images, which we enhanced.[206] Some Google images obtained by screen capture contain distortions which derive from the original digital imagery. You may notice small distortions on some of our examples, below. Our digital survey was augmented by field photos, taken by Dr. Edwards over the past thirty years or so in many towns in the eastern U.S. Other surveys, and particularly the HABS images and drawings were drawn upon when appropriate. We also paid particular attention to those older towns which showed no evidence of shotgun houses. This enabled us to draw the approximate limits of shotgun diffusion. For example, the shotgun is seldom found in towns of Indiana, Ohio, and West Virginia away from the Ohio River and its major tributaries.



Figures 7.8 - 7.9. The Kuntz Camelback, 1401 E. Washington Street, Louisville, KY. HABS Photo and measured plans.





Figures 7.10 - 7.11. HABS floorplan and façade elevation, Kintz Camelback, Louisville, KY. Note, this Camelback has a real basement.



Figure 7.12. 426 S. 18th Street, Louisville, KY. HABS Photo.



Figure 7.13. 608 S. 18th Street, Louisville. HABS photo. The décor is vaguely Italianate.



Figure 7.14. Louisville type shotguns, 157 Foote Ave, Bellevue, KY, Near Covington. GEPsc, 2017.

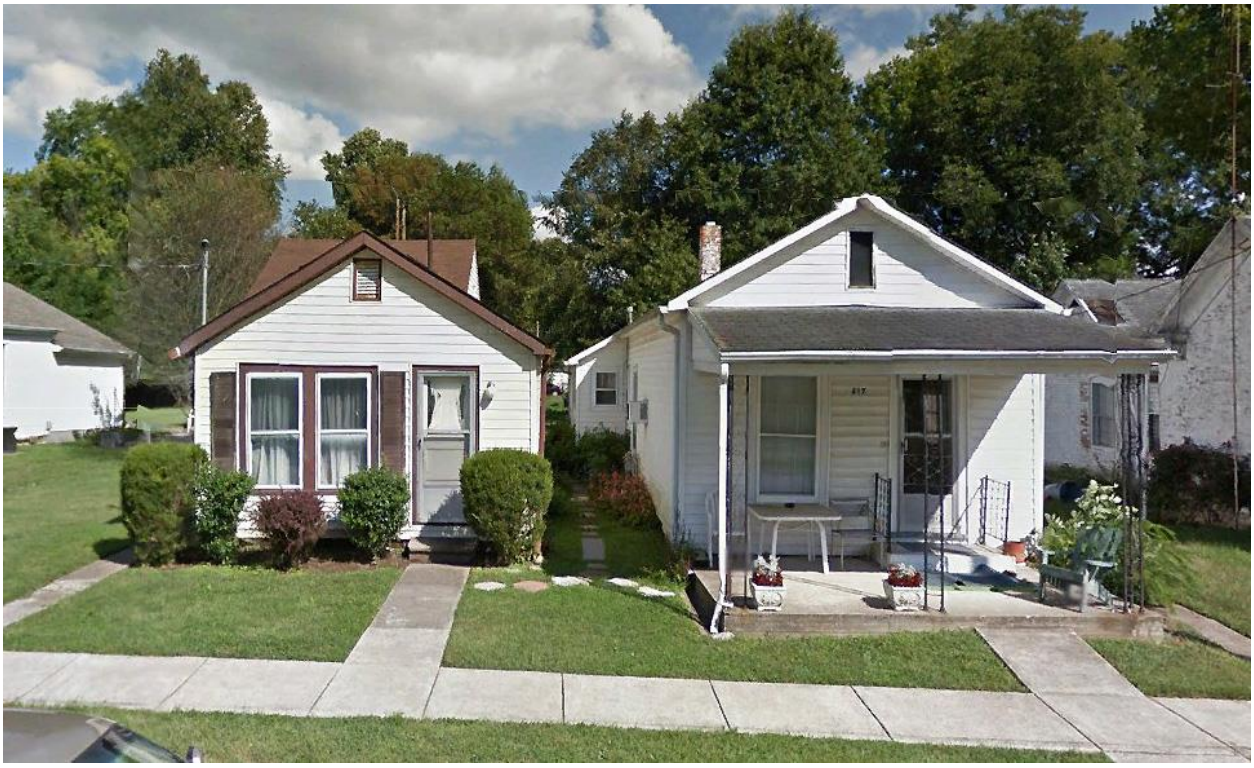


Figure 7.15. 415 6th Street, Carrolton, KY, on the Ohio River. GEPsc, 2017.



Figure 7.16. Bungalows at 613 Willow Street, New Richmond, OH, on the Ohio River. GEPsc, 2017.



Figure 7.17. A lone shotgun at 262 East 2nd Street, Cerido, West Virginia, on the Ohio River. This is about as far upstream on the Ohio River as we found traditional shotgun houses. GEPsc.



Figure 7.18 Row of railroad workers' houses in Scott's Run, West Virginia. Photo by Walker Evans courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress.[206]



Fig. 7.19. One of a row of workers' railroad houses in Cass, W.Va., a lumber company town, JDE Photo, 2007.

The shotgun house Single does not simply disappear in the North without something else taking its place. In the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth, there was a great demand for workers' houses. Across much of the northeastern U.S., railroad houses met this function. These were two-story family houses, only one room wide (Figs. 7.18, 7.19). They were linear kit houses, constructed by industries and set in rows and larger groupings, just as shotgun houses were in the South (Fig. 7.20). Another option was the house trailer or manufactured home. These became popular in the 1960s and later, and are very popular along the Ohio River north of Cerido, W.Va.

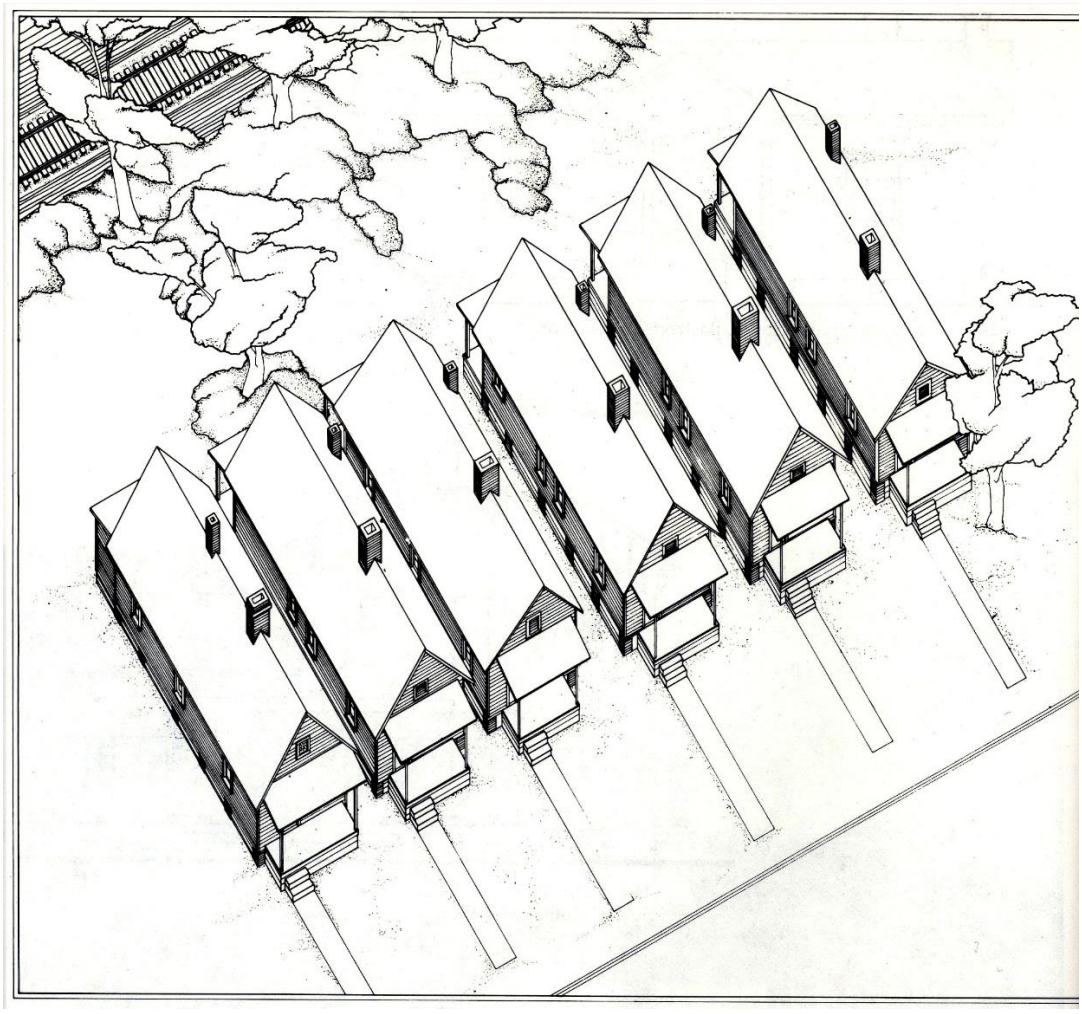


Fig. 7.20. Orange Grove, Chattanooga, TN, ca. 1888. Shotgun kit housing for industrial workers, typical of the South, 1885-1925. Drawing taken from Rifkind.[208]

The third wave of diffusion is associated with the industrialization of the United States, and the implantation of company town, between about 1880 and continuing through the 1920s. This was the

period of industrialization. Many manufacturers, miners, logging companies and other industries constructed company towns. From Virginia to Louisiana, the shotgun was a favored style for these developments (Fig. 7.20). Shotgun kits were delivered by the railroads and no longer were dependent upon water-born transport. The shotgun house diffused rapidly into many late nineteenth century towns which were developing industries.

Like the shotgun, other forms of mass-produced worker's houses were often only a single room wide, permitting single family houses to be stacked side-by-side on narrow lots in company towns. In Figure 7.18, we see a row of workers' houses in Scotts Run, a coal mining town served by the C&O Railroad in southern West Virginia. In Figure 7.19, rows of workers' houses in Cass, W.Va., have been restored as modern tourist accommodations. Cass was also serviced by a branch of the C&O Railroad. Railroad houses are common throughout the old company towns of West Virginia and Pennsylvania and beyond. They were popular along the routes of the railroads of the Appalachians -- the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Norfolk and Western, and the Virginian, and further north -- the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Pennsylvania.

Sometimes the shotgun was used for segregated housing for blacks, but many company town developments were not originally segregated. Residential segregation did not begin in many parts of the South until the last decade of the nineteenth century or the first decades of the twentieth. Shotguns in groups were also used for rental housing in developments meant for migrant workers and other working class laborers. The plans of surveyors and insurance company maps show the rapid development of multiple city blocks crowded with Linear Cottage forms. Farm mechanization led to increased urban migration. The new job markets attracted many former agricultural workers. The remains of such developments may be seen in towns across the South. Perhaps the majority of surviving shotgun houses derive from this period of industrialization.

The Bungalow Revolution

As the American economy improved throughout the 1920s, other forms of popular architecture began to replace the old Single shotgun. As one moves eastward from the Charlestown-Huntington area in southwest West Virginia through Beckley and the numerous old mining towns, the shotgun house disappears almost completely. In its place are bungalows. One, in particular, is popular. That bungalow does not appear to derive from the catalogs and kit forms which were so popular with aspiring home-owners of the period. Rather, this house has the floorplan of a Louisiana shotgun Double. Otherwise, it may appear to be identical to the popular architectural forms advertised through housing literature. The Louisiana style Double plan bungalow became increasingly popular following the First World War. Some forms are still being built today.

One prominent characteristic of the popular catalog and kit house bungalows of the 1910 – 1940 period is that they have non-symmetrical floorplans. The plans of popular (literature-based) bungalows across the country have been described in historical papers and analyzed in scientific papers.[209] This feature for all intents and purposes separates bungalow style residences into two different classes. Popular, architect and designer based bungalows are essentially all asymmetrical. Bungalows deriving from the New Orleans tradition of linear cottages are essentially all symmetrical in their plans (compare plans in Figs. 6.54 – 6.55 with the plans in Figs. 6.56 – 6.57).



Figure 7.21. Two of three neighboring bungalows at 304 Kissenger Street, Beckley, WVa. These bungalows appear to have symmetrical floorplans, like the Double shotguns of Louisiana. GEPsc.

As we pass further eastward into the Valley of Virginia, we find shotguns in certain neighborhoods of Roanoke and Winston-Salem, but they comprise only a very small proportion of the housing stock (Figs. 7.22 – 7.23). In general, it appears that across the South the vast majority of Single and Double shotgun houses and Double plan bungalow single residence houses have been replaced by more modern housing with better accommodations for water, plumbing, heating, and electricity. What we see in 2017 are minute vestiges of a housing stock once nearly dominant in African-American communities (Fig. 7.22). In certain places linear cottage revivals are under way, but these are geographically limited and few in number. The revivals are largely in formerly black neighborhoods, but in some cases whites have also taken up the gauntlet and constructed neo-shotguns of various forms.



Figure 7.22. A surviving row of shotgun Singles at 2124 Roanoke Ave, SW, Roanoke, VA. This was typical of African-American neighborhoods in Southern cities in the early twentieth century, but it has become increasingly rare in the Twenty First Century. GEPsc.



Figure 7.23. A rare Single shotgun in a mixed neighborhood, 542l Madison Ave. NW. Roanoke, VA. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.24. Salem, VA, had Black neighborhoods which contained a few traditional looking shotguns. Railroad worker's houses adapted to suburban living were a popular alternative. GEPsc.

North Carolina

In the towns of the North Carolina Tidewater, linear cottages are used almost entirely by blacks. One finds a wide variety traditional nineteenth and twentieth century house forms in the white neighborhoods, and at least a few varieties of shotgun houses and bungalows in the black neighborhoods. In Wilmington, neighborhoods are exclusively segregated. A substantial proportion of the houses of the black neighborhoods, such as Love Grove and Clarendon, have single-story shotguns and bungalows.

North Carolina is important because it marks the northern-most zone of shotgun house diffusion from the early decades of the twentieth century. Thanks to the research of Dr. Ruth Little and others, we know a good deal about the history of the African-American settlements and communities there. Across the South, before the turn of the twentieth century, whites and blacks lived together in mixed race communities with the blacks largely confined to service and laboring functions. Blacks lived, "on the alleys, in former slave quarters or in newer tenements." [210]

Little discusses four different kinds of residential patterns employed by or for African-Americans in the 1900 – 1930 decades. There was rental housing, often consisting of rows of shotgun Singles. This was the most populous form of African-American domestic residence. Little calls them "private rental ghettos." "Any house two rooms wide or two stories tall—because it therefore clearly departed from a shotgun—confirmed status within the black community." [211] There were also shantytowns -- the residuals of slave quarters -- and there were public housing projects. Rarest of all were the owner-occupied neighborhoods. These were the abodes of middle-class blacks, particularly businessmen, college professors, doctors and dentists, school teachers, successful ministers, and government employees. In total, the burgeoning black middle class made up only 2.5 percent of all employed blacks in the 1890 – 1910 decades.[212] This proportion would rise substantially as blacks and the descendants of free people of color played an increasingly larger role in the economics of the rapidly industrializing New South.

What kind of houses did middle class blacks adopt for their prestigious homes? According to Ruth Little, in the 1910s and 1920s economically independent blacks adopted "a mixture of cottages and larger Victorian and Craftsman dwellings.[213] In other words, while they rejected shotgun houses, they did

adopt Craftsman bungalows. The question which arises immediately from this observation is: “Were the designs of these bungalows the products of the popular literature with its asymmetrical plans, or were the plans of the new bungalows built by African-Americans,imitations of the traditional New Orleans bungaloid Doubles of the 1905 – 1930 period?” The latter would seem to indicate a vital and continuing strength of an African-American architectural vernacular across the South. The answer appears to be: “a bit of both.” In the African-American neighborhoods of the towns of North Carolina, there are numerous bungalows with symmetrical floor plans (Figs. 7.25, 7.27), but there also appear to be many that have had their plans altered towards the asymmetrical popular ideal. For example, bungalows with floorplans which permit a central front door flanked by two windows in the façade (Fig. 7.26, right side). These cottages appear to have asymmetrical plans with larger rooms on one side matched by smaller rooms on the other. Often, one enters a large front room which spans the width of the entire house. Clearly, this is a plan inspired ultimately by the popular Green and Green bungalows. Other local bungalows favor a double set of windows on one side of the façade, and a front door on the other. There are also Single bungalows which appear more closely linked to the older tradition of shotgun houses than to anything deriving from bungalow literature (Fig. 7.26, left side).

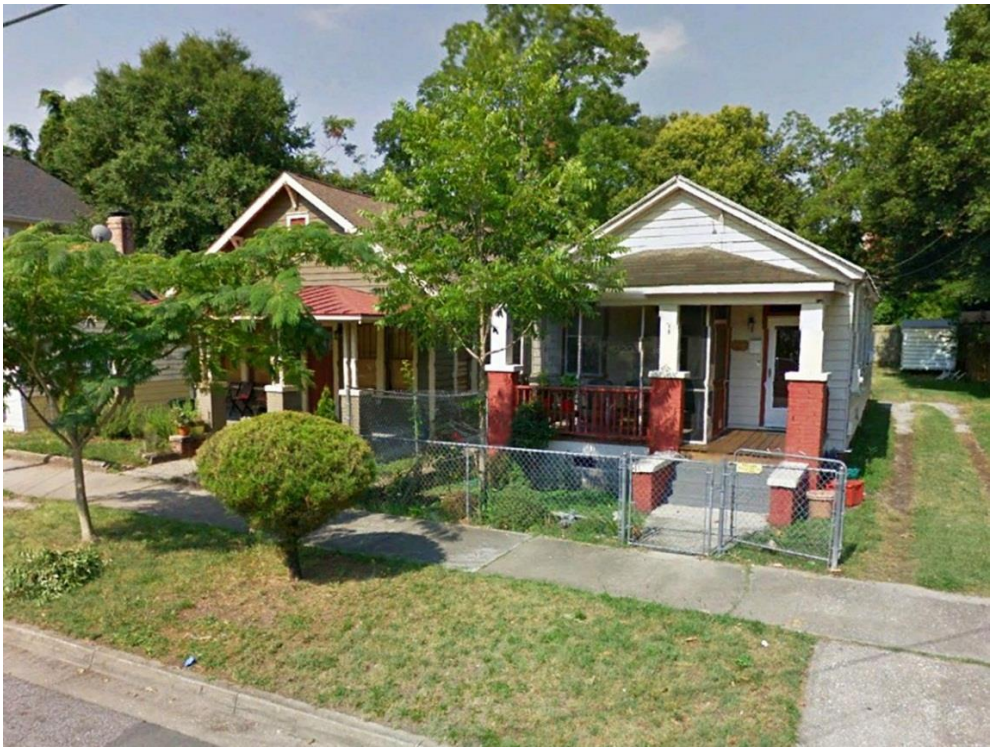


Fig. 7.25. Two bungaloid Doubles at 117 S. 8th Street, Wilmington, NC. These houses appear to have symmetrical plans, identical to those in New Orleans. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.26. A bungalow Single, and a Double with asymmetrical front room, 119 W. Freemason, Edenton, NC. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.27. A 1920s style New Orleans bungalow Double, updated in the 1950s. The kitchen is at the back. The floorplan is symmetrical. 2702 Fayetteville Street, Durham, NC. GEPsc.

The Raleigh-Durham area had substantial black neighborhoods, including middle class neighborhoods developed as early as the second decade of the twentieth century. Some of these retain traditional Single shotgun houses, mixed together with larger craftsman and other local vernacular types (Fig. 7.28). In addition, there are neo-bungalows and even neo-Camelbacks and other modern imitations of traditional linear cottage housing forms. More research needs to be directed at these resurrected forms of New Orleans vernacular linear cottages (Figs. 7.28 – 7.29). Clearly, a preference for both older and more modern forms of linear cottage has flourished in this area of North Carolina. A false oculus window or other design at the peak of the front gable seems to have become a symbol of the linear cottages of this area (Figs. 7.28, 7.29, 7.31).

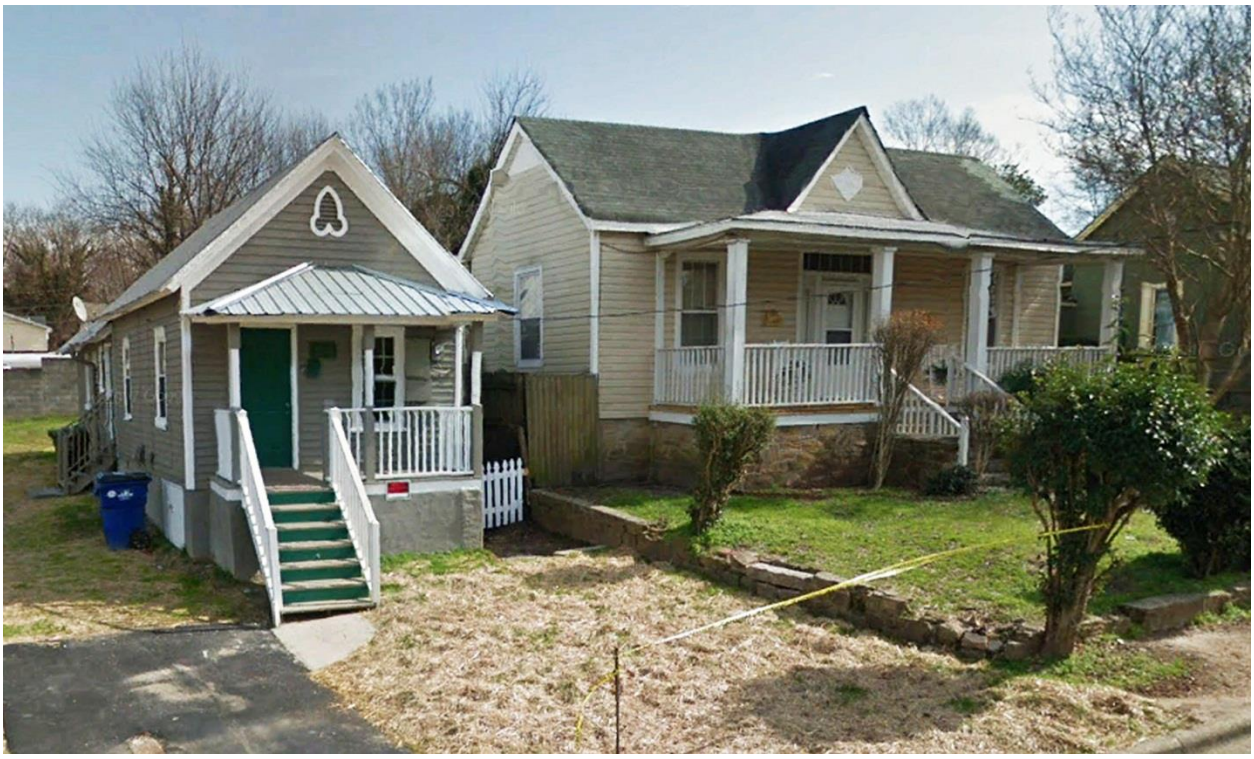


Fig. 7.28. A neo-shotgun Single and a traditional (Gothic Revival derived?) Southern house form in the 200 block of Heck Street, Raleigh, NC. Google Earth Pro screen capture.

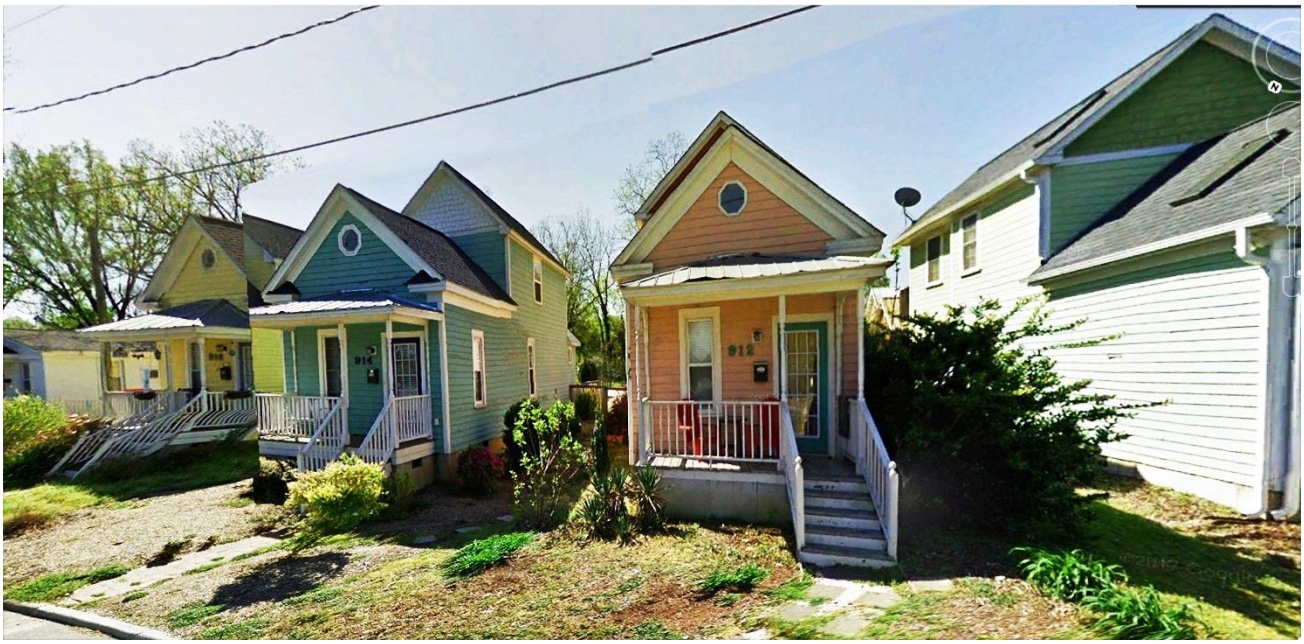


Fig. 7.29. A variety of neo-camelback Singles and Doubles, at 912-916 Oakwood Ave., Raleigh, NC. GEPsc.

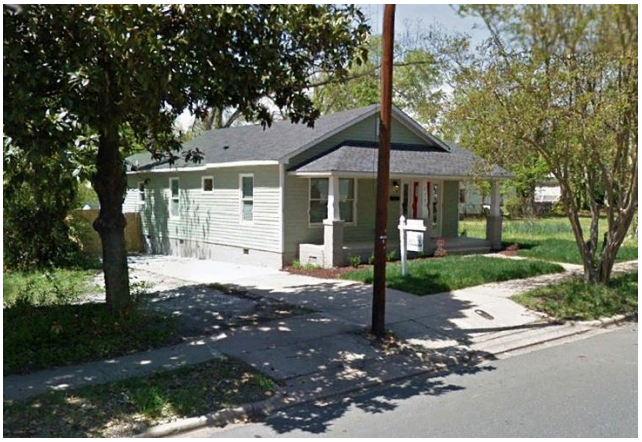


Fig. 7.30. A traditional 1920s style bungalow with symmetrical floor plan, 1300 block of S. Person, Street, Raleigh, NC. GEPsc.

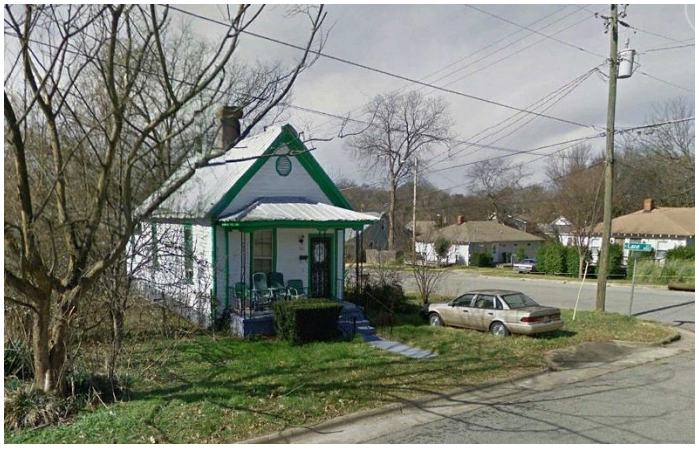


Fig. 7.31. A traditional steep-roofed Single shotgun at 217 Seawell Ave., Raleigh, NC. GEPsc.

In Raleigh, particularly, we find strong evidence of a fourth wave of Linear Cottage diffusion out of Louisiana. Raleigh is unusual in that it has incorporated the Single shotgun into its variety of neo-Linear Cottage forms. Here and elsewhere, New Orleans house forms are being copied and revitalized. This appears to be occurring mostly in growing Middle Class black communities. It is a subject which calls for more investigation.

South Carolina

South Carolina contains an abundance of linear cottages. It is clear that the shotgun entered the Tidewater area at a relatively early time in the nineteenth century. Previously, one of the densest collections of shotgun houses could be found in the so-called Northwest Quadrant of the historic coastal town of Beaufort. This African-American community had an area of roughly thirteen blocks east-west by seven blocks north-south. Before World War II it held numerous linear cottages. Since that time, urban renewal, local rebuilding and gentrification have eliminated nearly all of the original historic cultural landscape. Beaufort, a resort town, has been too prosperous for the lowly shotgun Single to survive. What remains for the most part are scattered post WWII bungalows, but there are a couple of unusual exceptions (Fig. 7.32). Queen Anne styling was popular across the South between ca. 1880 and 1910.[213] Although it was

not a particularly popular style in New Orleans, it was exceedingly popular during the Southern lumber booms across the South.



Fig. 7.32. A pair of very long and unusual Queen Anne style Single linear cottages with side galleries which, like the Single Houses of Charleston, function as the entrances. 809 Bladen Street, Beaufort, SC. Compare with Fig. 7. 5. GEPsc.

Between Virginia and South Carolina and westward into rural Louisiana, small Southern towns and cities are filled with neighborhoods of Queen Annes.[214] In the case of Beaufort, however, there is something unique. The two linear cottages depicted in Fig. 7.32 are amalgamations of Queen Anne Styling with the Linear Cottage floor plan mixed with the Charleston Single House plan. Aside from these, there remain only a few vestiges of what was once a thriving African-American cultural landscape (Fig. 7.33).



Fig. 7.33. Two "High" Singles (railroad workers' houses) located at 1709-1711 Prince Street in Beaufort, SC., modified for private ownership. GEPsc.

Charleston and the Low Country

Outside of New Orleans, Charleston, South Carolina, contains one of the densest concentrations of Linear Cottages anywhere in the United States. It is clear that the shotgun house arrived in Charleston at a comparatively early date, and that it received an enthusiastic reception there. In terms of the kinds of architecture favored, there seem to be three kinds of neighborhoods. Certain prosperous middle class African-American neighborhoods contain a variety of Double bungalows, some dating from the 1920s, others more recent including post WWII houses. Many of the bungalows are clearly based on the New Orleans style symmetrical plan. They range in size from modest to quite large and elegant:



Fig. 7.34. 8 Poplar Street, Charleston. A pair of Double plan bungalows. GEPsc.

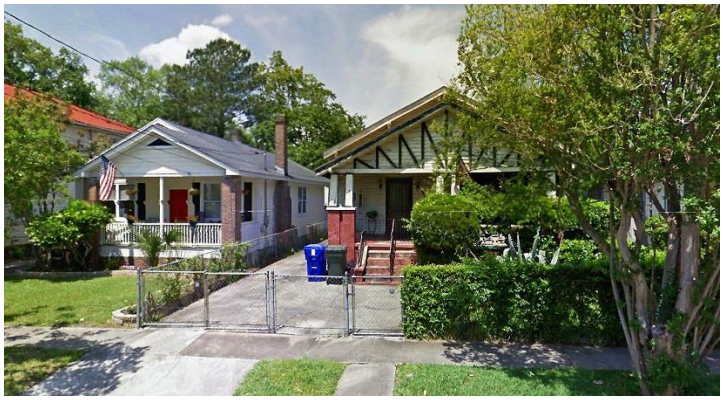


Fig. 7.35. 44 Poplar Street, Charleston. Double plan bungalows GEPSC.

Larger and more elegant bungalows are mixed together with the smaller vernacular forms. These appear to be entirely consistent with the plans published in the 1920s and 1930 by Sears, Roebuck and other vendors of kit houses (Fig. 7.36).[215] Bungalows of the same size, however, are clearly influenced by traditions such as the symmetrical floorplan bungalows of the New Orleans. (Fig. 7.37).

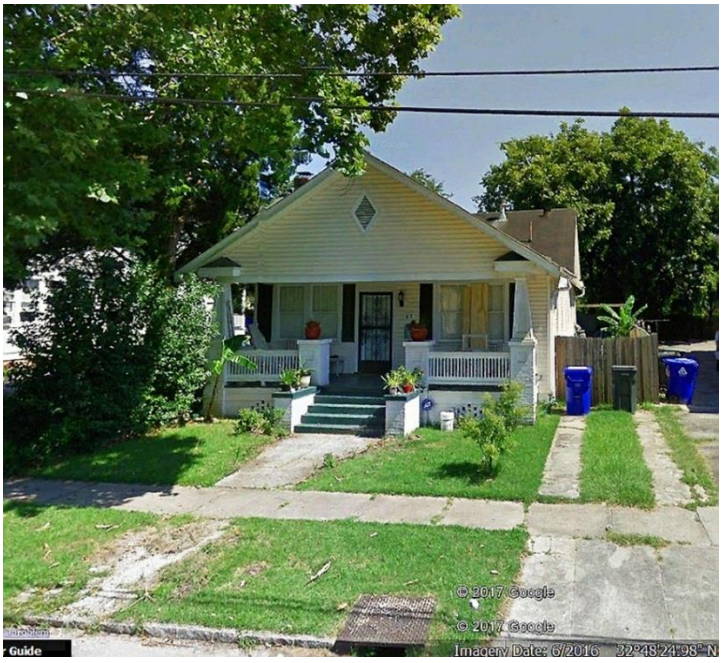


Fig. 7.36. A large and elegant bungalow with a central front door, indicating a floorplan consistent with the popular literature on Bungalow houses. All of these kit houses had central front doors. This house is located at 8 Poplar Street, Charleston, SC. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.37. Bungaloid houses located at 7 Poplar Street, in North Charleston. The bungalow on the left has a symmetrical floorplan like the Doubles of New Orleans. It is in the style of the Sears, "Plymouth," from the 1933 – 1937 catalogs. In New Orleans, Linear Cottages with hip roof-mounted dormers are much more often associated with Colonial Revival and Neoclassical, than with bungaloid styles. GEPsc.

The second and least common type of Charleston linear cottage neighborhood is one in which there are survivals of the old slavery era rental units built to house African-Americans. It is these neighborhoods which once held row upon row of tiny and poorly serviced shotgun houses. One must look long and hard in 2017 Charleston to find the vestiges of these traditions, now almost entirely disappeared (Fig. 7.38a-7.38b).



Fig. 7.38a. A row of three two-room deep Single shotgun houses at 3, Miranda Holmes Street, Charleston, SC. GEPsc.

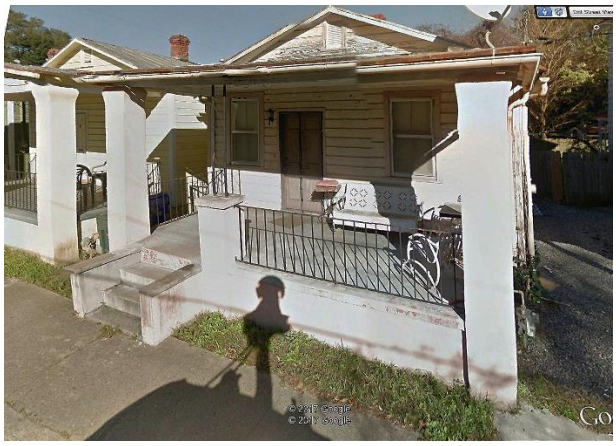


Fig. 7.38b. Façade of the unit on the far right side of This tiny shotgun row. These houses probably survive From a larger rental project of the early 20th century. GEPscs.

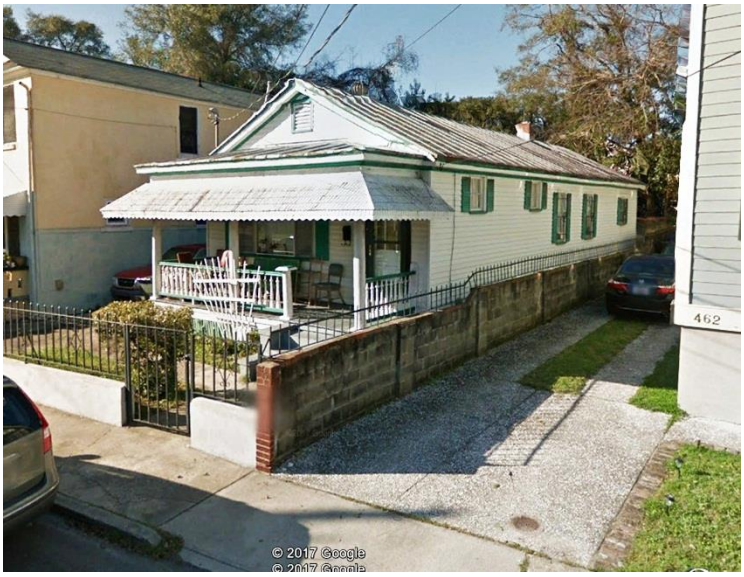


Fig. 7.39. 462 Race Street, Charleston, SC. A bungaloid Double in a rare zone of surviving Single and Double Linear Cottages. This house is around the corner from those pictured immediately above. GEPsc.

The third kind of Linear Cottage-rich community lies closer to Market Street and the old colonial center of Charleston. This is the area where "Single houses" and "Double houses" abound. In *this* case, the "Singles" and "Doubles" are *local* vernacular names which refer to traditional two and three story Charleston colonial houses. They do not refer to shotgun houses, nor are they related to linear cottages (sorry for the terminological confusion!).

"Double houses" are larger, with their roof ridges parallel to the street. They are two rooms deep and often have broad "double piazzas" spanning their fronts (Fig. 7.40). Many lots, however, were laid out as half-lots, only about 40 to 50 feet in width. "Single houses" were designed to fit on these deep, narrow lots. "Single houses" date from the mid-eighteenth century, or earlier. They have been described in considerable detail: "The Single House, more than any other Charleston building type, remains the urban dwelling that distinguishes the city's architectural character."[216] "A Charleston Single House is a separate, multi-story dwelling one room wide and three across [deep] including a central entrance and stair hall. It typically, but not necessarily, has its narrow end to the street, a piazza along one of the longer sides, and back wall chimneys.[217] All of this is important here

because it is the Charleston “Single House” which explains a special form of linear cottage which characterizes entire neighborhoods, but not those where “Single houses abound” (Figs. 7.41 – 7.43).



Fig. 7.40. Primrose Double house, Charleston, SC. The “double piazza” is a two-story tall gallery. This house appears to date from the era of popularity of Greek Revival architecture. HABS photo, 147315pv.jpg.



Fig. 7.41. 60 Meeting Street, a raised three-story Charleston Single house. The grander mansions are Dressed in Greek Revival trim. The piazza or entrance porch is an element added later to an earlier porchless house type. The false-front entrance-end of the piazza is often capped with vertical panel. HABS photo.



Fig. 7.42. A typical middle class Single house residence. The plan consists of two rooms separated by an entrance /stair hall in the middle. The parlor and perhaps an office or dining room are situated on the ground floor. The piazza is covered with its own shed roof, separate from the main roof of the house. GEPsp.

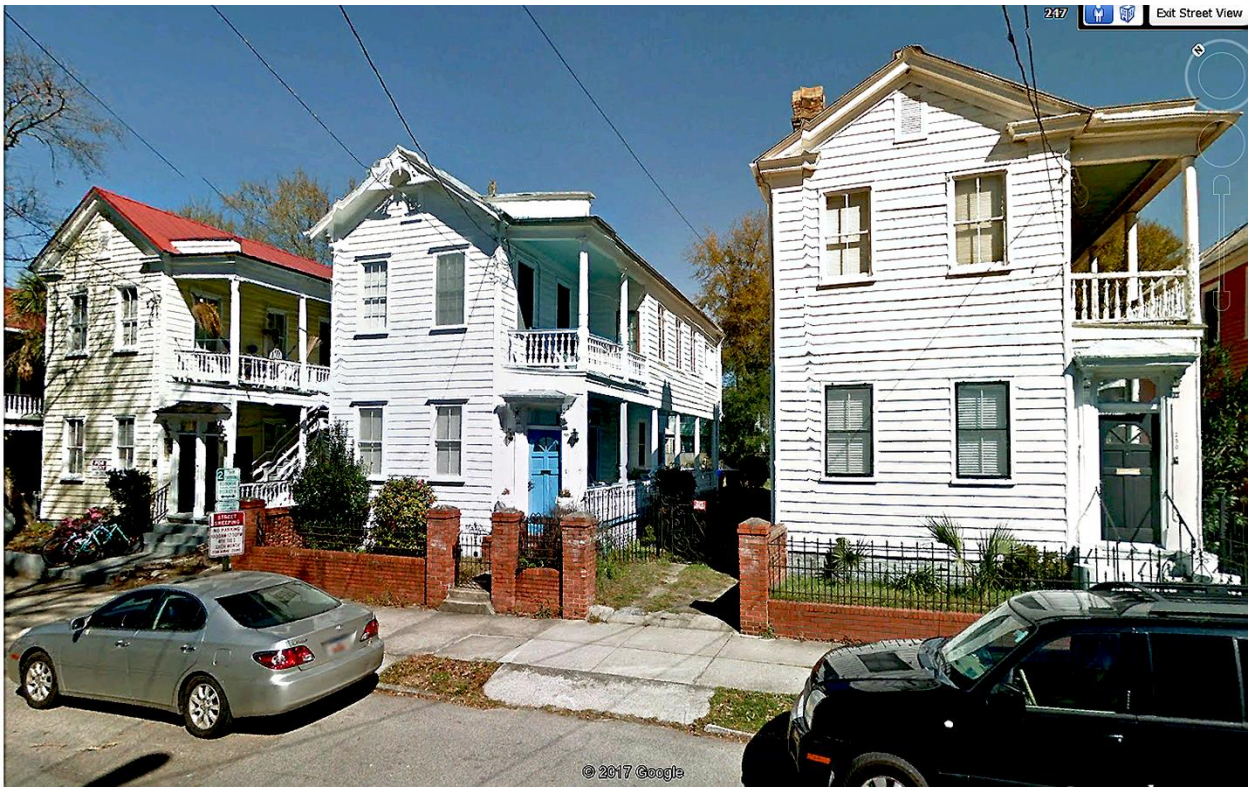


Fig. 7.43. Part of a row of modest Single Houses, 247 Astley Ave. Smaller single houses are very common in middle and lower middle class Charleston neighborhoods. The earliest examples sport Italianate or Greek Revival trim and appear to be Antebellum. GEPsc.

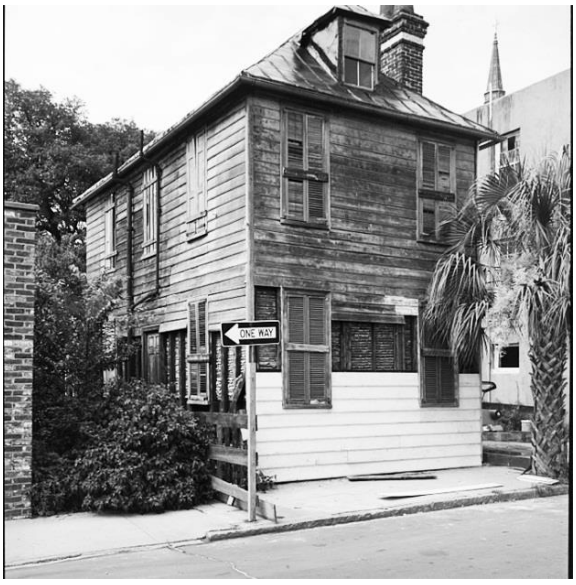


Fig. 7.44. 54 Queen Street. A ca. 1760 dwelling and workshop. This proto-Single house also had a side entrance, but apparently no Piazza. HABS photo.

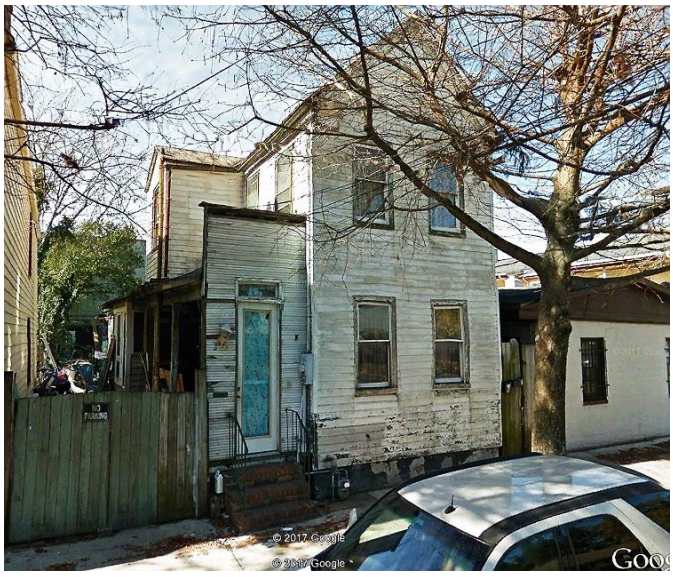


Fig. 7.45. 23 America Street. A 2-story Single house with a single-story side entrance piazza. The false-front doorway with its razed privacy panel is common on side-piazza houses. GEPsc.

There appears to be no special name for the Charleston type of Linear Cottage which plays the same role in Charleston as the shotgun house does in New Orleans. The house is considered so unimportant that not one example of it exists in the on-line HABS files housed in the Library of Congress. Yet, there are hundreds of these interesting houses scattered around Charleston.

Like the shotgun Single, the Charleston Linear Cottage is one room wide and several rooms deep. It is a side-piazza house with an open lateral gallery running down the entrance side (Figs. 7.46, 7.47). Historically, the piazza is an addition, almost always covered with a shed roof that laps up onto the main roof of the house. Only rarely is the piazza integrated under the main roof (Fig. 7.48). As in the "Single house," there is no front door opening from the street into the front room of cottage. One enters the piazza through a false front door attached to one side of the façade. It, in turn, opens onto the piazza. Just as with the "Single house," the main entrance to the interior of the house is part way down the piazza, ususally towards the middle of the house (Figs. 7.46 - 7.49).



Fig. 7.46. 317 Ashley Ave. Charleston, NC. A small side piazza Single plan linear cottage without piazza door. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.47. 400 Sumpter Street, Hampton Park Terrace, A small side piazza Single plan linear cottage with piazza door. The raised panel above the piazza entrance door is an oft-repeated motif. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.48. Typical street scenes with side piazza Single Linear Cottages. 6 Larnes Street, Hampton Park Terrace. Charleston SC. Note the piazza is integrated under The main roof of the house. GEPsc.

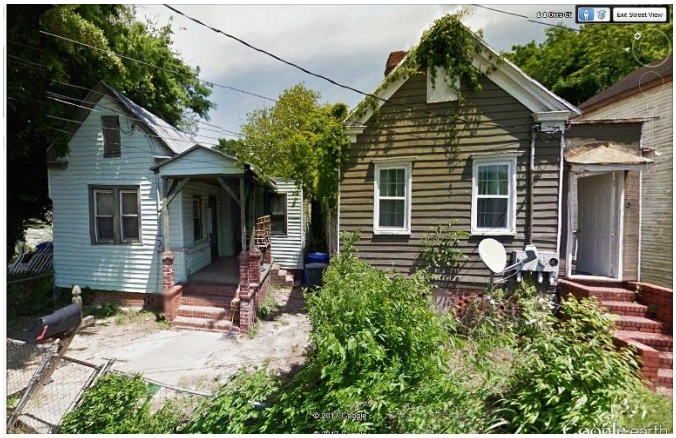


Fig. 7.49. 22 Orrs Court, Hampton Park Terrace, Charleston, SC. Two side piazza Singles. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.50. 14 Killians Street, Hampton Park Terrace, Charleston, SC. A side piazza Single plan linear cottage with bungaloid and Classical Revival elements. This doorway style is repeated in other houses. The partially-enclosed piazza is a typical modification. GEPsc.

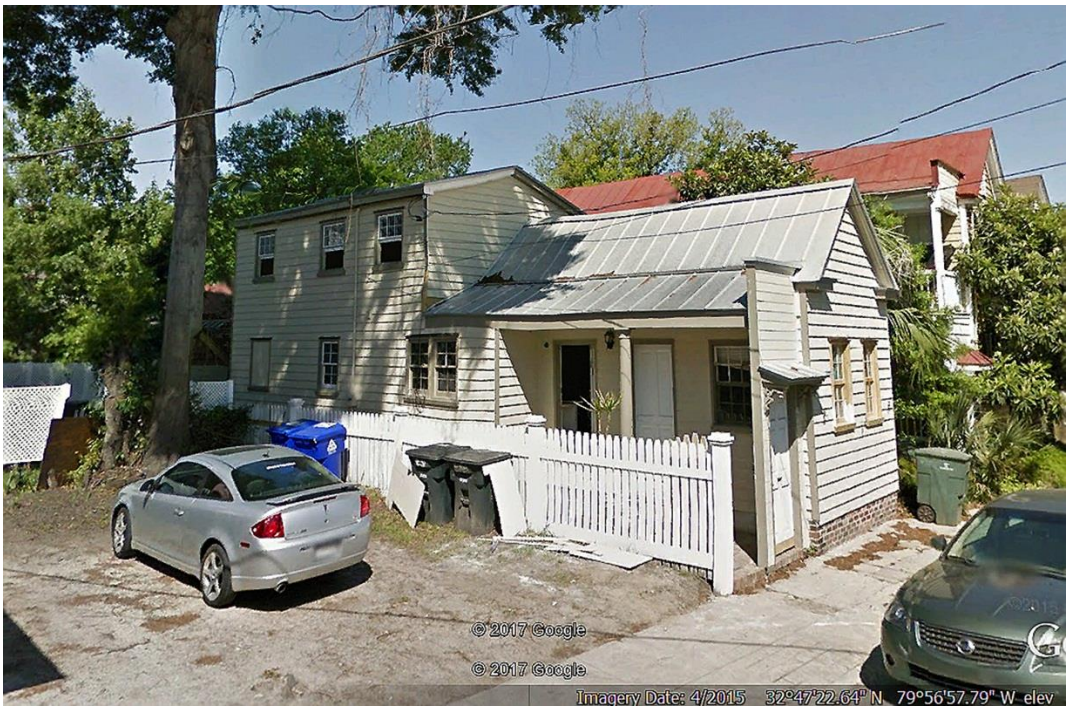


Fig. 7.51. A side piazza Single plan house with a modest Camelback expansion. Camelback additions are fairly common on these houses. The address not available. GEPsp.

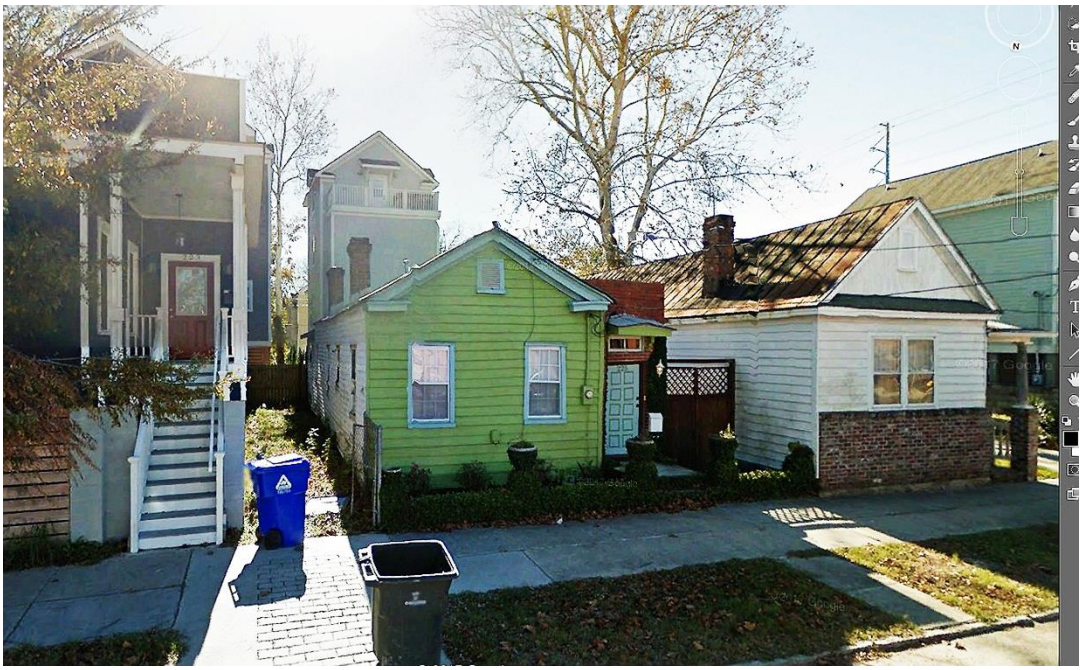


Fig. 7.52. 225 Fishburn Street, Hampton Park Court, Charleston SC. A mega-Camelback addition to a side piazza Single. GEPsc.

Many hundreds of side-piazza Single linear cottages are found across mostly lower middle class black neighborhoods of Charleston. The Charleston side piazza linear cottage is decorated in all of the popular architectural styles common to other forms of vernacular houses including Greek Revival, Italianate and bungaloid (Figs. 7.48 – 52). As we have seen, it is even sometimes dressed in Queen Anne, which the New Orleans shotgun house never seems to be (Fig. 7.32).

The Charleston linear cottage house comes in many sizes and it enjoys many kinds of modifications, such as partially enclosed piazzas, rear lateral wing additions and Camelback expansions similar to those in New Orleans (Figs. 7.51 – 7.52). Some examples are raised four to five feet above grade (Fig. 7.52, left side). The origins of this variety of camelback remain to be investigated. The question most relevant to our present discussion is: "Was the Charleston side piazza entrance linear cottage influenced by the New Orleans shotgun tradition?"

The degree to which occurred remains unclear. Side-gallery entrances do exist in several varieties of New Orleans vernacular houses. The closest analogy seems to be found in the rather rare and fast disappearing side gallery 3-bay Single Creole cottage. These were popular ca. 1835 – 1860 (Figs. 7.53 – 7.54). They appear to have been an architectural experiment with narrow lots (Fig. 7.55). Entrance to the New Orleans side--gallery Creole Cottage and the Charleston side-piazza linear cottage are identical. One first enters a front door at one side of the cottage. The door opens onto a covered gallery, open to the air. Each first floor interior room is then accessed through a separate door on the covered gallery or piazza. The New Orleans cottage is a 1½ story house with loft bedrooms, while the Charleston linear cottage is only a single story in height. The advantage of the side gallery/piazza arrangement is that the single room wide linear cottage is better ventilated because the windows and doors on the gallery may be opened to create cross ventilation through the rooms of the interior.



Fig. 7.53. A 3-bay half Creole cottage with side gallery-entrance, 1217 Kelerac Street, in the 7th ward, New Orleans. JDE Photo, 2015.



Fig. 7.54. The Bozant-Hart house, 615 Erato Street, New Orleans, A 3-bay, *briquetté-entre-poteaux* house, ca. 1836. This house is no longer extant. JDE survey photo, 1981.

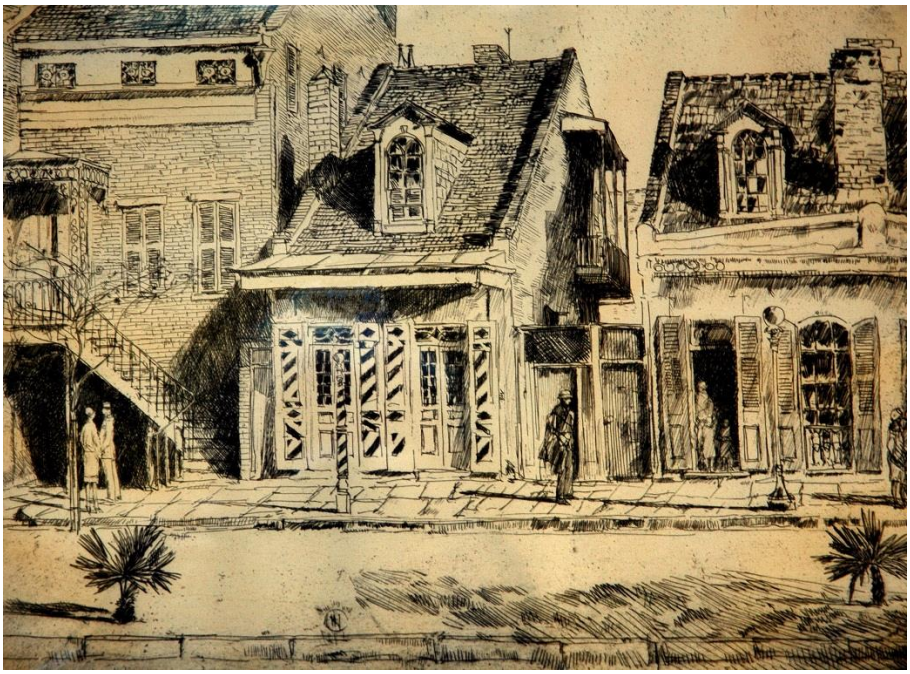


Fig. 7.55. The 2-bay half Creole cottage at 830 Rampart Street, a lithograph by Childe Hassam, ca. 1925. Image courtesy the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress.

The un-galleried New Orleans 2-bay half Creole cottage (Fig. 7.55) appears to bear the same ancestoral relationship to its side-galleried 3-bay cousin, as the ungalleried 2-bay Charleston Single house (Fig. 7.44) had to its 3-bay side-piazza variant in the nineteenth century. Both 2-bay forms of vernacular

house may have evolved into the 3-bay side gallery/side piazza variants at about the same time, that is, during the Antebellum or Greek Revival period.[218] It appears that there was a shared desire to enhance smaller linear house forms in both cities with open side porches. All of this raises more questions than can be answered until some curious student of historic urban vernacular architecture takes up a comparative study of the linear cottages of the two cities.

There is another cogent comparison with cottages of New Orleans. As we described above, by 1830 or before, free women of color in New Orleans had popularized the side-gallery shotgun house.[219] The side gallery provided access to rental rooms at the rear of the cottage on the long-narrow lots of New Orleans. One of the popular rental forms of shotgun house resulting from the "Landlady Effect," is the 3-bay side gallery form, which bears a close resemblance to the Charleston side-piazza linear cottage (Figs. 7.56 – 7.57). Was rental space a motivation for the creation of the Charleston side-piazza?

One substantial difference exists between the Charleston and New Orleans linear cottages. In New Orleans, owners preferred to insert a small lobby room immediately behind the front door to the gallery. These rooms were only the width of the gallery itself, and were used as stopping and greeting places, according to residents. Some houses did not have the lobby room, just a door opening to the gallery. Another difference is that in the New Orleans linear cottage, the gallery is always under the main roof of the house, not under a shed added to the side. Thus, although 3-bay side passage linear cottages are common in both cities, the forms may well be independent and locally developed.



Fig. 7.56. A 3-bay side-gallery linear cottage at 519 Flood Street in Holy Cross, New Orleans. Note the series of doors along the side gallery. HDLC Survey photo, 1995.



Fig. 7.57. A 3-bay side gallery shotgun house at 2332 St. Louis Street, New Orleans. A Caldwell photo Courtesy of the Historic New Orleans Collection.

A real possibility for the origin of the side-piazza linear cottage of Charleston is that it is simply a single-story reduction of the standard small Single house, without any undue outside influence on its development. Alternately, stimulus diffusion may be in part responsible. If so, it will be necessary to determine just when the earliest forms of the Charleston side piazza linear cottage developed. The New Orleans single shotgun may be dated to the first decade of the nineteenth century. One room wide, two story tall dwellings appear to have been quite common in Charleston since colonial times, and may well be models for the Charleston side-piazza Single. Only future research will resolve these questions.

Savannah, GA is another old coastal town which has supported a shotgun tradition. Savannah has black neighborhoods which appear to have developed in the 1930s and then again, after World War II. Their houses are a combination of ranch style, Queen Anne, bungalows, and other types. There are a few shotgun singles, including a few newly built versions (Fig. 7.58). In Savannah, we find pretty much the same kinds of development as in the other southern cities we have discussed. For example, pre-World War II bungalows with symmetrical floorplans are very common. However, Savannah seems to favor a bungalow style which has an added porch or front addition which is slightly less wide than the house itself (Figs. 7.59, 7.62).



Fig. 7.58. A neo-shotgun single on the edge of the historic district, Savannah, GA. JDE photo, 2007.



Fig. 7.59. 3206 Steven Street. A bungalow with a Double plan and an added half front porch. This pattern of porch addition is common in Savannah. GEPsc.

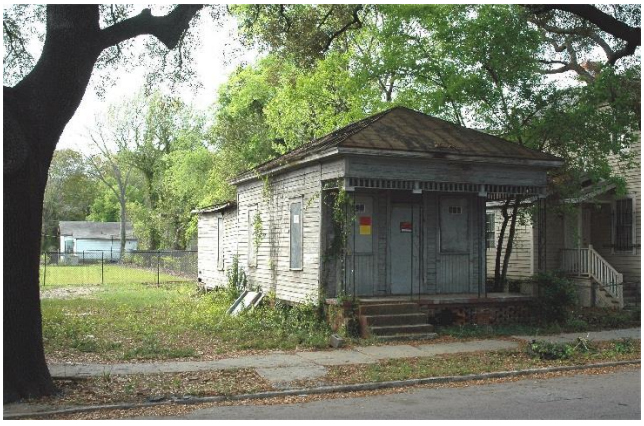


Fig. 7.60. An abandoned 1930s shotgun on MLK Drive, Savannah, GA. JDE photo, 2007.



Fig. 7.61. A bungalow at 2120 Harden Street in the Cuyler-Brownsville neighborhood, Savannah, GA GEPsc.



Fig. 7.62. 2507 Harden Street, Cuyler-Brownsville, Savannah, GA. A Single shotgun with a front addition, and a row of bungalow Doubles in an older black neighborhood. GEPsc.

Conclusions to Chapter 7.

As you must be by now, painfully aware, we could continue our sampling of shotgun and bungalow style houses across the nation, almost indefinitely. Shotguns are abundant in many places which we cannot touch upon due to limitations of space and time. They are particularly abundant, for example, in Mobile, AL, Natchez, MS, Galveston. Houston, and Port Arthur, TX, and in Pensacola and Jacksonville, FL.[220] Hundreds of linear cottages including singles, many bungalows and Doubles, line the streets of Galveston. Most of these were built after the great Galveston hurricane of 1900 (Fig. 7.63). Its storm surge reduced much of the city to a sea of broken timber and detritus. Images of the damaged city show wrecked bungalows and shotguns, most which did not survive the hurricane. All pre-hurricane linear cottages houses were built of wood and many closely resembled forms found in New Orleans. Today, a modest neo-shotgun revolution celebrating its vernacular architectural past is under way in Galveston (Fig. 7.64).



Fig. 7.63. Shotgun doubles destroyed in the hurricane of September 8, 1900 in Galveston, TX. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

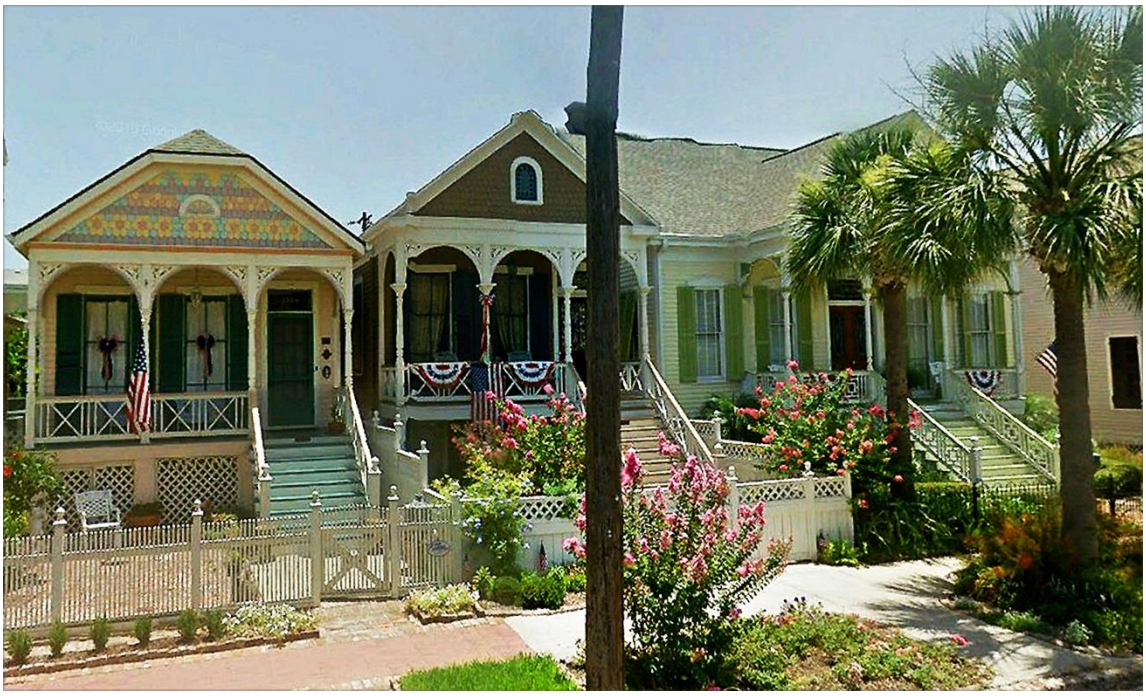


Fig. 7.64. 3 bay neo-bungalows at 1712 Avenue H, Galveston, TX. 2017. GEPsc.

So what, exactly, may we conclude from our woefully incomplete Google Earth survey of the shotgun houses of the cities of the eastern United States? The trouble is that no one has ever studied its North American geographical distribution. Neither has the process of diffusion received much academic attention. Here, in a very preliminary way, we have been exploring a better way to begin these studies. Admittedly, none of our observations is conclusive and all need to be confirmed by better research, such as that undertaken here by co-author Gabriele Richardson in her chapter on the evolution of Linear Cottage variants in New Orleans. As good as Google Earth is, it is no substitute for ground truth. So, recognizing that this exercise is preliminary and that the evidence is thin, there are, perhaps, still some important observations which ought to be raised.

One is that the initial hypothesis that the shotgun house diffused out of New Orleans in several waves appears to be confirmed, but that it needs to be expanded. There are at least five different kinds of linear cottage emplacements in towns and cities across the United States east of the Rockies and south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Each of these has its own history and each should be considered for preservation

and restoration in light of its particular fit with the history of the African-American communities of which it is a larger part. These types are sometimes found together, such as in the remaining buildings of North Memphis, TN. New Orleans has survivals of most of them. We will touch on North Memphis as a good example of the role of the New Orleans in influencing the cultural landscapes of African-American communities throughout much of the nation. Our preliminary candidates for recognition are:

1. **Survivals of Antebellum residences from plantations and urban locations**. What remains of Antebellum slave quarters houses has pretty much been incorporated into open-air and plantation museums. Some few examples remain in private hands. The majority of those in Louisiana are of the Creole cottage variety, with very few linear cottages remaining. A few which survived into the 1970s on private properties are now long gone:



Fig. 7.65. A former plantation tenant house or quarters house in Sunshine, LA, Iberville Parish, left bank. JDE photo, ca. 1970.



Fig. 7.66. A quarters house in rural Louisiana Photographed by Mugnier, ca 1900, courtesy the Louisiana State Museum.

2. **Antebellum diffusion undertaken by displaced free people of color**. Archival research and numerous suits of succession on shotgun houses in many old river towns would be required to demonstrate the veracity of this class of Shotgun house. We have previously seen some claimed to be in this category (Figs. 7.1. 7.2). It may be that a type -- the steep-roofed Single shotgun from the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys -- survives as a vestige of Antebellum times (Figs. 7.5, 7.7, 7.14).

3. **Postbellum rental and industrial workers' neighborhoods: 1870 to 1825 or later**. Densely packed rows of shotgun houses do survive in many places in the South. They derive from the Great Shotgun Rebuilding which occurred during the Jim Crow era in the South. They were corporate and governmental projects in which dozens or hundreds of shotguns were erected as "suitable housing" for black workers. Many of the houses were eventually sold off to black families as private residences, after which they underwent a processes of individualization, as described in books such as Stewart Brand's *How Buildings Learn* (Fig. 7.67).[221]

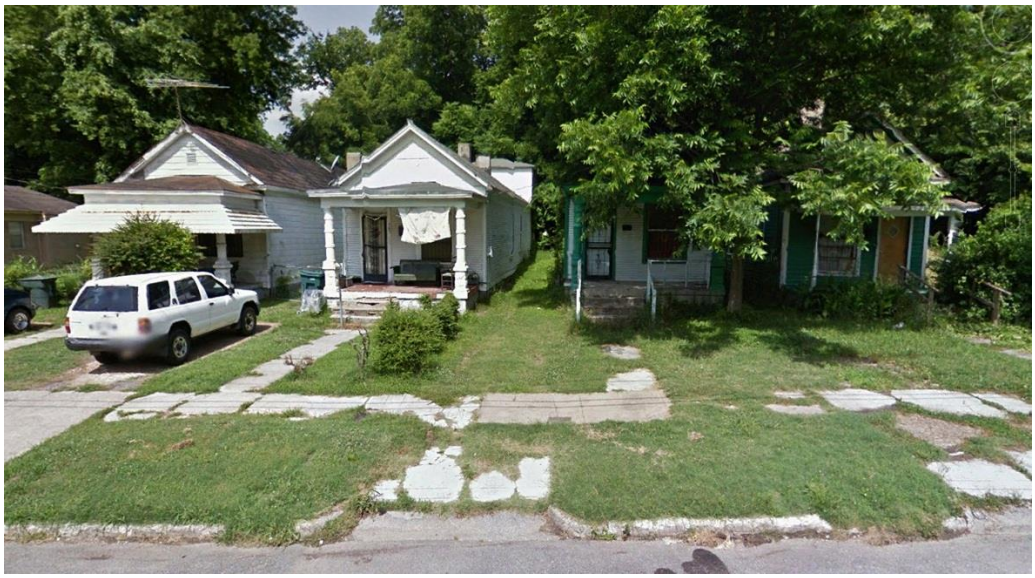


Fig. 7.67. Portion of a row of individualized, privately owned 1920s Singles in North Memphis, TN. GEPsc.

These neighborhoods may have been built for industrial developments, or privately by white developers and land owners to accommodate urban migration of rural black plantation workers in or around cities. Industrial developments, such as the opening of oilfields in East Texas, lead to groups of kit shotguns being built together.[222] Emplacements of the 1920 decade often were composed of rows of small bungalow doubles. Some Postbellum rental neighborhoods have been restored and returned to use. One of the largest of these projects is (was?) in Houston, TX, where some of the original houses also stand (Figs. 7.68, 7.69).

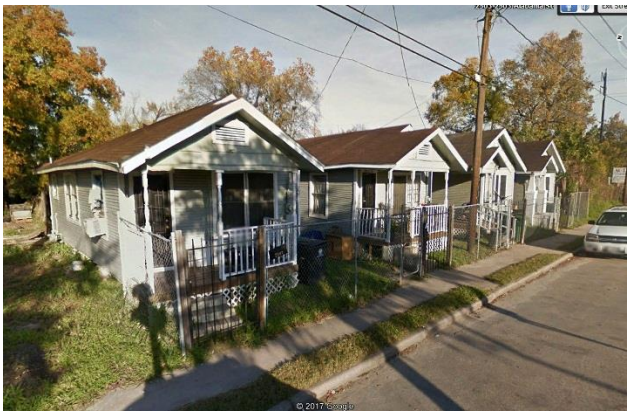


Fig. 7.68. 2503 Alabama St., Houston, TX. A row of Single shotguns, once part of a rental project for African-American laborers. GEPsc.

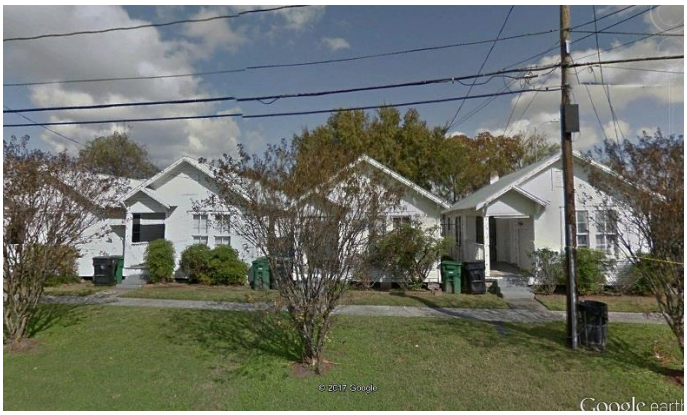


Fig. 7.69. 2498 Holman St., Houston, TX. A row of renovated 3-bay bungalows in the same project and neighborhood as those shown in Fig. 7.68. GEPsc.

4. **Bungalow neighborhoods -- urban working class neighborhoods, ca. 1920-1940.** In many cities in the South and Midwest, urban blacks found steady employment and joined the ranks of (mostly lower middle class) wage-earners. They were able to build modest houses in black neighborhoods. Sometimes these homes imitated those of the local white workers, including kit house and catalog house bungalows (asymmetrical floor plans). But often blacks selected a form right out of the African-American tradition of New Orleans. These were bungalow Doubles with symmetrical plans and the appearance of New Orleans black neighborhoods. Many of these house forms survive in old black neighborhoods across the South. Rather than the closely-packed rows of matching house forms, these houses show considerable individuality. They were designed and built by individual local builders, or by groups of the families of the owners. They represent a desire to leave behind the Single shotgun, a symbol of poverty and powerlessness for many southern blacks. Importantly, they also represent the very substantial tradition of cooperative house raising practiced by large numbers of African-Americans, everywhere.

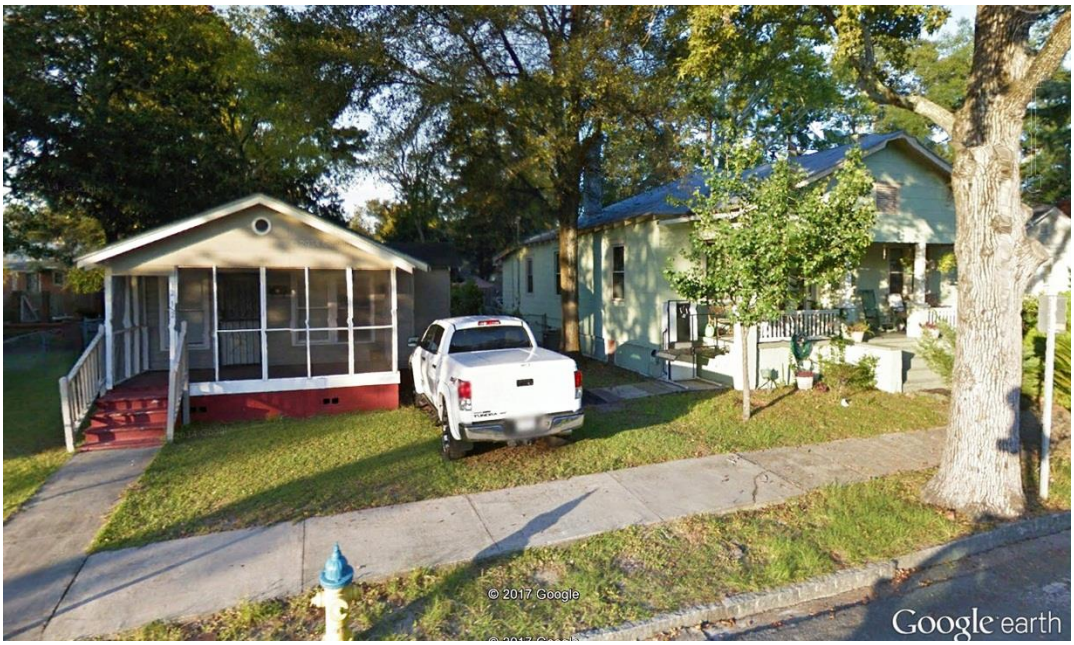


Fig. 7.70. Part of a row of bungalows at 2507 Harden Street in the Cuyler-Brownsville neighborhood, Savannah, GA.

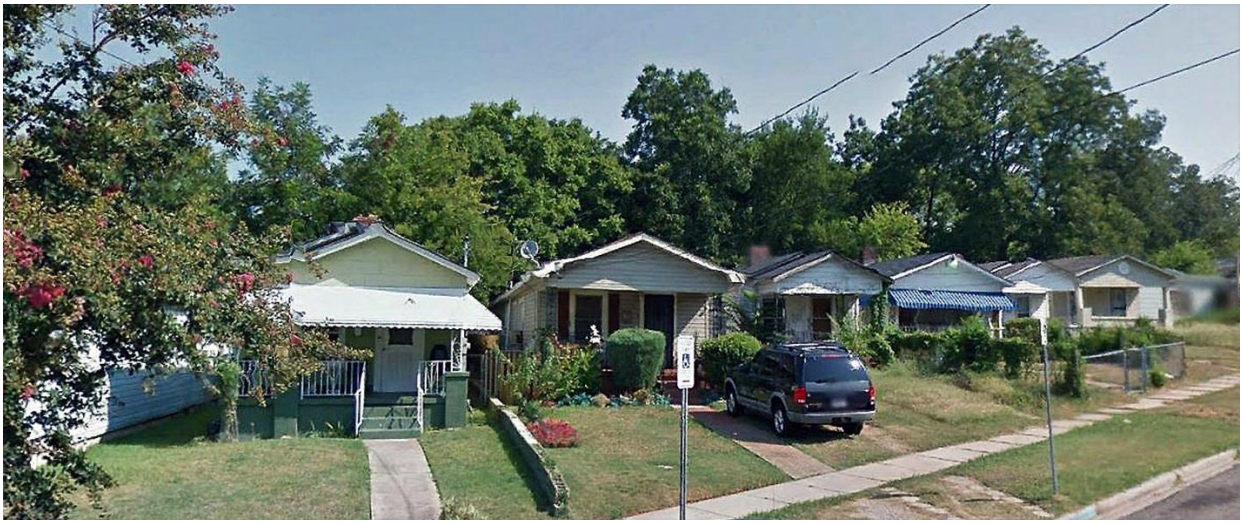


Fig. 7.71. A row of New Orleans style bungalow Doubles and Singles on 11th street in Birmingham, AL. These houses date mostly from the 1930s. GEPsc.

5. **Middle Class Bungalow neighborhoods.** Beginning in the 1930s, or earlier, certain neighborhoods were developed for middle class blacks with reliable sources of income. Developers sometimes built groups of spec houses in such neighborhoods, but rather than functioning as rentals, they were mostly sold to blacks who could acquire mortgages. These

houses range from vernacular forms to kit and catalog homes. They became increasingly popular following World War II, when the G.I. Bill helped many former military personnel purchase houses in what would become smaller, African-American versions of Levittown. These neighborhoods and their architecture represented another step up on the socio-economic ladder. Signs of the influence of professional designers, if not personal architects, are apparent. Specific design elements helped to distinguish this architecture from the more traditional and unadorned variety of bungalows. Construction of special bungalow type houses continues through the present day in many black neighborhoods. It is also typical in these neighborhoods to find rows of similar houses, often erected by contractors.



Fig. 7.72. 270 Kern Place, northeast Knoxville, TN. These houses are catalog-derived bungalows with asymmetrical floor plans. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.72. 988 N. Manassas Street, North Memphis, TN. An emplacement of bungalow Doubles with added front porches.

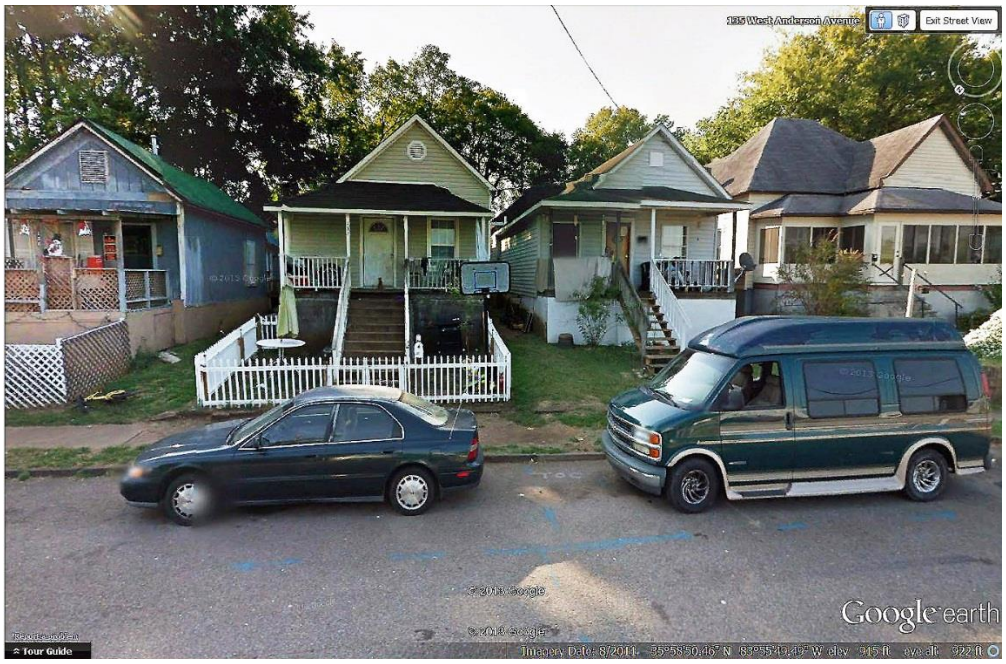


Fig. 7.73. 135 W. Anderson Ave., Knoxville, TN. Recent neo-bungalows are mixed together with older Queen Anne and other traditional nineteenth century forms. GEPsc.

In many older Southern black neighborhoods, it is common to find new popular and even architect-designed houses mixed together with older forms (Figs. 7.73 – 7.74). The architectural diversity of these mixed neighborhoods exemplifies the rise of the black middle class from traditional to specially designed houses. Rather than disparaging the older and less elegant forms, perhaps they should be valued for their

historic and cultural value as representing the struggle of blacks to create a world for themselves inside of the white-dominated cities of the South. “Here’s the way we used to live, and it can still be made viable and appealing!”

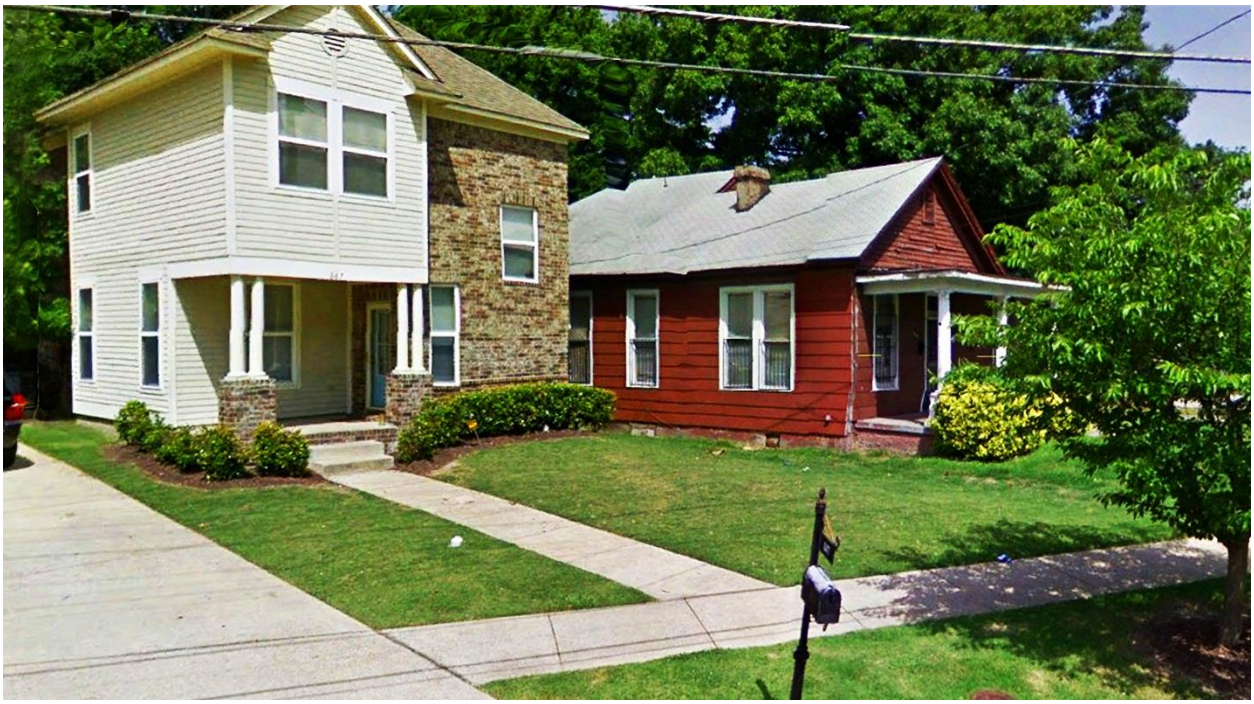


Fig. 7.74. A 1920s era bungalow with classical revival porch nestles inside a middle class neighborhood, 839 Woodlawn Street, North Memphis, TN. GEPsc.

6. **Neo-bungalows and professionally-designed middle and upper middle class homes.**

Spread across the South are certain neighborhoods which hold the residences of upper middle class black professionals. Here, it is the college professors, the successful religious leaders, the architects, doctors, dentists, government officials, developers, and business people who control the architectural tastes.

As Ruth Little has pointed out, in highly progressive Raleigh, NC, the rising black middle class felt it necessary to separate themselves symbolically, architecturally and spatially from those of their race with lesser incomes and education.[223] In a sense, the legacy of the elitism of free people of color class was reinvigorated in the Post World War II era. But in the 1950s and

1960s, during the civil rights struggles, the new black elite also wished to distinguish themselves from the white middle classes. One method of accomplishing this was to build their homes in the style of modernity. While the whites in their columned, classically decorated white houses were harking back to their colonial and Antebellum pasts, the blacks who could afford it adopted modern ranch and split-level homes with plate glass windows and open floor plans. In other cities, house styles drawn from pattern books and architectural magazines were popular (Fig. 7.75). Interestingly, though, the desire to escape the past and the old Afro linear cottage tradition was not abandoned entirely. Rather, certain successful blacks have elected to remember the past, but to reinvent it in new and dramatic ways. They promoted or adopted a new form of Linear Cottage architecture, thoroughly modern in its appearance, but harking back to basic forms long associated with African-American domestic housing. Thus, widely scattered in black middle class communities of the South we find a sprinkling of neo-shotguns, neo-bungalows, and new-camelback architecture.



Fig. 7.75. 2101 Concord Street, College View, Durham, NC. A mixed architectural neighborhood in the historically black college suburbs. GEPsc.

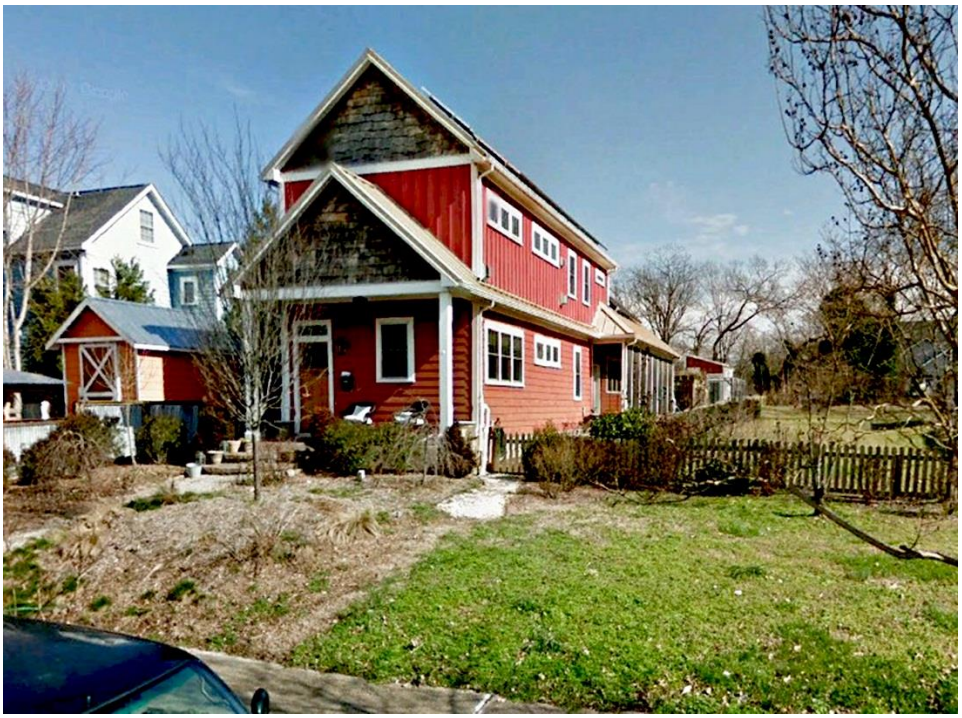


Fig. 7.76. 313 Sewell Ave. Raleigh, NC. A neo-duplex or neo-camelback Single style house. It is heated with solar panels and extends back about 140 feet on the lot. GEPsc.



Fig. 7/77. A large and modern 3-bay neo-shotgun with inset front gallery supported by Doric columns. 839 Woodlawn Street, North Memphis, Memphis TN. GEPsc.



Fig. 7.78. A neo-shotgun house on Deslonde Street, Lower 9th Ward, New Orleans. This is post-Katrina architecture of the Make It Right foundation. JDE Photo 2010.



Fig. 7.79. A Neo-Appentis Shotgun at 1845 Deslonde. in the Lower 9th Ward. JDE Photo, 2010.

There are over one hundred neo-linear cottages in post-Katrina New Orleans, mostly in the Lower Ninth Ward. Newly reinvented linear cottages are found widely scattered in other Southern and Western cities and towns. By themselves, they might be considered a tail-end of the diffusion of the Linear Cottage out of New Orleans, but since these are buildings designed by professional architects, it is probably better to consider them as "inspired by" the older Linear Cottage traditions, but not a direct part of them.

As for the other five categories of Linear Cottage enclaves, there has been far too little recognition of the importance of these vital reminders of our contested racial past. Both inside and outside of the black community they should receive the special attention they deserve as examples of our resilient architectural heritages too long neglected.[224]

CHAPTER 8

The Distribution and Evolution of the New Orleans Linear Cottage

Gabriele Richardson with Jay Edwards

The purpose of this chapter is not so much to provide new information on the rise of the Linear Cottage in New Orleans as it is to open up new questions for further investigation. With more than a modicum of work, we have initiated a new way of looking at urban American vernacular architecture. We begin by establishing the relevant geometric types of the basic kinds of New Orleans houses (see below). These are mapped and dated, based on their locations on the different series of Sanborn maps and on the 1933 aerial photography of the city. The data are checked against Google earth Street View.

Once we have established the temporal and geographical locations for all of the members of those types, we can begin to ask more sophisticated questions about the evolution of urban cultural landscapes. Unfortunately, new data, no matter how voluminous and satisfying, does not automatically come with hard explanations attached. In history, the disjunction between hypothesis and explanative theory is neither small nor easy to bridge. So, we will here provide some new evidence and open the floor to knowledgeable inquiry and, hopefully, real investigation.

Methods 1: A Building Typology for Linear Cottages

Despite the fact that the Sanborn maps have many liabilities, it is possible to tease data on the types of houses from them. The typology is not as fine–grained as we might wish for, but it provides at least a first cut look at socio-architectural processes. One limitation is that each series of Sanborn maps covers a different area of the city. However, the maps are sequentially inclusive, in that later series also map the locations of all earlier series. This permits us to select the earliest and most narrowly drawn survey and to plot changes in linear cottage through all subsequent series, and beyond, right up to the present, within the boundaries of that first series of maps.

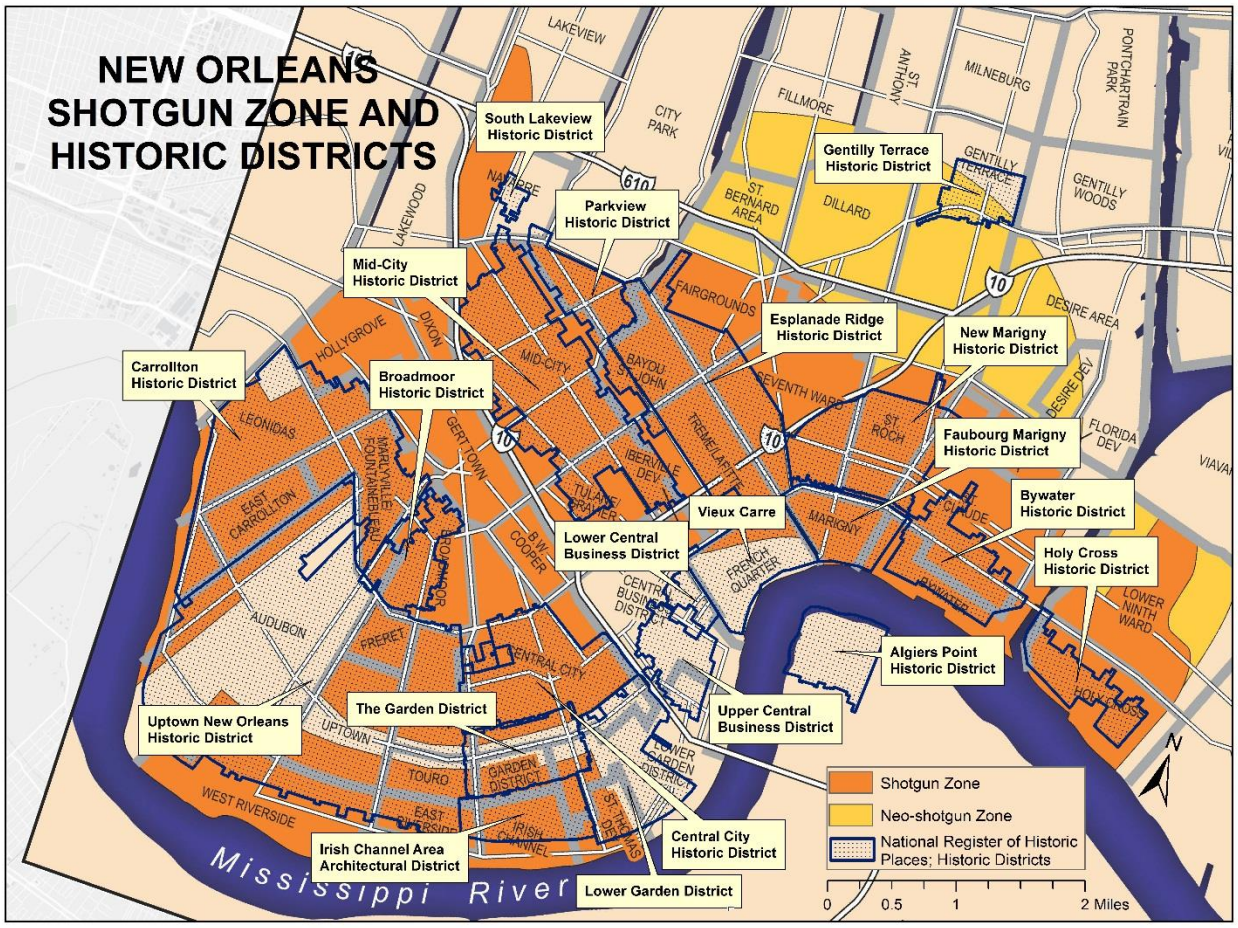


Fig. 8.1. The distribution of shotgun houses as of 1933, derived from aerial photographs (in orange). Following World War II, shotguns continued to be built with more modern materials. Neo-shotgun distribution is indicated (in yellow). The base map is modern, as are the twenty-two Historic Districts. MLE and GR for the Kniffen Lab.

Another limitation is that in themselves, the maps do not provide all of the information needed to establish the type of a single residence. Each building must be checked against other more recent data. Relevant data bases include the 1933 aerial photographic coverage, the New Orleans Notarial Archive *affiches*, the photographic surveys of the HDLC, the Vieux Carré surveys, including our own 2014 survey, the FEMA and Corps of Engineers-sponsored surveys of New Orleans neighborhoods, and our own surveys of other historic neighborhoods conducted for the Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation. Thus, within the historic districts of New Orleans, we have photographic

and other data on essentially all historic residences.

Our surveys began by dividing the total range of variation of New Orleans linear cottages into five categories. The categories are not exhaustive of the variety of linear cottages. They were selected because they are relatively easily identified one the maps and aerial photographs through the method just described. The categories are:

1. **A shotgun Single**. This might be a 1-bay or 2-bay house. That is, it had either a single opening or matching double openings in the front. Bays are determined from street views, rather than from the Sanborn maps themselves. Two-bay shotguns were the norm throughout the history of New Orleans until about 1895, when 1-bay facades became popular (Figs. 8.2, 8.3).



Fig. 8.2. A 1-bay Single shotgun in Holy Cross.



Fig. 8.3. A 2-bay Single shotgun in Holy Cross.

Advantages: The Single shotgun is the most inexpensive socially acceptable single-family house type available. It fits on the very narrow lots of New Orleans, and it is capable of unlimited expansion towards the rear. For small expense, it can be dressed up in fancy millwork to provide an appearance of relative elegance and style consciousness.

2. **A Side-hall Linear Cottage**. This might be either the more common 3-bay or a less common 5-bay house. It is a Single or a Double floorplan, flanked by a side hall or a side gallery (Figs. 8.4, 8.5).



Fig. 8.4. The 3-bay Side Hall Shotgun at 1225 Kerlerac Street, New Marigny. JDE photo, 2010.



Fig. 8.5. A 5-bay Side Gallery Double Camelback. JDE photo, 2011.

Advantages: Designed for rental spaces to enhance family income. Provides privacy by separating street entrances for the renters. Fits on narrow lots. Inexpensive to build.

3. **A Double shotgun**. This is usually a 4-bay façade and a Double shotgun plan. However, there are also 2-bay Doubles, particularly after ca. 1895 (Fig. 8.6, Fig. 8.7).



Fig. 8.6. The bracketed 4-bay Double shotgun at 2420-2422 Jackson Ave. JDE photo 2010.



Fig. 8.7. The bungaloid 2-bay Bungalow (Double floor plan) at 812 Hidalgo Street in Navarre. JDE photo 2015.

Advantages: Maximizes rental floorspace for added family income. Universally acceptable in most neighborhoods throughout the city. The most popular house type in New Orleans. Fits on a 30 to 40 foot wide lot. Easily expanded towards the rear.

4. **Camelbacks**. They may be 2-bay, 3-bay or 4-bay or even larger (see Figs. 8.5, 8.8 – 8.11).



Fig. 8.8. This 2-bay bungaloid Camelback Double had its front awning torn away during Katrina. JDE photo, 2015.

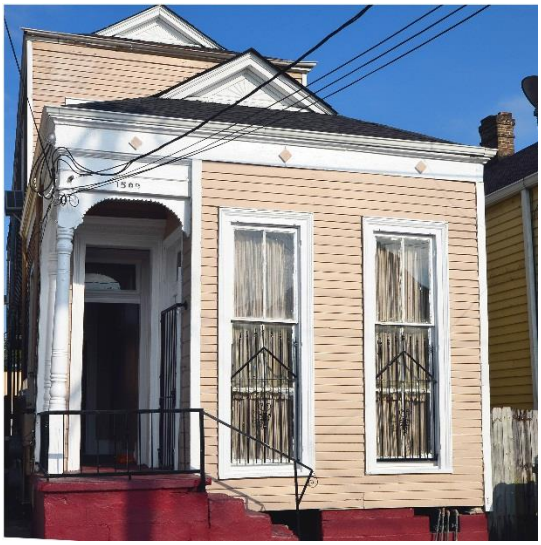


Fig. 8.9. This 3-bay side hall Camelback Single is at 1509 Frenchmen Street.



Fig. 8.10. The 4-bay Double "sidesaddle" Camelback at 921 White Street in Tremé. JDE Photo 2008.



Fig. 8.11. A 6-bay Double Camelback in the 1200 block of Harmony in the Garden District. JDE photo 2010.

Advantages: Provides added private master bedroom and/or rental spaces. A highly flexible addition to a wide variety of standard New Orleans house types. Acceptable at all levels of the middle class. Raised master bedroom has improved through-ventilation. Less expensive than a full Duplex style house. Side entrance provides separate renter's entrance to camelback rooms.

5. **The Duplex or two-story shotgun house**. These are almost always 2-bay buildings, two stories tall. A few 3-bay Duplexes do occur, but none fell into our sample area (Figs. 8.12 – 8.13). There are also Fourplexes, which are essentially two Duplexes set under a single roof just as a Double shotgun is two Singles set under one roof (Figs. 8.12 – 8.13).

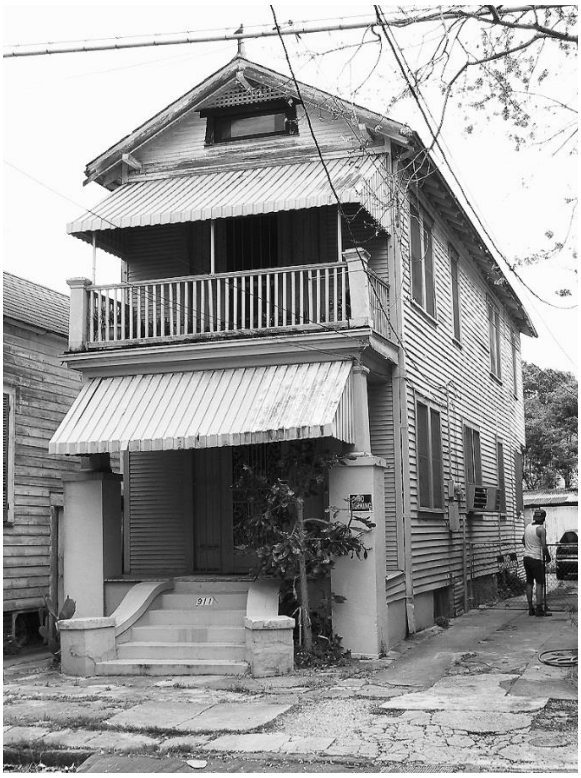


Fig. 8.12. A 1-bay Duplex Single in Bywater. HDLC Survey photo, 2002.



e

Fig. 8.13. Dyer's Select School, in Greek Revival style. This is a Side Gallery Single Duplex. Alex. Allison photo, ca. 1944. Thalia Street in the Lower Garden District. The roof is *appentis*.



Fig. 8.14. A 4-Plex in Greek Revival mode, 1202 Chartres Street near Governor Nichols. as painted by Boyd Cruise (left side of painting). A 4-plex is basically two 2-bay townhouses which have been united under a single roof. It may have two apartments with upper and lower floors, or it may have 4 separate apartments, each the equivalent of a shotgun Single in its plan.

Advantages: Provides maximum additional floorspace on a narrow lot. Elevated second floor provides maximum comfort in residential neighborhoods. Comparatively inexpensive method of expanding a house on a small lot.

There are, of course, certain kinds of linear cottages which did not fit into our working typology. For example, under Anglo influence, we find examples of the 5-bay central hall Double and Camelback.



Fig. 8.14. A 5-bay Central Hall Camelback Double at 1134 Octavia Street. JDE photo, 2013. This geometric type is not counted in our sample.

Despite the considerable variation between these building types, they are all related to one-another in an evolutionary sense. Each type evolved out of an earlier configuration of types through the process described by Henry Glassie as a rearrangement of elemental geometric components such as square rooms, front galleries, side galleries and *en-suite* units like that found in the Single shotgun house. Each basic type, presumably, was favored by a certain class of New Orlenians, as it each met a specific set of economic, spatial, and symbolic needs in one historic period.

Methods 2: Mapping the Distributions of Housetypes through Time

Having established our working typology, we now turned to the job of seeing how best to employ mapping science to explicate changes in the popularity of each type through time. Using ArcGIS software, each building was assigned GPS coordinates, At this point, some decisions needed to be made regarding the best ways of mapping the changes through time and measuring the

As a part of our Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation sponsored project, co-author Richardson mapped the distribution of the five different forms of linear cottages in the city. She selected the target years of 1876, 1885, 1908, and 1933. Most of the evolution of the classic New Orleans linear cottage types occurred within this span of years. The Sanborn map coverage began in 1876; 1933 was the first year in which full aerial photographic coverage of Orleans Parish became available. It was also very close to the time of the greatest expansion of the classic vernacular shotgun house in New Orleans.

The resulting map of shotgun distribution reveals a pattern which we refer to as the "Shotgun Crescent." Note that most of the historic districts of New Orleans fall within this overall pattern of historic shotgun house distribution as of 1933 (Fig. 8.1).

Gaps in shotgun distribution occur in several areas on this map. The major boulevards had very few shotgun houses, as larger mansions were built there. The CBD, once the location of many Linear Cottages, was transformed into commercial and industrial uses. By 1933 nearly every shotgun house had been replaced by high-rise, commercial and industrial buildings. Certain areas of the city, such as around Tulane University and Audubon Park were developed for more elegant architect-designed houses. Here, also, the shotgun house is in the minority. The same is true along some of the larger boulevards such as St. Charles Avenue and Esplanade Avenue, where expensive monuments to Louisiana's past, parade. But elsewhere throughout the city, something over one half of all the residences in 1933 were shotguns or derivatives of the Single shotgun house - Doubles, Camelbacks, Duplexes, Side Hall/Gallery forms, and others. So why were they built and how did their distributions and their popularities change through time?

To explore some of these questions, co-author Richardson selected a single geographical area

from within the larger Shotgun Crescent (Fig. 8.15). That is the border of the 1876 Sanborn Map coverage in New Orleans. All comparisons in this exercise are made within these boundaries.

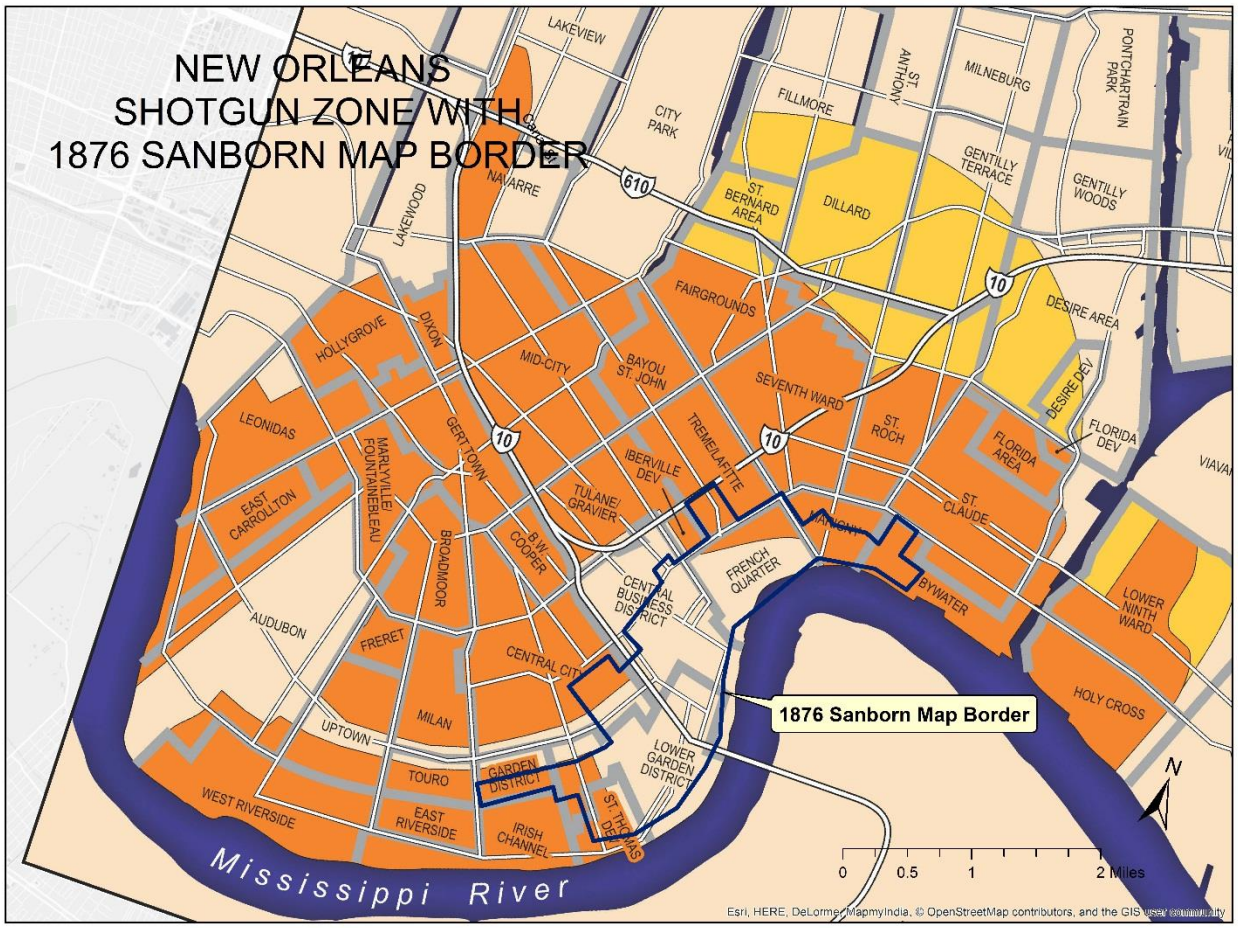


Fig. 8.15. A map of the Shotgun Crescent showing the external borders of the 1876 Sanborn Map coverage. Our comparisons are made using data gathered within this area between 1876 and 1933 and up to 2011 in one case.

Point Density Maps

In order to express the relative density of distribution of the individual houses for each type, Gabriele selected Point Density maps. Once the locations of the houses of each type are plotted, ArcGIS software plots the relative densities within the study area. The software measures average distances between points. The neighborhood radius around each raster cell is defined within 0.12 miles, and the number of each particular houses that fall within the neighborhood is totaled and divided by the area of the neighborhood.

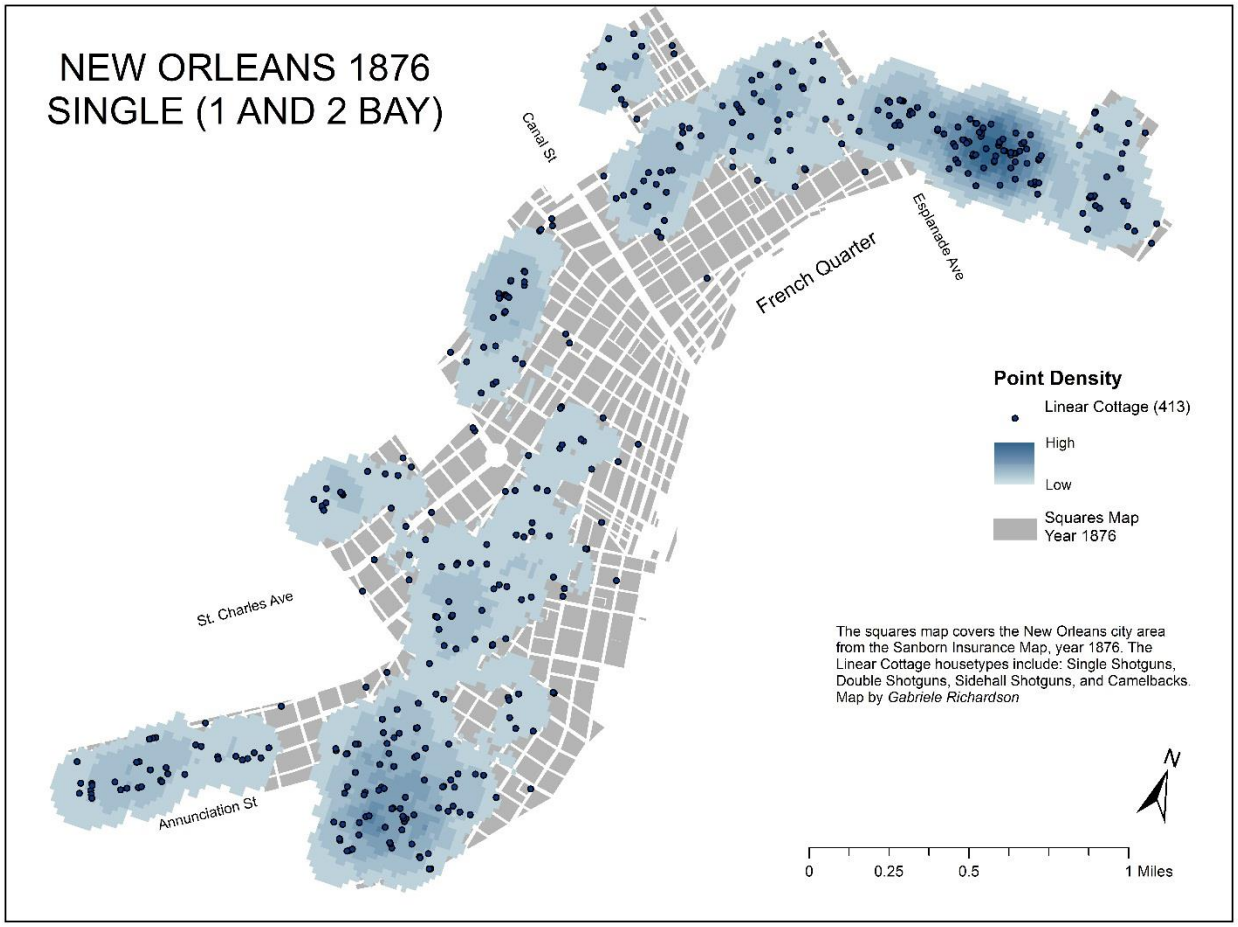
On the maps, relative density increases with progressively darker colors. If a building has no other example of the same type plotted within 0.12 miles, no color is applied, so there is an effective density of zero.

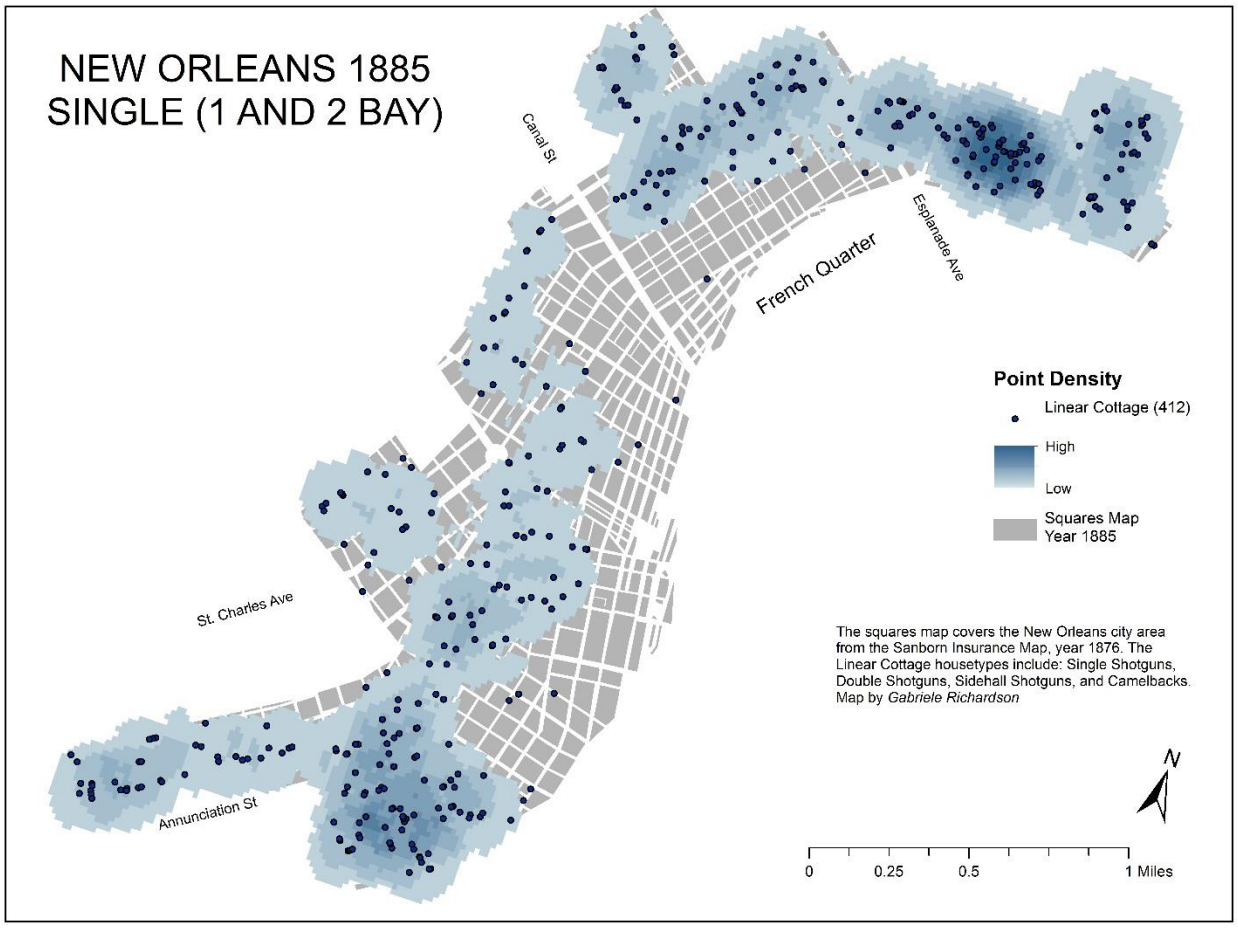
Procedure:

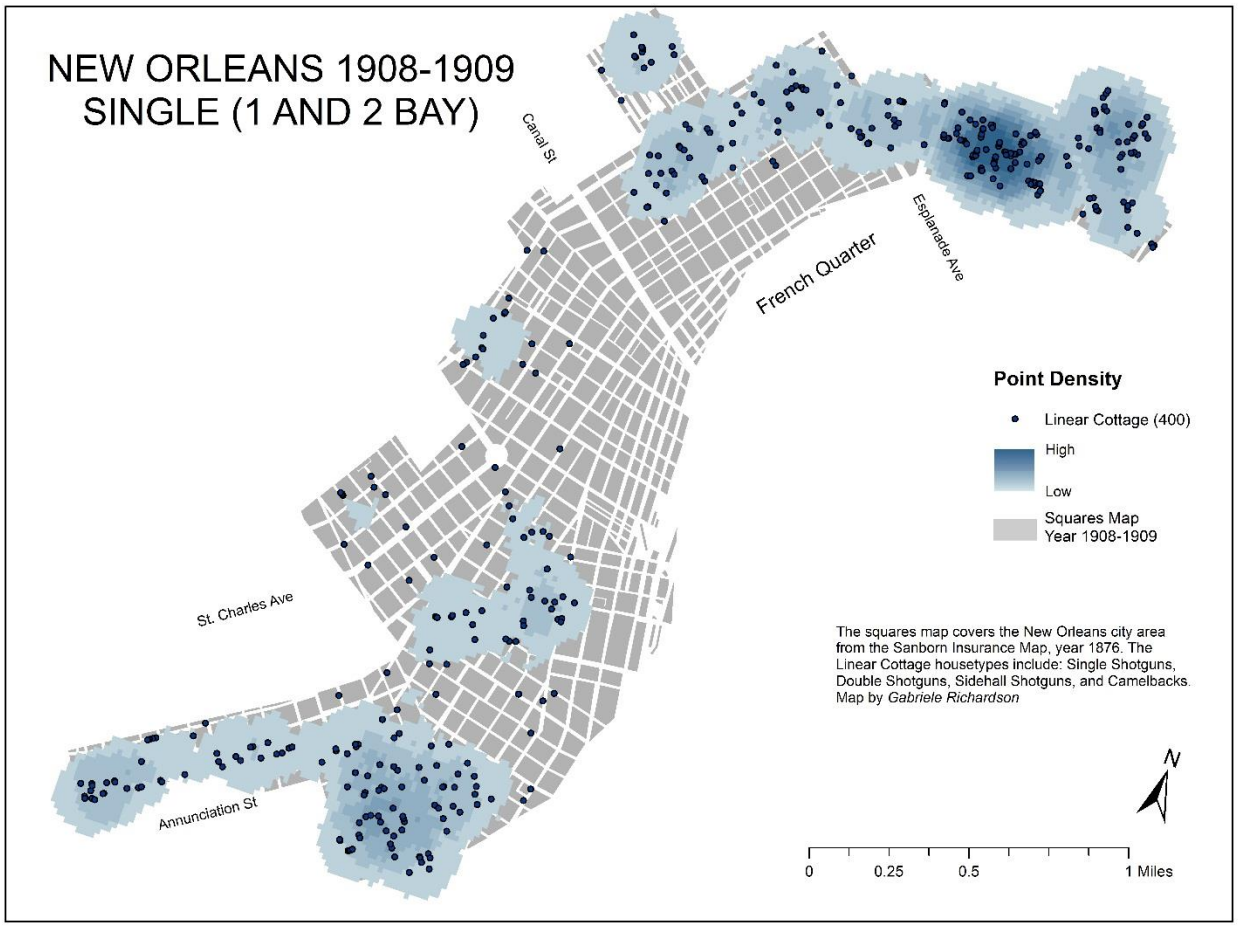
Hypotheses which arise from the following maps are all based on comparisons. In print format, there is no easy or efficient way to compare map data except by just printing the maps and permitting the reader to flip between the pages and compare the patterns of density. For each of the five architectural types which we selected, we set out the sequence of for dated distributions. We then seek to raise questions about the changing patterns of density of the house types.

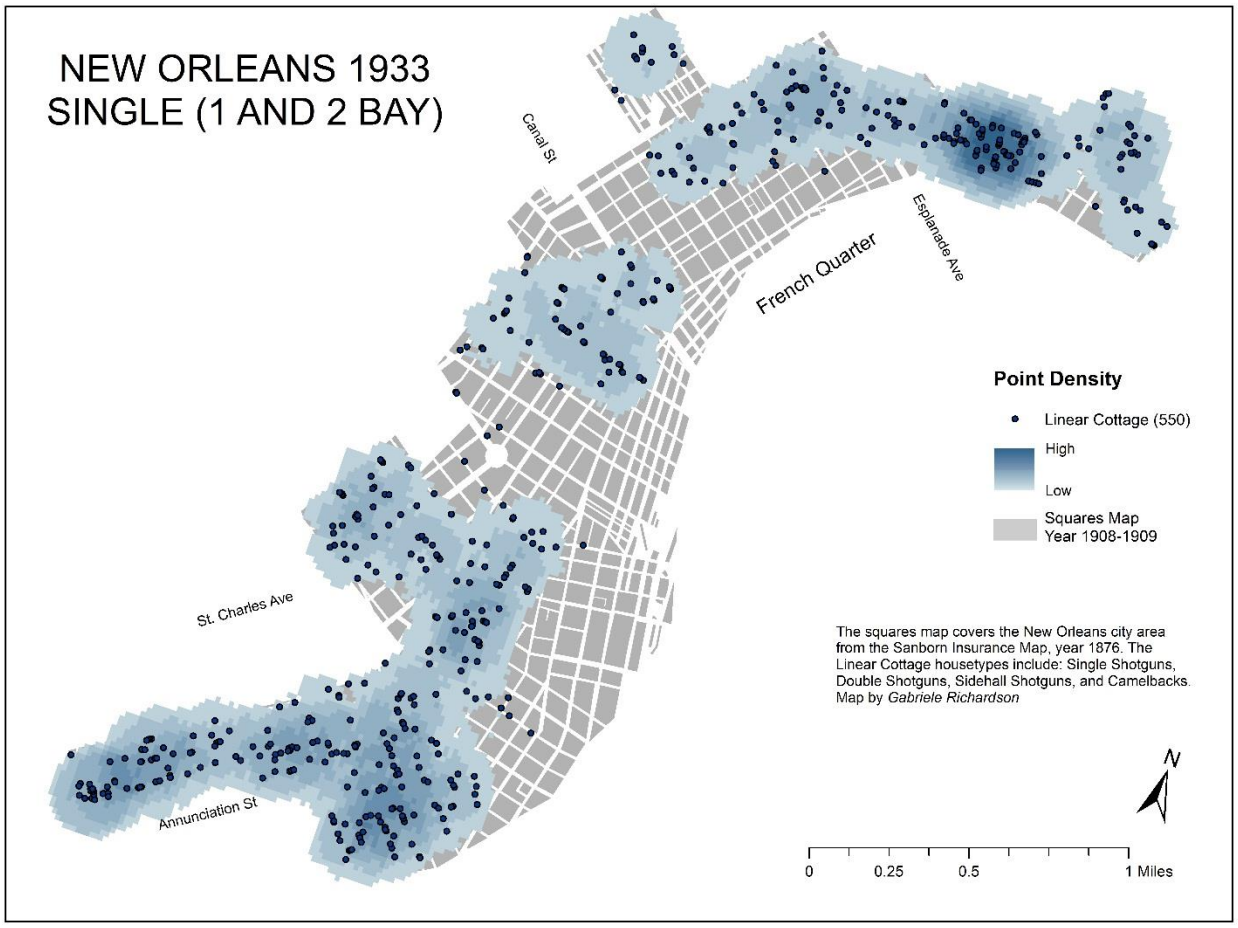
Map Section

1. Single Shotguns




NEW ORLEANS 1885
SINGLE (1 AND 2 BAY)
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (412)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1885
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
N
0
0.25
0.5
1 Miles


NEW ORLEANS 1908-1909
SINGLE (1 AND 2 BAY)
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (400)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1908-1909
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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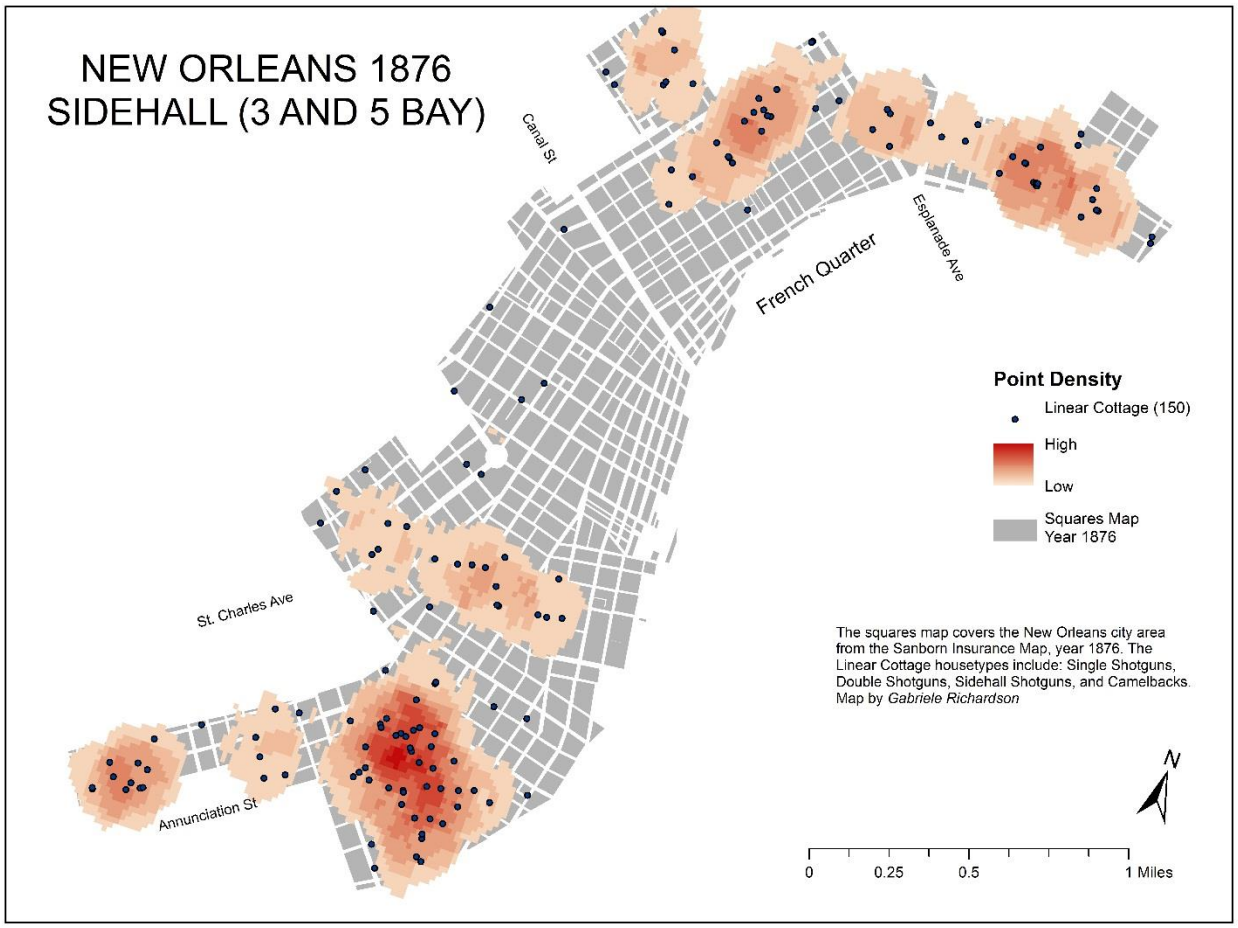


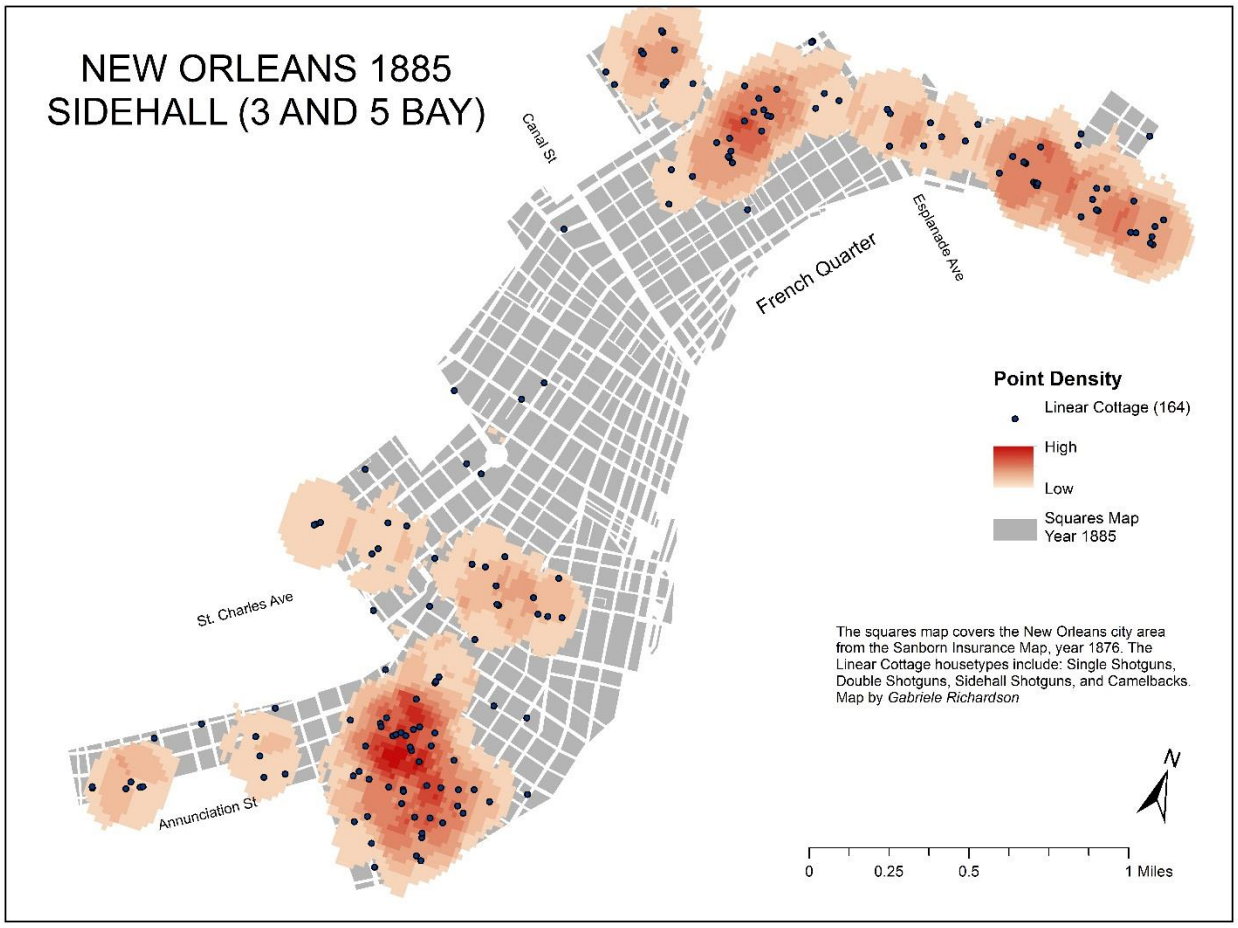
Single Shotguns. In terms of total numbers, the population of Singles remains relatively constant between 1876 and 1908, but by 1933 there was a dramatic increase from 400 Singles to 550 Singles within this geographical area of the city. This is the old Antebellum core of New Orleans. The increase appears mostly in the Lower Garden District and extending uptown along Magazine Streets.

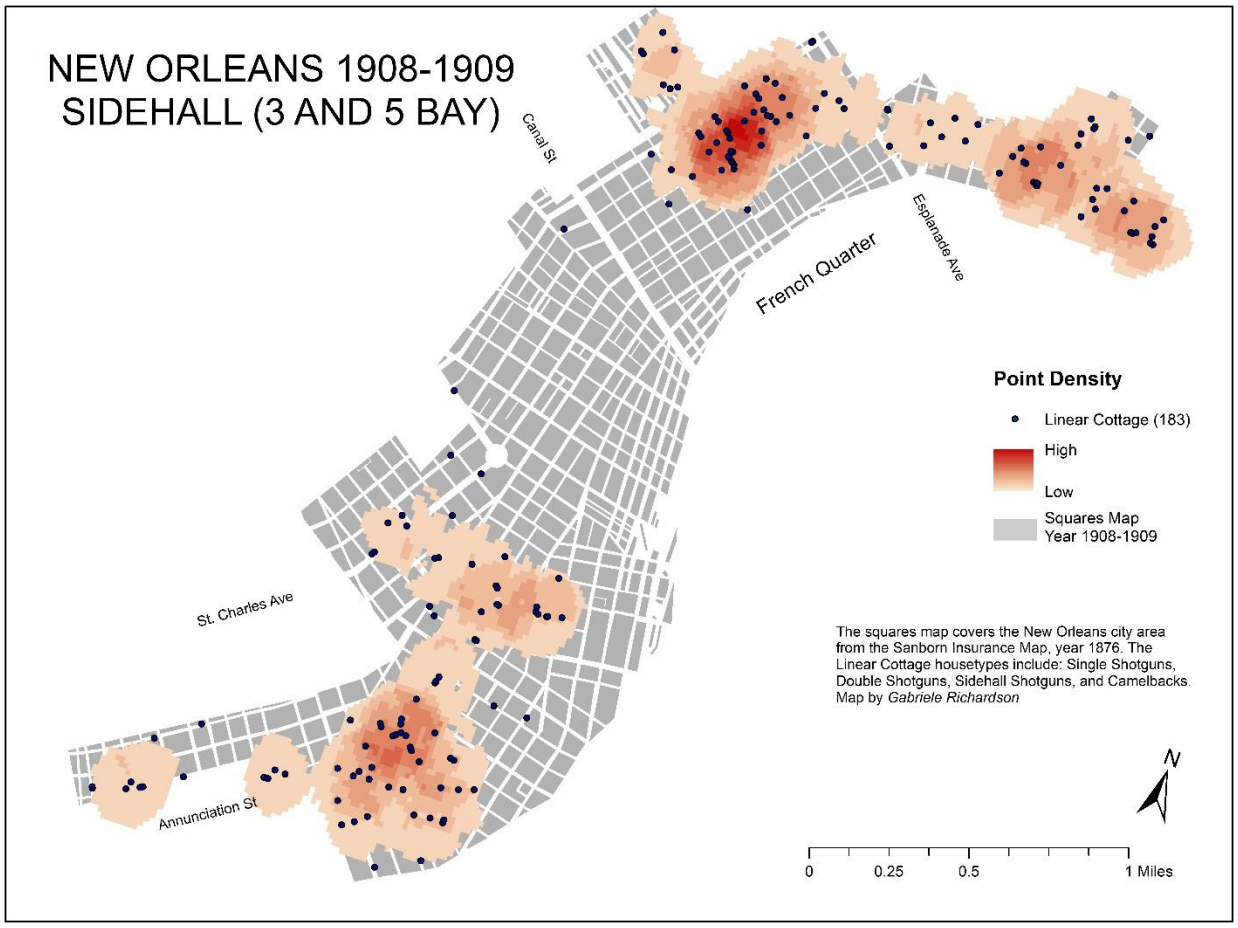
Across the fifty-seven years of study, Singles show a high density in Faubourg Marigny within three blocks of the river, stretching into Bywater. The Lower Garden District along Prytania Street maintains a moderately high density as well. Medium density districts are portions of the Central Business District, the Quadroon Quarter of the French Quarter and the Bywater Historic District. One question which occurs is the small area of high density just below the lower edge of the French Quarter,

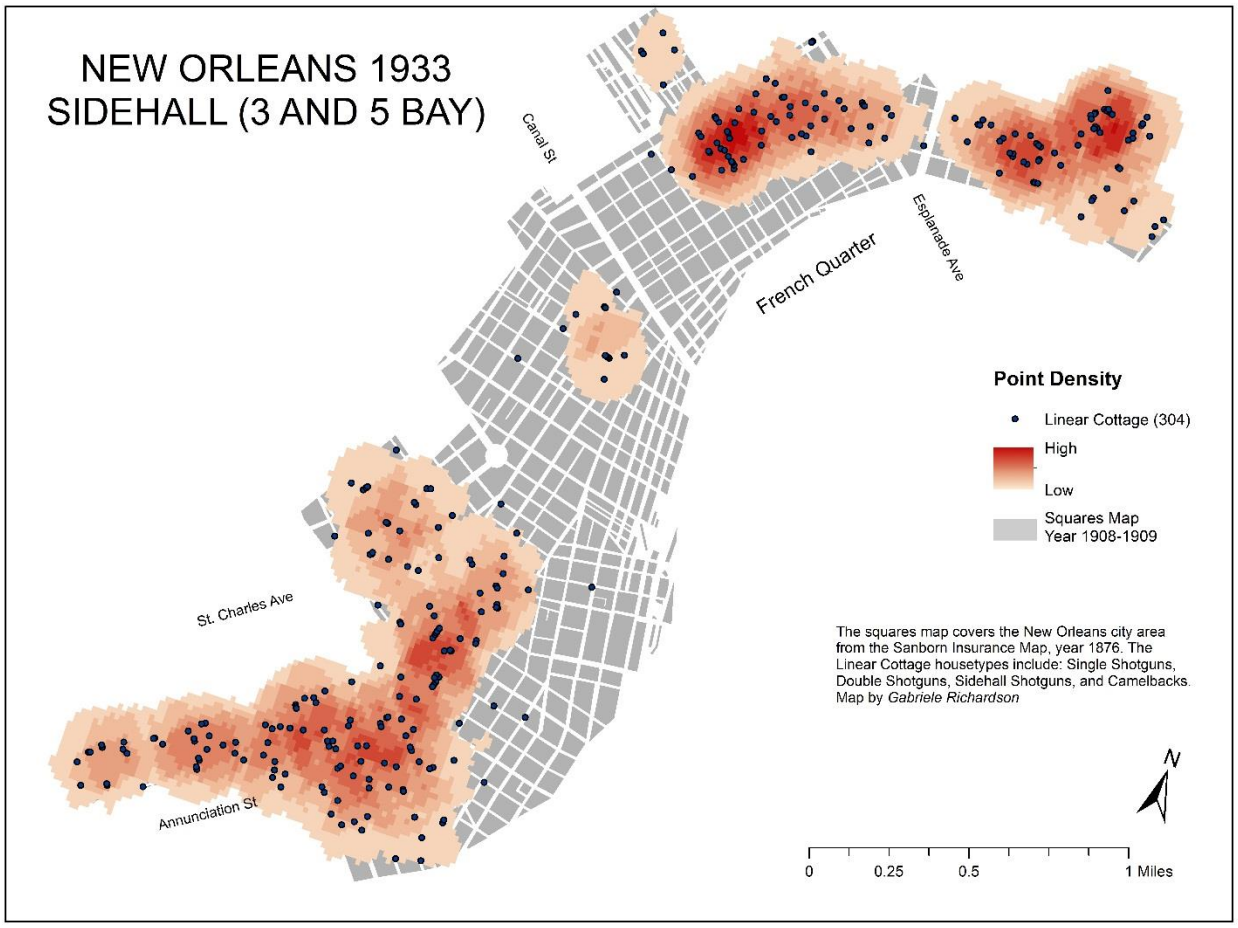
stretching between Marigny and Bywater. It this, perhaps becoming an area of service workers who work in the French Quarter, but must life outside of it due to economic constraints?

2. Side-Hall Linear Cottages.




NEW ORLEANS 1885
SIDEHALL (3 AND 5 BAY)
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (164)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1885
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
N
0
0.25
0.5
1 Miles


NEW ORLEANS 1908-1909
SIDEHALL (3 AND 5 BAY)
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (183)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1908-1909
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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0.25
0.5
1 Miles

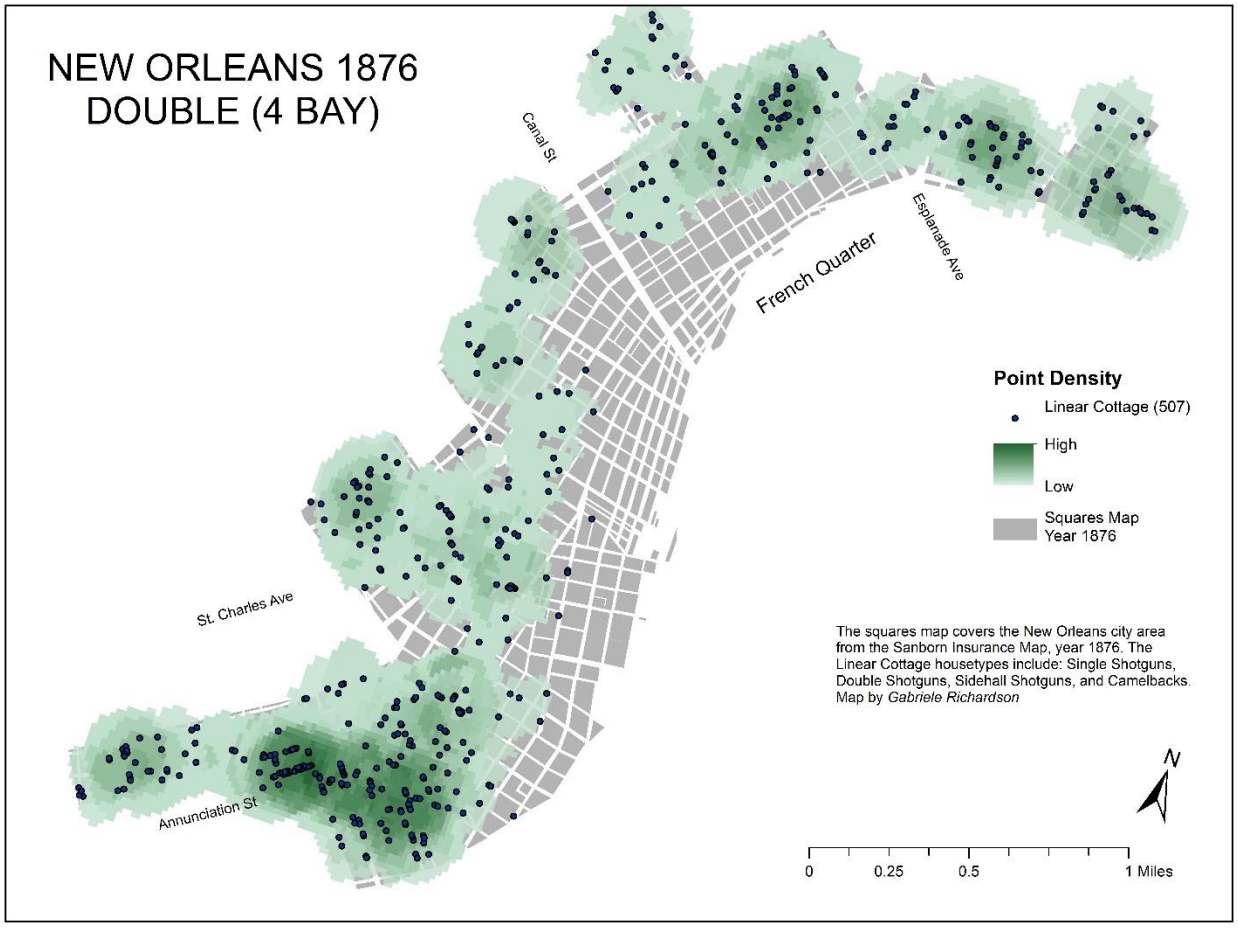


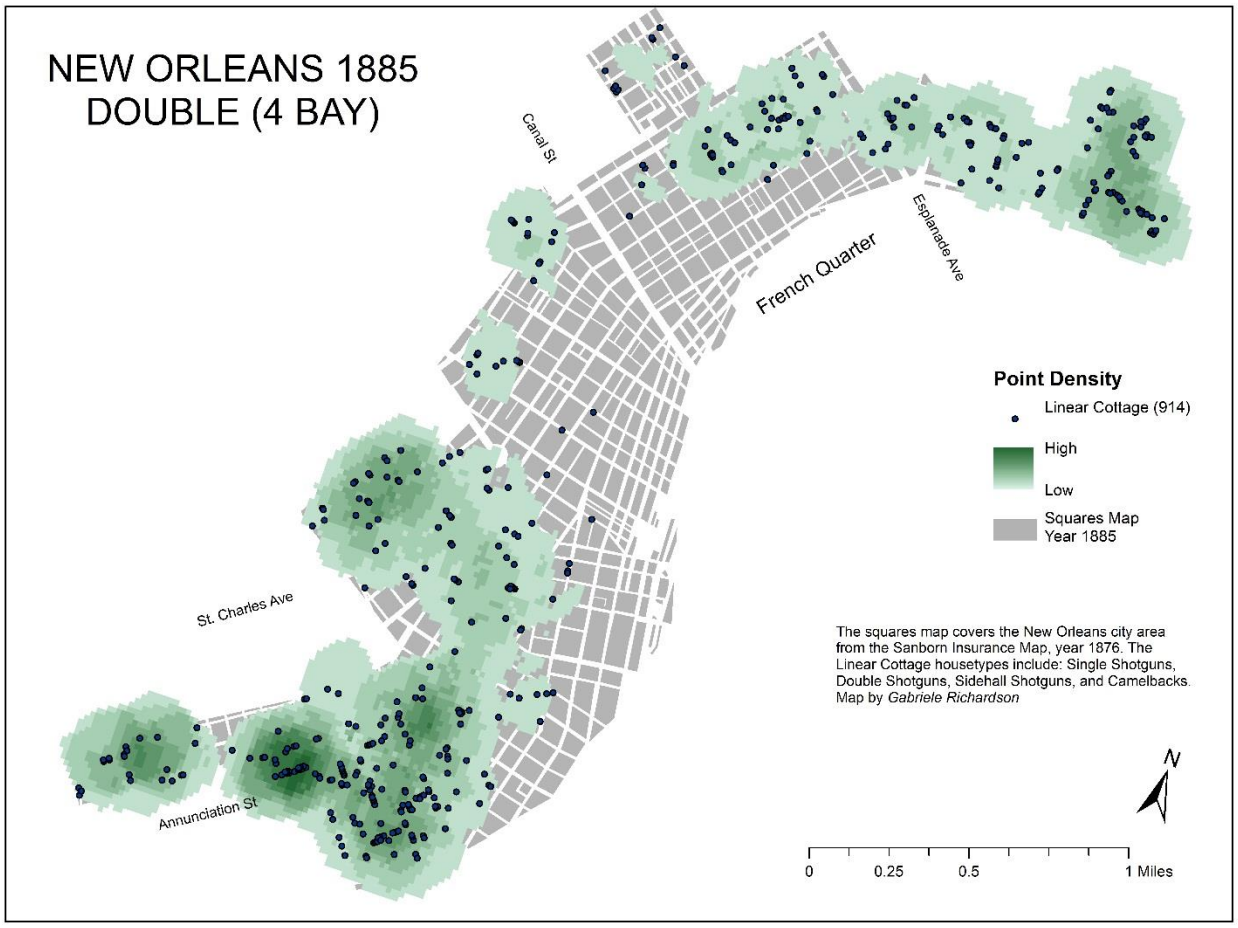
Side Hall/Side Gallery Linear Cottages. These are mostly 3-bay Singles, with only a few 5-bay Doubles. This form of shotgun house appears to show a steady increase in numbers across the study decades. In 1876 there were 150 Side Halls in the study area. That is 36 percent of the number of Single shotguns (413). By 1933, the number of Side Halls had doubled to 304, or 55 percent of the number of Singles (550). Just 23 of this number were 5-bay Doubles. The Side Hall shotgun was clearly a successful type, growing more popular through time.

Side Hall Shotguns are scattered on the 1876 map with medium density in the Quadroon Quarter of the French Quarter, Faubourg Marigny and Bywater. The highest density was in the Lower Garden District. By 1933 the density of Side Halls had grown in the Lower Garden District and Central City, but also in the Quadroon Quarter and in Marigny and Bywater. Side halls are approaching high density along

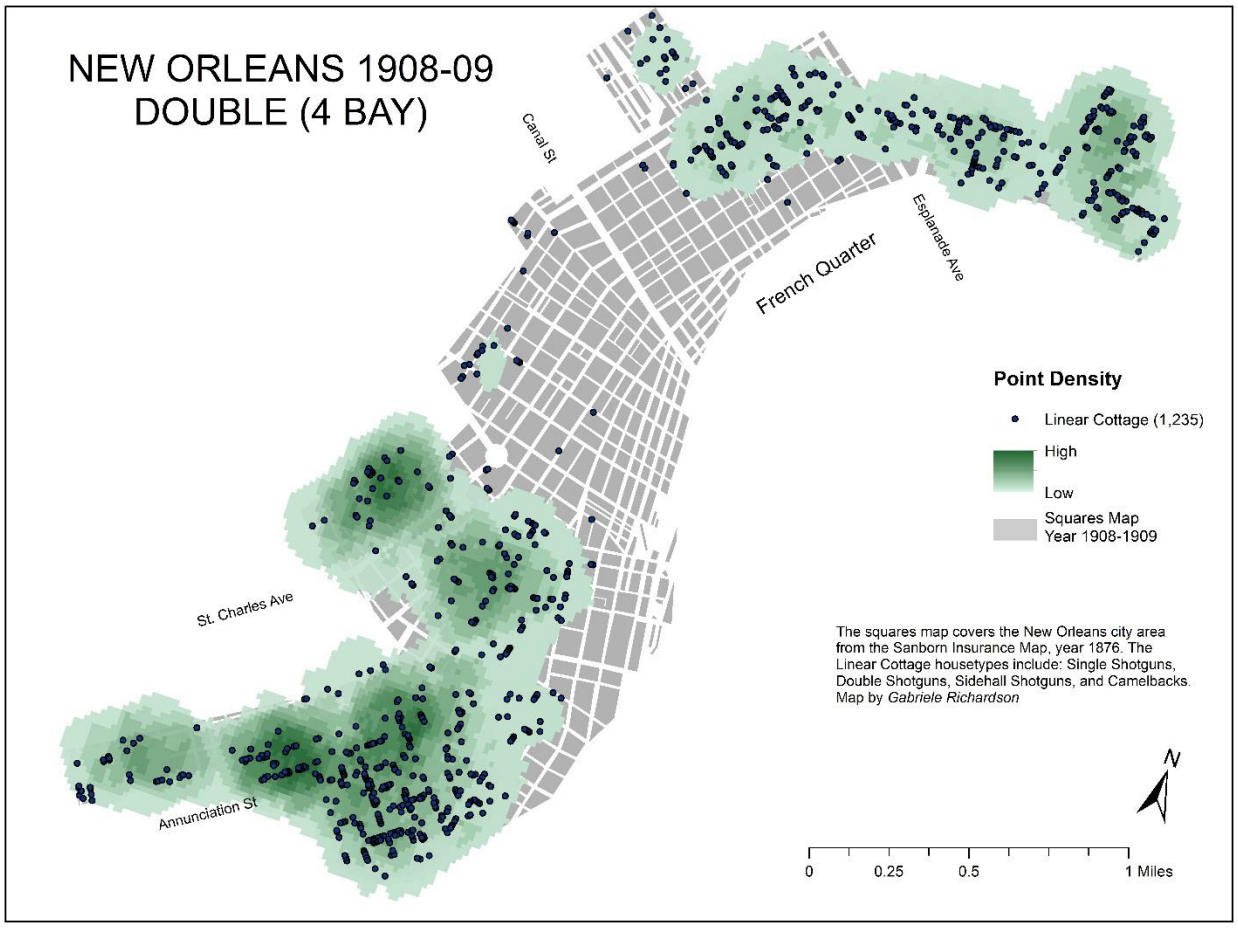
Magazine Street in the Garden District. Clearly, this is a successful type of house, increasing in general popularity.

3. Double Shotguns

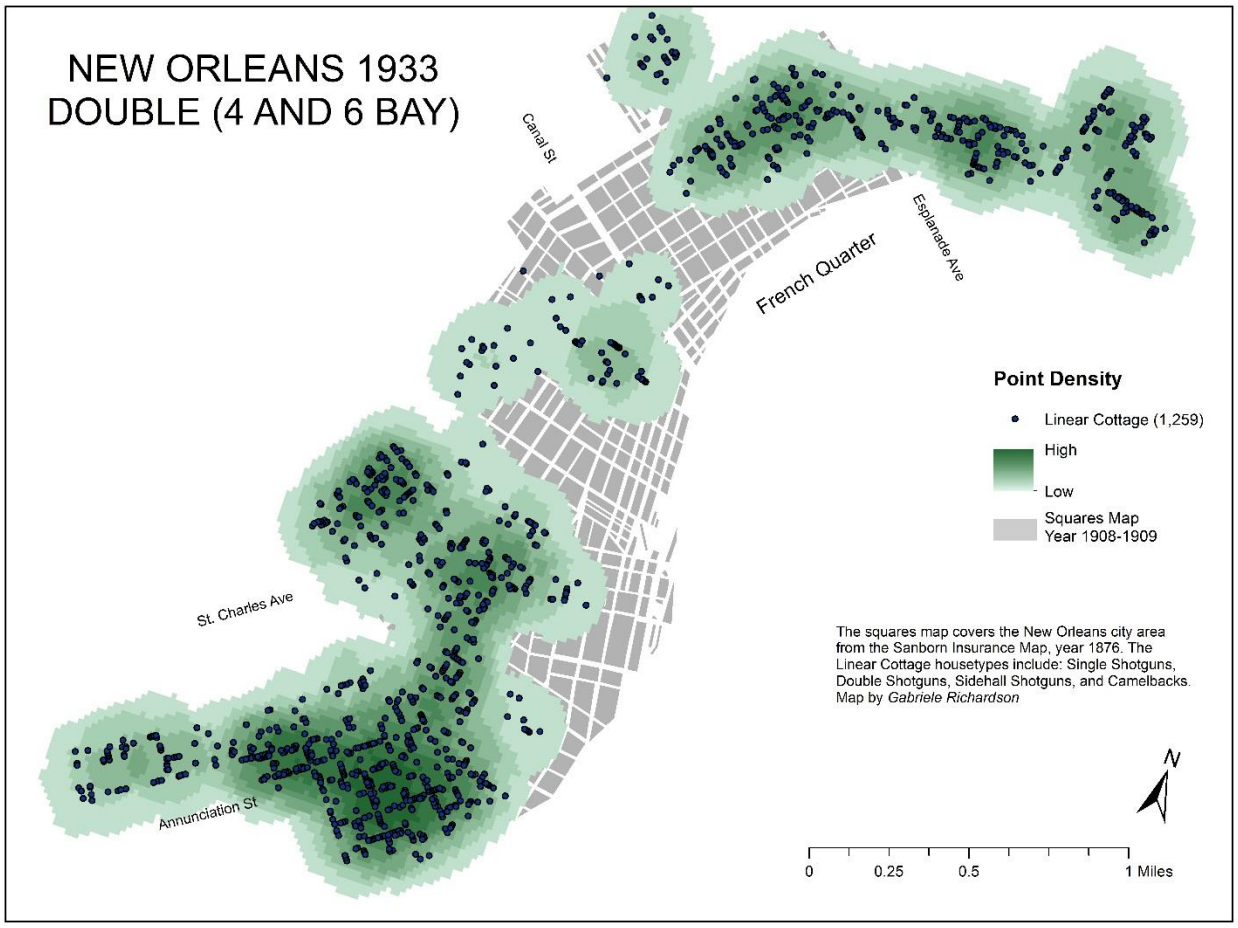



NEW ORLEANS 1885
DOUBLE (4 BAY)
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (914)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1885
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
N
0
0.25
0.5
1 Miles

1


NEW ORLEANS 1908-09
DOUBLE (4 BAY)
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (1,235)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1908-1909
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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0.25
0.5
1 Miles

1

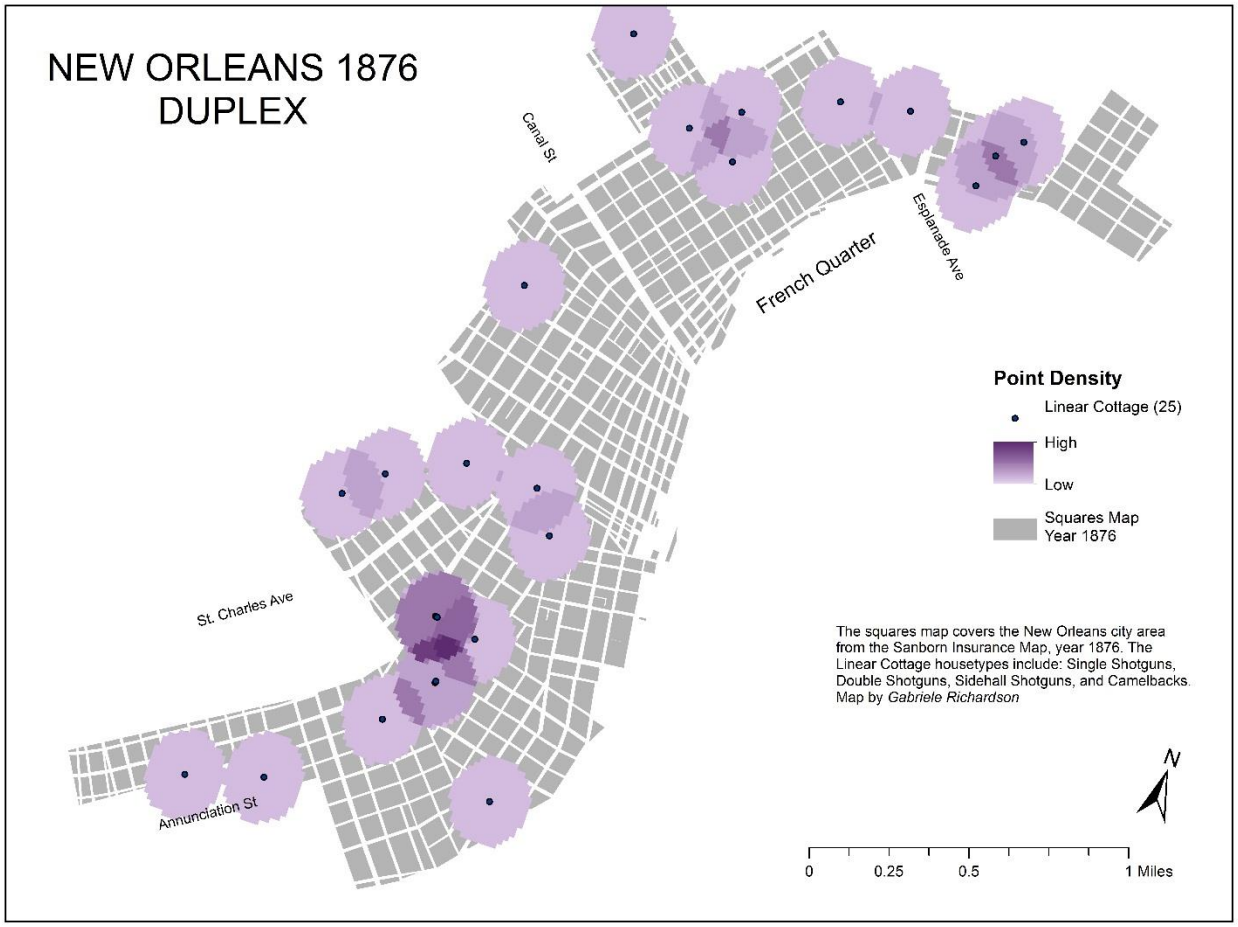


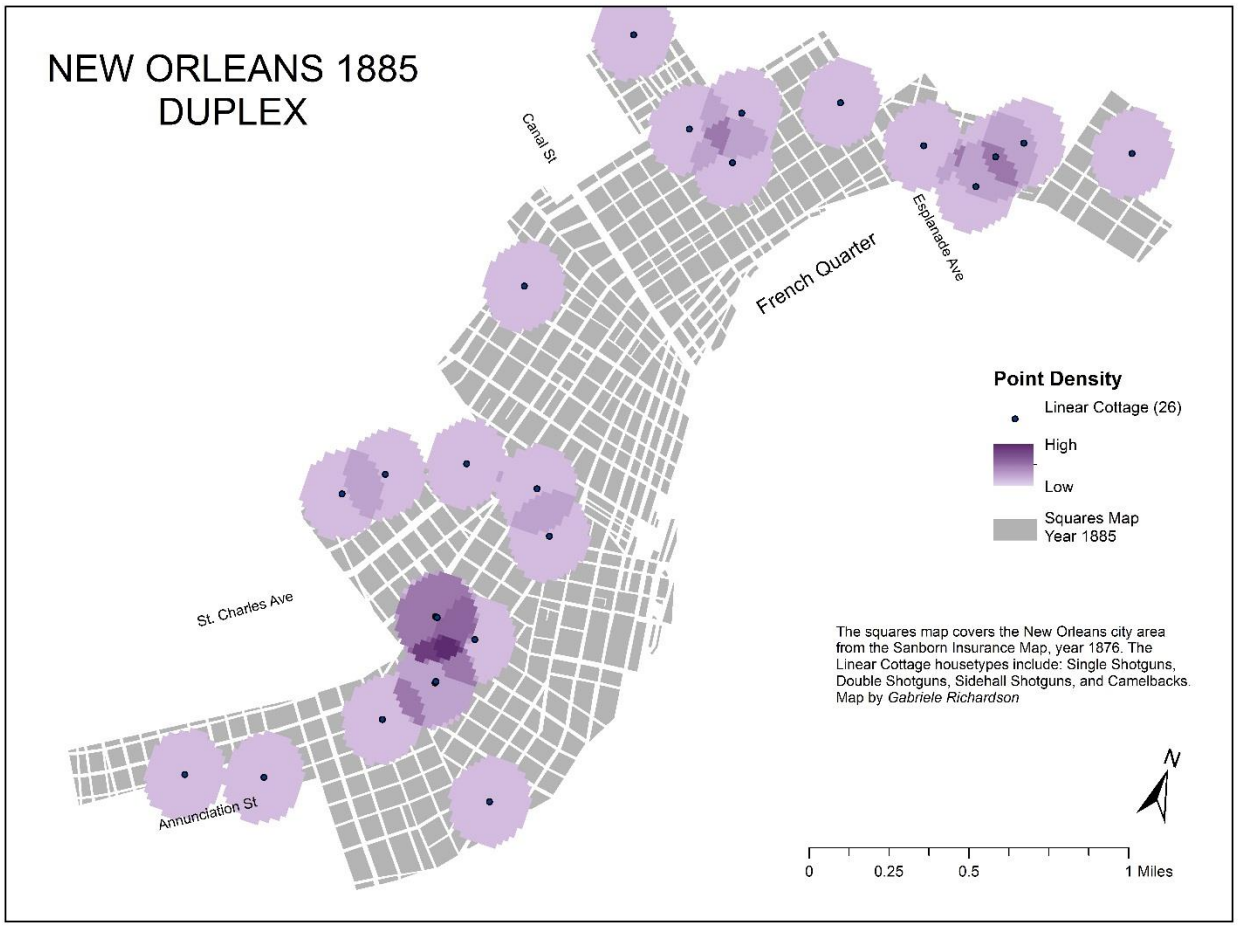
Double shotgun houses. These are by any measure the most popular linear cottages in each of the four time periods. Already in 1876 there are 507 Doubles in the study area. That is 123 percent of the number of Singles (413). The number and proportion of Doubles continues to rise through the 57 years of the study. By 1933, there are 1,259 Doubles, or 229 percent of the number of Singles (550). The number of Doubles in the study area has risen by 247 percent, or two and a half times as many in 57 years. And, of course, this is only in the study area, which is by 1933, only a small fraction of the total shotgun crescent.

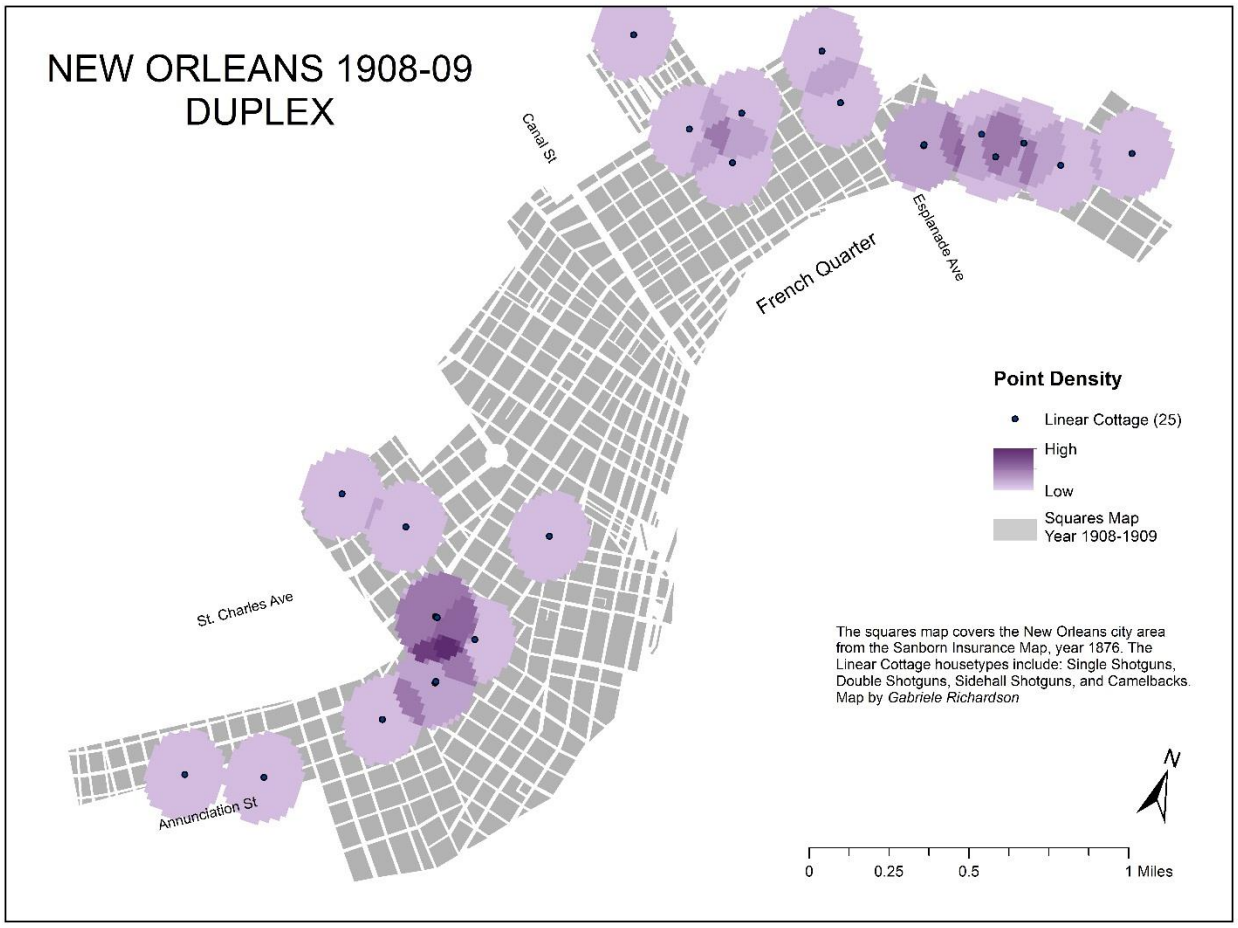
In 1876 the greatest density of the Double was centered in a corner of the Irish Channel, lapping over into the Garden District and the Lower Garden district. Elsewhere, Doubles were already widely distributed and moderately dense in the Quadroon Quarter and in Marigny-Bywater near the river. By 1933 there were two complex zones of high density. One meandering from Central City through the Lower Garden District through St. Thomas Delpit, and continuing along Magazine Street at the edge of

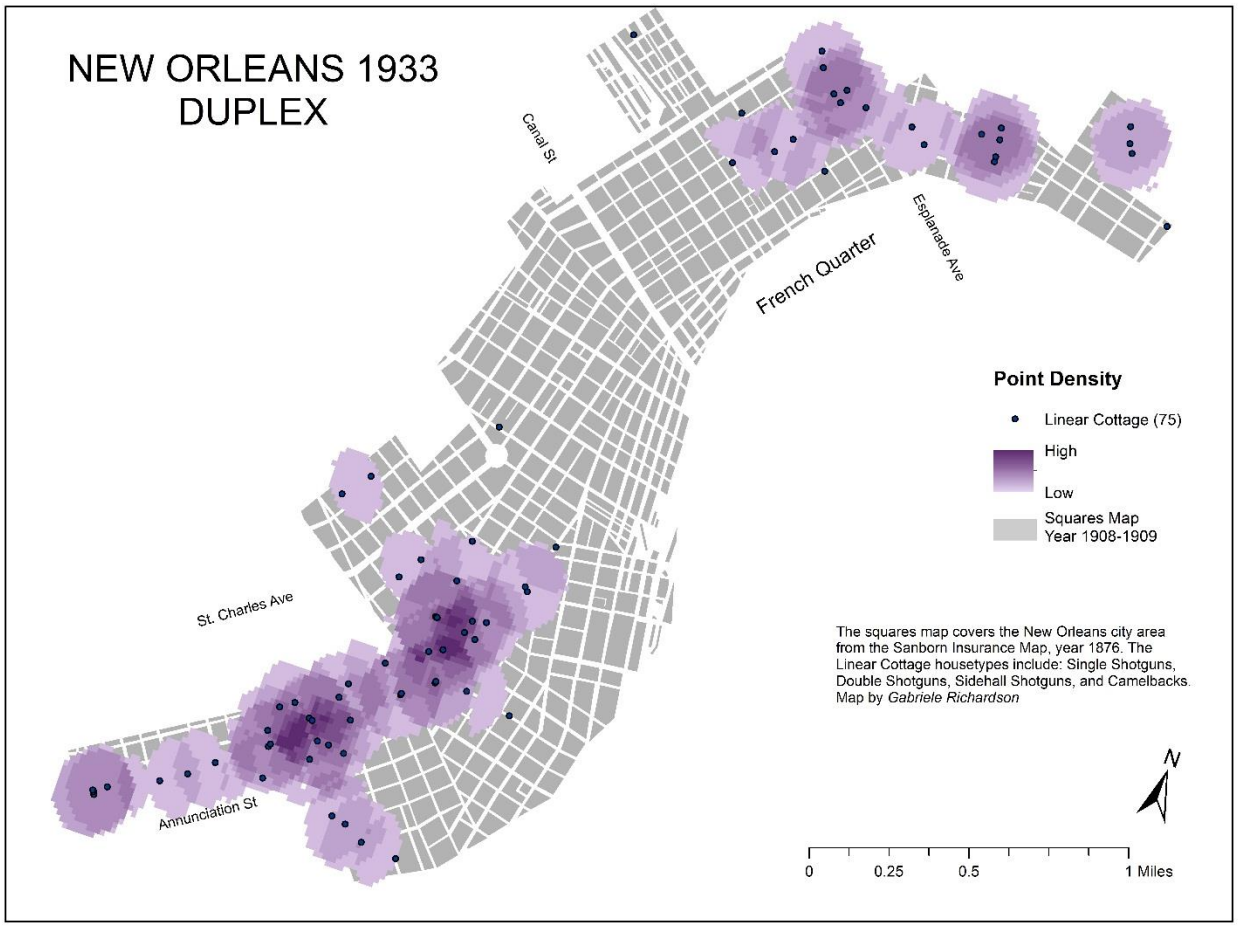
the Garden District. The other zone ran from the Quadroon Quarter, continuously into Bywater. Another cluster began around Orleans Ave. in Tremé, and extended towards the Lake. More broadly, Doubles extended over essentially all of the historic districts within the Shotgun Crescent. The larger 6-bay Doubles did not occur in our 1876 sample. There was only one in 1885, one in 1908-09, and six in 1933.

4. Duplex Singles




NEW ORLEANS 1885
DUPLEX
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (26)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1885
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
N
0
0.25
0.5
1 Miles


NEW ORLEANS 1908-09
DUPLEX
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (25)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1908-1909
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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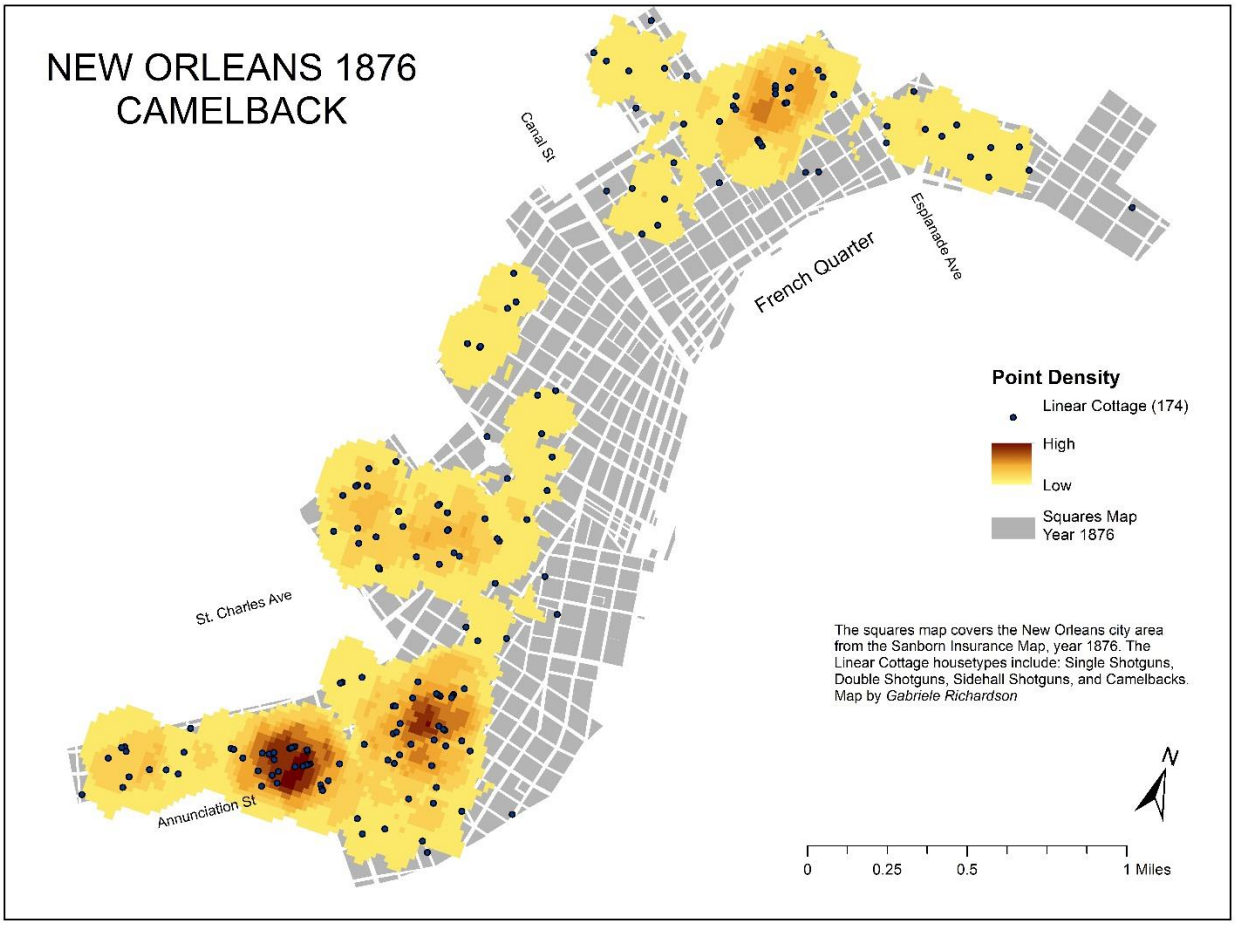
Duplex Singles. The two-story Single shotgun is among the rarest of New Orleans linear cottages. They are found in Haiti as well as in New Orleans. The idea may have originated there. Throughout most of the study period 1876 -1909, there were only 25 Duplexes in the study area. That is only 5 percent of the Doubles and 6 percent of the Singles in 1876. For some reason, yet unknown, the Duplex seems to have taken off in the decades after 1809, because by 1933 there were 75 Duplexes in the study area. That is a 300 percent increase, though to total number of 75 1933 Duplexes is still very small compared with other kinds of Linear Cottage. Nevertheless, the reasons for the late growth in popularity of the Duplex remains an open question.

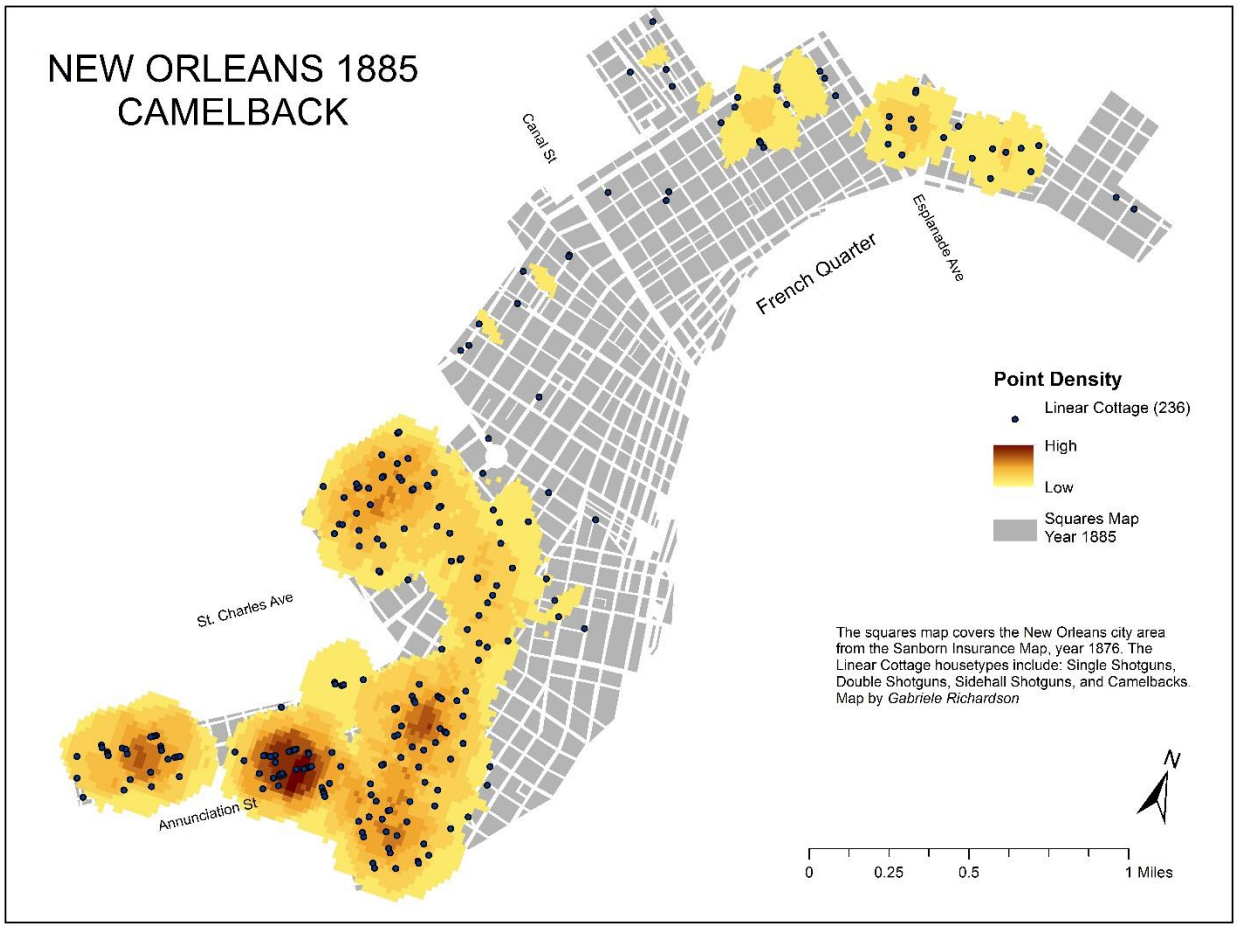
Until 1908, Duplexes were thinly scattered across the uptown and the downtown sections of the study area. There was only one in the CBD, and it had disappeared by 1809. Duplexes blossomed along

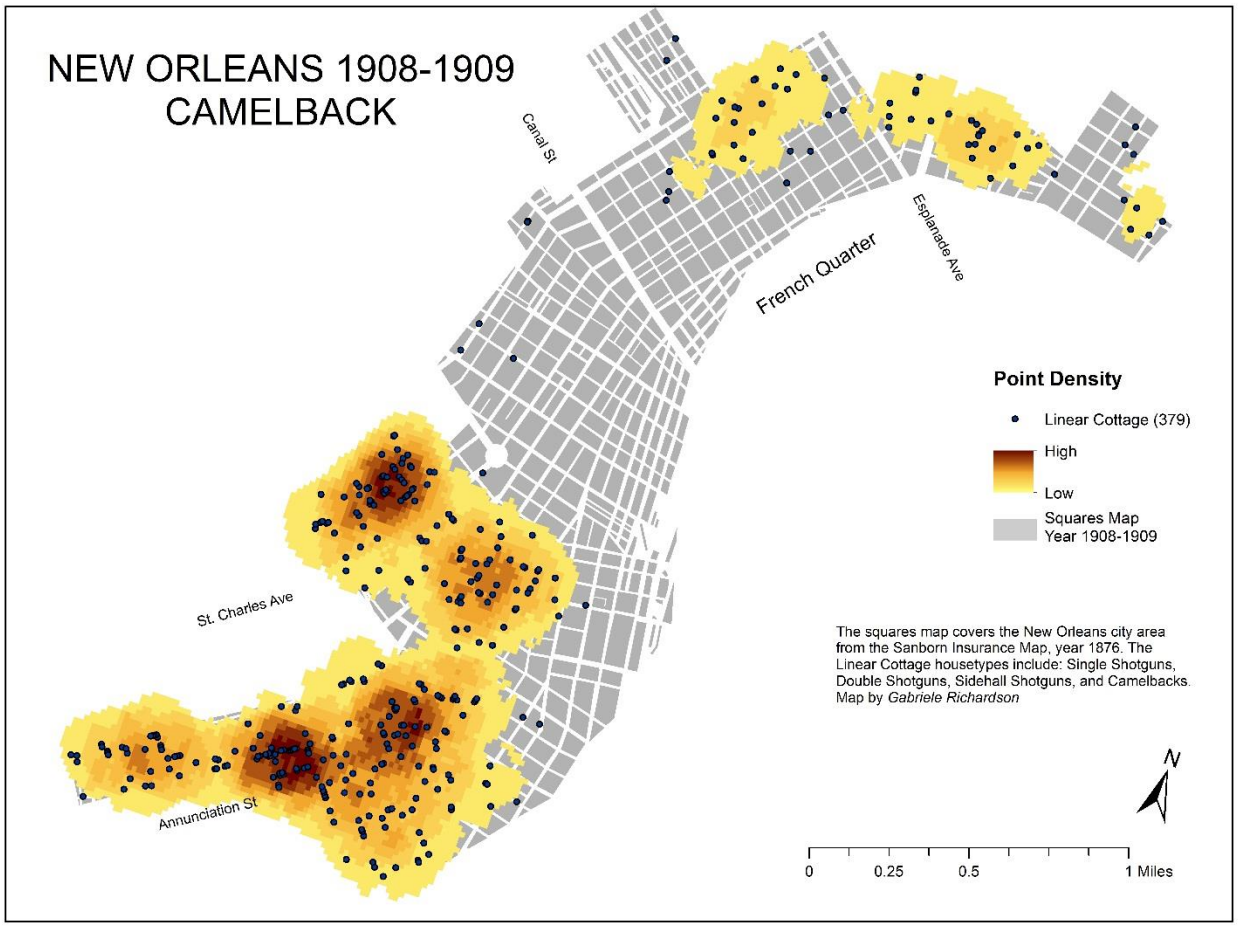
lower St. Charles Ave., and Prytania Streets. New Duplexes were also built in the Quadroon Quarter and in Marigny and Bywater. The Duplex is an unusual case, somewhat out of the mainstream of linear cottage building. Its advantages do not seem to have drawn people to it, so its liabilities should be explored.

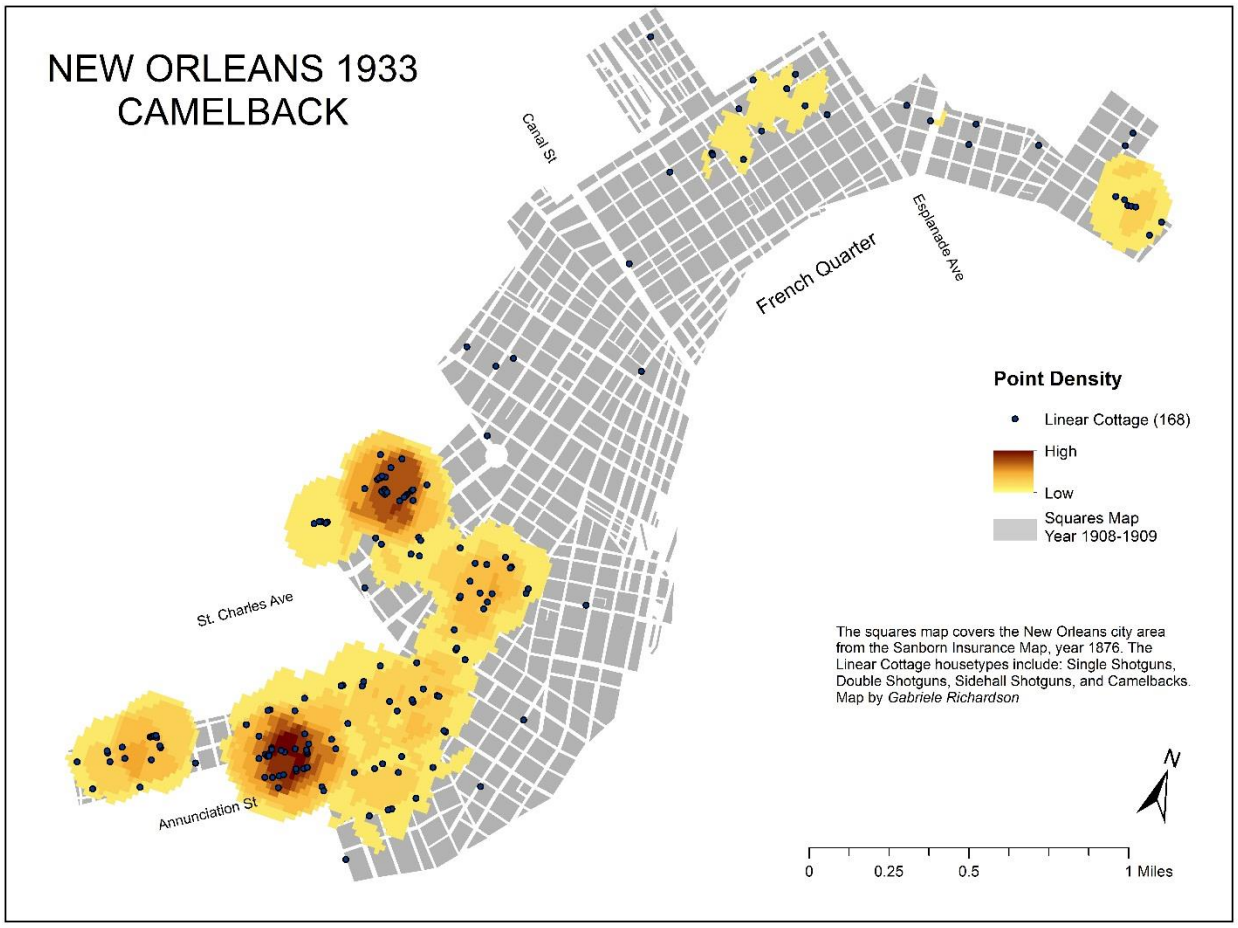
On the 1876 map medium to high density of Camelbacks is evident in the Central City Historic District, French Quarter and the Lower Garden District. Camelbacks were built more intense between 1885 and 1933 in the Lower Garden District and Central City Historic District, whereas all the way through the remaining areas Camelbacks appear scattered.

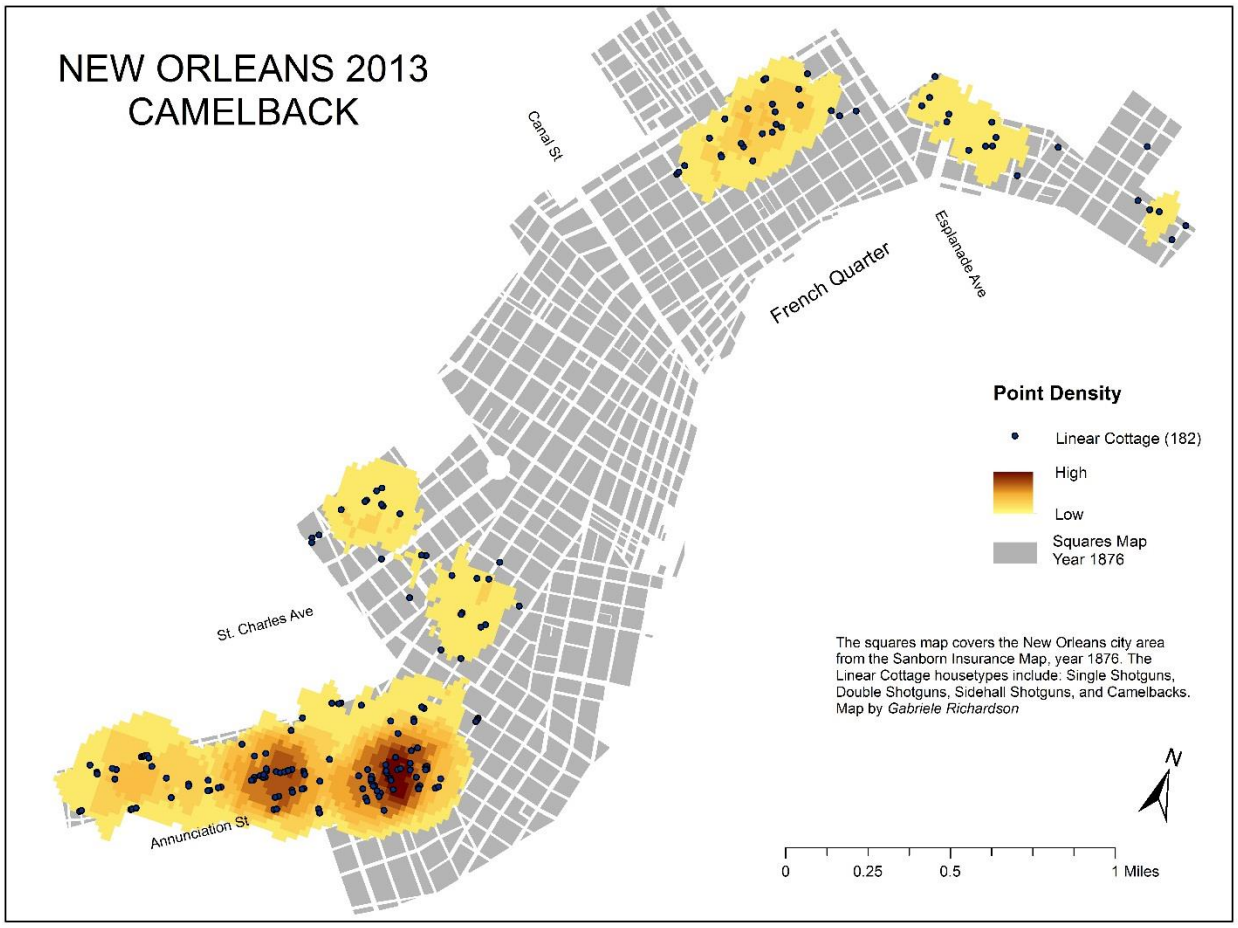
5. The Camelback House




NEW ORLEANS 1885
CAMELBACK
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (236)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1885
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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0.5
1 Miles


NEW ORLEANS 1908-1909
CAMELBACK
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (379)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1908-1909
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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1 Miles


NEW ORLEANS 1933
CAMELBACK
Canal St
French Quarter
Esplanade Ave
St. Charles Ave
Annunciation St
Point Density
Linear Cottage (168)
High
Low
Squares Map
Year 1908-1909
The squares map covers the New Orleans city area from the Sanborn Insurance Map, year 1876. The Linear Cottage housetypes include: Single Shotguns, Double Shotguns, Sidehall Shotguns, and Camelbacks.
Map by Gabriele Richardson
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The Camelback house (1 – 6 bays). In an earlier chapter we charted the rise of the Camelback house in the historic districts of New Orleans from 1876 to the present (Figs. 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.36). Our study area was much larger than that in use here. Our conclusion in Chapter 6 was that the Camelback house expanded greatly in New Orleans – a highly successful architectural adaption favored by middle class New Orleanians. We pointed out how it grew in both numbers and in proportion to most other house types until 1909, when its numbers remained constant. The number of Camelbacks in the combined historic districts levelled off at about 1,580 between 1909 and 2004. That is a truly remarkable run for a historic vernacular house type competing with modern forms.

In our present sample of the houses within the 1876 Sanborn map coverage, there were 174 Camelbacks in the much smaller study zone. This compares with 413 Singles (42 percent of the singles),

and 507 Doubles (34 percent of the Doubles). The camelback was a significant proportion of the total linear cottage houses. The changes through time, however, do not reflect what we found in the larger Historic Districts Study Area. True, the number of camelbacks grows substantially in 1885 (to 236) and in 1909 (to 379). However, the sustained popularity seen after 1909 in the larger study area is not paralleled by what occurred in the oldest section of the city. Here, in the 1876 Sanborn map zone, the total number of Camelbacks fell in 1933 to 168 – less than one-half of its 1909 population. By the year 2013, the number of Camelbacks had increased again, but only to 182. A tight grouping of Camelbacks had appeared at the edge of the Lower Garden District at the edge of St. Thomas Delpit.

What accounted for this change? One hypothesis is that the Camelback being a middle-class house, fell victim to the flight of the middle class away from the oldest New Orleans neighborhoods by 1933. We know that the French Quarter, for example, was approaching slum-like conditions, and that several of the older mixed neighborhoods in the city, such as New Marigny and parts of Central City were quickly becoming black and lower-class under the pressures of Jim Crow legislation and segregation. Perhaps the Camelback house requires a family with a middle class income, even to maintain and sustain it. Urban renewal projects and a quarter century of natural deterioration may have accounted for the rest.

In terms of densities, there are two clusters, one between Magazine and Annunciation Streets on the edge of the Garden District, and the other in Central City, very close to the approach to the Mississippi River Bridge pass over St. Charles Avenue. Other linear cottage-rich zones such as St. Thomas Delpit and the Lower Garden District sustain a moderate density of Camelbacks.

Concluding Thoughts

Here, hopefully, we have opened up more questions than we have answered. The purpose of our exercise was to add precision to our understanding of the evolution of the urban landscape. Our aim was also heuristic. Having mapped clusters of dominance of a single house type at a particular period or over a span of time, we are compelled to ask, “What was going on, here?” Why did the people of this neighborhood suddenly adopt a single style of house as their favorite? How did the fad begin and how did it end?

Clearly, questions such as these cannot be answered from afar. What is required is neighborhood history and ethnography. Ideally, teams of architectural historians, cultural anthropologists and, or, folklorists skilled at interviewing and conducting oral histories should be applied to these problems. Vernacular architecture works very much like the processes of transmission of oral literature. People listen (look, experience) from their neighbors, and they are sometimes sufficiently convinced of the benefits of knowing (living in) a cultural pattern, that they are compelled to adopt it. We need to learn more about these processes and their limitations. The kind of mapping that we have presented here is a first step in this process. Hopefully, it will lead to a clearer understanding of the processes of creation of our urban and rural landscapes.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In her consideration of the origins of the conception of "home" as a place of refuge and emotional support, author Judith Flanders reminds us that the Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages of northwestern Europe all distinguish between the concepts of "house," and "home."[225] This is something not done by other language groups such as Romance, Slavic and Turkish. That critical linguistic distinction orients us speakers from the homelands of the industrial revolution to distinguish critically between the building itself and the lifeways of, and challenges to, the people who reside within. The distinction is also important for scholars who study domesticity and vernacular architecture.

Since the origins of vernacular architecture studies described in Chapter 1, American and European scholars have concentrated primarily on the human aspects of domestic life – i.e., the "home." The vast majority of scholarly books and articles in vernacular architecture have focused upon the relations between the classes of people who reside within houses. These are the actors who design, build, or purchase them for specific, largely symbolic reasons. Subjects such as the nature of the interrelations between the residents and the society at large, and the economic, geographical, and social factors which shape domestic life within and around specific configurations of architectural form -- these have been the principal interests. Archival data – social, cultural, demographic, architectural, and otherwise historical -- is assembled and interpreted by the writers of articles in such journals as *Material Culture*, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* and its successor, *Buildings and Landscapes*. Almost every essay… "published over the years in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* illustrates the point. Almost every one… relies on analytical/technical structures and explication to move the reader through an understanding of their subjects." Indeed, calls for even greater levels of capture of the intimate lives of residents and participants are being called for.[226]

Except for one possible caveat, this is all to the good. How could we argue against getting to know the participants in our architectural dramas even better? That one thing, however, is important. None of the numerous and often ingenious explanations offered in this large literature on social architecture explains the geometrical design of the buildings in which the participants reside. Most writers

appear uninterested in the sometimes remarkably enduring history of specific house types, as defined by their shared geometric principles. While dealing with numerous patterns of human-architectural interaction, the core of geometrical unities which characterizes the houses of specific social groups is left unexplored. Sociocultural explanations fail to account for geometric survival and adaptability, and isn't that central to architectural history? Shouldn't we remain curious about the centuries-long endurance of successful architectural types?

What, then, accounts for housetypes and their origins? What explains their tenacity across oceans and vast continental spaces? How is it that one basic design meets the needs of so many different kinds of people? Why is one house form sometimes popular in both rural and urban landscapes? Why is it favored by men and by women, or by free blacks and whites, or by working class laborers and middle class workers? We believe that a different, though not unrelated, form of explanation is required to answer such questions.

You might object, holding that our study is primarily an exploration of "house," rather than of "home" -- that it is more interested in architecture than in people, but nothing could be further from the truth. Architectural geometry *is* people acting. In order to answer some of the above questions and to document the rather amazing resilience of certain vernacular types, we cannot neglect the intimate lives of people who aspired to and lived within one type of structure. Indeed, we need, perhaps, even better tools and better documentation of the interactions which occur between people and their buildings. With this goal in mind, we have set out to explain, to the best of our abilities and within the limitations of our information, one very numerous and important American vernacular house type. We call for a re-recognition of the importance of studies that focus upon the history of architectural types. We believe that they represent a significant, legitimate contribution to scholarship – the kind of story which demands a telling not often previously attempted in detail.

From almost any perspective, the shotgun house stands as an important historical monument. It offers many miraculous aspects for consideration: 1) it has persisted over a period of more than three centuries that we know about, and it is still thriving in many locations; 2) it has undergone numerous

transformations and reinterpretations from indigenous shelter to suburban mansion, while never losing its identity or special symbolic value; and, 3) over the centuries it has appealed to, and sustained, an enormous variety of sorts of people operating under radically divergent constraints, provided them with optimum shelter and advantageous architectonic status, and with opportunities which they otherwise might not have enjoyed. The Atlantic linear cottage has also been significant because there have been so very many of them. Though not as numerous now, in North America alone they have numbered, not simply in the tens of thousands, but in the hundreds of thousands. In the twenty-first century, they are perhaps still the most populous house types of New Orleans and also of Haiti. How has it been possible for one simple sort of architectural configuration to achieve such importance to so many people?

This question cannot be given a satisfactory answer without coming to the realization that the shotgun, and successful house types in general, exhibit a kind of agency, seemingly independent of individual people, and particularly of professional designers and architects. It may be illusory, but shotgun houses give the appearance of living a life of their own, separated from that of other house types, or from social classes and races and ethnicities. This family of house types appears to have operated upon socio-historical principles unique to itself. Of course, such explanations are deceptive. What underlies the apparent forces of sustainability of material cultural forms is their obvious utility and their socially shared significances over vast reaches of time and space. Just as the wheel flourished from the ox cart, to the war chariot, to the steam locomotive, to the miraculous modern automobile, so, too, has the linear cottage found utility among potential residents and to the powerful manipulators of human groups over fast stretches of time and space.

Certain material configurations are simply lucky. They are sufficiently simple and effective so that they provide obvious advantages to those faced with different kinds of technical and social problems which call for innovative solutions. They provide an easy focus for inventors who need to manipulate material cultural forms for their own benefit. Once they have become institutionalized in popular knowledge, people faced by difficult problems turn to them to weigh their advantages. They have become folk ideas -- a recognized part of the wisdom of the culture. As such, they also carry a certain respect

which novel and even innovative competing solutions may lack. The folk, are, of course, conservative at heart, seeking previously acceptable solutions when given a choice. Linear cottages have been, everywhere, a part of the people's patrimony.

An Odyssey

All of this cannot detract from the fact of the astonishing acceptability and adaptability of a relatively simplistic conception for the layout of a house. Consider just a couple of examples of the ways in which the galleried linear cottage inserted itself into different cultural configurations: The small inside house, coupled in various ways with the well aeriated outside house, was a natural solution for people living in the heat and humidity of Upper Guinea. Beginning in the sixteenth century, as tribal societies and kingdoms of West Africa interacted with increasingly wider and more diverse populations, the requirements for hospitality grew. The outside house, an open pavilion or gallery, evolved into the *alpainter* of the Creolized Guinea Coastal trader – the Tangomao. For the trader and his or her family, the outside house was soon a symbol of hospitality and commerce. For those, like the *signores* of Senegal who ran trading networks, large elevated front galleries were soon the most important room of the house. Just as generations of European traders and administrators could not ignore the wealth generated from the slave trade, neither could they ignore the significance of this architectural symbol. It was quickly adopted by local European traders into their trading houses in the late sixteenth century.

Some of those same merchants carried it to America. For the Portuguese with their Spanish cousins, trading architecture was naturally transatlantic. From their perspective, the residential status of an economically successful planter (originally, a settler of an implanted colony), demanded the symbols of mercantile success. One of the most important -- an open reception room at the front of the residence. Once widely established in eastern-most Brazil by the Portuguese, the area was conquered by the Dutch. After over twenty years of experimentation in Pernambuco with this highly un-European form (the raised

planter's house), the Dutch carried it into the Caribbean with all of its architectural advantages. Beginning about 1640, front galleries started popping up all across the Caribbean colonies of the French and the British. To enterprising sugar planters, the Dutch were marketing the multiple advantages of their brand of successful maritime trading network. European demand for sugar soon translated into Caribbean colonial demand for Creolized architecture.

At another level, at the opposite end of the social and human scale, the Guinea Coast linear cottage appealed to an invisible but increasingly important American population – *los cimarrones* – the thousands of escaped African slaves in Hispañola. Alone in the mountains and the swampy coastal plains, they reconstituted aspects of their African architectural heritage as they created new communities in the bush. Their houses had to be small, quickly constructed and unobtrusive. Their palisaded or wattled walls and thatched roofs were dependent on local vegetal resources. The form might have logically been borrowed from the local Arawak natives, but it was not. In certain areas of West Africa, indigenous cultures had for centuries borrowed from the elegant symbols of success of the West African chief or king, or perhaps the linear house of the Tangomao trader. Front galleries decorated the houses of indigenous villages, where they survive today. One of these was at Cape Merserado in Liberia, a documented locus of slave trading. Both Portuguese and later French slaves came to Hispañola from those areas of the coasts of Upper Guinea where simple houses adorned with *alpainters* had been commonplace. So, in a climate similar to that of the Guinea Coast, the *cimarrones* incorporated front galleries into their bush huts. By the eighteenth century, the burgeoning populations of Free People of Color in French Saint-Domingue had adopted the *ti-kay* into the towns of that colony. There, it became the "low house" or the "long house." Planters also adopted it in their plantations for slave quarters houses (while sometimes lopping off the all-important but unappreciated, un-European front gallery).

Travelers and refugees from all of these groups of people came from, or through, Saint-Domingue, to Louisiana. The earliest French settlers did not build linear cottages, but by the time of the Haitian Revolution, beginning in 1791, free people of color from Saint-Domingue began to struggle into New Orleans. A few built linear houses in the French Quarter. Most of the refugees went first to Cuba or

other islands, but by 1809, when Spain expelled French citizens, New Orleans was the closest French-speaking port of entry for the refugees and their slaves. As many as one-third of the refugee population was free people of color, and it was mostly they who began to influence the vernacular architecture of New Orleans in new directions. They built Creole cottages and linear cottages, and decorated the facades with platibandas from the *oriente* of Cuba (specifically Saintiago de Cuba). Free black people who were land owners in and around New Orleans constructed linear cottages (Fig. 9.1). In Lafon's 1804 – 1806 surveys outside of New Orleans, black Creoles resided in linear cottages while white French Creoles from Louisiana maintained a preference for non-linear Creole style cottages.

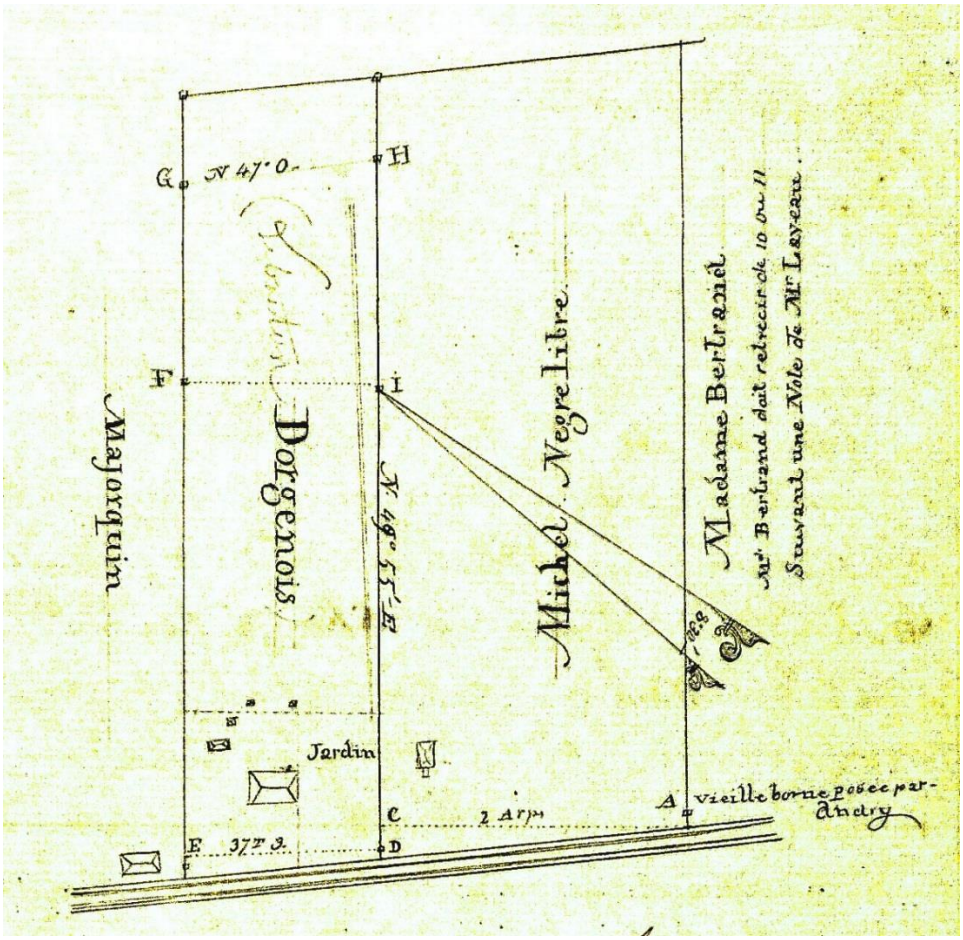


Fig. 9.1. A survey of properties on the Bayou Road, near New Orleans, by Barthelemy Lafon, 1804. The Frenchmen, Majorquin and Dorgenois, live in larger hip-roofed Creole cottages, while their Free Negro neighbor, Michel, lives in a small, raised 2-room hip-roofed linear cottage. This pattern is repeated in several surveys (courtesy of the Grand Masonic Lodge, Alexandria, LA).

Former slaves also built tiny *ti-kay*, and free women of color built linear cottages in the Quadroon Quarter and in the Ramparts of the growing city. Once again, the old linear cottage met new needs, Rental spaces were added to the rear of linear residences, either attached or detatched. The colored women of the area became the landladies to hundreds of newcomers seeking their fortunes in the rapidly growing economy.

By the time the Greek Revival fad had arrived, ca. 1835, the linear cottage had evolved into numerous different forms: Doubles, Side-Halls and Duplexes. It was already appealing to people of better economic means. It was also being used as slave quarters housing on farms and plantations, though evidence of the various forms of Antebellum slave housing is hard to come by.

By the end of the Civil War, New Orleans was the shotgun capital of the country. Hundreds of linear cottages of all types existed, particularly in the neighborhoods favored by former free people of color, such as the Quadroon Quarter of the French Quarter, and faubourgs Marigny, Tremé, and increasingly around the Lower Garden District. As residential segregation began to take hold of New Orleans beginning about 1890, black people clustered in certain neighborhoods, such as the Seventh Ward, the Ninth Ward and Central City. There, many linear cottages were constructed by the families of workers in the building trades. Bootstrap development characterized the black neighborhoods. However, at the same time, white Anglo Americans began to construct large and well decorated linear cottages, particularly Camelbacks and Doubles, between the Garden District and Carrolton. Perhaps the fathers of some of whose residents had enjoyed the care and hospitality of colored landladies in their linear cottages when they had first arrived in Antebellum New Orleans. At any rate, the old linear cottage had crossed the boundary into White middle class respectability, where it remains.

In Antebellum times, many former free people of color left Louisiana for places in the North where there were better opportunities for colored people. Later, German families in New Orleans also migrated to other river cities, carrying with them the linear cottage forms of New Orleans. Neighborhoods of linear cottages grew up in Louisville, Natchez and Memphis. Following the Civil War, planters sub-

divided their former plantations plots for share-croppers. The shotgun Single became one of the most common forms of housing for these impoverished agricultural workers, many only recently freed from slavery.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century another shotgun house revolution was under way. Former slave cabins, mostly small shotgun Singles, were being demolished as symbols of the old South and slavery. New settlements and entire villages of linear cottages were springing up in towns and industrial zones. This was the Great Shotgun Rebuilding, when literally thousands of new shotgun house kits were shipped out of millwork shops in the South. By 1930 it was over, but other kinds of Linear Cottages, particularly bungaloid Double-plan houses, were being erected by newly employed and newly educated black families across the South.

As black populations differentiated and fitted themselves into an increasingly wider variety of rural, industrial and urban niches in the New South, each faced the decision of what to do about their heritage of black vernacular architecture. Some, such as the new professorial and professional class of middle class white-collar workers rejected the old traditions out of hand. They adopted, instead, copies of popular American domestic urban architecture, such as catalog bungalows or one of the various architectural revivals of the 1930s. Other black populations, as in Charleston, rebuilt, improving upon the forms of linear cottage from their own local heritage. The vernacular architecture of New Orleans remained as an inspiration for the new Bungalow-based architecture of the 1930s and 1940s. And still, the process of linear cottage readaptation was not finished. To the amazement of traditionalists, it was soon jumping new boundaries. In the twenty-first century, neo-vernacular architecture, the product of professional builders and architects but inspired by the linear cottage traditions of New Orleans, is now found scattered across the country. Radical, even fanciful, re-imaginations of basic New Orleans linear cottage forms are arising from the design ingenuities of a new generation of architects. Decked with solar panels and painted in livid colors, it may disguise its early heritage, but that is what innovation in material culture is all about. The old humble Linear Cottage is not yet dead.

We began this book with a brief look at Louisiana's architectural history. We sought to emphasize the idea that common people, even very poor and powerless people, often exert a profound impact on the cultural landscapes of places like New Orleans. We also sought to point out that Eurocentric apologists often ignore the impact of these kinds of people, even though their impact on the number of historic structures, for example, is often far greater than that of the professional and the elite. Here, it is appropriate to appropriate and paraphrase a wonderful paragraph from Judith Flanders' recent work:

> When change comes to large numbers of people low-down on the social scale, Marxist and sociological interpretations of history view the masses, not as actors, but as those who are acted upon. The same is true of the great (white) man school of architectural history. It is the common person who is viewed as consumer, helplessly washed about by the tides of circumstances and the obvious brilliance of the professional or the power of the entrepreneur. In the view of the former historians, it was the forces of mercantilism, or colonialism, or urbanization, or commercialism that drove the emergence of the modern nation-state with its distinctively specialized cultural landscapes. But, while granting due weight to the difficulty of attributing agency to millions *en masse*, if we try to see colonialism or commercialization or urbanization as the result of private desires, then it becomes possible to read the emergence of the modern world, not as a mighty thunderclap where these abstract forces suddenly collided, but as the natural outcome of a series of smaller, private goals in the rising new middle classes.[227]

When we consider celebrating the exceptionalism of the historic cultural landscapes of Louisiana, we must not overlook the fact that in large measure, that very artful distinctiveness owes much of its character, not to great architects and urban planners, but to millions of small decisions made by common people. They struggled with the available resources to produce a satisfying and socially acceptable lifestyle. A large part of that lifestyle was their investment in its most expensive component, their house.

It was the product of available resources and knowledge, and their desires and aspirations. It is to them that we owe an unrecognized debt and a scholarly homage long overdue.

NOTES

Preface

P1 Cable, George Washington.1879. *Old Creole Days*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Hearn, Lafcadio. 1883. "The Scenes of Cable's Romances," *Century Magazine*.

P2 Cable, 1889. "Sieur George," *Old Creole Days*. New York: New American Library. P. 186.

Chapter 1

1. See: Colloredo-Mansfield 1994.

2. See: Ole Scheeren. Why Great Architecture Should Tell a Story. Accessed Feb. 6, 2016 at: https://www.ted.com/talks/ole_scheeren_why_great_architecture_should_tell_a_story?language=en

3. Richard Koch's career and contributions are described in: Masson, Frank. Richard Koch, 2013:359-60; Sam Wilson, the Survey in Louisiana in the 1930s. 1983. See also Gorin, 1991, p. 9.

4. Pope 2015:79-81.

5. Gorin 1991, pp. 15-16.

6. During the French colonial period (1699-1765), Wilson studied the drawings and buildings of Pierre le Blond de la Tour (1st Engineer of the colony, ca. 1718-1724), Adrian de Pauger, 2nd engineer of the Louisiana colony, 1720-1724), Pierre Baron, acting King's Engineer, 1727, Ignace François Broutin, King's Engineer (1st Ursuline Convent, 2nd Ursuline Convent 1730 – 1759), Alexandre De Batz [Wilson 1963, Louisiana Drawings of Alexandre De Batz, JSAH 22(2):75-89]. and Claude Joseph Dubreuil de Villars, (1730s through the 1750s). Wilson, 1987.

7. Wilson, 1975; Wilson 1980; and Wilson 1968.

8. Wilson 1968.

9. Gorin 1991:81.

10. Wilson, n.d., Louisiana History of Architecture.

11. Wilson 1992:8. Samuel Wilson, personal communication: lecture to LSU class in vernacular architecture, June 5, 1980; 1987. *The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana, Collected Essays*. Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 33, 35.

12. Kniffen 1990:35.:Kniffen 1990:36.
13. As described in, Kniffen, 1990. The Study of Folk Architecture.
14. Kniffen 1936 pp. 179-93
15. Kniffen 1965:549-77.
16. Co-author Edwards was an anthropology graduate student at the same time at Tulane, and was introduced to Henry. His apartment was adorned with full-sized sketches of the cartoon character, Pogo, whom Henry loved.
17. Glassie, 1968:viii.
18. Glassie 1975.
19. The condition of a *gemeinschaft*, or a strong sense of common identity and unity -- an unstructured social order in which all members of a community are emotionally bonded, permitting them to share common experiences through the practices of domestic life, and other rituals. – Victor and Edith Turner.
20. Knipmeyer 1956:79.
21. Knipmeyer 1956:81.
22. Vlach 1975. Vol.I:58; Newton 1971:15.
23. Vlach 1975:5.
24. Judy died in 2009 at the age of 64, but 255 of her chain of title surveys are available in the special collections section of the Louisiana Division of the New Orleans Public Library.
25. Wayne Everade: http://nutrias.org/~nopl/house2/intro.htm
26. Located at: < http://www.hnoc.org/vcs/index.php>
27. 2013:31.
28. Hubka 2013:24.
29. Wilson 1968:125.
30. Friends of the Cabildo 1984:71.
31. Tudor 1987:4.

32. Weiss 1997:281.

33. Weiss 2015:29.

34. Edwards 2009.

35. Donna Fricker, The Louisiana Lumber Boom, c. 1880-1925.n.d.: E-article. P. 9.

Chapter 2.

36. Accessed at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk.fac/spc/sociology//rsw/current/cscs/creolizationconcepts Accessed 11/3/10.

37. Stewart 2007:18. See also: Delle, 2000; Edwards 2011; 2015; Palmie 2006, Price 2005.

38. Le Maire 1985 (1714):

39. Robin, 1966 (1808); Pujol 1939.

40. Benitez-Rojo 1995; Bernabe, Chamoiseau and Confiant 1989; Bhabba 1990; Edwards 2015.

41. Mota et. al. 1948, Berlin 1996; Brooks 1993; Mark 1990; 1995; Prussin 1974; Prussin and Lee 1973.

42. For overviews, see particularly: Brooks 1993, 2003; Mark 1996, 2003; Teixeira de Mota 1948, and Bourdier and Minh-Ha 1996.

43. The houses in Figure 2.3, shown From top to bottom: 1) An indigenous house with a front gallery of the type found among Fula or Peule people, south of the Senegal River; 2) The 18th century French CFRO colonial trading post building with full-length gallery on the ground floor, Albreda, on the Gambia River; 3) An eighteenth century style Portuguese trading post at Ziguinchor on the Casamance River, as originally sketched in 1851 by Hyacinthe Hecquard; 4) A typical indigenous compound at Cape Merserado as sketched in 1725 by Labat. All of these buildings incorporate full front galleries into their forms, indicating that the early post buildings of both Creole traders and the Europeans borrowed extensively from local indigenous architecture.

44. Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Afrique Occidentale*, vol. 4, quoted in Astley 1968: II:285. 1724 *Nouveau Voyage au Isles de L'Amerique*, 8 Vol., Paris: Jean de Nully. vol. 6.

The caption reads: A. Houses of blacks of Cape Merserado, built in red clay; B. Kitchen; C. Granery for millet and rice, in red clay; D. Pavilion or men's assembly shed for political discussions during the day; E.

The court; F. public space. The expanded sketch of the linear kombet or pavilion is by MLE for the Kniffen Lab. Slaves were shipped from Cape Mersuado to Saint-Domingue, where the *ti-kay* predominated in the vernacular of the maroons and free people of color.

45. Jobson, 1623.64; Labat 1724.Fig. 2.4).

46. Dias, 1992; Mark, 2002; Teixeira 1980.

47. Labat *Afrique Occidentale* Vol. 4, quoted in Astley 1968, Vol. 2:285.

48. Jean Gaspard Dollfus. 1954. *Aspects de l'architecture populaire dans le monde.* Paris: Éditions Albert Morancé.

49. Mark 2002:97-113.

50. Fig. 2.6. Moore 1738; Astley 1968, vol. II:226-27. The Factory was built by Mandingo builders who required that a front gallery be incorporated so that there would be a place of repose for visiting traders (caption No. 1, *alpaintre*). The post building is surrounded by circular service buildings in the fashion of the local indigenous vernacular, including a kitchen. The Gambia River is towards the bottom.

51. Miller 2010:15; Diallo 1975.

52. Hinchman, 2000.

53. Post, Franz 1660; Mark 2002:66-67; Edwards 1989:23-33. On encircling galleries, see Barlaeus 1660; Sloane 1707:xlvii, lxxiii.

54. Fig. 2.14. Note that the Manager's house is surrounded by an encircling gallery. Domestic workers in the thatched-roof kitchen shed in the foreground are squeezing manioc tuber cuttings with a *couleuvre* (basketry squeezer) and cooking manioc cakes on a large pottery grill. These indigenous techniques are still used in South America and the Caribbean, including Haiti. Franz Post woodcut 1647 redrafted for clarity by MLE for the Kniffen Lab. Barlaeus 1660.

55. De Oviedo 1532; Myers 2007:140.

56. Vlach 1975:106-07; Loven 1935.

57. Maroons – roughly, "ridge runners"

58. Vlach 1975 vol. I:194-97.

59. Edwards and Kariouk 2004:40.

60. Vlach 1975:107; Edwards and Kariouk 2004:40,121.

61. Bell, Beverly. 2013. *Fault Lines: Views across Haiti's Divide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pp. 32–40.

62. Caillot 1729-1730.

63. Hazard 1872.

64. Fig. 2.41. The artist was a clerk, sailing from France to New Orleans to take up his post with the Company of the Indies. The illustration shows approximately a dozen linear cottages scattered about the town. The bell of the church was hung in the tree near its front door. Le Cayes is located on the south shore of the southwest peninsula of Haiti. Greenwald 2013:50-62, Plate 16.

65. Lux, n.d.

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66. Johnson, Jerah, Colonial New Orleans, in Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds., Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization 1992. Baton Rouge: LSU Press, pp. 12-57.

67. Spear 2009:59-68.

68. Dessen 2007:35.

69. Martin 2000:6:0.

70. Logston and Bell (1992); Hall (1992); Din and Harkings (1996); Dominguz (1997); Hanger (1997); and Lachance (1998:112).

71. Lachance 1999:171.

72. Higher in New Orleans; Judith Kelleher Schafer**.** *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. Accessed: 7/17/16 at: <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=8505>.

73. 1997:27.

74. Lachance 1999:175.

75. Rousseve 1937:102.

76. Clark 2013:101.

77. Clark 2013:110.

78. Lemmon and Lawrence, 2006:86.

79. Dessens 2007:27.

80. Hanger 1993:83.

81. Gonichon's Plan of 1730, Lemmon, McGill and Wiese 2003:310-11.

82. Lemmon et. al. 2003:318-19.

83. Plan of Joseph de Pilié, Jan. 30, 1819.

84. New Orleans, n.d.. Acts of the Cabildo.

85. NONA Felix de Armas, N.P. March 17, 1836:104:35.

86. "Many fine women with brunette complexions are to be seen walking the streets with the air of donnas. They wear no bonnets, but as a substitute, fasten a veil to the head. As they move it floats gracefully around them. These are termed quadroons, one quarter of their blood being tinged with African. Some of the finest looking women in New Orleans are Quadroons…"

87. James Register, 1834-35. *New Orleans is My Name*. Shreveport, LA. Mid South Press, 1971:28. Lachance, The Formation of a Three-Caste Society: 273-78.

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88. Asher Benjamin 1838, 1843; Minard Lafever 1833.

89. Sam Wilson Jr., quoted in Huber 1965:37; Edwards and Kariouk 2004:10.

90. Harris 1977:36, 203.

91. Christovich, et. al. 1972:95.

92. Wilson et. al. 1984:51, 67.

93. Hamlin 1944:348.

94. Hamlin 1944:353; Lafever 1855: Plate 1.

95. Banks 1997:1.

96. Kennedy 1989:299.

97. Register 1971.

98. See also NONA 073.025; Wilson et.al. 1984:88.

99. Wilson et.al. 1984:173.

100. Wilson et.al. 1984:72, 155.

101. Caldwell 1991:174-207; Brantley 2015.

Chapter 5

102. Fricker, Donna, n.d.:4; Fricker, Jonathan, 1997:248-255; Morrison, 1885 53; Reeves, 2003:52-65; Mancel 1972.

103. Fricker, Donna, n.d.:1, 5; Mancil, 1972, Figs. 98, 101, 103, 105.

104. Andrew Morrison, 1885, *The Industries of New Orleans*: 53.

105. Designed and Compiled by William Bell, New Orleans, 1880. Tulane University Archives TH1155.R62.1880.

106. Accessed at: **https://archive.org/stream/IllustratedCatalogOfMouldingsArchitecturalOrnamentalWoodWork/MouldingsDesigns0001#page/n117/mode/2up/**

107. Roberts and Co. New Orleans. *Illustrated Catalogue of Mouldings, Architectural & Ornamental…* for the years 1880 and 1891 Courtesy the Tulane University Archives and the Historic New Orleans Collection.

108. Downing, A.J. 1968 (1850).

109. Caldwell 1997:224.

110. Caldwell 1997 Fig. 17.

111. https://www.nola.gov/nola/media/HDLC/Guidelines/03-TypesStyles.pdf> p. 11, "Italianate."

Commented [JDE1]:

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112. Vogt 1985:102-05; http://www.nola.gov/getattachment/VCC/Design-Guidelines/VCC-08_Porches-Galleries-Balconies_2015-08_FINAL.PDF/ <http://www.nola.gov/hdlc/documents/09_porchesgalleries_2015-04-24/>

113. Vogt 1985:105.

114. Adamick Architecture web site: https://adamickarchitecture.com/2016/06/28/historic-home-brackets/>.

115. Oszuscik 1992. African-Americans in the American South:157-169.

116. Fricker, Donna, n.d., Photo 41.

117. Glassie 2000:71.

118. Glassie 2000: 71-71, 75.

119. Glassie 2000:76.

120. Glassie 2000:113.

121. Glassie 2000:117.

122. Glassie 2000:126-27.

123. Okude, 1986.

124. Glassie 1975.

125. Vlach 1975; Edwards 2009; 2011.

126. Glassie 2000:144.

127. Foster 2006.

128. Mancil, 1972; Fricker, Donna, n.d.

129. McAlester and McAlester, 1996:262-287.

130. Vogt 1985:111.

131. Pallister's Model Homes, 1878. Plate 18.

132. 1868; Schlereth 1991:100.

133. Fitch 1961:46.

134. HDLC New Orleans Building Types and Architectural Styles: https://www.nola.gov/nola/media/HDLC/Guidelines/03-TypesStyles.pdf. P. 13.

135. Fricker, Fricker and Duncan 1998:53; Lancaster 1958.

136. King 1995:130.

137. Lancaster 1958.

138. Sears Catalog Homes: How to Identify a Sears Kit House: http://inspectapedia.com/Design/Sears_Kit_House_Identification.php

139. Including: Modern Home No. 147, 1908; The Classical Revival style C 2009 from the 1917 Catalog; "The Hampton" from the 1926 catalog; "The Starlight" from the 1927 catalog, and "The Hudson" from the 1936 catalog.

140. A near exception in the catalogs was Sears' "The Kimball," a four room cottage with added front porch with California bungalow pillars. The bedrooms on the right side were slightly narrower than the Living/Dining and Kitchen on the left side. Refer to the 1926 Sears House Catalog. Reprinted by Dover Publications, 1991, p. 116.

141. For the plans of catalog and architect-designed bungalows, see: Downing and Flemming, 1981; Flemming, 1981: Duncan, 1998; Lancaster 1958.

142. Kniffen 1936; 1965; Kniffen and Glassie 1966.

143. Hussey 1875, Plate 30.

144. Lancaster 1958:79-106; King 1995:127-155.

Chapter 6

145. In this chapter, themes of established house types and families of houses are capitalized for clarity. These categories of houses meet the criteria discussed in the article. Gabriele Richardson wrote the article with the assistance of her dissertation advisor, Jay D. Edwards, Dept. Geography & Anthropology, LSU. (gwruss@lsu.edu).

146. With the exception of those in a few neighborhoods of Louisville Kentucky and other cities, which also contain Camelbacks.

147. Ruth Schwartz Cowan, "The Consumption Junction: A Proposal for Research Strategies in the Sociology of Technology" in, *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*, Bijker, Wiebe E. and Hughes, Thomas P. and Pinch, Trevor. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2012, 253-272, available from http://muse.jhu.edu/books/9780262301626;

148. Steven Johnson, *How We Got to Now* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2014), 117; Wiebe Bijker et. al, The Social Construction of Technological Systems (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012) Introduction. A more contemporary expression of this accidental configuration of fruitful possibilities was stated by Walter Isaacson recently: "Microchips allowed computers to become small enough to be personal appliances, and packet-switched networks allowed them to be connected as nodes on a web. This merger of the personal computer and the Internet allowed digital creativity, content sharing on a mass scale. It made real what Ada [Lovelace] called "poetical science," in which "creativity and technology were the warp and woof, like a tapestry from Jacquard's loom." *The Innovators.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), 467.

149. "City of New Orleans," last modified May 2011, http://www.nola.gov/nola/media/HDLC/Guidelines/03-TypesStyles.pdf.
Relevant governmental and non-governmental agencies in New Orleans which oversee the history of its house types and styles include: The Historic District Landmarks Commission (HDLC), the Vieux Carré Commission (VCC), the New Orleans Notarial Archives - History Section of the Office of the Clerk of Courts (NONA), and the Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans (PRC).

150. Due to its widespread antecedents, the Shotgun Family is better referred to as the Atlantic Linear Cottage Family. See: Jay D. Edwards (2011), Creolization Theory and the Odyssey of the Atlantic Linear Cottage, *Etnofoor, Architecture* 23 (1):50-83.

Historically unrelated buildings and types sometimes bear coincident similarities with genuine card-carrying members of the Shotgun family. Any attempt to categorize a shotgun-like house or other vernacular subtype which omits a description of its place in the historical development of its larger architectural family increases the dangers of facile misidentification.

151. First defined in print in 1936 by Fred B. Kniffen of Louisiana State University. Louisiana House Types. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 26 (4):179-93. Additional scholarship includes: John Michael Vlach, *Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents,* 2 volumes (PhD diss., Indiana University-Bloomington, 1975); "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," *Pioneer America* (1976): 8 (1):47-56; 8 (2) 57-70; "The Shotgun House," *Natural History* (1977): 86: 50-57; "Architecture," chap. 8, in John Michael Vlach, ed., *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990): 122-38; "New Orleans: African-American," in, Paul Oliver, ed,, *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press, 1997), Vol III, p. 1912; Jay D. Edwards, "Shotgun: The Most Contested House in America," *Buildings & Landscapes* (2009): 16 (1):62-96; Edwards, Creolization Theory (2011). For the standard narrative of shotgun history, see: Weiss, Ellen, Shotguns, a Louisiana Building Type, in Jessie Poesch and Barbara SoRelle Bacot, eds., Louisiana Buildings 1720-1940. (1997):279-94; Kingsley. Karen, Buildings of Louisiana (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003):24-26.

152. Typology is particular useful when we expand the scope of our studies to broad arenas, such the continental United States or the Atlantic World. The same is true of studies that explore architectural time depth through multiple centuries. Without the use of systematic types, comparisons would remain overly narrow and cumbersome. Housetypes are ultimately hypotheses about how people comprehend and value their built environments. See: Thomas C. Hubka, *Houses without Names*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2013. Henry Glassie, *Folk Houses of Middle Virginia*, Virginia (Knoxville TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1975). A type formally defined on the basis of a geometric pattern is referred to here with the agglutinated English form "housetype." Housetypes based upon their geometries have been studied scientifically and mathematically in a field referred to Shape

Grammars. See, for example: G. Stiny, Introduction to Shape and Shape Grammars. *Environment and Planning B* (1980) 7(3):311-342.

153. Relative abundance points to relative social significance. Why, exactly, did this one geometrical configuration become so dominant in the lives of the people of this place? -- the linear cottage, for example.

154. In later, more evolved forms, this regularity is often disrupted by the insertion of new functional spaces and by the whims and experiments of vernacular builders. Evidence of the heritage of the "protypical" form of layout generally persists.

155. In 1802, the French visitor, Berquin-Duvallon wrote the following description of the houses in New Orleans: *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississippi, ou des provinces de Louisiana et Floride Occidentale*: 1803. Paris: pp. 25-26 (JDE translation from French original:

> The greater part of the houses are constructed of wood, raised on a *rez-de-chaussée* -- a kind of support post and a foundation in brick [elsewhere described as being "square-hewn nine inch posts or else on round posts which have a four or five foot brick foundation wall."] They are covered with shingles. All are of very combustible cypress. Also, this city was accidentally burned two times over an interval of a few years, in March 1788 and in December of 1794. Despite this, they build again every day for reasons of economy a kind of large booth [*échoppes* referring, perhaps to Single shotguns?] in the center of the town and on the residential lots of the old burned buildings, without giving thought to the dangerous consequences of this sort of construction,. Everything is in cypress with the exception of the foundations, and what I assume are the fire places.
>
> There are some solid and less risky buildings that have been built along the riverbanks, and in the first streets in the front of the town. These are constructed of fired brick, a few being two stories high with narrow front galleries on the front of the ground floors. In the other parts

of the city and the neighborhood, one sees nothing but hovels. [*baraques* -- perhaps referring to *poteaux-en-terre* (post-in-the-ground) construction].

See also: Fortier, Alcée. *A History of Louisiana*. 1904. New York: Manzi, Joyant & Co. Vol. II, p. 272.

156. Acts of the Cabildo, Sept.1795; assessed on microfilm at the Louisiana Room of the New Orleans Public Library. Thus, the first of a number of distinctions based on relative wealth were enshrined into the zoning regulations of New Orleans, though there is evidence that these were often ignored in practice.

Later, in 1806, a temporary exception was made for the numerous "poor people" who could not afford to purchase expensive imported tile or slate for their roofs. They could substitute *pieux* or boards "not less than eight or ten feet long," as shingles. These enormous shingles came to be called "*merins*" (*merrains*). They were favored because they were sufficiently heavy that they could not be carried by the updrafts of hot air to adjoining properties since it was claimed that this was how burning shingles spread the disastrous fires of 1788 and 1794. Acts of the Council de Ville, Sept. 8, 1806. "Police [enforced] Regulations" of New Orleans Article 19.

157. Nathalie Dessens. *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences*. (Southern Dissent. Gainesville, FL : University Press of Florida, 2007); Gabriel Debien and René Le Gardeur, The Saint-Domingue refugees in Louisiana**,** 1792-1804," in *The Road to Louisiana : the Saint-Domingue refugees, 1792-1809*, edited and annotated by Carl A. Brasseaux and Glenn R. Conrad; with translations by David Cheramie (Lafayette, La.: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992); Paul Lachance, The 1809 immigration of Saint-Domingue refugees to New Orleans, in *The Road to Louisiana: the Saint-Domingue refugees, 1792-1809*, edited and annotated by Carl A. Brasseaux and Glenn R. Conrad; with translations by David Cheramie (Lafayette, La.: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992).

158. In Fig. 6.6, the ti-kay is in the center. It has a front *abat vent* rather than the front gallery more typical of Saint-Domingue. In New Orleans, the *abat vent* was about four feet deep. It extends out over the *banquette*, as specified in the Colonial Ordinances of the Cabildo, Dec. 11, 1789. Note the expanded *appentis* cottage on the left side of this figure. Both linear cottages are covered with shingles. The tiny Creole cottage on the right is covered with *merrains*, its walls constructed with vertical *bois de chaland*, or bargeboards. The curious object on the right side of its roof is a whale-oil street lamp protected from squatting birds by upward-pointed spikes.

159. Our interpretation of the survey in Fig. 6.3: A portion of a survey of the 500 block of Bienville Street showing the downtown side of Vieux Carré *îlot* (square) 30, with lot dimensions, owners, and street names. The unpublished survey conducted by Barthelemy Lafon, Sept. 28, 1804. The survey shows a Single shotgun, three rooms deep and about 15 *pieds* (royal feet of Paris) wide, owned by Bachus, a free man of color. It also shows a Double linear cottage, two rooms deep on a section of the same *terrain* (lot).

Mr. Bachus had subdivided this lot and sold a 40 *pied* by 90 *pied* portion to Polinario Sinfuego, who requested the survey (act before Pedro Pedesclaux, N.P., April 8, 1802). The property lines were verified by Lafon's survey. This, together with many other property surveys by Lafon in New Orleans, 1804 – 1808, represents the bulk of the earliest evidence available for the existence of shotgun houses in Louisiana.

160. "Bricked up between posts:" a heavy timber frame, the interstices filled in with bricks, the entire wall plastered over with stucco or covered with clapboards. So-called "Norman" through-purlin roof trusses were common to northern and western France through the eighteenth century.

161. By 1880, the Double would rise to become the single most popular house type in the city.

162. Maps, and architectural elevations and plans from this period are hand-drawn, thus, requiring rather elaborate georeferencing. They were not always described in English. New Orleans retained a great deal of French and some Spanish documentation well into the nineteenth century.

163. The Sanborn Insurance Company began business in 1867. The first maps of New Orleans date from 1876. We combined the separate sheets within each of four different series: 1876, 1885-93, 1895-96 and 1908-09. The earliest Sanborn map series, the unique 1876, is housed in the Southeastern Architectural Archive, a division of the Tulane University Library Special Collections. The other series were photographed in the Geography and Maps Division of the Library of Congress.

The number of sheets in each set is as follows:

1876: 48

1885-93: 230

1895-96: 416

1908-09: 790

The total amounts to 1,484 sheets. Each sheet contains, typically, up to six city squares and each square may contain ten to twenty buildings. The number of buildings contained in these four surveys of New Orleans is in excess of 140,000. This represents our Large Study Sample. From each sheet, Camelbacks were identified, located, and provided with GPS coordinates.

164. Using Adobe Photoshop, Version 7.0, Author Richardson did her best to return the colors and contrasts of these maps to a single standard. Not uncommonly, individual Sanborn sheets contain groups of smaller maps drawn from different locations. These had to be cut and stitched into their appropriate places. Occasionally, isolated industrial sites are separated from the overall coverage. These were not included in our remake of the map layers. Each .jpg image was renamed with the proper date, volume, and sheet number of its Sanborn map series.

We assigned current street addresses to the historic buildings. Prior to ca. 1890 in New Orleans a different system of numbering houses was in use. Addresses listed on Sanborn maps prior to the 1896 Series were converted to their modern equivalents, permitting us to follow the evolution of historic buildings between 1876 and 1909. Fortunately for our research, these dates match well the greatest period of the growth of the Camelback house.

165. The Louisiana Collection of the New Orleans Public Library has microfilm copies of assessors' records beginning in 1855. Examples of the "field books" used by the assessors are housed in the Louisiana State Archives (Baton Rouge) and the New Orleans Public Library. See, for example: New Orleans Public Library, Microfilm CJ 430. New Orleans assessment records, First Municipality, 1836-1847, etc. Note that the Square Numbers used in the antebellum assessments are not the same as were standardized for the Districts of New Orleans later.

Louisiana constitutional and Orleans Parish tax assessment principals are covered in: Phillips, U.B., *The Revised Statutes of Louisiana* (New Orleans: John Claiborne, State Printer, 1856): 463-469; Dart, Benjamin Wall. 1932. *Constitutions of the State of Louisiana*…. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Publishers 1932): 253, 518, 533; Seay, Wm. A., *The Revised Statutes of the State of Louisiana from the Origin of the Territory to the year 1884, Inclusive* (Baton Rouge: Leon Jastreaski, State Printer, 1886): 538-549. All tax assessments were based upon the current market value of the land plus the market value of the improvements, including houses.

166. Testimony of George Jonas, president of the Canal Bank in New Orleans, Jan. 2, 1875, before the Select Committee on that portion of the President's Message relating to the Condition of the South. 43rd Congress, 2nd Session of the U.S. House of Representatives; *Congressional Series of United States Public Documents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875) Report 101, Part 2, 272. https://books.google.com/books?id=jllHAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false. Note that the widespread complaint against federal assessor's salaries is invalid because since at least the Louisiana constitution of 1856, New Orleans assessors had been paid three percent of the assessed value of the real estate on their individual assessment rolls, plus one percent of other taxes such as pole taxes and taxes on trades (Phillips, 1856: pp. 468-69).

167. As originally laid out in the French Quarter by 2nd Engineer, Adrian de Pauger in 1722, each square (or block) was 300 *pieds du roi* (feet of Paris) on a side -- roughly 320 English feet. Both in the City of Cap François in Saint-Domingue, and in New Orleans, squares were called *ilôts*, or "islands." Squares were surrounded by *banquettes* (planked wooden sidewalks), and surrounding ditches to drain water

away. Plank bridges spanned the ditches. Later, drains were installed and the sidewalks were paved with bricks. Residents were required to wash the banquettes and the ditches in front of their houses and stores each morning. It is an early morning custom still be seen in the French Quarter, today. A standard whole lot, 64 feet by 128 feet, English Measure, contains 7200 square feet. A half lot, 32 feet by 128 English feet contains half of that, or 3600 square feet. According to New Orleans assessors interviewed at the City Hall in New Orleans, assessment was always based upon the total evaluation rather than the size of the lot, though larger holdings receive substantially lower total tax rates. Antebellum taxes were based upon the total assessed valuation of the real property. Homeowners might contest the assessed valuation of their properties. If successful, the adjustments would lower their individual assessments somewhat.

168. Single story Linear Cottages were progressively converted into Camelbacks through the addition of rear two-story additions. In some cases, Camelbacks were constructed from scratch, particularly in the later decades of our survey. The most common pattern was where a single story Shotgun, Single or Double, originally had a detached two-story kitchen building standing behind it. The separation was often about 15 - 20 feet, about the depth of a single room. At some point the owners inserted a dining room between the two structures, extending the Shotgun by linking it together with the two-story kitchen and creating a Camelback

169. Although there is an extensive literature on the architectural history of New Orleans, we could find no source that related architectural form or style preferences to assessed valuations.

170. In Fig. 5.18, 1893: The linear cottages on lots 9r and 13.2 are serviced by detached two-story rear kitchens. Existing two-story kitchens have been connected to their main houses on lots 10r, 13.1, 14r.1, 14r.2, and 15. This was done by adding a dining room unit between the house and the old kitchen. All of the kitchens remain off-center from the main houses. Three of the added dining rooms have bays on that side which the old kitchens faced (see galleries indicated with dotted lines). The Creole cottages on N. Johnson are still serviced by detached kitchens.

171. Based on an incomplete survey of home ownership in Tremé and Marigny, 1886.

172. See, Dudley, Tara, Ownership, Engagement and Entrepreneurship: *The gens de couleur libres and the Architecture of Antebellum New Orleans, 1820-1850.* Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation in Architecture (University of Texas at Austin, 2012). For a detailed description of the role of marriage and *plaçage* in antebellum New Orleans, see Emily Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon* (Chapel Hill, NC. University of N.C. Press, 2013), particularly Chapters 2-4. See also, descriptions of the houses of Free Women of Color in Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Books, 1981 reprint of 1837 original): 182.

173. 1860 U.S. Census data summary for Louisiana.

174. For an outline of the ethnic history of the city, see: Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans: Urban Fabrics before the Storm*. (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2006), 13ff.

175. According to the 1880 census, about 81% of the immigrants were native-born U.S. citizens. Roughly, 19% were from foreign countries. In descending order of their numerical contributions, they included German-speaking sovereignties (14 thousand – 31%), Ireland (11.7 thousand – 28%), France (6.9 thousand – 17%), Italy, Spain, Nordic and other countries (6 thousand – 14.6%), Britain and Wales (1,800 – 4%), and British America (368). Germans, Irish and French clearly dominated the foreign-born populations of New Orleans.

176. G. Howard Hunter, "Fall of New Orleans and Federal Occupation," in *Know LA Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, edited by David Johnson. Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, 2010 –. Published July 27, 2011. http://www.knowla.org/entry/776/.

177. Lois Virginia Meacham Gould.1991: In Full enjoyment of their Liberty: The Free Women of Color of the Gulf Ports of New Orleans, Mobile and Pensacola, 1769-1860. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, Dept. of History. Note 52.

178. Adam Rothman. “Nothing to Stay Here For” How enslaved people helped to put slavery to death in New Orleans. 2015. Accessed 7/5/17 at: http://www.slate.com/articles/life/the_history_of_american_slavery/2015/09/the_end_of_slavery_in_new_orleans.html. See Unity (periodical, Chicago), Vol. III, Issue 25 (March 1879), pp 276-77.

179. For the collapse of slavery in New Orleans, see Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 1, vol. 1, *The Destruction of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), Chapter 4. On the experience of Confederate women in New Orleans, see George Rable, " 'Missing in Action': Women of the Confederacy," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, ed. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), Ch. 8; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996): 207–214; On the turbulent struggles which followed slave emancipation, see: Justin Nystrom, *New Orleans after the Civil War* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press,2010), particularly Chapter 3, pp. 52-81.

180. On the differing kinds of impacts on post-bellum women: blacks, free women of color, and white women, see: Virginia Meacham Gould, ed., chained to the Rock of Adversity: To be Free, Black, and Female in the Old South (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998). See, particular the Introduction, pp. xix-liv; On Postbellum employment opportunities for women, see: Alice Kessler-Harris. Out of Work: Wage Earning Women in the United States. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

181. Eliza Ripley, *Social Life in Old New Orleans* (Gretna, LA, Pelican Publishing Co. 1998); Sybil Kein, "Louisiana Creole Food Culture: Afro-Caribbean Links," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, Sybil Kein, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 244-51; John W. Blassingame. 1973. *Black New Orleans 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973): 16, 21.

182. Ellen M. Plante. *Women at Home in Victorian America: A Social History* (New York: Facts on File, 1997) pp. 144-48; Blassingame, 1973: 8; Rebecca Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

183. Ellen M. Plante. *The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present: From Hearth to Highrise* (New York: Facts on File, 1995): 55-66; Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010); Nancy Carlisle and Melinda Talbot Nasardinov, *America's Kitchens* (Boston: Historic New England, 2008): 67-68; Herbert Gottfried and Jan Jennings, *American Vernacular Buildings and Interiors, 1870 – 1960*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 2009): 283-84.

184. Plante, *The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present,* 83.

185. Ripley, Social Life in Old New Orleans (1998. reprint); Sarah Payne, 1865, quoted in Carlisle and Nasardinov, *America's Kitchens,* 68.

186. New Orleans was served by a combination of public markets and neighborhood corner markets. The corner stores were often marked by front doors set at 45 degrees from the two intersecting streets. See: Schwartz 2010; Reeves 2007; Eckstein 2006; Sauder 1981.

187. Plante, *The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present,* 113; Women at home in Victorian America, 67; Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens, 1865-1960.*

188. Plante, *The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present,* 111; Cromley, *The Food Axis,* 92-98.

189. Plante, *The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present,* 113. Henry Rightor, *Standard History of New Orleans,* Louisiana. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1900): 101.

190. Virginia Penny, *Employments of Women* (Boston, Walker, Wise & Co., 1863).

191. Carlisle and Nasardinov, *America's Kitchens*, 67, 72; Cromley, *The Food Axis,* 120; Linoleum, for example, was patented in the 1860s. Herbert Gottfried and Jan Jennings, *American Vernacular Buildings and Interiors, 1870 - 1960* (2009), 285. Ellen Plante provides a list of 87 kinds of appliances recommended for the modern kitchen in the late nineteenth century, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 150-52.

192. *American Vernacular Buildings and Interiors, 1870 – 1960,* 283; Clifford E. Clark, Jr., Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in

America, 1840-1870. In, Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600-1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), pp. 535-550. The Romantic Movement and its housing crusade appear not to have exerted much direct influence on culturally distinctive New Orleans. Much of the movement was aimed at middle class suburbia and successful farmers in the North. Although the Camelback appears not directly related to these architectural reform movements, there are certainly parallels, such as the increasing specificity of function of domestic spaces.

193. Carlisle and Nasardinov, *America's Kitchens*, 68; Cromley, *The Food Axis*, 85, 92-118.

194. The roof form of the traditional New Orleans Creole cottage would not permit a simple expansion of its floor space. One could lay out a floorplan three rooms deep in a space of roughly 60 feet, but to add an additional fourth room (kitchen) to the rear of the house meant that the roof ridge would have to rise to an unacceptable height. A gable roof with a 30-foot tall roof ridge would simply not fit a house with a sleeping loft with the prevailing architectural aesthetic. It would mean that the roof would stand almost twice as tall as the walls of the house. Nor could a two story kitchen building be easily added to the rear of a two-story townhouse without disrupting the living space at the back of the house. The rear stair hall would act as a barrier, separating the kitchen addition from the living spaces.

195. Plante, The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present, 48, 85.

196. Names, addresses, occupation, place of birth, and race, taken from the 1880 census returns correlated with our lists of the street addresses of camelback houses extracted from the 1876 Sanborn maps.

197. Would-be Negro homeowners suffered disproportionately in the 1860-1880 period. The "panic of 1877," a general Postbellum depression, affected rents and property values for the entire city. High taxes and a general corruption of the political system contributed as well. The failure of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company (1874) wiped out the savings of a multitude of workers and small businessmen, "preventing the growth of a large black property-holding class." (Blassingame,

Black New Orleans, 67-68). Increasing systematic discrimination against black people in terms of their access to financial institutions such as bank loans and mortgages prevented many from acquiring property. In 1870, Negroes held only 1.4 percent of New Orleans Property, and in 1880, only 2.5 percent (Blassingame: 77). The 1880, New Orleans tax assessment roles do not specify the race of the property holder, making precise estimates of race difficult.

198. Sociologists have discovered that the proportion of home ownership, and the value placed upon it, has been higher among American skilled blue-collar workers than it was among white collar workers and supervisors. See Richard Hamilton, The Behavior and Values of Skilled Workers. In Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg, eds., *Blue Collar World: Studies of the American Worker* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall, Inc. 1964) p. 52. Although the sociological survey data were taken from other states, the results also appear to fit a substantial proportion of Camelback homeowners in our survey.

199. "Folk builders share a common strategy for generating design ideas that can be described as a continuous process of composition and decomposition within a vocabulary of existing building forms. Folk designers operate in a narrow, culturally defined field of possibility that is structured by tradition. This field consists largely of the existing building examples available to each builder and the design repertoire contained within each builder's particular tradition." Thomas Hubka. Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form. Reprinted in, Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986, p.429.

200. Published in numerous plan books for picturesque style houses. In Antebellum decades, for example: Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1850). 289, 296-97; and Postbellum: *Palliser's Model Homes* (Bridgeport, CN 1878), pp 48-49.

201. Dell Upton, Vernacular Architecture (Lowland south). In Judith H. Bonner and Estill Curtis Pennington, eds., *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, Vol. 21, Art and Architecture (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013) pp. 191-96.

202. Hubka, Thomas, Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1984); "Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: the Connected Farm Buildings of New

England" (review) The Annals of Iowa 49 (1988), 275-277. Accessed at: http://ir.uiowa.edu/annals-of-iowa/vol49/iss3/ Blue Collar World: Studies of the American Worker.

203. Named by Professor Fred Kniffen: Louisiana House Types, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1936) 26:179-93. See examples of single-story rear shed additions to Carolina "I" houses: Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville TN: University of Tennessee Press (1975) p. 55; Civil War period photograph of a Carolina I house in Ringgold, Georgia. LC Neg. No. LC-B816.8114 (on line); Milton Newton, Louisiana Folk Houses, in Nicolas Spitzer, ed. *Louisiana Folklife, A Guide to the State* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Folklife Program, 1985) pp. 179-89; Doug Swaim, North Carolina Folk Housing, in Swaim, ed., *Carolina Dwelling*. (School of Design, NC State University, 1978) pp. 28-45 and illustrations pp. 36-37. For two-story ell additions, see HABS Tenn-30-GRENV, 1; HABS WVa-259-A-5.

204. Cohen, Lizabeth A. Embellishing a Life of Labor: An interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working Class Homes, 1885-1915. Reprinted in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 261-78.

Chapter 7

205 Hopkins, John Linn and Marsha R. Oats, Shotgun Houses, Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture (Nashville, Tennessee Historical Society, Version 2.0, 1/1/2010. https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=660

206 Christenson, Mike, 2011. "From the Unknown to the Known," Transitions in the Architectural Vernacular. *Buildings and Landscapes* 18 (1): 1-13. See pp. 8-12.

207 Evans, Walker, Photograph of houses in Scott's Run, W.Va. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. See other photos of this common housetype: Mulrooney 1991:137.

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209 Lancaster, Clay, the American Bungalow, *The Art Bulletin*. Downing, F, and U. Flemming. 1981. The Bungalows of Buffalo. *Environment and Planning B,* Vol. 8, pp. 269-293; Flemming, U. 1981. Structure in Bungalow Plans. *Environment and Planning B,* Vol. 8, pp. 393-404.

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211 Little, 1997:270, 272.

212 Little, 1997:274; Oszuscik 1992:157-58.

213 McAlester, Virginia and Lee. 1996. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 262-287.

214 Flemming, U. 1987. More than the sum of parts: The Grammar of Queen Anne Houses. *Environment and Planning B.* Vol. 14: 323-350; Fricker, Donna.1988. The Queen Anne Revival Style [in Louisiana]: 42-48.

215 Sears and Roebuck Catalog of Houses, 1926: The Kismet (p. 76, The Osborn p. 84, the Winona p. 103.

216 Herman, Bernard. 1997, p. 41.

217 Simons, Harriet P. and Albert. 1967, quoted in Herman 1997, p. 41.

218 Compare the image of the ancestral Charleston Single house in Fig. 7.44 with the modern forms in Figs. 7.42 and 7.43. Then compare with the New Orleans 2-bay Creole cottage depicted in Fig. 7.55 with the more modern forms in Figs. 7.53 – 7.54.

219 Edwards 2009:76-79.

220 Oszuscik 1992:162.

221 1994.

222 Schlereth. 1991:89.

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Chapter 8

No notes.

Final Considerations

225 Flanders, Judith. *The Making of Home.* 2014:3-5.

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227 Redrafted to better fit our subject. Flanders 2014:53.