

# Negotiated Geographies of New Orleans's Place d'Armes, 1789-1852

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Today, New Orleans's Place d'Armes (now known as Jackson Square) is a tourist attraction, a must-see in the city's French Quarter (Figure 1). The square and its surrounding structures look much as they did in 1852, when the debonair designs of Baroness Micaela Almonester de Pontalba, daughter of an influential New Orleans colonist, came to fruition. In the high season, hundreds to thousands of tourists visit the celebrated plaza to not only have their picture taken in front of St. Louis Cathedral and the statue of General Andrew Jackson, but also to browse sidewalk artists' works, for Tarot card or palm readings, to listen to street musicians, and to watch magic shows and mimes. These activities in the Jackson Square area have been highly contested for decades and seemingly undermine (to some) its *true* historical, renowned, and genteel status and image of New Orleans. Nevertheless, as I show in this article, such activities, people, and contestations may also be interpreted as a continuation of the square's past. It is my hope that this historical analysis will serve to support more inclusive perspectives concerning what, and who, are "authentically" part of Jackson Square specifically and public spaces generally.

In 1721, France officially platted New Orleans with Place d'Armes as the single and central public square (Figure 2).<sup>1</sup> France planned the colony to be a commercial endeavor in transporting goods to and from the North American continent and intended Place d'Armes to be its cultural, economic, political, religious, and social center. As New Orleans developed into a commercial hub, so too did the status of Place d'Armes. By 1734, the Catholic Church, police, governor, court, and military established buildings along the square. Thus early on, urban order and progress resided literally and symbolically in Place d'Armes, as the open expanse and the buildings bordering it articulated the location of urbanity and authority in the colony. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as administrative powers and ownership changed between nations (France, Spain, and the United States), Place d'Armes continued to serve as the functional and symbolic center of New Orleans. Even when, after the Louisiana Purchase, the economic core began shifting from the French Quarter to the American area uptown, Place d'Armes still remained the

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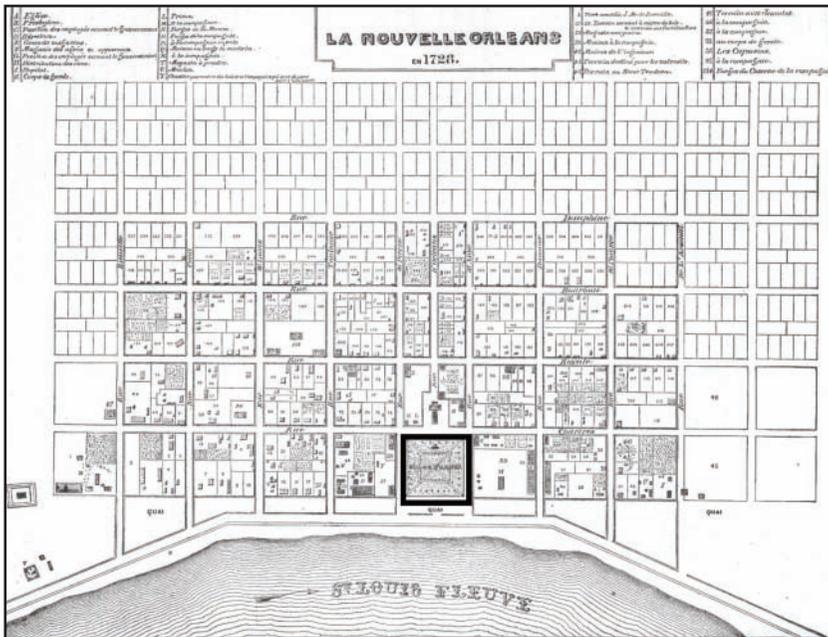
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**Figure 1.** Jackson Square (Place d'Armes) today. Photograph by Kelli Welch, used with permission.

symbolic center of the city. Over the years, the special status of Place d'Armes generally compelled those who had more political and social power, usually government officials and elites, to “refine” the square’s physical landscape and pursue restrictive measures for its social form, presenting New Orleans’s front as ordered.

In fact, Kelman explains that the area of Place d'Armes, including the church and river, became “sacred” in the minds of those with more political and social influence.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, this influence in action and inaction as well as by design and circumstance contributed to negotiated geographies of Place d'Armes, expressed in its cultural landscape. As Lewis points out, “from the beginning image was more important than reality. The Place d'Armes...with its new church gained a reputation as the finest thing for hundreds of miles. Never mind that [Place d'Armes] was a weedy lot and the church a primitive wooden building.”<sup>3</sup> The significance of these contradictory realities to Place d'Armes’s “preferred” image is the subject of this paper. Tracing New Orleans’s City Council’s rulings, ordinances, and proceedings from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, I show a cultural landscape in flux, revealing its utilitarian functions for regular people, unevenness within the ranks of those with



**Figure 2.** New Orleans and Place d'Armes (bold square), 1728. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection U.S. Historical City Maps. "La Nouvelle Orleans en 1728." From *Report on the Social Statistics of Cities*, compiled by George E. Waring, Jr., United States Census Office, Part II, 1886.

more political and social power, and an image of a city with ongoing struggles. These realities exist alongside and sometimes beyond an image of order and eminence.

### Prominent public spaces: purpose and meaning

Geographers and other social scientists have studied the significance that many historical public plazas and monuments possess. These landscapes often embody the (imagined) greatest expressions and practices of places, concerning, for example, citizenship, identity, and environmental principles.<sup>4</sup> Preeminent public squares, plazas, and monuments may be thought of as what De Certeau explains as synecdoche, which "expands a spatial element [that] play[s] the role of a 'more' (a totality)."<sup>5</sup> For example, Atkinson and Cosgrove explore the Vittoriano Emanuele II monument in Rome to uncover "the monument's intended and official meanings, and to examine how a changing Italian state sought to concretize the always fluid and elusive idea of Italianness."<sup>6</sup> They discovered that

particular “bodily spatialities” were part of the monument’s landscape and that public memory was manipulated through the Vittoriano monument in a performative rhetoric.<sup>7</sup> Bass shows how, as symbolic landscapes, plazas in Honduras reflect and shape public perception regarding ecological issues of the state. Once mostly treeless, now those same plazas are planted with trees, supporting the platform of forests’ environmental significance put forth by the state.<sup>8</sup> The “preferred” meanings of central public plazas and monuments such as these are maintained at local, regional, national, and international scales through time via the material landscape, media, legislation, events, and commercial interests.

Similarly, in the United States, central squares like Place d’Armes historically served as symbolic cultural landscapes and also operated as functional centers for urban development, markets, military drill fields, public celebrations, and public assembly. Leaders of communities guided the design of these centers with rational and political orderings that were meant to represent the community as well as to assist in producing particular behaviors and characteristics in the public.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, “people were present...to perform some public service or public role,”<sup>10</sup> such as reinforcing a particular ideology or political and social authority, through public celebrations and assemblies. Though these power relations are “abstract and intangible,” as Pred argues, “[they] are always somehow associated with the concrete conduct of social life *in place*.”<sup>11</sup> Social scientists have shown, however, that only some people and activities (are) *qualified* to be in certain public spaces.<sup>12</sup> In Place d’Armes (and other public spaces), government officials and elites, usually the same people, excluded or greatly restricted the presence of, for example, people of color, whether enslaved or free, except under certain circumstances.<sup>13</sup> In the central public square, those who held/hold more political and social power call(ed) for greater restrictions in material form and everyday appearances (including types of people and activities) in order to project particular images and values of a city such as valor, progress, and genteelness.<sup>14</sup>

Following Bourdieu, Cresswell explains that such “orderings of space provide a structure for experience and help to tell us who we are in society,” where the continual unfolding of place plays “a role in the maintenance of...ideologies and the power relations they support.”<sup>15</sup> Indeed, as Duncan and Duncan show, the power of aesthetics to exclude is a naturalized force in the production of landscapes legislated by political, social, and financial officials and elites who argue for the inherent good of particular laws that ordain acceptable, “refined,” activities in and material qualities of landscapes.<sup>16</sup> Of course, these orderings are never complete, nor are they absolute.

Basson argues, however, that historical geographic research gives little attention to different orderings that were also present in preeminent

public squares. He asserts that historical research on public squares has "indulge[d] in a game of historical exclusion that removes from recognition what is inconvenient or disturbing," imparting "a distorted sense of the historically acceptable, true, and visible."<sup>17</sup> With respect to celebrated plazas and squares, geographers have paid more attention to their contested and altered geographies through ideological conversions, regime changes, and other political struggles at various social scales than to the day-to-day *mundane* struggles of those with more political and social influence to create and maintain "preferred" images of these cultural landscapes.

That said, geographers have examined popular, everyday, and off-the-record practices that negotiate the meanings of other monumental public spaces.<sup>18</sup> Johnson urged geographers to explore "connections between elite and popular 'imagined communities,' where subaltern voices are not always assumed to be epiphenomenal to identity formations."<sup>19</sup> Importantly, she uses the term "connections," pointing not to an either-or concerning who (and what) creates (national) identity, for example, but rather to the situated and negotiated struggles among (many) groups in the geographies of historically significant public spaces. Since Johnson's call, geographers have shown, for example, how naturalized false stories contribute to the construction of monuments; people are rarely simply submissive to official (state) identity-making efforts through monuments, and regular people, recognized usually as those who hold less political and social power, are active in ordinary ways that produce collective and varying meanings.<sup>20</sup>

Exploring day-to-day struggles involves what Dwyer and Alderman call the "gritty details of the social."<sup>21</sup> Gritty details of the built environment include everyday activities and occupancy in addition to what Lee explains as, "architecture as *the* social product" and includes "concern for the habitual (and nonhabitual) use and consumption" of public spaces.<sup>22</sup> She argues for consideration of more than what these spaces are purported to mean by those who "wield more place-shaping power than others" but also what these spaces "do" through and for regular people.<sup>23</sup> Though regular people, activities, and struggles may be in one sense ephemeral, they nevertheless affect the geographies of places like Place d'Armes.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, geographers have shown that controlling the landscape and meaning(s) of public spaces is not an all-or-nothing affair.<sup>25</sup> Control of public space is negotiated among individuals, groups, and institutions with more *and* less political and social power in the public sphere and in day-to-day life. The public sphere is a realm where various interests express ideas and influence outcomes, often through legal means such as decrees and ordinances that control the form, function, and access to public spaces. For

example, Goheen shows that in mid-nineteenth-century Toronto, specific legislation regarding the streets resulted from “a continuing dialogue, a protracted negotiation, that involved many issues” with “an impressive variety of groups, official and unofficial.”<sup>26</sup> His aim is to show how dominant middle-class sensibilities emerged.

Domosh, on the other hand, explores how in the day-to-day, people navigate dominant middle-class sensibilities put forth in the public sphere (whether official or unofficial) *in* public space.<sup>27</sup> She explains that in nineteenth-century New York City, white bourgeois women and black bourgeois men and women challenged the authority of white upper-class and bourgeois men through a “polite politics” on Broadway and Fifth Avenue, the city’s premier streets. Arguing that resistance to social authority occurred through small transgressions on a daily basis, Domosh analyzes how gestures, glances, unintended touches, and “improper” returned gazes were significant tactical actions to accumulatively subvert dominant authority. As Pred explains, the “very nature of place-bound structuring processes is such that the power relations underlying routine and nonroutine local practices are themselves established, reproduced and transformed by everyday and nonroutine practices.”<sup>28</sup> Therefore, the public sphere and day-to-day life are not mutually exclusive; rather, each one informs the other, shaping the production of public space.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, political and social power relations include more complexity than might be apparent in this discussion of the public sphere and everyday life. Scott explains that hidden transcripts, those discourses and practices not public or not accessible to particular groups, also shape the production of place.<sup>30</sup> Private group meetings where members make decisions about issues before a public forum commences, for instance, are a component of a group’s hidden transcripts. He adds that hidden transcripts, whether speech acts or other practices, and public transcripts, are “zone[s] of constant struggle between dominant and subordinate [groups], that solid walls do not exist between them.”<sup>31</sup> Typically, government officials and elites have greater political and social power to keep their hidden transcripts hidden while regular people (or those with less political and social power relative to others) use tactical maneuvers, such as Domosh’s examples of polite politics, to ensure that their hidden transcripts are never directly evident.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, while those with more political and social power (government officials and elites) typically hold a more controlled, restrictive vision for preeminent public spaces and those with less political and social power (regular people) typically hold a less controlled, restrictive vision for preeminent public spaces, such dichotomies, as Domosh’s work suggests, are misleading in terms of how public spaces develop(ed). Though these positions for those with more and less political and social power hold true

generally, the capacity for any group to *consistently* exert such positions is another matter, as is the capacity for any group's members to possess and display uniform views regarding matters in these public spaces. For example, Scott explains that any semblance of defection in public within a dominant group "breaks the naturalization of power made plausible by a united front."<sup>33</sup> As argued above, usually, those with more political and social power easily maintain the cover of their hidden transcripts that would include a minority dissent or uncertainty within their own ranks. Following Scott's argument, this would also mean that these groups typically possess the means to minimize the publicness of their inabilities to consistently control everyday life, which would only further undermine their political and social power. In Place d'Armes, the bricolage of struggles and situations produced geographies that were more complex than those associated with its "preferred" (historical) meaning(s) purported by political and social leaders. These negotiations provide insight into additional functions and processes associated with this great public space.

## Methods

Getting at the ambiguities and inabilities of those political and social leaders to control space in this way is difficult. Difficulty arises in part because these leaders, government officials and elites, are usually the ones who create records of their activities; thus, in a variety of ways "not every story is told."<sup>34</sup> This means that the voices of those with less political and social power may not only be silenced in their present but also in the archive.<sup>35</sup> Silence comes in a variety of forms in the archive where their stories and *other* stories are "present" as mere traces, hints, in hidden spaces, and through complete absence.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the archive significantly influences the kinds of questions posed and precludes the asking of other questions.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, seeking novel sources to uncover questions and recuperate more comprehensive historical geographies that include negotiations among the more politically and socially powerful, among the less politically and socially powerful, and between the more and less politically and socially powerful, may be needed. But as Domosh and Morin point out, "such sources are not always readily available."<sup>38</sup> However, following Sontag and Foucault, Carter explains that as speech and silence are defined through one another so "what is present in the archives is defined by what is not" and that it is through "the acts of repression that the voices of the oppressed remain."<sup>39</sup> In other words, silence, even absence, is never complete in the archive precisely because of the suppressive practices of those with more political and social power.

Geographers have discussed the problematic nature of interpreting historical material, explaining that these representations are socially

constructed, and they urge that scholars must analyze them in their cultural context, reading *with* and *against* the grain.<sup>40</sup> For example, Schein argues that lithographic views from the nineteenth century “are not just innocent documents of the built environment” and interpreting these images

becomes an exploration in landscape interpretation that tacks back and forth between narrative, text, and context; interweaving the story of the landscape, its representation, and its social production/reproduction as inseparable components in a historical geography of urban America.<sup>41</sup>

Schein’s sentiment may be applied to all archival data, as all historical material is culturally embedded in the past (and present).<sup>42</sup> Therefore, what may be considered evidence includes “the various possible relationships between record and event,” requiring a sort of ethnographic perspective that goes beyond, that is to say not contained within, the record.<sup>43</sup> Thus, inference is required in both what constitutes evidence and interpreting meaning(s) of evidence.<sup>44</sup>

With the above in mind, I investigate the ambiguities and inabilities among government officials and elites and between these actors and regular people to shape and control the day-to-day of Place d’Armes. Extending Scott’s ideas concerning hidden transcripts, I consider that which has gone unexamined, in effect hidden, in the public transcripts of those with more political and social power. Using New Orleans’s official records, primarily city government rulings, ordinances, and proceedings, I consider “between the lines” and nuances within the decrees and practices wielded by those with more political and social influence in the development of Place d’Armes. This includes those public spaces that relate directly to the square—the adjacent streets, sidewalks, riverfront, and levee. Additionally, I draw from newspapers and popular accounts, attentive that they too are not innocent public transcripts but rather laden with privileged influence.

Though the unevenness in Place d’Armes development—“the gritty details of the social”<sup>45</sup>—has not been considered noteworthy (as those details do not contribute to the “preferred” role and image of Place d’Armes), I aim to reveal significant geographies associated with everyday life and regular people. As Scott argues, “the analysis of hidden transcripts...[offer] one path to [uncovering] contradictions and possibilities beneath the placid surface...[of] existing distributions of power, wealth and status.”<sup>46</sup> I contextualize my discussions through New Orleans’s history, in part relying upon geographic scholarship on New Orleans from the late eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century, a time of great cultural, economic, political, and social movement in the city.

## Developing geographies in Place d'Armes

During the eighteenth century, France was more often at war with Britain than not. The cumulative years of war meant in part that France had been strained in allocating sufficient resources to New Orleans. Often the colony precariously existed, as disease, famine, hurricanes, and labor and supply shortages plagued colonists.<sup>47</sup> When Spain took administrative control of New Orleans in 1769,<sup>48</sup> with General O'Reilly and 2600 men marching into Place d'Armes, New Orleans seriously lacked sufficient food and supplies. Additionally, the city had fallen into severe financial crisis. However in the late eighteenth century, increasing trade with New Orleans's hinterlands (along the Mississippi River) helped better the colony's economic position. While colonial powers had always seen the colony with supreme strategic commercial and territorial significance, Lewis explains both France and Spain "regarded [New Orleans] as a sideshow."<sup>49</sup> Even so, public religious, national, and military events always included grand displays of pomp and circumstance, and national power, in Place d'Armes.

So though in nearly the first 100 years, Place d'Armes was little more than a grassy field, the meaning imparted to it emblematically and in practice became entrenched in New Orleans and beyond. Additionally, seemingly meager improvements, such as installing drainage ditches around the square and placing the first (recorded) light in front of Place d'Armes, were in fact significant efforts, at least symbolically, in managing the physical and social integrity of the developing city.<sup>50</sup> Fires in 1784 and 1796 devastated the city, requiring huge resources to rebuild, and yellow fever outbreaks crippled the population,<sup>51</sup> but bit by bit efforts to improve the city and Place d'Armes continued. The City Council (hereafter the Council) decreed, for instance, to add another wagon for garbage pickup and discussed constructing sidewalks around Place d'Armes.<sup>52</sup> In the next two sections, I map the course of embellishments, people, and uses of the square, showing the interplay of "preferred" (leading) with "disliked" (subordinate) social facets during the period.

## Embellishment

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Council often visited the topic of embellishment for the square, showing great interest and concern over the character that Place d'Armes should take. This idea of embellishment includes any activities or events that might enhance the use and image of the square. In 1807, the Council approved plans that included sycamore trees and fencing.<sup>53</sup> The fence was meant to create a more refined space, protecting the plaza's trees from children and animals.<sup>54</sup> Also in that year, when a Council member suggested that the

French Market relocate from the riverfront to the square, the remaining Council expressed designs to “embellish” Place d’Armes because the “citizens want Place d’Armes to be converted into a public promenade.”<sup>55</sup> Those citizens were likely those from the middle and upper classes because promenading was one of their cultural practices.<sup>56</sup>

The fervor that the Council and some citizens possessed to embellish Place d’Armes failed to translate into a consistent ability for improvements to be completed in a timely manner. For example, the plans that the Council had approved for the square in May of 1807 still had not commenced by late 1808 because the mayor could not locate sycamore trees at a reasonable price.<sup>57</sup> Proceeding with its aim to improve Place d’Armes in 1809, however, the Council decreed that a balustrade with turnstiles, sidewalks, and curbing be added.<sup>58</sup> With the coming of steamboats in 1812, New Orleans’s economy improved,<sup>59</sup> but the economic improvements to the city did not necessarily translate into the timely completion of improvements to Place d’Armes. The improvements from the Council’s decree in 1809 were only completed in July of 1812.<sup>60</sup>

Ceremonial events also proved to embellish Place d’Armes’s image. In 1814, as threat from the British grew, people of New Orleans joined General Andrew Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans. Upon victory, New Orleans honored him with a magnificent ceremony in Place d’Armes that included a triumphal arch, song, military, and thousands of spectators.<sup>61</sup> And by 1816, the city’s persistence in its embellishment efforts marked (for some) a discernable day-to-day materialization of the city’s ideal image for Place d’Armes. A description from a visiting Frenchman, for example, stated:

One reaches an attractive Square, planted with trees which are still young and allow a view of the three sides. The fourth fronts on the river. The church, together with several fine houses, make up the opposite side, producing an agreeable sight. Although unpaved, the streets are straight, of uniform width, and intersect at right angles...there are sidewalks and two gutters to allow water to run off.<sup>62</sup>

Beginning in 1817, the city planned and completed more improvements to the square, such as installing a city clock on St. Louis Church, planting willow saplings on the levee, and replacing missing trees (multiple times).<sup>63</sup> Most impressive in scale was the Council’s 1819 decision to raise the square, replace the wooden fence with an iron fence atop a stone retaining wall, and construct an interior walkway.<sup>64</sup> That said, these improvements had to be suspended in order to protect the city from flooding by constructing and repairing portions of the levee, which had

been, and would continue to be, an issue requiring extensive allocation of resources and labor for the city.<sup>65</sup>

Then in 1820 the city, further enhancing the elegance of Place d'Armes, resolved to dedicate a monument for General Andrew Jackson and work resumed on the Place d'Armes at a pace not seen before.<sup>66</sup> However early in 1821, work slowed again due to a shortage of bricks.<sup>67</sup> In 1822, persisting in its embellishing endeavors, the Council ordered that a row of orange trees be planted around the square. Place d'Armes also continued to be *the* place for stately events. For example, the city held elegant funeral services honoring Jefferson and Adams (1826) as well as commemorative Te Deum masses for the Battle of New Orleans (1829).<sup>68</sup> In 1831, a cholera outbreak took more than 6,000 lives,<sup>69</sup> but in that same year, a persistent ideal for New Orleans's central square remained in the minds of city leaders as the Council reiterated its sentiment "to beautify the city's front and maintain good order and similitude."<sup>70</sup> But, substantial improvement to the Place d'Armes only began again in 1835, when the Council allocated \$1,000 for a fountain.<sup>71</sup>

Then, in 1836, due to ethnic and economic tensions and differences, New Orleans divided into three municipalities. The municipalities became known as the First Municipality, comprising the French Quarter and thus Place d'Armes (where most of the affluent Creole population resided), the Second Municipality, comprising the Uptown area and thus Lafayette Square (where most of the Anglo-American population resided), and the Third Municipality, comprising the area south of the Quarter and thus Washington Square (where most of the less-affluent Creole population and immigrant populations resided).<sup>72</sup> Each municipality had its own council though a general council continued to exist for matters of mutual concern. Even with the American Uptown area gaining economic and political dominance in New Orleans, Place d'Armes usually received improvements first, echoing its symbolic importance for the city.

Though dividing New Orleans into three municipalities weakened the city as a whole because it duplicated infrastructural improvements and services, ideals of New Orleans's and Place d'Armes's magnificence continued.<sup>73</sup> For example, in 1840 the city completed a triumphal arch and held a grand military celebration for visiting General Andrew Jackson to commemorate his victory at the Battle of New Orleans. Thousands of colonists packed Place d'Armes and the event made national news.<sup>74</sup> When Jackson died six years later, the city held a huge funeral service in Place d'Armes. In the same year, a newspaper reported that new railing would be installed and that the square was "to be beautifully decorated."<sup>75</sup> Another local newspaper described Place d'Armes with a similar vision, marveling at the beautifully designed candelabra and that on fete nights "glass globes of lamps [will be] filled with colored fluids (blue, red, and white)."<sup>76</sup>

However, in the 1840s while some referred to Place d'Armes as "that old delightful promenade," others saw the square differently. For example, then popular writer Oakey Hall described it as a "beggars' retreat," with only "one or two respectable trees, a hundred or two blades of grass, a dilapidated fountain, [and] a very naked flag-staff."<sup>77</sup> By 1848, the lack of maintenance for Place d'Armes had yielded an unbecoming scene:

Time worn buildings of the Spanish architects of the eighteenth century crumbled and mouldered [sic] away in the immediate vicinity of the Place d'Armes. The latter wad in desolution [sic]. The basin of its little central fountain and fish pond, formerly [sic] overlooked by little dophins [sic] and smiling, plaster naiads, was filled up. The only relic left was a black old curfew gun with a great round throat.<sup>78</sup>

In this rendering, the sophistication of Place d'Armes appears to have decayed into disarray.

During the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries, those with more political and social influence in New Orleans called for the continued embellishment of Place d'Armes. Moreover, illustrious ceremonies dedicated to the Louisiana Purchase and General Andrew Jackson, for example, inscribed Place d'Armes as sacred space, and popular writers' agreeable descriptions concerning the elegance and order of the square only emphasized its exclusivity. Nevertheless, improving Place d'Armes involved many interruptions as well as erratic maintenance as the city struggled in its development, revealing discernable "negotiated geographies." New Orleans's initial treatment as a "sideshow," continual disease, drainage, and flooding problems stemming from its low-lying geography made it difficult for those with more political and social power to develop and maintain an ordered and refined city front. Legal decrees and actions involved in aestheticizing Place d'Armes were ultimately fractured, incomplete, and unsustainable.<sup>79</sup>

## People and uses

In Place d'Armes, mundane facets and daily practices, encompassing utilitarian and unsanctified functions by a variety of people, produced a landscape in flux that expressed and constituted particular realities of New Orleans apart from the "preferred" image held by some. For example, the fires from late eighteenth century had increased homelessness in the city,<sup>80</sup> and people's need for shelter compelled the government to allow colonists to erect temporary huts on the levee in front of Place d'Armes.<sup>81</sup> The temporary structures became permanent in a sense because

those in need remained much longer than the government had planned. So permanent were they that through social and political maneuvering, the Friar at St. Louis Church charged and collected rent on the scanty homes.<sup>82</sup>

From 1789 to 1801, the government ordered the huts demolished at least four times; yet, they never were (or were rebuilt).<sup>83</sup> With the 1803 Louisiana Purchase ceremony proceeding in Place d'Armes, the public square would forever bear national significance, yet the simple huts remained. Two years later, in 1805, the matter of the temporary structures on the levee again surfaced, but before the Council ordered them demolished, it appointed a committee to assess the situation. The committee found that the "houses, shanties, [and] cabins...on the levee prejudicial to public use and salubrity since they obstruct passage and circulation of air."<sup>84</sup> The Council ordered the structures removed within six months,<sup>85</sup> but neither the Council nor the mayor followed through with this mandate.<sup>86</sup>

After the Louisiana Purchase Anglo-American settlers poured into New Orleans,<sup>87</sup> and by 1810, it was the largest city in the United States (over 27,000 people) west of the Appalachian Mountains.<sup>88</sup> With more settlers and more wealth, perhaps it is not surprising that in 1811, the Council directed the mayor to sue persons occupying the meager huts and sheds adjacent to Place d'Armes in order to improve the city's front.<sup>89</sup> And in 1812, the Council repeated its order to remove the unsightly huts in front of Place d'Armes.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the plaza did not always (only) function as a promenade. For example, in 1812, too much distance remained between new turnstiles in the square, which allowed cattle to infiltrate the grassy open space and graze freely.<sup>91</sup>

Despite being ineffectual at times, early in the nineteenth century Council increasingly curtailed various forms of selling in public spaces—how items could be sold,<sup>92</sup> locations of selling,<sup>93</sup> and what could be sold.<sup>94</sup> By 1816, the Council declared that with "the good of the public in mind," the public could only sell items inside Place d'Armes rather than on the sidewalks surrounding it.<sup>95</sup> But selling in and around the square only increased as the Mississippi River proved to be *the* route in transporting goods and people to and from the interior of the country. As steamboats pulled up to the city's riverfront, New Orleans's commercial business began to skyrocket, loading and unloading goods for and from the upper Mississippi Valley, the Caribbean, and France.<sup>96</sup> According to William Coleman, Place d'Armes became a place, where:

on holidays all the population of the town gathered; Fiery Louisiana Creoles...rude trappers and hunters...lazy émigré nobles...energetic Germans...dirty Indians...some slaves, negroes of every shade and hue...and lastly the human trash, ex-galley slaves and adventurers, shipped to the colony to be gotten rid

of. Here too,...the stranger could shop cheaper if not better than in the boutiques around it, for half the trade and business of the town was itinerant. Here passed...peddling merchants...who instead of carrying their packs upon their backs, had their goods spread out in a...vehicle which they wheeled before them...milk and coffee women carrying their immense cans well balanced on their turban heads. [And] all through the day went up [and down] the never-ceasing cries of various street hawkers.<sup>97</sup>

This observation is not necessarily surprising considering that the levee in front of Place d'Armes received numerous steamboats everyday from far-off places with a variety of goods and peoples. Yet since colonial days of Code Noir and during American rule with the Black Codes, New Orleans had increasingly restricted public access, activities, and movements of people of color. For example, in 1817, the Council prohibited enslaved persons from gathering, except for religious services, and then only in Congo Square.<sup>98</sup> Likely those "dirty Indians, slaves, negroes of every shade and hue, and human trash" located on the levee and in Place d'Armes only temporarily, as a stopover of sorts before moving on to their final destinations. They, nonetheless, regularly occupied the square.

So though 1816 marked a visible ideal of the square for some, by 1819, different impressions emerged. For example, architect Henry Boneval Latrobe commented that

The Square itself is neglected, the fence ragged and in many places open. Part of it is let for a depot of firewood, paving stones are heaped up in it, and along the whole of the side next to the river is a row of mean booths in which dry goods are sold by yellow, black and white women, who dispose, I am told, of incredible quantities of slops and other articles fit for sailors and boatmen, and those sort of customers. Thus a Square which might be the handsomest in America is rather a nuisance than otherwise.<sup>99</sup>

Indeed, the man who supplied the city with firewood stored his overstock in Place d'Armes. Though the Council had ordered him to remove the wood in 1816, apparently, the mandate was not followed or not enforced.<sup>100</sup> And while in 1819, the Council ordered the mayor to have all selling stopped in Place d'Armes and to "notify persons who sell goods in the public square to stop by July 1st so that the square is free for public use,"<sup>101</sup> selling in Place d'Armes persisted.<sup>102</sup> Additionally, a year later, other activities not likely to contribute to the ideal of "the handsomest in America," such as a peep show, occupied a space on the levee in front of the square.<sup>103</sup>

Pursuing the refinement of Place d'Armes in 1821, the Council decreed that no seller was to locate "on any part of the levee within limits of New Orleans to sell merchandise,"<sup>104</sup> moved the iron collar (or pillory) from the square to the area around the French Market, and voted to provide new lights for the "Square of the city."<sup>105</sup> Though the iron collar had moved from Place d'Armes, corporal punishment on the square in the form of hangings continued.<sup>106</sup> And despite efforts at refinement, such as placing benches underneath the square's *allée* of trees, the Council proceedings in 1823 (through 1831) reveal that selling in Place d'Armes and the levee had continued *with* the Council's support.<sup>107</sup>

Even with these variable practices and the continuing battles with yellow fever and other diseases (due largely to ongoing drainage problems in the swampy colony) the ideal of a genteel square remained a focus for the city.<sup>108</sup> In 1824, the Council denied businessmen their request to build two cafés in Place d'Armes.<sup>109</sup> That said, in 1829, a man constructed a stage of sorts in the square for performances of an unknown nature, and in 1839, another presented the Council with an application to allow his wife to walk on a tight rope from Place d'Armes to the top of St. Louis Cathedral.<sup>110</sup> Despite the importance of Place d'Armes's image and increasingly severe vagrancy laws (since 1806),<sup>111</sup> it had become (for some) "but a species of cheap lodging-house for arriving emigrants, drunken sailors, and lazy stevedores."<sup>112</sup> Indeed, in 1850, another local paper explained that the Place d'Armes was a "camping ground" for "loafers."<sup>113</sup> A once hoped-for majestic image and life for the square apparently had languished, possibly having fallen, though begrudgingly, from priority for the city.

Yet as early as 1846 Baroness Micaela Almonester de Pontalba had begun to champion the fulfillment of Place d'Armes's urbanity. She submitted plans to the Council for two apartment buildings that would run the length of the east and west sides of the Square. At this time, the Baroness also submitted plans for significant improvements to Place d'Armes.<sup>114</sup> Though the square remained public property, in nineteenth-century American cities public squares or parks were often spaces "controlled by [elite] private interests."<sup>115</sup> Lush plantings amid green swards and two rings of curvilinear promenades (Figure 3), provided an "aesthetic away" from the compact design of the French Quarter.<sup>116</sup> In 1852 the year New Orleans reunited as one municipality, Place d'Armes reached its culmination as a new elegant landscape when the city changed its name to Jackson Square in honor of General Andrew Jackson.<sup>117</sup> Thus, as never before, order and aestheticization united with the square and symbol of the city. However, even after the Baroness' apartment buildings were completed and her elegant plans for the square installed (1852),<sup>118</sup> the delight of Jackson Square would at times over the years remain elusive, as the "gritty details of the social"<sup>119</sup> continue(d) to play out in negotiated geographies.<sup>120</sup>



**Figure 3.** Design of Place d'Armes's (Jackson Square), 1852. Collection of author.

## Conclusion

With “the good of the public in mind,” the Council ordered doing away with the (temporary) huts in front of the square, curtailing selling from the square and its adjacent areas, restricting and denying certain businesses in the square, and excluding “undesirables” in and from the square, showing that those with more political and social power largely prevail(ed).<sup>121</sup> That said, during the same period, (temporary) housing for the poor continued to exist, occasionally for a decade or more, and selling as well as other unwanted activities, such as “low-brow” entertainment continued in the square. Though these activities suggest a shared sense of Place d'Armes's centrality to New Orleans, they also suggest that the square's sacredness and veneration were not shared by all. The Council lacked a consistent ability to exclude “undesirables,” animals, and items (e.g. firewood) from Place d'Armes's landscape. Furthermore, the city itself added to a contradictory landscape by continuing to hang the condemned in the square even while removing the iron pillory to another location. Unsurprisingly then, some popular writers found the square unappealing in their observations. This was a space in which, as Sibley describes, the “mixing of categories by intersections in space create[d] liminal zones...of ambiguity and discontinuity.”<sup>122</sup> Thus, the leading assumptions of Place d'Armes may be seen as in flux instead of stable.

As Scott explains, dominant groups have “the capacity...to prevail...but never totally.”<sup>123</sup> The hidden transcripts, those matters that

have gone unexamined within the public discourse of those with more political and social power, exemplify the unevenness of that capacity. These hidden transcripts in official (and sometimes popular) records reveal spatial stories that form from an interplay of everyday life, social structures, and circumstances that pushed back on leading ideas concerning Place d'Armes.<sup>124</sup> As Pred explains, "whatever power relations are, however, elusive they may be and whether they exist at some micro or macro level, they ultimately cannot be separated from the realm of action and daily practices or from the direct or indirect control of who does what, when, and where."<sup>125</sup>

In this article, I have aimed to contribute to research that reveals the complexities of preeminent public squares, plazas, and monuments. On one hand, the preferred rendering of Place d'Armes produced its landscape as synecdoche because the square embodied "the (imagined) greatest expressions and practices" of the city. On the other hand, the stories that I have presented show the aestheticization of its landscape and the "preferred" understanding of Place d'Armes as the result of *asyndeton*, a process of "elision, [that] creates a "less," retain[ing] only selected parts of" the whole.<sup>126</sup> Here, I have considered facets omitted by the dominant record of the square—those inconsistencies in Place d'Armes's history. This extends Scott's idea of hidden transcripts by considering those nuances "between the lines" in public transcripts. Thus, not only does a zone of constant struggle exist between hidden and public transcripts, but when examined, a zone of "hidden" struggle may also exist within public transcripts.

Cresswell depicts the meaning of place as coming to be through actions and reactions to those actions.<sup>127</sup> He appropriately implies that "actions" and "reactions" originate from different positions. In the cases presented here, the construction of meaning is sometimes from those actions and reactions within the *same* (or similar) positions (those with more political and social power). Additionally, perhaps the unevenness of Place d'Armes resulted from notions of the proper uses of the square not fully worked out in *all* the minds of those with more political and social power. For example, by charging rent, the Friar of St. Louis Church, an individual with much influence in the colony, effectively encouraged persons to stay in the scanty huts on the levee. This situation also effectively presents unevenness, perhaps even defection, within the more politically and socially powerful in New Orleans. While it is possible that through the years the government did not have the means to raze the huts in front of the square, it is also likely that both authorities and more influential colonists were unsure of acts that left people without shelter. Ignoring the resolutions the Council made (and the possible new problems that those resolutions might have created) may have been preferred to undertaking particularly difficult

problems involving New Orleans's premier public space. Therefore, in New Orleans reactions and actions by those with more political and social power included (in)decision, (in)consistency, and (in)ability to maintain constant control of Place d'Armes, where progress and social order resided literally and symbolically in the city. Ambiguity became intertwined with the opinions and (in)actions of those with more political and social power regarding cultural and social appropriateness in Place d'Armes – whether with or without intent.

My analysis of Place d'Armes reveals a different interpretation of Place d'Armes's (historical) geographies: negotiated orderings and therefore negotiated geographies, which the needs and circumstances at macro and micro scales created. Significantly, those needs and circumstances often resulted from the habitual and everyday practices and desires of regular people.<sup>128</sup> The idea of order is a fluid one. Clearly, those with more political and social power in New Orleans articulated ideals for Place d'Armes, but everyday activities and unfulfilled and inconsistent realizations produced a more nuanced order. Accordingly, additional questions that emerge from (and may be sought in) "hidden spaces" should be posed that not only include "Whose order?"<sup>129</sup> but to also go beyond this question to ask, "How consistent is that 'order'?" "Do inconsistencies within specific intentions exist?" If so, then we may ask: "Why and when do those inconsistencies, particularly within more politically and socially powerful groups, exist?" Perhaps, in seeking answers to these questions, we may continue to find additional avenues towards more heterogeneous understandings of preeminent public spaces in the past and present.

## Acknowledgements

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## Notes

1. Place d'Armes is now known as Jackson Square and is located in the center of the French Quarter.
2. Ari Kelman, *A River and Its City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
3. Pierce F. Lewis, *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape* (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976), 40.
4. See, for example, David Atkinson and Denis Cosgrove, "Urban, Rhetoric and Embodied Identities: City, Nation, and Empire at the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument in Rome, 1870-1945," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88:1 (1998): 28-47; Sanford Levinson, *Written in Stone: Public Mon-*

- uments in *Changing Societies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); David L.A. Gordon and Brian S. Osborne, "Constructing National Identity in Canada's Capital, 1900–2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30:4 (2004): 618–642; Joby Bass, "Message in the Plaza: Landscape, Landscaping and Forest Discourse in Honduras," *Geographical Review* 95:4 (2005): 556–577. For a contemporary, ethnographic example, see Setha Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (Austin: University of Austin Press, 2000).
5. Michel de Certeau (Transl. Steven F. Rendall), *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 101.
  6. Atkinson and Cosgrove, "Urban, Rhetoric and Embodied Identities."
  7. *Ibid.*
  8. Bass, "Message in the Plaza."
  9. See, for example, J. B. Jackson, "The American Public Space," *The Public Interest* 74 (1984): 52–65; Atkinson and Cosgrove, "Urban, Rhetoric and Embodied Identities"; Levinson, *Written in Stone*.
  10. Jackson, "American Public Space," 53.
  11. Allan Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: The Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 12, emphasis added.
  12. See, for example, Jackson, "The American Public Space"; Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992); Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85:1 (1995): 108–133; Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996); Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2003).
  13. Congo Square, just outside of the French Quarter (and thus city limits), became the gathering area for people of color for religious, social, and economic purposes. Lewis, *New Orleans*; Martha Ward, *Voodoo Queen: The Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004); Craig Colten, *An Unnatural Metropolis: Wresting New Orleans from Nature* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Carolyn Morrow Long, *A New Orleans Priestess: The Legend and Reality of Marie Laveau* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006).
  14. Mary P. Ryan, *Civil Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Peter G. Goheen, "The Assertion of Middle-Class Claims to Public Space in Later Victorian Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 29:1 (2003): 73–92.
  15. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 8, 15.
  16. James S. Duncan and Nancy G. Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
  17. Steve Basson, "'Oh Comrade, What Times Those Were!' History, Capital Punishment and the Urban Square," *Urban Studies* 43:7 (2006): 1147–1158, 1149. For an ethnographic exception, see Low, *On the Plaza*.
  18. See, for example, Nuala Johnson, "Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and

- Nationalism," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13:1 (1995): 51-65; Brian S. Osborne, "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in Its Place," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33:3 (2001): 39-77; Adrienne L. Burk, "In Sight, Out of View: A Tale of Three Monuments," *Antipode* 38:1 (2006): 41-58; Dydia DeLyser, "'Thus I Salute the Kentucky Daisey's Claim': Gender, Social Memory, and the Mythic West at a Proposed Oklahoma Monument," *Cultural Geographies* 15:1 (2008) 63-94; Owen J. Dwyer and Derek H. Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory* (Chicago: The Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago, 2008).
19. Johnson, "Cast in Stone," 53.
  20. DeLyser, "'Thus I Salute the Kentucky Daisey's Claim'"; Osborne, "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemorations"; Dwyer and Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials*.
  21. Dwyer and Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials*, 53.
  22. Loretta Lees, "Towards a Critical Geography of Architecture: The Case of an Ersatz Colosseum," *Ecumene* 8:1 (2001): 51-86, 53, my emphasis.
  23. Dwyer and Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials*, 71.
  24. David Crouch, "Tourist Practices and Performances," in Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall, and Allan M. Williams, eds., *A Companion to Tourism* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004).
  25. Meghan Cope, "Weaving the Everyday: Identity, Space, and Power in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1920-1939," *Urban Geography* 17:2 (1996): 179-204, 180; see, for example, Peter J. Atkins, "How the West End was Won: The Struggle to Remove Street Barriers in Victorian London," *Journal of Historical Geography* 19:3 (1993) 265-277; Peter G. Goheen, "Negotiating Access to Public Space in Mid-Nineteenth Century Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 20:4 (1994): 430-449; Mona Domosh, "Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities': Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of Nineteenth Century New York City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88:2 (1998): 209-226; Setha Low and Neil Smith, "Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space," in Setha Low and Neil Smith, eds., *The Politics of Public Space* (New York, 2006), 1-16; Kurt Iveson, *Publics and the City* (London: Malden, 2007); Lynn A. Staeheli and Don Mitchell, *The People's Property? Power, Politics, and the Public* (New York, 2008); Renia Ehrenfeucht and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Constructing the Sidewalks: Municipal Government and the Production of Public Space in Los Angeles, California, 1880-1920," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33:1 (2007): 104-124.
  26. Goheen, "Negotiating Access to Public Space" 430, 445.
  27. Domosh, "Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities.'"
  28. Allan Pred, *Place, Practice, and Structure: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden, 1750-1850* (Latham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1986), 26.
  29. Low and Smith, "Imperative of Public Space"; Iveson, *Publics and the City*; Staeheli and Mitchell, *People's Property?*.
  30. James C. Scott, *Dominance and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
  31. Scott, *Dominance and the Arts of Resistance*, 14.
  32. *Ibid.*, 15.
  33. *Ibid.*, 67.
  34. Rodney G. S. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences,

- and Power in Silence," *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 215-233, 216.
35. James Duncan, "Embodying Colonialism? Domination and Resistance in Nineteenth Century Ceylonese Coffee Plantations," *Journal of Historical Geography* 28:3 (2002): 317-338.
  36. Mona Domosh and Karen M. Morin, "Travels with Feminist Historical Geography," *Gender, Place, and Culture* 10:3 (2003): 257-264; Caroline Bressey, "Invisible Presence: the Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives," *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 47-61; Richard H. Schein, "Digging in Your Own Backyard," *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 91-104.
  37. See, for example, Domosh and Morin, "Travels with Feminist Historical Geography"; Schein, "Digging in Your Own Backyard."
  38. Domosh and Morin, "Travels with Feminist Historical Geography," 262.
  39. Susan Sontag, *Styles of Radical Will* (New York: Picador, 1969); Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid," 223, 224.
  40. Terry Cook, "Mind Over Matter: Towards a New Theory of Archival Appraisal" in Barbara L. Craig, ed., *The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh A. Taylor* (Ottawa, 1992); Richard. H. Schein, "Representing Urban America: 19th Century Views of Landscape, Space, and Power," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11:1 (1992): 7-21; Mona Domosh, "Visual Texts in Historical Geography," *Historical Geography* 29 (2001): 8-69; Elisabeth Kaplan, "'Many Paths to Partial Truths': Archives, Anthropology, and the Power of Representation," *Archival Science* 2:3-4 (2002): 209-220.
  41. Schein, "Representing Urban America," 10.
  42. Matthew Kurtz, "Situation Practices: The Archive and the File Cabinet," *Historical Geography* 29 (2001): 26-37.
  43. Jennifer Meehan, "Towards an Archive Concept of Evidence," *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 127-146, 139; Kaplan, "'Many Paths to Partial Truths,'" 109.
  44. Meehan, "Towards an Archive Concept of Evidence," 140.
  45. Dwyer and Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials*, 53.
  46. Scott, *Dominance and the Arts of Resistance*, 15.
  47. Lewis, *New Orleans*; John G. Clark, *New Orleans 1718-1812: An Economic History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970); Kelman, *A River and Its City*; Colten, *An Unnatural Metropolis*.
  48. France had seceded much of the Louisiana Territory, including the New Orleans colony, to Spain in 1763, but Spain did not take over politically and administratively until 1769. Clark, *New Orleans*.
  49. Lewis, *New Orleans*, 41.
  50. *City Council Digest of Acts of the Cabildo* (translations) (CCDA), E.D. Friedrichs (Ed), Alphabetical and Chronological Digest of the Acts and Deliberations of the Cabildo, 1769-1803, A record of Spanish government in New Orleans, WPA project 665-64-3-112 (New Orleans: New Orleans Public Library, 1939), March 26, 1779; August 26, 1796. Cabildo is synonymous with "city council." Cabildo is also used to refer to the physical structure that houses the city government.
  51. Colten, *Unnatural Metropolis*.
  52. CCDA, July 11, 1800; March 12, 1802.
  53. *Conseil de Ville Official Proceedings, 1803-1829* (translations) (CVP). (New Orleans: New Orleans Public Library), December 30, 1807. The *Conseil de Ville*

is synonymous to "city council."

54. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1808.
55. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1807.
56. Domosh, "'Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities.'"
57. Tulane University School of Architecture, *Vieux Carré Survey*, Square 24, Records of City Council (New Orleans: Tulane University, Historic New Orleans Collection Williams Research Center, 1966), February 3, 1808.
58. *Ibid.*, March 11, 1809.
59. Sarah Searight, *New Orleans* (New York: Stein and Day, 1973).
60. *CVP*, July 18, 1812.
61. William H. Coleman, *Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs, with Map* (New York: W.H. Coleman, 1885), 145-146.
62. Montulé, Édouardo de (transl. Edward D. Seeber), *Travels in America, 1816-1817* (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1950), 75.
63. *Conseil de Ville Ordinance and Resolutions, 1805-1835* (translations) (CVOR) (Transl. and Ed. Mrs. E.D. Friedrichs), WPA project 665-64-3-112 (New Orleans: New Orleans Public Library, August 1940), August 6, 1817; January 16, 1819; January 23, 1821.
64. *CVP*, February 9, 1819. Later, the Council also passed rulings for Lafayette and Washington Squares to be fenced like Place d'Armes. Tulane University School of Architecture, *Vieux Carré Survey*, Square 24, Records of the Board of Alderman, 1852, Vol. 53, 206 (New Orleans: Tulane University, Historic New Orleans Collection Williams Research Center, 1966).
65. See Colten, *Unnatural Metropolis*, 19-32.
66. *CVP*, August 16, 1820.
67. *CVOR*, February 23, 1821.
68. Leonard V. Huber, *Jackson Square through the Years* (New Orleans: Friends of the Cabildo, 1982).
69. Colten, *Unnatural Metropolis*.
70. *CVOR*, December 23, 1833. Subsequently, Lafayette (located Uptown) and Washington Squares (located east of the Quarter) were to receive comparable fountains; see *A Digest of the Ordinances, Resolutions, By-Laws and Regulations of the Corporation of New Orleans (GDB)* (New Orleans: City of New Orleans, 1836, March 21, 1835. In 1838, the Council directed new gas lamps and gates for the squares and markets. Tulane University School of Architecture, *Vieux Carré Survey*, Square 24, Records of the Board of Alderman (New Orleans: Tulane University, Historic New Orleans Collection Williams Research Center, 1966); Tulane University School of Architecture, *Vieux Carré Survey*, Square 24, Journal of the City Council, City Hall Archives (New Orleans: Tulane University, Historic New Orleans Collection Williams Research Center, 1966).
71. *GDB*, March 21, 1835.
72. Searight, *New Orleans*; Lewis, *New Orleans*.
73. Lewis, *Ibid.*
74. Huber, *Jackson Square through the Years*; Robert V. Remini, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Robert V. Remini, *The Battle of New Orleans: Andrew Jackson and America's First Military Victory* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999).
75. *New Orleans Weekly Delta*, November 24, 1845.

76. *The Daily Picayune*, October 18, 1845.
77. Oakey A. Hall, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans*, Henry A. Kemen, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1851; 1976), 89.
78. *The Daily Picayune*, November 28, 1848.
79. Duncan and Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb*; Atkinson and Cosgrove, "Urban, Rhetoric and Embodied Identities."
80. CCDA, December 16, 1794.
81. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1789.
82. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1789.
83. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1789; December 16, 1794; August 23, 1797; June 5, 1801.
84. *CVP*, July 3, 1805.
85. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1805.
86. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1805.
87. Spain had secretly ceded New Orleans back to France in 1800. Power of the colony was only publicly transferred to France in 1803, just three weeks before France sold New Orleans (part of the Louisiana Purchase) to the United States on April 30, 1803. Searight, *New Orleans*; Peter J. Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
88. Lewis, *New Orleans*; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population Division, George Campbell, *Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990, Working Paper No. 27* (Washington, D.C., June 1998), <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/twps0027.html> (last accessed March 10, 2010).
89. *CVP*, January 16, 1811.
90. *CVP*, January 18, 1812.
91. *CVP*, July 18, 1812.
92. *CVOR*, May 18, 1810.
93. For selling restrictions specific to Place d'Armes, see *CVOR*, March 13, 1813.
94. *CVP*, May 27, 1815.
95. *CVP*, September 14, 1816.
96. Clark, *New Orleans 1718-1812*; Searight, *New Orleans*; Kastor, *Nation's Crucible*.
97. Coleman, *Historical Sketch Book*, 12-13.
98. *CVOR*, October 15, 1817.
99. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe: Being the Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist, and Traveler in the U. S. 1797-1820* (New York: Appleton, 1905), 164.
100. *CVP*, February 20, 1816.
101. *CVOR*, March 1, 1819.
102. Latrobe, *Journal of Latrobe*, 164.
103. *CVP*, March 25, 1820.
104. *CVOR*, March 16, 1821.
105. *CVP*, February 17, 1821.
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108. Colten, *Unnatural Metropolis*.
109. *CVP*, July 17, 1824.
110. *CVOR*, January 3, 1829; Huber, *Jackson Square through the Years*, 53.
111. *CVOR*, February 21, 1806; *GDA*; Henry J. Leovy, *The Laws and General Ordinances of the City of New Orleans* (New Orleans: E.C. Wharton, 1857), May 20, 1817; March 16, 1818; *CVOR*, July 14, 1821; *GDB*; *A Digest of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Council of the City of New Orleans (GDC)* (New Orleans: J. Bayon, 1845).
112. Hall, *Manhattan in New Orleans*, 88, 90.
113. *Le Courier*, October 15, 1850.
114. Elizabeth Honecker, *Jackson Square: A Look at its Social and Physical Development as an Urban Open Space* (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1982).
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118. Vella, *Intimate Enemies*.
119. Dwyer and Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials*, 53.
120. Rebecca Sheehan, *Between Representation and Practice: Contesting Public Space in New Orleans's Jackson Square* (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 2006).
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122. David Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 32-33.
123. Scott, *Dominance and the Arts of Resistance*, 14.
124. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*; Pred, *Place, Practice, and Structure*.
125. Pred, *Place, Practice, and Structure*, 25-26.
126. Duncan and Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege*; De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 101.
127. Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*.
128. Dwyer and Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials*; Lees, "Towards a Critical Geog-

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