Where the Hell is Plum Orchard?
How New Orleanians Perceive, Delineate, Name—
and Argue About—Urban Space in Their City[1]

Richard Campanella

City dwellers perceive urban space in complex, nebulous, and highly individualized ways. Yet they remain remarkably resistant to recognizing the legitimacy of their own keen perceptions, privileging instead for the hard cartographic lines drawn rather arbitrarily by faceless authorities for ostensibly official purposes.

Take, for example, the "official" map of New Orleans neighborhoods, that jigsaw puzzle of seventy-three neat rectangles and crisp polygons designed in the 1970s to bring spatial order to the potential chaos of modern planning. Trouble is, most New Orleanians to this day cannot say where most of those official neighborhoods are located, or what they are called.

Where did these imposed geographies come from? How did New Orleanians historically break urban space into places with names, and neighborhoods with commonalities? How were those mental maps altered, and who turned them into official maps? Who's right, and who's wrong? What do those perceptions of place reveal about us?

Answering these questions requires a healthy dose of postmodernism: a willingness to question the received wisdom, come to terms with uncertainty and ambiguity, and accept the possibility of multiple truths. While some pedantic souls insist that neighborhoods are named absolutely and delineated officially, as if matters of law or physics, such perceptions of place are more appropriately viewed as nuanced human constructs, wonderfully personalized, historically and culturally rich, and wholly subject to interpretation. Therein lies their significance.

Historical Divisions of Urban Space
The subjectivity begins with the city's first neighborhood. *French Quarter*, *the Quarter*, *the Old City*, *Vieux Carré* (*Old Square*), and *Vieux Carré de la Ville* usually describe those blocks bounded by Iberville Street, North Rampart Street, Esplanade Avenue, and the Mississippi River. Clear enough? Not quite. In informal contexts, they also include the 100 blocks between Iberville and Canal streets, although this strip did not fall within the original 1722 plat and remains "out" of the jurisdiction of the Vieux Carré Commission today. Conversely, slivers along North Rampart and Esplanade also stretched beyond the original plat, yet are now officially "in" the French Quarter. The neighborhood (which incidentally has also been dubbed the "Creole" or "Latin" quarter, and parts of it "Little Palermo") fell within the First Municipality when the city experimented disastrously with semi-autonomous municipalities in 1836. After reunification in 1852, it became part of the new Second Municipal District, which thence was sliced into the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth wards. Those post-1852 designations all remain in use today. Some locals shrug off all of the above and refer generically to all quaint, historic neighborhoods below Canal Street as *the French Quarters*—plural—or simply as *da quarters*. And I'm not going to argue with them.

Faubourg or *fauxbourg* (literally "fake town"), sometimes used synonymously with *banlieue* ("outskirts" or "suburbs") in historical literature, described the subdivisions surveyed within old plantations beyond the limits of the original city. Both terms faded as the French language waned in the late 1800s, but *faubourg* was revived in the 1970s through the efforts of

preservationists, neighborhood organizations, and real estate agents. The first neighborhood to re-embrace the term was the Faubourg Marigny, which many view as the quintessential New Orleans faubourg. *Faubourg* is now commonly used as a synonym for "historic neighborhood" throughout New Orleans, except (by definition) the French Quarter. Popular with culturally enlightened history buffs—many of them transplants—the term *faubourg* is, ironically, uncommon among deeply rooted locals, particularly native-born elders, who came of age when the term was defunct.

Faubourg Ste. Marie, *St. Mary*, *Second Municipality*, *American Sector*, *American Quarter*, *Central Business District*, and *CBD* all refer to the area now loosely bordered by Canal Street (or Iberville Street—see above); Claiborne or Loyola avenues; Howard Avenue or the Pontchartrain Expressway; and the Mississippi River. Here too, however, the lines are blurred. In certain historical contexts, the Canal Street corridor from Iberville to Common is considered separate, because this swath remained a dusty commons for twenty years after Faubourg Ste. Marie's 1788 platting by Spanish authorities (who by the way called it *Santa Maria*). *Faubourg Ste. Marie* is generally used for discussions recounting the late 1700s and early 1800s, while *Faubourg St. Mary*, *St. Mary*, and *the American Sector* usually connote 19th-century contexts. *Second Municipality* implies exclusively the municipality era of 1836–1852, while *Central Business District* and *CBD* refer to the area in modern times. Today, the CBD falls within the First Municipal District and (mostly) the Third Ward. A local real estate investor is spearheading an effort to re-designate and market the CBD as "The American Sector," playing off the world-famous cachet of the French Quarter. While a restaurant in the World War II Museum has adopted that name, it remains to be seen whether the old label will stick anew for the entire neighborhood.

Everyone has his or her own feel of where downtown becomes uptown in New Orleans and, relatedly, whether those terms are common nouns with airbrushed geographies, or capitalized proper nouns with sharp spatial delineations. Many people today divide these two places-of-mind along the Pontchartrain Expressway, which roughly separates the harder, congested streets of the commercial sector from softer, leafier residential environs. Others refer exclusively to the Garden District or University area as uptown, and the French Quarter and Central Business District as downtown. Years ago, Canal Street would have been seen as uptown/downtown divide—a notion traceable to the 1836-1852 municipality era that is still adamantly held by many New Orleanians, despite that most local usage of *downtown* and *uptown* implies otherwise. I would argue understanding these two distinctive yet imprecise regions is better enabled by embracing their various and passionately defended definitions, rather than by dogmatically rejecting all but one.[1]

The term *Garden District*, dating at least to the 1850s, connotes the wealthy historic neighborhood initially laid out in the inland portion of the former Jefferson Parish city of Lafayette. This area earned its name as wealthy families of predominantly Anglo-American stock built spacious mansions (1830s-1850s) set back from the streets and surrounded by greenery. The result was an urban environment strikingly different from that of the Old City. Exact limits of the Garden District depend on whether one references official neighborhood delineations, local historic districts, or national districts. The consensus seems to be Magazine, Jackson, Louisiana, and St. Charles, but even then, many locals and most visitors use "Garden District" to mean all prosperous, leafy uptown historic neighborhoods. Those "districts" do indeed have lots of "gardens," so again, I'm disinclined to argue.

Wards as political-geographical units were introduced with the 1805 chartering of the city, replacing a Spanish equivalent from colonial times. Serving as voting districts, census-compilation units, and other municipal purposes, wards were delineated and redrawn four times over the following forty-seven years. After the city's sixteen-year experiment with semi-autonomous municipalities, the reunified city government in 1852 redrew ward lines for a fifth time. Because Felicity Street had previously marked the Jefferson–Orleans parish line, the new wards were enumerated starting from Felicity Street (First Ward) and continuing consecutively downriver to the Orleans–St. Bernard parish line near today's Jackson Barracks (Ninth Ward). Each ward extended perpendicularly from the highly populated riverfront straight to the

uninhabited backswamp. To equalize populations within wards, the high-density French Quarter was sliced into the narrowest wards—Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth—while the lower-density upper and lower faubourgs were cut into broader wards. The lowermost outskirts of the city were so unpopulated that a single mega-ward—the Ninth—enveloped the entire area, which explains why parts of Bywater today are in the same ward as the wild salt marshes of the Rigolets. City fathers then swung around above Felicity Street and demarcated newly annexed Lafayette as wards 10 and 11. The enumeration continued upriver as more Jefferson Parish communities merged with New Orleans: Jefferson City became wards 12, 13, and 14 in 1870, then Algiers on the West Bank was annexed as Ward 15. Upriver expansion concluded when the city annexed Carrollton, which became wards 16 and 17. As development spread toward the lake, old ward lines that once projected neatly from the sinuous Mississippi were extended and angled awkwardly to intersect the smooth west-to-east arc of the lakeshore. The modern-day map of New Orleans' wards, unchanged since the 1880s, thus reflects the city's piecemeal growth since 1852.
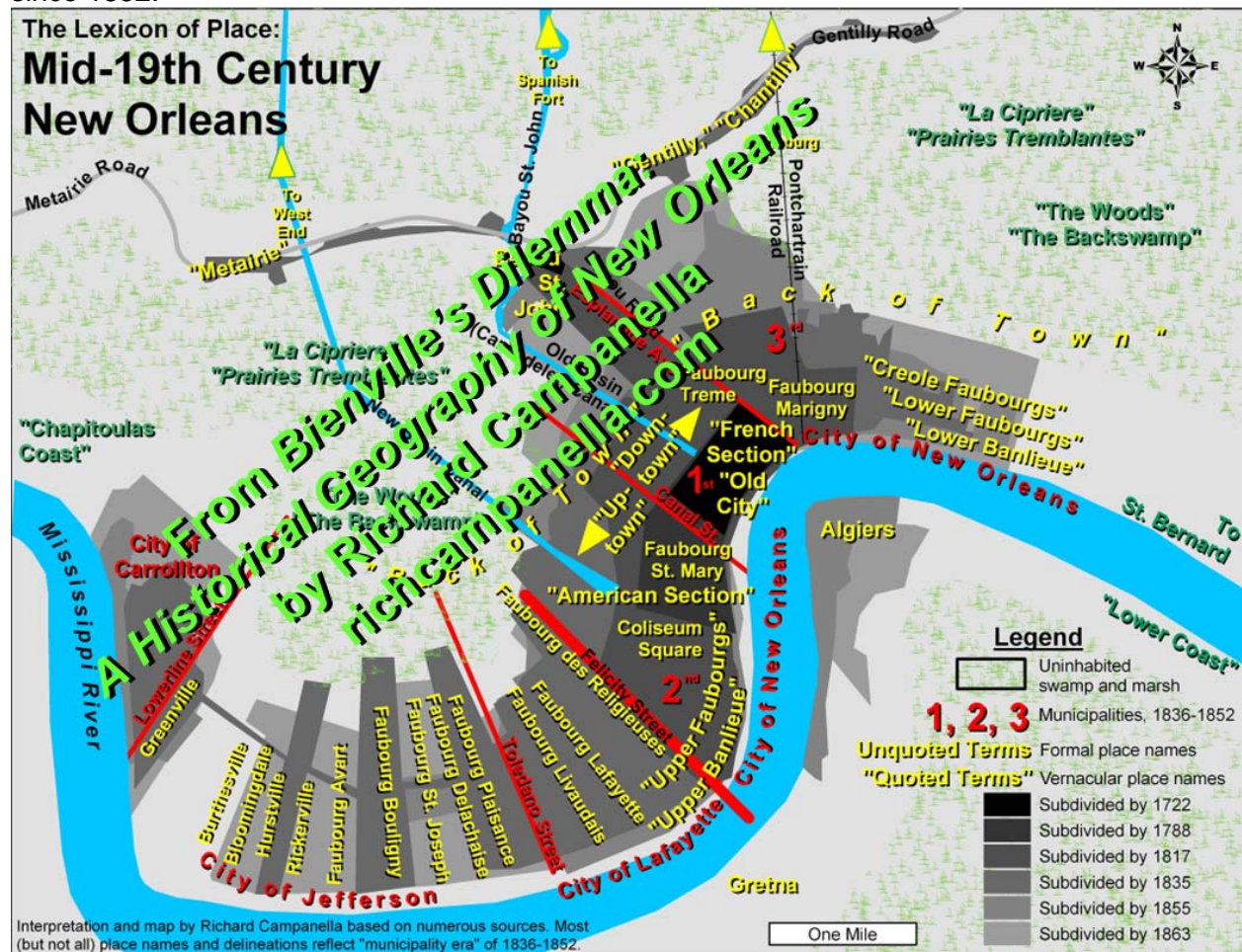
Bureaucratization of Space and the Birth of Official Neighborhoods

Government agencies and advocacy groups eschew nuanced and contested perceptions of space, preferring instead bureaucratic, cartographic, and legal clarity. Toward this end, authorities periodically impose rigid boundaries and official monikers upon the ambiguous cityscape—hence the municipalities, districts, and wards discussed earlier. But what about neighborhoods? The first attempt at planner-driven neighborhood delineation appeared in the 1929 *Handbook to Comprehensive Zone Law for New Orleans, Louisiana*. The handbook's compilers borrowed census tract delineations devised by the U.S. Census Bureau as part of its experiment to aggregate population data at more detailed levels.[2] The bureau officially adopted census tracts for the 1940 enumeration of New Orleans, making those semi-arbitrary tract lines increasingly useful for local urban-planning applications. Federally devised and locally adopted

census tracts thus drove bureaucratic perceptions of neighborhood geography in subsequent decades. Residents' perceptions of where they lived, however, generally remained nebulous and subjective, with the exception of the French Quarter, the Garden District, Carrollton, Algiers, and a few other places.

That began to change after 1973–1974, when the architectural firm Curtis and Davis modified those extant delineations vis-à-vis natural barriers, transportation arteries, and socio-economic patterns. The Curtis and Davis report, published as the *New Orleans Housing and Neighborhood Preservation Study*, created sixty-two official city neighborhoods, each a carefully drawn polygon with straight lines and measured angles, with a name that was sometimes familiar, other times completely invented. Later studies increased the number to seventy-three. Planners, neighborhood associations, and researchers have widely adopted the Curtis and Davis neighborhood map (particularly after Katrina, when out-of-town observers seeking spatial clarity embraced the system unquestioningly), lending credence to what are, for the most part, arbitrary squiggles and subjective subdivisions. Most New Orleanians would be at a loss to identify most of their city's official neighborhoods, let alone trace their outlines. A *Times-Picayune* reporter struggled recently to explain to her readers that St. Roch is "shaped like a tall watering can, with a narrow spout pointing toward City Park, a base on St. Claude Avenue where the shuttered St. Roch Market stands and a diagonal handle that follows Almonaster Avenue into Gentilly."[3] I myself, after authoring six books and countless articles on the geography of New Orleans over fifteen years, had to investigate where the hell Plum Orchard was (it's a subdivision in eastern New Orleans). And Uptown? Well, according to the official neighborhood map, we've all been wrong about this one. Uptown (note the upper-case "U"), we are told, lies in a neat little trapezoid bounded by Napoleon, Magazine, Jefferson, and Lasalle. Who knew.

The 1960s-1970s also saw the rise of the preservation movement, which in its quest to bring attention to historic neighborhoods, made a point of inscribing character into neglected areas. One fine way to do that is by naming them. Pioneering preservationist Samuel Wilson, for example, coined the term "Lower Garden District" for a hitherto unnamed neighborhood, and after the Friends of the Cabildo adopted that term in the title of its highly influential *New Orleans Architecture, Volume I: The Lower Garden District*, people came to view and value that area in an entirely different way.[4] Now eight volumes strong and growing, the Friends of the Cabildo *New Orleans Architecture* series continues to play a prominent role in reviving historical neighborhood names and affecting public perceptions of urban space.

Another preservationist-favored spatial tool is the historic district. New Orleans earned some of the largest urban National Register Historic District designations in the nation, a process ongoing to this day. Inclusion in the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Register of Historic Places is largely honorary; the only material benefits involve certain tax credits and special consideration in relation to federally funded projects. Yet these delineations have proven influential in neighborhood perceptions, in large part because the Preservation Resource Center, New Orleans' largest historic-protection advocacy group, embraces them consistently on their website and in their maps, literature, and exhibits. Local historic districts, on the other hand, span far less acreage and are less familiar to the public, but have more power in protecting structures from demolition. They are overseen by the city's Historic District Landmarks Commission, with involvement from the City Planning Commission and other groups.

Power, Significance, and Fluidity of Place Names
New Orleans history abounds with examples of calculated place-naming. The toponym "Louisiana" came from Robert La Salle's attempt to honor his king, Louis XIV, in 1682. "Nouvelle Orleans" intentionally flattered Philippe, duc d'Orléans, the premier royal sponsor of John Law's Company of the West, which directed the establishment of the city. Founder Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, sieur de Bienville understood well that toponyms drove perceptions; he suggested that the indecisive-sounding "Mobile," for example, should be renamed "Fort Immobile," while the nearby barrier island originally branded as "Massacre" (for the human bones found there in

1699), might do better as "Dauphine" Island, a name that survives today. Bienville also appreciated how the "very exotic" names of Biloxi and Natchitoches struck Parisian ears.[5]

Twentieth and twenty-first-century examples of the power of place names abound. In the 1920s, the newly excavated Industrial Canal severed the Ninth Ward into upper and lower sections. By century's end, the older, higher riverside sections of the upper and lower Ninth wards had become respectively known by the more appealing monikers of Bywater and Holy Cross, while areas behind St. Claude and Claiborne on both sides of the canal generally remained anonymous. Why? Higher degrees of historical and architectural significance brought Bywater and Holy Cross to the table of urban planners, preservationists, and real estate agents, thus subjecting them to specialized naming and greater attention—more evidence for the power of place names. The real estate industry is universally enamored with mellifluous historical monikers, under the theory that more people would rather live in a place called "the Faubourg Bouligny" than in one called "the 12th" or "13th" wards (in which Bouligny lies).

Likewise, activists in recent years adroitly renamed the official Tulane-Gravier neighborhood as "Lower Mid-City" when, in the fight to save it from demolition for the new medical district, they realized the area had more allure when spatially conflated with vibrant Mid City than when affiliated with gritty Tulane Avenue or nondescript Gravier Street.

Place perceptions and labels shed light on nativity. New Orleans natives with deep local roots often use the ward system in perceiving and naming urban space, probably because it formed the premier space-delineation option prior to the era of urban planning and historic districting that began in the 1970s. Recent transplants, many having specifically moved to the city for its historical and cultural charms, tend to recognize space vis-à-vis recently revived historical names, such as Faubourg St. John, Marigny, and Tremé. Because nativity rates are much higher among blacks than whites, wards are particularly popular as a spatial reference in the African American population. Elderly natives of any race are often unfamiliar with the trendy revived faubourg names; conversely, many recently arrived transplants and college students are at a loss when asked what ward they live in.

Native-born New Orleanians, who tend to be culturally traditional and family oriented, are more likely to identify landmarks and regionize the city by churches and school districts, a spatial lexicon that does not work for many young, secular, childless transplants. A conversation between two strangers who mutually sense they are transplants typically begins, "So, where are you from?," whereas the same conversation among natives is more likely to start with "So, what high school did you go to?," or "What church parish do you belong to?" What is the "Seventh Ward" to a native-born black Creole may be "Fairgrounds" or "the Jazz Fest neighborhood" to a white transplant. What is the Upper Ninth Ward to working-class locals may be Bywater to artists and bohemians. Older members of the black population still speak of the "back-of-town" and "front-of-town," even though the swamps and marshes that gave meaning to that ancient spatial distinction have long been drained away.

Spatial references often reveal subtle (or not-so-subtle) social, racial, and political narratives. Politicians in New Orleans cleverly deploy localized spatial references—to wards, uptown, downtown, or the back-of-town—to certify their authenticity, establish their "street cred," or allude to racial dynamics. When Mayor Ray Nagin famously assured black residents that post-Katrina New Orleans will remain a "chocolate" city, he pointedly shrugged off "what people are saying in Uptown," implying that residents of that urban region bore other racial designs.[6] The adjectives "inner-city" and "suburban," which originally carried geographical meaning, are now widely used as race and class euphemisms—despite that many inner cities are gentrifying while suburbs grow increasingly diverse. The association of certain demographics with particular places creates a spatial shorthand—"Central City criminals," "Marigny gays," "Ninth Ward hipsters," "downtown yuppies," "Yat Chalmations," "uptown bluebloods"—that is prone to oversimplification and stereotyping. Sometimes prejudices are revealed when observers describe the same area differently depending on context. "When something bad happens," lamented one New Yorker, "[this] neighborhood is called Harlem. When something good happens, it is the Upper West Side."[7]

The Katrina catastrophe turned worldwide observers into new speakers of New Orleans' lexicon of place. Hundreds of *arrivistes* trooped into the city after the deluge, and eagerly embraced the clarity of the official city neighborhood map for their reporting and research. Two of the hardest-hit areas—Lakeview and the Lower Ninth Ward—emerged in media reports as metaphors for the socio-economic and cultural-geographical chasms within the beleaguered metropolis. *Lakeview*, on the one hand, lent its name to symbolize all that was suburban, white, and middle-class: a typical American twentieth-century subdivision implicitly wealthy enough to enjoy a *view* of the *lake* but naïve enough to misunderstand the water's threat. It flooded terribly. The *Lower Ninth Ward*, on the other hand, spoke to all that was poor, black, underprivileged, and disenfranchised: *Lower*, implying class, isolation, and topography (even though Lakeview lies lower); *Ninth*, as in "bottom-rung;" and *Ward*, that gritty, antiquated political unit unknown to many Americans except as a place for society's lunatic fringe. It flooded worse than Lakeview. Scores of other neighborhoods also suffered the deluge, from working-class white Chalmette to wealthy black Eastover, to the Vietnamese enclave at Versailles and the small Hispanic cluster in Mid-City. But media outlets construed Lakeview and the Lower Ninth Ward to symbolize all angles of the tragedy that viewers needed to know.

New Orleanians also break down space via landmarks such as favorite restaurants, stores, places of worship, and nightspots. Landmarks are personal; I certainly have my share. When my eyes see the neon sign of the Half-Moon Bar, my mind says "Lower Garden District." When my ears hear the streetcar laboring around the St. Charles/Carrollton intersection, my brain says "Riverbend." When Craftsman-style bungalows appear, I think "Gentilly."

Landmarks work well in communicating location; I'm always annoyed when local journalists report breaking news by street address without also referencing familiar nearby features. But landmarks are prone to their own ambiguities. One problem is that they can move. A few years ago, if you said "4133 South Carrollton Avenue," or "the intersection of South Carrollton and Ulloa," even long-time residents might have pondered a while before picturing that locale. But if you said "Mid-City Lanes Rock-N-Bowl," the picture clarified—until, that is, Mid-City Lanes moved to the junction of the official neighborhoods of Gerttown, Leonidas, and Hollygrove!

Another problem with landmarks is that while they might effectively communicate location to people within your socio-spatial cohort, they might bewilder folks outside it. Someone from New Orleans East (or shall we call it eastern New Orleans?) with no interest in either music or bowling might prefer a straightforward street address than a reference to a place called Mid-City Lanes that's not in Mid City. So central was a health-food store to the identity of an Esplanade Avenue neighborhood in the 1990s-2000s that some residents jokingly called the area "Faubourg Whole Foods," a reference that might baffle those neighbors who could not afford to shop there. Whole Foods has since moved to upper Magazine Street and replicated its role as a major spatial landmark—but not for everyone.

Gangs a century ago also identified themselves by referencing neighborhood landmarks. the St. Mary's Market Gang and Shot Tower Gang, for example, were named for two prominent features in the Irish Channel area. Gangs today often spatialize their identity by ward—for example, 10th Ward Posse—something regularly seen in graffiti and on commemorative T-shirts sold at gangster funerals. Wards regularly pop up in rap lyrics (one rapper dubbed himself Fifth Ward Weebie), while official neighborhood names rarely do, and faubourgs almost never. Curiously, some gangs based in housing projects adopted ward-based names that did not reflect the actual ward locations of their home turf. When those troubled projects were demolished during 1999-2009 to be rebuilt as mixed-income New Urbanist communities, one of the first things the developers did was to replace their old stigmatized appellations with optimistic new names. St. Thomas became the cheerful "River Garden;" St. Bernard became the pretentious "Columbia Parc at the Bayou District;" C. J. Peete became the Orwellian "Harmony Oaks;" and Lafitte became, oh so marvelously, "Faubourg Lafitte."

The Lexicon of Place:
Wards, Municipal Districts, and "Official" City Neighborhoods

Lake Pontchartrain

From Bienville's Dilemma: A Historical Geography of New Orleans by Richard Campanella, richcampanella.com

Edgelake / Little Woods — Sherwood Forest / Lake Forest East / Eastover — Village de L'Est

Lake Terrace / Lake Oaks — Lakeshore / Lakevista — Pontchartrain Park — Milneburg — St. Anthony — Lake Kenilworth — Bonita Villa / Bonita Park — Camelot

Lakeview — Fillmore — Gentilly Woods — Gentilly Terrace — East Bank Orleans Parish — Intracoastal Waterway — MR-GO

Metairie — East Bank Jefferson Parish — West End — City Park — St. Bernard — Dillard — Navarre — Fairgrounds / Broad

Old Metairie — Lakewood — Bayou St. John — St. Roch — Florida Area — St. Claude — Smith — Ninth Ward

One Mile

Legend:
3 — Ward boundary and number
3 — Municipal District boundary and number
Dillard — Official city name of neighborhood

Shrewsbury — Hollygrove — Dixon — Mid City — Gert Town / Zion City — Marlyville / Fontainebleau — Tulane / Gravier — French Quarter — Marigny — Bywater — Holy Cross — St. Bernard Parish — Arabi

Leonidas / West Carrollton — East Carrollton — Black Pearl — Audubon / University — Broadmoor — Central City — Warehouse District — McDonogh — Whitney — US Naval Base — St. Bernard Parish

Uptown — Milan — Garden District — Lower Garden District — Fischer — Behrman — Old Aurora — Chalmette — Mereaux

West and East Riverside — Touro — Irish Channel — Algiers — Brechtel / Tall Timbers — West Bank Orleans Parish — New Aurora / English Turn

Westwego — Gretna — Harvey — Marrero — **West Bank Jefferson Parish** — *Mississippi River* — Orleans Parish / Jefferson Parish

Map by Richard Campanella based on City Planning Commission and other data sources.

Contemplations

We may extract some contemplations from New Orleans' imprecise and disputed historical geography of urban space.

First, neighborhoods, I believe, have soft, porous geographies defined and named best by those who live there. They are deeply revealing of history and culture, and vary complexly spatially and temporally. Even modern subdivisions with seemingly clear design footprints have a fascinating way of blurring their cultural identity over time. Consider, for example, Pontchartrain Park, which was designed as a golf-course suburb for African-American families at a time when their residency was prohibited in adjacent places such as Gentilly Woods. When those barriers came down decades later, residents blurred their "Pontchartrain" and "Gentilly" identities to form, rather poetically, the "Pontilly" Neighborhood Association.

Second, beware those functionaries who insist that only authorities can declare neighborhoods—but don't dismiss them entirely. Official neighborhood delineations, arbitrary as they may be, are nevertheless consequential because the resulting polygons drive statistical aggregations of everything from population to crime rates, real estate values, and post-Katrina recovery metrics. The facts and figures produced by the Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, the reporting of the *Times-Picayune*, and my own geo-statistical number-crunching all require that crude cuts be made across the urban fabric. Official geographies therefore influence policy, politics, and resource allocation—as well as the formation of neighborhood associations with their uneven levels of civic clout. Officially defined neighborhoods are a necessary evil, an important delusion, a fake reality.

Third, consider that neighborhoods are oftentimes better defined by their cores than by their peripheries. Nearly everyone agrees, for example, that Coliseum Square forms the heart of the Lower Garden District, but hardly anyone agrees on that neighborhood's limits. So be it! Let your neighborhood perception extend outwardly from a universally recognized core, and bleed

gradually into adjacent areas. Similarly, consider that avenues tend to unify, not divide, residents on either side. Think how different Bywater would be if we considered St. Claude Avenue to be its linear core rather than its divisive edge.

Finally, keep your ear tuned for how New Orleanians describe where they live; you may learn a lot about this society. And who knows, perhaps someday you'll even hear references to "Lower Plum Orchard," "the Plum," or "*da O-chid*."

Tulane geographer Richard Campanella is the author of "Bienville's Dilemma" and "Geographies of New Orleans," both winners of the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Book of the Year award. His most recent book, "Lincoln in New Orleans," won the 2010 Williams Prize for Louisiana History. Rich's work may be perused at http://richcampanella.com; his email is rcampane@tulane.edu; and his home is in what some people call Bywater, others call the Upper Ninth Ward, and still others perceive as being "near Elizabeth's."

---

[1] For an analysis of *uptown* and *downtown*, see Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans: Urban Fabrics Before the Storm* (Lafayette, La.: University of Louisiana Press/Center for Louisiana Studies, 2006), 157–67.

[2] City Planning and Zoning Commission-Advisory Commission, *The Handbook to Comprehensive Zone Law for New Orleans, Louisiana* (map insert), Rare Book Room, Louisiana Supreme Court Law Library, New Orleans.

[3] Katy Reckdahl, "St. Roch residents are determined to end the explosion of violence in their neighborhood," *Times-Picayune*, March 21, 2011, page 1.

[4] The same can be said for the Warehouse District, which went from a nameless post-industrial zone to a chic condo and art area between the early 1980s and late 1990s.

[5] Marc de Villiers du Terrage, "A History of the Foundation of New Orleans (1717-1722)," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 3, No. 2 (April 1920): 175-76.

[6] John Pope, "Evoking King, Nagin Calls N.O. 'Chocolate' City," *Times-Picayune*, January 17, 2006, 1.

[7] Michel Faulkner, as quoted by George Will, "Charter Schools Fight an Old Bigotry," *Times-Picayune*, December 6, 2007, B-9.