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Jared E. Munster

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They Took My Bedroom: A Case Study of Eminent Domain in New Orleans

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of New Orleans in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

> Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Studies

> > by

Jared E. Munster, AICP

B.S. Urban Studies and Planning, University of New Orleans, 2004 Master of Urban and Regional Planning, University of New Orleans, 2006

December 2012

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Dedication

To my husband, Brandon Robb, thank you for endless love and support.
"Chère Nouvelle Orléans, patrie de ma jeunesse, berceau de quelques-uns de me ancestres, tombeau d'un grand nombre de ceux que j'ai aimés. Je demande à Dieu de te protéger, de te garder, de te bénir" - Hélène D'Aquin Allain (1868
("Dear New Orleans, home of my youth, cradle of many ancestors, tomb of many I have loved. I ask of God to protect, to preserve and to bless thee")

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I wish to extend my heartfelt appreciation to Dr. David Gladstone, as my dissertation advisor and committee chair, for reading the many, many drafts of this dissertation through the years. I must also extend my gratitude to Dr. Arnold Hirsch for his role on my examination committee, Steve Villavaso for serving on both my examination and dissertation committees and Dr. John Renne and Dr. Patrick Haughey for their willingness to serve on the dissertation committee. Without you all, I could not have made it through this process.

Additionally, there are many others whose support throughout research and writing has proved invaluable to the creation of this document. Irene Wainwright, the City's Archivist, has proven to be an incredible resource, and Martha Griset, the City's Real Estate Administrator, has been truly helpful in allowing me full access to the Real Estate and Records office of the City to review the thousands of documents needed to complete this research. My appreciation also goes to the City Planning Commission for opening their library for my use; and the Deputy Director of the City Planning Commission, Leslie Alley, for allowing me access to her personal files regarding the MCLNO/VAMC project.

In addition to records held by the City and Archives, I must also thank the Historic New Orleans Collection's Williams Research Center and the Preservation Resource Center, Michelle Kimball particularly, for the generous access provided to their resources.

More goes into one of these projects than compiling information and reporting on it, for this I must express my gratitude to the Department of Safety and Permits, particularly Directors Paul May and Pura Bascos, and Zoning Administrator Edward Horan for allowing me the flexibility in my work schedule to complete this project.

Lastly, I must thank my husband, Brandon Robb, to whom this dissertation is dedicated. It is said that by the time a dissertation is complete, its author knows more on the subject than anyone else. If that is the case, Brandon is the second best authority on the topic. Thank you for reading every word of this dissertation. Twice. Thank you also for being my sounding board and support as I worked through the creation of the 348 pages which follow.

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Abstract

Of the many powers granted to federal, state, and local governments through the Constitution of the United States, eminent domain is possibly the strongest and most imposing, at least as it relates to citizens' property rights. This dissertation explores several large-scale public undertakings in New Orleans during the period from 1929 to 2011 in which the application of eminent domain was necessary to accomplish the government's goals. This research window will allow the analysis of eminent domain applications from the construction of the Municipal Auditorium through the new medical center projects spurred by the flooding associated with Hurricane Katrina. This timeframe also allows for evaluation of the interaction between planning in New Orleans and the City's exercises of eminent domain. By better understanding the past uses of eminent domain and the goals and policies that drove the exercise of this power, researchers and planning practitioners will be better informed in making decisions that will impact the rebuilding and the future of New Orleans.

The specific cases studied as part of this dissertation are: the Municipal Auditorium (Chapter 2); the development of Public Housing (Chapter 3); the Civic Center (Chapter 4), Bridges and Highways (Chapter 5), the Cultural Center (Chapter 6); and the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans and Veterans Administration Medical Center (Chapter 7). The reason for evaluating all types of projects resulting in the use of eminent domain use in New Orleans is because all have profound impacts on the communities in which this governmental power is exercised.

The primary finding of this dissertation is that the exercise of eminent domain has never been used a principal tool in the implementation of redevelopment proposals in the city of New Orleans. All projects throughout the established research period required the use of governmental expropriation authority to complete land acquisition, but in all cases the government's authority was used conservatively and only when privately negotiated purchases failed.

Urban Planning; Urban History; New Orleans; Eminent Domain; Expropriation; Redevelopment

Chapter 1

Introduction:

A Background of Literature and Methodology in Eminent Domain Research

In the summer of 2005, two separate and distinct events occurred which unpredictably intersected in New Orleans in the subsequent years. On June 23, 2005, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a ruling in the case *Kelo et al. v. City of New London (Connecticut)*, *et al.* (hereinafter, *Kelo*) holding that the exercise of eminent domain for economic development does fall within the scope of the Fifth Amendment's Takings Clause, if there is a properly and legally adopted comprehensive plan in place for such actions. Two months later, on August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina made landfall as a high category 3 storm on the Saffir-Simpson intensity scale, initially near Buras, Louisiana then finally near the mouth of the Pearl River. It should be noted that it was not Hurricane Katrina, but the failure of New Orleans's protective levee system that caused the submersion of approximately eighty percent of the City of New Orleans.

Of the many powers granted to federal, state, and local governments through the Constitution of the United States, eminent domain is possibly the strongest and most imposing, at least as it relates to citizens' property rights. While the threat of losing one's home to an economic development project is fairly slim, the public outcry surrounding the *Kelo* decision caused the elected leadership of the people to spring into action and place restrictions on how and when takings may be exercised. In the wake of *Kelo*, forty-three of the fifty States, including Louisiana, have passed laws limiting the application of eminent domain within their states.³

Ownership of property is sacred in America, and property rights are generally viewed as a

1 -

¹ Supreme Court of the United States, Kelo et al. v. City of New London (Connecticut), et al., 545 U.S. 469 (2005).

² National Hurricane Center (NHC), Tropical Cyclone Report – Hurricane Katrina, 23-30 August 2005.

³ The Castle Coalition, as accessed via <u>www.castlecoalition.org</u>; on July 25, 2012, "Legislative Center."

relationship between individuals and commodities, but property rights also dictate relationships between individuals, as well as between individuals and their government. While ownership of property is generally viewed as a private relationship, one must interact with others to gain ownership, and the government controls how and at times if, property rights are protected and enforced.⁴

This dissertation will explore several large-scale public undertakings in New Orleans during the period from 1929 to 2011 in which the application of eminent domain was necessary to accomplish the government's goals. This research window will allow the analysis of eminent domain applications from the construction of the Municipal Auditorium through the new medical center projects spurred by the flooding associated with Hurricane Katrina. This timeframe also allows for evaluation of the interaction between planning in New Orleans and the City's exercises of eminent domain. The New Orleans City Planning Commission, originally the City Planning and Zoning Commission, was created in 1923 and the City's first zoning ordinance was adopted in 1929. Because the research period begins at roughly the same time as professional planning in New Orleans, it will provide the opportunity to not only follow the evolution of eminent domain but also to follow the evolution of planning in New Orleans, as it related to public projects.

With the rise of modern, professional planning in New Orleans, it became possible for the City to realize large redevelopment projects rather than focusing on construction of an individual structure. At this stage in municipal governance, large public projects encompassing multiple acres of land were not common. Not only would projects become larger in scope, they would also transform from strictly projects of necessity to include projects of amenity, projects of

⁴ Campbell, J.L., & Lindberg, L.N. (1990). Property Rights and the Organization of Economic Activity by the State. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55 (Oct. 1990), pp. 634-647

convenience, and projects of economic development. As planning grew to encompass more aspects of the urban experience it became inevitable that the enhancement of that experience would require property acquisition at some point. This is not to say that planning should be viewed as a direct cause of projects resulting in the exercise of eminent domain, or its mid-century incarnation, Urban Renewal, but rather than the growth of planning as a profession made projects of such scope possible.

This dissertation encompasses exercises of eminent domain by all levels of government: federal, state and city. It is necessary to evaluate all levels of government for this type of research because generally there is an overlapping goal or policy in the exercise of eminent domain. This research is being conducted not only as a historical exercise in detailing the city's history with takings, but to study the policies and goals which were being pursued through the exercise of eminent domain. This study includes relatively small projects such as the Municipal Auditorium, larger projects like the Civic and Cultural Centers, and city-wide undertakings like the creation of public housing and the development of the Interstate Highway System. The reason for evaluating all types of projects resulting in the use of eminent domain use in New Orleans is because all have substantial impacts on the communities in which this governmental power is exercised. The following are the specific areas of focus within this dissertation:

- Municipal Auditorium (Chapter 2)
- Public Housing Developments (Chapter 3)
- The New Orleans Civic Center (Chapter 4)
- Greater New Orleans Bridge/Interstate Highway Construction (Chapter 5)
- The New Orleans Cultural Center (present site of Armstrong Park) (Chapter 6)
- Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans / Veterans Affairs Medical Center (Chapter 7)

These six cases have been selected due to their profound impacts on both the built and social environment of their surrounding areas and New Orleans as a whole. This impact is not

necessarily limited to the physical impact of redevelopment on an adjacent community. For example, the Municipal Auditorium was a small project, affecting only two municipal squares of land, but this project represents a fundamental shift in governmental priorities for development and the exercise of eminent domain. This project was the first in New Orleans which did not meet the traditional standards of public use; the building would be municipally owned and would house government and public events, but the motivating factor was to house private cultural activities and promote tourism.

The establishment of public housing in New Orleans and the construction of the Greater New Orleans Bridge and the Interstate Highways are projects which had substantial impacts both on their immediate locations and for the entire community. Public housing not only cleared slums and provided clean, modern housing to low-income individuals, but also placed local government into the urban redevelopment business which would be extend further in subsequent projects. Bridges and highways were, perhaps, the most significant project of the twentieth century, from a planning and eminent domain perspective. These projects required the acquisition of large quantities of land in nearly every neighborhood of New Orleans. Even those areas escaping the physical impact of these projects would feel the social shift that they enabled. No longer would the population of New Orleans be constrained by natural barriers or distance; once high-speed expressways were made available, New Orleans's surrounding parishes would grow exponentially while the historic urban core declined.

The Civic Center, the Cultural Center, and the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans / Veterans Affairs Medical Center (MCLNO/VAMC) projects were selected due to their scale and the wholesale changes to the urban landscape that is associated with them. The Civic Center, the present location of New Orleans's City Hall, removed the last residential

neighborhood in the Central Business District and allowed civic leadership to guide growth towards the northern end of Poydras Street as they desired. The Cultural Center, or Louis Armstrong Park, was envisioned as hub of intellectual pursuits. Museums, an opera house, and a theatre would populate the site while simultaneously providing a growth boundary to the burgeoning Central Business District. Lastly, the MCLNO/VAMC project, as with the other two, effectuated substantial change both within the selected footprint and in its surrounding areas. The projects required clear-cutting a portion of a National Register Historic District, altering traffic patterns, and will result in the establishment of large, regional medical centers which will serve as economic engines both within the city and without.

Significance and Purpose of Research

The reason for undertaking this research is that eminent domain has become a high-profile topic of American planning practice and research since the United States Supreme Court's *Kelo* decision. This decision affirmed that the exercise of eminent domain for economic development does fall within the scope of the Fifth Amendment's Takings Clause, if there is a properly and legally adopted comprehensive plan in place for such actions. Since that ruling in the summer or 2005, many states – including Louisiana – have passed laws limiting the exercise of eminent domain to uses that are truly "public."

In the 2006 Regular Session of the Louisiana Legislature, two resolutions were passed and placed before the voters as constitutional amendments in September, 2006. Acts 851 and 859 served to limit the use of eminent domain within the state of Louisiana. Act 851, very basically, provided a legislative definition to the term 'public use,' the definition was allowed to remain very broad as to encompass potentially unrealized needs of governments, but specific enough to provide that "[n]either economic development, enhancement of tax revenue, or any

incidental benefit to the public shall be considered in determining whether the taking or damaging of property is for a public purpose"⁵ With the restriction of the Takings Clause effectively accomplished in Act 851, Act 859 served to further protect private property rights within the state of Louisiana. Act 859 provided, with certain exceptions, that any land expropriated for a public purpose must be offered back to the former property owner before it is sent to auction for purchase by a third-party. This restriction is limited to a resale within thirty years of the initial taking, but effectively prevents the possibility of the government taking property under false pretenses and offering it for resale to a developer.⁶

As of this writing, New Orleans is rebuilding from a disaster which inundated 80% of the city. As the government undertakes the construction of a new billion-dollar Veterans

Administration and Louisiana State University hospital complex, eminent domain has resurfaced as a method for obtaining the necessary land for the project to move forward. In addition to this project, the New Orleans City Council has passed ordinances, collectively referred to as the Good Neighbor Ordinance, allowing non-remediated properties to be cleaned and secured with a lien placed on the property. Following the passage of the previous ordinances, the Council took further action to remove properties deemed to be imminent health threats from the city;

Ordinance 22,499 MCS allowed the City to demolish abandoned structures without the consent of the property owners following an administrative hearing.

In addition to the timeliness of the research, another motivating factor in pursuing this topic is that eminent domain exercises in New Orleans have never been chronicled. This research will not only create a record of eminent domain in New Orleans but will also explore

⁵ Louisiana Legislature, Act No. 851 of the 2006 Regular Session, Page 2.

⁶ Louisiana Legislature, Act No. 859 of the 2006 Regular Session.

⁷ Ordinance 22,356 MCS, City of New Orleans

⁸ Ordinance 22,499 MCS, City of New Orleans

the policies and goals of the City in exercising this power. There has been previous research into Urban Renewal in New Orleans but that research focused more on the policies and strategies of the Urban Renewal program than on the exercise and implementation of eminent domain as a tool within those programs. While the topic of eminent domain is nationally timely, the subject is particularly important to the rebuilding of New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

The purpose of performing a case study of eminent domain in New Orleans is, therefore, two-fold. The first goal of this research is to create a chronicle of eminent domain utilization in New Orleans from 1929 through 2011. This time period has been established in order to incorporate the development of public housing, urban renewal, and the City's recovery from Hurricane Katrina. The second and primary purpose of this research is to better understand the history of eminent domain in New Orleans. By better understanding the past uses of eminent domain and the policies that drove the exercise of this power, researchers and planning practitioners will be better informed in making decisions that will impact the rebuilding and future of New Orleans.

<u>Literature Review</u>

Eminent domain as a governmental power has been written about from many various fields, including economics, history, law, sociology, and urban studies. As a privilege held by the government, the power to take private property for a public use is long established and the legality of such action guaranteed by the document upon which that government is based. This dissertation does not explore the government's *authority* to exercise eminent domain, but rather will be exploring *how* the three levels of government have utilized the power granted to it and what the basis for those exercises were, in the context of New Orleans. This literature review briefly discusses the origins of property rights and eminent domain, the development of eminent

domain in the United States and, finally, how eminent domain as a governmental power has been modified and somewhat limited over time. This review will serve as a basis for the case study of eminent domain in New Orleans moving forward.

Understanding Property Rights

The foundation of modern property rights is found in the writings of John Locke, particularly in his Two Treatises of Government originally published in 1690. Since that time property rights have been in debate, but the basic principles have not substantially changed. Krueckeberg illustrated Locke's perspective on how one comes to own property in stating "the product of your labor becomes your property by natural right as an extension of your liberty, social status, and personality." The product of one's own work was viewed as the most basic form of property. Over time, the basis of property shifted from functional possession to being based in market-driven supply and demand. It was at this juncture that people began to possess more than they could utilize, making it possible to accumulate wealth and control the availability of goods.

In the American application of Locke's ideas, the next major ideas in the realm of property rights came from Thomas Jefferson. The Jeffersonian interpretation of property was that property was a social, rather than a natural right. Jefferson differentiated natural rights from social rights in that natural rights are those rights "necessary for moral and intellectual achievement." Of these natural rights, the most important were "individual liberty and social freedom;"11 specifically, "freedom of thought, freedom from tyrannical political authority, and

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⁹ Krueckeberg, D. A. (1995). The Difficult Character of Property, *Journal of the American Planning Association*; Summer 1995, Vol. 61 Issue 3, pp. 301-307.

¹⁰ Cooke, J.W. (1973). Jefferson on Liberty, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1973), pp. 563-576, at 565. ¹¹ Cooke

freedom in choosing and plying one's own livelihood." These liberties were "never to be abridged or denied in any man-made institution." Post states that this is made clear through Jefferson's writing of the Declaration of Independence, in that he substituted the phrase "pursuit of happiness" over "property" as an inalienable right; however, in eighteenth century thought, the implication of 'happiness' was not necessarily distinct from 'property. Use of the term 'happiness' in the context of the Declaration of Independence would have connoted that the ability to acquire property was just as important as protecting the rights of individuals in the property that they currently held, and "the right to obtain and possess property was at the heart of the pursuit of happiness." 15

The policies enacted by Jefferson also demonstrated his thoughts on the issue of property rights. Two specific actions are cited as demonstrable of his thinking: the enactment of laws governing inheritance and the granting to all white males over the age of twenty-one the necessary property to qualify as a voter. These laws were enacted because Jefferson believed that property owners were the "most responsible guardians of social welfare" because "they had a physical stake in the preservation of society and were 'tied to their country by ... the most lasting bonds." In Jeffersonian thinking, property rights as a social right differentiated from natural rights because property "was incidental and adventitious, a right produced only after formation of a social contract." Post cites *The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours* to explain how natural and social rights differ, in that social rights "are those of personal protection,

¹² Cooke

¹³ Cooke, at 566.

¹⁴ Post, D.M. (1986). Jeffersonian Revisions of Locke: Education, Property-Rights, and Liberty, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 47, No. 1. (Jan.-Mar., 1986), pp. 147-157, at 152.3

¹⁵ Ely, J. W., Jr. (1998). *The Guardian of Every Other Right: A Constitutional History of Property Rights*, Second Edition. Oxford University Press, New York, at 29.

¹⁶ Post, at 153.

¹⁷ Post, at 152.

of acquiring and possessing property, in which the individual power is less than the natural....

These are civil rights or rights of compact, and are distinguishable from natural rights."

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From an economic standpoint, property rights are viewed by scholars as social rights rather than natural ones, and the only true value of those rights are associated with those elements of property which can be bought and sold. Demsetz states that "property rights specify how persons may be benefited and harmed, and, therefore, who must pay whom to modify the actions taken by persons." In this analysis of property rights, there is no natural right associated with either the creation or possession of property other than that which society provides it.

Sociological perspectives on property rights date back to the formation of sociology as a field. According to Carruthers and Ariovich (2004), property rights have been discussed in sociological writings since the time of Marx. Marx theorized that property ownership is a fundamental indicator of inequality. Since the legal system, and thus the state, has defended the sanctity of property rights, those systems are also involved in the perpetuation of inequality. Additionally, through the field of sociology, one is able to trace the development of property rights and the shifts in fundamental principles as they correspond with larger social movements. During times of revolution and other political change, there is commonly a change in the way property ownership is viewed and controlled.²⁰

Engels, in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State*, offered that the concept of property ownership and especially the concept of land ownership was a creation of

¹⁸ Post, at 152 citing to Chinard, G., ed., (1931). *The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours*, (Baltimore, 1931) LXXII.

¹⁹ Demsetz, H. (1967). Toward a Theory of Property Rights, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Seventy-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. (May, 1967), pp. 347-359, at 347.

²⁰ Carruthers, B.G., & Ariovich, L. (2004). The Sociology of Property Rights, *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 30 (2004) pp 23-46, at 24.

the bourgeoisie. Engels, in the tradition of Locke, believed an inherent right of ownership of that which one produces. As stated above, the value associated with property and the need to possess land stems from economics; goods derive their value when the market becomes involved, and the same is true of land. The commoditization of goods, and therefore potential for profit from goods, directly led to the private ownership of land which dictated who would benefit from the production of that land.²¹

Carruthers and Ariovich also break property rights up into five elements of ownership.

The primary questions in this elemental discussion are: What can be owned? Who may own?

What rights exist in ownership? How are rights enforced? and How are rights transferred? To the question of "What can be owned?" Carruthers and Ariovich state that the answer to this question is fluid. Ideas of ownership change, as do societal norms that govern how rights are protected and asserted. As an example in the United States, ownership once extended to holding fellow human beings as property, and as American society came to find this practice unacceptable the rules governing ownership changed, and virtually overnight fortunes were lost without any form of compensation to the property owners. In modern times, property ownership has been extended to ideas and thoughts. Never before in history has such a liberal view of what constitutes property been given the protections of the legal and social systems that they exist within.²²

The answer to the question of "Who may own?" is not as simple as stating that anyone may own property. The right to own property may be legally limited in some instances, and the right to own extended in others. Under United States law, there exist two types of person: natural and fictive. Natural persons, under the law, are actual persons, while fictive persons are

²¹ Engels, F. (1972). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State*. International Publishers, New York. ²² Carruthers, et al (2004), at 25-6.

the creation of government or industry, such as a corporation, non-profit, or governmental agency. The legal rights of fictive persons were established in 1886 through the United States Supreme Court's ruling in *County of Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company*.²³ In this case, the Southern Pacific Railroad was making the argument, among others, that the Santa Clara County violated their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in that they were not being treated equally under the law. The Court did not rule directly on this argument but rather its recognition of the validity of this reasoning led to the acceptance of corporations as "persons" under the protection of the law. Carruthers and Ariovich state: "[n]o society grants full ownership rights to all natural persons, and the rights of fictive persons often differ across public/private or [for-]profit/non-profit lines." These distinctions often come through regulations related to use rather than pure ownership. For example, non-profit agencies are not permitted to use their resources to participate in partisan politics, but they may engage in politics associated with issues. This leads directly into the discussion of "what rights exist in ownership?"

Ownership of real property does not necessarily constitute the right to do what one pleases with a tract of land. There are numerous ways in which the use of property can be and is actively limited, generally by government. Governments possess the ability to limit the use of private property because it is that same government that is responsible for protecting private interest in property. The restrictions of use can be seen as a trade-off of losing some rights in land while gaining protection of the rights that are permitted. Restrictions on rights in real property are most commonly seen in the form of municipal zoning laws. The uses of other types of property can be seen in the example of licensure requirements for operating a motor vehicle.

²³ Supreme Court of the United States, *County of Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company*, 118 U.S. 394 (1886)

²⁴ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 26

Restrictions on how property may be used can also be enacted in the private sector through the use of restrictive covenants and contractual agreements.²⁵ The main focus of this discussion, however, is on the questions of how rights are enforced and how rights are transferred, which are posed by Carruthers and Ariovich in their sociological investigation of property rights.

The process by which rights are enforced by government is a sign of not only the importance placed on private property by a government but also the strength of the government itself. Many measures enacted to protect the rights of private property owners are generally based in policy rather than action. The ability of these policies to protect rights comes from the perceived legitimacy of the source of those policies, which is the ruling government. When these public policies weaken, or the perceived governing organization is no longer viewed as a legitimate authority, property rights are generally one of the first societal creations to be both questioned and strengthened. The public will commonly see the turmoil of government as an opportunity to violate the private property rights of the owning classes and the government will convert crimes that were formerly seen as property crimes into capital crimes, thus increasing the power of the enforcement mechanism and the subsequent penalty for violating the laws. ²⁶

The process of buying or selling a particular piece of ground generally accomplishes the transfer of rights. Even the transfer of property can be guided through the societal norms of the area where the transfer is taking place. The example provided by Carruthers and Ariovich is that of Mexico, and the prohibitions that exist against selling land to people from outside of the community.²⁷ Article 27 of the 1917 Mexican Constitution directly prohibited manufacturing, mining, and petroleum companies from "acquiring, holding or administering rural properties" in favor of traditional community-based land ownership. This prohibition was removed from the

²⁵ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 27-28.

²⁶ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 29.

²⁷ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 30.

Mexican Constitution in 1992.²⁸ So, while property gains its value from its very marketability, there are nonetheless restrictions and social factors that can dictate how that marketing can occur and to whom the property may be sold.²⁹

From an economic perspective, the state takes on the role of allocating resources to influence the activities of economic actors.³⁰ Part of this allocation of resources is the legal manipulation of property rights, illustrated less by the manipulation of legal safeguards than by the exercise of governmental powers that allow property to be taken from its owner to benefit the public good. Property rights are generally viewed as a relationship between individuals and commodities, but property rights also dictate relationships between individuals. As is stated by Campbell and Lindberg, the ownership of property by one person is usually equivalent to the lack of ownership or control by another.³¹

According to Weimer and Hoyt, property rights are subject to three main restrictions by government: taxation, eminent domain, and the police power.³² Of these three restrictions, this research will focus on eminent domain and its ability to compel the sale of private property to further the "public good."

Development of Eminent Domain

The question of how property rights can be transferred is also primary to the question of eminent domain and any discussion of property rights generally. The concept of eminent domain as it is presently understood is first mentioned in the American Bill of Rights; however, the basis for this concept derives from Clause 28 of the Magna Carta which ensure that no movable

³⁰ Campbell & Lindberg, at 634.

²⁸ Barnes, G. (2008). The evolution and resilience of community-based land tenure in rural Mexico, *Land Use Policy*, 26 (2009) 393-400. Accessed via www.elsevier.com/locate/landusepol.

²⁹ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 30.

³¹ Campbell & Lindberg, at 635.

³² Weimer, A.M., & Hoyt, H. (1948). *Principles of Urban Real Estate*, The Ronald Press Company, New York, at 35.

properties are to be taken without immediate payment.³³ 'Movable' property under this meaning included personal property (i.e. livestock, tools, hats), this did not include real estate. Real property in England was possessed by the Crown. Those English elites able to attain the status of 'land owner' were never truly in possession of this property, but rather they were bound by continual obligations and annual tributes to the Crown in order to retain their dominion over their individual estate. Failure to comply with this requirement would have resulted in the loss of the property that they theoretically 'owned.' While the English legal system did not require the payment for real property under the Magna Carta, by the seventeenth century Parliament would routinely provide for compensation when land was taken by the government for any purpose. ³⁴

The conception of land ownership changed with the colonization and exploration of the New World, due to the limitless amount of land found in North America, colonial governments and settlement companies offered land grant titles in fee simple, which was the most absolute form of ownership found under the English Common Law. However, while the government was willing to be more generous insofar is allowing the possession of title to land, the concept of eminent domain as understood by the English Common Law remained applicable and was exercised. At this juncture, the power of the governing authority to expropriate privately held land was not limited to truly 'public' purposes, but closely resembled what would today be referred to as eminent domain for economic development. In addition to the use of this authority for the development of roads and public buildings, eminent domain was extended in the Colonies to include takings for the advancement of economic growth; this growth fostered the

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³³ Davis, G.R.C. (1989). Magna Carta, Revised Edition. Translation of the original text from 1215, as accessed via http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/magnacarta.html, Clause 28.

³⁴ Ely (1998).

development of private industry but such industries were seen to benefit the community and were considered a public service.³⁵

While compensation for taken property was considered fundamental at this time, there was no law to govern these transactions. For example, while the government would provide compensation if productive land was taken, they would generally not compensate the owner if the land taken was undeveloped. Ely states that this practice "was not a denial of the compensation principle" but rather that "[b]ecause land was so plentiful, the colonists felt that unimproved land was of slight monetary value. Moreover, they reasoned that the advantages of a highway would more than offset the loss of a small amount of land." As land became more valuable, this practice ceased and compensation would become the practice regardless of the actual value of the property taken.

Origins and Application of Eminent Domain in the United States

The validity of eminent domain in the United States is found in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, stating in part: "nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." This was further modified by the fourteenth amendment, which states: "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." These two statements serve as the foundation upon which all modern eminent domain takings are based. In the United States, it is generally accepted that the government can take property from an individual to serve a greater public good, but there has never been a definition provided for what constitutes a 'public use.' 'Public use' has come to be viewed as protection of the health,

³⁵ Ely (1998).

³⁶ Ely (1998), at 24.

The Bill of Rights, Amendment V. As accessed via <u>www.archives.gov</u>.

³⁸ The Bill of Rights, Amendment XIV (Section 1). As accessed via <u>www.archives.gov</u>.

safety, and welfare of the represented community.³⁹ How those particular standards are assessed is, for better or for worse, left to the same bodies that decide when and where to exercise the power of eminent domain. This leaves the action and the justification of the action in the hands of one or more governmental entities.

Traditionally, the "public use' requirement" of eminent domain is "satisfied whenever the power of eminent domain 'is being exercised for a public purpose." However, there are two opposing bodies of thought regarding the actual meaning of 'public use.' The competing theories guiding the application of eminent domain are the actual use and public-benefit theories. The actual use theory requires that all members of the public have access to the taken property in its final form. For instance, land that is taken to construct a school or other government facility will be open to the general public when it is completed, in comparison land that is taken for redevelopment may be used to construct a new apartment complex or convention center, that would restrict access to only tenants or conventioneers. There are two elements that are usually weighed to determine if a taking can be described as actual use, the first element of this test is universal access, and the second is equal access; both elements must be present, in some degree, to constitute 'actual use.' This would mean that all members of the public would have access to the result of the taking, and no member or group would have more access rights than any other person or group. It has also been determined by the courts that all members of the public realizing a non-tangible, but equal benefit from the taking can meet the actual use test. 41

³⁹ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 28.

⁴⁰ Sales, N.A. (1999). Classical Republicanism and the Fifth Amendment's "Public Use" Requirement, Duke Law *Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 1. (Oct., 1999), pp. 339-382. Citing *Berman v. Parker*, 348 U.S. 26, 32 (1954). ⁴¹ Sales (1999), at 346

The public-benefit theory of eminent domain requires only that the end result of the taking benefit "some portion of the public." This is a far less stringent standard than the actual use requirements discussed above, and because "every action of a democratic government is presumably designed to produce some public good" even exercising eminent domain to turn the property over to another private party would meet the requirement if the goal of the program would produce some quantifiable public-benefit. In deciding the *Kelo* case, the United States Supreme Court reasoned that economic development is a traditional role of government and that in many cases, "the government's pursuit of a public purpose will often benefit individual private parties." It has been long accepted that the public-benefit theory was a legitimate test of the validity of an eminent domain taking, but *Kelo* served to make this rule abundantly clear.

Meidinger states in his article *The "Public Uses" of Eminent Domain: History and Policy* that the 'public use' requirement of eminent domain has been somewhat lost, since through the years the courts have devised a system of standards that is loose enough to allow any governmental taking to be justified, while at the same time strict enough for the courts to occasionally invalidate takings. ⁴⁵ Through the judiciary's liberal approach to what constitutes a valid 'public use' it would virtually take the direct transfer of property from one private party to another without any sort of government purpose to have a taking invalidated. ⁴⁶ The view adopted by the judicial system comes down to the unwillingness of the courts to interfere with the actions of local governments, since the courts assume that those governmental actors would have the best knowledge of local affairs. Also, there is the belief that since legislative bodies

⁴² Sales (1999), at 347

⁴³ Sales (1999), at 348

⁴⁴ *Kelo*, at 485

⁴⁵ Meidinger, E.E. (1981). The "Public Uses" of Eminent Domain: History and Practice. *Environmental Law*, Vol. 11, pp. 1-66. 11 Envtl. L. 1 (1980-1981).

⁴⁶ Meidinger (1981), at 42

speak for the people in a representative democracy, there is the presupposition that the actions taken by these bodies will be in the best interest of the community.

Over time, takings have been extended to include not only the physical taking of property, but also to the loss of economic gains caused by governmental regulation. Regulatory takings are difficult to define, it is generally accepted that a regulatory taking occurs when the government "severely restrict[s] the property's use, they leave the owner in much the same position" as if the government would have seized the actual property.

The government has been fully within its authority to exercise takings for economic development for many years and it took the United States Supreme Court's split-opinion in the case of *Kelo* to truly bring to light the breadth of eminent domain powers, and the harsh reality that the only thing standing between the homes of the populace and a shiny new convention center was the restraint of local governments. For many, the thought of using the power of eminent domain to spur economic development is reminiscent of the urban renewal schemes of the 1960s. At that time, entire neighborhoods were declared "blighted" by local governments, and federal funds were provided to provide just compensation to property owners and the construction of new housing developments or civic complexes. Urban renewal should not be seen to equate to the exercise of eminent domain, however, the utilization of eminent domain was generally found to be an element of attaining the goals of the urban renewal program.

Though the most familiar and generally most documented use of eminent domain is in urban redevelopment, this practice has a history long before the urban renewal projects of the 1960s. One of the earliest records of using eminent domain to combat urban ills is found in the case *Dingley v. City of Boston* (100 Mass. 544), in which the court ruled that the exercise of eminent domain to remove a public nuisance and preserve public health is within the rights of a

⁴⁷ Congressional Budget Office (1998). Regulatory Takings and Proposals for Change. December 1998.

municipality, as long as just compensation is paid for the land taken. Another ruling that empowered the right of government to take land for urban redevelopment is found in *New York City Housing Authority v. Muller* (270 N.Y. 333, 1 N.E.2d 153(1936)), in which the court found that "decreasing the juvenile delinquency, crime, and disease it believed was caused by the slums to be a broad public benefit satisfying the public use requirement" Over the years the public use test has morphed into the public benefit test, which comes equipped with a more far-reaching scope of what can be proposed as a public benefit. This practice is what has led up to the ruling of *Kelo* and the fallout that is currently being experienced.

The role of the government in redevelopment was explored more fully by Nancey Green Leigh. While specifically focusing on the remediation of blight and decline in urban areas, there are basically two elements that must be met for a government to expropriate 'blighted' properties from its owner in order to initialize redevelopment: (1) state enabling legislation and (2) a declaration of 'blight' status before land is targeted for seizure or redevelopment. ⁵¹ Taylor Ruilova, explores the proposed urban redevelopment plan that has been enacted for the city of Camden, New Jersey. In that plan, approximately 90% of the city of Camden will be declared to be a redevelopment zone, and with \$175 million in funding, the city is to be transformed, phase-by-phase, into a thriving urban center. ⁵²

Eminent Domain in New Orleans

This history of eminent domain exercise is visibly present in the New Orleans area.

During the urban renewal and highway building schemes of the 1950s and 1960s, a portion of

⁴⁸ Dingley v. City of Boston 100 Mass. 544 (Mass. 1868).

⁴⁹ Meidinger (1981), at 33.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Leigh, N.G. (2003). *The State Role in Urban Land Redevelopment*. The Brookings Institution, 2003.

⁵² Ruilova, T. (2006). *Camden 2015: Can Condemnation Power and Urban Redevelopment Plans Bring Life Back to the City?* 3 Rutgers J. L. & Urb. Pol'y 441.

interstate highway was placed through a previously thriving minority neighborhood and a grand civic center constructed atop what was deemed to be a 'slum.' As was common of that era, the government associated blight with the presence of low-income minorities, and the areas selected for 'renewal' in New Orleans met just that description (See Appendix 1.1). For example, in 1951, the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) prepared *A Preliminary Report Upon Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment Project U.R. 1-A* which detailed the slum conditions of an urban neighborhood along with the reasons and strategies for clearing the area and replacing the slum with new public amenities and property for commercial redevelopment. ⁵³
Today, the center of this urban renewal scheme contains the New Orleans City Hall, the Orleans Parish Civil District Court building, a park, and vacant land where a state office building and the Louisiana Supreme Court stood until demolished in 2009.

There is little academic work on the use of eminent domain in the city of New Orleans. The majority of the research for this dissertation is from the City Archives and newspaper accounts of redevelopment projects in New Orleans. It is evident from the existing research that even those with the ability to exercise it viewed eminent domain as a four-letter word which was avoided as much as possible during the planning process, as evidenced in the *Report Upon Slum Clearance*. In that report, the exercise of eminent domain or any variation of takings was not mentioned in the document; however, as an appendix to this report there is a table entitled "Itemized Statement of Values" which was used to determine the fair-market value of properties within the redevelopment zone to allow budgeting of property acquisition costs. While the government actively tried to avoid the use of this unpopular tool, they have proven

⁵³ Housing Authority of New Orleans (1951). *A Preliminary Report Upon Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment Project U.R. 1-A.* Accessed via the New Orleans City Planning Commission Planning Library. ⁵⁴ HANO, Appendix B, at 3.

willing to exercise their eminent domain authority when negotiations failed or were becoming too time consuming.

Limitations on Eminent Domain in Defense of Property Rights

Louisiana is not the only state to have taken the initiative to limit the effects of the Kelo decision, but it is the one being focused on as this research explores how eminent domain and property rights have evolved in New Orleans. Christopher Swope, in his 2006 article for Governing Magazine, Domain Poisoning, argues the downside of such limitations to the use of eminent domain. In a specific example that could parallel Post-Katrina New Orleans, Sacramento, California seized hundreds of housing units in a crime plagued neighborhood, turned them over to a non-profit agency and brought in a private management company. This effectively revitalized the neighborhood, but such projects may be banned under Kelo-responsive legislation adopted in Louisiana. Would this be a legitimate exercise of the 'public use' doctrine, or would this be overstepping the boundaries into economic development?⁵⁵

The first request for judicial interpretation of the effects of the 2006 Louisiana constitutional amendments is found in a 2007 expropriation suit filed by the New Orleans Redevelopment Authority (NORA) against Kittoria Johnson and Joseph Burgess, Jr. The specifics of this particular case are similar to the many other cases that NORA has brought over the years. There is no question as to NORA's ability to seize blighted properties; however, the ability for NORA to transfer these properties out of their agency for redevelopment is the crux of the case. Particularly, NORA states that they are unable to find any title insurers willing to insure the title of NORA-expropriated property because of the unresolved issue of the constitutionality

⁵⁵ Swope, Christopher, *Domain Poisoning*, Governing Magazine. July 2006.

of NORA's transfer – specifically if the resale of the expropriated properties remains constitutional under the amendments to the Louisiana Constitution.⁵⁶

The desire to place limitations on the exercise of eminent domain in defense of property rights is not new. For decades, state legislatures have been drafting laws and state constitutional amendments that place limitations on how and when eminent domain can be exercised, and for what purposes. As illustrated by Meidinger, Connecticut, Montana, and North Dakota enacted limitations to specifically standardize what constitutes a 'public use' for the purpose of eminent domain takings within their states. This was, however, not a prohibition on the exercise of eminent domain for any specific purpose.⁵⁷ These pre-existing limitations on the use of eminent domain specifically address how situations that result in takings should be avoided if at all possible. Connecticut's language for the limitation of eminent domain was found in the proposed Constitution of 1965, which stated in part: "No property shall be taken for public use unless the taking be necessary for such use."58 Meidinger states that this type of restrictive language would require the governmental actors to prove that the proposed project "could not reasonably be carried out without the condemnation."⁵⁹ While this is debatably a good standard to which to hold governments, the more common, and non-specifically stated, approach to the exercise of eminent domain is that of convenience, both to the taxpayers and the project. As stewards of taxpayer dollars, governments commonly search for the most cost-effective means to an end.

⁵⁶ New Orleans Redevelopment Authority v. Kittoria Johnson, et al (New Orleans Civil District Court Docket No. 2007-3102 "E", Louisiana Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Docket No. 2008-CA-1020.

⁵⁷ Meidinger (1981), at 45

⁵⁸ Meidinger (1981), at 45.

⁵⁹ Meidinger (1981), at 45.

Methodology and Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a record of eminent domain in the city of New Orleans and the evolution of eminent domain as a tool as it relates to planning and development in New Orleans. This is not only to provide a historical record of eminent domain in the City, but to observe the exercise of this Constitutional power from urban planning and public policy perspectives.

This dissertation utilizes mixed methods to develop a case study of eminent domain in New Orleans between 1929 and 2011, from an urban planning and policy perspective while analyzing the historical use of takings throughout the city. The qualitative methods of case study research, historiography, and textual analysis are utilized to chronicle the story of eminent domain, both from official historical records and through the accounts of these projects found in the popular press. Quantitative methods will be utilized to evaluate population data for the areas where eminent domain has occurred in the City, where available. These statistics are intended to evaluate the locations of exercising eminent domain versus the population that occupied those areas. Further, the acquisition of individual properties and the method of such acquisition will be chronicled and evaluated to determine what, if any patterns emerge in the decision to exercise the government's expropriation authority.

Research Questions

There are three primary research questions which are explored through mixed research methods. This methodological approach will allow the research to overlap and thus reinforce the findings to answer the following research questions.

1) To the extent that the City of New Orleans over the last century has pursued specific land use policies through the use of its eminent domain power, what have those policies been?

- 2) What particular factors have played a role in the City's determination as to which areas were suitable for municipal projects, and specifically, to what extent was the impact of such projects on the surrounding community a factor in policy-making?
- 3) What land use strategies, if any, might have been employed by the City that would have been effective in accomplishing the same policy goals without the need for exercising the eminent domain power, and do these strategies present realistic and viable alternatives today?

Data Sources

The data sources explored in this research are primarily government documents which were produced in the planning stage of large governmental undertakings. These documents allow the research to follow the progression of conceptual municipal improvements through the study and planning stage and to implementation, including land acquisition and the exercise of eminent domain, when necessary, to fully realize civic priorities. The following sources of data are sources of key information in this dissertation:

- Archived information from the New Orleans City Planning Commission;
- Municipal real estate records from the Division of Real Estate & Records;
- City Archives from the New Orleans Public Library;
- Condemnation Ordinances from the New Orleans City Council;
- Legislative records of the State of Louisiana as it relates to eminent domain powers of local governments;
- Newspaper archives (*The Times-Picayune, The Gambit Weekly*, and older newspaper records under former titles); and
- City-recognized plans prepared by City agencies and outside planners for and in conjunction with the rebuilding of New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina.

Operational Definitions

Several terms are used throughout this dissertation which have perceived meanings beyond what is to be addressed in this document. It is therefore necessary to operationalize key terms which will be used throughout this chronicle of eminent domain exercises.

Eminent Domain: As used in this context, eminent domain should be understood as any governmental taking of private property exercised under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which states in part: "nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."60

Taking: 'Taking' shall be defined as a governmental exercise of eminent domain which results in the transfer of privately held property to the government or another entity. A taking is exercised when a governmental entity condemns private property through expropriation. This is a more common term for eminent domain.

<u>Public Use</u>: No concise, concrete definition of the term 'public use' has ever been generated as it relates to eminent domain. 'Public use' is generally viewed as protection of the health, safety, and welfare of the represented community. 61 There are competing interpretations of the term, which are broken down into actual use and public benefit, 62 both of which will be addressed in this research. For the purposes of this research, 'public use' shall be defined as the purpose for which any taking occurs.

Actual Use: 'Actual Use' requires that all members of the public have access to the taken property in its final form. There are two elements that are usually weighed to determine if a taking can be described as actual use, the first element of this test is universal access, and the second is equal access. This would mean that all members of the public would have access to

⁶⁰ The Bill of Rights, Amendment V. As accessed via www.archives.gov.

⁶¹ Carruthers, et al (2004), at 28. 62 Sales (1999)

the result of the taking, and no member or group would have more access rights than any other person or group. It has also been determined by the courts that all members of the public realizing a non-tangible, but equal benefit from the taking can meet the actual use test. ⁶³ **Public Benefit**: 'Public Benefit' requires only that the end result of the taking benefit "some portion of the pubic." ⁶⁴ This is a far less stringent standard than the actual use requirement because "every action of a democratic government is presumably designed to produce some public good." ⁶⁵ Even exercising eminent domain to turn the property over to another private party would meet the requirement if the goal of the program would produce some quantifiable public-benefit.

Research Methods

While this research utilizes mixed research methods, the research is best categorized under the case study methodology. A case study is defined as a study where the "researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bounded by time and activity and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time." While this dissertation does recognize the application of eminent domain in the recovery of New Orleans from Hurricane Katrina, the primary focus is on the way eminent domain has been used within the city of New Orleans in the past. Yin's description of a case study adds to the reasoning for this methodology in the subject case. Yin describes a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the

⁶³ Sales (1999), at 346

⁶⁴ Sales (1999), at 347

⁶⁵ Sales (1999), at 348

⁶⁶ Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications, 2003, pp 15.

boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident."⁶⁷ Eminent domain is understood as the act of taking private property for a public purpose, but generally the context is not made clear. One of the primary goals of this particular research is to bring together the takings which have occurred in New Orleans with the policies and governmental goals which were being furthered by exercise of eminent domain and how eminent domain, as a planning tool, has evolved over the research period within the context of the city of New Orleans.

This proposed research asks 'how' and 'why' questions relating to the exercise of eminent domain in New Orleans. According to Yin, these types of questions are explanatory and "deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies of incidence."68 I have conducted this case study to research eminent domain as the land acquisition tool of last resort, and as such how the decisions were made to exercise this power. A substantial portion of this dissertation places an eye to the past in evaluating the 'how' and 'why' questions relating to eminent domain. While case study research is generally utilized in real-time observations, the same methods may be utilized when looking to historical events. To do so, the case study begins to co-mingle with historical research. When a case study is being used to evaluate past events, the researcher generally has more options for information gathering than using purely a historical methodology. Case studies also entail direct observation and interviews of the persons involved in the events. A "case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations – beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study." ⁶⁹ In particular, the case-study methodology being proposed for this research falls with in the category of 'embedded case-study design,' in that while eminent domain within the context of development in New Orleans is the

⁶⁷ Yin, R. K. (2003). Case Study Research: Design and Methods, Third Edition. Sage Publications, 2003, pp.13.

⁶⁸ Yin, R. K. (2003), at 6.

⁶⁹ Yin (2003), at 8.

primary purpose of the research, the results of the study will be attained through individualized study of those cases comprising the evolution and execution of eminent domain within a specified area. In this particular research, and in reference to Yin's presentation of case-study design, the 'case' in question is eminent domain in New Orleans, and the means of investigation is through the analysis of individual cases detailing how, when, why, and for what ultimate purpose eminent domain has been exercised within New Orleans over the course of the research period. This embedded methodology contrasts with the alternative, holistic, design in that a holistic research design would present a global analysis of eminent domain in the city, rather than allowing a presentation of particular cases. ⁷⁰ By approaching the topic through analysis of individual exercises of eminent domain, the goal is allowing an comparative analysis to track the evolution of eminent domain as a tool in both planning and urban development as well as observing its use and effectiveness as a tool in achieving the goals for which it was exercised.

A key question in case studies and one extraordinarily relevant in this proposed research is the generalizability of the research findings. Yin proposes that challenges to generalizability may be countered by studying multiple cases or through generalizing only to theoretical positions rather than similar situations.⁷¹ Conversely, Stake discusses the need for what he terms 'intrinsic case study' which specifically addresses case studies which are not conducted with the end goal of generalizing the results to a greater population. Stake states that intrinsic case studies are undertaken "not because by studying it we learn about other cases or about some general problem, but because we need to learn about that particular case."⁷² Further, through an intrinsic case study, the focus is placed on understanding the case being studied and the

⁷⁰ Yin (2003), at 43

⁷¹ Yin (2003), at 10.
⁷² Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Sage Publications, 2003, pp. 3.

uniqueness of that particular case.⁷³ In the intrinsic case study, there is not a strong argument for generalizing to a greater population, nor is that position taken in the present research. Stake allows for what is termed 'naturalistic generalizations' where "people can learn much that is general from a single case."⁷⁴ According to Stake, this is "partly because [people] are familiar with other cases and they add this one in, thus making a slightly new group from which to generalize, a new opportunity to modify old generalizations."⁷⁵ This approach allows the reader to interpret potential generalizations to their own experiential knowledge and does not require that the researcher connect all possible points; the value of this approach is that "translation from experiential language to formal language diminishes and distorts some of the meaning."⁷⁶

The professional analysis and interpretation of events or information by the researcher is crucial to the validity of findings in one's research. This holds true whether the research is being done historically or as a case study. According to Stake, case studies rely not only on the analysis of data but on the professional judgment of the researcher in interpreting the meaning of a document, situation or singular event. Similarly, Howell and Prevenier state that while historical research is primarily concerned with facts and evidence, there is a level of interpretation that must be applied to create a historical argument about a document or documented event. History is not a field in which a participant in the event is normally available for clarification of sources or additional information which may not be included in the written record.

⁷³ Stake (1995), at 8.

⁷⁴ Stake (1995), at 85.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Stake (1995), at 86

⁷⁷ Stake (1995), at 74.

⁷⁸ Howell M. & Prevenier, W. (2001). *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Cornell University Press, 2001.

From a historical research perspective interpretive, interdisciplinary approaches are a modern development, in that history is no longer constrained to the facts of an event, but rather take into account the social and cultural background which led to that which is being investigated. These approaches have a tendency to blur the lines between pure historical research and the methods engaged in by the social sciences. The general perception is that the two distinct fields of research have much to learn from one another, and that by taking elements of each better research will be produced. From the historical perspective, the reliability of sources is a key concern, where generalizability is the key concern in more general qualitative research. The particular research being proposed will benefit by combining historical research qualities with the more standard repertoire of methods found on the qualitative side of the social sciences.⁷⁹

In reference to Creswell's definition of a case study, which states that a case study is bounded by time and activity, with detailed information being collected through a variety of data sources, 80 historical research also studies change over time. Howell and Prevenier state that while not all histories explicitly focus on change over time, even those which focus on a specific event or moment in history must recognize a change through time because they are "exposing the distinctiveness of the practices being described and the ways they came into being."81

While my particular research will focus on the exercise of eminent domain within the City of New Orleans, multiple embedded cases will be studied and analyzed. Particularly, this research will focus on the exercise of eminent domain by the governmental actors, including the City, State and Federal governments, and the policies and goals which were being pursued by this exercise. Multiple cases within the city will be evaluated, not to reinforce findings of

Howell M. & Prevenier, W. (2001).
 See supra, note 47.
 Howell M. & Prevenier, W (2001), at 120.

previous cases but to evaluate differences in governmental priorities, projects, and goals over the past eighty years. The common element will be the utilization of eminent domain as the land use tool utilized to acquire the needed property to achieve these goals, and the evolution of the tool itself within the context of planning in New Orleans. This dissertation also evaluates through what other mechanisms the government may gain control of property and how ultimately the eminent domain had to be relied upon to ensure the successful implementation of policies and achievement of goals.

Institutional Review Board Compliance

In compliance with the policies of the University of New Orleans, as it relates to institutional review of research, the proposal for this dissertation was submitted to the University of New Orleans Office of Human Subjects Research for review. This dissertation was been determined to be exempt from review based on Category 4 of exempt research published by the Institutional Review Board (IRB), the letter from the IRB granting exemption to this research is included as Appendix 1.2.

Category 4 serves to exempt research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, and records, if these sources are publicly available. In examining uses of eminent domain in New Orleans over the past century the primary sources of data are newspaper accounts of the takings and city-generated documents and plans regarding the redevelopment of the properties and strategies for obtaining the land needed for public improvements. Newspaper records and historic city documents are generally available through the New Orleans Public Library. For those documents not available through the library, all necessary planning and policy documents are considered to be public record which must be made available upon request. 82

⁸² UNO Office of Human Subjects Research (IRB), as accessed via http://humansubjects.uno.edu/docs/ExemptCriteria.doc, on March 30, 2008, Category 4

Rationale and Significance of Research

The significance of this dissertation is found not in the generalizability of this research to other cities, but in better understanding the history and evolution of eminent domain within the context of New Orleans. By better understanding the past uses of eminent domain and the policies that drove the exercise of this power, researchers and planning practitioners will be better informed in making decisions that will impact the rebuilding and future development of New Orleans. This research will not only be able to guide recovery and capital planning in New Orleans, but should also prove valuable in understanding public sentiment regarding the threat of eminent domain. The current political climate in New Orleans, Louisiana and the United States as a whole as it relates to eminent domain begs further investigation into the history and evolution of the tool and the policies and objectives that have driven the exercise of eminent domain.

Threats to Validity

The primary threat to validity within the proposed research is researcher bias. This potential threat comes from two directions: my present employment with the City of New Orleans and, more generally, my job as a planning practitioner. To compound this threat, I was employed by the City Planning Commission of New Orleans for approximately one year; and a portion of this dissertation studies the actions of this agency as it relates to past and potential uses of eminent domain in New Orleans. While I am no longer employed with the City Planning Commission, I remain employed by the City of New Orleans in the Department of Safety & Permits. This position removes the potential of direct conflicts of interest which would arise in researching the same city agency in which one is employed. However, through employment with the City of New Orleans, there remains a potential threat to research validity that will be

alleviated through triangulation of	the relevant	data in	order to	examine	evidence	from	multiple
sources to build and reinforce rese	earch finding	s. ⁸³					

⁸³ Creswell, at 196.

Chapter 2

The Municipal Auditorium: Culture meets Tourism

The Municipal Auditorium undertaking was the result of a confluence of circumstances in the early Twentieth Century. In 1919 the French Opera House, located in the Vieux Carré, burned and with that fire the cultural heart of New Orleans was lost. Immediately following the fire, the community rallied behind the reestablishment of the French Opera House, but there was disagreement as to whether it should be rebuilt as it was or if the City should invest in a new, modern auditorium.¹ At this same time, chambers of commerce were beginning to develop both in New Orleans and nationally with an eye towards promotion of cities as destinations which would serve to increase business opportunities for local merchants and hoteliers. It was presumably with the aim of civic improvement that the City opted to construct a new auditorium rather than repairing the French Opera House or constructing a new building in that location.²

The location selected for the new Municipal Auditorium was across North Rampart Street from the Vieux Carré adjacent to what is presently known as Congo Square,³ within what has become Armstrong Park.⁴ The exact site, chosen following analysis of alternate locations and several public meetings, was a compromise between neighborhood activists and business interests.

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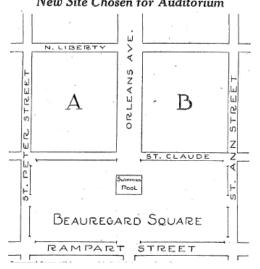
¹ Raffray, J. (1999). Origins of the Vieux Carré Commission. 1920-1941. *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*. Vol. 40, No. 3 (Summer, 1999) pp. 283-304. Accessed via jstor.org on May 12, 2011.

² Gotham, K. F. (2007). Destination New Orleans: Commodification, Rationalization, and the Rise of Urban Tourism. *Journal of Consumer Culture*. Vol. 7(3): 305-334.

³ Congo Square, the traditional name of this public space, has been used interchangeably with the name "Beauregard Square" since the 1870s. The New Orleans City Council passed Ordinance 24,388 MCS on April 28, 2011 formally naming the space "Congo Square." For purposes of this dissertation, this space will be referred to by its proper name, Congo Square, unless being directly quoted within an historical source.

⁴ Stanonis, A. J. (2006). *Creating The Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism 1918-1945*. University of Georgia Press, 2006.

Figure 2.1 – Times-Picayune Illustration of proposed Municipal Auditorium site.⁵
New Site Chosen for Auditorium



The business community and civic boosters encouraged this location as a boon to North Rampart Street businesses and as a convenient location for downtown tourists.⁶ Neighbors and other activists encouraged the City to find an alternate location to preserve the playground and swimming pool within the square as public open space.

The Vision

Lyle Saxon, in his book *Fabulous New Orleans*, summarizes the spirit of New Orleans as it related to the French Opera House in one simple sentence: "New Orleans went in to mourning for the French Opera." Saxon reproduces what amounts to the obituary for the French Opera House which was printed in the *Times-Picayune*, and reflected the almost familial relationship that the general public had with the structure, and as a result of this relationship, one can understand the prolonged debate over if and how the building should be replaced:

⁵ Times-Picayune, June 5, 1928, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 3.

⁶ "Beauregard Square" Site for Proposed Municipal Auditorium. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Arthur J. O'Keefe, Box 2. (Large broadside advocating location of proposed auditorium)

Saxon, L. (1928). Fabulous New Orleans. Robert L. Crager & Company, New Orleans, 1928, 1950, at 281.

Gone, all gone. The curtain has fallen for the last time upon "Les Huguenots," long a favorite with the New Orleans public. The opera house has gone in a blaze of horror and of glory. There is a pall over the city; eyes are filled with tears and hearts are heavy. Old memories, tucked away in the dusty cobwebs of forgotten years, have come out like ghosts to dance in the last ghastly Walpurgis ballet of flame. The heart of the old French Quarter has stopped beating.⁸

The French Opera House had remained damaged and derelict following the fire of 1919 and "despite pleas by preservationists, business leaders, and opera lovers, dissention had plagued all efforts to rebuild the opera house." Ultimately the French Opera House was demolished in 1928 with the blessing of the Vieux Carré Commission and the City of New Orleans to make way for a new apartment building. ¹⁰

Discussion of replacing the French Opera House with a modern auditorium began shortly after the fire and gained momentum through the 1920s, leading to the creation of the Municipal Auditorium Commission in July, 1927. Contrary to the wishes of many in the French and Creole communities, the City of New Orleans decided to abandon the French Opera House and the Vieux Carré with the decision to construct a new auditorium. The vision outlined by the City included opera as just one function of the new space, with the capacity to serve a growing community. ¹²

In what appears to have been a letter to the full Commission-Council of New Orleans in 1928, Commissioner of Public Property John Klorer outlined the goals of a new auditorium in a letter seeking approval to place a bond issue before the voters. The total bond issue was to amount to \$7,500,000, with \$2,000,000 of that amount being designated for construction of a new municipal auditorium. Commissioner Klorer outlined the goals for the new auditorium as

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⁸ Ibid, at 281.

⁹ Raffray, at 293

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, at 293, Note 37.

¹² Ibid.

benefitting business interests while also fulfilling the cultural needs of the community which had been wanting since the French Opera House burned in 1919.¹³

As outlined in the bond proposal, the Municipal Auditorium would not only provide a cultural home for opera and live theatre, but would also create a venue for indoor sporting events, Mardi Gras balls, community functions, and "political, patriotic, and religious gatherings." In addition to these civic functions, the new auditorium would be designed and constructed to accommodate large conventions and trade shows which could not be accommodated in any existing halls in New Orleans. Commissioner Klorer notes that the "Tourist and Conventions Bureau of the Association of Commerce will tell you how many possible large conventions have to be passed up on account of the lack of a sufficiently large convention hall."

In order to offset any community concerns relative to maintenance costs of the auditorium, the City initially proposed designing the building in a manner that would generate revenue for the upkeep of the building. The initial proposal would build pedestrian uses into the first floor of the building, including restaurants, stores and offices, while the basement would be constructed in a manner as to allow use as a parking garage, "thus ensuring both a convenience to the public as well as a dependable everyday source of revenue." As this bond proposal was to move forward prior to the selection of a site for the building, Commissioner Klorer noted that if land acquisition costs were not excessive, it may also be possible to construct a "combination Auditorium and Municipal Office building."

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¹³ Unaddressed letter signed by Commissioner Klorer, dated in pencil "1928." Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – New Orleans Department of Public Property records 1912 (1925-1929) 1947, Box 1.

¹⁴ Ibid, at 3.

¹⁵ Ibid, at 3.

¹⁶ Ibid, at 4.

¹⁷ Ibid, at 4.

The Association of Commerce, the predecessor to the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, was an avid supporter of the new auditorium. Through the mid-1920s, the Association's Civic Bureau established an "Auditorium Committee" to garner support for the auditorium proposal, the bond issue to fund the idea, and ultimately selection of the site for the new structure. The Association of Commerce is generally credited with bolstering local pride while commodifying New Orleans as a tourist destination; the auditorium proposal fit into both of these categories. It was at this time that the Association of Commerce was initiating promotional campaigns to develop the tourism sector of the local economy and actively began working to bring conventions and trade shows to the City. The Association's promotion of New Orleans as a tourism center was reinforced by hoteliers and other businesses altering their focus from being local commercial hubs to providing "sumptuous accommodations to visitors, thereby providing an added justification for people to travel not out of need but for desire and status attainment." The plan to construct an auditorium capable of hosting large conventions was seen as a benefit to the New Orleans business community, with one Association of Commerce official stating to the Chair of the Municipal Auditorium Commission in February of 1928 that "if the City could have an auditorium by October 1, 1928, that a convention which would bring 3,000 people over a week's stay here might have been secured." ¹⁹

The debate over the location of the auditorium began even before a final decision was reached on the question of whether an auditorium would be built. Mr. J. Henry Blache, in a letter addressed to Mayor O'Keefe dated February 4, 1927, announced that he would be starting a city-wide campaign to have Congo Square selected as the site for the new auditorium. Mr.

¹⁸ Gotham, K. F. (2007). Selling New Orleans to New Orleans: Tourism Authenticity and the Construction of Community Identity. *Tourist Studies*, 2007. Vol. 7(3), 317 – 339, at 323.

¹⁹ Minutes of Meeting of Auditorium Committee, Held Tuesday, February 9, 1928. Accessed from the University of New Orleans Earl K.. Long Library, Louisiana and Special Collections Department – Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area Collection, Series III New Orleans Association of Commerce, 66-30.

Blache proposed this location for a number of reasons, among them being that the site was of sufficient size and was owned by the City. More than an argument of economy, Mr. Blache also proposed the site due to its relative location to the Vieux Carré and the Central Business District, the location being along one of the main thoroughfares between the City and St. Bernard Parish, and the location of the Square being "a link out of a chain of present and contemplated civic improvements extending from the river front through Orleans Street and Orleans Boulevard to the Lakeshore front." The proposed civic improvements to which Mr. Blache was referring were the proposed new municipal center which the City's first adopted plan recommended be constructed along Orleans Street in the Vieux Carré and extending to the blocks surrounding Congo Square, in the area generally bounded by Dauphine Street, Dumaine Street, North Liberty Street and Toulouse Street. The Bartholomew Plan recommended construction of this new seat of government to locate along Orleans Street in recognition of the historic center of City government being located at the Cabildo on Jackson Square.

Further, as with many other civic undertakings, the impact on property values was a driving force in Mr. Blache's dedication to the use of Congo Square as the home to the Municipal Auditorium. The selection of this location, it was proffered, would lead to an increase in property assessments of fifty percent, which would lead to millions of dollars in tax revenues for the City's treasury and would also serve to equalize land values downtown of the Central Business District with the value of uptown property.²³

²⁰ February 4, 1927 letter from J. Hy. Blache to Mayor Arthur J. O'Keefe. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library - New Orleans Department of Public Property records 1912 (1925-1929) 1947, Box 2.

²¹ Harland Bartholomew & Associates (1929). *The Plan for Civic Art: Chapter VI*. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission Miscellaneous Records and Documents, Box 3, Item 1.

²² Fields, W. (2004). *Urban Landscape Change in New Orleans, LA: The Case of the Lost Neighborhood of Louis Armstrong*. Dissertation, University of New Orleans Electronic Theses and Dissertation Collection.
²³ J. Hy. Blache letter dated Feb. 4, 1927.

The Planning

On July 11, 1927, Mayor O'Keefe formed the Municipal Auditorium Commission for the purpose of crafting the most suitable proposal for the new auditorium, including its location.²⁴ Less than one year after the formation of this Commission, the group presented their recommendation as to the most suitable location for the new auditorium. The New Orleans Item reported, on April 11, 1928, that the Commission would be recommending Congo Square as the site for the new auditorium. While the announcement had not formally been made, the *Item*, citing knowledgeable sources, published a story indicating that not only would the Congo Square site be home to the City's new auditorium, but it went on to state that "under tentative plans, Beauregard Square will become the nucleus of a future civic center."²⁵

This civic center, proposed by Harland Bartholomew and adopted by the City Planning and Zoning Commission, would consolidate government and city services into a single location and create a monumental setting for the conduct of governmental business. Bartholomew advocated the creation of this civic center for a number of reasons: the convenience to citizens, adherence to the national trend of creating municipal centers, and as "fine municipal advertising in that it gives to the city's thousands of visitors and sight-seers an imposing view."²⁶ In addition to these intangible benefits, Bartholomew spoke to the ability of the civic center proposal to increase property values in the designated area:

The property in this neighborhood is not valuable nor in a good state of repair. The neighborhood has shown little tendency to improve in recent years. It is believed that the creation of a public building group facing Beauregard Square and the squares bounded by Rampart, Dauphine, St. Peter and St. ann streets [sic] would result in an appreciation of property values an in substantial improvements in the immediate vicinity.²⁷

Raffray, at 293, Note 37.
 New Orleans Item, April 11, 1928, pp. 1, 7.

²⁶ Bartholomew, *The Plan for Civic Art*, at 28.

²⁷ Bartholomew, *The Plan for Civic Art*, at 31

As evidence of this claim, Bartholomew cited previous Planning and Zoning Commission studies which predicted the continued expansion of the Central Business District. This expansion of the commercial core of the city could then be steered in the direction of North Rampart Street to "stimulate and encourage a high character of building development in a district where it might otherwise not be expected."²⁸

Though the Municipal Auditorium Commission took less than one year to select a site, the length of time was seen as unacceptable to the Association of Commerce. The Chairman of the Commission was invited to speak at a meeting of the Auditorium Committee of the Association of Commerce in February of 1928, at which time the Committee members questioned him as to why the process of selecting a site was taking so long. Mr. H. Generes Dufor, Chairman of the Municipal Auditorium Commission, explained that the Commission voted in September of 1927 to hold off on any announcements until Congress acted on the flood relief bills pending due to the floods of 1927. The Commission did not want the announcement that New Orleans would be spending \$2,000,000 on a new auditorium to derail any possible flood protection that Congress was contemplating. Mr. Dufor went on to tell the Auditorium Committee that while no announcements had been made, the Committee had contacted an architectural consultant to guide them on what type of building they could build with the funds available and further explained that no site had been selected but assured the Committee that the Association of Commerce would be consulted prior to a final decision.

The position of the Municipal Auditorium Commission was unacceptable to the Association of Commerce, with Committee members calling the "prompt erection of the auditorium a matter of vital importance" and another stating that he believed that "the business

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Association of Commerce Minutes of Feb. 9, 1928.

interests of New Orleans do not take the viewpoint expressed by the Commission."³⁰ Further, the Committee stated that any arguments raised by opponents of flood protection for the City could be countered with other evidence and that even with these concerns, the Commission should be moving forward with plans for the project without publicity so they could then present their proposal once Congress acted on flood relief. Mr. Dufor agreed and stated that the Commission was working surreptitiously, but that the position of the Commission was virtually unanimous. In response, and perhaps in effort to push the Commission to act, the Association of Commerce requested that they be allowed to propose a site to the full Commission-Council of the City separately from the Municipal Auditorium Commission and then let the Commission-Council decide on the best location. Mr. Dufor rejected this proposal, but again assured the Committee that the Association of Commerce would be consulted prior to selection of a final location.³¹

The Commission analyzed five sites in depth, with cursory evaluations given to additional locations. In addition to the site at Congo Square, the Commission also studied: 1) the location of the Criminal Courts Building at Tulane Avenue and South Saratoga Street (the present location of the Main Branch of the New Orleans Public Library), 2) the site of the old turning basin on North Rampart Street, 3) the site of the City Hall Annex on Lafayette Square, 4) a site on Coliseum Square, and 5) in the yet-to-be-acquired City Park extension. In reporting the alternative sites, the *Item* stated that the protests regarding the removal of Congo Square were heard and evaluated but did not change the Commission's recommendation.³²

The Municipal Auditorium Commission not only evaluated the proposed sites within

New Orleans but also, at personal expense, visited other cities with recently constructed auditoria

30 Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² New Orleans Item, April 11, 1928, pp. 1, 7.

to evaluate how these communities decided upon locations and how the selection of those locations benefited the auditoria and their surrounding communities. Based on these evaluations, the Commission did formally recommend the Congo Square location to the full Commission Council, with the recommendation that the replacement playground should be completed prior to beginning construction of the new auditorium. Mayor O'Keefe formally presented the recommendation of the Municipal Auditorium Commission to the public and the Commission Council on April 12, 1928 and introduced an ordinance to designate Congo Square as the location of the new auditorium.

A public hearing on the selection of Congo Square as the site of the Municipal Auditorium was called by Mayor O'Keefe for April 24, 1928. The plan, as presented to the Commission Council and the public was opposed by "the Playground Commission, the Fifth Ward Civic League, and a number of individuals." According to both municipal records and newspaper accounts, opposition to the proposal was based on the location of the auditorium, not on the merits of the auditorium itself; reporting in the *New Orleans Item*, the *New Orleans States*, and the *Times-Picayune* suggest the City's construction of a new auditorium was entirely agreeable with the only points of contention coming in relation to the location of the structure. ³⁶

At the April 24, 1928 public hearing on the location of the Municipal Auditorium, the *Times-Picayune* reported that during the course of the two-hour hearing, only one proponent of the Commission-recommended site at Congo Square was present, Mr. Blache; it would later be revealed, during the property acquisition phase of the project, that Mr. Blache had engaged in

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³³ New Orleans Item, April 12, 1928, pp 1, 30.

³⁴ New Orleans States, April 12, 1928, pp 1, 10.

³⁵ *Times-Picayune*, April 25, 1928, pp 1, 2.

³⁶ City of New Orleans Commission-Council transcript from meeting of April 24, 1928, "Discussion of Cal. Ord. 10,891 – Designating Beauregard Playground as Site for Auditorium." Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library - New Orleans Department of Public Property records 1912 (1925-1929) 1947, Box 2.

real estate speculation during the site selection process, purchasing a lounge at the corner of St.

Peter Street and St. Claude Street for an inflated price in hopes of profiting from the selection of Congo Square as the site of the auditorium.³⁷

All other speakers expressed opposition to the proposal, most commonly because the proposed location of the auditorium would require the removal of a playground. At this hearing, Mayor O'Keefe assured the opponents that the City would expeditiously work to replace the playground and stated that the cost for acquiring a new playground would amount to approximately \$200,000. Though the representative of Rampart Street businesses offered to work with the City to raise the money and assist in any way to create a new playground, the opponents were not satisfied; their response: if the money can be found to buy land for a new playground, why can money not be found to purchase a site for the auditorium?

In response to public concern regarding the loss of the Congo Square playground, Mayor O'Keefe asked the Playground Commission to evaluate sites near Congo Square for the establishment of a new playground. Specifically, the Mayor recommended the site of the old turning basin as a new playground, but allowed flexibility to the Playground Commission to evaluate other locations in the proximity of Congo Square as well. The Playground Commission presented their report at the April 24 public hearing and concluded that the site of the old turning basin would be unacceptable as a new playground. Congo Square was, at this time, a playground for white children and the replacement playground would also be dedicated for use of white children. The Playground Commission divided the area around Congo Square into four divisions, with the results of their population analysis as follows, as presented in their report to Mayor O'Keefe:

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³⁷ Times-Picayune, October 7, 1928, at 15, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

Table 2.1 - Population Analysis for Replacement Playground Location³⁸

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	White Children 5-13 years	White Children 14-18 years	Total Whites	Colored Children 5-13 years	Colored Children 14-18 years	Total Colored				
Section A	12	27	39	405	84	489				
Section B	165	126*	291	150	87	237				
Section C	531	336	867	609	285	894				
Section D	1332	795	2127	294	117	411				

^{*} There appears to be a typographical error in reporting this number, 126 is the mathematical difference between the total white population and the 5-13 age bracket, as reported.

The Sections noted in Table 2.1 (above) are defined as follows:³⁹

- Section A: Canal St., St. Peter St., N. Rampart St., and N. Claiborne Ave.
- Section B: Canal St., St. Peter St., N. Rampart St., and the Mississippi River.
- Section C: St. Peter St., Esplanade Ave., N. Rampart St., and N. Claiborne Ave.
- Section D: St. Peter St., Esplanade Ave., N. Rampart St., and the Mississippi River.

Based on the demographics of the four areas, the Playground Commission recommended creation of the new playground in Section D, if the City decided to move forward with the plan to construct the new auditorium in Congo Square. The Playground Commission also proposed two locations which could be purchased and cleared to create the new playground. Site A was the square bounded by Dauphine, Bourbon, St. Philip and Ursulines Streets; Site B was the square bounded by Bourbon, Royal, St. Philip and Dumaine Streets. At the time of the Playground Commission report, the assessed property valuation of Sites A and B was \$96,700 and \$117,600, respectively, which was presented to give an approximation of the acquisition cost to the City. 40

Notably, another dissenting voice in the public hearing was that of Mr. Charles Favrot, the Chair of the City's Planning and Zoning Commission. Again, there was not opposition to the

Playground Commission report to Mayor O'Keefe, dated April 24, 1928. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library - New Orleans Department of Public Property records 1912 (1925-1929) 1947, Box 2. Verbiage presented as it appears in the report.
 Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

auditorium itself, but rather to the site selected to house it. Mr. Favrot encouraged the Commission-Council to place the project on hold until a comprehensive study on the placement of government buildings could be conducted. Specifically, Mr. Favrot noted that the City was proposing three new buildings at this same time, not just a new auditorium. In addition to the auditorium, the City was working on selecting a site for a new union rail terminal and a new Criminal Court building and Mr. Favrot believed that it would be in the City's interest to have these new improvements created around a civic center, with additional space to construct more governmental buildings as the needs arose.

Mr. Favrot's position was likely guided, in part, by the *Preliminary Report on The General Problem of Selecting an Auditorium Site* submitted to the City Planning and Zoning Commission by Bartholomew and Associates. In the *Preliminary Report*, the City's planning consultant notes that "[i]n the minds of some, parks are merely open spaces which the municipality fortunately has saved for building sites;" however, "[t]o cover a park area with such a structure as an auditorium would be a gross violation of one of the basic principles of city planning" and as such the City should not concern itself with discussion of the legality of conversion of park space into an auditorium site. 45

The Playground Commission's report and the City's assurances to replace the playground were not the end of the debate on where this new auditorium should be built. Following the April 24, 1928 public hearing, the Carrollton Business Men's Association and the Jefferson Davis Parkway Civic Improvement Association submitted proposals to the Municipal

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⁴¹ *Times-Picayune*, April 25, 1928, pp 1, 2.

⁴² Commission-Council transcript from meeting of April 24, 1928.

⁴³ Harland Bartholomew & Associates (1929). *Preliminary Report on the General Problem of Selecting an Auditorium Site*. Accessed from the John M. Olin Library Archives, Washington University, HBA, Series 2, Black bound Vol. 42, at 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid, at 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Auditorium Commission touting Mid-City as the best location for the new auditorium. The association proposed two sites in Mid-City, the first being at the intersection of Tulane Avenue and South Carrollton Avenue and the second being at the intersection of Tulane Avenue and South Jefferson Davis Parkway. The Associations' proposals for both locations stressed the availability of parking and the presence of wide streets to encourage traffic flow. The groups also noted that the property at Tulane Avenue and South Carrollton Avenue was owned by the City and had failed to sell though the City had tried to sell it twice. 46

At the same time that the City of New Orleans was discussing the placement of their new auditorium, a legal challenge had been posed to an auditorium proposed by the City of Shreveport. In a situation virtually identical to the debate raging in New Orleans, The Shreveport City Council selected an existing public park as the location for a new public auditorium. The Louisiana Supreme Court issued its decision in the case of *Anderson v. Thomas* in April of 1928, and determined that land acquired and traditionally used as a public park could not be repurposed as an auditorium site. While the Court concurred with the City of Shreveport as to their outright ownership of the parcel, this ruling hinged not only on ownership but traditional use of the space. ⁴⁷ The Court concluded that

the city acquired this property in its governmental capacity for the declared public use as a park; that it has been devoted to such use for more than 50 years; that large sums of the public's money has been expended upon its improvement as a park; that under such circumstances it holds said property in trust for the use of the public; that as long as said property is so used and needed the municipality is without right to divert it to some other inconsistent public use.⁴⁸

So, while the Court fully recognized the proposed auditorium itself as a valid public purpose, it rejected the City's selection of a parcel that was purchased and used as a public park as a suitable

⁴⁷ Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana, *Anderson v. Thomas* (166 La. 512); 117 So. 573 (1928).

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⁴⁶ *Times-Picayune*, April 29, 1928, pp 4.

⁴⁸ Anderson v. Thomas (166 La. 512); 117 So. 573 (1928), at 524-525.

location. Particularly, the Court believed that if the erection of the auditorium were not to completely change the character of the public park, it could be a suitable use; however, in the instant case, the proposed auditorium would occupy the majority of the space, with the remaining space being made unsuitable for "seekers after the peace and quiet of a park."

Following the *Anderson* decision, Mayor O'Keefe instructed the City Attorney to research the acquisition of Congo Square to determine if there were any legal obstacles to the use of the site for construction of an auditorium. The City stated that they believed the use of the site was entirely legal, the research was being conducted out of an abundance of caution as legal action had been threatened to preserve the playground⁵⁰ in light of the Supreme Court's decision.⁵¹

In what appears to be a draft of the City Attorney's analysis of the City's ownership of Congo Square, the title is traced back to the French and Spanish Crowns in an effort to distinguish New Orleans's auditorium proposal from the Shreveport proposal which had been invalidated by the Louisiana Supreme Court. In effect, the City would have acquired title to the site of Congo Square through two separate avenues, neither of which would have led to dedication of the site as a park. A portion of the site is traced back to a French land grant to Chevelier de Morand in 1756 with subsequent sales leading to the purchase of the site by the City of New Orleans in 1810 from Claude Treme. The other portion of the site was once occupied by the Spanish Fort Burgundy. Title to the Spanish portion of the site traveled from the Spanish Crown to the French Crown and finally to the United States Government in the form of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1807, Congress authorized the transfer of formerly Royal lands to the City of New Orleans, at which point the City gained title to the remainder of what became Congo

⁴⁹ Anderson v. Thomas (166 La. 512); 117 So. 573 (1928), at 523.

⁵⁰ *Times-Picayune*, May 9, 1928, pp 9.

⁵¹ *Times-Picayune*, May 10, 1928, pp 11.

Square.⁵² The City Attorney also concluded through a review of past ordinances relating to the Square that there had never been a formal dedication of the space as a public park or playground. While there had been ordinances passed to name the space and a 1916 ordinance to place the management of the Square under the jurisdiction of the Board of Playground Commissioners "to be used for playground purposes," it was determined that none of these ordinances affected a permanent dedication of the space as a public playground.⁵³

As the City ultimately selected a site adjacent to Congo Square rather than the Square itself as the location for the Municipal Auditorium, there was not a legal challenge filed to preserve the park. Therefore, it is unknown if the City would have prevailed based on distinguishing the case on the basis of the intent of acquisition or if the Court would have held that the *Anderson* ruling applied due to the historic and continuous use of the space as a public park even though there was never a formal declaration or intent to use it as such.

On May 23, 1928, the *Times-Picayune* ran an article stating that that Municipal Auditorium Commission remained committed to their recommendation of constructing the new auditorium on Congo Square and encouraged the Mayor to act on the recommendation so that if legally challenged, the case could make it through the legal system and construction could begin.

Mayor O'Keefe, yet to receive a recommendation from the City Attorney, simply held the position that no final decisions had been made. ⁵⁴

On June 1, 1928, the Association of Commerce's Auditorium Committee held a joint meeting with the City's Municipal Auditorium Commission, at which time the Committee and the Commission both expressed the sentiment that Congo Square would not be the ideal location

⁵² Analysis of Ownership of Beauregard Square (undated, unaddressed, unsigned). Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library - New Orleans Department of Public Property records 1912 (1925-1929) 1947, Box 2.

⁵³ Ibid, at 3.

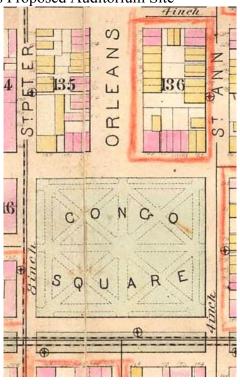
⁵⁴ *Times-Picayune*, May 23, 1928, pp 12.

but that with the funds available, the building would have to be located on City-owned property.

The Auditorium Commission believed that if additional funds were made available the City could purchase a more suitable location for the new auditorium.⁵⁵

Also on June 1, 1928, at the meeting of the Commission-Council, Mayor O'Keefe introduced an ordinance to authorize the acquisition, by purchase or expropriation, of the two municipal squares to the rear of Congo Square. These Squares, designated as Squares 135 and 136, were generally bounded by St. Peter Street, St. Claude Street, St. Ann Street and N. Liberty Street and were bisected by Orleans Street, which was to be closed as part of the auditorium proposal.

Figure 2.2 – Mayor O'Keefe's Proposed Auditorium Site⁵⁶



⁵⁵ Minutes of Conference of Auditorium Committee of the Association of Commerce held with the Executive Committee of the Auditorium Commission, Held June 1, 1928. Accessed from the University of New Orleans Earl K.. Long Library, Louisiana and Special Collections Department – Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area Collection, Series III New Orleans Association of Commerce, 66-30.

⁵⁶ Robinson's Atlas of the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, District 2, Plate 7. Accessed via New Orleans Notarial Archives Research Division (www.notarialarchives.org/robinson/guide.htm).

Ordinance 10,607 CCS was adopted on July 31, 1928 and the City immediately began acquisition of the individual parcels comprising the site. As reported by the *Times-Picayune*, by the time the ordinance was introduced by the Mayor, options to purchase had been signed on most of the parcels but some hold-outs remained and while the announcement and introduction of the ordinance was a surprise to the general public, the Commission-Council members had been working on the proposal for weeks. The compromise location allowed Congo Square to remain in use as a playground while accepting the general recommendation of the Municipal Auditorium Commission as to the location of the new structure. ⁵⁷ Following the introduction of this ordinance, the Association of Commerce contacted the Auditorium Commission to ask why this was not mentioned at the meeting. According to Mr. Charles Dunbar of the Executive Committee of the Municipal Auditorium Commission, the Commission "knew absolutely nothing of the proposed ordinance and was rather astonished that the City authorities should take such action without consulting the Auditorium Commission." ⁵⁸

In planning for the auditorium itself, the Auditorium Commission contracted the architectural services of Favrot and Livaudais for the design of the Municipal Auditorium. The Commission did not place this contract out to public bid as planned, but rather called a vote among its members to award the contract to this local firm to expedite the work but also "because of the great amount of time they have devoted in recent years to civic work without compensation." Specifically, Mr. Favrot served as chairman of the City's Planning and Zoning Commission.

Once contracted, the architects immediately began developing preliminary plans to present to the Auditorium Commission detailing the space within the new Municipal

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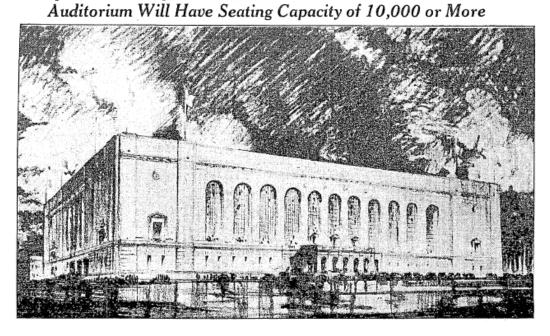
⁵⁷ *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1928, pp 1, 4.

⁵⁸ Association of Commerce Minutes of June 1, 1928.

⁵⁹ *Times-Picayune*, July 11, 1928, pp 1,11.

Auditorium. The building would be built to seat 10,000 persons and would be dividable into two separate halls to accommodate different types of uses. One section would seat 3,000 and could be used as a "theater, ballroom, opera house, or concert auditorium" while the other section could seat 6,000 and would be "suitable for use for opera, mass meetings, band concerts, public school exercises and other activities." Approximately 19,000 square feet of the total 25,000 square foot interior of the structure would be within the main exhibition hall, in order to accommodate large events and conventions that the City was hoping to lure with the development of this structure.

Figure 2.3 – Architect's drawing by Favrot and Livaudais of the proposed municipal auditorium, as published by the *Times-Picayune*. ⁶¹



The Land Assembly

The City initially obtained purchase options on many properties within the proposed footprint in the spring of 1928 prior to forwarding the site to the Commission-Council for

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⁶⁰ Times-Picayune, September 30, 1928, pp 31.

⁶¹ Times-Picayune, September 30, 1928, pp 31.

selection. 62 However, following the formal designation of the site, the Auditorium Commission determined that the City's purchase options reflected inflated property values which were unacceptable. Rather than exercise the City's purchase options, the Auditorium Commission chose to allow the options to expire at which time they proceeded to attempt to renegotiate lower prices with property owners, and failing that they were willing to resort to expropriation. ⁶³

In total, the City had obtained options on 22 of the 24 parcels comprising the site prior to making the final site selection; the total value of these parcels was optioned at approximately \$275,000. The Auditorium Commission, the entity that would be responsible for the task of land assembly, believed that this amount was substantially inflated. In comparing the purchase options to the existing assessed valuation of the properties found on the City's tax rolls, it was found that the "assessed valuation ... is only from one-third to one-fourth the amount named in the options" and in several cases where properties were acquired by their present owners within the last year or two, "the prices named in the options were three or four times the amount paid for the parcels by the present owners."64 According to Leigh Carroll, chairman of the Auditorium Commission, the reason for this frugality in land acquisition was that "every dollar paid for private property leaves that much less money for the [auditorium] itself."65

It was later shown that the Auditorium Commission was wise to attempt to renegotiate purchase options within the Municipal Auditorium site. As of October 1, 1928, the Commission reported that new purchase options had been secured on 16 of the 24 properties within the site and that there were negotiations underway for four more. Of the 16 properties were new options

 ⁶² *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1928, pp 1, 4.
 ⁶³ *Times-Picayune*, July 11, 1928, pp 1, 11.

⁶⁵ Ibid, at 11.

were obtained; the City realized a savings of \$52,000 by renegotiating the purchase prices. The initial options on these 16 parcels totaled \$127,000 and the new price totaled \$75,000.⁶⁶

According to the records of the City's Department of Property Management all but two properties were acquired through negotiated purchase. The full record of property acquisitions, including Square and Lot numbers, addresses and dates of acquisition, is included as Appendix 2.1. The remaining two properties, identified as Square 135, Lot 5 and Square 136, Lot 9, were expropriated by the City of New Orleans to assemble the required land for construction of the auditorium. As the Louisiana Supreme Court had already determined auditoria to be "public uses" for purposes of exercising eminent domain, these expropriations were shepherded through the legal system quite quickly.⁶⁷

While the City's records indicate the only two properties were acquired through expropriation proceedings, the *Times-Picayune*'s reporting indicates that expropriation proceedings were initiated against the owners of four parcels within the Municipal Auditorium site. The first expropriation suit was filed with the Civil District Court on September 11, 1928; suit was filed against William Gomez, the owner of "a vacant lot on St. Peter Street between St. Claude avenue and Liberty street and of several old houses on Orleans street." Mr. Gomez had been approached a number of times by the City to negotiate a purchase of the properties but he refused to engage the City's advances so the City proceeded to take the necessary steps to acquire the property through eminent domain. Further news reports appear to indicate that this action was settled prior to trial, though this cannot be confirmed.

⁶⁶ Times-Picayune, October 1, 1928, pp 7.

⁶⁷ Department of Property Management.

⁶⁸ Times-Picavune, September 12, 1928, pp 2.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ *Times-Picayune*, November 29, 1928, 1928, pp 26.

The second expropriation action filed by the City was against John Albion Saxton, who owned one lot within the auditorium site. The newspaper reported the property address as 1222 St. Peter Street, but this would have been incorrect as the even-side of St. Peter Street was not within the project footprint. In this case, the City alleged, Mr. Saxon not only refused the City's offers to purchase the property but invested in improvements in order to raise the value of the structure. The city architect inspected the property and determined it to be in such a dilapidated state that the property must be immediately repaired or demolished. Following this inspection, the property owner had the property repaired to meet the City's standards, but the City's attorneys maintained that these repairs were made in bad faith and that the City should not be required to pay for the improvements or the increased property value. In this case, prior to filling expropriation actions, the City made a final offer of \$4,200 on this property but the owner maintained that the true value was \$10,000; the jury determined the fair value of this property to be \$5,500. While this was the second suit filed, this matter was the last to be disposed of at the trial court level.

The third expropriation suit filed by the City was for the property owned by J. Henry Blache, who, as was noted previously, was the primary proponent of the Congo Square location for the auditorium. Mr. Blache purchased the property located at 703 St. Claude Avenue on June 6, 1927 during the City's evaluation of Congo Square as a potential site for the Municipal Auditorium. The property was purchased for the inflated price of \$18,500, which the City maintained was more than \$7,000 above the assessed valuation and even further above the actual fair market value of the property. Mr. Blache refused to enter into a private sale with the City

⁷¹ The property at 1222 Orleans Street was noted as having been expropriated in the City's property records, so it is likely that the street name was a typographical error in the *Times-Picayune*.

⁷² *Times-Picayune*, October 4, 1928, 1928, pp 15.

⁷³ *Times-Picayune*, December 15, 1928, 1928, pp 15.

because they would not offer a price that would allow a profit over the speculative price paid for the property. The City's attorney, in the expropriation action filed with Civil District Court, stated that the "property is needed for the auditorium and the owner must yield the same to the city at its actual market value" and that Mr. Blache "cannot shift the burden or cost of his unwise speculation in the property onto the shoulders of the taxpayers."⁷⁴

Prior to filing the expropriation suit, the City's final offer was \$16,500; Mr. Blache maintained that the fair value of the property was approximately \$30,000. The Court not only allowed testimony in the matter, but brought the jurors to inspect the property as part of the trial. Following testimony and a site inspection, and "after deliberating on the case for a few minutes the jury recommended that the city expropriate the property for the amount that the owner had paid for it," \$18,500.⁷⁵

The fourth, and final, expropriation action filed by the City to fully acquire the Municipal Auditorium site was filed against Domineque Salvatore, owner of the property addressed as 709-13 St. Claude Street and 1214 Orleans Street. In this case, the City was petitioning the Court to empanel a jury to determine the value of the structure as the parties had been unable to agree on a fair price. The City made a final offer of \$9,500 and the Salvatores believed their property to be worth \$25,000. The jury established a value of \$14,500 for the property which the Salvatores then appealed to the Louisiana Supreme Court; on February 11, 1929, the Court upheld the valuation set by the trial court.

The site selected for construction of the Municipal Auditorium required the acquisition of twenty-four individual parcels. Of these, the City only had to exercise its power of eminent

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⁷⁴ *Times-Picayune*, October 7, 1928, 1928, pp 15.

⁷⁵ *Times-Picayune*, December 13, 1928, 1928, pp 14.

⁷⁶ *Times-Picayune*, October 12, 1928, 1928, pp 34.

⁷⁷ *Times-Picayune*, November 23, 1928, 1928, pp 22.

⁷⁸ *Times-Picayune*, February 12, 1929, 1928, pp 4.

domain in four instances. The City worked to avoid having to acquire private property, whether through expropriation or purchase, but bowed to public pressure to preserve the open space of Congo Square as a park.

Subsequent to the City's assembly of land for construction of the auditorium, the Commission-Council passed ordinance 11,115 CCS, revoking the rights-of-way along Orleans Street and St. Claude Street where these streets crossed the site for the auditorium, essentially creating a final, developable piece of land upon which the City's new auditorium could be constructed. Construction began in 1929 and the completed Municipal Auditorium was dedicated on May 30, 1930.⁷⁹

The Legacy

The Municipal Auditorium, completed in 1930, became a fixture of New Orleans cultural and recreational life through the remainder of the Twentieth Century.

Municipal Auditorium, New Orleans, La.

Figure 2.4 – Postcard depicting the newly constructed Municipal Auditorium⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Raffray, note 37.

⁸⁰ Postcard image published by C. B. Mason, New Orleans.

Over the course of the decades the structure, as anticipated by Commissioner Klorer in his bond proposal to the Commission-Council accommodated a multitude of events and uses. Generations of New Orleanians came to know the Auditorium as the venue of circuses and cultural events, graduations, and Mardi Gras balls and in the 1990s as a casino and hockey arena.

Harland Bartholomew's civic center plan, with the Municipal Auditorium as a centerpiece was abandoned shortly after its adoption, presumably with the onset of the Great Depression. When the City resurrected the plan for a new City Hall and Civic Center, the grand plan was retained but the location shifted to the corner of Poydras Street and Loyola Avenue (discussed in Chapter 4). In the 1960s, the City undertook the creation of a Cultural Center, which became the site of present-day Armstrong Park (discussed in Chapter 6) with the Municipal Auditorium as a central fixture in this plan. The Theatre of the Performing Arts was added to the site and is the only element of the initial Cultural Center plan which came to fruition.





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⁸¹ City Auditorium taken from Rampart St. side – September 9, 1957, photo from the records of the Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records.

While the need, or at least the perceived need, for a new auditorium was readily accepted in New Orleans in the 1920s, the location of the new building was cause for substantial debate. Neighborhoods sought the economic boom that was sure to accompany the new auditorium and the business community was generally open on the location of the auditorium as long as it was built. What should be noted, and what was absent in the municipal and newspaper records of this project, is the neighborhood in which the City chose to construct their new multi-million dollar auditorium. If one refers back to the demographic data presented by the Playground Commission on the suitability of different areas for a new white-children's playground, there is a figure that is somewhat masked. Section "C," defined as the area generally bounded by St. Peter St., Esplanade Ave., N. Rampart St., and N. Claiborne Ave. was the area with the highest number of African-American children, and therefore likely the Section with the highest African-American population.⁸² This Section is where land was taken to clear a development site for the Municipal Auditorium in order to preserve the adjacent white-children's playground. It would be a stretch to place racial motivations on the desire to construct a new auditorium or in the building of the local economy, but the same is not true of the claim that the leadership of New Orleans – commercial and governmental – simply did not consider or care about the impact on this neighborhood.

Ultimately, the location of the Auditorium was chosen based on pressure from North Rampart Street merchants and others in the business community hoping to profit from the presence of the new auditorium and the combination of local and convention traffic it would generate. There are no records to indicate that there was any undue influence levied on the site selection process by those with a vested interest in the site, numerous individuals proposed sites and all, according to the official records of the City, were evaluated. However, the most vocal

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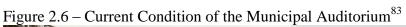
⁸² Playground Commission Report.

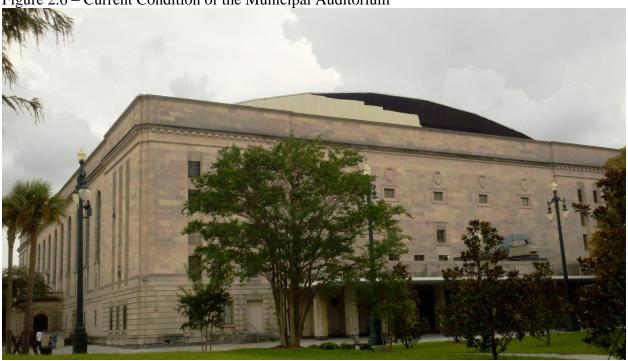
proponent of the Congo Square location, Mr. J. Henry Blache, was later revealed to have a personal stake in the selection of Congo Square as the site of the Municipal Auditorium. When Mayor O'Keefe relented to public pressure and shifted the site to the adjacent occupied municipal squares, Mr. Blache came very close to losing in his speculative land deal but was able to convince a jury to award him compensation that would allow him to break even.

The case of Mr. Blache is the only instance where such speculation can be documented, but it is entirely possible that other properties within close proximity of Congo Square were purchased during site deliberations in hopes of cashing in on the presence of this new, municipally-funded tourist attraction.

The construction of the Municipal Auditorium was generally a success in terms of its stated goals. As was outlined by Commissioner Klorer regarding the bond proposal, the structure could, and did, house carnival balls and community functions, create a home for opera and live theatre and accommodate conventions and trade shows; the structure also accomplished the goals of the Association of Commerce. The Association aimed to make New Orleans a venue for conventions and tourism and the Municipal Auditorium created that element of the local economy.

At the beginning of the Twenty-First Century, the Municipal Auditorium was utilized less for large events due to many other, larger venues being constructed in the intervening decades, though many Mardi Gras balls and high school graduations continued to call the structure home. In 2005, the flooding associated with Hurricane Katrina filled the basement of the building and the structure suffered significant wind damage. The City is yet to repair the structure or set a course for its future.





⁸³ Photograph by author.

Chapter 3

Public Housing in New Orleans: The Transition from Homes to Housing

"The fundamental purpose of all government, whether state or municipal, is to protect the morals and the health of the people and to provide for their safety.

All governmental activities, complicated as they are, have that simple end in view."

- Supreme Court of Louisiana, 1938¹

Public housing in the United States, as it developed in the twentieth century, originated with the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937, which for the first time placed responsibility for public housing within the federal bureaucracy. Prior to this Act, the Public Works Administration (PWA), a New Deal agency, began to issue loans to limited-dividend corporations for the construction of low-income housing under the auspices of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The goal of these loans was to infuse money into the stagnant economy and provide jobs to the unemployed masses. As a result of this experiment, a federal district court issued a ruling in 1935 which stated that the federal government's power of eminent domain did not include takings to provide public housing or clear slums. ² While the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals held that "taking one citizen's property for the purpose of improving it and selling or leasing it to another, or for the purpose of reducing unemployment" was not within the scope of the federal government's constitutional powers, they acknowledged that this same action would not necessarily be prohibited to the individual states or their political subdivisions under their separate constitutions.³ In 1936 a state court in New York held that local governments were empowered to seize property for slum clearance and public housing. This

¹ Opinion of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, *State ex. rel. Porterie*, *Atty Gen. v. Housing Authority of New Orleans*, *et al.* 190 La. 710, 182 So. 725 (1938).

² Ledbetter, W. H., Jr. (1967). Public Housing: A Social Experiment Seeks Acceptance. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 32, No. 3, Housing. Part 2: The Federal Role (Summer, 1967), pp. 490-527. Retrieved from JSTOR on January 3, 2012, stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1191084.

³ United States v. Certain Lands in the City of Louisville (78 F.2d 684 (6th Cir. 1935)), at 688.

ruling led the United States government to encourage local management of such projects and ultimately paved the way to the model of public housing that was authorized under the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937. ⁴

While the federal government did not get into the business of public housing until 1937, consideration of such a program in New Orleans began in the late 1920s following a survey and subsequent report by Woofter, commissioned by the Institute of Social Justice and Religious Research, entitled *Negro Problems in Cities*. The report summarized the living conditions of African-Americans in cities throughout the country, one of which was New Orleans. The Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) would later refer to this report in stating that "crowded and unsanitary conditions and the type of non-weather proof houses in New Orleans negro slums were large contributing factors in adult and infant mortality in this race of people." No physical progress was made in the development of public housing in New Orleans as a result of this report, but it did serve to raise awareness of the issue and bring a problem to the fore which would otherwise have been easily overlooked by those able to make a difference.

This chapter will focus on New Orleans's adoption of public housing and how the policies that built HANO were formed, their impacts on the community and the acquisition of the real estate needed to carry out the vision of the housing reformers that dominated policy debates in the 1920s and 1930s which subsequently shaped the physical and cultural landscape of the City for decades more. While the use of HANO's expropriation powers was minimal in the development of public housing, it was a matter of choice on the agency's part, not legal necessity. The research presented here shows that HANO was fully cognizant of their eminent

⁴ Ledbetter (1967) citing to New York City Housing Authority v. Muller (270 N.Y. 333, 1 N.E.2d 153 (1936)).

⁵ Woofter, T. J. (1928). *Negro Problems in Cities*. Study sponsored by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York, NY.

⁶ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 3. Accessed from the New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division.

domain authority, but were also aware that resorting to use of that authority without exhausting all possible alternative remedies would be highly unpopular, possibly leading to pushback against the housing reforms that were seen as necessary for the protection of the health and safety and New Orleanians.

The Vision

Although the reported findings of the Institute of Social and Religious Research did not ultimately lead to improved housing conditions, steps were taken following the report that laid the foundation for the creation of HANO and the development of public housing. In 1929, Moise Goldstein, a New Orleans architect, submitted preliminary plans and cost estimates to the Julius Rosenwald Fund for the development of new, improved housing for the African-American community.⁷

The plans developed by Mr. Goldstein called for the redevelopment of what was determined to be the worst African-American neighborhood in the city. This model development was proposed for the site which would later be occupied by the Magnolia Project (later C. J. Peete, currently Harmony Oaks). This proposal was submitted to the federal government, but due to the lack of a clear housing policy at the time, no action was taken on the application; housing conditions for the lowest-income sector of New Orleans's population continued to decline.⁸

Through a field survey of two blighted areas in New Orleans conducted by the Civil Works Administration in 1933, the following conditions were revealed: of the 507 structures surveyed, only 7% were found to be in 'good' condition. The remainder broke down as follows:

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Thayer, R. E. (1979). *The Evolution of Housing Policy in New Orleans (1920-1978)*. Sponsored by the Institute For Governmental Studies, Loyola University, New Orleans. Accessed from the Tulane University School of Architecture Library.

45% 'fair,' 33% 'poor,' and 15% 'dilapidated.' Half of all units surveyed had only outdoor toilets and no other sanitary facilities. The survey also analyzed mortality statistics for these areas compared to New Orleans as a whole. The study indicated that in 1932, the death rate for New Orleans as a whole was 16.11 per thousand of population while in these neighborhoods the rate was 25 per thousand. The tuberculosis mortality rate was two times higher than the rate of the city as a whole and the syphilis and cancer rates were 40% higher.⁹

Around this same time, public health officials in the United States began to recognize that housing conditions are as much a concern to physical health as to social health. In a presentation to the American Public Health Association, Dr. Charles-Edward Winslow, a Public Health professor at the Yale School of Medicine, called on the public health community to "not be satisfied to condemn insanitary tenements" but to make take responsibility "to see that insanitary tenements are replaced by decent dwellings." This call to action was reinforced by numerous studies which correlated high disease and mortality rates with poor housing conditions. While it was understood that those residing in these conditions had little, if any, ability to improve their housing, this concern for general public health necessitated governmental action to provide safe, sanitary housing for even the poorest of Americans. 11

The next step in the improvement of housing conditions in New Orleans was undertaken by the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies in 1933. This organization sponsored applications to the Emergency Relief Administration for the development of two housing projects in New Orleans, separate developments for African-Americans and for whites. The Council of Social Agencies again contacted Mr. Moise Goldstein regarding the design of the

⁹ Wood, E. E. (1935). Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division. Housing Division Bulletin No. 1, at 65-66.

¹⁰ Winslow, C.-E. A. (1937). Housing as a Public Health Problem. *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 27, pp. 56-61, at 56. ¹¹ Ibid.

proposed African-American housing project, as there was general acceptance of his previous proposal. The firm of Owen and Underwood, local architects, was appointed to create a proposal for the project for whites, which would be constructed in the Irish Channel area (later constructed as the St. Thomas Project, currently the site River Gardens, a mixed-income housing development). By April of 1935, the applications for housing had been accepted by the federal government and the contracts were being prepared when the programs were suspended indefinitely. In the program were suspended indefinitely.

This setback did not deter these committed members of the community from their pursuit of adequate and sanitary housing for the underprivileged of New Orleans. During the 1936 Regular Session of the Louisiana Legislature, the state passed a housing act which authorized any city in Louisiana with a population of greater than 20,000 to establish a municipal housing authority in order to take part in slum clearance activities and construction of replacement housing, under the sponsorship of the federal government. This legislation, Act 275 (House Bill 480) of the 1936 Regular Session, was projected to allow New Orleans to receive approximately \$3,000,000 in federal funds for slum clearance and public housing.

Under the provisions of Act 275, a petition signed by twenty-five citizens was presented to the New Orleans Commission Council on September 18, 1936 requesting the authorization of a housing authority for the City of New Orleans. At that time, the Commission Council adopted a resolution to formally create HANO. Although HANO would operate as a separate entity from municipal government, the language of Act 275 called for local leadership to establish and

¹² Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

¹³ Thayer (1979).

¹⁴ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

¹⁶ Times-Picayune, July 11, 1936, at 1, 3, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

¹⁷ Ibid.

appoint the leadership of housing authorities. In March of 1937, the members of the HANO Board were appointed by the Mayor and the Authority began operation. The first meeting of the HANO Board was held on March 18, 1937 and resolutions were adopted to immediately undertake slum clearance and housing development as authorized by Act 275. 18

While the HANO Board and its Chair, Col. L. Kemper Williams, immediately began the task of working with the federal government to secure funding, no such funds were actually available. ¹⁹ All funding for these activities was tied into the Housing Act, which was pending before Congress for the fifth time in as many sessions. ²⁰ While the State of Louisiana and the City of New Orleans undertook the necessary steps to qualify for federal funding as was proposed, no more progress could be made in furtherance of the program until action was taken in Washington, D.C. ²¹

On September 1, 1937, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 into law²² and within days HANO submitted their applications to the newly-created United States Housing Authority (USHA), which had yet to be formally organized or staffed.²³ The diligence and expeditious action of HANO paid off for the City of New Orleans; on March 18, 1938 USHA awarded a loan of \$8,411,000 to HANO for the construction of low-income housing. This award to HANO was the first in the nation awarded under the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937. Following this initial award, the USHA subsequently

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¹⁸ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

²⁰ Pearson, D., Allen, R.S. (1937, March 21). The Weekly Washington Merry-Go-Round, *Times-Picayune*, pp. 1, 11, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

²¹ Gonzalez-Perez, M. C. (2003). A House Divided: Public Housing Policy in New Orleans. *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Autumn, 2003), pp. 443-461. Retrieved from JSTOR on January 3, 2012, stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4233966.
²² Ledbetter (1967).

²³ Times-Picayune, September 9, 1937, at 1, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

awarded HANO approximately \$30,000,000 more by the end of 1938 for slum clearance and housing projects within the city of New Orleans.²⁴

Although the federal funding commitment to New Orleans and HANO was substantial, there was an ever-present local understanding that public housing would only be utilized until the private housing sector could fill the demand for housing. Additionally, there was a belief that public housing would satisfy a temporary need for low-income housing created by the financial realities of the Great Depression.²⁵ While neither of these would ultimately prove to be the case, these were popular positions which allowed New Orleans to accept federally-backed slumclearance and public housing dollars at a time when a large percentage of New Orleanians were living in substandard conditions, and municipal leadership believed that the road to the future could be paved over the past.

The creation of HANO marked the beginning of the municipal government taking part in providing housing, but it was not the first step that was taken in trying to improve the conditions of housing. The City of New Orleans adopted its first building code in 1929, with the goal of improving housing conditions and ensuring the safety of structures. Prior to this, the City only concerned itself with larger public concerns of fire hazards and structural stability. Even with the adoption of a building code, there was no provision built into that ordinance to require compliance from existing structures and specifically excluded any structure built prior to 1919. Enforcement of the code was tasked to the City Architect's office which did not have the staff to successfully implement the regulations. Adding to the City's inability to effectively require improvements to existing properties, the New Orleans Fire Department was not authorized to enforce local fire ordinances, but rather this authority was retained by the State Fire Marshal,

²⁴ Gonzalez-Perez (2003).²⁵ Thayer (1979).

which led to lax enforcement and was subject to political interference by state officials.

Additionally, health and sanitation guidelines were generally enforced broadly, such as relating to preventing outbreaks of disease, rather than as specifically applying to housing conditions.

Not only did this allow substandard housing to remain occupied, but it did not provide any motivation to improve the conditions. ²⁶

The Planning

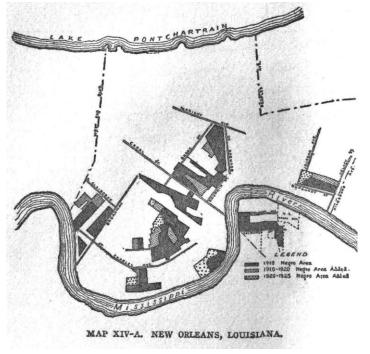
As previously noted, planning for the implementation of public housing in New Orleans began almost a decade before there was a mechanism in place to fund such an endeavor.

Through the late 1920s and through the 1930s, plans were crafted and refined in anticipation of federal dollars being made available to improve the housing conditions in low-income sections of the city.

The first housing survey of New Orleans was presented by Woofter in 1928 through the report commissioned by the Institute for Social and Religious Research (ISRR) as a part of a national study. For this survey, the Institute's researchers partnered with local housing advocates to survey the conditions of African-American neighborhoods and to gain information about the occupants thereof. Figure 3.1 (below) illustrates the areas of New Orleans classified as African-American neighborhoods for survey purposes.

²⁶ Ibid.

Figure 3.1 – Distribution of African-Americans within New Orleans as of 1925.²⁷



The results of this survey revealed that living conditions for poor African-Americans in New Orleans in this era fell far short of the standards set forth by public health professionals as requirements for healthy communities. Excess density of population and overcrowding within dwellings were two key elements targeted by early housing advocates as emblematic of the problems facing African-American communities. Table 3.1 (below) indicates the population density of New Orleans in 1925.

 $^{\rm 27}$ Woofter, (1928), Map XIV-A, New Orleans, Louisiana, at 62.

Table 3.1 – Density of Population in New Orleans, 1925 (with densities of African-American neighborhoods broken down by Ward) ²⁸

Ward	ous broken do	White		African-American			
	Population	Net Residence	Density	Population	Net	Density per	
		Area (Acres)	per Acre		Residence	Acre	
					Area (Acres)		
	304,700	22,038	14	109,380	3,671	30	
1, 2, 10,				38,700	845	46	
11, 12				36,700	043	40	
Lower				6,800	180	38	
1 & 10				0,000	100	36	
7				11,500	298	39	
4, 5, 6				18,500	576	32	
Upper				3,230	115	28	
14 & 16				3,230	113	20	
Lower 16				1,750	72	24	
3				9,800	427	23	
Lower				5,400	255	21	
12 & 13				,	233	21	
Algiers				4,700	355	13	
17				3,800	317	12	
Industrial				3,300	327	10	
Canal				3,300	321	10	

As seen here, and reported by ISRR, the density of the average, primarily African-American neighborhood in New Orleans was more than twice that of white neighborhoods.²⁹ The findings presented for New Orleans appeared to have been within the density standard of approximately thirty-five persons per acre set forth by the U.S. Housing Corporation at the time. Though the numbers were within these limitations they were presented as being out of character for the community as a whole and therefore substandard.³⁰

The standard by which 'overcrowding' was measured was an occupancy of two or more persons per room within a dwelling. In their 1925 survey of New Orleans, ISRR found that 16.5% of all African-American dwelling units exceeded this standard. In some instances, this

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²⁸ Woofter, (1928), compilation of Tables VII and VIII at 79 and 80.

²⁹ To clarify the data presented by Woofter, the Institute of Social and Religious Research defined an area with a population of over 90% African-American as a "Negro Area." Woofter, (1928), at 37. ³⁰ Woofter, (1928).

overcrowding was found to be attributable to the presence of lodgers who were taken in as tenants to off-set some of the costs of living; in New Orleans it was found that 6% of African-American families had lodgers present at the time of the ISRR survey.³¹

By the early part of the 1930s, little was officially known of the physical housing conditions in New Orleans, except "that the amount of bad housing there is considerable." In the 1933 survey of blighted areas conducted by the Civil Works Administration, almost half of all dwelling units were classified as being in poor or dilapidated condition. Further, the property survey indicated a "prevalence of small dark rooms, inadequately lighted and ventilated [structures], and of tenement and alley buildings 'without sanitary facilities which lead to right living'" as factors which led to higher incidences of illness and death within these communities than in the city as a whole. Additional factors used to determine the conditions of housing, and the resultant percentages of the study are indicated below:

Table 3.2 Condition of Living Units³³

Nature of Foult	Percent
Nature of Fault	of Total
Leaking roof	13.85
Leaking plumbing	4.39
Unsafe walls	16.22
Unsafe floors	18.92

Nature of Fault	Percent of Total
Unsafe stairs	10.47
Broken windows	22.64
Poor drainage in yard	22.97

This general understanding of the prevalence of 'bad housing' in New Orleans was reinforced by HANO's own later findings. Data presented in 1938 by HANO indicated that there were a total of 55,170 substandard dwelling units prior to any slum clearance activities, the total number of dwelling units in the city at that time was 135,780; this means that in 1937, approximately 41% of all dwelling units were considered substandard. To put this statistic in terms of individuals, these 55,170 dwelling units were occupied by approximately 72,000 families (or approximately

³² Wood (1935), at 65.

³¹ Ibid.

³³ Reproduced from Wood (1935), at 66.

225,000 individuals).³⁴ In the 1930 Census, the population of New Orleans was tabulated as 458,762.³⁵ These numbers indicate that approximately half of the city's population resided in housing that was considered to be substandard.

In the first annual report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans, HANO released summary of the findings which led to their selection of sites to be cleared and redeveloped with public housing. The proposed sites were generally located as follows:³⁶

- Project LA-1-1 (St. Thomas): Generally bounded by St. Thomas Street, Josephine Street, Laurel Street and Felicity Street. (For white occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-2 (Magnolia): Generally bounded by Magnolia Street, Washington Avenue, La Salle Street, and Louisiana Avenue. (For African-American occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-3 (Iberville): Generally bounded by North Robertson Street, St. Louis Street, North Saratoga Street, and Iberville Street. (For white occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-4 (not constructed): Generally bounded by North Claiborne Avenue, St. Philip Street, St. Claude Street, and Orleans Street. (For white occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-5 (Lafitte): Generally bounded by North Rocheblave Street, Orleans Street, North Claiborne Avenue, and Lafitte Street. (For African-American occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-6 (not constructed): Generally bounded by North Rocheblave Street, Dumaine Street, North Roman Street, and Orleans Street. (For African-American occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-7 (Calliope): Generally bounded by South Claiborne Avenue, Calliope Street, South Broad Street, and Erato Street. (For African-American occupancy.)

³⁴ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

³⁵ Wood (1935).

³⁶ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

- Project LA-1-8 (not constructed at proposed location): Generally bounded by North Galvez Street, Press Street, Louisa Street, and Florida Walk.³⁷ (For white occupancy.)
- Project LA-1-9 (not constructed): Generally bounded by South Saratoga Street, Poydras Street, and Tulane Avenue.³⁸ (For white occupancy.)

Projects LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 were those first proposed by HANO and ultimately the first redevelopment projects in the nation authorized under the Housing Act of 1937. These proposals were crafted prior to the creation of HANO or the passage of enabling legislation and had been designed since 1934 through funding by the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies, as previously discussed. The remaining sites were selected by HANO through subsequent real estate and housing surveys of New Orleans.

In 1938, a survey was conducted which focused on the areas later refined into Projects LA-1-3 and LA-1-5; this survey was sponsored by the Works Progress Administration and partially funded by HANO and the City's Department of Public Welfare. Sites for LA-1-7 and LA-1-8 were determined due to their primarily vacant character rather than the presence of blight. This was done to try to create the federally-mandated balance of housing units demolished to housing units constructed.

To document the conditions at the proposed sites, HANO released a summary of their housing condition surveys, indicating the interior conditions found within each project area. This data is reproduced in Table 3.3 (below). This data does not reflect the physical condition of the structures, but referring back to Table 3.2, partial information is available for Project Areas LA-1-1 and LA-1-2.

This site was eventually cleared and redeveloped as the Civic Center, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

³⁷ Project LA-1-8 became the St. Bernard Project and these initial boundaries were later changed to the area generally bounded by St. Bernard Avenue, Sere Street, Hamburg Street and Senate Street.

38 This site and Senate Street.

Table 3.3 – Structural Condition Tabulation of Tenant Relocation Department Survey³⁹

Project Number	No. of units surveyed	Cold Water Only	No lighting facilities	No heating arrangements	Major repairs needed	Unfit for use	Indoor shared toilets	Outdoor shared toilets	Stove only in kitchen	Sink only in kitchen	No stove or sink	No bathing facilities
LA-1-1	513	451	183	116	129	41	37	78	92	1	42	207
LA-1-2	869	854	471	168	309	70	127	311	226	31	116	454
LA-1-3	723	714	485	168	364	101	196	341	329	5	229	476
LA-1-5	567	532	172	171	141	40	27	81	138	2	27	220
LA-1-7	25	25	8	2	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	10
LA-1-8	67	64	35	33	32	9	0	1	40	1	1	62
	2764	2640	1354	658	978	263	387	814	925	40	415	1429

While this data provides only a snapshot of dwellings located within the project boundaries, HANO officials believed that these findings were applicable to the conditions which would be found throughout the city in structures deemed 'substandard.' These findings were summarized in the statement that "there is on every hand desolation, despair, squalor, poverty, frustration – the whole sordid and dangerous group of sinister elements that form the component parts of a slum." Figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4, below, are composite photographs presented by HANO in their Annual Reports to illustrate the conditions of structures within the boundaries of the proposed project sites.

³⁹ Reproduced from Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 27. NOTE: The findings presented for Project LA-1-8 reflect conditions in the originally proposed location, not the revised project boundaries noted in footnote 36, above.

⁴⁰ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 26.



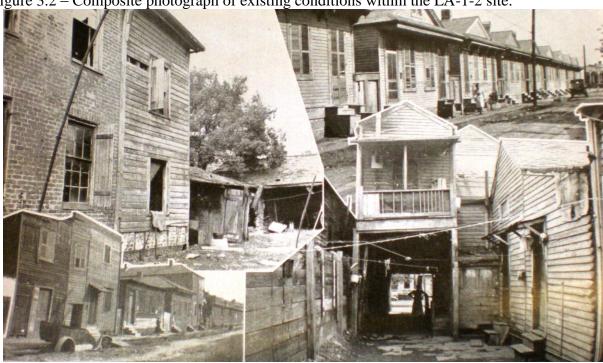
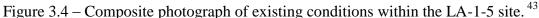
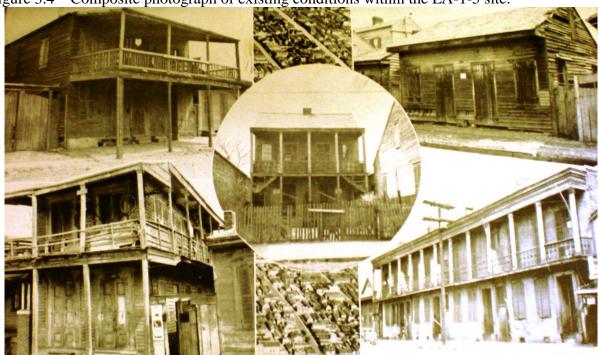


Figure 3.3 – Composite photograph of existing conditions within the LA-1-3 site. 42



⁴¹ Ibid. ⁴² Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939. Accessed from the New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division.





HANO outlined their site selection guidelines both in terms of the benefit that would ultimately occur through the construction of housing and the benefits to be realized through the removal of substandard and slum housing. Specifically, since HANO understood its mission to be two-fold: HANO officials intentionally selected sites that would allow for the removal of a large number of slum properties while simultaneously providing the services and amenities that were viewed as beneficial to future tenants.

In selecting project locations, HANO also considered the accessibility of transportation, proximity to schools, recreational and community resources, and availability of medical services. According to HANO, attention was also paid to the City's plan for future development. Particularly, they looked at where investments were proposed for playgrounds and street improvements so that they could adequately plan their housing developments to "harmonize with

⁴³ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939.

these other developments."⁴⁴ While cost of property acquisition was not officially reported by HANO as a factor in the site selection process, it is logical to conclude that since their focus was on removing the worst slum conditions in the City these areas would have likely been the some of the lowest priced tracts of land that met the criteria of being integrated into the larger community insofar as schools, transportation, and other resources.

In retrospect, another element likely factored into the site selection process was the possibility of public opposition. Certainly the sites proposed by HANO for redevelopment would have met their stated criteria, but there was likely an eye to public relations in the site selection. Only Projects LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 were located in densely populated neighborhoods. The subsequent projects moved to less densely developed areas; Thayer (1979) notes that "Iberville (LA-1-3) and Lafitte (LA-1-5) replaced the dead "Storyville" area which had before their construction been a wasteland of sorts" and that "Calliope (LA-1-7) was on vacant land near an industrial area;" while St. Bernard (LA-1-8) was a considerable distance from the center of the city and was disconnected from the adjoining neighborhoods by rail lines.

Additionally, the St. Bernard site was owned by an investment company that was holding vacant, fringe property for future development; Thayer (1979) states that the construction of the St. Bernard development on this tract was to bail out investors that had been unable to otherwise sell off the site. Whether accurate or not, the selection of this location for development of a housing project brought at least the appearance of impropriety into the HANO site selection process. 46

In addition to the unclear site selection policies employed by HANO, it also appears that their operational policies evolved over time. Projects LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 were constructed on land cleared specifically for that purpose. This caused the city's housing crisis to be magnified

⁴⁴ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 22.

⁴⁵ Thayer (1979), at 62. Parenthetical Project Number references added for clarity.

⁴⁶ Thayer (1979).

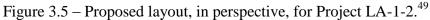
since those least able to find decent housing were made homeless while new housing was constructed. This problem seems to have also factored into HANO's site selection process. As discussed above, as these redevelopment projects progressed, HANO moved to less populated areas for the construction of public housing. This would have likely had as much to do with the availability of underdeveloped or undeveloped land as it had to do with minimizing displacement of those who needed assistance the most. This policy led to the construction of new housing on available tracts and subsequent demolitions of slum housing in other areas to meet the Housing Act's requirement of an equal number of dwellings demolished as created.⁴⁷

Within the developments, the proposed changes could not have been more dramatic; replacing the dense, substandard housing detailed above would be large, modern apartment buildings. While the sizes of the structures and individual units would vary, the elements of the living units would be uniform. Each unit would be equipped with the conveniences of modern life: gas ranges and heaters, electric refrigerators, bath tubs, and laundry sinks. The sites would be designed with structures covering approximately 25% of the total site area to allow an "abundance of fresh air and sunshine." While each site was individually designed, the general concept for all of the proposed project sites was similar. Figures 3.5 and 3.6, below, illustrate HANO's vision for public housing for two of the redevelopment sites.

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⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 28.



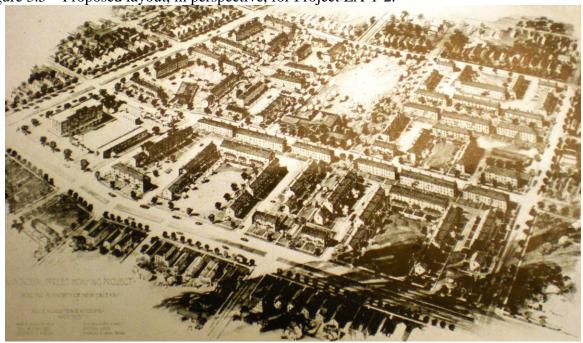


Figure 3.6 – Proposed layout, in perspective, for Project LA-1-7.⁵⁰



Though, as the *Times-Picayune* indicated, there was general agreement as to the necessity of these projects, both in terms of the jobs to be created by construction and the housing itself, actually beginning the projects proved to be a difficult task. According to a *Times-Picayune* editorial on September 6, 1938, HANO was facing issues with acquiring the land necessary to begin clearance and subsequent construction. Despite the fact that HANO was the first local

⁵⁰ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939.

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⁴⁹ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

housing authority in the nation to receive a commitment of federal funds, there were 78 projects in other communities which were either complete or under construction before HANO had even completed site acquisition to begin the proposed redevelopment.⁵¹

The impact of these undertakings, according to HANO, was substantial. According to the HANO 1939 Annual Report, expenditures for the several projects through the end of 1939 totaled \$2,654,119.95 in land acquisition, \$674,970.52 in wages, and \$1,106,064.20 in materials. These dollars would then flow back into the local, regional, and national economies in the form of new jobs and increased salaries in associated industries. HANO also believed that the benefits accrued by these projects were not only economic, but that "the benefits to future tenants of these homes cannot be measured in dollars and cents as human misery and discomfort cannot be so measured." However, in an attempt to quantify human misery, HANO noted that the decreases in juvenile delinquency and infant mortality in addition to generally improved health in these areas would "result in savings to the city far in excess of the amounts that would have been received in taxes on the property occupied by the projects when privately owned." **Signal Report **Content **Con

The Land Assembly

In their 1938 Annual Report, HANO noted that "[b]y the end of January, 1938 the firm of Ernest A. Carrere's Sons reported that 45% of the necessary property in the white area (Project LA-1-1) and 47% of the necessary property in the Negro area (Project LA-1-2) had been covered by options." Early in the planning process, HANO began contemplating the best course of action for the acquisition of the property required for their proposed slum clearance and redevelopment projects. This led to the appointment of a real estate firm (Ernest A. Carrere's Sons) to begin gathering signed purchase options on properties within the two targeted areas in late 1937.

⁵¹ Times-Picayune, September 6, 1938, at 14, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

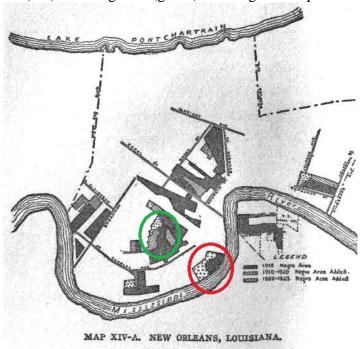
⁵² Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, at 43.

⁵³ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, at 44.

According to HANO, the policy pursued in the acquisition of property was one of "equity and fairness." To that end, HANO hired a team of real estate professionals to individually appraise every property within the sites selected for redevelopment. These appraisals were then forwarded to USHA for review and independent analysis. Once the property values were established under this mechanism, HANO's real estate team would then work with the individual property owners to obtain purchase options on the properties. 55

The specific demographics of the property owners and residents within these areas is unknown; however, based on the data presented by Woofter (1928), both areas to be occupied by these new housing developments were predominantly occupied by African-Americans. Figures 3.6 and 3.7, below, present Woofter's population distribution and density maps with the locations of the St. Thomas and Magnolia housing developments indicated.

Figure 3.7 – Distribution of African-Americans within New Orleans as of 1925, with general locations of St. Thomas (red) and Magnolia (green) Housing Developments indicated. ⁵⁶

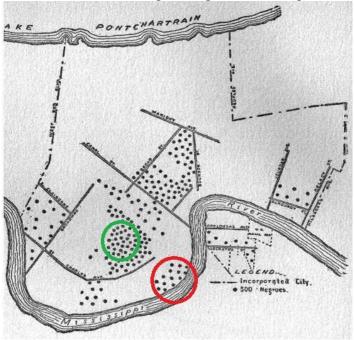


⁵⁴ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, at 12.

Ibid

⁵⁶ Woofter, (1928), Map XIV-A, New Orleans, Louisiana, at 62. Red and green indications added by author.

Figure 3.8 – Population Density of African-Americans within New Orleans as of 1925, with general locations of St. Thomas (red) and Magnolia (green) Housing Developments indicated.⁵⁷



It should be noted that based on these population density maps the locations selected for establishment of the first two housing projects served to reinforce racial separations within New Orleans. The location of the Magnolia development in the Central City neighborhood (indicated in green, above) placed the African-American housing development within a concentrated African-American neighborhood while the St. Thomas site would have the effect of removing a growing African-American population from an otherwise predominantly white area of the community (indicated in red, above). The official records of HANO do not reflect that racial homogeneity outside of their immediate developments was intended or anticipated, but it is reasonable to assert that it would have been more popular to propose housing for whites in an otherwise white neighborhood than to propose publicly-funded integration of a community.

⁵⁷ Woofter, (1928), Map XIV-B, New Orleans, Louisiana, at 63. Red and green indications added by author.

This appraisal process worked well at the onset of the project, according to HANO, but by the autumn of 1938 some property owners began demanding higher prices for their properties than HANO would be able to pay. The belief at the time was that due to properties being taken for use as housing projects, the government should be willing to pay a premium for the required land. HANO immediately went on the offensive against this position and stated that if the properties could not be acquired at a price that HANO deemed reasonable, they would have to look to other sites for redevelopment. While HANO would have been within their statutory authority to seek title to the required properties through expropriation, they appeared to be unwilling to take that route so early on in the redevelopment process. Instead, they coordinated a public relations attack with the *Times-Picayune*; according to HANO, "[t]he newspapers assisted the Authority in moulding (sic) public opinion upon the issue, pointing out the grave civic risk being incurred by some scattered instances of unreasonable selfishness on the part of a few owners." **S8**

One must assume that the prices HANO and USHA arrived at would have been fair based on the local appraisals and subsequent independent review, but it appears that the demands made by property owners was, at least in some instances, about more than greed. The *Times-Picayune* ran an article entitled "Owners Protest Prices Proposed in Housing Area: Business Proprietors Say Appraisal Left Out Good Will Item," which outlined the objections of business owners within the housing project sites. According to this article, these individuals believed that not only were the prices offered for the actual real estate unacceptable, but that their businesses would suffer from having to leave a neighborhood where they were known, and reestablish in a new neighborhood. As one business owner stated: "[w]e are perfectly willing to sell our

⁵⁸ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, at 13.

properties and look for new business locations, if necessary even going into new territories in the city, if the housing authority pays us what we think our present locations are worth."⁵⁹

While HANO initially planned to acquire all property through negotiated purchases, they were aware that doing so might not have ultimately proved successful. To prepare for an eventual exercise of eminent domain, HANO requested that the State Attorney General initiate legal proceedings that would allow the courts to determine if the exercise of eminent domain for the purpose of slum clearance and redevelopment as public housing would be constitutionally permissible. The case progressed through the courts during 1938, and the Louisiana Supreme Court ultimately ruled that both slum clearance and public housing were public purposes for which eminent domain may be exercised.⁶⁰

The final resolution of the Attorney General's suit was rendered on September 28, 1938, and by this point HANO had come to believe that most, if not all, properties within project sites LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 whose purchase could be negotiated had been. The October 23, 1938 edition of the *Times-Picayune* announced that HANO would begin filing expropriation suits within days in order to complete land acquisition on those sites so that redevelopment could begin. By announcing the pending legal action via letter to property owners and subsequently in the press, HANO's legal department was of the "opinion that some of the remaining holdouts, particularly those cases where the margin of difference between their price and the offer of the authority is slight, will come to agreement before the institution of court action." 61

Apparently the legal department's belief was correct. HANO announced in their 1938

Annual Report that through initiation of condemnation proceedings, property owners who had

⁵⁹ Times-Picayune, September 24, 1938, at 19, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

⁶⁰ State ex. rel. Porterie, Atty Gen. v. Housing Authority of New Orleans, et al. 190 La. 710, 182 So. 725 (1938).

⁶¹ Times-Picayune, October 23, 1938, at 8, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

been holding out for higher prices were 'induced' to sign purchase options without legal proceedings. 62

While later academic research indicates that approximately half of the required property for Project LA-1-1 and all of the property for Project LA-1-2 were acquired through eminent domain, it is unclear where these findings originate. Unfortunately for this investigation, the property transfer records for these sites have not been retained by the Real Estate and Records Division of the Department of Property Management for the City of New Orleans. HANO's early Annual Reports indicate that the agency had to resort to expropriation "[i]n a few cases — but none of an extreme character — [when] the Authority and the property owners failed to agree upon valuation."

This pattern of primarily negotiated purchases with occasional expropriations appears to be supported by the reporting of the *Times-Picayune*. On October 23, 1938 the *Times-Picayune* published an article entitled "Expropriation of Sites in Low-Rent Project Area to Begin." In this article, the newspaper reported that HANO was preparing to file its first round of expropriation suits for property acquisition within the Project LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 areas;⁶⁵ five days later, on October 28, 1938, the newspaper published a second story, announcing that HANO had filed a second round of expropriation suits for an additional three properties within the Project LA-1-2 site.⁶⁶

While the reporting of the *Times-Picayune* cannot be expected to chronicle every expropriation proceeding initiated in the furtherance of these projects, its reporting does provide that the following properties were taken via judicial ruling rather than by negotiated purchase:

⁶² Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938.

⁶³ Thayer (1979), at 53-54.

⁶⁴ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 14.

⁶⁵ Times-Picayune, October 23, 1938, at 8, accessed via www.newsbank.com

⁶⁶ Times-Picayune, October 28, 1938, at 16, accessed via www.newsbank.com

- Project LA-1-1⁶⁷
 - o 801 St. Andrew Street
- Project LA-1-2⁶⁸
 - o 3317 South Robertson Street
 - o 3323 South Robertson Street
 - o 2606 Belmont Place

Through an analysis of print journalism of the era and HANO's self-reporting, it is clear that expropriation was not a desired route in property acquisition for the furtherance of public housing in New Orleans, and was viewed as a necessary step in completing land assembly for slum clearance so that the larger project of housing poor families could move forward. For the purpose of this dissertation, the review of newspaper reports was limited to expropriations for Projects LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 due to two considerations: the first being that these were the first two sites developed and acquired by HANO for slum clearance and public housing; the second being that these were the most densely populated areas of the sites to be redeveloped.

By January 19, 1939, the *Times-Picayune* announced that HANO would begin title transfers for properties within the Project LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 areas. At this time HANO had obtained purchase options on all negotiated purchases and final judgments had been rendered in the few cases where expropriation suits had to be prosecuted. The total cost for property acquisitions within the two sites was reported to be \$1,750,000 paid to approximately 400 individual property owners for 1,300 dwellings.⁶⁹ Table 3.4 (below) reflects HANO's property acquisition costs through the end of 1939 for projects LA-1-1 and LA-1-2 as well as the other three active projects which were under development at the time.

⁶⁷ Times-Picayune, December 15, 1938, at 23, accessed via www.newsbank.com ⁶⁸ Times-Picayune, November 22, 1938, at 28, accessed via www.newsbank.com

⁶⁹ Times-Picayune, January 19, 1939, at 3, accessed via www.newsbank.com

Table 3.4: Total Site Area and Land Acquisition Costs for Projects as of December 31, 1939. 70

	Total parcels in area	Total squares in area	Total square footage of area	Total cost for area	Average cost per square foot	Average cost per square foot in 2012 dollars ⁷¹
LA-1-1	237	13	1,226,979	\$1,046,239	\$0.853	\$14.05
LA-1-2	152	11	774,728	\$878,574	\$1.134	\$18.69
LA-1-3	192	11	760,484	\$906,460*	\$1.247*	\$19.65
LA-1-5	260	16	939,987	\$760,783*	\$0.882*	\$13.34
LA-1-7	27	14	1,220,472	\$170,000	\$0.139	\$2.30

^{*} Site acquisition was not complete for these Projects as of December 31, 1939. Data presented is the amount of total signed purchase options and resultant average cost per square foot as of this date.

The Legacy

Though this chapter only discusses the planning and implementation of the first several housing projects constructed by HANO, it is important to note that New Orleans's experiment in public housing did not end with the close of the Great Depression or Second World War. Through the late 1940s into the 1960s HANO, with the backing of federal dollars provided under the Housing Act of 1949, continued to grow. This growth was in the number of projects, the number of buildings within individual projects, and percentage of the New Orleans population residing in public housing.

The Housing Act of 1949 altered the financing scheme for public housing throughout the country and the aim was to "remedy the observed defects of earlier housing laws and to provide new opportunities to address the housing issue."⁷² What this meant to New Orleans specifically was that approximately \$18,000,000 would be flowing to the city through HANO for slum clearance and redevelopment. The initial plan announced by HANO for use of this funding was

⁷⁰ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, at 11-12.

⁷¹ Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculations via the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (<u>www.bls.gov</u>). ⁷² Thayer (1979), at 73.

to acquire and clear slum properties which would then be sold to the private sector for redevelopment, with initial focus on the "fringes of the civic center site." This plan would later be abandoned after the Louisiana Legislature modified urban renewal enabling statutes in 1954. Following this modification, HANO would be prohibited from expropriating private property and transferring or leasing it to a third party for redevelopment (see further discussion of Louisiana's limitations on urban renewal in Chapter 6).

In addition to this funding, the Housing Act of 1949 allocated additional dollars for use in the expansion of traditional public housing. As under the Housing Act of 1937, HANO was the first local housing authority in the nation to be awarded funds under this section of the Housing Act of 1949. Upon receipt of these funds, HANO announced that 5,000 units would be added to their inventory across the five existing housing developments, and that "[i]n each instance ..., new construction will commence opposite an existing project or on an open space within it, so in effect, five projects will be increased in size."⁷⁴ Thayer (1979) notes that this announcement appears to have been met with no public debate as to how this would impact either conditions within the existing housing projects or the surrounding areas; the housing projects were initially designed to provide ample open space, as the density of development was seen as one of the urban ills that would be remedied through slum clearance. However, due to changes in conditions, it had become necessary to increase the density of developments without expanding public housing into new locations.⁷⁵

As time progressed, HANO developed additional public housing projects; Fisher, Florida, Desire, and Guste were built in the late 1950s into the early 1960s to address the ever-increasing demand for publicly assisted housing in New Orleans. The demand was so great that, upon

⁷⁴ Ibid, at 74, quoting Olin Linn (March 27, 1950), Chairman of the Housing Authority of New Orleans. 75 Ibid.

completion in 1956, the 1,860-unit Desire development was inundated with approximately 4,000 applications for housing. What is important to note is that the Desire development was built in a difficult to access industrial area with little to offer in the way of community amenities.⁷⁶

By the 1970s, New Orleans had the most public housing units per capita of all American cities, and HANO, as an agency, was financially struggling. The 1979 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) began to evaluate the performance of housing authorities nationwide based on specified performance indicators and contractual obligations under the Housing Acts under which financing was provided for public housing construction. Beginning with the first survey in 1979, HANO was designated as "troubled" by HUD. By 1994, HANO was ranked "as the worst performing large housing authority" in the nation. Finally, in February of 1996, the Secretary of HUD declared that HANO was in breach of its contract with the federal government. As a result of this breach, the HANO Board was dissolved and HUD appointed a federal administrator to oversee the operations of HANO. The HANO Board has not been reestablished and the agency remains under federal oversight as of the writing of this dissertation.

The legacy of HANO on the physical landscape of New Orleans remains present to this day. Nearly all sites acquired for the establishment of public housing remain in use for that purpose; however the original physical improvements have been replaced at nearly every site.

⁷⁶ Wiggins, G. S. (2004). *The power and the people: Race and the New Orleans Housing Crisis, 1946-1961.*Presented at the International Conference on Adequate & Affordable Housing for All, June 24-27, 2004, Toronto.

⁷⁷ Thayer (1979).

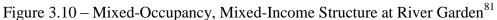
⁷⁸ United States General Accounting Office (1996). *Public Housing: HUD Takes Over the Housing Authority of New Orleans*. Report to the Honorable Richard H. Baker, House of Representatives, at 4. ⁷⁹ Ibid.

Figure 3.9 – "Legacy Buildings" at River Garden (St. Thomas). 80



All of the original sites, with the exception of Project LA-1-3 (the Iberville Development), have been redeveloped in recent years to alleviate what had become superblocks of poverty. In the place of the original housing projects, HANO has sold the property to private developers for construction of mixed-use, mixed-income communities. The only location of the first six sites where HANO's original, lauded improvements remain is at the Iberville Development, though this site will soon be cleared to make way for redevelopment, which will comprise fewer dwelling units and would employ a mixed-income occupancy policy which would result in a substantial loss of dwelling units for poor residents.

⁸⁰ Photograph by author.





These projects, by and large, restored the traditional urban street-grid of the city while attempting to recreate the historic architectural fabric of New Orleans. HANO has now functionally evolved into a clearinghouse for public housing assistance rather than a large-scale provider of housing, though several of the projects developed in the 1950s and 1960s remain under direct control by HANO.

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⁸¹ Photograph by author.

Chapter 4

The New Orleans Civic Center: Making a Modern City

"Ladies and gentlemen: We are dedicating more than a structure. I believe that in meeting here we are rededicating ourselves to the upholding of an honored task – the building of a greater community for ourselves and for our children."

- Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison, 1957¹

The Civic Center project symbolizes New Orleans's introduction to what would become known as Urban Renewal, and began before the concept was brought into fashion with the Housing Act of 1949. The City's Planning Director, Brooke Duncan, had been pitching the idea of a Civic Center to the Maestri administration, but the Mayor had not warmed to the idea. Following the election of deLesseps S. Morrison, his Administration seized the Civic Center proposal as an opportunity to both modernize city government and construct a legacy, and immediate action was taken to begin assembling the necessary real estate. Bauman notes that during World War II, American civic leaders were enamored with the image of a "deslummed, beautiful... city," with this vision culminating in the Housing Act of 1949. Blight was commonly viewed as a cancer on urban environments with the only treatment found in the form of planning and urban revitalization.

This diagnosis did not escape Mayor Morrison. Upon assuming office in 1946, Morrison urged increased city planning and announced that the clearance of slums would begin in order to address the City's housing shortage. Morrison's newly named director of housing, Robert

¹ *Times-Picayune*, May 7, 1957, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 3. Mayor Morrison speaking at the dedication of City Hall.

² Office of Public Relations Fact Sheet for the New City Hall and Civic Center, November 12, 1958. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 430.

³ Pourson J. F. (1982). Visions of a Post Way City A Pourson exists on Union Planning in Philadelphia and the

³ Bauman, J. F. (1983). Visions of a Post-War City: A Perspective on Urban Planning in Philadelphia and the Nation, 1942-1945. Introduction to Planning History in the United States, Krueckeberg, D. A., ed. The Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, at 182.

Morrow, stated that by his estimation, the City was facing a housing shortage amounting to 15,000 units. In response, the Mayor presented a plan to create 18,000 units of low-rent housing. This specific endeavor did not come to fruition, and Morrison began exploring other physical changes that would show progress towards the creation of a modern New Orleans.⁴

The Vision

The Civic Center, a centralized home for City government, was adopted as the physical embodiment of the changes proposed by Mayor Morrison in his defeat of the political machine of Mayor Maestri. Morrison proposed to revise the City's charter, modernize and streamline municipal government, and reorganize personnel within the bureaucracy; the construction of a new government complex was the perfect visual image to reflect those reforms and an ideal opportunity to trumpet his goal of planning a modern city.⁵

Planning, as a professional municipal undertaking, began in New Orleans with the creation of the New Orleans City Planning and Zoning Commission in 1923. Among the first substantial actions of this Commission was retaining the services of Harland Bartholomew and Associates, of St. Louis, Missouri; the Bartholomew Report was the first document created by this new commission and served as the foundation of planning in New Orleans. As part of this report, Bartholomew recommended the creation of a municipal center, complete with new buildings to modernize city services. Bartholomew proposed this center to focus on Orleans Street in the Vieux Carré, as homage to the original seat of colonial and municipal government at the Cabildo. The report and its recommendations were adopted by the Planning and Zoning Commission but were not acted upon. This inaction was partly due to increasing property values

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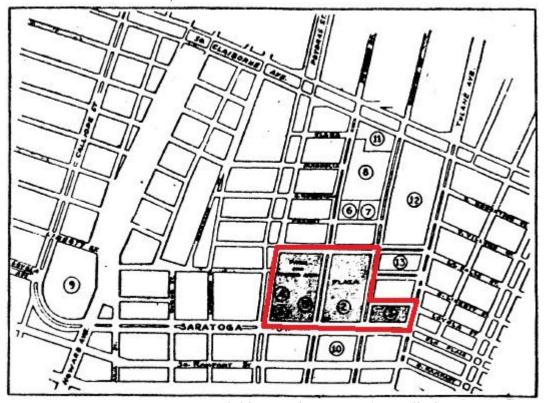
⁴ Haas, E. F. (1974). *DeLesseps S. Morrison and the Image of Reform: New Orleans Politics, 1946-1961.* Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Fields, W. (2004). *Urban Landscape Change in New Orleans, LA: The Case of the Lost Neighborhood of Louis Armstrong.* Dissertation, University of New Orleans Electronic Theses and Dissertation Collection.

in the Vieux Carré, it was also partially attributable to the interest in preserving the historic core of the city that gained substantial popularity in the 1920s. Almost two decades later, the plan was dusted off and brought back to the fore by Brooke Duncan, then the Director of the Real Estate Utility Department, with one critical change – the location of the 'Civic Center' – which was now proposed to occupy a neighborhood adjacent to the Central Business District which had been deemed blighted.⁷

Figure 4.1 - Times-Picayune Illustration of the Civic Center and other public improvements (Civic Center site outlined in red).8



The Civic Center promised several things at the outset: 1) to "eliminate ... a squalid slum;" 2) boost property values in the booming Central Business District; and 3) centralize municipal government. In addition to these proposed goals of the project, the City would gain the ability to guide the growth of the Central Business District in the direction of its choosing.

⁷ Fact Sheet for the New City Hall and Civic Center, November 12, 1958

⁹ Ibid, at 5.

⁸ Times-Picayune, September 29, 1946, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 2. Site outline added by author. A full list of surrounding public improvements can be found in Appendix 4.1.

As an added benefit to the City's endeavor, this location – between what was the existing Central Business District and Charity Hospital (and a proposed Veteran's Administration Hospital) – was among the "lowest priced property available to the central business section." The appraised value of the property made possible the acquisition of a site large enough to not only construct a new building for the New Orleans municipal government, but would allow for the development of a true Civic Center complex.

The proposal, as laid out in 1945 by Brooke Duncan, called for the acquisition of eight municipal squares in the area generally bounded by Gravier, South Saratoga (now Loyola Avenue), Poydras and LaSalle Streets. This would allow six entire municipal squares for construction of governmental buildings, with two squares being dedicated to open space to serve both the Civic Center and the state's Charity Hospital. In addition to the assembly of property for the construction of the Civic Center, the plan also called for a portion of this land to be dedicated as a right-of-way to allow the widening of South Saratoga Street (now Loyola Avenue). This would be required under the plan to provide improved automobile access to the new center of local government while also creating a grand boulevard to connect the City's Municipal Auditorium and the newly-constructed Union Passenger Terminal.

To further the City's goal of slum clearance, the 1945 preliminary plan also contemplated private investment in the areas surrounding the Civic Center. Specifically, Mr. Duncan envisioned parking garages, parking lots, and hotels to serve not only the new Civic Center but to serve all of this new northern extension of the Central Business District. By removing "one of the worst slum conditions that now exists in New Orleans," the City would be opening the

¹⁰ A Proposed Plan for a Central Municipal Center, rev. April 10, 1945. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 431, at 4
¹¹ Ibid, at 4.

doors to development that had been retarded by the presence of "tenement buildings of no economic value." ¹²

There is little detailed information available on the condition of this neighborhood in the official records, but to counter this description of the community to be cleared from the New Orleans landscape, one can look to the depiction of this community provided by one of its renowned native sons, Louis Armstrong. In his autobiography, *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans*, Armstrong describes the neighborhood as poor but functioning, and provides depth to an area otherwise portrayed as simply a slum to be eradicated. There were honkey-tonks (which would later become the first jazz clubs), shops, a school, and churches; all elements which make for what would now be described as a walkable community. Armstrong recounts his youth as being a part of this neighborhood. He attended the Fisk School, gained an interest in music from the churches and neighborhood bands, sold papers on the streets, and lived near the intersection of Liberty and Perdido Streets (approximately where the main entrance of City Hall is now located). It is also in this neighborhood that a young Louis Armstrong was given the opportunity to play in quasi-professional bands and was, from time-to-time, employed as a coronet player in the honkey-tonks or brothels found in this part of the City. ¹³

By the time the Civic Center was being proposed to occupy this area, the neighborhood had been in decline for some time. Fields (2004) tracks the changes in this neighborhood through the perspective of urban morphology, and while the specific morphological study did not entirely overlap with the Civic Center site (only one square of the Civic Center is found in Fields's study), the change is worth noting as representative of the area's condition at the time the Civic Center was proposed.

¹² Idib, at 4.

¹³ Armstrong, L. (1954). *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York.

In the period between 1908 and 1937, Fields found substantial reductions in the number of structures occupying municipal squares in the neighborhood of what would become the Civic Center. Of these noted changes, calculated on a municipal square by municipal square basis, the lowest was a reduction in total buildings of less than one percent, while the remaining eight squares studied showed losses ranging between 66% and 100%. ¹⁴ This reduction in structures was partly due to more lucrative use of property as parking lots as automobiles came to dominate urban transportation. The more profitable use of this space combined with the deteriorating conditions of the existing structures resulted in the vast swaths of parking which have since become the primary land use in the area directly abutting the Civic Center.

These losses account for only the number of buildings located within the study area and do not accurately portray the quality of neighborhood life. This is perhaps better explained through the numerous neighborhood commercial services present in the area. Fields found, through a survey of the 1938 Polk Directory of Businesses, that many groceries, clothiers, specialty shops, and offices existed in this area even after the large-scale loss of structures noted between 1908 and 1937. While the area may not have been affluent, it was a functional, living New Orleans neighborhood. 15

Though this was a functioning neighborhood, the City took the position that the area was in need of investment and substantial change that only governmental intervention could accomplish. According to Mr. Duncan's "Proposed Plan for a Central Municipal Center," the area for his proposed Civic Center had already been proposed as a potential site for a federal housing project due to its blighted condition. Rather than allowing the redevelopment potential of this location to be squandered in the form of government-assisted housing, the City took the

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¹⁴ Fields.
15 Ibid.

position that due to the site's ideal location "for the convenience of the public -- for pedestrians, automobile, and public transportation" it would be ideal for the Civic Center. 16 The City concluded that if this area was to be the subject of large-scale redevelopment, the end result should be a project that would add to the growing Central Business District rather than a use which would obstruct the commercial growth of the area. This conclusion was probably on target, as the superblock-style development of the federally-funded housing projects would likely have created a boundary to commercial growth and prevented the Central Business District from expanding north of Loyola Avenue. As for the housing needs of the city, Mr. Duncan's proposal goes on to state that "[i]t is also a well known fact that there are numerous other similar slum areas, as bad or worse, that would be more suitable for residential use by the Housing Authority, and which could be acquired as cheaply, or at lower cost."¹⁷

The Planning

In the early to mid twentieth century, planning shared two themes: planning for preservation of the existing urban fabric and planning to create homogeneity by modernizing urban cores. New Orleans experienced both during this period; the creation of the Vieux Carré Commission in 1925 symbolized the preservation element and the modernization element was represented by the City Planning and Zoning Commission, created in 1923. As part of the City Planning and Zoning Commission's goals of modernizing the city, plans were created for the removal of existing urban fabric and the reshaping of the Central Business District.¹⁸

The idea of a modernized metropolis was not uniquely New Orleanian, but fell into a larger, national goal of moving the country from the Great Depression and World War II into a

 $^{^{16}}$ A Proposed Plan for a Central Municipal Center, rev. April 10, 1945, at 5. 17 Ibid, at 6.

¹⁸ Silver, C. (1991). Revitalizing the Urban South: Neighborhood Preservation and Planning Since the 1920s. Journal of the American Planning Association; Winter 91, Vol. 57 Issue 1.

modern age, to be defined by automobiles, concrete, glass, and steel. Plans to rescue declining downtowns and combat the draw of suburbia were commonplace across American cities, and many relied on the use of eminent domain to acquire and repurpose property to suit their often newly-adopted plans. This national movement led to the Housing Act of 1949, through which the federal government would provide up to three-quarters of funding for projects which would remove slums and clear land for redevelopment. ¹⁹ To place the Civic Center into a national context, it is worth noting that while the project began in 1947, the City of New Orleans filed an application with the federal government in 1950. The application was approved and funding was provided to the City to offset the architectural design costs of the new Civic Center complex. ²⁰

Under the Housing Act of 1949, many cities across the United States undertook similar redevelopment schemes as that proposed as New Orleans's Civic Center. The Housing Act contained two separate elements: one element dealing directly with the provision of public housing and one dealing with slum clearance and urban redevelopment. The public housing element of the Housing Act authorized a total of 810,000 public housing units nationally through 1955 but, as Mohl (1993) notes, by 1960 only 320,000 units were actually constructed. The true impact of the Housing Act of 1949 came from the second element of the Act which provided funding for the removal of blighted and sub-standard housing units. This portion of the law was seized upon and used in cities throughout the United States: "Big-city central business districts were rebuilt and modernized under the aegis of urban renewal legislation; look-alike glass and steel office towers transformed the urban skyline everywhere." 21

¹⁹ Meidinger, E. E. (1980). *The "Public Uses" of Eminent Domain: History and Practice*. Environmental Law (Lewis and Clark Law School). 11 Envtl. L. 1 (1980-1981).

²⁰ Fact Sheet for the New City Hall and Civic Center, November 12, 1958

²¹ Mohl, R. A. (1993). Shifting Patterns of American Urban Policy since 1900. *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, Hirsch, A.R. and Mohl, R.A., eds. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ., at 17.

Following the election of Mayor Morrison and his adoption of Brooke Duncan's plan for the construction of a modern Civic Center complex, initial steps were taken to acquire the requisite property to implement the vision. A bond election was called in the spring of 1947 to sell \$23.5 millions dollars of municipal bonds. This bond issue was to provide \$12 million for an ongoing rail-grade separation project for rail lines serving the newly constructed Union Passenger Terminal, \$10.5 million for street improvements throughout the city, and \$1 million for Civic Center site acquisition.²²

Prior to this bond issuance, an assessment was performed to approximate the cost of acquiring the land needed to construct the Civic Center. The Civic Center was to occupy approximately eight municipal squares; Table 4.1 (below) indicates the existing development of the municipal squares as of October 8, 1946; and the total estimated cost for site acquisition came to \$456,360.

Table 4.1 – Development and Value of Civic Center site^{23,24}

Square 303	Partial Square, owned by City of New Orleans			
Square 304	33 lots, 2 common alleys Land: \$60,400, Improvements: \$16,720			
Square 305	36 lots, 2 common alleys Land: \$50,400, Improvements: \$19,600			
Square 332	37 Lots, 3 Common Alleys Land: \$43,100, Improvements: \$9,680			
Square 333	33 Lots, 2 Common Alleys Land: \$49,100, Improvements: \$8,900			
Square 334	28 Lots, 2 Common Alleys Land: \$88,600, Improvements: \$31,100			
Square 340	39 Lots Land: \$41,000, Improvements: \$10,100			
Square 341	26 Lots Land: \$33,800, Improvements: \$3,860			

²² Commission Council of New Orleans (1947). Ordinance 16,782 C.C.S.

²³ City of New Orleans, (1946). Parcel map with ownership. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 412

²⁴ City of New Orleans (1946). *Assessed Values of Squares Contemplated for Proposed Municipal Center*. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 434.

The Bureau of Governmental Research ("BGR") released their "Special Report on Proposed \$23,500,000 Bond Issue" just before the bond election which was held on April 15, 1947. In this report, BGR noted that they were generally in favor of the bond issue and recommended approval, but expressed some concerns with the initial proposal, the possible site selection, and the cost of the overall development. In the bond ordinance, the City did not state the specific location for the new Civic Center complex, though it had been stated that the municipal government was looking at land at Poydras and South Saratoga. As there was no firm proposal for the development of the site or specific details on how the proposed consolidation of government would proceed, BGR was left to make a number of assumptions in their analysis. 25

In their recommendation for approval of 'Proposition 3' of the 1947 bond election BGR makes two key assumptions in their analysis of the proposal: (1) the eventual widening of South Saratoga Street (Loyola Avenue) due to the presence of the Union Passenger Terminal, and (2) the slum conditions present within the neighborhood found at the intersection of South Saratoga and Poydras Streets. Again, it is worth noting that the language of the bond proposal did not lock the government into this location, nor did it specify this particular location for redevelopment under this urban renewal scheme. Once the bond was passed, the City would be free to acquire land wherever it so desired for the purpose of developing a Civic Center.

A third assumption that BGR was forced to make due to a lack of specificity in the Civic Center proposal was in which elements of government would be consolidated into the new complex. In their discussion of the Civic Center element of the 1947 bond proposal, BGR discusses the numerous buildings currently occupied by city government with an eye towards

²⁵ Bureau of Governmental Research (1947). *Special Report on Proposed \$23,500,000 Bond Issue*. Accessed from the University of New Orleans Earl K. Long Library Archives – Bureau of Governmental Research, Carton 184-38, File 330-3.

²⁶ Ibid, at 7.

moving all of these functions to the new Civic Center complex. Specifically, government was spread across City Hall (now Gallier Hall), the City Hall Annex, the Soule Building, the Howard Annex, the Old Criminal Courts Building, and the Board of Health Building; in addition, there was also the "New Courthouse Building" in the Vieux Carré (now the Louisiana Supreme Court).²⁷

Among the arguments in opposition to the proposed Civic Center complex were the cost to eventually construct the proposed complex (estimated at \$15-\$20 million) and that the existing governmental offices were not inadequate but merely poorly maintained. BGR suggested that as an alternative to land acquisition and the subsequent construction of a new municipal complex, the City could dedicate the proposed funding to renovation and retention of the existing government buildings rather than abandoning the current buildings in favor of a consolidated location and a brand new complex. Certainly this argument must have had proponents in the general populace, but city leaders were dedicated to their new complex and the 'renovate and retain' argument did not appear to gain any traction with decision-makers.²⁸

The bond election held on April 15, 1947 was a success for Mayor Morrison and the modernization of the City. All three bond proposals were approved and the city immediately began to purchase the properties in the area which was to become the Civic Center. As properties were acquired by the City, the improvements were razed and replaced with surface parking lots. These lots were then leased to private operators in order to accommodate the need for parking in the bustling, increasingly automobile-oriented Central Business District. Planning for the eventual development of the site began soon after the successful bond election, but the physical development of the site was placed on hold while the City completed other projects.

²⁷ Ibid, at 6

²⁸ Ibid, at 7

The progress of the Civic Center project in the intervening years was slow and not clearly traceable, with the exception of the Mayor's annual published reports, which trumpeted the annual progress made by the Morrison Administration in achieving the goal of a modern New Orleans. The Mayor's 1949 "Report to the People" detailed progress on the Civic Center stated that "half of seven squares of slum land near the business district above Tulane Avenue were acquired [in 1948], the rest to be acquired in 1949. This million dollar undertaking will temporarily serve as the site of $2\frac{1}{2}$ squares of offstreet (sic) parking at low rates." An illustration included in the 1949 Annual Report (reproduced below) indicates that one thousand parking spaces were to be provided on the noted $2\frac{1}{2}$ squares of land.

Figure 4.2 – Parking Lot Illustration from Mayor Morrison's 1949 Annual Report³⁰

By 1954, the land acquisition was complete, as was the transition of the area from neighborhood to parking lots. The 1953-54 Annual Report of the Mayor boasts of the success of

1000 INEXPENSIVE PARKING SPACES WILL BE BUILT ON TODAY'S SLUM LAND

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²⁹ City of New Orleans (1949). *Report to the People*. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, at 36.

³⁰ Ibid, at 34.

the Civic Center project as opening the business district to unimpeded growth and encouraging private investment where it had previously been absent. The report stated "six years ago the Civic Center area was a cancerous slum blocking the natural growth of the central business district. Then the city purchased the area, cleaned out the dilapidated buildings and cut through a new 152-foot wide boulevard. The interest of private business was stimulated in the area. New multi-storied buildings were constructed and existing buildings expanded." It is worth noting that these achievements were produced without the City breaking ground on the structures that were to occupy the Civic Center.

In 1951, the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO), in cooperation with the City of New Orleans prepared "A Preliminary Report Upon Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment: Project U.R. 1-A." This report was compiled in response to the Housing Act of 1949, which provided local governments with federal dollars for slum clearance. The total site studied for this report was approximately forty-six municipal squares in area, generally bounded by South Saratoga, Poydras, South Broad Streets and Tulane Avenue, and included the site designated to become the new Civic Center. Much of the Civic Center site had been acquired by this time, but the report spoke generally to the conditions of the area in terms relative to the condition of the remainder of the U.R. 1-A site. Only one of the squares previously listed as part of the Civic Center complex, Square 334, was detailed in this report with the remaining squares being indicated as "Entire Area Site of Civic Center." 32

The selected boundaries of Project U.R.1-A were arbitrary, as admitted by HANO in their report, the stated reason for this being that "the total extent of urban redevelopment needs for the

³¹ City of New Orleans (1954). *1953-54 Annual Report of the Mayor*. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection Williams Research Center, at 10.

³² Housing Authority of New Orleans, (1951). *A Preliminary Report Upon Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment: Project U.R. 1-A*, Exhibit 7. Accessed through the New Orleans City Planning Commission Library.

City as a whole [having] not been determined."³³ While admittedly arbitrary, the justification for the boundaries of the project is clearly defined in the Report, and conditions stated are inclusive of the Civic Center site. HANO found that the area was "characterized by obsolescence and blight" and "lack[ed] adequate community facilities for the existing population" and that wholesale redevelopment would be the only way to improve the area and address the needs of a growing, modernizing city.³⁴

The "obsolescence and blight" of the project area was determined by a number of factors outlined in Exhibit 7 of the report, breaking the individual municipal squares down into white versus 'negro' population, and the number and percentage of dwelling units lacking hot water, with outdoor or shared water closets, with shared or no baths, and general dilapidation. As has been stated, the project area for U.R.1-A was far larger than the site of the proposed Civic Center and only Square 334 of the Civic Center site was evaluated for this report. Therefore, by the general statements made by the U.R.1-A Report and the overall presentations of the Civic Center site by its proponents, one is left to approximate the conditions of the eight municipal squares prior to the City's acquisition and clearance of the site. The following table illustrates the noted conditions of Square 334 within the Civic Center site relative to the entire U.R.1-A project area.

Table 4.2 – Conditions of Civic Center site in comparison to U.R.1-A project area. 35

		nite lling nits	Dwe	gro lling nits		Hot iter	Out W	side .C.	Share W.C.		Share Bath		No Bath	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Square 334	0	0	21	100	21	100	20	95	20	95	6	29	14	66
U.R.1-A Site	456	33	908	62	733	51	397	27	411	28	155	11	415	29

³³ Ibid, at 1.

³⁴ Ibid, at 4.

³⁵ Ibid, information directly transposed from Exhibit 7.

While the statistics provided by the U.R.1-A study indicate a disproportionate impact on the African-American community within both the Civic Center site and the U.R.1-A study area, the impact cannot be fully understood without placing this data against the backdrop of Citywide numbers. According to the United States Census Bureau, the population of New Orleans was 29.3% "non-white" in 1950.³⁶ These numbers clearly illustrate that the African-American community of New Orleans was disproportionately impacted by both the U.R.1-A and Civic Center projects at rates of two to three times the statistical expectation.

Whether this racial disparity was an intentional or unintentional consequence of the projects is undocumented; it seems that the result may have been a combination of the two. While the projects likely did not intentionally target African-American communities in New Orleans, the reality of the situation is that through Jim Crow and associated oppression, this community was relegated to the least desirable neighborhoods, both by custom and, in some cases, legal mandate.

Hirsch profiles the Morrison Administration's approach to race relations as fairly disingenuous. While Morrison sought to appeal to African-American and did make efforts to improve the share of municipal services open to African-American neighborhoods, no real effort was made to address the societal inequalities which permeated New Orleans. Specifically, Morrison constructed new facilities within the New Orleans Recreation Department for the African-American community and opened up hiring within the New Orleans Police Department and public libraries to African-Americans; these accomplishments were set within the framework

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³⁶ United States Census Bureau (1952). *Census of Population: 1950. Volume II, Characteristics of the Population.* Government Printing Office, Washington, DC. Accessed through the New Orleans City Planning Commission Library.

of "preserve[ing the] traditions and habits of [the] city."³⁷ For all of his posturing to the contrary, perhaps Morrison's own words best convey his Administration's approach to the issue of race in New Orleans: "racial segregation is embodied in the basic law of the State of Louisiana, and we are obligated to abide by it."³⁸

In addition to the racial characteristics of the Civic Center site and the U.R.1-A project area, HANO also measured the conditions of the area based on 'Dilapidation,' with the standards for this determination clearly outlined in Appendix A of the Report. The extent of dilapidation was to be determined based on an evaluation of four elements: 1) weather tightness of the structure; 2) makeshift construction; 3) extent of disrepair; and 4) hazards to the safety of occupants. Specifically, the quantifiable conditions of individual properties were assessed as follows:³⁹

1) Exterior Dilapidation:

- a. Walls; cracks missing materials, loose materials, sagging or leaning.
- b. Chimneys; missing material or leaning.
- c. Windows; missing materials or operation defects.
- d. Porches; weak or broken supports, railings, or steps.
- e. Roof; missing materials or obvious leakage.

2) Interior Dilapidation:

- a. Basements; cracks, leakage, or bad floor.
- b. Floors; sagging, missing materials, or excessive wear.
- c. Partitions; same as walls.
- d. Ceilings; same as walls.
- e. Stairways; same as porches

3) Dilapidation of Utilities:

- a. Electric Service; wiring deficiencies.
- b. Plumbing; lacking or inoperative water supply, inoperative flush toilet, lacking, obsolete, or unsafe bathing facilities.
- c. Heating; detrimental to health, conducive to fire.

³⁷ Hirsch, A.R. (1992). Simply a Matter of Black and White: The Transformation of Race and Politics in Twentieth-Century New Orleans. In Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization, edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

³⁸ Haas, at 71.

³⁹ HANO, at Appendix A.

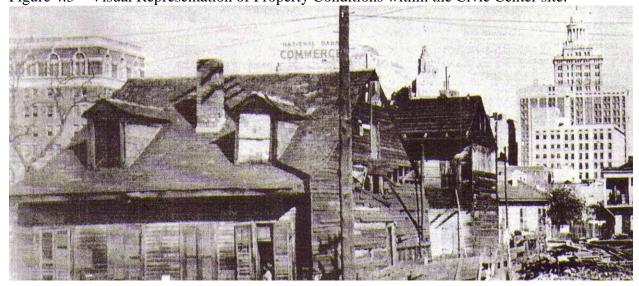
The following table presents another comparison of Square 334 within the Civic Center footprint to the larger U.R.1-A project site as a whole:

Table 4.3 – Dilapidation of Civic Center site in comparison to U.R.1-A project area. 40

	Dilapidation						
	Exterior		Inte	rior	Utility		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Square 334	18	86	18	86	18	86	
U.R.1-A Site	796	55	784	54	773	53	

Based on these standards, the City was able to utilize funding through the Housing Act of 1949 to seek federal dollars for the proposed Civic Center complex. Specifically, funding was obtained to aid in the site and architectural design of the proposed Civic Center complex following the submission of the U.R.1-A report in 1951.

Figure 4.3 – Visual Representation of Property Conditions within the Civic Center site. 41



The Land Assembly

Immediately following approval of the \$23,500,000 bond issue in 1947, the City of New Orleans began the process of land assembly for development of the Civic Center. Over the

⁴⁰ Ibid, information directly transposed from Exhibit 7.

⁴¹ City of New Orleans (1952). *1951-52 Annual Report of the Mayor*. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection Williams Research Center.

course of the subsequent eight years, the City acquired 197 individual lots comprising the Civic Center site. Through a review of the real estate transfer records maintained by the City's Department of Property Management, it is clear that negotiated purchase was the acquisition method of choice for the Civic Center. Of the 197 individual parcels acquired for this project, only 12 were taken through expropriation rather than through negotiated purchase.

Table 4.4 – Summary of Property Acquisition for the Civic Center site. 42

Municipal Square	Number of Lots	Number of Expropriations
304	32	2
305	34	3
332	37	5
333	35	0
340	33	0
341	26	2

At the outset of the project the determination was made to acquire as much needed property through purchase rather than expropriation. On September 28, 1946 the City announced the location of the proposed Civic Center. Within days, the Morison Administration announced what actions would be taken to being acquiring the property and bringing the project to fruition, the *Times-Picayune* reported that Mayor Morrison's position was to "attempt to negotiate for purchase of the properties ... but in the event of failure to negotiate a purchase at a fair appraisal price [the City] will institute condemnation proceedings."

Once the site selection was official, the process of inventorying the required land and obtaining appraisals to budget property acquisition costs began. The Morrison Administration estimated that the land within the Civic Center could be obtained for a reasonable price and Brooke Duncan noted that the entire Civic Center site had a total property assessment of only \$525,000, which was seen as beneficial to the City for the purpose of site acquisition. On a

⁴² Date summarized from full property acquisition inventory found in Appendix 4.2. Data compiled from the City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records.

⁴³ Times-Picayune, October 1, 1946, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 21.

property map dated October 8, 1946, the City outlined the ownership of the required properties which included notations for land already publicly owned and properties which were targeted to be acquired through exchange. An interesting discrepancy is found in this document when compared with the property transfer records: the map, dated 1946, indicates that Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, A, U, V, W, X, Y, and Z of Square 333 were, at that time, owned by the City of New Orleans; however, property transfer records indicate that the City of New Orleans acquired these parcels through purchase on August 20, 1948. The individual from whom these parcels were acquired was Gervais Favrot, Chairman of the City Planning and Zoning Commission. It is impossible to determine how or why this discrepancy occurred but it is interesting to note.

This conflict in the record does give the appearance of impropriety on the part of the site selected for the Civic Center project; however, it is somewhat unlikely that as the owner of less than one-third of a single municipal square Mr. Favrot would have actively steered the project to this site. While there is no specific information available to explain this glaring error in the record, it does lead one to question whether anyone else involved in the decision-making process owned property within or adjacent to the Civic Center footprint. It should be noted that no other conflicts between the initial ownership map and property transfer records were identified in the full review of these documents.

While the appraisals for properties within the Civic Center site were undertaken immediately upon selection of the site in 1946, the Commission Council did not authorize the Morrison Administration to begin property acquisitions until May 21, 1948. This action by the

⁴⁴ Large Parcel Map with Ownership as of October 8, 1946. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 412.

⁴⁶ City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, file for Municipal Square 333.

Commission Council authorized the negotiated purchase of half of the requisite property for the overall project and all sales were subject to ratification by the Council prior to purchase.⁴⁷

There was little coverage of the few expropriation proceedings by the press, the sole exception appears to have been over the properties owned by Mr. Herman Doescher, Jr. Mr. Doescher owned lots 5 and 6, of Square 304 with improvements bearing the municipal addresses 436-38 and 442 Loyola Street. The contention in this case, which appears to have been what attracted the attention of the press, was that the expropriation was being fought not only on the basis of the project but rather on the merits of the state law under which the expropriation took place. In 1948, the Louisiana Legislature passed an act which removed the requirement of a jurytrial in expropriation cases. Mr. Doescher filed suit arguing a jury must be empanelled to determine a fair value for his properties. The challenge levied against the Civic Center proposal was that the project was likely years away from construction so forcibly expropriating the property at this point was premature. Mayor Morrison was called to testify on behalf of his Civic Center project and stated that the plans were sufficiently far along that his administration expected to let the contracts for construction within 18-months. On December 30, 1949, the court ruled in the City's favor regarding both arguments and awarded Mr. Doescher \$16,120 for his two properties on Loyola Street. 48, 49, 50

Property acquisition, both via negotiated purchase and expropriation, continued through April of 1955 with 7 of the 12 total expropriations within the Civic Center site taking place between February and April of that year. The total expropriations within the Civic Center site amounted to only 6% of the total lots acquired. The reason for this low number of expropriations

⁴⁷ Times-Picayune, May 22, 1948, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 2.

⁴⁸ Times-Picayune, December 13, 1949, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 12.

⁴⁹ Times-Picayune, December 15, 1949, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 3.

⁵⁰ Times-Picayune, December 31, 1949, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 6.

is likely attributable to the political determination to negotiate purchases combined with the length of the overall acquisition process.

From the time the Commission Council authorized the Morrison Administration to begin assembling the land to the point where all land formally entered the City's possession eight years elapsed. During this time there was little motivation on the part of municipal leaders to forcibly acquire property; there were no construction deadlines or contractual obligations that required all property to be obtained by a specific date. While this was likely beneficial to the City in terms of reducing the number of required expropriations it also acted against the City in at least the one legal challenge to expropriation that was followed by the press.

The Legacy

The Civic Center was developed in accordance with the early plans, with a new City Hall to consolidate municipal government, the main branch of the New Orleans Public Library, a new state office building, the Louisiana Supreme Court and a new complex for Orleans Parish Civil District Court. City Hall was dedicated on May 6, 1957 and the other buildings comprising the complex were completed in the following years. In addition to the structures occupying the Civic Center, Loyola Avenue was created by widening South Saratoga Street to a width of 144 feet. This stretch of roadway from the Municipal Auditorium to the newly-constructed Union Passenger Terminal was dubbed the "miracle mile" to reflect its prominent place in the renewal of New Orleans. 51

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⁵¹ Fact Sheet for the New City Hall and Civic Center, November 12, 1958

Figure 4.4 - City Hall - August 23, 1958 52



Figure 4.5 – Postcard depicting the newly constructed Civic Center 53



⁵² City Hall – August 23, 1958, photo from the records of the Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records.

⁵³ Postcard image published by Bernard F. Holmes.

In 2005, following Hurricane Katrina, the state office building and the Louisiana Supreme Court building were abandoned and subsequently demolished. The site remains improved with City Hall, Orleans Parish Civil District Court, the main branch of the New Orleans Public Library, and Duncan Plaza.

The Civic Center project, as proposed and eventually realized, provided the citizens of New Orleans with a modern government complex that reflected both the new governmental structure of the City and the push to modernity that the 1950s came to represent; but at what cost? The neighborhood had been in decline for many years preceding the decision to take and clear the land for redevelopment. While the area once was occupied by a thriving neighborhood of shops, community resources, and residents, many had gone by the late 1940s. Perhaps this decline was as much due to the poor physical conditions which were found in the community, but perhaps these conditions were partly a self-fulfilling prophecy in that the land had been designated as a potential redevelopment site for public housing prior to the Civic Center proposal. This designation, which was made in the mid-1930s, may have led to further disinvestment within this neighborhood which was already in decline causing the area to spiral into outright blight; the truth in this instance will never be known.

The stated goals of the Civic Center project were generally accomplished; those goals being: elimination of slum conditions, boosting area property values, and centralizing government. While the goals themselves are debatable as appropriate exercises of municipal government, it must be recognized that the City achieved what it set out to do, at least in the short term. Over the intervening five decades since the Civic Center was constructed, the area has seen both the desired rise, and the unexpected decline in adjacent private investment.

While the residential slums were removed from the landscape, a commercial slum has taken hold. The surface parking lots once seen as necessary to the survival of downtown have proven a barrier to development and the 1950s-era office structures have largely been abandoned in favor of high-rise development along the Poydras Street corridor. A cursory examination of the conditions surrounding City Hall, in the neighborhood described by Louis Armstrong in his autobiography, will find that the birthplaces of jazz have largely been demolished to make room for surface parking lots. The "interests of private business" which were trumpeted by Mayor Morrison in 1954 as being symbolized by multi-storied buildings have been put asunder and those buildings left to decay in the shadow of City Hall.

Figure 4.6 – Upper Poydras Street, 2012 ⁵⁴



The long-term success of the project comes not necessarily from the stated goals, but from the subsequent projects, both public and private, which expanded the Central Business District in accordance with what was viewed as the area's logical growth pattern. By removing

⁵⁴ Photograph by author.

the blighted neighborhood from the lake-side boundary of the Central Business District, the City opened development for numerous office buildings and hotels along Poydras Street and that portion of Loyola Avenue between City Hall and the Union Passenger Terminal, as well as the development of the Louisiana Superdome in what was a rail yard a stone's throw from the Civic Center site.

Chapter 5

Bridges and Highways: Accommodating the Automobile at the Expense of the City

"Now let me say at the very outset that transportation, and certainly road transportation is a lifeline of any community"

- Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison, 1958¹

Building the automotive infrastructure was neither a quick nor easy task in a city as historic as New Orleans. Certainly it was one thing to pave the existing surface streets to accommodate the automobile, but it was another thing entirely to create the infrastructure of regional expressways that the burgeoning automobile age demanded in the mid-twentieth century. The City of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana recognized the infrastructural needs of the New Orleans area and crafted plans for the building of bridges and highways connecting Orleans and Jefferson Parishes before the federal government created the Interstate Highway System, which would permanently scar many historic cities throughout the United States.

Of the governmental undertakings studied as part of this research, the construction of bridges and highways were the projects that had the most far-reaching and lasting impacts on the physical and social conditions of New Orleans. The very nature of these projects caused shifts in the daily life of citizens in nearly all parts of the City, whether that change was a result of altered traffic patterns or commutes, the physical division of once united neighborhoods, or, on a larger scale, the clearing of large swaths of a community to provide space for construction of these projects. The focus of this chapter will be on the visions for and planning of these large-scale public improvements and the property acquisitions that were required to make these plans come to fruition. Although the historical records show that the State and City governments tried to

¹ Official Transcript of Proceedings of the Department of Highways, State of Louisiana: Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, February 11, 1958. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 296, at 23.

avoid expropriation proceedings, they did not shy away from the exercise of eminent domain to acquire the needed property to move forward with what was perceived as best for the public atlarge.

The Vision

Shortly following the end of World War II, New Orleans – and many other American cities – began looking at ways to invest in the infrastructural needs that had been laid fallow during the conflict. Among the projects New Orleans sought to implement for the improvement of the community and the enhancement of its growth was the Pontchartrain Expressway, a freeway connecting the Central Business District with Airline Highway and the proposed Veterans Memorial Boulevard being constructed in Metairie, in adjacent Jefferson Parish. The goal of this highway was to increase accessibility to the Central Business District from both the residential portions of New Orleans and the developing bedroom communities in Jefferson Parish.

To reduce project costs, the Pontchartrain Expressway was proposed to be built within the New Basin Canal right-of-way. Construction of the New Basin Canal was authorized by the Louisiana Legislature in 1831 and opened for service in 1835; the Canal provided a connection from the Central Business District to Lake Pontchartrain.² The Canal was dug by hand at a cost of \$1,225,000³ and approximately 8,000 lives, the death toll in this project being caused primarily by cholera and yellow fever epidemics.⁴ With the passing of a century and rail, truck, and barged freight rendering the Canal obsolete, the City of New Orleans, in conjunction with the State's Highway Department, began exploring other possible uses for this space. The

² Gillis, J. H. (1946, October 27). Union Station's Fate Hinges on Vote for Amendment 31. *Times-Picayune*. Page 15.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Chase, J. C. (2004). Frenchmen, Desire, Good Children... and other streets of New Orleans. Pelican Publishing, Gretna, LA.

conclusion these entities arrived at was that the Canal should be filled and the space reused to create a singular rail line into the heart of the City with the remaining space being devoted to the construction of a super-highway to serve the automotive needs of New Orleans.

Originally this new super-highway, which would replace the New Basin Canal, was proposed to connect "Julia Street at the River to Lake Pontchartrain (a distance of some five miles) where it would connect with the proposed causeway to Mandeville." The proposed starting point at Julia Street was in anticipation of the contemplated Mississippi River crossing to be located in that general vicinity, and the route of the New Basin Canal was seen as the only place to construct such a highway in New Orleans. The closure of the Canal was approved by Constitutional Amendment on November 5, 1946. The *Times-Picayune*, which editorialized for the passage of the amendment as being "of vital importance to the future of New Orleans," reported that the Amendment passed by large margins both within New Orleans and state wide. With all New Orleans precincts reporting, the final vote tally on Amendment 31, authorizing the closure and filling of the New Basin Canal, was 47,587 in favor and 7,343 opposed; state wide, only 422 precincts out of a total 1,871 had reported by press time two days following the election with a recorded vote of 52,101 in favor and 9,116 opposed, but the amendment was projected to pass.

With the future of the Pontchartrain Expressway virtually secure, the municipal leadership turned their attention to creating a vehicular river crossing within the city of New Orleans. Until this time, the only bridge spanning the lower Mississippi River was the Huey P. Long Bridge in Jefferson Parish, ten miles upriver from the Central Business District of New

⁵ Times-Picayune, June 9, 1946, at 1, 12, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Gillis, at 15.

⁸ Times-Picayune, November 7, 1946, at 1, 2, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

Orleans. In 1948, a Constitutional Amendment was placed before Louisiana Voters "authorizing a bridge across the Mississippi River at New Orleans." The exact location of the bridge had not been determined at this time, but what was known was that the East Bank side of the bridge would have to connect to the proposed Pontchartrain Expressway. This proposed configuration was in accordance with the City's Major Streets Plan and had been approved by the United States Bureau of Public Roads, as federal funds were being sought for partial funding of the project. Though the specific details of the bridge had not been clearly defined, Amendment 21 was approved by Louisiana voters in 1948. The vote in New Orleans totaled 49,021 in favor of the authorizing amendment and 9,669 opposed.

While voters approved the concept of the Mississippi River Bridge in 1948, the plans and financing scheme were not settled until the 1952 Legislative Session and subsequent election. Amendment 10 authorized the bonding capacity of the Mississippi River Bridge Authority to finance the bridge project and to back those bonds with not only toll revenue from bridge userfees but to dedicate the State's Highway Fund No. 2 (a vehicle license tax) to the maintenance of the proposed bridge and guaranteeing of the bonds. Additionally, Amendment 19 was placed before the voters at the same election to reallocate approaches Board's 9/20ths of one cent gasoline tax" to finance the construction of bridge approaches and to authorize up to \$30

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⁹ Report on Estimated Traffic and Revenue of the Proposed Bridge over the Mississippi River at New Orleans and Estimated Receipts from Louisiana State Highway Fund No. 2 Applicable Thereto. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 302.

¹⁰ Times-Picayune, October 25, 1948, at 25, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

¹¹ Times-Picayune, November 3, 1948, at 46, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

¹² *Times-Picayune*, October 18, 1952. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 229.

¹³ Ibid.

million in highway bonds to be sold by the Department of Transportation to finance their share of construction costs for the Mississippi River Bridge.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, Mayor Morrison endorsed the proposed constitutional amendments designed to fund the Mississippi River Bridge, and its approaches and associated improvements. These amendments were endorsed by Mayor Morrison as not only crucial to the bridge project, but as "vital to the growth of the New Orleans metropolitan area and to our neighboring parishes, which need these key projects." The Mayor went on to clarify that these amendments were not solely for the benefit of New Orleans but were intended to improve infrastructure both in the surrounding region and across the State. Amendment 10 would, in addition to furthering the construction of the Mississippi River Bridge, authorize funding for the Lake Pontchartrain Causeway and the Little Woods—Lakeshore Highway, connecting Downman Road, in New Orleans East to the Highway 11 Bridge between Orleans and St. Tammany Parishes. This amendment would also provide funding for various other road and drainage projects in Orleans, Jefferson, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, Tangipahoa, and St. Tammany Parishes.

A second proposed Constitutional Amendment, Amendment 19, would have even farther reaching impact according to the Mayor; this amendment would reallocate funds that were solely dedicated to the New Orleans Dock Board and redistribute them across the state. This amendment was touted as not only aiding in the financing of the Mississippi River Bridge but also to allow construction of an Industrial Canal crossing in New Orleans, the West Bank

¹⁴ City of New Orleans Mayor's Office, September 14, 1952 Press Release. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 229.
¹⁵ Ibid. at 3

¹⁶ The "LittleWoods-Lakeshore Highway" was later incorporated into the development of Interstate-10 through New Orleans East, see Figures 5.8, 5.12.

Expressway in Jefferson Parish, a Red River Bridge in Shreveport and various highway projects in Baton Rouge and Lake Charles.¹⁷

In 1956, Congress passed the Federal Aid Highway Act, providing for 40,000 miles of roads across the country over a period of 16 years. The 40,000 mile authorization was then divided among the states based on requests from state highway departments. The Louisiana Highway Department's initial request was for the allocation of 1,150 highway miles, but the final allocation by the federal government granted just less than 600 total highway miles. 18 Under the Act, the Highway Department made clear, highways could be located anywhere the state dictated without the involvement of local officials and without regard to local conditions or plans, this included the ability to determine highway routes regardless of the impact on property owners and the losses that could potentially be suffered as a result of expropriation. However, in the benevolence of the State Highway Department, the Department decided to work with local officials on the placement of these federal highways. ¹⁹ The proposal for the federal highway system presented to the community in 1958 is exactly that which was subsequently constructed and is present in New Orleans today (see Figures 5.8, 5.11, 5.12). The highways were designed to complement the Pontchartrain Expressway and Mississippi River Bridge and also, generally, followed the adopted Major Streets Plan of the City. The one major deviation from the City's plan was that a portion of highway, which would come to be designated as Interstate-610, would not be located along Florida Avenue. Instead it cut through residential portions of the Lakeview and Gentilly neighborhoods because the angle at which Florida Avenue intersected the proposed

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes.

¹⁹ Ibid, at 4.

route of what is now Interstate-10 was too sharp to create a safe connection and too congested with rail rights-of-wav.²⁰

As required by the Bureau of Public Roads, a hearing was held on the proposed route of the highways. This hearing was held in the New Orleans City Council Chambers on February 11, 1958 and included the entire proposed federal-aid highway system for Jefferson and Orleans Parishes. There was support and opposition present for the routes through both parishes, with the primary opposition having to do with the land assembly for the project rather than the principles of the highway project itself. At the outset of the hearing, Mayor Morrison tried to assuage the opposition to the land assembly element of the proposal by reminding the public that both the Pontchartrain Expressway and Mississippi River Bridge projects required "acquisition of property, removal of peoples' homes and other incidental consequences."²¹ Morrison stated that people should recognize that the engineering of these projects should be left to the engineers and that the route that "the best place to put the highways is where the engineering determines it should be put."22 The implication of this statement being that the City would stand in agreement with the State's engineering studies for locating the highways without particular regard for those whose property stood in its path. Morrison's position was clear in that the acquisition and, if necessary, expropriation of property was but an "incidental consequence" to progress that, while not pleasant, must be tolerated and expected.

Certainly Mayor Morrison's position was supported by the fact that the State Highway Department aligned their recommendations so closely with the City's adopted Major Streets Plan. This was a plan that was initially created in 1926 by Harland Bartholomew and Associates under contract to the New Orleans Planning and Zoning Commission. The initial plan focused

 ²⁰ Ibid, at 21.
 21 Ibid, at 23.
 22 Ibid, at 23.

primarily on the Central Business District, but through subsequent revisions and updates in the 1950s, a focused vision for the creation of a major street network serving all of New Orleans was adopted.

The vision outlined by the City through this plan specifically included the then-under-construction Pontchartrain Expressway, Mississippi River Bridge and Little Woods–Lakeshore Highway, as well as major thoroughfares to be located along Claiborne Avenue, Elysian Fields Avenue, and Florida Avenue; these routes being selected due to the existing widths of right-of-way, which would allow the City to create multi-lane radial streets without the added expense of right-of-way acquisition.²³

The Planning

The bridge and highway projects in New Orleans from the 1950s into the 1970s trace their origins to Harland Bartholomew's *Preliminary Report on a System of Major Streets* adopted by the City in 1927. This first major streets plan for the city, while not as ambitious as its successors, called for the designation and creation of major arterial roads to effectively and efficiently move people to and from the Central Business District.²⁴

At this point in the development of transportation planning in New Orleans,
Bartholomew and the City Planning and Zoning Commission were primarily concerned with
creating a system of streets in the city that would allow for the free flow of traffic. In the

Preliminary Report, Bartholomew lamented the piecemeal and haphazard development of the
city, and resultant varying street widths, jogs, and dead ends. These odd configurations in the
street grid were caused by the historic development pattern of the city, reflecting New Orleans's

²³ City Planning Commission of New Orleans (1959). *Report on Major Streets* adopted August 28, 1951, Second Edition published December 1959.

²⁴ Harland Bartholomew & Associates, (1926). *A Preliminary Report on a System of Major Streets, New Orleans, Louisiana*. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center.

growth across antiquated plantation and municipal boundaries. Bartholomew states in the *Preliminary Report* that:

[t]he increasing use of motor vehicles has brought about a revolutionary change in street traffic and a resultant demand for highways adapted to modern vehicular use. The theory that all streets are of equal value and importance in the city passed with the leisurely horse-drawn carriage and the lumbering wagon. Wherever this point of view is retained there is almost certain to be a waste of public funds and enormous economic losses due to poorly designed pavements and unsatisfactory street improvements.²⁵

The *Preliminary Report* outlined fifteen improvements to either create or modify major streets in the city of New Orleans. The full list of proposed improvements can be found in Appendix 5.1; however, there are two proposals which merit brief discussion, as they later became the basis for highway proposals: Proposal 4 called for the immediate widening of North Peters and Decatur Streets below Canal Street, and Proposal 9 called for the widening of Calliope Street from South Rampart Street to South Peters Street. Proposal 4, the widening of North Peters and Decatur, was suggested to accommodate port traffic that was projected to travel from the wharves in the vicinity of Canal Street to the Industrial Canal. This proposal, while perhaps not specifically responsible, can be seen as the first suggestion of a riverfront expressway.²⁶

Proposal 9 called for the widening of Calliope Street to serve the up-river traffic entering and exiting the Central Business District. Howard Avenue was the main traffic artery in this area of the city, but due to existing development could not be widened to accommodate the everincreasing traffic volume projected in this report. The proposal under the *Preliminary Report* was for the widening of Calliope at ground level even though the street was considered "remote"

²⁵ Ibid, at 50.

²⁶ Ibid, at 68.

²⁷ Ibid, at 70-71.

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from the business center." The reasoning behind this proposal was to create a boulevard that could become the up-river "counterpart of Canal Street," and the report encouraged the City to undertake this street widening "as soon as possible in order to anticipate the inevitable expansion of the business district." While this street widening never actually occurred, this was the general path taken by the Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway in the 1950s.

The initial Bartholomew major streets plan was revised in 1947 in accordance with state law and again updated in 1951, as "many changes [had] occurred in the character and development of the New Orleans urban area since the preparation of the early plan." These revised plans now took into account the need for express highways, not just widened surface streets for the movement of traffic.

The first major projects undertaken during the mid-century era to make New Orleans more accessible to the automobile were the Mississippi River Bridge and the Pontchartrain Expressway. These projects were designed to allow the growth and expansion of the New Orleans metropolitan area through increasing the potential for development on the West Bank of the Mississippi River in both Orleans and Jefferson Parishes as well as the further development of the East Bank of Jefferson Parish.

The Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway were conceived as separate projects with essentially the same purpose. The Pontchartrain Expressway had been discussed as part of the Grade Separation Project that consolidated all incoming rail lines into one central Union Passenger Terminal and virtually eliminated at-grade rail crossings within New Orleans. Upon the inception of this project, the City viewed the New Basin Canal as the most logical place for these consolidated rail lines due to the availability of land and the obsolescence of the

²⁸ Ibid. at 62.

²⁹ Report on Major Streets, at 3.

canal. At this same time, Robert Moses, famed highwayman of New York City's Triborough Bridge Authority, was working on a highway plan for New Orleans that would help modernize the area with limited-access highways. The Moses plan for New Orleans called for the construction of a concrete and steel expressway to be built from roughly S. Rampart Street at Calliope Street to Airline Highway along the route of the New Basin Canal.

Figure 5.1 – Photograph of the Filled New Basin Canal Illustrating the Available Right-of-Way to be used for the Pontchartrain Expressway. ³⁰



The orientation of this highway was also intended to connect to any future Mississippi River crossings that may be constructed; at this time plans for a bridge were preliminary at best but there was certainty that a bridge would eventually be constructed though there was no established timeline for doing so.³¹ Aside from the proposed connection to a future bridge, the New Orleans City Planning and Zoning Commission considered the location of the Pontchartrain

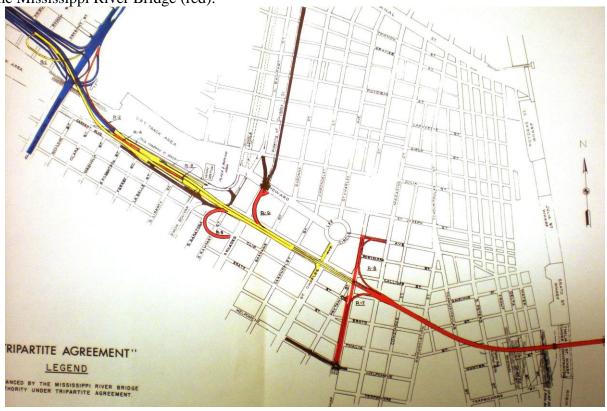
³¹ Times-Picayune, April 14, 1949, accessed via www.newsbank.com.

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³⁰ "Carrollton Interchange; New Basin Canal and S. Carrollton underpass March 26, 1952." Louisiana Division/City Archives Photograph Collection, New Orleans Public Library, accessed via www.nutrias.org.

Expressway to be a "very logical location because of available right-of-way relationship to existing development and to the urban development which the project will so conveniently serve,"32 and encouraged the connection of the expressway with Poydras Street to provide a direct connection into the Central Business District.³³

Figure 5.2 – Downtown Portion of the Pontchartrain Expressway (yellow) With Connection to the Mississippi River Bridge (red).³⁴



As plans for the Pontchartrain Expressway were finalized, the City and State began working on plans for a Mississippi River crossing at New Orleans. This bridge would connect to the Pontchartrain Expressway in New Orleans and be tied to a proposed West Bank Expressway in Jefferson Parish, creating the area's first regional road network. This system was designed to

 32 Report on Major Streets, at 49. 33 Ibid.

³⁴ Tripartite Agreement Map. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 302.

accommodate both existing traffic conditions and the projected growth of the City and the West Bank of Jefferson Parish through 1975.³⁵

While there was general agreement with the concept of a vehicular crossing of the Mississippi River at New Orleans, there were numerous details that had to be negotiated. The ultimate location of the Mississippi River Bridge shifted slightly during these negotiations, though the overall orientation of the structure and its connection to the Pontchartrain Expressway were constants in the construction plans. These shifts were relatively slight, with the structure moving by mere blocks on either side of the river. The Algiers side of the structure would remove residential areas regardless of the ultimate position of the structure, but by shifting the orientation of the bridge in the Lower Garden District, highway planners were able to avoid the large commercial structures of the Warehouse District and align the bridge and approaches along Calliope Street and through less-densely developed industrial areas and the mostly residential areas on the lake-side of Magazine Street.

In order for the state to construct a river crossing, the location and structure of the bridge had to be approved by the United States Army Corps of Engineers (USACE). The initial application presented to USACE in 1946 called for construction of a bridge to be located at Julia Street; this application was approved and a permit issued for construction. At the same time, the State Highway Department hired Robert Moses to review traffic studies of New Orleans and make recommendations for construction of arterial highways to serve the metropolitan area. Among the recommendations made was the relocation of the proposed Mississippi River Bridge

³⁵ Meeting Minutes of the "Informal conference of October 22, 1951, regarding considerations affecting the location and capacity of proposed Mississippi River Crossing." Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 302.

to an area where the right-of-way acquisition would be less expensive and where the route would be less likely to interfere with the proposed Union Passenger Terminal project.³⁶

The relocation of the structure was proposed at Thalia and Bringier Streets. This location would have required the placement of both piers of the bridge within the navigable portion of the river and the New Orleans Dock Board objected to these as obstructions to river traffic. The Dock Board, officially the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans, was created in 1896 by the Louisiana Legislature for the express purpose of "improv[ing] the wharves and other facilities of the Port and greatly develop[ing] and expand[ing] commerce by removing many of the obstacles now placed in the way of advancement." While their initial task was to bring all wharves under the same operating procedures, by the 1950s, the Dock Board had expanded their role to recruiting business for the port and ensuring that the port could safely and adequately handle the ever-increasing size of shipping vessels calling on New Orleans. 38

Not only would this proposed location require placement of support piers in the navigable portion of the Mississippi River, this proposal for the span also presented a vertical clearance of 135 feet with a 1,400 foot center span, far lower than the 175 foot elevation that the Dock Board felt was required. Based on the operational objections of the Dock Board, the initial permit application by the State was rejected and the bridge designers had to go back to the drawing board to revise the proposal to ensure that the bridge would not impede the business of the port.³⁹

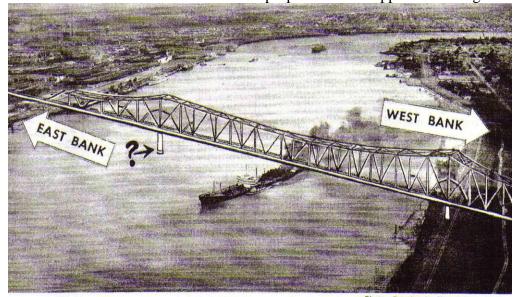
³⁶ Official Statement Regarding \$65,000,000 Bridge Revenue Bonds. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 302.

³⁷ Azcona, B. L. (2006). The Razing Tide of the Port of New Orleans: Power, Ideaology, Economic Growth and the Destruction of a Community, *Social Thought and Research*, Vol. 27, pp 69-109.

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³⁹ Times-Picayune, May 29, 1953, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 1

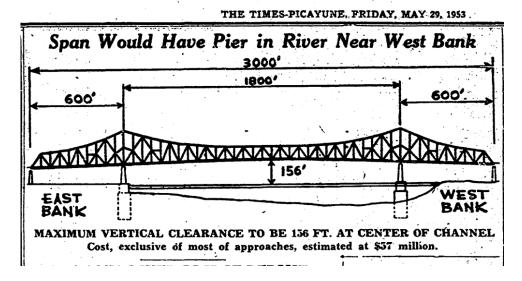
Figure 5.3 – New Orleans Item Illustration of the proposed Mississippi River Bridge. 40



After months of negotiations with the Dock Board, the Mississippi River Bridge Authority finalized a revised bridge proposal to be presented to USACE. The revised proposal called for placement of the bridge at Lamarque Street on the West Bank and just below Calliope Street on the East Bank. The revised location of the bridge proposed one pier to be located within the river (towards the West Bank side of the stream) and the second pier to be located adjacent to the wharves on the East Bank side. The Bridge Authority also raised the height of the center span to an average elevation of 155 feet above the river from the 135 feet that was initially proposed.41

⁴⁰ City of New Orleans (1953). 1952-53 Annual Report of the Mayor. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, at 62. ⁴¹ *Times-Picayune*, May 29, 1953, at 20.

Figure 5.4 – *Times-Picayune* Illustration of proposed Mississippi River Bridge⁴²



While the Dock Board maintained their objection to placing any support structures within the stream of the Mississippi River, they were willing to negotiate with the Bridge Authority on the vertical clearance of the structure. In a meeting of the Dock Board that was held just prior to the Bridge Authority's meeting to finalize the permit application, the Dock Board unanimously voted to support the permit application with respect to the vertical clearance but to oppose the placement of the support pier 230 feet from the western bank of the river. In giving its approval relative to the vertical clearance of the proposed bridge, the Dock Board made clear that they were not completely pleased with the negotiated plans but likely felt political pressure to move the project forward:

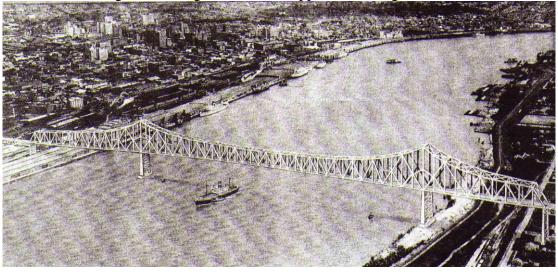
The board of commissioners has heretofore suggested that the center height of the bridge at mean high water should not be less than 175 feet. However, after further study and in a spirit of conciliation and as evidence of its sincere interest in having a bridge built across the river at New Orleans, the committee recommends that the board agree to issue its permit for a bridge of 155 feet center clearance at stage 20 feet on the Carrollton gauge. 43

⁴² Ibid, at 20.

⁴³ Ibid, at 20.

The record does not speak to the change which apparently occurred following this approval. As constructed, the pier within the river was placed towards the eastern bank of the river rather than the western bank as was agreed upon by the Mississippi River Bridge Authority and the Dock Board. Figure 5.5 (below) indicates the final design of the Mississippi River Bridge which reflects the bridge as it was constructed.

Figure 5.5 – Final Design Rendering of the Mississippi River Bridge. 44



The placement and vertical elevation of the span were not the only points of contention in the planning of the Mississippi River Bridge. The state Highway Department and the Mississippi River Bridge Authority proposed a four-lane bridge to span the river, which was projected to accommodate traffic for approximately 40 years following construction. This traffic estimate and the proposal of the four-lane bridge were based on the projections of Robert Moses in the 1940s. In 1951, as the City, State and Mississippi River Bridge Authority were developing the actual plans for a bridge, the firm of Harland Bartholomew and Associates sent a

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⁴⁴ City of New Orleans (1954). *1953-54 Annual Report of the Mayor*. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, at 36.

memorandum to the City Planning and Zoning Commission questioning the long-term functional capacity of the four-lane bridge.⁴⁵

The Bartholomew memorandum suggested a six-lane bridge would more successfully create the capacity needed to serve the growing population of the New Orleans area. An unknown in the planning of this structure was the population growth estimate for the West Bank of Jefferson Parish, which would likely grow exponentially in the years following the opening of a vehicular river crossing. The State, based on the Moses report anticipated an average of 12,500 vehicles per day to be served by this bridge in the 1990s, the Bartholomew memorandum suggested that this number was unrealistically low, citing that the traffic counts of river crossings in 1945 totaled 8,950 river crossings per day on the four river ferries serving the Central Business District. The reasoning employed by Bartholomew and Associates to question the estimates of Robert Moses was quite logical:

> The development of land on the west bank has taken place under conditions which discourage travel to and from the central business district. ... The west bank has presumably attracted a population which attaches comparatively little importance to quick and easy access to the central business district and other east bank centers of employment. A bridge or tunnel which provides quick and easy access to the central business district will open up large areas on the west bank to accommodate a type of population that depends on such access. This would be a factor tending to make the rate of increase in trans-river traffic greater than the rate of population growth on the west bank.⁴⁶

The City took the observations of Bartholomew and Associates seriously and hired the firm of Masters and Henderlite to compile new traffic projections for the Mississippi River Bridge. The Masters and Henderlite report determined that the Bartholomew observations were generally well-founded but determined that the increased traffic coming from the West Bank

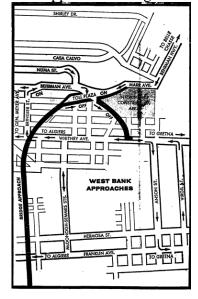
⁴⁶ Ibid, at 1, 2.

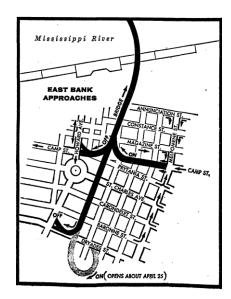
⁴⁵ Memorandum to Mr. Bisso. Harland Bartholomew and Associates memorandum of August 29, 1951. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library - City Planning Commission, File 302.

communities would be shared between the Huey P. Long Bridge, the proposed Mississippi River Bridge and a third proposed Mississippi River crossing at Luling (in St. Charles Parish, further upstream than the Huey P. Long Bridge). Even with these crossings taken into consideration, the consultants determined that a six-lane bridge would be required in New Orleans prior to 1975. The Mississippi River Bridge Authority decided to disregard these concerns and move forward with plans for a four-lane structure. The final width of the bridge was set at 52 feet, comprising four traffic lanes and a four foot wide median.

The permit for construction of the Mississippi River Bridge was issued by USACE on March 10, 1954 and the Mississippi River Bridge Authority began the process of raising money though the sale of revenue bonds.⁴⁹ The bridge opened to traffic on April 15, 1958 to much fanfare, with the *Times-Picayune* pronouncing the event as the dream of a century fulfilled, with "the travel habits of as yet untold thousands of New Orleanians [set to] undergo a change."⁵⁰

Figure 5.6, 5.7 – Mississippi River Bridge Authority illustrations of West Bank and East Bank approaches to the Mississippi River Bridge. ⁵¹





⁴⁷ Meeting Minutes of the "Informal conference of October 22, 1951."

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⁴⁸ Report on Estimated Traffic and Revenue of the Proposed Bridge over the Mississippi River at New Orleans.
⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Times-Picayune, April 15, 1958, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 1.

⁵¹ Times-Picayune, April 14, 1958, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 28.

Following finalization of plans and during the construction of the Pontchartrain Expressway and the Mississippi River Bridge, Congress passed the "Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956," which, as has been previously noted, authorized 40,000 miles of limited-access highways throughout the country, with just less than 600 total miles being initially allocated to the State of Louisiana. The Act dictated that these highway miles were at the discretion of state highway departments and Louisiana's Highway Department began planning for these highways even before the law won final approval in Congress.⁵²

Prior to the passage of the Act in 1956, Louisiana's highway engineers began studying the existing infrastructure within the state in anticipation of the eventual passage of the Act. This initial planning allowed the state Highway Department to immediately act to begin construction on the federally-backed miles of Interstate Highway. The initial projects undertaken by the Highway Department were more rural in character than urban primarily due to the difficulty in placing urban rights-of-way in a manner that would not alter existing development too dramatically. As the Highway Department moved forward with plans for the urban portions of the Interstate Highway System in Louisiana, the state began to coordinate with city officials in order to keep the highways as consistent with local plans as possible.⁵³

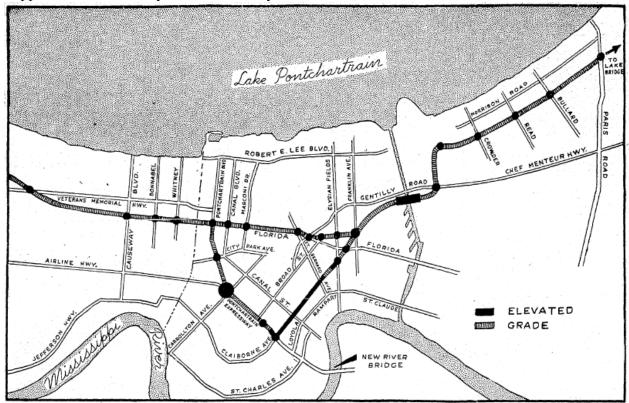
A requirement of the Act, and of the federal Bureau of Public Roads, was a public hearing during which the public would be allowed to present their support or opposition to the State's proposals with all comments being forwarded to the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington, D.C. for evaluation prior to a final decision.⁵⁴ The plans for the federally-funded highway projects were presented to the community on February 11, 1958 and the hearing

 $^{^{52}}$ Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes. 53 Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

combined all highway miles in Orleans and Jefferson Parishes. The highways as proposed, and ultimately approved and constructed, are indicated in Figure 5.8, below.

Figure 5.8 – *Times-Picayune* reproduction of City Planning Commission's Map of the 'Approved Route of City's Interstate Hwy. Link.'55



The state Highway Department outlined their proposal for Orleans Parish as follows: upon entering Orleans Parish from Jefferson Parish, the highway:

intersects Pontchartrain Boulevard midway between Kenilworth Street and Florida Boulevard; then the highway turns south, utilizing the right of way between West End Boulevard and Pontchartrain Boulevard. It connects with the Carrollton Interchange at Airline Highway.⁵⁶

The highway then continues

through the Airline-Tulane-Carrollton Interchange, then continues south and east along the Pontchartrain Expressway to a junction at Claiborne Avenue. At Claiborne Avenue, the route, as

⁵⁶ Ibid, at 13.

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⁵⁵ Times-Picayune, May 24,1958, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 14

recommended, swings northeast to approximately St. Bernard Avenue. From that point it continues in a northeast direction crossing the Interharbor Navigation Canal to a point approximately midway between U. S. 90 and the Lake front. From this point it swings almost due east, crossing Paris Road, crossing U. S. 90, U. S. 11, near the lake front and then across the lake on new twin structures. It also includes a section through the Kenilworth area, starting generally at Pontchartrain Boulevard, Florida Avenue and extending easterly to a connection with, what we refer to as the outer loop, to a junction with the inner loop near Franklin Avenue.⁵⁷

The Interstate Highway proposal outlined by the state Highway Department was, as previously noted, generally consistent with the Major Streets Plan of the City of New Orleans. The primary deviation from the plan was that the City called for the development of Florida Boulevard through Lakeview and Gentilly as a major through connection, the state's highway engineers found the use of this right-of-way to be "almost an impossible situation." The route was complicated by the presence of two rail lines and an awkward angle at which the bypass highway would have to be connected to the primary highway. This connection would have resulted in a four level interchange and would have impeded the anticipated industrial development along the corridor. The state also recognized that New Orleans needed a major street to serve cross-town traffic and believed that this corridor would best serve that purpose.

Due to these factors, the decision was made to propose the highway, which would eventually be designated Interstate-610, through residential neighborhoods.

Of all the highway miles proposed within the City of New Orleans as part of the Interstate Highway System, the Lakeview-Gentilly proposal for Interstate-610 proposal is the only portion that generated any substantial opposition at the required public hearing. The mayor, while trying to placate the residents of these neighborhoods who would lose their homes to

⁵⁷ Ibid, at

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, at 21.

progress, outlined that the state Highway Department, at the request of the City, evaluated no less than nine separate proposals for alternate routes that would not bring a highway through neighborhoods. At the end of the engineering and traffic studies the state determined that the initial proposed route was the most feasible from traffic movement, cost, and engineering perspective.⁶⁰

While not overly enthused about that prospect of large-scale land acquisitions, the City nevertheless conceded to the Highway Department's position and Mayor Morrison became a champion for the project within City government. At the public hearing held on February 11, 1958, numerous individuals and organizations spoke in support of the Highway Department's proposal, including Mayor Morrison, the City's Chief Administrative Officer, the Chamber of Commerce, the Central Labor Council (local AFL-CIO organization), and the general manager of City Park, Mr. Ellis LaBorde. Mr. LaBorde's comments in the context of the hearing were interesting, in that while neither speaking as a proponent or opponent of the highways generally, he wanted to put on record that in finalizing the proposal to run the proposed Interstate-610 through City Park, provisions should be made "for the preservation as much as possible of our golf courses, and some other major attractions that are in the park such as your fountain, and also for providing for safety of the people patronizing the park by having adequate pedestrian underpasses and vehicular underpasses." 61

Louis Bisso, the Director of the City Planning Commission, also spoke in overall support of the project. Mr. Bisso stated that the City Planning Commission had specifically approved of the proposed highway route as the best for the City and the most keeping with general "planning principles." Essentially, the City Planning Commission had analyzed the alternative routes for

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid, at 38.

the Lakeview-Gentilly highway and determined that in terms of economy and efficiency, this route was preferable to some of the proposed routes that would have managed to avoid taking people's homes. In looking at the Florida Avenue route, the City Planning Commission determined that the path would result in the loss of 147 houses where the proposed Lakeview-Gentilly route would result in the loss of 163 houses. While having less impact on individual structures, the Commission determined that the complexity involved in creating the junction of the highways at Florida Avenue would cost far more than the benefit realized in saving sixteen houses.⁶²

New Orleans's District "C" Councilman, James Fitzmorris, Jr., was perhaps the most vocal opponent present at the public hearing. Councilman Fitzmorris specifically rose in opposition to the Lakeview-Gentilly route proposed as a cross-town connection. In outlining the history of the project, Councilman Fitzmorris stated that "[o]n July 5, 1957, the city council expressed its firm opposition to [the Lakeview-Gentilly] segment of the proposed highway route. ... This was done in the form of a definite resolution adopted by the council and passed by a vote of six to one."63

Through the Motion of July 5, 1957, the City Council vowed to "put forth its best effort, and do everything necessary and proper to"64 eliminate the proposed Lakeview-Gentilly bypass route through New Orleans. The motion firmly stated the position of the Council and directed Mayor Morrison and all other administrative officials to take action on three specific issues: 1) remove the Lakeview-Gentilly bypass route from the Interstate Highway System proposal, 2) make the improvement of the Florida Avenue a priority, as called for in the adopted Major

⁶² Ibid, at 40-42. ⁶³ Ibid, at 60.

⁶⁴ New Orleans City Council Motion of July 5, 1957. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library - City Planning Commission, File 296.

Streets Plan, and 3) include the newly-completed Mississippi River Bridge and approaches in the Interstate Highway System so that federal dollars could be used to pay for construction of the bridge and tolls could be eliminated.⁶⁵

Following this action by the City Council, Councilman Fitzmorris continued, the state took the position that if New Orleans did not want the highways that the state was proposing then the City would simply be bypassed; to quote Councilman Fitzmorris:

Again and again, thinly disguised threats were made that the city of New Orleans would be bypassed in effect an ultimatum was actually delivered which called for unqualified acceptance by the city officials of the entire plan embodied in the recommendation made by the Department's consulting engineers. The Department called for unconditional surrender by its firm declaration that no part of the Interstate Highway System would be constructed in New Orleans unless the city council objections as expressed in its July 5, 1957 resolution were withdrawn. This resulted in councilmanic action on November 7, 1957, whereby the July 5, 1957 resolution was recalled and rescinded and it is significant did not approve the Department's plan. It was simply a convenient motion which satisfied the Department's conditions, precedent for this public hearing. 66

Interestingly, while the New Orleans City Council's motion of November 7, 1957 did rescind the motion of July 5, 1957, the Council maintained their overall opposition to the cross-town route proposed to cross through Lakeview and Gentilly. The motion, as adopted, recalled and rescinded the previous motion and invited the state's Highway Department to hold their required hearings in New Orleans; additionally, the motion stated:

At the same time, we again suggest that the proposed cross-town route continue to be studied by officials of the department with a view of causing a minimum of property damage, and that assurances be provided to property owners whose property may have to be acquired for necessary right-of-way within the next 5-year period that a fair and reasonable price will be paid for such properties.⁶⁷

^{໑ວ} Ibid.

⁶⁶ Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, at 60.

⁶⁷ New Orleans City Council Motion of November 7, 1957. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 296.

In acknowledging that New Orleans needed to be connected to the highway system, Councilman Fitzmorris wanted to be on record as opposing the route that had been determined by the state and which would interrupt life in several neighborhoods when there were alternate feasible routes which could be chosen. The Councilman essentially conceded that nothing would be done about the route selection, and further noted that his constituents realized the same; however, Councilman Fitzmorris pressed the Department of Highways as to when the property acquisitions would begin and how long people would be given to find new homes. The initial timeframe given at this stage of the planning process simply stated that the Lakeview-Gentilly segment of the highway system would come to fruition in the next ten to fifteen years.

In addition to Councilman James Fitzmorris, Jr., numerous citizens of Lakeview rose in opposition to the proposed Lakeview-Gentilly route. The residents of this area implored the state to seriously evaluate the alternate routes even if that meant adding a few minutes of travel to someone's cross-town travel. The residents that would feel the immediate impact of the highway were convinced that the state was ignoring the lives to be interrupted out of mere convenience.⁶⁸

The absence of discussion about the primary highway to be built along Claiborne Avenue is notable in the transcript of this hearing. There were two mentions in the entirety of the meeting, with the exception of where the state verbally outlined the proposed route. While this section of highway was not particularly objectionable at the time, likely due to the proposed use of existing right-of-way rather than requiring property acquisition, the Claiborne Avenue segment of Interstate-10 had the strongest and most detrimental long-term impact to its surrounding community.

⁶⁸ Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, at 70.

The first mention was a concern of Tulane University, which was proposing to develop property at Claiborne Avenue and Canal Street. The particular concern was if their development would be taken and demolished due to the placement of entrance and exit ramps from the highway. Representatives of the state highway department obfuscated in 'clarifying' that the topic of the hearing was only on the general routes and that the exact locations of entrances and exits would be determined at a later time.⁶⁹

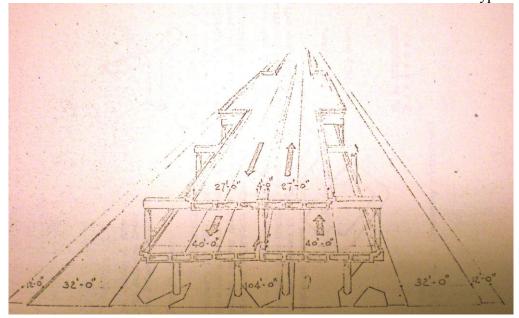
The second mention was in the context of a proposal made by Fred Donaldson to eliminate the Lakeview-Gentilly route altogether and create a combined local and bypass route within the Claiborne Avenue right-of-way. This proposal called for the construction of a layered highway, with local traffic utilizing surface streets, local highway traffic on the first level of grade-separated highway and then a second highway level to accommodate cross-town traffic separate from the entering and exiting local highway use (see Figure 5.9). The record does not indicate if this proposal was seriously considered by the Highway Department, but regardless it was not selected and the Highway Department proceeded with, and the federal Bureau of Public Roads approved of, the initial highway proposal for New Orleans, with the Lakeview-Gentilly bypass route included.

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⁶⁹ Ibid, at 38-39.

⁷⁰ Donaldson, F., (1958). *The Fred Donaldson Plan to Eliminate the Lakeview Bypass*. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 296.

Figure 5.9 – Illustration of 'The Fred Donaldson Plan to Eliminate the Lakeview Bypass' ⁷¹



By the mid-1960s, the Mississippi River Bridge was approaching its daily traffic capacity and the Mississippi River Bridge Authority, in conjunction with the City Planning Commission began to evaluate proposals on increasing the daily traffic capacity of vehicular river crossings.

The City Planning Commission staff broke the possibilities for satisfying traffic demands into four possible solutions:⁷²

- 1) Increase the capacity of the existing bridge or build a new one at the same location.
- 2) Construct an additional bridge over the Mississippi River between the present bridge and the Huey P. Long Bridge.
- 3) Impose tolls on the use of the existing Mississippi River Bridge to discourage use by private automobile.⁷³
- 4) A combination of items two and three.

⁷¹ Ibid, at 6.

⁷² Consideration of a Proposal to Increase the Capacity of the Mississippi River Bridge (City Planning Commission Staff Report), Semi-Monthly Planning Meeting, May 17, 1966. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 197, at 9-2.

⁷³ This proposal to institute tolls on the Greater New Orleans Bridge reflects the period during which the tolls had been suspended due to the Mississippi River Bridge Authority paying off the construction bonds for the initial structure. Tolls were reinstituted following financing approval of the GNOII structure.

The recommendation proposed by the staff and ultimately adopted by the City Planning Commission and forwarded to the Mississippi River Bridge Authority was the last, with several additional items to be considered in order to address congestion and vehicle movement:⁷⁴

- 1) Steps should be taken to increase the capacity of the Huey P. Long Bridge.
- 2) Construction of a new Mississippi River crossing should be started immediately at a location between the Mississippi River Bridge and the Huey P. Long Bridge.
- Transit terminals with available parking should be constructed on the Westbank to encourage the use of transit to access the Central Business District.
- 4) A large parking structure should be built at the Algiers ferry terminal and high-speed pedestrian ferries instituted.
- 5) Begin planning for the construction of the Paris Road Bridge with the goal of completion by 1980 or earlier if the Dixie Freeway is constructed. 75, 76

The recommendation of the City Planning Commission was forwarded to the Mississippi River Bridge Authority for consideration and initial planning began to further the construction of a second Mississippi River crossing within the City of New Orleans. In November of 1966, the Mississippi River Bridge Authority obtained approval through a constitutional amendment to refinance the existing Mississippi River Bridge to fund construction of two additional bridges.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Consideration of a Proposal to Increase the Capacity of the Mississippi River Bridge, at 9-7.

⁷⁵ The Paris Road Bridge was proposed to connect Lower Coast Algiers with Paris Road in St. Bernard Parish, adjacent to New Orleans. This bridge was never constructed however ferry service remains at this location.

⁷⁶ The Dixie Freeway, otherwise known as the Riverfront Expressway, was proposed as a spur of Interstate-10 to connect the proposed Paris Road Bridge to Elysian Fields Avenue, Mississippi River Bridge and ultimately to a proposed Mississippi River Crossing at Napoleon Avenue. Consideration of this project was ended in 1969 by the Secretary of Transportation after concerted community opposition. For full details of this proposal and the opposition see Baumbach and Borah, *The Second Battle of New Orleans: A History of the Vieux Carré Riverfront Expressway Controversy*, University of Alabama Press, 1981.

⁷⁷ Environmental Defense Fund's Memorandum of Opposition to the Mississippi River Bridge Authority's Application to the United States Coast Guard for a permit to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River from the Farrington Drive area on the West Bank in Jefferson Parish to the General Taylor Street vicinity on the East Bank in Orleans Parish. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 83.

The preliminary planning of this new bridge called for it to be located approximately at Napoleon Avenue in New Orleans connecting to the vicinity of Barataria Boulevard in Jefferson Parish. The bridge proposal itself did not seem to incite much opposition; however, the opposition from both the community and elected officials surrounded the placement of the bridge approaches. Mayor Victor Schiro's administration generally supported the bridge proposal but only if the approaches would tie into the proposed Riverfront Expressway without creating a highway through existing neighborhoods. This position was echoed by a study commissioned by Governor John McKeithen, which stated that the bridge's approaches "must be an extension of the Riverfront Expressway" and that no elevated approaches should be permitted along Napoleon Avenue or any other street nor should any approaches be allowed to bisect residential neighborhoods. The report concluded that the proposed bridge at Napoleon Avenue could only be considered if the Riverfront Expressway was realized.⁷⁸

In 1969, the U. S. Secretary of Transportation acted to eliminate all consideration of the Riverfront Expressway by federal officials, the end of this project then made the recommendations of the Mayor and Governor impossible. The Mississippi River Bridge Authority proceeded with plans to construct a bridge at the Napoleon Avenue location but now with revised approaches running down Napoleon Avenue and connecting with South Claiborne Avenue via a tunnel. This was later revised to remove the tunnel from Napoleon Avenue and place it in the vicinity of General Taylor Street, six blocks downstream from Napoleon Avenue. This approach was also to be placed underground via a tunnel but would require large-scale property acquisitions and the demolition of 820 housing units, displacing approximately 3,300 people.⁷⁹

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⁷⁸ Ibid, at 2-3.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Opposition within the community quickly coalesced, and with that community pushback came opposition from elected officials. The New Orleans City Council passed a resolution rejecting the General Taylor Street proposal due to the displacement of homes and individuals as well as the need to bisect a community in order to construct the approaches to the bridge. The Mississippi River Bridge Authority responded to the Council's opposition in a letter on April 23, 1970.

In this letter, the Authority generally states that the General Taylor Street location of the bridge is the most practical and that the City would suffer dire economic consequences if they do not concede to the Authority's plan to improve traffic flow into the City of New Orleans from neighboring Jefferson Parish. The Authority presented a case to the New Orleans Council that tax revenues would suffer due to blight caused by disinvestment in the City and that Jefferson Parish's West Bank would develop into a satellite Central Business District which would lead to less metropolitan concern for the historic commercial core of the community.⁸⁰

The community and political opposition to the proposed Napoleon Avenue/General Taylor Street crossing did not diminish, and the Mississippi River Bridge Authority relented in August, 1970 in the form of a Resolution which, to briefly summarize, stated that the Authority has determined that the General Taylor Street crossing is best and if either the City of New Orleans or Jefferson Parish want the bridge located elsewhere they need to pay for the studies and engineering. The Authority expressed willingness to build their bridge wherever the local governments selected but that they would not expend their resources on determining any location other than the one they had already selected.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Mississippi River Bridge Authority letter to the New Orleans City Council, April 23, 1970. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 245.

⁸¹ Mississippi River Bridge Authority Resolution of August 25, 1970. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 197.

This decision resulted in the cancellation of the second Mississippi River crossing between the Mississippi River Bridge and the Huey P. Long Bridge, but the traffic capacity problems on the two bridges remained. To settle the question of location, in 1971 Governor McKeithen appointed a committee to study possible bridge location and to present the state with a location so planning could proceed. Several options were evaluated by the Molony committee (named for the Chair of the committee, Michael Molony, President of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce), including locations entirely in Jefferson Parish, a location between Algiers and Press Street in New Orleans, and a location to parallel the existing Greater New Orleans Bridge. After years of study, the committee voted to recommend the parallel location to the state and this location was subsequently endorsed by Governor Edwards on August 30, 1974.⁸²

Ultimately the City of New Orleans, Jefferson Parish and the Mississippi River Bridge Authority agreed that the best location for a supplemental crossing would be adjacent to the existing Mississippi River Bridge. Much of the required right-of-way was already in the possession of the State and through reconfiguring the existing approaches very little new land would be required, particularly in downtown New Orleans where property values were highest. The second Greater New Orleans Bridge, dubbed "GNO II," opened to traffic on October 1, 1988.

The Land Assembly

It is impossible to argue that a bridge or highway is not a "public use" as understood by the American legal system, but regardless of the State's ability to expropriate land to complete these projects, it is clear from the property records that substantial efforts were made to acquire property through negotiated sales rather than through judicial expropriation.

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⁸² Atkinson, P. (1988, September 30). Bridge Emerged from Cauldron of Controversy, *Times-Picayune*, pp F-3, F-9.

For the purpose of analyzing land acquisition for the Mississippi River Bridges and the Pontchartrain Expressway, property records were surveyed for the span of the bridge and expressway between the foot of the Mississippi River Bridge at the West Bank toll plaza to the point where the Pontchartrain Expressway began traveling through the New Basin Canal right-of-way. Once the highway entered the existing government-owned right-of-way, land acquisition was minimal and would have only been required to accommodate entrances and exits from the highway.

For the construction of the Mississippi River Bridge and the Pontchartrain Expressway a survey of property transfers, summarized in Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3, indicates a total of 184 parcels acquired to assemble the right-of-way of both projects (full property transfer information for this project can be found in Appendix 5.2). Out of the 184 parcels acquired for the projects, only 45 of those were acquired by the state through acts of judicial expropriation, which is approximately 24% of the property acquisition for these projects.

Table 5.1 –Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Mississippi River Bridge Right-of-Way (West Bank/Algiers)⁸³

Square	Number of Parcels Acquired	Number of Parcels Expropriated
280	9	4
281	12	4
282	15	4
285-A	3	2
285-B	3	1
A (284A)	2	0
7A	1	0
7B	3	0
8A	4	0
59	13	5

⁸³ See Appendix 5.2 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.

Table 5.2 –Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Mississippi River Bridge Right-of-Way (Lower Garden District / Central Business District)⁸⁴

Canara	Number of Parcels	Number of Parcels
Square	Acquired	Expropriated
46	4	1
71	6	2
72	6	1
138	3	0
139	4	1
156	6	2
157	15	2
158	9	1
159	6	2

Table 5.3 – Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way. 85

Square	Number of Parcels	Number of Parcels
•	Acquired	Expropriated
214	6	4
238	16	1
254	9	2
277	4	2
290 &	16	2
312	10	2
325	9	2

The next project undertaken by the Louisiana Department of Highways in New Orleans was the Interstate Highway System. As previously discussed, the State's proposed highway route followed the City's approved Major Streets Plan fairly accurately, with the deviation of the Lakeview-Gentilly Bypass not following Florida Avenue. In the acquisition of these rights-of-way, the Highway Department used their power of expropriation sparingly, which is surprising particularly due to the opposition that had been voiced at the public hearing regarding the route in 1958. Through analysis of the property acquisitions, it appears that the minimal number of takings for this project is attributable to two factors: time and power.

⁸⁴ See Appendix 5.2 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.

⁸⁵ See Appendix 5.2 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.

Time is proposed as the first factor in helping to minimize the necessity of expropriation in these projects. In reviewing the timeline of these projects, it is clear that the State was in no particular rush to acquire parcels. The required public hearing was held in early 1958 and the property acquisitions began in 1959 and were completed in 1972, with the bulk of properties being acquired in the early to mid 1960s. It appears that through this extended period many people were able to negotiate sales with the Highway Department that would allow the State to acquire the needed property while not having to forcibly evict people from their homes.

The second factor, power, is proposed because in the case of the Interstate Highways through New Orleans, most of the property taken was that of individuals whereas the case of the Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway much of the property was owned by commercial interests. This would have meant that in many cases individual property owners would have likely yielded to the needs of the State without much objection where commercial property owners would have been in a better financial position to try to fight the expropriations with the goal of either realizing a higher price for the property or retaining their property.

In evaluating the property transfers for the Interstate Highways through New Orleans, a decision was made to limit the scope of this research to property acquisitions for Interstate-10 to the section between Tulane and Franklin Avenues and then the entire route of Interstate-610 from Franklin Avenue to West End Boulevard. These boundaries were determined due to the sparse population found beyond Franklin Avenue and the route of the highways past that point. Much of Interstate-10 through New Orleans East, as it is now known, was acquired by the City as part of the Little Woods–Lakeshore Highway with much of the remaining right-of-way paralleling existing rail lines.

The full property transfer table for this project can be found in Appendix 5.3, but the findings are summarized in Tables 5.4 and 5.5. (below). As indicated previously, the number of expropriations found in the land acquisition for the Interstate rights-of-way were statistically far lower than the 24% expropriation rate found for the initial construction of the Mississippi River Bridge and the Pontchartrain Expressway although the total property acquisition, by number of parcels, was much higher.

Table 5.4 – Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Interstate-10 Right-of-Way (Tulane Avenue to Franklin Avenue). 86

Square	Number of Parcels Acquired	Number of Parcels
		Expropriated
403	9	3
434	16	2
207	3	1
208	17	5
209	3	1
225	7	1
164	4	0
182	5	0
193	6	3
197	6	2
198	10	4
199	11	8
753	6	2
754	16	2
755	10	0
757	9	3
758	7	0
767	11	3
768	26	3
769	3	0
888	20	2
909	6	1
910	20	0
1026	6	0
1027	15	3
1028	7	0
1056	6	1
1057	17	2
1058	12	0
1073	19	1
1209	14	2
1172	10	3

0

⁸⁶ See Appendix 5.3 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Intersate-10 and Interstate-610 rights-of-way.

Square	Number of Parcels Acquired	Number of Parcels Expropriated
1210	5	0
1211	15	0
1380	11	2
1381	14	2
1493	4	0
1494	10	1
1708	3	0
1917	12	2
1918	7	1
1978	9	0

Table 5.5 – Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Interstate-610 Right-of-Way (Franklin Avenue to West End Boulevard). 87

Square Number of Parcels Acquired Number of Parcels Expropriated 2095 / 2096 1 0 2097 14 0 2098 17 3 2099 14 0 2100 14 0 2101 18 0 2102 18 0 3 21 1 4 6 2 6 22 0 7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137 / 2002 9 0	
Acquired Expropriated 2095 / 2096	
2095 / 1 0 2097 14 0 2098 17 3 2099 14 0 2100 14 0 2101 18 0 2102 18 0 3 21 1 4 6 2 6 22 0 7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137 / 0 0	
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2096 1 0 2097 14 0 2098 17 3 2099 14 0 2100 14 0 2101 18 0 2102 18 0 3 21 1 4 6 2 6 22 0 7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
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2102 18 0 3 21 1 4 6 2 6 22 0 7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
3 21 1 4 6 2 6 22 0 7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
4 6 2 6 22 0 7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
7 15 0 12 19 1 13 8 0 2104 17 0 2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
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2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
2105 21 0 2106 18 1 2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137/ 0 0	
2107 17 1 2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137 / 0 0	
2109 16 0 2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137 / 0 0	
2110 18 2 2111 20 0 2137 / 0 0	
2111 20 0 2137/ 0	
2137 / 0	
9 1 0	
2289	
1966 10 0	
2112 16 2	
2113 6 1	
2114 1 0	
2115 9 0	
2116 1 0	

	Number of	Number of
Square	Parcels	Parcels
	Acquired	Expropriated
2133	9	0
2132	22	1
2131	5 7	1
2295	7	0
2296	1	1
2297	1	0
2298	1	0
2313	1	0
2314	1	0
2315	1	0
2316	7	1
402-B	1	1
400	10	0
399	11	1
398	10	0
397	13	0
396	13	1
395	12	1
5 or 394	11	0
4 or 393	14	1
3	5	0
2 or 392	16	0
1	9	2
391	8	0
390	19	0
427	2	0
428	21	0

87 See Appendix 5.3 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Intersate-10 and Interstate-610 rights-of-way.

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In the assembly of right-of-way for Intersate-10, the state acquired a total of 427 parcels. Of these 427 individual parcels, a total of 66 properties were taken through expropriation, making a 15% expropriation rate for this section of the highway system. Surprisingly, the expropriations for the Interstate-610 section of the highway system resulted in even fewer expropriations in both real numbers and as a percentage of total properties acquired. For the Interstate-610 route through Lakeview and Gentilly, a total of 597 parcels were acquired by the state with only 25 of these resulting from judicial expropriation, bringing the expropriation percentage for this section of highway to a mere 4%.

Notably, the Claiborne Avenue section of Interstate-10, which was to be constructed entirely within City-owned right-of-way actually resulted in the largest percentage of expropriations of any individual segment of the interstate highway route through New Orleans. While this land was actually taken for entrance and exit ramps rather than the actual highway, the State acquired 155 individual parcels on squares abutting Claiborne Avenue (from Tulane Avenue to St. Bernard Circle) and exercised eminent domain in the acquisition of 42 of these properties. This resulted in an expropriation rate of 27% for the acquisition of rights-of-way through New Orleans's historic Tremé neighborhood. If the property acquisitions in this area are removed from the above total presented for acquisition of the Interstate-10 right-of-way, this brings the actual expropriation rate for assembly of the remaining 272 parcels down to 9%, with a total of 24 expropriations outside of Tremé.

In construction of the GNOII Bridge, the Mississippi River crossing paralleling the original Mississippi River Bridge from Algiers to the Central Business District and Lower Garden District, the State Highway Department required additional properties to accommodate the now-widening bridge right-of-way. While the site analysis used to select the location

determined that very little new property would be required by saving space through reconfiguration of the existing access ramps, the total property acquisition for the construction of the second span and the attendant changes to the Pontchartrain Expressway resulted in the State's acquisition of 143 parcels (184 parcels were acquired for the construction of the original span). Detailed property acquisition information can be found in Appendix 5.2, but is briefly summarized in Tables 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 below:

Table 5.6 – Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Greater New Orleans Bridge II Construction (West Bank/Algiers)⁸⁸

	Number of Parcels	Number of Parcels
Square	Acquired	Expropriated
275	20	3
276	8	1
274	21	4
270	10	1
271-A	1	0
282	2	1
285-A	2	0
285-B	1	0
270-A	7	0
C	15	0
7B	1	1
8B	1	0
59	10	2

Table 5.7 – Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Greater New Orleans Bridge II Construction (Lower Garden District / Central Business District)⁸⁹

(Lower Carden District) Contrar Basiness District)		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Square	Number of Parcels	Number of Parcels
Square	Acquired	Expropriated
46	1	1
70A	1	1
71	7	2
72	7	2
119	4	2
138	2	1
139	2	2

⁸⁸ See Appendix 5.2 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Greater New Orleans Bridge II and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 5.2 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Greater New Orleans Bridge II and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.

Cayona	Number of Parcels	Number of Parcels
Square	Acquired	Expropriated
156	3	2
157	2	0
158	5	1

Table 5.8 – Parcels Acquired by Purchase versus Expropriations for Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way. 90

Square	Number of Parcels Acquired	Number of Parcels Expropriated
183	5	1
214	1	0
238	2	0
254	2	2

Out of the 143 parcels acquired for this project, the state expropriated 30, which results in a 21% expropriation rate for this project. This percentage is similar to the 24% expropriation rate that was found for the original Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway project. This finding serves to underscore the reality that power, or perception thereof, played a role in deciding whether to fight the State or acquiesce to their purchase request. Many of the parcels acquired for this project, particularly in the Lower Garden District and the Central Business District, were commercially owned, whereas those in Algiers were predominantly residential. If property acquisition for each side of the river is separated and analyzed independently, this theory becomes even clearer: on the Westbank the effective expropriation rate for the GNOII project was 13% whereas in the Lower Garden District and Central Business District the expropriation rate was 41%.

The Legacy

The long-term implications of the highway projects in the New Orleans area are similar to those found throughout the country. Rather than making the historic commercial core of the

⁹⁰ See Appendix 5.2 for Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Greater New Orleans Bridge II and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.

community more accessible, the bridges and highways intensified the abandonment of these urban areas in favor of the tranquility of suburbia. As an example of this, one can look at the traffic volume counts provided by the City Planning Commission of New Orleans in their analysis of the proposal to increase the capacity of the Mississippi River Bridge. To look at the totals for just two years paints a picture of the exponential growth of the once-rural West Bank into a bustling suburb. The Mississippi River Bridge was planned with a capacity of 50,000 vehicles per day; this capacity was projected to adequately serve demand into the 1990s. 91 According to the City Planning Commission's Staff Report, in January of 1964 the Mississippi River Bridge had an average daily traffic count of 30,831. By January of 1965 the daily traffic count increased to 48,932. 92

Figure 5.10 – The Crescent City Connection, as viewed from Algiers (2012). 93



The bridges and highways have become ingrained into the travel patterns of New Orleanians and have ever-increasing traffic volumes. Much of the highway route has become an accepted part of everyday life in both commuting and as elements of the urban landscape.

⁹¹ Memorandum to Mr. Bisso.

⁹³ Photograph by author.

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⁹² Consideration of a Proposal to Increase the Capacity of the Mississippi River Bridge

Figure 5.11 – Present Aerial View of New Orleans Interstate Highways (in yellow), Jefferson Parish Line to Franklin Avenue. 94

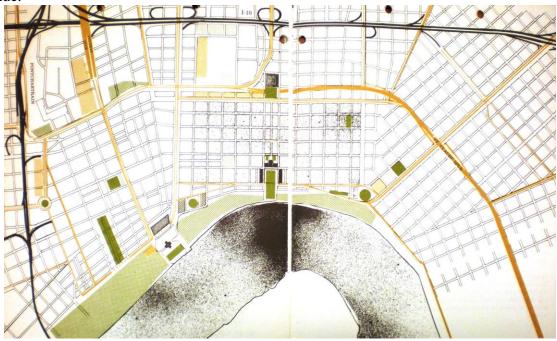


Figure 5.12 – Present Aerial View of New Orleans Interstate Highways (in yellow), Franklin Avenue to St. Tammany Parish Line. 95

Google Maps Aerial Imagery, retrieved from maps.google.com on September 10, 2012.
 Google Maps Aerial Imagery, retrieved from maps.google.com on September 10, 2012.

The only part of the system that is controversial today is a portion that was almost ignored when it was proposed and constructed: the Claiborne Avenue section of Interstate-10.

Figure 5.13 – Map of Interstate-10 from the Pontchartrain Expressway to Elysian Fields Avenue. 96



When this section of highway was constructed, a neighborhood was bifurcated and a thriving African-American commercial corridor was destroyed. North Claiborne Avenue through Tremé was a wide boulevard lined with local businesses and majestic oak trees under which the community could gather (Figure 5.14). This was replaced with concrete and the perpetual shadow cast by an elevated highway (Figure 5.15). It is worth noting that Tremé was not the only community split by the Interstate Highway System; Interstate-610 ran directly through the Lakeview and Gentilly neighborhoods, clearing hundreds of structures as it crossed the city. It is impossible to state conclusively why these communities did not suffer the same

⁹⁶ Tulane University School of Architecture (1965). *Study of the Proposed Riverfront and Elysian Fields Expressway and an Alternate Proposal*. Plate 9. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 292.

Figure 5.14 – North Claiborne Avenue at Dumaine Street (looking east), undated (1950s). 97



Figure 5.15 – North Claiborne Avenue at Dumaine Street (looking east), 2012.98



negative impacts found in the Tremé area, but it is this researcher's belief that the reason is likely to do with two separate factors: the first being that these were relatively new areas of residential

^{97 &}quot;North Claiborne Ave., corner Dumaine, looking towards Elysian Fields "Oak Tree Conservation" Undated." Louisiana Division/City Archives Photograph Collection, New Orleans Public Library, accessed via www.nutrias.org.

98 Photograph by Author.

development, therefore the place attachment was not as strong as would have been found in the historic Tremé community; and the second being that Interstate-610 did not remove a historic community gathering space, as was lost on North Claiborne Avenue.

The selection of North Claiborne Avenue for the placement of the elevated Interstate

Highway was based on the designation of North Claiborne Avenue as a 'major street' within the

Major Streets Plan and the availability of right-of-way, the records do not indicate that there

were any ill intentions regarding placement of this highway through this thriving African
American community. White elites in New Orleans have been charged with indifference to the

construction of this section of highway at best and racism at worst. The official archive records

reveal evidence of neither.

Since the time of highway construction, subsequent research has stated that preservationists, in fighting against the proposed Riverfront Expressway, offered North Claiborne Avenue as an alternative, encouraging double-layered highway development through this area to satisfy the traffic capacity which required the addition of the Riverfront Expressway. Mohl (2002) cites the *Vieux Carré Courier* as a vocal supporter of this alternative, editorializing in 1965 that the right-of-way on North Claiborne Avenue could "be developed to the limit, with at least two upper levels." It is important to note that although little attention was paid to the decision at the time, the use of North Claiborne Avenue as Interstate Highway right-of-way was designated following the public hearing in February of 1958 and was not the result of eliminating the Riverfront Expressway.

Additionally, based on copies of national publications found within the City Planning Commission's archived material, the prevailing thinking of the era was that highway adjacency

⁹⁹ Mohl, R.A. (2002). *The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt*. Research Report, Poverty and Race Research Action Council, at 32.

would actually boost property values and commercial desirability rather than depress it. According to the American Right of Way Association "all properties coming within the influence of a freeway [would] enjoy tremendous benefits." These benefits would be realized not only in increased commercial traffic for adjacent businesses but also in the form of higher property values for properties adjacent to these highways. 101 These publications cited specific figures from studies in multiple states attesting to the benefits of urban expressways, this was likely an accurate assessment of the impact of these highways in areas where there was room for development as a result of expressway construction. These reports only addressed truly urban expressways in terms of the slum clearance possibilities of such projects. The Automotive Safety Foundation profiled the success of highways in New Orleans, referencing the Pontchartrain Expressway and grade separation projects that were occupying the New Basin Canal right-of-way, stating that "a blighted area partially surrounded the business district" and that "high-grade planning and financing resulted in slum clearance, ... right of way for a proposed freeway, appropriate site for a new city hall and civic center as well as a new medical center."102

Regardless of how the Pontchartrain Expressway and related improvements may have been portrayed nationally, planning officials in New Orleans saw the highways, and particularly the interstate system, as a mechanism to provide for transportation needs of the community rather than as an instrument of change. In a 1960 questionnaire from *Engineering News-Record*, Louis Bisso, Director of the City Planning Commission, was asked: "Is your city taking the

¹⁰⁰ Balfour, F. C. (1956). Special Benefits, *Right of Way Magazine*, American Right of Way Association, Vol. 4, No. 1. Extracts of article accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 230.

Automotive Safety Foundation (Undated). *What Freeways Mean to Your City*. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 230.

102 Ibid. at 5.

fullest advantage of the opportunities offered by urban expressway construction for slum clearance, urban renewal, rezoning, relief of traffic congestion and other community objectives?" Mr. Bisso's response stated that the focus of urban highways in New Orleans was transportation and that the other elements were of "incidental importance." Speaking for the City of New Orleans, he further stated that:

> Of primary importance is the assurance that [a]n Express Way System functions as a unifying force for the community and not a disruptive element. Our primary concern is providing an adequate circulation program with a minimal amount of disruption of community integrity. ... In addition, approximately 78% of the Interstate System in the City of New Orleans will require little if any expropriation of property and structure demolition. ¹⁰³

It is impossible to state what unspoken motivations may have been at play, but what is clear is that while destruction of this community may not have been the anticipated outcome it is the lasting end result of this project. In 1950, North Claiborne Avenue, from Canal Street to St. Bernard Avenue, was home to 123 businesses and by 1996 businesses within the same section of North Claiborne Avenue numbered only 44. A full inventory of businesses from 1950 and 1996 can be found in Appendix 5.4. This number is certainly only one which illustrates the decline of this once-thriving neighborhood commercial area.

Recognizing the impact of this project and the steady decline of the community which began in the 1960s following construction of this highway and today the community and the municipal leadership have agreed to explore the possibility of removing the elevated highway and restoring what was once a grand boulevard, though any final decision-making lies with the State's Department of Transportation. 104

¹⁰³ Engineering News-Record Questionnaire Response. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 222.

¹⁰⁴ City Planning Commission of New Orleans, *Plan for the 21st Century: New Orleans 2030*, Chapter 11. Master Plan for New Orleans, as adopted. Accessed via www.nolamasterplan.com.

Chapter 6

The New Orleans Cultural Center: 'Culture' as Defined by Bureaucracy

The New Orleans Cultural Center, known today as Louis Armstrong Park, was New Orleans's second attempt at urban renewal, following the Civic Center. While the land acquisition for this project began in the late 1950s, the space would not be developed or become usable until the early 1970s. Through the years, this project has come to symbolize the institutional disregard for New Orleans's indigenous culture in favor of 'culture' as defined by national and international trends, as well as a disregard for the city's African-American culture by the white establishment. Additionally, this is an example of top-down planning that has been imposed on a community with little regard for the impact on those most affected.

The Cultural Center concept was based on the Bartholomew Civic Center plan from the 1920s (discussed previously in Chapters 2 and 4) and grew from the construction of the Municipal Auditorium. This project was part of Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison's strategy to modernize New Orleans to strengthen the local economy as well as to bolster the civic amenities available to New Orleanians. The Cultural Center, initially proposed to house a theatre, an opera house, a sports arena, and museums, was never made a priority by municipal government outside of acquiring the requisite land for Municipal Auditorium parking. Figure 6.5 (page 183) indicates the location ultimately selected for the development of the Cultural Center.

Other projects during the 1950s were considered higher priorities in the City and region, resulting in a lack of inertia for the Cultural Center project. The International Center, consisting of the Rivergate Convention Center and the New Orleans International Trade Mart, was proposed at the same time as the Cultural Center and was deemed to be a greater need by the business community and the City Planning Commission. Subsequently, the Louisiana

Superdome was proposed and constructed, negating the need for the sports arena which had been proposed for the Cultural Center.

The Vision

Associates in 1925 in the vicinity of North Rampart Street and Orleans Street, had been shelved in favor of the Civic Center being constructed at Loyola Avenue and Poydras Street (see Chapter 4). In 1951, the City's planning consultants, Harland Bartholomew and Associates, presented their 'Public Buildings' report to the City Planning Commission which proposed an assembly center to be developed near the Municipal Auditorium. This assembly center would generally comprise the existing auditorium, a new sports arena and a building to house exhibits. This initial vision was further refined through the 1950s, and in 1961 a report entitled *Public Buildings Report II* was published by the New Orleans City Planning Commission outlining a more detailed description of those uses which would be located at the Cultural Center.

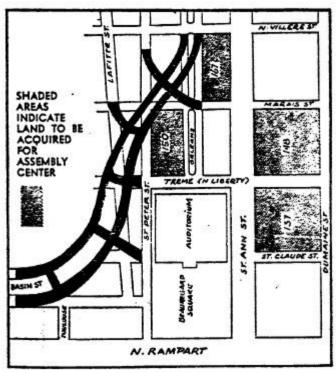
While the exact plans for what was to be located within the Cultural Center were not defined until the 1960s, land acquisition for the project began in 1955 when the City Council appropriated one million dollars of the annual Capital Outlay for the purpose.² This land acquisition began prior to the development of a plan for the site, and over the objection of the City Planning Commission; however, City leadership believed that the land acquisition was necessary for two reasons: to replace parking for the Municipal Auditorium (which was being

¹ City Planning Commission Report: "Consideration, Consultant's Report Relative to Consolidation of Cultural Center Facilities with Proposed International Center" August 18, 1961. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409.

² City Planning Commission of New Orleans (1965). *Summary of Planning Commission Actions Relative to Municipal Auditorium and Cultural Center*. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 331.

lost to street improvements),³ and because the land value would rise once the proposed street improvements were completed.⁴

Figure 6.1 – Basin Street – Orleans Avenue Connection in Relation to the Cultural Center.⁵



These street improvements were necessary to improve access to both the proposed Cultural Center complex and to the Central Business District. This new connection, modern-day Basin Street, would connect the new interstate highway to the Vieux Carré and the CBD as well as compliment and tie into the ongoing street widening project on Loyola Avenue as part of the Civic Center project (see Chapter 4). In order to make this connection part of the grand boulevard connecting the Union Passenger Terminal, Civic Center and Cultural Center to the Interstate Highway, three existing municipal squares of parking for the Municipal Auditorium

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³ Memorandum from Glenn P. Clasen, Chief Administrative Officer to Mayor Victor Schiro, August 22, 1961. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409.

⁴ The Times-Picayune November 3, 1954, pp 1, 3. Assessed via <u>www.newsbank.com</u>, Times-Picayune Archives, on August 26, 2011.

⁵ Illustration as published in a full-page advertisement in the *Times-Picayune* in support of the Cultural Center Bond Issue, January 6, 1958.

would be at least partially converted to roadway.⁶ In addition to the immediate physical needs of the City relative to parking and street improvements, the federal government was providing funding for land acquisition for eligible projects. By utilizing the available federal dollars, the City would be able to acquire the land needed for these immediate goals and for the long term goals of the Cultural Center in a manner less costly to the municipal coffers.⁷

According to the *Public Buildings Report II*, "[t]he "Cultural Center" [was] to provide a nucleus for recreation, entertainment and culture in New Orleans, and ultimately a high density dwellings area in the core of the city." As proposed, the Cultural Center would include an opera house, concert hall, "legitimate" theater, museum, community facilities building, high rise apartments, and restaurants, shops, stores, schools, churches and green areas. The location of this center was proposed to be in the area generally bounded by North Rampart Street, Esplanade Avenue, N. Claiborne Avenue and St. Louis Street.

The Cultural Center was envisioned as a civic meeting place and an environment for education, recreation and the exchange of ideas; the Center would be developed as a 24-hour space to attract both tourists and locals with an eye to the cultural and historical landscape of the City. Interestingly, city leaders felt it their duty to provide this forum not only for New Orleans, but also for the metropolitan area. In a document prepared by the City Planning Commission in 1973 outlining the Cultural Center project, it was noted that "[c]ultural facilities are virtually

⁶ Response to Questions Raised by WDSU-TV featured story of September 13, (1961) Relative to the Cultural Center Complex. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 330.

¹ Ibid

⁸ City Planning Commission of New Orleans (1961), *Public Buildings Report II*, at v. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 419.

¹⁰ Public Buildings Report, at vi.

absent in the parishes surrounding New Orleans; therefore, New Orleans has the responsibility of providing cultural attractions for the entire metropolitan region."¹¹

With this recognized responsibility, the City envisioned a Center that would serve the needs of a growing metropolitan region. The population of the region at the time of the project's conception was approximately one million with a projected total population of 1.5 million by the time the full Cultural Center would be completed based on a 25-year development schedule. Since this would be a Center to serve the needs of a region, rather than the community in which the complex would be located, the diverse needs and wants of a large population were considered.

The goal of the Cultural Center, as it developed from concept to functioning plan, was for it to "become the center of cultural activities in the New Orleans Metropolitan region" and to cater to "the educational and recreational needs of families for miles around." In addition to the creation of a regional attraction, the proposal called for the development to minimize impacts on adjacent neighborhoods by including parking garages accessible from the adjacent major streets and fully utilizing its location with respect to existing public transportation lines.

In the City Planning Commission's *Public Buildings Report II*, the benefits of the proposed Cultural Center were broken into bullet points outlining the goals of the project with respect to the development of the City as a whole. The goals of the project are summarized below:¹⁵

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¹¹ City Planning Commission of New Orleans (1973), *Cultural Center* (six page document), at 1. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 424.

¹² Response to Questions Raised by WDSU-TV.

¹³ Cultural Center, at 3

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Public Buildings Report II.

- Remove 'blight' on the site of the Cultural Center and influence the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood.
- Implement the City's Master Plan through careful site selection.
- Create a complex of buildings which both civic design and open space.
- Group public functions while allowing some private development
- Provide tangible evidence of the City's accomplishments.

In addition to these goals, the character of the proposed development would allow the expression of history, tradition and culture of the City through site design and architecture.¹⁶ Additionally, the Cultural Center could be designed in a way that would bring day and night activity to the area and designed to "relate to human scale by the inclusion of uses that will attract the general public."¹⁷

In their *Public Buildings Report II*, the City Planning Commission outlined five physical factors that were considered in selecting a site for the Cultural Center: the creation of a growth boundary on the northeastern side of the Central Business District, the redevelopment of an area whose potential was not being realized, creating a visual relationship with both the Union Passenger Terminal and St. Louis Cathedral, creation of parking areas, and suitability of the location for assembly activities.

In line with the first of these criteria, the Cultural Center was proposed in the vicinity of the Municipal Auditorium to serve as a barrier between the Central Business District (CBD) and nearby residential neighborhoods. The City Planning Commission noted that there were uses being established on the periphery of the CBD which are more suited to the historic commercial center. They believed that the establishment of a large public space at the edge of the CBD

¹⁶ Public Buildings Report II.

¹⁷ Internal draft of *Public Buildings Report II*, at 3. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409.

would serve as a deterrent to business interests expanding beyond that area and would therefore encourage development in the core area of the City. The Public Buildings Report II notes that this was part of the strategy employed in selecting the site of the Civic Center and that by doing so the City had successfully encouraged new development in both the area of the Civic Center and between the historic commercial core and the new Civic Center complex.¹⁸

The selection of the Municipal Auditorium area as the new Cultural Center shared a second common element with the Civic Center as well: the complete rehabilitation of a neighborhood which "was not fulfilling its potential as Central Business District property." ¹⁹ The City Planning Commission envisioned that this renewal would not only involve removal of blighted property which would increase the values of adjacent properties, but would also spur the private redevelopment of commercial structures along North Rampart Street. The anticipated positive impacts of the proposed Cultural Center were not limited to North Rampart Street or the Tremé neighborhood. They extended to the "accelerate[d] rehabilitation of the Vieux Carré" and "protection against the infringement of incompatible uses."²⁰

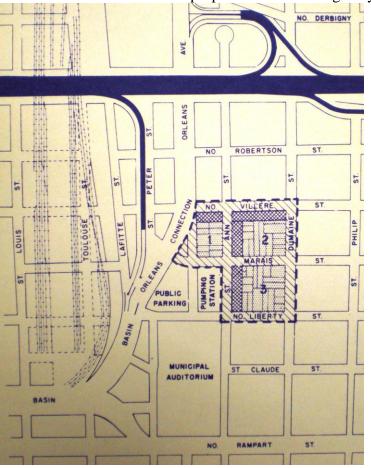
The aesthetic reasoning for selecting the location was to create a grand civic boulevard (Loyola Avenue/Basin Street/Orleans Avenue), extending from the Union Passenger Terminal to the Cultural Center, with the new Civic Center as the mid-point. This location afforded the City the opportunity to highlight the new Basin Street/Orleans Avenue connection to the proposed Interstate Highway (see Chapter 5) as well as the newly-expanded Loyola Avenue which connected the Union Passenger Terminal and the Civic Center to Canal Street. Additionally, this location also provided convenient access from around the metropolitan region to the Cultural Center, via the proposed Interstate Highway. The location also served a second aesthetic

Public Buildings Report II.Ibid, at 32

²⁰ Ibid. at 32

purpose in connecting the sight-line from the St. Louis Cathedral to a public building complex via a "visual axis along Orleans Street through the Vieux Carré."²¹

Figure 6.2 – Cultural Center site in relation to the proposed Interstate Highway. ²²



Parking concerns drove the acquisition of land in this area without consideration of the larger Cultural Center project. The need for land in this area only served to provide another reason for the selection of the Municipal Auditorium area to house the proposed Cultural Center. As previously noted, the City was constructing the Basin Street/Orleans Avenue connection to the Interstate Highway which caused the loss of existing Municipal Auditorium parking for the new roadway. While the Interstate Highway was not yet constructed, the route had been

²¹ Ibid, at 32

²² Urban Renewal Plan for the Cultural Center, Area #1, Project La. R-4, "Land Use Plan" dated September 2, 1965. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 419.

approved in 1958 and construction of the highway was seen as imminent. The City recognized the need to provide adequate parking for the Auditorium and the growing Central Business District, and the City Planning Commission concluded that this area could serve both; the needs of the CBD would be met during the day and the needs of the Auditorium would be met at night and on weekends.²³

The final element of site selection, according to the *Public Buildings Report II*, was the "suitability of the area for major public assembly facilities." The City Planning Commission determined that this site was within walking distance of Canal Street and the historic commercial core of the City and was connected to major streets and the Interstate Highway. This location was therefore deemed ideal in that it would "relate to urban facilities to become an interesting cosmopolitan area."25

Proposed in tandem with the City's new Cultural Center was an International Center, which would be comprised of a convention center (the Rivergate Convention Center, now the site of Harrah's Casino), a hotel, and an office building, the International Trade Mart, which would provide office space for the Dock Board, International Trade Mart, and foreign consulates. ²⁶ This proposal was seen as critical to maintaining New Orleans's position both as a tourist and convention destination and as a major international trading center due to the Port of New Orleans. This International Center was introduced not as a competing proposal with the Cultural Center, but as a complementary one in which the International Center would serve the

 ²³ Ibid, at 32
 24 Ibid, at 32
 25 Ibid, at 32

²⁶ Ibid. at v.

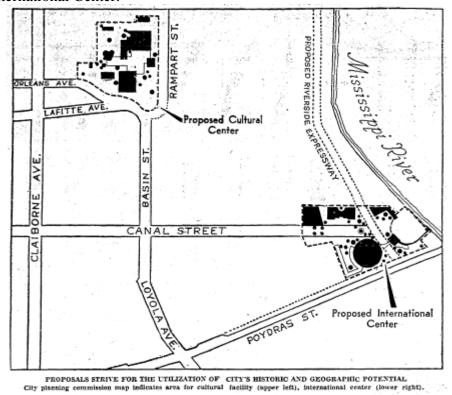
commercial and tourism interests while the Cultural Center would be designed to serve the citizens of the region.²⁷

The initial discussions of the projects included consideration of combining the International and Cultural Centers. In 1961, the City's Chief Administrative Officer, Glenn Clasen, sent a memorandum to Mayor Victor Schiro effectively ending consideration of combining the facilities. In evaluating the proposals, several issues were raised which made consolidating the proposals either impractical or impossible. Specifically, the Chief Administrative Officer determined that: 1) the uses proposed within the two proposals were incompatible; 2) there was no duplication of services created by moving forward with both proposals separately; 3) consolidating the proposals into a single location would generate parking and traffic issues; 4) the Municipal Auditorium site had existing needs that would have to be met regardless of the eventual fate of the Cultural Center; and 5) the Federal assistance available for the Cultural Center site would not be available for the proposed site of the International Center due to its location in the commercial core of the City. In addition to these findings, Mr. Clasen also noted that moving forward with the Cultural Center in its proposed location would also allow the Municipal Government to eliminate substandard housing.²⁸

²⁷ Internal draft of *Public Buildings Report II*

²⁸ Memorandum from Chief Administrative Officer Glen Clasen to Mayor Victor Schiro, August 22, 1961. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409.

Figure 6.3 – *Times-Picayune* Illustration of the Relative Locations of the Proposed Cultural Center and International Center.²⁹



The Planning

As stated previously, the planning for what would become the New Orleans Cultural Center (initially the Assembly Center and later Louis Armstrong Park) began with the Bartholomew Plan for New Orleans in the 1920s. This initial proposal called for the construction of a grand civic center in the area now occupied by the Cultural Center but the plan was shelved in the 1930s as the nation struggled through the Great Depression, and the municipal priorities of New Orleans changed through the years. The New Orleans Civic Center (Chapter 4) was developed in the early 1950s at a different location that was more in line with encouraging growth in the Central Business District. Through the years, however, the original plan for Bartholomew's civic center was not forgotten and the Municipal Auditorium (Chapter 2) served

²⁹ Times-Picayune, February 4, 1962, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at Sec. 3, Pg. 2.

as an ever-present reminder of the grand plans for the redevelopment of the Tremé neighborhood at the backdoor of the Vieux Carré.

Beginning in 1955, the Morrison administration began including land acquisition for the Cultural Center in its Capital Budget proposals to the City Planning Commission and the City Council.³⁰ The Capital Budget process is required to outline capital expenses on a five year schedule pursuant to the City's Charter; however this outline can be changed yearly as priorities change. The table below reflects the dollar amounts for land acquisition budgeted by the City Planning Commission and the City Council only in the year immediately following adoption of the Capital Budget in order to reflect the actual amounts available rather than the projected amounts that were included in previous budget years.

Table 6.1 – Budgeted Capital Expenditures for Land Acquisition for the Cultural Center³¹

	Budgeted Suprial Expenditures for Land Frequestion for the Suitard Sen				
Capital Budget	City Planning	City Council	Total Budgeted		
Year	Recommendation	Action	Expenditures		
1955	0	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000		
1956	\$1,000,000	\$500,000	\$1,500,000		
1957	0	0	\$1,500,000		
1958	0	\$200,000	\$1,700,000		
1959	0	\$250,000	\$1,950,000		
1960	0	\$100,000	\$2,050,000		
1961	0	\$250,000	\$2,300,000		
1962	\$500,000	\$500,000	\$2,800,000		
1963	\$1,000,000	\$500,000	\$3,300,000		
1964	\$500,000	\$200,000	\$3,500,000		
1965	0	\$500,000	\$4,000,000		
1966	\$500,000	0	\$4,000,000		

The acquisition of property in the decade from 1955 through 1965 represented a leap of faith with respect to the Cultural Center project, but also served to accommodate the immediate perceived need of providing adequate parking for the Municipal Auditorium which was going to

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 $^{^{30}}$ Summary of Planning Commission Actions Relative to Municipal Auditorium and Cultural Center. 31 Ibid.

be lost to the construction of the Basin Street/Orleans Avenue connection to the new Interstate Highway.³²

Interestingly, this land acquisition began even before there was a formal selection of a site for the Cultural Center. Again, this is partially attributable to the parking needs associated with the Municipal Auditorium, but also to the strong-mayor style administration of deLesseps S. Morrison. In the City Planning Commission's Report relative to the proposal of consolidating the International and Cultural Centers, the Commission's staff outlined the history of the Cultural Center proposal and the City Planning Commission's attitude regarding same. It noted that the Commission was opposed to beginning acquisition of land in 1955 based on the "absence of a plan for the center." Following the City Council's approval of the Capital Budget including land acquisition, the City Planning Commission acted to limit land acquisition to the four squares adjacent to the Municipal Auditorium, which were the likely areas upon which the Cultural Center would be developed. 44

Over the course of the next several years, the City Planning Commission took small steps toward crafting a plan for the Cultural Center. These steps culminated in the adoption of the Cultural Center as part of the City's Master Plan on April 11, 1961. Prior to the adoption of the proposal, the City Planning Commission held a public hearing on the Cultural Center on October 25, 1960 and the Commission's Report noted that "[t]here was no opposition voiced at the hearing." The coverage of the public hearing by the *Times-Picayune* corroborates this claim by the City Planning Commission. The only points of contention relative to the Cultural Center

³² Response to Questions Raised by WDSU-TV.

³³ Commission Report: "Consideration, Consultant's Report Relative to Consolidation of Cultural Center Facilities with proposed International Center," August 18, 1961, at 3-1. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid, at 3-1

proposal related to the timing and priority of the proposal with respect to the simultaneous International Center proposal.³⁶ According to the transcript of this hearing, the only individuals requesting to speak on the proposal were Louis Brown, Director of the Central Area Committee (Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area); Harry England, Greater New Orleans Tourist Comission; E. B. Benjamin, Cultural Attractions Fund of Greater New Orleans; and Ray Scheuring, Manager of the Municipal Auditorium. There were no speakers either in support or opposition from the general public.³⁷ Interestingly, Mayor Morrison appeared at this public hearing and spoke in support of the proposals, noting to the Commission that he, the City Council and the electorate of New Orleans had "overruled you" by including land acquisition in the Capital Budget over the opposition of the City Planning Commission and by voters' approval of the three separate successful Bond Issues to fund the acquisition.³⁸

An additional point of contention was the site plan presented in Figure 6.4, below. The concern was not for the neighborhood or residents that would be displaced, but rather in that the proposal would convert Congo Square (formerly Beauregard Square)³⁹ to a parking lot, which the Louisiana Landmarks Society decried as a 'tragedy' and a 'calamity.'⁴⁰ In his letter to the Mayor, Harnett T. Kane, President of the Louisiana Landmarks Society, stated that the Society had yet to take a position on the overall proposal, but that the City should take immediate action to ensure that Congo Square is preserved in the overall plan for the site.

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³⁶ *The Times-Picayune*, October 26, 1960, pp 16. Assessed via <u>www.newsbank.com</u>, Times-Picayune Archives, on September 3, 2011.

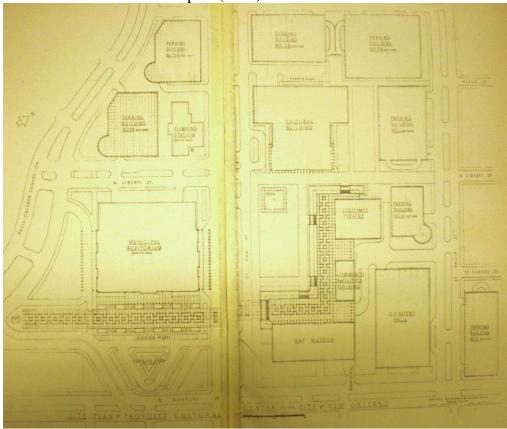
³⁷ City Planning Commission, Transcript of Special Public Hearing of Tuesday, October 25, 1960. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409.

³⁸ The Times-Picayune, October 26, 1960, pp 16, quoting Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison.

³⁹ Congo Square, the traditional name of this public space, has been used interchangeably with the name "Beauregard Square" since the 1870s. The New Orleans City Council passed Ordinance 24,388 MCS on April 28, 2011 formally naming the space "Congo Square." For purposes of this dissertation, this space will be referred to by its proper name, Congo Square, unless being directly quoted within an historical source.

⁴⁰ Louisiana Landmarks Society letter to Mayor Victor Schiro, October 23, 1963. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Victor H. Schiro Records, File S64-9.

Figure 6.4 – First Cultural Center site plan (1963)⁴¹



Following the City Planning Commission's acceptance of the Cultural Center plan and the City Council's subsequent ratification of it, the Administration began the process of trying to gain funding for the project. At this time the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency's (HHFA) Urban Renewal Administration was authorized to reimburse local governments for "75% of the difference between the cost of acquiring and clearing the needed site, plus the cost of installing public improvements and the reappraisal value of the cleared site." In the particular case of the New Orleans Cultural Center, this reimbursement was anticipated to amount to \$7,250,000 for the project as a whole, including the land acquisitions and

⁴¹ Cultural Center site plan by Mathes Bergman Favrot & Associates, Inc. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 331.

⁴² Memorandum from Chief Administrative Officer Glen Clasen to Mayor Victor Schiro, at 2.

improvements to construct the Orleans/Basin Street highway connection. 43 This assistance from the federal government was available for the Cultural Center only if it were to be developed adjacent to the Municipal Auditorium because the city would "automatically be eliminating existing sub-standard housing conditions in acquiring the needed site."44

As part of the City's application to the HHFA, the City Council adopted a resolution on July 6, 1961 outlining the existing conditions of the Cultural Center site as well as stating the City's ability and willingness to comply with the standards of the HHFA program. First, the City Council resolved "that the proposed Cultural Center Area ... is a slum, blighted, deteriorated, or deteriorating area appropriate for such project." While no comprehensive analysis of the area was located within the City's records for this project, the following was the summary provided by the City Planning Commission in their *Public Buildings Report II*:

The ... area houses approximately 5,000 persons and consists of substandard dwellings, 63% of which have no bath and 47.8% of which have no running water. Median income is less than \$2,000/year and more than 75 cases of juvenile delinquency were reported in the area during one year. The commercial area behind the Auditorium is used for shops, restaurants, service stations, and warehouses; the general condition of improvements is substandard.⁴⁶

What was not mentioned in this analysis was the racial breakdown of the chosen site. Approximately 410 families were displaced from the Cultural Center area, of which 80% were low-income African-Americans; the average income in the neighborhood was less than half of

43 Ibid.

the average income for Orleans Parish as a whole.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid, at 2.

⁴⁵ City Council Resolution of July 6, 1961. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 409, at 1.

⁴⁶ Public Buildings Report II, at 33.

⁴⁷ Jones, M.D. (1984). The Role of Urban Renewal in Treme: Impacts on a New Orleans Neighborhood. University of New Orleans Library Theses and Dissertations Collection.

An analysis of the Sanborn Maps of the Cultural Center area illustrates the general development pattern of the neighborhood. It does not provide an accurate portrayal of the conditions, but does describe the overall existing development of the neighborhood.

Table 6.2 – Development pattern of Cultural Center site (1940).⁴⁸

	Residential Units	Commercial Units
Square 113	46*	10
Square 114	25	6
Square 137	49*	7
Square 138	46	5
Square 147	48*	5
Square 148	47	9
Square 167	16	6
Square 168	45*	6
Square 169	67	2

^{*} Indicates the presence of an apartment building with an unrecorded unit count.

Also within the Council's resolution of July 6, 1961, the City stated its understanding of the federal government's requirements as to the process to be undertaken with respect to the residents of the Cultural Center site. Section three of the Council's resolution stated, in part, the following:

That [the City] is cognizant of the conditions that are imposed in the undertaking and carrying out of such projects with Federal financial assistance under Title I, including those relating to the relocation of site occupants and the provision of local grants-in-aid and the requirements that as a condition of the execution of a contract for a capital grant for such project the locality must present to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator a workable program... for utilizing appropriate public and private resources to eliminate and prevent the development or spread of slums and urban blight.⁴⁹

Further, the resolution stated that it was the sense of the Council that:

- (a) A feasible method for the relocation of families could be prepared.
- (b) Local grants-in-aid could and would be provided in an amount not less than \(\frac{1}{4} \) of the project cost.

⁴⁸ Sanborn Map Company (1940). Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of New Orleans, Volume 2. Sanborn Map Company, New York. Accessed via Louisiana Library Connection Databases on September 4, 2011. ⁴⁹ City Council Resolution of July 6, 1961, at 2.

(c) In addition to the grants-in-aid there would be adequate funds available to pay costs associated with the project that are excluded from the federal grant.

The final portion of this resolution "authorized and directed" the Mayor to file an application for assistance with the Administrator of the HHFA. By June of 1962 the application had been filed with the HHFA and the review of the request was all but approved. On June 21, 1962, the Acting Urban Renewal Commissioner for the HHFA sent a letter to the City in which the agency questioned the legal ability of the City to engage in urban renewal projects due to the State Legislature's repeal of urban renewal authorization legislation. In response to this precarious legal situation, the City Attorney replied to the Urban Renewal Commissioner on July 26, 1962, outlining the legal standing of the City of New Orleans to engage in urban renewal with respect to state law.

In 1954, the Louisiana Legislature had repealed a portion of state law relative to urban renewal projects; however, the State did not, in the City's opinion, act to nullify all attempts at federally-funded urban renewal. Act 709 of the 1954 Regular Session removed portions of the state's existing urban redevelopment enabling statutes which would allow the expropriating redevelopment authority to transfer the newly-acquired property to a third-party by resale, lease, or any other means. The City believed this to only eliminate participation in federally-funded urban redevelopment where a part of the plan was to sell or lease the property to private parties in furtherance of the redevelopment project.

Specifically, the changes made in 1954 were relative to Section 40:481 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes, which were originally adopted in furtherance of the state's ability to participate in federally funded public housing under the Housing Act of 1949 (see Chapter 3).⁵⁰ The New

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⁵⁰ Letter from City Attorney Alvin Liska to Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton, July 26, 1962. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Victor H. Schiro Records, File S62-7.

Orleans City Attorney's Office, in an undated internal memorandum, clarified that the ability of the state or its political subdivisions to expropriate property needed for public improvements was found under Section 19:1-2 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes. Further, the City Attorney's Office stated that public parks are an acceptable 'public use' for which to expropriate property, as previously determined by the Louisiana Supreme Court in 1931 and reinforced in the initial five expropriations on Square 137 within the Cultural Center site.⁵¹

Based on these factors, the City Attorney opined that the restrictions enacted by the Legislature in 1954 would not hamper redevelopment in cases where land was to be expropriated for actual public uses. The City underscored this position by citing to subsequent state legislation in which the Legislature revised regulations for expropriation of property (1956) and for the acceptance of outside financial assistance (1960).⁵² The HHFA found this to be an acceptable analysis of the law and the legal questions raised by the agency were resolved and the application was allowed to move forward.⁵³

The Land Assembly

Site acquisition continued following approval of the application for federal assistance. Property records indicate that Square 137, directly behind the Municipal Auditorium, was the first acquired by the City, with purchases and expropriations taking place between 1958 and 1960. This was the only square where land was acquired prior to 1966, before the availability of federal dollars. The table below indicates the timeline of acquisitions by square. A full inventory of property acquisitions for the Cultural Center is available in Appendix 6.1.

⁵¹ "Cultural Center (Effect of Zoning Thereon) Memorandum of Explanation, and Citations Thereon" undated. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 331, at 5.

⁵² Letter from City Attorney Alvin Liska to Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton.

⁵³ Letter from Senators Ellender and Long to Mayor Victor Schiro, August 15, 1962. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Victor H. Schiro Records, File S62-7.

Table 6.3 – Summary of Property Acquisition for Cultural Center site⁵⁴

	/ 1		
Municipal Square	Number of Lots	Number of Expropriations	Acquisition Date Year(s)
113	28	4	1970-71
114	20	1	1968-69
137	24	5	1958-60
138	22	0	1970-71
147	25	1	1970-71
148	22	1	1966
167	15	2	1966
168	24	6	1966-67
169	27	0	1970-71

In all, the City acquired 207 individual parcels for the Cultural Center site and only resorted to expropriation in order to take possession of 20 of these. The City was able to utilize federal assistance in the acquisition of 183 of the 207 total parcels and of the total 20 expropriations, 15 were prosecuted with the assistance of federal funds. What is interesting about these numbers is that by the time the last four squares were acquired in 1970-71, there was relatively little resistance to the City's efforts to purchase the requisite property (102 parcels acquired, 5 expropriations). While it is impossible to say why there was less resistance in the latter part of the acquisitions, it could be because, as Assistant City Attorney Posey Bowers noted in a memorandum of explanation, the courts had consistently ruled that political subdivisions of the State can expropriate property needed for government projects. More specifically, in the initial Cultural Center expropriation cases from the 1950s, "in every instance where there was no subsequent agreement of the parties, the City's prayer for a judgment in "fee simple" was granted."55 Therefore, by the 1970s it may have been a foregone conclusion in the minds of the residents and property owners that regardless of the fight, resistance would prove futile.

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⁵⁴ City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, City Property Files for indicated Squares, Second Municipal District, Seventh Assessment District.

⁵⁵ "Cultural Center (Effect of Zoning Thereon) Memorandum of Explanation, and Citations Thereon" undated (emphasis in original).

The planning for the Cultural Center continued through the 1960s. The City amended the site plan several times throughout this period as it became apparent that it would not be able to fund the grand projects envisioned for the site. Though there was realization that the improvements may be a long way off, the City proceeded with property acquisition in phases which were divided by the availability of federal dollars.

Figure 6.5 – Current aerial photograph with Municipal Square Numbers overlaid for reference. 56



⁵⁶ Aerial photograph from the Orleans Parish Assessor's Office, square numbers added by author.

The first phase of acquisition (not including the initial acquisition of Square 137 in the 1950s) was broken down as follows: Phase I – Squares 147, 167, 168; Phase II – Square 114; Phase III – Squares 113, 138, 147, 169. There was nothing noted in the records indicating why the site was phased in this manner, but it appears to have been purely a matter of acquiring the site moving east from the location of the Municipal Auditorium. Figure 6.5, above, indicates the locations and bounding streets for the Cultural Center site acquisition.

The extended planning and acquisition process served not only to cause residents to relocate without assistance, but also enraged absentee property owners. In a letter delivered to occupants of properties in Squares 113, 138, 147 and 169 in June of 1968, the City advised tenants that their dwellings would be acquired by the City and that they would be forced to relocate at a later time. The letter explained that no one was being required to relocate yet and that further information would be made available once properties were bought by the City. This letter also explained that a relocation office would be available in the vicinity of the Cultural Center to address the questions and concerns of neighborhood residents.⁵⁷

As a result of this notice sent to residents of the Cultural Center site, Mr. Frederick

Forstall, a property owner within the proposed Cultural Center site, sent a letter to Mayor Schiro stating that the notice was premature and that the result would be that tenants would be driven out by the impending relocation.⁵⁸ The Mayor replied in agreement with Mr. Forstall's position but noted that the letter was sent out by the Relocation Office in compliance with federal regulations relating eligibility to receive federal funding.⁵⁹ Indeed, Mr. Forstall's prediction

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⁵⁷ Relocation Letter to Cultural Center Occupants, June 10, 1968. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Victor H. Schiro Records, File S68-3.

⁵⁸ Letter from Frederick J. Forstall to Mayor Victor H. Schiro, June 24, 1968. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Victor H. Schiro Records, File S68-3.

⁵⁹ Letter from Mayor Victor H. Schiro to Frederick J. Forstall, June 27, 1968. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Victor H. Schiro Records, File S68-3.

came to pass; in many cases residential units were abandoned more than a year before the City's appraisals and purchase negotiations occurred. Landlords found it difficult to rent the properties because of the pending acquisitions. During this period, property owners were left with responsibility for maintaining and making mortgage payments on the properties with no rental income to cover the costs. ⁶⁰ It is likely that this situation also factored into the relatively few expropriations which occurred in Phase III of land acquisition, as discussed previously. The reason that this extended acquisition period likely resulted in fewer expropriations is that by the time the City tendered offers to property owners those with rental properties had been having difficulty renting their properties for years and they would have been relieved to unload the burden of these unprofitable properties. The same relief was likely felt by owner-occupiers within the area, in that they had been living for years knowing that the City would acquire their property but with no timetable.

The Legacy

By 1971, the City had acquired all land within the Cultural Center complex. Much of the space had been lying dormant for a number of years after the city acquired it. With the death of musician and native New Orleanian Louis Armstrong, Mayor Moon Landrieu assembled a committee of prominent citizens to evaluate public suggestions regarding an appropriate tribute to Armstrong. In the 1972 report of Mayor Landrieu's Citizen's Committee for a Memorial to Louis Armstrong, the Committee describes the Cultural Center site as a "disaster area, serving as a depressant to the Tremé neighborhood, the Vieux Carré, and the Central Business District." It was as a result of this report that the plan for the Cultural Center shifted from a collection of

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⁶⁰ Christovich, M.L. & Roulhac, T. (1980). New Orleans Architecture, Vol VI: Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road. Pelican Publishing, Gretna, LA.

⁶¹ Mayor Moon Landrieu's Public Relations Office, Press Release of June 30, 1972. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 471, at 4.

structures to public green space. While the Committee recommended that the Cultural Center be rededicated as a tribute to Armstrong, they called for a public planning process to determine the most appropriate elements and design for the space.⁶²

The result of this planning process was to revise the approved site plan for the Cultural Center, which was a formal complex along the lines of New York's Lincoln Center, and reconstitute the space as a less formal, flexible park that could be used as open space immediately and later adapted for the construction of the cultural buildings that had long been anticipated. This revised site plan, which was developed by consultants Lawrence Halprin and Associates, included proposals for four acres of lakes to be dredged within the 27 acre site and for the installation of covered walkways and indigenous landscaping throughout the space. In addition to these basic improvements the consultants proposed both participatory and performing facilities. The participatory facilities would include restaurants, an ice rink, a carousel, a Ferris wheel, and other attractions based loosely on Copenhagen's Tivoli Gardens; the performing facilities would include, in addition to the Municipal Auditorium and Theatre of the Performing Arts, a 400-seat "legitimate" theatre and a 600-seat outdoor amphitheatre. The City Counciladopted plans for the space eliminated the Tivoli Gardens element of the plan and would allow the community to determine the best uses for the park over time.

By the end of 1973, the 25-year planning process for the New Orleans Cultural Center was nearly at its end. The City Planning Commission and the City Council adopted the revised

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ City Planning Commission Staff Report "Consideration – Amendments to the Site Plan of the area known as the Cultural Center," October 3, 1973. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 331.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Louis Armstrong Park Fact Sheet: Questions and Answers prepared by the Mayor's Office and the staff of the City Planning Commission. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 471.

site plan for Louis Armstrong Park and construction commenced on the covered walkways, lakes, landscaping, and a fence.

The legacy of the Cultural Center, now Armstrong Park, is generally one of top-down planning where the ideas of bureaucrats were imposed on a generally powerless community. While the official records of the planning and execution of the Cultural Center project do not reflect opposition from the community that would house this development, later records reveal significant resentment on the part of the surrounding neighborhood to the City's indifference towards this culturally significant community.

In 1972, as plans were coming together for recreating the Cultural Center as a tribute to Louis Armstrong, the community found a voice in the Tremé Community Improvement Association (TCIA). The position of this organization and the residents was outlined in an article in the *Times-Picayune* on March 5, 1972. According to Jim Hayes, the Director of the TCIA "The City, in efforts to build a cultural center has seen fit to destroy and uproot our community," ⁶⁶ the irony of this situation, the article pointed out, was that the City's Cultural Center was destroying the culture of the Tremé community.

Not only was the neighborhood slighted in the planning and implementation of the Cultural Center plan, the TCIA estimates that approximately 80% of site residents relocated without the assistance they were entitled to under the urban renewal guidelines. The City's position on this situation was that the residents vacated the site based on knowing that the project was coming and not as a direct result of the City's acquisition of the site. 67

⁶⁶ Ott, D. (1972) "Treme Group Demands Half Culture Center Jobs: Says N. O. Sees Fit to 'Destroy Community'" The Times-Picayune March 5, 1972, pp 36. Assessed via www.newsbank.com, Times-Picayune Archives, on September 18, 2011. ⁶⁷ Ibid.

The legacy of the Cultural Center does not end with the displacement of the community; those remaining in the neighborhood surrounding the park continue to struggle with certain elements of the end result of this project. In an effort to appease the neighborhood after the debacle surrounding the relocation of residents and acquisition of the last four squares, the City agreed to construct a community center for the Tremé community within the Cultural Center site. This community center is one of the few benefits that the community has realized from the presence of the park.

One of the most discussed elements of the present development of the Cultural Center is the presence of the concrete and iron perimeter fence. During the latter part of the Armstrong Park planning stage, the need for a fence was discussed in the City Planning Commission's Staff Report of 1973:

The entire park is proposed for enclosure by a fence allowing five controlled entry points. This fence would provide security from vandals and permit the park to be closed off, vis a vis Jackson Square, to facilitate maintenance. Nothing is inappropriate about this fence concept as it is currently applied throughout the City. 68

Perhaps the problematic legacy of the fence is more perception than reality, but whatever the situation, the Tremé community has come to view the fence as a barrier, separating the community and the Cultural Center. Many efforts to have the fence removed have been made in the interceding years, but to no avail. The space remains fenced, serving as a barrier between the traditional residents of Tremé and the Vieux Carré.⁶⁹

The debate over the fence continued as the park was rebuilt following damage suffered as a result of Hurricane Katrina. While the Theatre of the Performing Arts was quickly renovated

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⁶⁸ City Planning Commission Staff Report "Consideration – Amendments to the Site Plan of the area known as the Cultural Center."

⁶⁹ College of Urban and Public Affairs (1995). *Enhancing the Sense of Place in Tremé: Mechanisms for Preserving a Unique, Historic Neighborhood*. University of New Orleans, College of Urban and Public Affairs.

and returned to use, Armstrong Park remained off-limits to the general public until mid-2011. Through bureaucratic delays and contractor incompetence, the simple return of public open space in Tremé has been delayed for years. On August 17, 2011, the *Times-Picayune* published an article entitled "Locked-up Armstrong Park lamented as 'neglected jewel' of Treme, French Quarter area." In this article, Ben Harwood of People United states that the organization has spoken to numerous community organizations and hundreds of individual neighbors about the future of Armstrong Park, and the fence in particular. The perception remains that the fence acts as a barrier to neighborhood use of the space and advocates for the park have asked the City to delay the official reopening of the park to address concerns of the community. Mayor Mitchell Landrieu's spokesperson, responding to a press inquiry for the article, stated that the Administration is committed to reopening the park on schedule but is willing to hear community concerns.70

Figure 6.6 – The Armstrong Park Fence at Congo Square⁷¹



⁷⁰ Reckdahl, K. (2011). "Locked-up Armstrong Park lamented as 'neglected jewel' of Treme, French Quarter area" *Times-Picayune*, August 17, 2011. Accessed via www.nola.com on August 17, 2011. Photograph by author.

The New Orleans Cultural Center was an idea that has not been and likely never will be realized. What started out as a civic improvement project with urban renewal has become a monument to a City's indifference to the intrinsic value of a people and a culture that is at the root of what makes New Orleans unique. Just as the Civic Center project destroyed the physical foundations of jazz music, the Cultural Center removed almost 200 years of a unique part of New Orleans's African-American culture to build an opera house. This space was taken from the community to create an island of bourgeois culture within the city of New Orleans while neglecting the authentic culture of the community.

Figure 6.7 – Theatre of the Performing Arts from the N. Rampart Street entrance of the park. 72



Perhaps most importantly, the project failed insofar as the Cultural Center was initially contemplated. As has been discussed previously, the City's *Public Buildings Report II* outlined the five proposed functions of the Cultural Center:⁷³

⁷² Photograph by author.

⁷³ Public Buildings Report II.

- 1) Create a barrier to prevent the spread of the Central Business District.
- 2) Rehabilitate an area which is not fulfilling its potential and Central Business District property.
- 3) Complete the public building mall extending from the Union Passenger Terminal to the Municipal Auditorium and create a visual axis from St. Louis Cathedral down Orleans St.
- 4) Accommodate the growing need for parking in the Central Business District and create a day and night use environment.
- 5) Create an environment of uses relating to the existing urban infrastructure.

With the exception of completing the Theatre of the Performing Arts, the City was unable to meet any of the goals that were specifically outlined for the project. However, with respect to the first goal, a barrier was created – though it was between the neighborhood and community services rather than stemming the growth of an expanding Central Business District.

The community has never taken ownership of the green space that resulted from the City's eventual realization that the Cultural Center would never materialize. The installation of the fence has inhibited use of the space for anything other than organized events, but has not allowed the day-to-day use that is seen in many of the neighborhood and regional parks in New Orleans. This lack of availability, paired with the fact that the community had this development imposed on them, makes it understandable that there is not greater acceptance of what is otherwise valuable passive parkland in the middle of a densely populated urban area.

It is interesting to note is that underutilized green space was also created in conjunction with the Civic Center project. There has not been community pushback on the project as there has been with the Cultural Center, but that may be a result of historic residential uses being wiped out by the mid-century growth and eventual decline of the Central Business District.

Moving forward, the City should work with the community to develop uses for the park that will benefit the neighborhood and the City as a whole. The space was conceived as a place for New Orleanians to celebrate culture, and later the goal shifted to making the space accessible to tourists wishing to experience authentic New Orleans. It is impossible to bottle that which makes New Orleans unique into convenient tourist packaging, and it is not this author's suggestion that anyone should try. This should be a space dedicated to the residents of New Orleans and to the Tremé community specifically; the City should work with the adjacent community organizations to encourage use of the site for cultural events and actually make the New Orleans Cultural Center a center for New Orleans culture.

Chapter 7

The Bio-Medical District: Removing a Community to Provide for their Well-Being

The history of public hospitals in New Orleans dates to the founding of the city and has remained a function of the government since Bienville, a founder of the city, brought hospital equipment to New Orleans from Biloxi in 1723. The first building to house such a public hospital was constructed in 1736. Charity Hospital as an institution traces its roots to the hospital constructed by Don Andres Almonester y Roxas¹ on North Rampart Street, between Toulouse and St. Peter Streets in 1782. The Hospital of St. Charles, as this facility was named, remained in use until it burned down in 1809. In 1814, the State of Louisiana built a replacement hospital on Canal Street, between Baronne and Dryades Streets, where Charity Hospital operated until 1832. In 1832, a new structure was provided for the State's public hospital on Tulane Avenue, in the location where it would remain until 2005.²

The hospital constructed in 1832 was subsequently expanded as the needs of the medical profession changed, and was entirely reconstructed beginning in 1937 through the financing of the Works Progress Administration. The outdated hospital structures were removed and the redevelopment, the sixth structure to house the legacy of Charity Hospital, resulted in a modern, 20-story hospital tower with attendant support structures.³ By 2003, Charity Hospital had become outdated and failed to meet the standards of the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations (JCAHO), the agency tasked with certifying healthcare facilities across

¹ Don Andres Almonester y Roxas was a wealthy philanthropist in colonial New Orleans whose contributions to the city, in addition to the construction of the first public hospital, included construction of the first public school in the colony (1772) and reconstruction of the Cathedral of St. Louis, the Presbytere, and the Cabildo following the Fire of 1788. Munster, J. E. (2004). *Fire & Flood: How the Lessons of the Past can Apply to the Present to Build the Future*. Thesis, University of New Orleans Electronic Theses and Dissertation Collection.

² The Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration, (2009). *New Orleans City Guide 1938*. Garrett County Press.

³ Ibid.

the United States. Following a reaccreditation survey in December of 2002, the administrators of the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans (MCLNO), the entity responsible for the operation of Charity and University Hospitals in New Orleans, were informed of numerous deficiencies in the operation of Charity Hospital that threatened future reaccreditation if not sufficiently addressed by the next scheduled survey, which would have occurred in December of 2005. JCAHO encouraged the leaders of MCLNO to "strongly consider seeking from the state a more modern facility to improve patient safety, environmental safety, patient privacy and infection control," as a replacement for the aging Charity Hospital structure.⁴

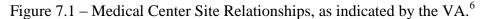
Following this notification, the administrators of MCLNO, in conjunction with Louisiana State University (LSU) which operated the medical school affiliated with Charity Hospital, sought and obtained \$1.8 million for the creation of a master plan to guide the development of a new Charity Hospital complex. This appropriation was made during the 2003 Legislative Session with the goal of having the project "well underway toward completion in 2008." This master plan was completed and presented to MCLNO administrators in May of 2005, just months before the devastation of Hurricane Katrina and the subsequent levee breaches that flooded vast swaths of the city of New Orleans.

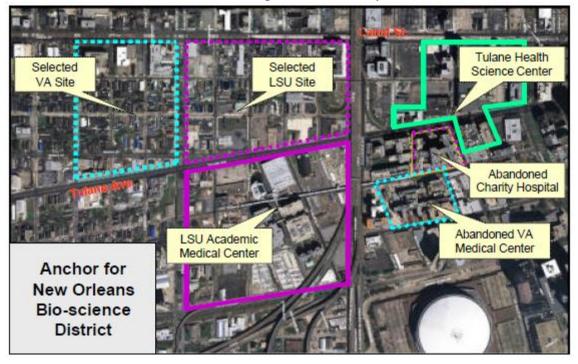
In addition to a replacement for Charity Hospital being constructed by the State of
Louisiana, the federal government has chosen to invest in a replacement hospital for the
Department of Veterans Affairs. The new United States Department of Veterans Affairs Medical

⁴ ADAMS Management Services Corporation (2005). *Site and Facility Master Plan for Consolidation of Charity and University Hospitals at Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans*. Prepared under contract for the Administrators of the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans, at 3 and 46.

⁵ Administrators of the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans (2003). *This Week at MCL: A Memorandum to the Employees of the Medical Center of Louisiana, New Orleans*, July 7-13, 2003, at 1. Accessed via www.mclno.org.

Center (VAMC) is being constructed adjacent to the new public hospital, as indicated in Figure 7.1 (below).





The existing VAMC in New Orleans was originally constructed in 1949 and was expanded in phases through the subsequent decades. The location occupied by the current facility is generally bounded by Perdido Street, Freret Street, Gravier Street and South Claiborne Avenue. In 2004 the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) identified projected long-term gaps in both inpatient and outpatient service delivery in the existing New Orleans VA facility. Following damage from Hurricane Katrina and the subsequent flooding of New Orleans, the VA evaluated their options relating to the delivery of medical services in New Orleans and along the

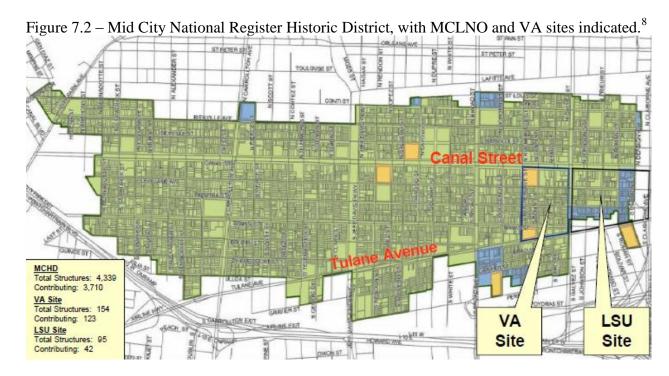
⁶ Department of Veterans Affairs (2008, Dec. 17). *New VA Medical Center in New Orleans: To Site Selection... and Beyond.* Presentation by Don Orndoff, Director, Office of Construction and Facilities Management, Department of Veterans Affairs, to the Bureau of Governmental Research, at slide 2. Accessed via www.bgr.org on September 16, 2012.

entire Gulf Coast and reached the conclusion that investment in a new medical center would be preferable to reinvesting in a facility that would not adequately serve their needs into the future.⁷

The 'Bio-Medical District' is the collective name for the concentrated medical industry in New Orleans, comprising not only the sites of the new MCLNO and VAMC hospitals, but also affiliated institutions such as the LSU Health Sciences Center (medical school), the Tulane University hospital and medical school, the Louisiana Cancer Consortium, and the Bio-Innovation Center on Canal Street. However, though this refers to the collective whole of the medical industry in New Orleans, it is the common term used to refer to the specific redevelopment plans relating to the joint MCLNO-VAMC redevelopment in lower Mid-City.

This lower portion of Mid-City, officially designated as the Tulane-Gravier neighborhood by the City Planning Commission (CPC), which was targeted for redevelopment is generally bounded by South Claiborne Avenue, Tulane Avenue, South Broad Street and Canal Street. The Mid-City neighborhood, as defined by the CPC, is directly northwest of Tulane-Gravier across South Broad Street.

⁷ Department of Veterans Affairs (2006). Report to Congress on Plans for Re-establishing a VA Medical Center in New Orleans.



While these neighborhoods are separately designated for City Planning purposes, they are commonly referred to as Mid-City in reference to the Mid-City National Register Historic District, which covers substantial portions of both neighborhoods, as indicated in Figure 7.2 (above).

This chapter will discuss the planning and creation of New Orleans's 'Bio-Medical District' in terms of the concept, the physical development, and the assembly of the real estate needed to execute the overall vision. The footprint of this project is reminiscent of urban renewal projects such as the Civic Center (Chapter 4) and the Cultural Center (Chapter 6), as were the arguments presented by proponents of the location as to the underutilization of land under its present ownership. Unlike these previous projects, the selection of a site was to be publicly debated and analyzed through regulatory schemes designed to prevent disparate impacts on communities; despite this, the research reveals that while processes were legally followed the intention of the requirements were not.

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⁸ Department of Veterans Affairs (2008), at slide 3.

As with the previous projects discussed in this dissertation, governmental actors appear to have only resorted to eminent domain in instances where negotiated purchases failed mainly due to the understanding that exercising this authority is highly unpopular. Unlike the previous projects, the prospect of exercising eminent domain was a major topic of discussion throughout the planning phases of the project, resulting in early cooperative agreements among various levels of government as to how exercise of this authority was to be handled.

The Vision

As stated above, the planning for replacing both Charity Hospital and VAMC began years prior to Hurricane Katrina. Both facilities were projected to become obsolete due to either physical structures, standards of patient care, or projected patient loads. Similarly, both MCLNO and VAMC took long-term perspectives in determining how to deal with the deficiencies of their respective institutions; both wanted new facilities, both wanted room for future expansion, and both wanted modern medical centers that would serve to attract physicians, medical students, and patients well into the future.

MCLNO began planning for replacement of the aging Charity Hospital facility in 2003 when MCLNO administrators hired ADAMS Management Services Corporation to evaluate their existing facilities and develop a strategic long-term plan for future growth of the medical center. This initial report led to the *Site and Facility Master Plan for Consolidation of Charity and University Hospitals at Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans*. This document, which outlined the location for a new hospital and a projected timeline for this development was funded by a legislative appropriation of \$1.3 million in 2003.

The resulting master plan for MCLNO was developed in response to ADAMS and MCLNO's own findings that "the Charity Hospital structure was no longer suited for healthcare

services delivery" and that a "preliminary analysis of University Hospital facilities suggest that its best long-term usage would be primarily for non-clinical activities." With this in mind, the ADAMS planning team encouraged MCLNO to construct a replacement medical center "north of Tulane Avenue, with an address facing Canal Street." The 'north option,' as this location was referred to, was encouraged for several reasons: image, transportation access, and to tie into the "urban redevelopment efforts of the community." 12

Figure 7.3 – "North Option" ¹³



ADAMS also evaluated a second site in this initial master plan; the 'south option' would have kept MCLNO on the south side of Tulane Avenue and called for constructing a new patient tower adjacent to University Hospital on land within and immediately adjacent to the existing campus of the medical center. This location would also require the complete renovation of University Hospital for ambulatory care functions to supplement the inpatient services provided within the proposed adjacent patient tower. This location was discouraged due to the lack of space for future expansion.

⁹ ADAMS (2005), at 3.

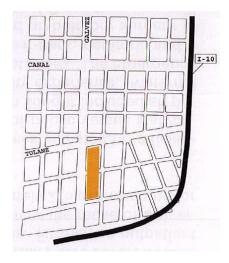
¹⁰ Ibid, at 3

¹¹ Ibid. at 3

¹² Ibid, at 3

¹³ Ibid.

Figure 7.4 – "South Option" ¹⁴



In terms of projected cost, ADAMS estimated that the north option would result in a higher initial cost, approximately \$775 million, with the south option having an estimated cost of \$753 million. Though the initial cost would be higher, MCLNO would see returns in image, future growth potential, and long-term operating costs. The consultants from ADAMS believed that south option would "provide an image challenge" to the renewed facility because of the land-locked nature of the location and the reuse of the existing, historic University Hospital structure. 16

The last consideration voiced in the ADAMS report was that of project timelines. The north option, for which the consultants noted a reasonable expectation of complexities insofar as land acquisition, was projected to actually be faster than utilizing the south option, where a portion of the facility would be new construction and another part renovation. Though the north option was projected to be faster overall, the report does note that "the design and construction schedules for pursuing either site option are almost identical."¹⁷

Ibid.Ibid, at 7

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, at 7

At this same point the VA was also evaluating the conditions of its facilities across the country. In 2004, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs released his Capital Asset Realignment for Enhanced Services Plan (CARES Plan) which provided a comprehensive analysis of the VA medical system as a whole and identified issues that needed to be addressed from facilities to systemic changes. Through this study, the VA Secretary determined that there would be long-term gaps in both inpatient and outpatient care at the VAMC in New Orleans.¹⁸

In addition to the concerns of the CARES evaluation regarding the ability of the facility to adequately care for veterans into the future, the VA also determined that there were physical deficiencies in the existing facility and site that were not compliant with the Department's *Physical Security Design Manual for Mission Critical Facilities*. The requirements of this manual provided minimum distances away from a facility that a vehicle may park or travel, emergency utility provisions, and ability to adequately supply food, water and fuel to the facility should it be isolated for a prolonged length of time. ¹⁹ Combined, these deficiencies in physical plant and service delivery led the VA to evaluate the possibility of fully replacing the existing VAMC with a modern facility that would address all of the noted problems.

While the plan for the replacement VAMC was seen as a long-term capital improvement, the plan to replace MCLNO was projected to come to fruition by 2013. This 2013 target date was based on ADAMS projection that the State of Louisiana would act to fund the master plan for the facility during the 2006 Regular Legislative Session. What could not be projected at this time was the devastation which would befall New Orleans in August of 2005 as a result of Hurricane Katrina.

¹⁸ Department of Veterans Affairs (2006).

¹⁹ Administrators of the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans (2008). *Final Programmatic Environmental Asessment for Site Selection: Veterans Affairs Medical Center (VAMC) and Louisiana State University Academic Medical Center of Louisiana (LSUAMC)*, November 2008. Accessed via valsumedcenters.com on May 24, 2012. ²⁰ ADAMS (2005)

Due to the weeks of flooding that followed Hurricane Katrina's landfall, both Charity Hospital and the VAMC sustained significant damage to their electrical and plumbing systems. Once this damage was sustained, a major concern beyond the pre-existing deficiencies became the ability to adequately remediate the damages to the facilities. The VA outlined the damages incurred within the VAMC in a report to Congress in early 2006, noting that there was no electric service to the building for weeks and that there had been extensive water and moisture damage to the building and the medical equipment contained therein. Further, the water and moisture infiltration caused mildew and mold to spread, "creating unacceptable conditions for a medical facility." The VA's report noted that similar conditions were reported in other nearby medical facilities as well.

In September of 2006 the Government Accountability Office (GAO) issued a report to Congress entitled *Hurricane Katrina: Status of Hospital Inpatient and Emergency Departments* in the Greater New Orleans Area explained that the State of Louisiana, through MCLNO, was working to reopen University Hospital to bring some medical services back online in the New Orleans area. There were, however, no plans to reopen Charity Hospital due to a combination of flood damage and the existing deficiencies that were viewed as impediments to modern medical care.²²

The self-reported need for new facilities led MCLNO and the VA to create the Collaborative Opportunities Study Group (COSG) to begin exploring options for the development of a joint medical facility.²³ The project, as envisioned by this group, would allow each entity to create individual patient towers while connecting the two with shared services that

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²¹ Department of Veterans Affairs (2006), at 7.

²² Government Accountability Office (2006, September). *Hurricane Katrina: Status of Hospital Inpatient and Emergency Departments in the Greater New Orleans Area*. Accessed via gao.gov, GAO-06-1003.
²³ Ibid.

would accommodate both medical centers. Interestingly, while there was no firm plan developed nor had a site officially been selected, the VA reported to Congress in February of 2006 that they were evaluating the possibility of a joint medical facility with MCLNO to be located in the general area bounded by South Claiborne Avenue, Canal Street, South Broad Street, and Tulane Avenue.²⁴

MCLNO and VA joined to form a vision of modern medical care for post-Katrina New Orleans early in 2006. This vision, as stated by the VA, would allow for the replacement of both VACM and Charity Hospital with a "hurricane hardened, single campus / shared support services model... with a state of the art medical center" that would "be more cost-effective than LSU and VA operating stand-alone facilities." It was with this vision in mind that the VA, MCLNO, and State of Louisiana proceeded with post-Katrina facility planning and site selection. The Planning

While the need and general concept for these replacement medical facilities was established in the years prior to Hurricane Katrina, the disaster was seized upon as an opportunity to bring this vision to life. In February of 2006, in his *Report to Congress on Plans for Re-establishing a VA Medical Center in New Orleans*, VA Secretary R. James Nicholson outlined the options being considered by the Veterans Administration for providing medical care to veterans in southeastern Louisiana. Four separate options were being evaluated and even at this early stage a 'preferred option' had emerged. The options under consideration were:

- 1) Restoration and hardening of the existing facility.
- 2) Renovation and remodeling of the existing facility.
- 3) Construction of a new 'shared' facility in the general area of the existing hospital.
- 4) Construction of a new 'stand-alone' facility in a location to be determined.

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²⁴ Department of Veterans Affairs (2006)

²⁵ Ibid, at 11.

²⁶ Government Accountability Office (2006, September), at 23.

Among the options under consideration by the VA, the preferred option was clear: a new facility should be constructed in conjunction with the proposed replacement MCLNO complex. While final site selection was still years away, the VA included in their report a map (Figure 7.3), below, indicating the 'general area' in which the new VAMC would be constructed should their 'preferred option' be exercised.²⁷

Figure 7.5 – "Building Site for Option 3"²⁸



Required as part of this 'preferred option' was that a sufficient site would have to be provided by the State of Louisiana for the project to move forward; at this stage, specific site requirements had not been developed but "sufficient land to ensure adequate hurricane hardening of the campus" was a priority. The VA noted that there were three assumptions critical to the selection of this option, one being obtaining the required land, and another being the mustering of Congressional support for the project, in terms of funding.

The third assumption was that the State of Louisiana would be able to create a funding package to actually construct the MCLNO sections of the overall complex. Without this

²⁹ Ibid, at 11.

²⁷ Department of Veterans Affairs (2006)

²⁸ Ibid.

element, the benefits to be realized through the construction of a shared facility would be lost; particularly, at this stage in planning for the new complex, it was assumed that certain physical improvements and medical-related services would be shared between the facilities, lowering the initial cost of development and the long term operating costs. Among these 'shared' elements would be

common areas [that] would provide space for shared non-clinical support services such as parking, food services, laundry, energy and utility management, and helipad – these would be located in sections of the facility convenient to the bed towers. Separate, though contiguous, diagnostic, major therapeutic and interventional areas such as laboratory, radiology, catherization (sic) labs, and operating suites would be built for both the VA and [MCLNO].³⁰

With the assumption made regarding the State of Louisiana's ability to finance the replacement MCLNO, the VA signed an agreement with MCLNO officials in February of 2006 to "explore the feasibility of jointly building a teaching hospital and Level I trauma center in downtown New Orleans." ³¹

According to the General Accountability Office (GAO), when they visited with MCLNO officials early in 2006, there were a number of planning efforts underway but no consensus on plans to move forward with reestablishing a public hospital in New Orleans. The most difficult element of moving forward at this time appears to have been the availability of basic information. There were many unknowns: population to be served, full extent of damages in existing facilities, post-disaster funding to be made available by the Federal Emergency

³⁰ Ibid. at 11.

³¹ Government Accountability Office (2006, March). Hurricane Katrina: Status of the Health Care System in New Orleans and Difficult Decisions Related to Efforts to Rebuilt It Approximately 6 Months After Hurricane Katrina. Accessed via gao.gov, GAO-06-576R, at 7.

Management Agency (FEMA), and what, if any, capital improvement dollars may be made available by the State.³²

In order to begin addressing these issues, MCLNO again contracted with ADAMS, the same firm that had previously been contracted to develop a master plan for the replacement of Charity and University Hospitals, to evaluate the damages to the existing facilities and develop a cost estimate for their complete restoration. The goal was to convince FEMA that MCLNO was entitled to replacement facilities rather than funding for restoration of the existing hospital.³³

In order to understand the distinction between restoration and replacement funding though FEMA, it is important to ascertain the guidelines of the Stafford Act, which established the assistance protocol for FEMA post-disaster assistance. The Stafford Act, or more formally the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. § 5121 et seq.), is the law which enables FEMA to administer disaster assistance and defines how that assistance is to be administered. Under the Stafford Act, public and non-profit entities are aided in the reestablishment of the services or facilities to pre-disaster levels. Immediately following a presidentially-declared disaster, FEMA mobilizes to assess public facilities to determine the level of funding required to restore governmental or non-profit functions in an affected area. As part of this assessment, FEMA is not only calculating the dollar value of repairing damages facilities, but is assessing the replacement cost of the facility itself. This replacement cost is key to establishing the level at which FEMA will fund the reestablishment of the impacted facility.³⁴

As outlined in the Stafford Act, FEMA will aid in the repair of a disaster-damaged facility if the cost of that repair does not exceed 50% of the replacement cost of the facility as a

³² Ibid. ³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Federal Emergency Management Agency (1999). Public Assistance: Public Assistance Guide. FEMA Publication FEMA-322.

whole. If the projected repair cost does exceed that 50% threshold, FEMA will aid in the complete replacement of the facility. The assessment of damages is initially conducted by FEMA but the owner of the facility retains the right to dispute FEMA's findings through an independent assessment of damaged facility.

It is important to note two additional factors which play into the FEMA-funding mechanism. The first is code-required upgrades and the second is that FEMA's assistance reimburses actual costs. While FEMA is statutorily limited in providing assistance to return a facility to its pre-disaster condition and level of service, the Stafford Act requires that FEMA cover the cost of required code upgrades, the cost of which in an older structure could be substantial; however, regardless of the price tag associated with these upgrades, this is not included in the repair versus replacement calculation. Secondly, FEMA's Public Assistance program provides reimbursement for the full value of work required to return a facility to pre-disaster condition. This means that regardless of the initial assessment of damages, if further damage is discovered during repair which increases the cost of the work FEMA will still pay the actual cost associated with the repairs; this increase in cost also does not impact the 50% repair versus replace calculation because both FEMA and the eligible applicant have already agreed to repair the facility. 35, 36

With this understanding of the Stafford Act and the costs eligible for FEMA assistance, MCLNO, in conjunction with the ADAMS consultation team fully assessed the damages to Charity and University Hospitals and determined that there were substantial disaster-related damages present in both facilities to warrant the complete replacement of these structures under

³⁵ Federal Emergency Management Agency (1999).

³⁶ This is a simplified breakdown of the FEMA Public Assistance funding mechanism, for more detailed information see FEMA Publications FEMA-321 (*Public Assistance: Policy Digest*) and FEMA-322 (*Public Assistance: Public Assistance Guide*), available via www.fema.gov.

FEMA's disaster assistance guidelines. FEMA's initial damage assessments of these facilities indicated far less in damages than the MCLNO/ADAMS team indicated. The estimated costs are reported in Table 7.1 (below).³⁷

Table 7.1 – LSU (MCLNO) versus FEMA Cost Estimates for MCLNO Hospitals³⁸

	LSU's Estimates	FEMA's Estimates	
Charity Hospital			
Repair Estimate (in millions)	\$257.7	\$27	
Replacement Estimate (in millions)	\$395.4	\$147.7 - \$267.3	
Repair Cost as a percentage of	65%	10% - 18%	
Replacement Estimate	0370	10% - 18%	
University Hospital			
Repair Estimate (in millions)	\$117.4	\$13.4	
Replacement Estimate (in millions)	\$171.7	\$57.4 - \$103.9	
Repair Cost as a percentage of	68%	13% - 23%	
Replacement Estimate	08%	13% - 25%	

The GAO notes that the disparity in these figures is partially attributable to ADAMS determination that the "mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems were beyond repair" and that "there were significant environmental safety problems" in the facilities. 39 While FEMA did note that these issues were present, they assessed the damages as repairable and estimated a far lower cost than the ADAMS team was proposing for similar work.⁴⁰

While financing for the replacement VAMC was appropriated by Congress in June of 2006, ⁴¹ funding for MCLNO would not be finalized until 2010 following a lengthy appeals process where the State of Louisiana, LSU, and MCLNO appealed FEMA's assistance offers to the United States Civilian Board of Contract Appeals. This Board determined that the MCLNO/ADAMS estimate of damages was more accurate than the FEMA assessment and that

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³⁷ Government Accountability Office (2006, September)

⁴⁰ Government Accountability Office (2006, September)
41 www.neworleans.va.gov

in light of this determination MCLNO was entitled to the full replacement cost of Charity and University Hospitals, which was determined to be \$474.7 million.⁴²

Even with financing not-yet-determined, MCLNO moved forward with planning for a new hospital complex in conjunction with the proposed VAMC. In selecting a location for the new MCLNO facility, the hospital administrators and state officials referred back to the ADAMS report of 2005 which advocated locating a new facility in the area roughly bounded by Canal Street, South Galvez Street, Tulane Avenue, and South Claiborne Avenue. This area was initially studied by ADAMS and MCLNO because of the presence of a large amount of vacant and underutilized property, but the initial plan to occupy four municipal squares, as indicated in Figure 7.3, had since grown to encompass all squares within the general boundaries of the site. These fifteen squares, comprising approximately 37 acres, were essentially selected by the time that MCLNO entered into their feasibility study with the VA in 2006. In addition to the 37 acres to be occupied by MCLNO, an additional, contiguous 29 acres was recommended for the VAMC in the area bounded by Canal Street, South Rocheblave Street, Tulane Avenue, and South Galvez Street.

Although MCLNO and VA officials appear to have decided on their location prior to doing so, the VA released a public Request for Proposals soliciting a site of 25 to 75 acres in size, within a geographic area bounded by the south shore of Lake Pontchartrain, the east bank of the Mississippi River, the Jefferson/St. Charles Parish line and Franklin Avenue (in New Orleans). In light of this request, the RPC coordinated a response from State, City, and regional officials to formally propose the Mid-City location directly adjacent to the MCLNO site to the

⁴² United States Civilian Board of Contract Appeals, (2010). Decision in the matter of State of Louisiana, Facility Planning and Control (RE: FEMA-1603-DR-LA (Charity Hospital)).

Louisiana State University, (2007). LSU Fact Sheet: *Highlights: Proposed Joint LSU VA Facility*, April 20, 2007.
 Veterans Administration Request for Site Proposals. Accessed via the New Orleans City Planning Commission, Files of Deputy Director Leslie T. Alley.

VA. 45 In addition being contiguous to the location selected for the construction of MCLNO, the RPC notes that the site proposed to the VA was selected due to "its proximity to downtown amenities, public transportation, existing housing and...existing institutions of higher learning."

In response to the VA's site requirements, the RPC proposal called for the State to acquire the property on behalf of the City. This arrangement was established in a Cooperative Endeavor Agreement between the City of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana which called for the State to acquire property with financing to be provided by the City;⁴⁷ the purpose of this arrangement was to allow use of the State's "quick-take" expropriation authority to avoid delays in the assembly of the development site being proposed to the VA.⁴⁸ The Cooperative Endeavor Agreement called for the state to use "any authority available" to acquire the needed property for the "public purpose" of the proposed VAMC and appears to have been written to avoid the express mention of expropriation.⁴⁹ The RPC's formal response to the VA, however, was far more direct, and in outlining the Site Acquisition Strategy, indicating that "the State of Louisiana (via LSU) will utilize quick-take authority to acquire the 34 acre site.... Acquisition will occur immediately and will not hinge on the proposed LSU teaching facility."⁵⁰

This 'quick-take' authority is a legal mechanism available to the State of Louisiana (but not the City of New Orleans) where land can be immediately expropriated without a final determination as to the true 'just compensation' value of the property. Essentially, the

⁴⁵ Regional Planning Commission (2007). *Rebuild, Redevelop, Renew, In Response To: Expression of Interest Regarding Land Assembly for the Veterans Affairs Hospital*. Accessed via the Regional Planning Commission. ⁴⁶ Ibid, at 4.

⁴⁷ Cooperative Endeavor Agreement By and Between City of New Orleans and the Division of Administration of the State of Louisiana (Joint Response to Request for Expressions of Interest by Department of Veterans Affairs for a Site for Construction of Medical Center), dated April 30, 2007. Accessed via the New Orleans City Planning Commission, Files of Deputy Director Leslie T. Alley.

⁴⁸ Regional Planning Commission (2007).

⁴⁹ Cooperative Endeavor Agreement dated April 30, 2007.

⁵⁰ Regional Planning Commission (2007), at 9.

government petitions the court for immediate transfer of title and if the petition is granted the government deposits the appraised property value with the court and acquires clear title to the property. The property owner from whom the property was taken retains the right to pursue legal action to increase the 'just compensation' value of the property following this action but allows property acquisition and subsequent redevelopment to occur without prolonged legal action.⁵¹

Once land assembly was complete, title would be transferred to the VA for development of their medical center. This was particularly important in creating an expedited timeline for the construction of the VAMC. Additionally, the RPC outlined supplementary 'economic incentives' to the VA in the form of infrastructure improvements in the vicinity of the proposed VAMC site. The City of New Orleans pledged \$2.4 million in infrastructure upgrades within the proposed Medical District, which could be used for off-site improvements such as sidewalks and pedestrian lighting. ⁵²

Within the RPC's proposal, the courting of the VAMC and the vision of the new MCLNO campus was painted as "THE critical economic development project for the City of New Orleans." The economic development potential of these combined facilities was seen as the motivating force in the City's acquiescence in clear-cutting a section of a National Register Historic District to provide land for the proposed VAMC. When combined with the MCLNO project, the RPC estimated that the capital investment would total approximately \$2 billion and provide an annual economic impact of \$1.26 billion with an estimated 20,000 construction jobs

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⁵¹ Government Accountability Office (2006, November). *Eminent Domain: Information about Its Uses and Effect on Property Owners and Communities Is Limited*. Accessed via gao.gov, GAO-07-28.

⁵² Regional Planning Commission (2007).

⁵³ Ibid, at 1. Emphasis directly quoted.

and 10,000 permanent jobs.⁵⁴ This impact would be experienced not only by New Orleans, but by the entire metropolitan area. The breadth of this impact was, as the RPC indicated, also a motivating factor in the proposal of this location. Under Executive Order 12072, signed by President Carter in 1978, site selection for federal facilities must give "serious consideration to the impact a site selection will have on improving the social, economic and environmental conditions of an urban area."⁵⁵

Following submission of the RPC's proposal to the VA in April of 2007, the VA and FEMA, on behalf of the State, moved forward with preliminary studies relative the federally-mandated Section 106 Review process, since much of the proposed MCLNO/VA site was within a National Register Historic District. On July 17, 2008, MCLNO and the VA separately submitted letters to the State Historic Preservation Officer outlining the "Areas of Potential Effect" for development of the MCLNO and VAMC facilities on the proposed Mid-City sites. These assessments, which evaluated every structure within the proposed footprints, outlined those structures individually listed on the National Register, those eligible for listing, and those ineligible for listing in order to determine the scope of the potential impact on the historic resources of the Mid-City National Register Historic District. 56,57

These initial inventories led to Findings of No Significant Impact (FONSIs) by the VA and FEMA, both issued on November 24, 2008. While both noted that there would be impacts to the Mid-City National Register Historic District, including the demolition of contributing elements, the belief was that through the Programmatic Environmental Assessment (PEA) any

⁵⁴ Regional Planning Commission (2007).

⁵⁵ Ibid, at 2, quoting Executive Order 12072.

⁵⁶ Letter from the Department of Veterans Affairs to Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, July 17, 2008. Accessed via www.consult106.org.

⁵⁷ Letter from the Federal Emergency Management Agency to Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, Jul7 17, 2008. Accessed via www.consult106.org.

adverse effects could be minimized.⁵⁸ Immediately following release of the FONSIs, MCLNO and the VA, on November 25, 2008, held an event at which they announced the final site selection for the new medical facilities.

In a press release touting the announcement of the site selection, the Deputy Secretary of the VA stated that the site was selected "because it offers the best solution for our veterans, today and into the future" and that "the site, located within a robust medical district with affiliate heath care teaching universities, promotes long term operational synergy and efficiency." LSU officials, speaking of the medical district and the MCLNO site selection stated that "building these hospitals within close proximity to each other assures the future of top quality health care, research, and medical education not only for the New Orleans area but for the entire state" and added that the facilities "are destined to be models of health care reform for the nation." 60

In the midst of the fanfare by local officials which accompanied the announcement, there was a strong resentment within the community which had been growing for some time.

Although the press conference of November 25, 2008 marked the announcement of the official site selection, it signified the end of a protracted process where state and federal officials all but declared that this area was the only site under consideration. The MCLNO site was essentially targeted through the 2005 ADAMS report and the VAMC site was selected in early 2007 due to its proximity to MCLNO's favored location. The first time there was a public forum for discussion of either location was November of 2007. Although State officials presented the meeting as one of a series where the public would have the chance to guide decision-making,

Final Programmatic Environmental Assessment for Site Selection: Veterans Affairs Medical Center (VAMC) and Louisiana State University Academic Medical Center of Louisiana (LSU AMC), November 2008. Accessed via www.valsemedcenters.com.
 United States Department of Veterans Affairs Press Release, VA and Louisiana State University Announce Site

⁵⁹ United States Department of Veterans Affairs Press Release, VA and Louisiana State University Announce Site Selections for New Orleans Medical Center Projects, November 25, 2008. Accessed via www.va.gov. ⁶⁰ Ibid.

residents noted that LSU and hospital officials had announced as early as the summer of 2006 that they would build a new flagship medical complex in lower Mid-City.⁶¹

The lack of firm statements or public involvement left the community mired in confusion. Mayor C. Ray Nagin was consistently on message calling on New Orleanians to return to the city and participate in rebuilding, noting a "right to return" for all citizens⁶² while the administration simultaneously coordinated with the RPC to propose razing nearly 70 acres of a primarily residential historic neighborhood. To this end, following the April 2007 proposal of the Mid-City location to the VA, the New Orleans City Council adopted a moratorium on building permits within the tentative MCLNO and VA sites. Ordinance 22,900 MCS, adopted by the City Council on November 20, 2007 enacted the 'Regional Medical District Redevelopment Moratorium' which served to prohibit the "the issuance of any building permits for construction, renovations, repairs, or for demolition of buildings."63 In preparation for the eventual property acquisition and to demonstrate the need for enactment of a permit moratorium, the City extracted data on the active permits within the medical center footprint to determine how many structures were undergoing renovation. Figure 7.4 (below) shows the active permits outstanding as of August 30, 2007, which was four months after this site was proposed for clearance and three months before the adoption of the permit moratorium to slow redevelopment in this area. It can be inferred from the Ordinance that this measure was essentially enacted to stop people from improving flood-damaged properties which would then lead to increased appraisals when the time came for purchase or expropriation; the ordinance, using the tell-tale language of impending expropriation, stated that "the purpose of this temporary measure is to enable the development of

⁶¹ Moran, K. (2008, Feb. 23). Plans for LSU-VA hospital complex stir resentment, *The Times-Picayune*. Accessed via www.nola.com.

⁶² Warner, C (2006, August 31). N.O. Planning Process Puts Residents on Edge: There's no way to tell what happens next, *The Times-Picayune*. Accessed via www.theurbanconservancy.org.

⁶³ Ordinance 22,900 MCS.

the VA Hospital and LSU Medical Center, thereby serving the public purpose of providing healthcare to the citizens of New Orleans."64

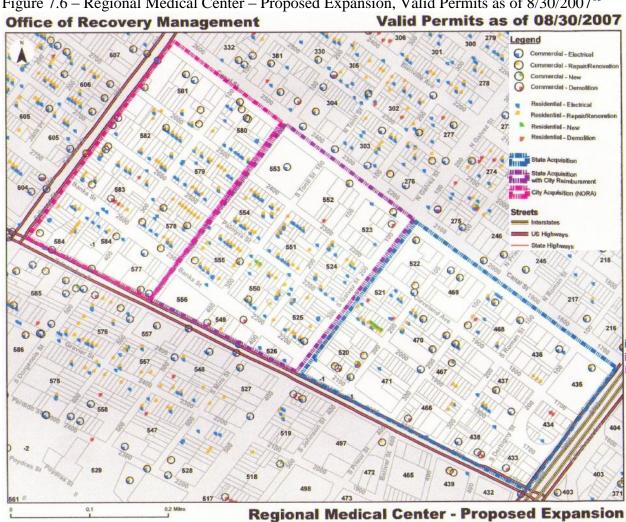


Figure 7.6 – Regional Medical Center – Proposed Expansion, Valid Permits as of 8/30/2007⁶⁵

Following the first public meeting and adoption of the permitting moratorium in November of 2007, city, state and federal officials held several additional meetings before formally making their site selection announcement on November 25, 2008. These meetings, while posed to the public as opportunities to have a voice in the process, were generally regarded as appeasement of a process more than actual opportunities for involvement. From June through

⁶⁵ Map of the Regional Medical Center – Proposed Extension, indicating valid building permits as of August 30, 2007. Accessed via the New Orleans City Planning Commission, Files of Deputy Director Leslie T. Alley.

August of 2008, several public meetings were held to provide the public with an opportunity to voice their positions relative to the MCLNO and VAMC proposed facilities.

According to the PEA, of the comments received through these public meetings as well as via email, letter and website postings, 11% of all comments were relative to a lack of public involvement in the site selection process. Comments falling under this category ranged from lack of available information as to criteria being used to select a final location to the belief that a site had already been selected to belief that incorrect information was being disseminated to the public in the meetings. Officials responded to these criticisms by noting that public involvement is a required element of both the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Historic Preservation Act, to that end a project website was developed that allowed all relevant information to be publicly posted for review and comment. They added that while "[n]o decision has been made as to final site selection" the site must "meet a number of criteria in order to achieve the purpose and need of the project."66 The PEA summarizes the site selection criteria for both MCLNO and VAMC facilities as:

- Proximity to Louisiana State University (LSU) Health Sciences along Tulane Avenue and other related health education providers.
- Access from Interstate-10 and local collector streets.
- Area and geometry of the site.
- Adequate growth and expansion potential.

Although there were, officially, alternative sites under consideration at this time, the criteria clearly indicated that there would only be one location in contention for final site selection. Of the two alternative sites being reviewed for selection by the VAMC, one was in

⁶⁶ Final Programmatic Environmental Assessment for Site Selection: Veterans Affairs Medical Center (VAMC) and Louisiana State University Academic Medical Center of Louisiana (LSU AMC), Appendix A-1, November 2008, at 3. Accessed via www.valsemedcenters.com.

Jefferson Parish and the other located further north in Mid-City along North Jefferson Davis Parkway at the site formerly occupied by the Lindy Boggs Medical Center, which was abandoned following Hurricane Katrina. Neither of these locations appears to have met the narrowly crafted criteria for site selection set forth by the State and the VA. From the PEA it appears that no other sites were under consideration by the State for development of MCLNO, the only alternative presented was the restoration of Charity Hospital.⁶⁷

Of the remaining comments received during these three months of public input, the PEA breaks them down generally as: 17% indicating need for additional/improved health care in New Orleans; 14% relating to preservation of historic structures; 17% in support of the proposed Mid-City location; 13% in opposition to the Mid-City location; 13% in support of the Lindsey Boggs location; 1% opposed to the Lindsey Boggs location; 1% in support for the Ochsner (Jefferson Parish) location, 1% opposed to the Ochsner (Jefferson Parish) location; 6% relating to renovation of Charity Hospital; 3% relating to renovation of the existing VAMC; and 3% classified as 'miscellaneous.'68

Although 11% of all comments related to lack of true public involvement, these concerns were brushed aside in the crafting of the final PEA, leading many to question if the ultimate site selection was ever actually being evaluated through this process. ⁶⁹ Following the announcement of site selection, an announcement that certainly offered no surprises for those involved in the public meetings, preservationists and neighbors united in decrying the choice and panned City,

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Winkler-Schmit, D. (2008, December 22). Site Specific: Did the public ever really have a say in where the new \$2 billion medical campus will be located?, *Gambit Weekly*. Accessed via www.bestofneworleans.com.

State and federal agencies as failing to recognize the impact the decision would have on individuals and their historic community.⁷⁰

Citizen activists and local elected officials similarly questioned if the public meetings were envisioned as meaningful opportunities for public involvement or merely held in fulfillment of federal regulations. According to Derrick Morrison, a citizen involved in the public meeting process and a co-chair of an organization calling for the renovation of Charity Hospital, the public meetings "were a sham," 71 noting the existing memorandum of understanding between the City and the State regarding land acquisition and another memorandum of understanding between the City, State and VA which called for the VA to suspend alternative site evaluations provided that the City met its obligations with respect to the Mid-City site. Likewise, Councilmember Stacy Head, who represented the selected area, stated that she was unsure if officials were "truly going into [the public meeting process] with an open mind" and noted that "there was little the Council could have done, short of shutting down the plan altogether." 72

Conversely, the State and VA officials believed that the public hearing process was valid and that the community should not be discouraged by the 'preference' of the Mid-City locations over other alternatives. Further, they noted that there were valuable results of the public meeting process, among those being that LSU and the VA were able to move forward with their preferred sites and that the State came to favor making the Charity Hospital structure available to developers for non-hospital uses.⁷³

Within the areas ultimately selected for the development of MCLNO and VAMC, surveys revealed that approximately 618 individuals resided within the proposed footprint of the

⁷⁰ Nossiter, A. (2008, November 26). Plan for New Orleans Hospitals Draws Outcry, *The New York Times*. Accessed via www.nytimes.com.

⁷¹ Winkler-Schmit, D. (2008, December 22)

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

facilities in 265 individual housing units. Of the 618 individuals, 88% were minority and 46% qualified as low income. Due to these percentages of minority and low income residents, the area qualified as a "community of concern" for purposes of PEA environmental justice evaluation. The PEA determined that while there were environmental justice concerns for this population, the impact of the proposed projects could be sufficiently mitigated through relocation assistance. This would include replacement housing payments which would offset increased cost in obtaining comparable housing or placement in 'housing of last resort' (public housing) if such comparable housing was deemed unavailable or if the individual's financial means dictated.⁷⁴

The physical development of the site was surveyed to determine the number and types of structures that would be removed. The results of this survey were also used to reinforce the position that the proposed sites were underutilized and generally in blighted condition, making them ripe for redevelopment. In all, the combined site contained a total of 460 parcels, with a total of 184 parcels on the proposed VAMC site and 276 on the MCLNO site. Table 7.1 outlines the findings of this survey, which is also visually represented in Figures 7.5 and 7.6.

Table 7.2 – VAMC / MCLNO Site Land Use Survey Results⁷⁵

VAMC		MCLNO		
Use	Property Count	Use	Property Count	
Occupied Residential	63	Occupied Residential	31	
Active Commercial	16	Active Commercial	27	
Vacant Residential	65	Vacant Residential	27	
Inactive Commercial	17	Inactive Commercial	17	
Vacant Lot	23	Vacant Lot	174	

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⁷⁴ Final Programmatic Environmental Assessment for Site Selection

⁷⁵ Final Programmatic Environmental Assessment for Site Selection, data compiled from text pp 3-14.

Figure 7.7– Proposed VAMC Site Land Use Survey, with legend. 76

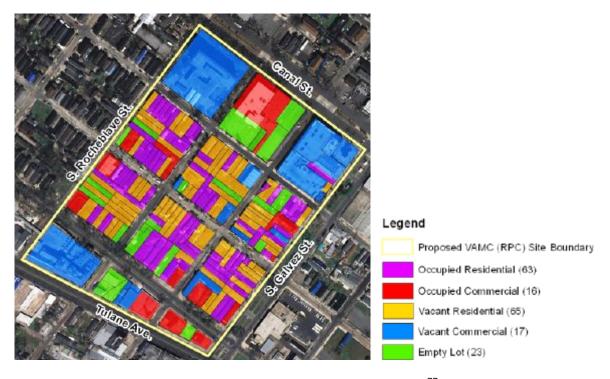
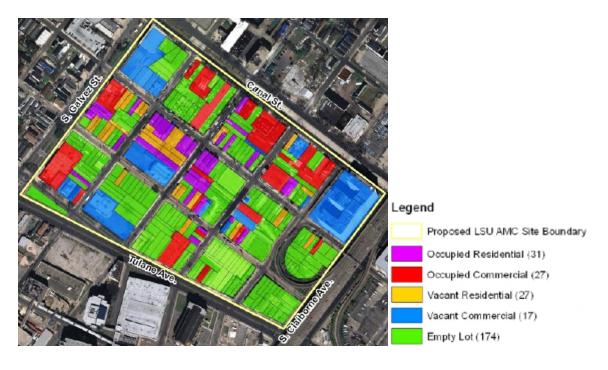


Figure 7.8 – Proposed MCLNO Site Land Use Survey, with legend. 77



⁷⁶ Ibid. ⁷⁷ Ibid.

Based on the physical survey of the proposed hospital sites, a total of 323 parcels were considered 'vacant' due to either being entirely undeveloped or uninhabited. Using these development numbers, the total number of vacant properties amounted to 57% of the VAMC site and 79% of the MCLNO site.⁷⁸

In addition to the use of individual properties, the PEA also provided an analysis of the historic character of the overall site as well as the notable structures within the area. The location selected for MCLNO and VAMC facilities are within the boundaries of the Mid-City National Register Historic District and several structures within the footprint were individually listed or eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The area comprising the Mid-City National Register Historic District was developed between the 1880s and early 1900s, with most residential structures falling into the shotgun and Bungalow styles, and accounting for 55.3% and 31.4% of the 'contributing' structures within the District, respectively. The remaining architectural forms include Queen Anne Revival (17.6%), Italianate (15.7%), and Creole cottages (15%).

Within the VAMC footprint, the Pan-American Life Insurance Building, located at 2400 Canal Street, and the Dixie Brewery, located at 2401 Tulane Avenue, are individually listed in the National Register and it was determined that there would be no mitigation possible to offset the loss of these structures so they are to be retained, renovated and integrated into the VAMC campus. As of the date of this dissertation, renovation of the Pan-American Life Insurance Building is nearing completion and the renovation of the Dixie Brewery has yet to begin.

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⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ New Orleans City Council (2006). *New Orleans Neighborhood Revitalization Plan, Mid-City Neighborhood, Planning District Four*. Prepared for the New Orleans City Council, accessed via www.nolaplans.com on September 20, 2012.

⁸⁰ Final Programmatic Environmental Assessment for Site Selection.

Figure 7.9 – Dixie Brewery⁸¹



In the MCLNO site, there were no individually listed buildings at the time of survey, but it was determined that three properties were eligible for individual inclusion on the National Register: the Deutsches Haus, located at 200 South Galvez Street; the McDonogh Number 11 school, located at 2001 Palmyra Street; and the Orleans House, located at 1800 Canal Street. The eligibility of the Deutsches Haus was determined based on cultural rather than architectural significance, so mitigation measures including photographic documentation and a public display within the MCLNO complex were proposed to allow for the demolition of this structure. The McDonogh Number 11 school was determined to be architecturally significant and is to be relocated from the site. The significance of the Orleans House, and its presence as the last remnant of the original residential character of this section of Canal Street, was determined to be of such importance that the structure and the land it occupies was removed from the MCLNO footprint and the State contributed to the rehabilitation of the structure to return it to productive commerce. 82

⁸¹ Photograph by author.

⁸² Ibid.

Figure 7.10– Orleans House⁸³





The remaining area of the proposed MCLNO/VA sites located within the Mid-City National Register Historic District was analyzed by the VA and FEMA in consultation with the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer and issued a determination that of the District's 3,710 contributing structures, only 165 were within the boundaries of the proposed redevelopment, with 123 within the VAMC site and 42 within the MCLNO site. This accounted for approximately 4.4% of the total contributing building stock within the District. In order to minimize the impact on the Historic District, the City and VA agreed to establish an \$800,000 fund to allow for the relocation and rehabilitation of one-story buildings of "exceptional architectural importance" from the VAMC site to new locations within the Mid-City National Register Historic District. ⁸⁵

The Land Assembly

The State of Louisiana, following official site selection began the process of obtaining third-party appraisals on all properties within the MCLNO/VA footprint. As the ultimate operator of the MCLNO facility, the required land would be directly acquired by LSU. The VAMC properties would be acquired by LSU and the Division of Administration of the

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⁸³ Photograph by author.

⁸⁴ Photograph by author.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Governor's Office with funding by the City of New Orleans, and turned over to the federal government once the site was fully acquired and cleared. As previously discussed, the goal of the City essentially contracting with the State for the acquisition of the VAMC site was so that expropriations, where necessary, could be accomplished through the State's 'quick-take' authority, which is not available to the City of New Orleans.

The State (though LSU and MCLNO) and the VA established a timeline on property acquisitions which called for acquisition of all required properties to be completed by July of 2010.

In the overall property acquisition plan, property acquisition within the VAMC site was to be complete by July 13, 2010 in accordance with the priority overlay indicated in Figure 7.12 (below). Site acquisition for the VAMC was essentially completed by October 25, 2010, with the final parcel, the Dixie Brewery not acquired until February 25, 2011. As of November 30, 2009, one year following the official site selection, only two properties within the VAMC site had been acquired with three closings in process and 26 offers being considered. Reference to the vamp of the vamp of

The MCLNO property acquisition timeline called for complete control of their site by May 21, 2010; however, as of November 30, 2009 no properties had been acquired, five closings were in process and 45 offers were being considered. Property acquisition within the MCLNO site was completed on June 17, 2011, more than one year after the targeted end-date for that stage of the project. 90

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⁸⁶ Amended and Restated Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States Department of Veterans Affiairs and The City of New Orleans, dated February 4, 2010. Accessed via www.consult106.org.

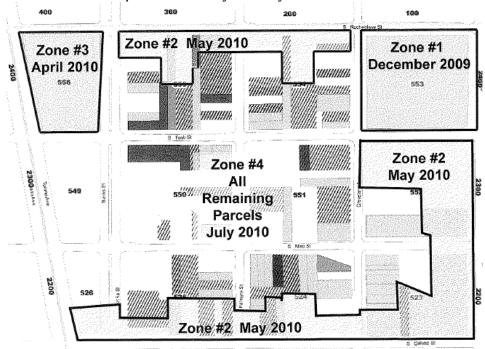
⁸⁷ Orleans Parish Conveyance Records, see Appendix 7.3 for complete detailed list of properties and dates of acquisition.

⁸⁸ New Facilities for the LSU Academic Medical Center, New Orleans, Louisiana: Monthly Report November 2009. Accessed via the New Orleans City Planning Commission, Files of Deputy Director Leslie T. Alley.

⁸⁹ New Facilities for the LSU Academic Medical Center, Monthly Report November 2009.

⁹⁰ Orleans Parish Conveyance Records, see Appendix 7.2 for complete detailed list of properties and dates of acquisition.

Figure 7.12 – VAMC Site Acquisition Priority Overlay⁹¹



Once the State and LSU started assembling the required real estate, they proved to be not at all hesitant about exercising their eminent domain authority. A review of property transfer records relative to the MCLNO and VAMC sites, summarized in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 (below), shows that the State filed expropriation actions 123 times to acquire property. Due to the way these transfers were recorded, it is unclear how many individual 'parcels' of the 460 indicated above were expropriated; however, to complete land assembly there were a total of 294 transactions recorded with the Orleans Parish Office of Conveyances. With 123 expropriation actions out of 294 total property acquisitions, the rate at which the State and LSU exercised their power of eminent domain amounts to 42%.

⁹¹ Amended and Restated Memorandum, dated February 4, 2010.

Table 7.3 – Total Acquisitions and Expropriations for MCLNO. 92

Square	Number of Acquisitions	Number of Expropriations
433	9	8
434	13	6
435	1	1
436	10	5
437	13	5
438	6	4
466	9	1
467	12	2
468	12	1
469	7	2
470	13	3
471	2	1
520	5	2
521	22	7
522	4	1

Table 7.4 – Total Acquisitions and Expropriations for VAMC. 93

Square	Number of Acquisitions	Number of Expropriations
523	6	3
524	17	8
525	24	9
526	2	2
549	5	4
550	21	10
551	25	11
552	3	2
553	1	1
554	25	11
555	26	6
556	1	1

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⁹² Orleans Parish Conveyance Records, see Appendix 7.2 for complete detailed list of properties acquired. These numbers do not reflect the number of 'parcels' noted above from the PEA, but rather individual property transfers recorded by the Conveyance Office which may have included multiple parcels.

⁹³ Orleans Parish Conveyance Records, see Appendix 7.3 for complete detailed list of properties acquired. These numbers do not reflect the number of 'parcels' noted above from the PEA, but rather individual property transfers recorded by the Conveyance Office which may have included multiple parcels.

Through an analysis of the overall property acquisition timeline, it does not appear that the State and LSU chose to exercise their power of eminent domain solely as a time-saving measure to complete the land assembly process based on the project timeline; instead, they appeared to exercise this authority when attempts to reach a negotiated purchase met an impasse. If the state were solely looking to complete land assembly in an expeditious manner, they would have been within their legal authority to file for 'quick-take' on all properties within the designated footprint. As an example, Table 7.4 details the acquisition of Square 437 from within the MCLNO site and is excerpted from Appendix 7.2; this Table indicates that property acquisition within this single municipal square began on May 18, 2010 and concluded on April 8, 2011. Within this time frame there were five individual expropriation actions filed through the Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans and eight privately negotiated sales.

Table 7.5 - Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Square 437 for the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans. 94

Square	Undesignated	1836 Cleveland Ave	\$18,700	5/18/2010		
437	12	1822 Cleveland Ave	\$33,400	10/7/2010	X	
	16, 21	1837 Palmyra St. 228-30 S. Roman St.		10/19/2010	X	
	17, 18, 28, 29,	216-18 S.Roman St.				
	30, A	219 S. Derbigny St.	\$550,600	10/29/2010	X	
	R	211 S. Derbigny St.	\$4,250	10/29/2010	X	
	24	1827 Palmyra St.	\$138,600	2/14/2011		
	11, 13, 14, 15	1826-34 Cleveland Ave 210-12 S. Roman St.	\$118,612	2/23/2011		
	10, B, 11	1812-20 Cleveland Ave	\$90,600	2/23/2011		
	7, S	1800-04 Cleveland Ave	\$41,000	2/25/2011		
	25	1823 Palmyra St.	\$65,000	3/21/2011		
	A	1808-10 Cleveland Ave	\$35,700	4/8/2011	X	
	24	1827 Palmyra St.		3/9/2011	·	
	23	1829-31 Palmyra St.	\$180,000	3/29/2011	·	

Certainly, as with other projects evaluated in this dissertation, it is clear that the State sought to avoid expropriation in favor of negotiated sale when possible. According to the *New*

⁹⁴ Orleans Parish Conveyance Records, see Appendix 7.2 for complete detailed list of properties acquired.

Orleans Parish Conveyance Records, see Appendix 7.2 for complete detailed list of properties acquired.

Facilities for the LSU Academic Medical Center Monthly Report for November of 2009, beyond the outstanding offers noted previously, there were a total of 42 offers being prepared and another 166 parcels where just compensation determinations had been made but where formal offers had not yet been written.

The Legacy

While this project is too recent to draw any meaningful conclusions as to the overall benefit that New Orleans will realize from these projects either in terms of improved health service delivery or economic impact, what is certain is that these projects will move forward and their legacy will shape health care in New Orleans and the surrounding region for many years to come. Notable in the debate which surrounded both the vision and the planning of these facilities was general agreement as to the need for improved medical service in the city; not only an improvement in the physical environment but an improvement in the delivery of care itself.

Certainly there were differences in the overall vision as to what a new medical center should look like and where it should be placed. This is expected in any major civic project, and is especially true in a situation where people stand to be displaced. What is disappointing and troubling is that there was no meaningful public participation in the ultimate decisions which were made regarding this project. It is often thought that planning has come so far since the Urban Renewal days of the 1950s and 1960s, but in evaluating the timeline of events surrounding the MCLNO/VA project, it is clear that this is no different than the projects that have been evaluated in previous chapters. The letter of the law may have been followed, but the spirit and intent of public participation requirements were completely ignored as governmental leaders informed the community what would be in their best interest rather than allowing them to determine that for themselves.

From the perspective of expropriation authority exercised in furtherance of the project, the effective expropriation percentage of 42% is substantially higher than the rate at which properties were taken for previous projects studied in this dissertation. This is somewhat remarkable as this project took place entirely after eminent domain laws in Louisiana were changed to protect private property from governmental takings in response to the U. S. Supreme Court's *Kelo* decision. In reality, at least in the scope of this particular project, these newly-created constitutional protections did nothing to protect property owners who actually saw the state lose patience and expropriate at a higher rate than found even at the height of Urban Renewal.

Between the development of the Cultural Center (Chapter 6) and the formulation of a vision and subsequent planning for the MCLNO/VA hospitals, a number of federal laws have been enacted to force governmental entities to take a closer look at what impact their redevelopment plans will have on people. The National Environmental Protection Act and the National Historic Preservation Act were briefly discussed in this chapter; both require extensive analysis and public comment prior to allowing a project to go forward, the goal of this process being to prevent projects from moving forward where there are viable options that will not negatively impact a community or the overall environment.

The criteria used in site selection made the 'preferred' sites the only ones that could be realistically considered. Certainly for the VAMC there were other viable options in terms of available land, but the requirements set forth for both hospitals that the location have immediate access to Interstate-10 and be located in close proximity to the existing LSU Health Sciences Center made any site other than the eventual selection non-compliant with the selection criteria.

It is hard to blame New Orleans officials for their complacency in allowing the decimation of an historic neighborhood when the alternative was that they would have to concede defeat to losing the economic drivers found in two large, modern hospitals. What is disturbing in their complacency is that, from the available evidence, they did not even try to devise a solution that would have provided equal benefits to residents in terms of retaining their homes while accommodating the development of the medical complex within the same general area.

Looking back on this project in twenty years with the benefit of hindsight may prove that these decisions, while difficult, were truly best for the City, or perhaps not. What is certain is that the legacy of the MCLNO/VA hospital complex, as a project and as a development process, will likely continue to be met with some level of resentment from those displaced and those ignored in the series of 'public meetings.' A possible benefit from this experience may be that the public will no longer allow powerful government entities to skirt public input requirements to ramrod projects into communities; unfortunately, it is likely that there will simply be more of the same. Figure 7.13 – MCLNO, under construction. 95





⁹⁵ Photograph by author.

Chapter 8

Conclusion:

What is taken, Why, and by Whom?

Through the previous six chapters, this dissertation has discussed the vision, planning, and property acquisitions which shaped major projects in New Orleans from 1929 through 2011. These projects run the gamut from localized projects, such as the Municipal Auditorium which impacted only two municipal squares of property, to city-wide undertakings, such as the Interstate Highway System which either directly or indirectly impacted every neighborhood in New Orleans. Regardless of the initial scope of the individual projects, all have shaped the physical, cultural, social, and political landscape of the city in some manner.

The primary finding of this dissertation research is that the exercise of eminent domain has never been used a principal tool in the implementation of redevelopment proposals in the city of New Orleans. All projects throughout the established research period required the use of governmental expropriation authority to complete land acquisition, but in all cases the government's authority was used conservatively and only when privately negotiated purchases failed. This chapter will summarize the findings of the six cases researched in the previous chapters in the context of the research goals and questions presented in Chapter 1. Additionally, the specific cases studied in this document will be comparatively analyzed to determine what, if any, change occurred to the government's exercise of eminent domain authority over the course of the research period.

Chapter 1 of this dissertation set forth three primary research questions which will be addressed individually, but are restated below:

1) To the extent that the City of New Orleans over the last century has pursued specific land use policies through the use of its eminent domain power, what have those policies been?

- 2) What particular factors have played a role in the City's determination as to which areas were suitable for municipal projects, and specifically, to what extent was the impact of such projects on the surrounding community a factor in policy-making?
- 3) What land use strategies, if any, might have been employed by the City that would have been effective in accomplishing the same policy goals without the need for exercising the eminent domain power, and do these strategies present realistic and viable alternatives today?

Before discussing the findings directly relative to these questions, the specific language of the questions must be addressed. The terminology of the questions limits their scope to the actions of the City of New Orleans as a corporate entity. These research questions should be read as inclusive of governmental actors at all levels, federal, state, and city. The placement of projects was not always purely within the purview of the City as the local governing body; for example, in the routing of the Interstate Highway System through New Orleans (Chapter 5), the State Highway Department determined the best route and Mayor Morrison conceded to their perceived expertise in declaring that "the best place to put the highways is where the engineering determines it should be put." To move forward in time by approximately sixty years, the placement of the Bio-Medical District (Chapter 7) was determined by actors outside of city government, specifically Louisiana State University and the U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs, with City leadership blessing the site selection for fear of losing the hospitals as economic drivers to neighboring Jefferson Parish.

1) To the extent that the City of New Orleans over the last century has pursued specific land use policies through the use of its eminent domain power, what have those policies been?

Over the course of this research period, there were several broad land use policies which were manifested in specific projects where eminent domain was utilized. Generally, these

¹ Official Transcript of Proceedings of the Department of Highways, State of Louisiana: Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, February 11, 1958. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 296, at 23.

policies are categorized as improvements in housing and transportation, and slum clearance. The institution of public housing within New Orleans (Chapter 3) was accomplished through the Housing Authority of New Orleans's (HANO) mission of providing safe, sanitary housing to the citizens of the city. To accomplish this goal, HANO undertook the city's first slum-clearance projects to clear land for the construction of public housing.

The first sites selected for redevelopment by HANO were determined to be neighborhoods with the highest proportion of substandard housing, as determined by housing surveys conducted both by HANO and third-party social research organizations. These findings were summarized in HANO's statement that "there is on every hand desolation, despair, squalor, poverty, frustration – the whole sordid and dangerous group of sinister elements that form the component parts of a slum." The removal of these substandard, slum conditions was seen as a necessity and the provision of housing to relieve people from those same conditions was determined to be a priority by all levels of government. Unfortunately, the full scope of eminent domain use in the creation of the St. Thomas and Magnolia Housing Developments could not be determined due to property transfer records being purged from the City's Office of Real Estate and Records following the redevelopment of these sites in the past decade.

The transportation element of land use policy which drove the exercise of eminent domain in New Orleans was the individual automobile. The Mississippi River Bridge and Interstate Highway System in New Orleans resulted in the largest land acquisition of the projects studied, and also resulted in the largest number of expropriations of the six cases. Not only did these projects have the largest impact on citizens at an individual level, through loss of property, but also the largest, and longest lasting, impact on the daily life of metropolitan New Orleans.

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² Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Period March 15, 1937 to December 31, 1938, at 26. Accessed from the New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division.

The Mississippi River Bridge and Interstate Highway System facilitated 'White Flight' that came to define the 1950s and 1960s, causing the rapid growth of adjacent Jefferson Parish and the decline of New Orleans's population and tax base.

Transportation infrastructure, particularly to accommodate automobiles, was seen as critical to the survival of New Orleans as a major city in the 1940s and 1950s. These highways were rooted in a document produced in 1926 by Harland Bartholomew and Associates, entitled *A Preliminary Report on a System of Major Streets* which outlined the needs of New Orleans in terms of adequately handling the growing number of cars on urban streets. In terms of this report, 'major streets' were considered to be wide boulevards that were conducive to traffic flow; however, this initial report was updated in 1947 and again in 1951 by the City Planning and Zoning Commission. These revisions recognized the need for regional highways to not only improve traffic flow within New Orleans but that a coordinated highway system would be required to serve the entire metropolitan area.

It was this adopted plan which laid the foundation for the route proposed by the state for construction of the Interstate Highways in New Orleans. As noted previously, the City was not in a position to dispute the state's proposed highway routes, but the routes were generally consistent with the City's approved plans for transportation infrastructure. In the case of the Mississippi River Bridge and Interstate Highways, the required rights-of-way were acquired by the Mississippi River Bridge Authority, as a state-enabled entity, and the state Highway Department, respectively. The City's involvement in actual property acquisition for these projects was minimal.

The third broad land use policy which was furthered by the use of eminent domain was slum clearance, popularly termed urban renewal. There were two projects undertaken in New

Orleans during the research period that specifically fell into this category, the New Orleans Civic Center (Chapter 4) and the New Orleans Cultural Center (Chapter 6). Both of these projects were promoted as being civic improvements that, at least in the case of the Civic Center, had the added benefit of ridding New Orleans of "one of the worst slum conditions that now exists in New Orleans." Not only did these projects offer to clear areas determined to be 'slums' but would also offer civic amenities in terms of consolidated municipal government in the Civic Center and civic meeting place and an environment for education, recreation and the exchange of ideas in the Cultural Center.

More than the amenities offered in terms of what the residents of New Orleans would seek, there was also financial motivation in these projects for the City as an entity. The sites selected for these projects were seen as not being developed or used to their potential, and this was problematic because if the uses were not being maximized, neither were assessments for property taxes. The City was not shy about stating that private development in conjunction with these projects was seen as a motivator in the planning and ultimate execution of the proposals.

2) What particular factors have played a role in the City's determination as to which areas were suitable for municipal projects, and specifically, to what extent was the impact of such projects on the surrounding community a factor in policy-making?

Across the six cases studied in this dissertation, there were a number of factors which contributed to the selection of sites for government projects. With the exceptions of the Mississippi River Bridge and Interstate Highway System, where the routes were determined primarily based on adopted street plans, all projects were specifically located based on predetermined selection criteria. In the cases of public housing, the Civic Center, and the Cultural Center, the sites were selected based on presence of 'slum conditions' as determined by City

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³ A Proposed Plan for a Central Municipal Center, rev. April 10, 1945. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 431, at 4

officials and, particularly in relation to the latter two, the ability to realize returns on investment in terms of increased property values in the areas immediately adjacent to these undertakings.

In the case of the Municipal Auditorium (Chapter 2) the selected site was chosen based purely on its adjacency to Congo Square, where the City initially wanted to place the structure. The record reveals that the Congo Square site proposal was partially based on ease of access and early proposals for a civic complex centered roughly at Orleans and North Rampart Streets; however, a combination of community opposition and an unclear ruling by the state supreme court waylaid use of this site for the Auditorium. In reaction to these factors, the City chose two municipal squares immediately adjacent to Congo Square as the location for the structure with little discussion beyond saving Congo Square as a park for the surrounding community.

Differing from these earlier projects, the site selection process for the Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans (MCLNO) and the United States Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center (VAMC) was officially based on defined site selection criteria which was to result in the most suitable location for the joint facilities. Unofficially, the selection of the MCLNO site was determined by LSU years before the location would be officially announced and the VAMC site was chosen purely due to its adjacency to MCLNO. LSU stated its preference for what was termed the "North Option" in a 2003 facilities master planning report. This option, with frontage on Canal Street, would present the hospital with a more prominent location that would add to its image as an institution and would allow for the complex to tie into existing transportation infrastructure, most importantly the Canal Street streetcar line and Interstate-10.

Though it played a role in the decision-making, the vanity of MCLNO's desire to have Canal Street frontage did not seem to be the only factor which played into the ultimate site

selection. ADAMS Management Services Corporation, the facility planners for MCLNO, analyzed the selected site in terms reminiscent of the urban renewal projects of an earlier era. The land on which MCLNO has been placed was comprised largely of vacant land or vacant structures, with occupied homes and businesses interspersed. The conclusion reached was to redevelop this tract, which if untouched, would prove to be a hindrance to the development of medical industry-related uses. By redeveloping this area, across Tulane Avenue from the exiting LSU Health Sciences Center, the State would be able to control the type of development within close proximity to their investments while also retaining the ability to foster a unified image for medical training in New Orleans.

As previously stated, the site selection for the VAMC was largely based on adjacency to the MCLNO site. The official solicitation for site proposals in 2007 called for a site of 25 to 75 acres in size, within a geographic area bounded by the south shore of Lake Pontchartrain, the east bank of the Mississippi River, the Jefferson/St. Charles Parish line and Franklin Avenue (in New Orleans). In addition to these geographic limitations, the other criteria included: 1) clear title to the property; 2) full disclosure of any hazardous conditions; 3) access to existing or planned major streets and public transit; and 4) adequate utility service to support the hospital's needs. Though these were the official criteria indicated in 2007, the VA stated in 2006 in a report to Congress that their primary objective was to create a joint facility with LSU and MCLNO adjacent to their proposed new campus in the Mid-City area of New Orleans (see Figure 7.5).

The impact of these projects, from the Municipal Auditorium through the MCLNO/VAMC hospital complex, was routinely evaluated in terms of the potential impact on surrounding communities. However, this evaluation of impact almost always turned on the

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⁴ Veterans Administration Request for Site Proposals. Accessed via the New Orleans City Planning Commission, Files of Deputy Director Leslie T. Alley.

economic impact rather than the impact to those who actually lived within or adjacent to the project footprints. In discussion of site selection for the Municipal Auditorium, the focus was on the potential loss of a public park (Congo Square) and how to replace it, rather than on how the presence of a large convention and performance hall would impact adjacent property owners, though clearly this was considered by some members of the community that intended to capitalize on the presence of the auditorium. What makes the lack of consideration for the community clear in this case is that when the Congo Square site became politically impractical, City leadership quickly offered the privately-held property across St. Claude Street from Congo Square with no discussion as to the impacts on the property owners or the community.

In terms of public housing developments, particularly the first two which were constructed in the most densely developed areas of the city, HANO believed that the presence of modern, safe, and sanitary housing would improve the overall communities. No longer would people be content to live under slum conditions and the market would require upgrades to private low-priced rentals in order to make them competitive with public housing. Though HANO stated the belief that the public housing developments would improve surrounding communities, it is important to note that HANO's mission is to provide housing, not foster community development.

The Civic Center and Cultural Center, as discussed previously, were seen as mechanisms to aid in elevating property values, which would theoretically help adjacent private property owners just as much as it would aid the City in terms of increased property taxes. In addition to this factor, both projects were seen as key to guiding the growth of the Central Business District in a manner that official City Planning found appropriate. The Civic Center was to guide growth north towards Charity Hospital and Tulane Avenue while the Cultural Center was envisioned as

creating a barrier to prevent the future expansion of the Central Business District into the historic Tremé neighborhood. The Civic Center project did accomplish the goal of guiding growth. The Central Business District expanded to the north along Poydras Street where numerous office buildings and the Mercedes-Benz Superdome stand today. Conversely, the Cultural Center has resulted in a barrier between the French Quarter and the Tremé neighborhood rather than between the Central Business District and a residential community.

One other note regarding the Civic Center's potential impact on its surrounding community is that the goal of the project was to guide the growth of the Central Business District to the north, which necessitated the complete elimination of the community. The Civic Center project was proposed atop the only pocket of residentially used land in the downtown area. The stated goal of the project was to guide commercial growth in that direction and City leadership determined that this could only be accomplished by removing residential uses. So one could infer from this that the ramifications on the surrounding community were fully considered and the decision was made to eliminate the neighborhood in favor of commercial growth.

The MCLNO/VAMC project presents the most evidence of consideration on the impact the projects would have on the surrounding community. This is a result of legally-mandated studies that were required prior to the release of federal funds to undertake the projects. It should be noted that just because the impacts were considered does not mean that governmental actors were necessarily concerned about the potential negative consequences. Requirements of both the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) require governmental actors to fully evaluate the impact of government projects prior to their approval to prevent harm to communities surrounding new facilities. In evaluating the potential impact of the MCLNO/VAMC project, Findings of No Significant Impact were issued based on:

- 1) that the proposed changes to land use designations (zoning) within the site were not substantial; 2) no federal, state, or local agency was in opposition to the project; 3) potential for environmental impact was minimal; and 4) mitigation measures would be taken to reduce the harm to the Mid-City National Register Historic District.⁵
- 3) What land use strategies, if any, might have been employed by the City that would have been effective in accomplishing the same policy goals without the need for exercising the eminent domain power, and do these strategies present realistic and viable alternatives today?

After reviewing the historical materials relative to these particular projects, the answer to this research question is troublingly simple. There were no alternative strategies available that could have been employed to prevent the use of eminent domain in carrying out the policy goals that these projects represented. In every case, the governmental entity tasked with property acquisition attempted to negotiate purchases to prevent having to resort to use of expropriation. In every case, there were parcels that could not be acquired through negotiation. In the majority of individually documented cases the reason negotiated purchase failed was because the property owner wanted more for the property than was justified by appraisals. The only way to avoid expropriations in these situations would have been to offer more money to the property owner, but in doing so the government would be acting irresponsibly as a steward of tax dollars.

Certainly it is impossible to infer that large public projects cannot proceed without the exercise of eminent domain; doing so is simply highly unlikely. There will always be someone holding out for more money than a property is truly worth and in doing so preventing a project or facility from being constructed. The tool of eminent domain is a necessary evil in terms of planning and governing. Political leaders realize that the threat of expropriation is unpopular, and in New Orleans there has been a long history of taking steps to avoid use of the power of

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⁵ Federal Emergency Management Agency, (2008). Finding of No Significant Impact for Site Selection for the LSU AMC Project (FEMA-1603-DR-LA). Accessed via www.valsumedcenters.com, on May 24, 2012.

eminent domain. In none of the studied cases was there a requirement to negotiate purchase. The government could have expedited projects by filing expropriation suits against all property owners within an area and obtaining title through the courts.

What is the most interesting finding is that the use of eminent domain was higher in the case of the MCLNO/VAMC project than in any other project studied. This project was undertaken in a post-*Kelo* environment where there was substantial political opposition to infringing on property rights for what is perceived as the common good. The *Kelo*-responsive laws passed in Louisiana following Hurricane Katrina did not limit expropriation authority where the project met a strict standard of 'public use;' it is indisputable that both medical center projects met that definition. However, it should be noted that all layers of government approached these hospitals from an economic development standpoint; this is significant because consideration of the economic development potential of a project was not a permissible factor in determining if a taking is for a 'public purpose.'6

Comparison across Projects

Across the cases studies as part of this research, there are several similarities and contrasts that merit note insofar as assembling the full picture of eminent domain use in New Orleans during the research period. To begin this comparison, it is important to evaluate the expropriation rates found within the several projects to serve as a baseline for discussion of the other factors which may have factored in to these percentages.

Through all cases studied, it is clear from the official historical record and through journalistic coverage of the events that negotiated purchase of property within these project sites was always preferable to expropriation. In every instance, the proposed project was a 'public use' as operationally defined in this dissertation and as recognized by the courts through

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⁶ Louisiana Legislature, Act No. 851 of the 2006 Regular Session

challenges to takings. The overall reluctance of the government to take property can be seen in the effective expropriation percentages determined for each project as part of this research. Table 8.1, below, illustrates the effective expropriation percentages calculated for each of the cases studied.

Table 8.1 – Effective Expropriation Percentages for Researched Projects⁷

Project	Expropriation Percentage	
Municipal Auditorium	17%	
Public Housing	unavailable	
Civic Center	6%	
Mississippi River Bridge / Pontchartrain	24%	
Expressway (original span)		
Interstate Highway System	15%	
Mississippi River Bridge (second span)	21%	
Cultural Center	10%	
Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans /	42%	
Veterans Affairs Medical Center		

With the effective expropriation rates for the projects established, one can more readily explore the individual projects and the circumstances of those projects which may have factored into the use of eminent domain, or lack thereof, with respect to particular projects. Three particular factors which are addressed are: time, participation, and race/ethnicity.

The factor of time, which this dissertation will identify as the interval between formal site selection and full property acquisition, appears to have played a role in the rate of expropriation found within each of the cases studied, with the exception of bridge and highway projects. As indicated in Table 8.2 (below), the longer period between site selection and complete property acquisition commonly results in lower expropriation rates for land acquisition. The apparent relationship between time and expropriation could have many elements, but the most likely, as previously discussed in the context of the Cultural Center is that through the City's inability to

⁷ Data summarized from previous chapters, full property acquisition information may be found in the appendix to each chapter.

Table 8.2 – Property Acquisition Timeline Comparison across Cases⁸

Project	Site Selection ⁹	Property Acquisition Timeframe	Years Between Site Selection and Complete Property Acquisition	Expropriation Percentage
Municipal Auditorium	1928	1929*	1	17%
Public Housing	1937	1938 - 1939	2	unavailable
Civic Center	1947	1947 – 1955	8	6%
Mississippi River Bridge/Pontchartrain Expressway (original span)	1953	1955 – 1957	4	24%
Interstate Highway System (Interstate-10)	1958	1963 – 1967	9	15%
Interstate Highway System (Interstate-610)	1958	1959 - 1971	13	13%
Mississippi River Bridge (second span)	1974	1979 – 1988 ¹⁰	14	21%
Cultural Center	1951	1958 - 1971	20	10%
Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans / Veterans Affairs Medical Center	2008	2010-2011	3	42%

^{*} Municipal Auditorium property acquisition was not complete until 1934 due to appeals; construction began in 1929 and was complete in 1930.

move quickly on the site acquisition for a designated project, it caused the population of the area to dwindle and property values to decline to the point where property owners would have likely welcomed the City's purchase offer in order to relieve themselves of the burden of a soon-to-bevalueless piece of property.

In contrast to the Civic and Cultural Center projects, where property acquisition lingered for many years, the Municipal Auditorium site was acquired in only one year, resulting in a 17% expropriation rate, opposed to the 6% and 10% rates found in the City's Urban Renewal projects.

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⁸ Data summarized from previous chapters, full property acquisition information may be found in the appendix to each chapter.

⁹ "Site Selection" column denotes the year of the official site selection.

¹⁰ The property at 1061 Magazine Street was acquired in 1992. No explanation was found in the record regarding why this property was not acquired earlier. This acquisition was a negotiated purchase.

While the smaller property acquisition window appears to bear a relationship to the number of expropriations performed, there is no evidence to demonstrate that there is a direct relationship between a shorter period of property acquisition and the percentage of expropriations required to complete the land assembly.

As seen in the MCLNO/VAMC project, the property acquisition timeframe was three times that of the Municipal Auditorium project, the expropriation rate was 42%, approximately 250% higher. In researching the particular cases there is not documentation which speaks to the very high expropriation rate in this project. From media reports and local, experiential knowledge, the most likely cause for this substantially higher rate of expropriation was the factor of time combined with a lack of community buy-in of the project. This lack of buy-in was primarily caused by the lack of true public involvement in the site selection process and a lack of engagement on the part of the State in illustrating the alleged need for the project to be located in this neighborhood.

With respect to the bridge and highway projects, time, as defined for this discussion, did not seem to be a relevant or determining factor in the overall expropriation rates for the projects. However, timing does appear to have at least played a role in individual expropriations within particular areas. By evaluating the property transfer records contained in Appendices 5.2 and 5.3, one can clearly see that timing of acquisition remained an element contributing to expropriations. In completing property acquisition for these projects, the Louisiana Highway Department phased the acquisition over the full property acquisition timeframe, purchasing or expropriating property comprising several municipal squares at a time. In taking this raw transfer data, it is clear that the State's position regarding acquisition was that when they were ready to acquire your square they

would make an initial attempt to negotiate the purchase and not hesitate to expropriate when required.

The second factor to be evaluated is that of participation. Participation and meaningful community engagement were not found in any of the cases studied within this dissertation, though in one case the community did have an impact in having the location for a project changed. In the case of the Municipal Auditorium, public outrage at the proposed repurposing of Congo Square caused the City to locate the structure on two adjacent municipal squares rather than causing the loss of historic park space. This outrage was voiced both in meetings of the Auditorium Commission and the City's Commission-Council when they were considering an ordinance to designate Congo Square as the home of the City's new auditorium. As a result, Mayor O'Keefe proposed acquiring property for use as an auditorium site. This decision was met with approval from the business community that was seeking the auditorium and those wishing to preserve the Square, but was done with no regard to those who would be displaced as a result.

The same lack of consideration is found in the Civic Center and Cultural Center projects, where large numbers of low-income persons, mainly minorities, were relocated from areas determined to be 'blighted' without the benefit of public engagement to determine if the selected location was truly best to accomplish the project goals. In the case of public housing, community engagement was also not a concern, but HANO did appear to consider the needs of those being displaced in furtherance of the projects. Particularly, HANO would, conceptually, provide replacement housing to those low-income individuals displaced from the city's slums in the modern, sanitary housing which would occupy those sites. While this may have been the case, there was no provision made to house those displaced while new housing was under construction.

In the case of the Interstate Highway System through New Orleans, a requirement of the Interstate Highway Act was a public hearing. This hearing was held in 1958 at the New Orleans City Council Chambers and during this meeting the State presented its highway plans and comments were received. There were individuals rising to speak in opposition at this hearing but it seems likely that those concerns were disregarded as the State moved through the approval process with federal officials.

The final case studied is perhaps the most troubling as far as participation is concerned. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were numerous federal regulations in place calling for studies, community engagement, and comment periods before a site could be selected or a project would be permitted to move forward if federal dollars were to be used. The State of Louisiana, in selecting their MCLNO/VAMC sites technically followed these legally prescribed processes; however, they successfully managed to marginalize any opposition to their preferred findings. As a result, and via an evaluation of the projects studied in this dissertation, the only conclusion that can be reached is that people fighting to preserve a park in 1929, with no formal participatory mechanism, were more successful than an organized coalition trying to save a community in 2008, where there are legally mandated considerations that must be given.

The participation factor cannot be evaluated in terms of its effect on the expropriation rate found across the cases studied. There was no substantive participation or community engagement in any of the cases, therefore the effect of meaningful engagement on creating buyin for the projects among those being displaced cannot be determined. What is documented, however, is City leadership's position that opposition to one of these projects was seen as being an obstructionist to the betterment of the community. This is illustrated first in HANO's coordination with the press regarding "the grave civic risk being incurred by some scattered

instances of unreasonable selfishness on the part of a few owners" within areas identified for redevelopment with public housing. ¹¹ And again in Mayor Morrison's statement to the assembled crowd at the Interstate Highway hearing where he deemed acquisition or property and removal of homes as "incidental consequences" to progress in the city. ¹²

The final factor to be evaluated is race and ethnicity. Whether displacement of poor African-Americans was a goal of these projects or not, that was the clear end result that can be seen across all site-specific projects studied in this dissertation. The exception is in the bridge and highway projects where all groups within the New Orleans community – white, African-American, rich, and poor – were impacted by acquisition of right-of-way, as discussed in Chapter 5. The remaining projects, from the Municipal Auditorium through the MCLNO/VAMC Hospitals all imposed a disproportionate impact on African-American neighborhoods. While site-specific demographic data is not available for the Municipal Auditorium of Public Housing projects, it is clear, as illustrated in Table 8.3, that all cases

Table 8.3 – African-Americans as Percentage of Population within Project Footprints¹³

Project	African-Americans as Percentage of Total Site Population	
Municipal Auditorium	Not Available (Area selected had highest number of African-American children of four areas	
Public Housing	studied) Not Available (Sites were densely concentrated African-American areas)	
Civic Center	100%	
Cultural Center	80%	
Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans	87% (minority)	
Veterans Affairs Medical Center	88% (minority)	

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¹¹ Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, at 13. Accessed from the New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division.

¹² Official Transcript of Proceedings of the Department of Highways, State of Louisiana: Federal Interstate Highway Hearing for all of Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, February 11, 1958, at 23.

¹³ Data summarized from previous chapters; MCLNO/VAMC data from *Final Programmatic Environmental Assessment for Site Selection: Veterans Affairs Medical Center (VAMC) and Louisiana State University Academic Medical Center of Louisiana (LSU AMC)*, November 2008, at 3-65. Accessed via www.valsemedcenters.com.

studied as part of this dissertation were located in predominantly African-American communities. This comparison across cases is fairly simple, and the change over time nonexistent. Whether in 1929 or 2008, the presence of African-Americans was a common element to all large public projects throughout the research period. In relation to the use of eminent domain within these projects, race and expropriation is difficult to correlate; however, this researcher proposes a connection between the two which would exist just below the surface of raw population and property transfer data.

In the case of the Civic Center, the project with the lowest effective expropriation rate of the cases studied, data from HANO indicates that the population of this area was 100% African-American; however, the names of property owners do not reflect names generally found in the African-American community. For example, the largest individual property owner within the area was the Deichmann family, other owners of multiple properties within the site were the Locicero family, the Lichtentag family, and Gervais Favrot, Chairman of the City Planning and Zoning Commission. ¹⁴ These names, paired with the ownership of multiple pieces of residential property within the redevelopment site, begin painting a larger picture indicating that while the population may have been 100% African-American, the ownership of the site certainly was not. These holdings may have been investment properties or rentals, or may have been purchased due to the impending redevelopment in hope of cashing in on the government's purchase, this cannot be known. What one is left to infer, however, is that regardless of the motivation of ownership those being displaced were not the same individuals that were willing to sell their property for the development of the Civic Center.

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¹⁴ Large Parcel Map with Ownership as of October 8, 1946. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 412.

While this level of ownership data is not available for the other sites, one would presume that due to the social and legal circumstances of the era (Jim Crow, etc.), most low-income African-Americans would have been renters of structures owned by whites. These property owners would likely have been primarily concerned with compensation for the property and rental units rather than the displacement of the poor, minority population inhabiting the structures. This is not to say that landlords were never concerned about their tenants, but this is to say that their relationship was, generally, a purely economic one where the owner of the property is principally concerned with the return on his investment.

Through this cross-case comparison, it can be inferred that there are two distinct elements of redevelopment projects which have served to reduce the instances of expropriation during the property acquisition phase. The first element, time from site selection to complete property acquisition appears to be the single largest factor in the need to exercise eminent domain; however, this is the most difficult element to build into a redevelopment project. These large timespans were not intentional on the part of the City, and in reality most modern government projects would not initiate land acquisition until the project is fully funded and a firm construction timeline established. The second element, participation, can be seen as the most practical element to reducing instances of expropriation. By bringing the community together early on in a project and allowing the public to have a true voice and ownership of a proposal, the government is less likely to experience delays and keep the property acquisition process out of the courtroom.

Race and Redevelopment

The third common element seen in these cases, prevalence of minorities in project areas merits further discussion, and is a matter of concern, not a strategy for reducing the need for

expropriation. Areas with dense minority populations have historically been the areas chosen for these large-scale redevelopment projects, particularly during the mid-century Urban Renewal era. This was so wide-spread that historians have deemed Urban Renewal to truly be "negro removal" 15

The disproportionate impact on the African-American community cannot be viewed as a matter of chance. While there is no firm documentation to indicate that these minority communities were targeted by redevelopment projects, it is highly unlikely for every major civic project to be located in predominantly African-American neighborhoods purely by happenstance. Not only would these projects serve to displace, and in come instances eradicate, African-American communities; these projects, by and large, were to serve the white population of the City. In the case of the Cultural Center, the indigenous culture of the Tremé neighborhood was destroyed to build an opera house. At the Civic Center, the neighborhood that served as the birthplace of jazz was bulldozed to encourage the expansion of the Central Business District. In lower Mid-City, a community was removed to build a modern medical complex that would enable the Bio-Medical industry to recruit higher-profile professionals.

Additionally, as indicated above, the owners of the property within these predominantly African-American communities were white, as were adjacent property owners who were likely to see their property values improve once 'slums' were removed from the community. The goal of increased property values is made clear in every project addressed in this document, from the Municipal Auditorium through the MCLNO/VAMC hospital projects. Generally this goal of increased valuation is couched in terms of 'higher assessments' to bring more revenue to the

¹⁵ Hirsch, A. R. (1993). With or Without Jim Crow: Black Residential Segregation in the United States. *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, Hirsch, A.R. and Mohl, R.A., eds. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, at 90

municipal coffers or 'highest and best use' to indicate that the present owners are not utilizing property in a manner that the civic leadership deems appropriate.

While the site selection for these municipal projects resulted in a disparate impact on the African-American community in New Orleans, all official documentation indicates that the municipal government was predominantly concerned with the removal of slums from the city. Slum clearance was emblematic of the era and certainly there are housing surveys and other studies to corroborate the position that these areas were in a very poor state of repair.

The overlap between slums and low-income African-Americans during the mid-twentieth century was substantial. As a general principle, particularly in the American South in this era, African-Americans were relegated to declining areas of the community that were being abandoned by whites. This situation was partially attributable to Jim Crow laws, but also community standards which served to emphasize segregationist attitudes. As these neighborhoods shifted from white to African-American, there was generally an institutionalized neglect of these areas which, in turn, produced the poorly maintained 'slums' that would later be seen as so detrimental to the community. This situation certainly has to be noted as contributing to the disproportionate impact on African-Americans found in every localized case studied as part of this research.

There has been no evidence uncovered, either within the City's archives or through the review of newspaper coverage of these projects, to support the position that the City of New Orleans or other entities intentionally targeted African-American communities through these redevelopment proposals. What is clear is that the City targeted areas that could quantifiably be identified as 'slum' or 'blighted.' As previously mentioned, the disproportionate impact on New Orleans's African-American community presents what can best be described as a violent,

circular scenario where the most disadvantaged residents of the City occupied the housing in the worst condition, which then led to further disadvantage in the form of displacement for redevelopment projects and the strongly disparate impact on the African-American community.

There is also no evidence in the record of the City expressing any particular concern for the people being removed from these project sites. This lack of consideration possibly served to reinforce the plight of the African-American community at the time because of the limited options available for relocation. Additionally the element of property acquisition timelines, as discussed previously, also added to the burden of these individuals. This is clearly illustrated in the discussion of the Cultural Center where 80% of eligible residents self-relocated without the governmental support to which they were entitled. Primarily renters, these residents chose to move as leases expired rather than being placed in the situation of having to quickly find suitable housing. It is highly probable that the same situation occurred in projects both prior and subsequent to the Cultural Center project.

Planning and Eminent Domain

The relationship between professional planning, site selection for public projects, and the exercise of eminent domain in New Orleans during the research period is found to be very close. With the rise of modern, professional planning in New Orleans, it became possible for the City to bring large proposals to fruition that otherwise may not have been feasible. Certainly, the City of New Orleans exercised its authority of expropriation prior to undertaking the Municipal Auditorium project and prior to the establishment of the City Planning and Zoning Commission in 1923, but moving forward from the first case studied, the projects became larger and more complex as time progressed. Funding for these projects became available from multiple levels of

government and there had to be a coordinating force behind the ideas to bring them from concept to reality.

To track the relationship of planning and expropriation, one must refer back to the Bartholomew Report which was commissioned by the City Planning and Zoning Commission shortly after its creation. Planning, as a professional municipal undertaking, began in New Orleans with the creation of the New Orleans City Planning and Zoning Commission in 1923. Among the first substantial actions of this Commission was retaining the services of Harland Bartholomew and Associates, of St. Louis, Missouri; the Bartholomew Report was the first document created by this new commission and served as the foundation of planning in New Orleans.

Of the cases researched in this dissertation, the origins of four can be traced directly back to this Report; Bartholomew recommended the creation of a municipal center, complete with new buildings to modernize city services. Bartholomew proposed this center to focus on Orleans Avenue in the Vieux Carré; this report and its recommendations were adopted by the Planning and Zoning Commission but were not acted upon. While the specifics of the proposal never came to fruition, the selected locations of the Municipal Auditorium and later the Cultural Center were partially attributable to this plan encouraging a government complex centered approximately at Orleans and North Rampart Streets. The Civic Center, eventually located at Loyola Avenue and Poydras Street also draws from this initial planning document. While the location shifted out of the Vieux Carré, the concept of a new centralized municipal center is directly attributable to the Bartholomew Report.

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¹⁶ Fields, W. (2004). *Urban Landscape Change in New Orleans, LA: The Case of the Lost Neighborhood of Louis Armstrong.* Dissertation, University of New Orleans Electronic Theses and Dissertation Collection.

A separate element of the initial Bartholomew Report, entitled *Preliminary Report on a System of Major Streets*, provided an analysis of road conditions and the need to improve traffic flow through the city. This first major streets plan for the city, while not as ambitious as its successors, called for the designation and creation of major arterial roads to effectively and efficiently move people to and from the Central Business District.¹⁷ At this point in the development of transportation planning in New Orleans, Bartholomew and the City Planning and Zoning Commission were primarily concerned with creating a system of streets in the city that would allow for the free flow of traffic. In the *Preliminary Report*, Bartholomew lamented the piecemeal and haphazard development of the city, and resultant varying street widths, jogs, and dead ends. These odd configurations in the street grid were caused by the historic development pattern of the city, reflecting New Orleans's growth across antiquated plantation and municipal boundaries. Later this *Preliminary Report* would be revised into the City's *Major Streets Plan* which became the baseline planning document for the State Highway Department's Interstate Highway route.

Public housing in New Orleans combined elements of social policy planning with physical planning's blossoming attraction to slum clearance and urban redevelopment. Socially, local housing advocates partnered with the Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1925 to compile the first housing conditions survey of poor African-American neighborhoods in New Orleans. These private organizations commissioned proposals for private housing developments to aid these families, but the onset of the Great Depression ended the possibility of finding private donors to fund these developments. Government recognition of the need for improved housing followed these private initiatives, in 1937 the Louisiana Legislature enabled the

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¹⁷ Harland Bartholomew & Associates, (1926). *A Preliminary Report on a System of Major Streets, New Orleans, Louisiana*. Accessed through the Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center.

formation of local housing authorities later that year Congress passed the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act which provided funding for local entities to redevelop slum areas with modern, sanitary housing.

By the 1940s urban redevelopment became known as Urban Renewal, seeking to remove often arbitrarily-defined "slums" from the cityscape, to be replaced by the amenities of 'modern' life. The Civic Center removed a functional, living, but poor neighborhood from the Central Business District to clear a path for commercial development and to provide a centralized home for municipal government. The Cultural Center, similarly, cleared a swath of Tremé to provide space for the construction of a centralized home for theatre, opera, and museums; this resulted in the destruction of culturally significant space to create an island of bourgeois taste which would not reflect the neighborhood on which the project was imposed.

In the spirit of mid-century Urban Renewal, the MCLNO/VAMC project is being constructed atop what was a neighborhood just a few short years ago. In this instance, there is no available information which connects the selection of this site to any larger planning process. What the evidence reveals, however, is that the planning was undertaken solely by Louisiana State University to serve their institutional interests and potential impacts on the community and surrounding neighborhoods were only considered during the federally mandated NEPA and NHPA reviews, which were conducted after the sites had been chosen.

To clarify, this author is not arguing that the rise of professional planning resulted in an increase in projects where eminent domain was utilized; rather, the assertion is that professional planning made large-scale projects feasible where previously the government would have focused on constructing a single building rather than large projects calling for the redevelopment of many acres. It is undeniable that the ability of the various levels of government to take on

such projects has led to increased property acquisitions and, likely, an increase in the exercise of eminent domain to complete these acquisitions.

The Effect of Kelo

Following the U. S. Supreme Court's *Kelo* decision in 2005, the State of Louisiana, along with numerous other states quickly sought to modify takings enabled under their state constitutions to prohibit the exercise of eminent domain for economic development purposes. This change was successfully accomplished by two separate constitutional amendments placed before voters in September, 2006 which restricted the use of eminent domain to a more narrowly tailored conception of 'public use.' While the language of the amendment remained fairly vague (see Appendix 8.1 for full text), it clearly indicated that "[n]either economic development, enhancement of tax revenue, or any incidental benefit to the public shall be considered in determining whether the taking or damaging of property is for a public use." This constitutional change translated into a shift in the scrutiny of eminent domain proceedings from the 'just compensation' element of the Takings Clause to an analysis of whether a use is 'public' enough to qualify for use of the government's expropriation authority.

Prior to this *Kelo*-responsive legislation, challenges to governmental expropriation revolved solely around the compensation due to a property owner. As can be seen in all cases studied, from the Municipal Auditorium through the MCLNO/VAMC hospitals, the largest point of contention in the governmental acquisition of property had to do with the dollar amount that a property owner should reasonably expect from the government due to displacement. In the media coverage of the takings studied between 1929 and 2005, not once was there a legal challenge to either the purpose or public nature of the taking, the conflict was purely one of

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 $^{^{18}}$ Louisiana Legislature, Act No. 851 of the 2006 Regular Session, Page 2. See appendix 8.1 for full text of Act 851.

financial compensation for loss. With respect to the MCLNO/VAMC project, there is only one challenge to expropriation that was covered by the press where the potential 'public purpose' of the taking was at issue, and even then the question was not one of whether a medical use constitutes a taking, but rather that the proposed use of that particular portion of land was set as open space for future expansion and not proposed as immediate, active use as part of the medical complex.¹⁹

Notable in the MCLNO/VAMC project is that not a single challenge was made to the project under the state constitution's prohibition on consideration of economic development or enhancement of tax revenue. It is impossible to argue that a public hospital, generally, does not comply with the requirement that the result of expropriation be a "public building in which publicly funded services are administered, rendered, or provided." However, due to the facts surrounding the site selection process, the possibility of a successful challenge could have been raised regarding the constitutionality of site selection under the aforementioned prohibition on consideration of economic development implications.

There was no need for the project to be located at the site ultimately selected, and based on the initial planning documents contracted by LSU and MCLNO, the reason this area was targeted was to redevelop underutilized and generally blighted property which would have otherwise presented a barrier to the creation of a cohesive medical district. Further, official records of the site proposal process from the Regional Planning Commission consistently tout the economic development implications of the joint MCLNO/VAMC venture and the RPC explicitly termed the project as "THE critical economic development project for the City of New

¹⁹ Barrow, B. (2011, December 16). Grand Palace Hotel demolition gets OK from judge. *Times-Picayune*, accessed via www.nola.com on November 2, 2012.

²⁰ Louisiana Legislature, Act No. 851 of the 2006 Regular Session, Page 2.

Orleans"²¹ and invoked President Carter's Executive Order 12072 which requires "serious consideration" be given to potential improvements to the economic conditions of an area in the federal facility site selection process.²²

The economic development considerations of the MCLNO/VAMC project notwithstanding, all projects studied as part of this dissertation would qualify as valid 'public purposes' under the adopted language of Act 851. The Legislature's attempt to define what constitutes a 'public use' added, in part, the following language to the Louisiana Constitution:

- (b) Continuous public ownership of property dedicated to one or more of the following objectives and uses:
 - (i) Public buildings in which publicly funded services are administered, rendered, or provided.
 - (ii) Roads, bridges, waterways, access to public waters and lands, and other public transportation, access, and navigational systems available to the general public.
 - (iii) Drainage, flood control, levees, coastal and navigational protection and reclamation for the benefit of the public generally.
 - (iv) Parks, convention centers, museums, historical buildings and recreational facilities generally open to the public.
- (c) The removal of a threat to public health or safety caused by the existing use or disuse of the property.

Under this language, every project studied during the research period would defeat comply with modern constitutional requirements. This is notable due to the fact that these restrictions were supposed to provide additional protection to property owners from governmental actions. The language of the Act is even so broad as to encompass convention centers, which was part of the proposed use at issue in the controversial *Kelo* decision²³ and which constitute a quasi-publicly accessible use at best. When completed, even under governmental ownership, the general public

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²¹ Regional Planning Commission (2007). *Rebuild, Redevelop, Renew, In Response To: Expression of Interest Regarding Land Assembly for the Veterans Affairs Hospital*, at 1. Accessed via the Regional Planning Commission. ²² Ibid, at 2, quoting Executive Order 12072.

²³ It is important to note that the convention center was an element of the issue at hand in the *Kelo* decision, it was not the only factor. The case hinged on the government's ability to expropriate property from one individual and turn it over to another under the auspices of economic development where the general public would see no actual use of the facility.

will not normally see the interior or such a facility and entry would be restricted to ticket-holders and conventioneers.

Research Goals

As set forth in Chapter 1, the purpose of performing a case study of eminent domain in New Orleans is two-fold. The first goal of this research is to create a chronicle of eminent domain utilization in New Orleans from 1929 through 2011. This time period has been established in order to incorporate the development of public housing, urban renewal, and the City's recovery from Hurricane Katrina. The second and primary purpose of this research is to better understand the history of eminent domain in New Orleans. By better understanding the past uses of eminent domain and the policies that drove the exercise of this power, researchers and planning practitioners will be better informed in making decisions that will impact the rebuilding and future of New Orleans. While this dissertation does not provide a complete inventory of properties expropriated or projects undertaken through the entire research period, it does offer a comprehensive perspective on the priorities and goals of governmental actors at all levels during the research period and offers insight into the history and practice of takings within the context of New Orleans.

Through better understanding the history and past applications of eminent domain, planners, governmental leaders, and the general public can be better informed of the strategies which have been and can be implemented both in exercising this authority and avoiding the application of this authority. Eminent domain will always be a necessary tool in the overall governmental toolbox because without it a single individual would be able to halt what may be a truly needed government project. It is impossible to eliminate the possibility of exercising this authority altogether without the risk of bringing all public projects to a standstill. What the

government can do is better communicate with the public to illustrate the need of a project and ensure that the site selection process is transparent and all interested parties have been brought to the table prior to decision-making.

In the six individual cases studied within this dissertation, not a single one revealed true elements of public participation, particularly in the determination of sites. The location of the Municipal Auditorium was selected to save an adjacent park based on public pressure; bridges and highways were located based on engineering studies that subjectively determined the best locations for these improvements; public housing, the Civic Center and the Cultural Center were located in neighborhoods that civic leaders believed were not being used to their potential; and the MCLNO/VAMC project was sited, in part, to fuel the ego of hospital administrators that wanted a Canal Street address rather than a Tulane Avenue address.

In many of these projects there was no formal mechanism for seeking public input, but the most troubling finding of this dissertation, as it relates to the participatory elements of site selection, is this: the MCLNO/VAMC hospital project had to follow clearly defined federal criteria as to participation in site selection in order to utilize federal dollars for the projects. These criteria were met with nominal compliance but the goals of such standards were essentially ignored. The hospital administrators created site selection criteria that could only result in one possible location and, much like the state highway department with respect to the Interstate Highway System in 1958, the proposed site was presented to local officials with the message of 'agree or we will go elsewhere.'

With respect to the application of eminent domain within the context of these projects, the restraint shown by governmental actors over the course of the research period was remarkable. In every case the government made a concerted effort to acquire the necessary

property through negotiated purchase rather than expropriation. As previously stated, the use of eminent domain will always be necessary in the property acquisition phase of projects, even if only as a Sword of Damocles to compel good-faith negotiations based on the appraised value of property.

The evolution of eminent domain as a tool within the context of New Orleans, and Louisiana more generally, shows that the government, while ostensibly taking steps to protect private property from expropriation, has actually made the exercise of this power easier and more convenient for itself. Through the creation of the state's 'quick-take' authority, state agencies can seize title to property by simply depositing its appraised value with the court. If the now-former property owner wants to contest the value of the property or the legitimacy of the expropriation they are legally able to do so but are unable to stop the government from taking control of the property and doing with it as they wish while the wheels of justice slowly turn.

This researcher believes that the 'quick-take' authority of the state is the direct cause for the substantially higher rate of expropriations found in the MCLNO/VAMC project than in previous undertakings. Prior to the creation of the 'quick-take' authority a government entity would file an expropriation action with the courts and have to wait for a final result in the case before obtaining title to the necessary property. Certainly from the government's perspective, and to an extent the public's perspective, there are substantial benefits in not having to wait for these legal cases to conclude, which can take years. With this authority in place there is no motivation on the government's part to exhaust all negotiations with a property owner, aside from the unpopularity of actually seeing the word "expropriation" in a headline.

In all, the findings of this dissertation reveal two truths about eminent domain in New Orleans over the course of the research period: 1) the use of the power has always been

politically unpopular and restricted to exercise when there were no other options to complete property acquisitions; and 2) progress, in terms of the legal process and participatory requirements prior to the exercise of eminent domain, has resulted in no more protection to the average property owner than was available in 1929 when the site was selected for the Municipal Auditorium. Eighty-two years of public projects and expanding the legal protections of communities and property from those projects have resulted in no change whatsoever in the ability of the government to arbitrarily select a site for whatever they deem important at a given moment. In Chapter 1, I asserted that "the United States Supreme Court's split-opinion in the case of *Kelo* [truly brought] to light the breadth of eminent domain powers, and the harsh reality that the only thing standing between the homes of the populace and a shiny new convention center was the restraint of local governments;" the unfortunate result of the research undertaken for this dissertation is that I did not realize how correct I was.

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Appendix 1.1 – New Orleans, Louisiana Urban Renewal Areas (Undated).¹



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¹ New Orleans Urban Renewal Areas map, undated, prepared by the City Planning Commission. Accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – City Planning Commission, File 419.

University Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research University of New Orleans

Campus Correspondence

Principal Investigator: David Glastone

Co-Investigator: Jared Munster

Date: April 28, 2009

Protocol Title: "Case Study of Eminent Domain in New Orleans"

IRB#: 04May09

The IRB has deemed that the research and procedures described in this protocol application are exempt from federal regulations under 45 CFR 46.101categories 2, 3, & 4 due to the fact that any information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. The human subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office. The research will involve the collection or study of existing data.

Exempt protocols do not have an expiration date; however, if there are any changes made to this protocol that may cause it to be no longer exempt from CFR 46, the IRB requires another standard application from the investigator(s) which should provide the same information that is in this application with changes that may have changed the exempt status.

If an adverse, unforeseen event occurs (e.g., physical, social, or emotional harm), you are required to inform the IRB as soon as possible after the event.

Best wishes on your project. Sincerely,

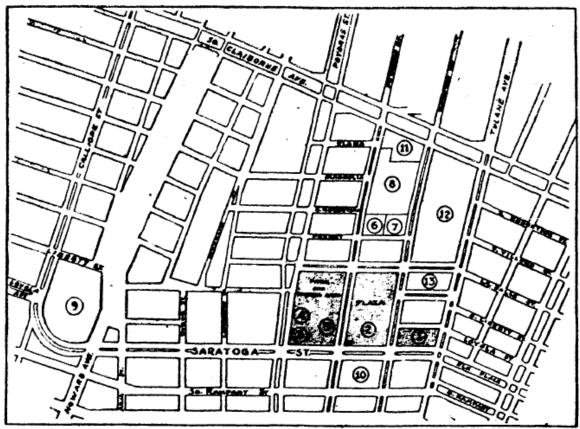
Robert D. Laird, P.h.D., Chair UNO Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research Appendix 2.1 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Municipal Auditorium Site¹

Append	1x 2.1 – Audres	sses, Cost and Dates of	1		Auditorium Site
	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	1	703 St. Claude St.		8/7/1934	X
135	2	709-13 St. Claude St., 1214 Orleans St.		11/21/1928	X
	A or 12	1218-20 Orleans St.	\$13,650	11/9/1928	
	В	1217 St. Peter St.			
	С	1221 St. Peter St			
	5	1225 St. Peter St., 1222 Orleans St.	\$5,500	2/27/1930	X
	6	1228 Orleans St.	\$5,000	11/21/1928	
	B or 8	1233 St. Peter St., 706 N Liberty St.	\$5,775		
	Undesignated	1230-34 Orleans St.		12/5/1928	
	Undesignated	1229 St. Peter St.		12/5/1928	
Square	1 or 6	733 St. Claude St.	\$35,000	11/13/1928	
136	2 or 7	727-29 St. Claude St.			
	3 or 8	723-25 St Claude St.	\$10,000	2/2/1929	
	4	717-19 St Claude St. 1203-07 Orleans St.	\$14,500	11/28/1928	
	5 or 10	1215-17 Orleans St.	\$7,350	12/11/1928	
	6	1219-21 Orleans St.		8/14/1929	
	7	1223-25 Orleans St.		12/5/1928	
	8 or 12	1227-29 Orleans St.	\$6,900	1/22/1928	
	9 or 13	1233-35 Orleans St.	\$9,000	12/19/1928	X
	10	726-30 N Liberty St., 1232-34 St. Ann St.		11/28/1928	
	11 or 3	1226-28 St. Ann St.	\$6,300	12/5/1928	
	12 or 2	1222-24 St. Ann St.	\$7,350	11/27/1928	
	13 or 4	1218-20 St. Ann St.	\$6,500	11/14/1928	
	14	1214-16 St. Ann St.		11/22/1928	

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¹ Table 2.2 is the result of combining data from two sources: 1) Written offers for the purchase of real property accessed from the New Orleans Municipal Archives, New Orleans Public Library – Mayor Arthur J. O'Keefe, Box 1, and an internal City memorandum outlining the dates of acquisition of individual parcels, accessed from the Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, City of New Orleans – Municipal Auditorium file.

Appendix 4.1 - Times-Picayune Illustration of the Civic Center and other public improvements. 1



- 1. New City Hall
- 2. Municipal Center building with plaza
- 3. Central Fire Station
- 4. Central Fire Alarm
- 5. Traffic offices park and parking
- 6. Veterans Administration Hospital Nurses' Home
- 7. L.S.U Medical Center
- 8. V.A. Hospital
- 9. Union Station Terminal
- 10. downtown post office
- 11. Charity Hospital Nurses' Home
- 12. Charity Hospital
- 13. Tulane Medical Center

¹ Times-Picayune, September 29, 1946, accessed via www.newsbank.com, at 2.

Appendix 4.2 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Civic Center Site¹

pendix 4	2 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Civic Center Site					
	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	A, B, C, D		Exchange	11/19/1948		
304	6		\$18,750	6/3/1949		
	5		\$15,000	11/24/1948		+
	4		\$36,600	12/6/1948		
	1, 2, 3		Ψ30,000	12/0/17/10		
	A			10/6/1949		
	3, 7		\$17,275	3/8/1950		
	Undesignated		Ψ17,273	10/6/1949		
	16		\$15,000	6/3/1949		
	4	319-21 S. Saratoga St.	\$9,500	8/23/1949		
	1, 2, 2, 3	517-21 S. Saratoga St.	\$85,000	12/30/1949		
	2, 3, 4, 24		\$27,500	7/21/1950		
	11, 25	410 16 Lovele St	\$27,300			
		410-16 Loyola St.	\$5,050	5/10/1949		
	10	426 20 L1- C4	\$5,050	2/14/1949		
	8	426-28 Loyola St.		4/28/1949		
	9	422-24 Loyola St.	#16100	4/28/1949	37	
	5, 6	436-42 Loyola St.	\$16,120	7/10/1950	X	
	11	444-46 Loyola St.	Exchange	11/19/1948		
Square	Undesignated	1227-33 Poydras St.	\$29,900	1/14/1953		
305	A		\$9,700	5/6/1949		
	B, 273, 275, C, 271, 269	1221 Poydras St.		9/14/1954		
	265, 267		\$36,600	12/6/1948		
	A, B		\$10,700	8/25/1948		
	Y	433-35 S. Saratoga St.	\$13,600	5/9/1949	X	
	X, N, O	417-19 S. Saratoga St. 421-23 S. Saratoga St.	\$44,990	12/6/1948		•
	17			8/25/1948		*
	18, 19			12/6/1948		
	20	1214-16 Perdido St.		4/28/1949		
	4	1218-20 Perdido St.				
	2	500-02 Loyola St. 1232 Perdido St.				
	3	504-06 Loyola St.	\$15,100	10/31/1951		‡
	24	304-00 L0y01a St.	\$15,100	4/28/1947		+
			\$8,000	9/19/1949		
	A, B 18, 19		Exchange	8/24/1953		
	17		\$12,480	3/4/1955	X	
	16		\$12,480	2/21/1955	X	
		524 Lovolo St	·		Λ	
	15	534 Loyola St. 538 Loyola St.	\$4,800	5/3/1949		
	A, B, 31	540 Loyola St.	\$10,890	10/12/1949		

¹ City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, City Property Files for indicated Squares.

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square 332	1, 2, 3, 6	1329-31 Perdido St. 544-48 S. Liberty St.	\$57,500	4/13/1955	X	
	3		\$13,500	5/6/1949		
	4		\$13,750	7/6/1949		
	5		\$14,350	4/18/1950		
	6-A, 3	1315-17 Poydras St. 539-41 Loyola St.	\$52,100	4/28/1949		
	Undesignated	1311-13 Poydras St	Exchange	5/31/1954		
	1, 2		\$13,600	11/22/1949		
	A	535-37 Loyola St.	\$18,750	6/3/1949		
	В	533 Loyola St.	\$16,100	8/25/1948		*
	8	529 Loyola St.	\$4,150	6/21/1949		
	9, 10	523-25 Loyola St.	\$15,100	10/31/1951		‡
	11, 12, 13,		Exchange	7/22/1949		
	14, 15, 16		(OPSB)	1/22/1949		
	N	1318 Perdido St.	\$6,000	6/15/1949		
	17	1320 Perdido St.	\$3,750	6/22/1949		
	16	1324-26 Perdido St.	\$4,750	4/27/1949		
	14, 15			5/10/1949		
	A		\$1,250	2/4/1955	X	
	0		Exchange	6/26/1951		
	11, 12	520 S. Liberty St. 524 S. Liberty St.	Exchange + \$6,250	5/31/1954		
	10	516-18 S. Liberty St.	Exchange	5/13/1949		*
	9	530 S. Liberty St.	\$6,915	5/31/1949		
	8 or 33,	534 S. Liberty St.		0/20/1070		
	7 or 34	538 S. Liberty St.	\$14,000	9/29/1950		
	6	•		4/13/1955		
Square	1, A, B, 30		\$31,550	3/29/1950		
333	7, 8			8/10/1948		
	5, 6, A		\$31,090	3/10/1950		
	1	445 Loyola St.		8/10/1948		
	2		\$6,800	6/17/1949		
	3, A	433 Loyola St.	15,025	6/7/1949		
	С		\$15,000	11/24/1948		†
	D, 15		\$11,700	8/20/1948		
	Z	415-17 Loyola St.		8/20/1948		^
	D	1300 Gravier St.	\$13,000	10/26/1948		
		1304 Gravier St.				
	U, V, W,	1306-12 Gravier St.				
	X, Y, 1, 2,	1314-20 Gravier St.	\$57,500	8/20/1948		^
	3, 4, A	1322-30 Gravier St.				
		416 S. Liberty St.				
	12-B, 13		\$16,850	8/20/1948		
	Undesignated		\$6,150	5/23/1949		
	Undesignated			8/20/1948		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	27		\$16,100	8/25/1948		*
333	Undesignated		\$5,775	2/16/1950		
(cont.)	29			5/10/1949		
Square	23, 24, 25	1427-29 Perdido St.	\$20,000	6/27/1949		
340	26	1427-2) 1 Cluido St.	\$5,600	8/30/1948		
340	27		\$6,250	8/9/1948		
	28		\$6,000	8/5/1948		
	Undesignated	1405-07 Perdido St.	\$4,800	8/3/1948		
	Undesignated	1409-11 Perdido St.	\$7,250	8/3/1948		
	Undesignated	1107 111 110100 50	\$3,300	7/27/1948		
	Undesignated	447-49 S.Liberty St.	\$3,350	5/31/1949		
	2	445 S. Liberty St.	\$5,500	8/18/1948		
	3	441 S. Liberty St.	1 - 4	8/10/1948		
	4		\$4,000	7/29/1948		
	5	431-33 S. Liberty St.	+ 1,000	5/10/1949		
	6			5/10/1949		
	7			5/10/1949		
	8, 9	417-21 S. Liberty St.		5/10/1949		
	10	v	\$44,900	12/6/1948		^
	11	1404-06 Gravier St.		8/10/1948		
	12		\$7,650	9/7/1949		
	13, 20		\$8,000	7/27/1948		
	14	1418 Gravier St.	\$4,200	7/29/1948		
	Undesignated		\$9,000	10/22/1948		
	16, 17		\$13,000	5/26/1950		
	18	420 LaSalle St.		5/10/1949		
	19		\$4,500	8/10/1948		
	20, 21, pt. 22		\$8,800	7/27/1948		
	Undesignated		\$3,500	5/24/1949		
Canara	1		\$19,000	4/4/1953		
Square 341	2, 23	1425-27 Poydras St.	\$18,000 \$16,500	10/19/1949		
341	2, 23	1417-19 Poydras St.	\$10,500	10/19/1949		
	4, A	1417-19 Poydias St. 1400-08 Perdido St.	\$41,250	9/14/1954		
	5, Undesignated		Exchange + \$8,250	4/15/1954		
	1	1401 Poydras St.	. 40,200	11/19/1952		
	1, 2, 19, 20	1.01107414520	\$30,000	4/6/1950		
	X		\$11,500	9/23/1953		
	B, C, D, E		\$12,500	5/3/1949		
	4 or 19		\$5,000	6/1/1949		
	3	1418 Perdido St.	, - , - , -	5/25/1949		
	1, 2		\$50,500	12/7/1950	X	•
	Undesignated		\$4,900	11/18/1949		
	Undesignated		\$8,000	5/3/1949		
	3, 4, 8	524-34 LaSalle St.	,	5/13/1949		

Appendix 5.1 – Proposed Improvements under the Bartholomew Major Streets Plan (1926)¹

- 1) Immediate widening of Dryades Street from Canal Street to Howard Avenue.
- 2) Establishment of a building line upon Danneel and Dryades Streets above St. Andrew Street.
- 3) Immediate widening of S. Rampart Street from Tulane Avenue to Calliope Street.
- 4) Immediate widening of N. Peters and Decatur Streets below Canal Street.
- 5) Connection of Decatur and Chartres Streets below Almonaster Avenue.
- 6) Widening and connection of Chartres Street to Poland Avenue.
- 7) Development of Poydras and Howard Avenues.
- 8) Connection of Melpomene and Calliope Streets.
- 9) Widening of Calliope Street from S. Rampart Street to S. Peters Street.
- 10) Connection of Howard and Washington Avenues near S. Jefferson Davis Parkway.
- 11) Connection of Palmetto Street and Metairie Road at the Orleans-Jefferson Parish Line.
- 12) Widening of Metairie Road.
- 13) Connection of Canal Street with Canal Boulevard.
- 14) Connection of Fontainebleau Street to S. Claiborne Avenue.
- 15) Widening of Rousseau and Tchoupitoulas Streets above Felicity Street.

Appendix 5.2 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Mississippi River Bridge and Pontchartrain Expressway Right-of-Way.¹

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Algiers /	West Bank				
Square	21	419 Bringier St.	\$3,150	7/28/1955	
280	12	415-17 Bringier St.	\$10,500	4/28/1955	
	3 or D	423-25 Bringier St.	\$16,500	9/6/1955	X
	4	427 Bringier St.	\$6,600	6/20/1955	X
	5, 6	441 Bringier St.	\$10,850	12/7/1955	X
	16	1721 Nunez St.	\$3,700	6/10/1955	
-	3, hf. 2	210 Monroe St.	\$11,000	8/16/1955	
	pt. 1	200-02 Monroe St.	\$7,000	3/16/1956	
-	1, hf. 2	200 02 1/10/1100	\$10,000	8/5/1955	X
Square	1,2	400 Bringier St			
275	1	1600 Teche St	-	. ,, ,,	
273	2	1606 Teche St.	\$176,500	3/1/1982	
	pt. 8	1601-03 Nunez St.			
	3	410 Bringier St.	\$91,000	6/26/1981	X
-	4	414 Bringier St	\$31,300	7/28/1981	
-	5	416-18 Bringier St.	\$36,000	10/21/1981	X
-	6	420 Bringier St.	\$66,000	12/3/1981	
-	7	422-24 Bringier St.	, , , , , , , ,		
=	8	426 Bringier St.	\$110,000	7/6/1981	
-	9, 10	1627-41 Nunez St.	1 ,	., ., ., .,	
-	12		\$25,000	7/27/1981	
-	3	1610 Teche St.	\$52,300	7/24/1981	
-	4, 5	1620 Teche St.	\$45,000	10/6/1981	
-	6	411 Lawrence St.	\$66,500	2/11/1983	X
-	7	417-19 Lawrence St.	\$29,500	4/30/1981	
•	F	421-23 Lawrence St.	\$32,900	3/10/1981	
•	9B, 10B	1607 Nunez St.	\$33,000	7/1/1982	
•	11	1615 Nunez St.	\$54,500	7/28/1981	
	12	1617 Nunez St.	\$34,000	12/14/1981	
Square	8-A, 9	1621-23 Teche St.	\$53,000	4/9/1980	
276	18		\$38,600	2/23/1981	
	19		\$8,400	1/23/1980	
	20	1609-11 Teche St.	\$20,500	8/9/1979	
	21	1605-07 Teche St.	\$47,700	10/2/1979	
	pt. 22	1601-03 Teche St.	\$14,000	10/12/1979	X
	pt. 22	321-23 Lawrence St.	\$13,000	9/21/1979	
	23, 24	315-17 Lawrence St.	\$34,200	1/27/1981	
Square	A, B		\$15,000	7/1/1955	X
281	C, D	1719-23 Hermosa St.	\$15,000	6/14/1955	

¹ City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, City Property Files for indicated Squares.

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	1, 2	1714-16 Nunez St.	\$10,500	6/7/1955	
281	3, 4	1700 Nunez St.	\$13,000	6/20/1955	
(cont)	5	519 Bringier St.	\$5,750	4/28/1955	X
	6	521-23 Bringier St	\$4,620	5/9/1955	X
	7		\$1,150	3/4/1955	
	8	525 Bringier St.	\$9,000	3/25/1955	
	9	1701 Hermosa St.	\$28,500	5/11/1982	
	10	1705-07 Hermosa St.	\$6,600	6/16/1955	
	11		\$1,600	5/31/1955	X
	12	1715 Hermosa St.	\$1,000	5/17/1955	
Square	1, 2	538-40 Bringier St.	\$105,600	8/10/1981	X
274	3	530 Bringier St.	¢42,000	7/7/1001	
	4	528 Bringier St.	\$43,000	7/7/1981	
	5	526 Bringier St.	\$24,500	10/10/1980	
	6	522-24 Bringier St.	\$32,200	10/21/1981	
	7	516-18 Bringier St.	\$26,000	6/17/1981	
	8	508 Bringier St.	\$25,500	7/6/1981	
	9	506 Bringier St.	\$32,000	7/23/1981	
	10	500-02 Bringier St.	\$87,500	3/10/1982	
	14, pt. 3	1626 Nunez St.	\$21,800	1/22/1982	
	A, B	1600 Nunez St.	\$63,000	8/31/1982	
	C	613 Lawrence St.	\$21,000	12/14/1981	
	D	615 Lawrence St.	\$4,500	9/19/1981	
	N	619 Lawrence St.	ψ.,εσσ	3,13,1301	
	Н	625 Lawrence St.	\$29,500	12/18/1981	
	D	629 Lawrence St.	\$6,400	10/29/1982	X
	3	029 24001000 200	\$7,000	9/20/1982	
	2		\$6,000	8/11/1981	X
	<u>-</u> 1		\$113,100	3/10/1982	
	4B, 5B		\$53,000	7/20/1982	
	6		\$75,000	6/26/1981	X
Square	1, 2	931 Lawrence St.	\$46,000	11/30/1981	
270	3, 4	927 Lawrence St.	\$33,000	7/10/1981	
	5, 6	917 Lawrence St.	\$52,500	10/19/1981	
	7, 8	911 Lawrence St.	\$34,150	2/2/1982	
	9, 10	901 Lawrence St.	\$42,000	5/28/1981	
	11, 12	900 Bringier St.	\$27,500	6/25/1981	X
	13, 14	908 Bringier St.	\$46,000	8/27/1981	
	15, 16	918 Bringier St.	\$29,500	9/25/1981	
	17, 18	922 Bringier St.	\$46,000	8/20/1981	
	19, 20	928 Bringier St.	\$33,500	4/23/1981	
Square 271-A	1		\$37,500	1/12/1987	
Square	1	1700 Hermosa St.	\$26,500	4/2/1982	X
282	2	1704-06 Hermosa St.	\$37,500	3/24/1982	
	3, 4	1714 Hermosa St.	\$17,000	2/16/1955	
	5, 6	1720 Hermosa St.	\$13,300	4/29/1955	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	7-A	1722-24 Hermosa St.			
282 (cont.)	pt. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16		\$100,000	8/17/1956	
	17, 20, 21-A, 21-B		\$13,000	2/2/1955	
	24, 25	636 Magellan St.	\$20,000	6/13/1955	
	24		\$1,500	7/12/1955	
	7, 8	1815 Evergreen St.	\$14,050	10/18/1955	X
	pt. 3, 4, 5, 6	1813 Evergreen St.	\$22,500	3/8/1956	X
	G	1801 Evergreen St.			
	22, 23	701-03 Bringier St.	\$11,300	9/1/1955	
	23, 26		\$14,400	6/20/1955	X
	18		\$3,300	4/4/1955	X
	14, 15		\$15,350	5/23/1955	
	11		\$7,500	5/23/1955	
Square	A, B	1725 Bodenger St.	\$40,050	8/25/1981	
285-A	1, 2	1801 Bodenger St.	\$53,500	4/20/1981	
200 11	3, 4	1807 Bodenger St.	\$15,500	10/23/1955	
	5, 6	1811 Bodenger St.	\$15,250	2/10/1956	X
	7, 8	1815 Bodenger St.	\$17,000	1/9/1956	X
-			·		71
Square	C, D	1720 Bodenger St.	\$35,200	6/18/1981	
285-B	pt. 7, 8, 9, 10	1814 Bodenger St.	\$31,664	9/30/1957	X7
	1, 2, 3, 4		\$18,750	2/6/1956	X
	5, 6		\$12,000	3/5/1956	
Square	21, 22	1718 Bodenger St.	\$31,666	5/24/1983	
270-A	19, 20	1712 Bodenger St.	\$40,750	6/5/1981	
	17, 18	1708 Bodenger St.	\$34,000	4/24/1981	
	15, 16	1706 Bodenger St.	\$46,000	6/1/1981	
	13, 14	1702 Bodenger St.	\$48,500	3/18/1981	
	11, 12	1622 Bodenger St.	\$64,000	3/10/1988	
	9, 10	1618 Bodenger St.	\$123,000	1/30/1987	
Square A	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, pt. 6	1806 Evergreen St.	\$27,810	12/1/1954	
(284A)	7, 8	1814 Evergreen St.	\$9,850	6/10/1955	
Square	1, 2	1600 Hermosa St.	\$62,500	5/11/1981	
C	3, 4	1000 Hermosa St.	\$61,500	5/26/1981	
	5, 6	1626 Hermosa St.	\$45,500	2/4/1982	
	7, 8	1630-32 Hermosa St.	\$40,000	1/18/1982	
	10	616 Bringier St.	\$21,700	10/8/1981	
	11	618 Bringier St.	\$31,500	7/19/1982	
	14, 15	620 Bringier St.	\$52,000	7/28/1981	
	18	622 Bringier St.	\$22,500	6/18/1981	
	19	624 Bringier St.	\$33,000	11/17/1981	
	22	628 Bringier St.	\$35,300	8/25/1981	
	23, 26	630-32 Bringier St.	\$30,000	6/17/1981	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	12, 13	831 Lawrence St.	\$55,000	7/20/1981	
C	16, pt. 17	833 Lawrence St.	\$11,300	1/22/1982	
(cont.)	pt. 17, 20	835 Lawrence St.	\$16,500	1/22/1982	
	21, 24, 25	845-47 Lawrence St.	\$71,000	3/24/1982	
Square 7A	С	1717 Le Boeuf St.	\$10,300	3/16/1955	
Square	1-B		\$13,000	12/4/1981	X
7B	2		\$3,125	5/10/1956	
	3-4-5		\$5,200	5/26/1955	
	pt. 1		\$700	8/6/1956	
Square	8, 9	1629 Whitney Ave.	\$7,000	4/11/1955	
8A	10, 11	1635 Whitney Ave.	\$8,900	3/3/1955	
	12, 13	1641 Whitney Ave.			
	14	1645 Whitney Ave.	\$4,445	1/24/1957	
Square 8B	7		\$22,000	12/7/1981	
Square	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6				
59	7, 8	1719 Sumner St.	\$56,500	12/27/1985	X
	9, 10	1721 Sumner St.	\$45,600	12/11/1981	
	11, 12	1725 Sumner St.	\$42,600	5/4/1982	
	13	1727 Sumner St.	\$28,000	2/8/1982	
	14, 15, 16, 17, pt. 18		\$58,750	8/17/1982	X
	pt. 18, pt. 19, pt. 20		\$750	12/5/1955	X
	pt. 20		\$42,000	3/2/1982	
	rear 21		\$630	8/28/1956	X
	22, 23	1740 Sumner St.	\$4,200	7/23/1956	
	24, 25	1744 Sumner St.	\$4,200	6/20/1955	
	pt. 29		\$750	3/23/1955	
	pt. 27		\$100	5/30/1985	
	19, 20, pt. 21		\$9,000	11/22/1982	X
	pt. 21		\$3,150	11/22/1982	X
	26, 27, 28		\$2,250	3/4/1955	
	30, 31		\$1,650	8/24/1955	
	32, 33		\$1,675	10/17/1955	
	34		\$7,000	5/26/1955	
	35, 36		\$1,500	8/9/1955	X
	37, 38		\$7,801	8/29/1955	
	39, 40, 41, 42		\$6,808	9/6/1955	X
	43, 44, 45, 46		\$5,972	2/2/1956	X
Lower C	Garden District /	Central Business District	-		
Square	A		\$2,100	8/18/1955	X
46	1, 2	1234-36, 1238 Tchoupitoulas St.	\$18,100	10/18/1955	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	5		\$12,480	8/8/1955	
46 (cont.)	3, 4, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16, D		\$132,000	11/18/1955	(Part property acquisition, part perpetual servitude for air rights)
	Undesignated, Undesignated, 8		\$182,000	11/19/1982	X
Square 70A	pt. A-1		\$1,165	6/28/1982	Х
Square	1-B		\$29,133	12/18/1981	
71	1-A		\$48,300	1/26/1983	
	30		\$49,500	7/13/1982	
	6, 7, 8		\$62,400	10/4/1982	
	1, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, 2, 3, 4, 5		\$1,135,320	5/11/1982	X
	A		\$145,000	8/12/1982	
	pt. B, pt. C		\$150	9/6/1955	
	A		\$7,150	1/26/1956	
	3		\$7,200	4/28/1955	X
	1, 2		\$24,600	3/19/1956	
	C, D		\$16,000	9/15/1955	X
	pt. D		\$16,000	4/19/1960	
	2		\$21,137	9/30/1982	X
Square 72	Undesignated		\$135,000	11/17/1955	
	1, 2, 3, 4, 2, 3		\$470,482	9/30/1982	X
	3, 2		\$40,000	3/23/1955	
	pt. 1, pt. 2		\$55,441	8/30/1983	
	pt. 1, pt. 2, B		\$46,614	2/2/1987	
	A, 11, 12		\$6,690	8/7/1987	
	20		\$46,000	7/13/1982	
	1, 2, C		\$744,400	6/28/1982	X
	В		\$16,520	5/26/1982	**
	3		\$8,200	7/5/1956	X
	pt. 23		\$6,000	11/23/1956	
	4		\$2,700	3/24/1955	
	2		\$11,650	5/31/1955	
Square 119	6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 11, 12, 13		\$354,420	2/1/1983	X
	14, 15, 18, 19		\$112,466	8/11/1982	X
	16, 17		\$95,768	12/22/1982	
	20		\$19,757	6/14/1982	

Square 138		Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
C, 2		A, B, C, D, 2		\$275,000	10/9/1955	
Pis. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 15-1 or A \$1,146,230 11/24/1982 X		C, 2		\$28,000	3/12/1955	
Square 139 130 131 131 132 132 133 133 133 134 1		1A	1129 Constance St.	\$15,500	5/11/1955	
Square 13-1 or A				\$44,861	6/29/1983	
A, B S33,350 3/12/1956 Rear C, rear D, 8, 9 S16,250 1/5/1956 X S16,250 1/5/1956 X S16,250 1/5/1955 Tront C, front D S16,250 10/27/1955 Tront A S8,000 10/27/1955 S12,000 S218,283 2/1/1983 X S18,283 2/1/1983 X S18,283 S1/1956 S12,000 S22/1956 S12,000 S22/1955 S22/1955 S22/1955 S2/1955 S2/19				\$1,146,230	11/24/1982	X
rear C, rear D, 8, 9 front C, front D front A ss, 000 10/27/1955 pt. 9 Square pts. A, B, 8, 9 156 157, pt. 8 158 159 150 150 150 150 150 150 150	Square	2A		\$95,029	11/29/1982	X
Second	139	A, B		\$33,350	3/12/1956	
D S16,250 1/3/1956 X Front A \$8,000 10/27/1955 pt. 9 \$47,000 10/27/1955 pt. 9 \$47,000 10/27/1955 pt. 9 \$47,000 10/27/1955 pt. 8, 9 \$218,283 2/1/1983 X Front S \$218,283 2/1/1983 X Pt. 8, 9 \$23,126 6/29/1956 7, pt. 8 \$8,500 8/29/1956 4, 5, 6 \$31,500 2/27/1956 X 1, 2, pt. 3 \$35,000 12/8/1955 X Undesignated, Undesignated, \$125,000 5/18/1956 Undesignated 14, 24 \$299,425 7/31/1998 3 \$7,000 8/29/1956 7, 8, 9, R, S \$176,258 9/11/1997 X Square 157 Undesignated 1127-29 Magazine St. Undesignated 1127-29 Magazine St. C, rear 3, pt. 1		8, 9		\$357,000	6/28/1982	X
Pt. 9 \$47,000 10/27/1955		·		\$16,250	1/5/1956	X
Square pts. A, B, 8, 9 \$218,283 \$21/1983 X pt. 8, 9 \$23,126 6/29/1956		front A		\$8,000	10/27/1955	
Description		pt. 9		\$47,000	10/27/1955	
156	Square	pts. A. B. 8. 9		\$218.283	2/1/1983	X
7, pt. 8						11
4,5,6		_				
1, 2, pt. 3 \$35,000 12/8/1955 X pt. 3, 4, 24, Undesignated, Undesignated \$125,000 \$5/18/1956 Undesignated 14, 24 \$299,425 7/31/1998 3 \$7,000 8/29/1956 7, 8, 9, R, S \$176,258 9/11/1997 X Square Undesignated 1133 Magazine St. Undesignated 1127-29 Magazine St. \$83,357 7/19/1955 X 5 \$600 3/12/1956 H \$12,000 9/30/1955 X \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$						X
pt. 3, 4, 24, Undesignated, \$125,000 5/18/1956						
Square Undesignated 1133 Magazine St. St		pt. 3, 4, 24, Undesignated,				
Total Process		14, 24		\$299,425	7/31/1998	
Square 157 Undesignated C, rear 3, pt. 1 1127-29 Magazine St. \$83,357 7/19/1955 X A \$12,000 12/29/1955 X 5 \$600 3/12/1956 X H \$12,000 9/30/1955 X S \$17,000 8/4/1955 X M, N \$22,000 8/1/1955 X 28, 98, 100, Undesignated \$231,000 1/15/1982 1/15/1982 H \$30,000 7/6/1956 X 1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 X 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 X 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley \$598,615 12/22/1955 X A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X X Land Swap 3/19/1986 X 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 X		3		\$7,000	8/29/1956	
Total		7, 8, 9, R, S		\$176,258	9/11/1997	X
5 \$600 3/12/1956 H \$12,000 9/30/1955 X S \$17,000 8/4/1955 M, N \$22,000 8/1/1955 28, 98, 100, Undesignated \$231,000 1/15/1982 B \$19,250 10/25/1955 1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley \$598,615 12/22/1955 A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X		Undesignated		\$83,357	7/19/1955	
H \$12,000 9/30/1955 X S \$17,000 8/4/1955 M, N \$22,000 8/1/1955 28, 98, 100, Undesignated B \$19,250 10/25/1955 1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley A \$1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X \$Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955				\$12,000	12/29/1955	X
S \$17,000 8/4/1955 M, N \$22,000 8/1/1955 28, 98, 100, Undesignated B \$19,250 10/25/1955 1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley A \$1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956				\$600	3/12/1956	
M, N \$22,000 8/1/1955 28, 98, 100, Undesignated \$231,000 1/15/1982 B \$19,250 10/25/1955 1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley \$598,615 12/22/1955 A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X		Н		\$12,000	9/30/1955	X
28, 98, 100, Undesignated B \$19,250 \$10/25/1955 1, 2 \$30,000 \$7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 \$6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 \$4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, \$598,615 \$12/22/1955 A \$1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 \$6/9/1955 X Land Swap \$3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 \$5/20/1955		S		\$17,000	8/4/1955	
Undesignated B \$19,250 10/25/1955 1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley A \$1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 5/20/1955 X Land Swap 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X		M, N		\$22,000	8/1/1955	
1, 2 \$30,000 7/6/1956 6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley \$598,615 12/22/1955 A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956				\$231,000	1/15/1982	
6, alley \$36,918 6/14/1955 2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley \$598,615 12/22/1955 A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X				\$19,250	10/25/1955	
2 \$14,059 4/20/1955 7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956		1, 2				
7, pt. 6, 5, 4, 3, alley A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956		6, alley				
3, alley A 1127 Gaienne St \$34,000 6/9/1955 X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X		=		\$14,059	4/20/1955	
X Land Swap 3/19/1986 3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X				\$598,615	12/22/1955	
3, pt. 2 \$11,140 5/20/1955 Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 Y		•	1127 Gaienne St	\$34,000	6/9/1955	
Square pts. 35, 36 1064 Camp St. \$150,000 2/20/1956 X		X		Land Swap	3/19/1986	
		3, pt. 2		\$11,140	5/20/1955	
	Square	nts 35 36	1064 Camp St			
14/3/ 1 1/03: 1.1: 33 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 3 1 3 4 1 1 1 1 1	158	pts. 35, 36	1131-35 Calliope St.	\$150,000	2/20/1956	X

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition	Acquisition	Expropriation	
			Cost	Date	1 1	
Square	37, 38		\$39,550	10/28/1955		
158	39, 40		\$68,000	5/23/1956		
(cont.)	41, alley		\$45,000	5/31/1955		
	42	1042 Camp St.				
	43	1036 Camp St.	\$44,500	12/10/1954		
	44	1034 Camp St.	Ψ++,500	12/10/1754		
	pt. 29, 30, 31	1067 Magazine St.	\$170,130	1/5/1983		
	28	1061 Magazine St.	\$10,770	4/2/1992		
	21, 48	1037 Magazine St.	\$350,000	1/16/1986	X	
	A		\$293,946	8/8/1983		
	pts. 31, 32, 33, 34		\$173,297	6/6/1983		
	pt. 34		\$2,000	2/9/1956		
Square	1		\$27,500	9/8/1955		
159	19, 20		\$60,000	8/23/1956		
	2, 3, 4	538-42 Howard Ave.	\$99,736	4/1/1957	X	2
	14 15	1030 Camp St. 1024 Camp St.	\$76,625	4/9/1956	X	
	pt. 18	102 : Cump au	\$28,000	12/28/1956		
Square	1, 2, pt. 3		\$147,561	2/10/1984	X	
183	pt. 3 or 5	1060 St. Charles Ave.	\$5,447	7/6/1983		
	1, 4	1070 St. Charles Ave.	\$602,200	8/11/1983		
	2	1525 Calliope St.	\$72,605	1/20/1982		
	pts. 1, 2, 3, 1		\$117,542	5/31/1983		
Square	6	1123 St. Charles Ave.	\$40,000	8/17/1956	X	
214	10, hf. 9, 1, 2, 3, 5	1101-07 St. Charles Ave.	\$266,700	8/1/1956	X	
	16, 15, 4	1630-34 Calliope St.	\$44,000	9/28/1956	X	
	Y or H-28	1100-02 Carondelet St.	\$40,700	4/23/1956	X	
	X	1110-12 Carondelet St.	\$42,000	8/16/1956		
	pt. A	1118 Carondelet St.	\$14,500	6/9/1956		
	pt. B		\$7,307	12/9/1982		
Square	pt. G		\$6,500	8/16/1956		
238	A		. ,			
	В	1105-07 Carondelet St.				
	С	1109 Carondelet St.	\$51,500	6/25/1956		
	C	1113-15 Carondelet St.	1			
	pts. 4, 5	1712-14 Calliope St.	\$25,000	5/11/1956		
	6A	1716 Calliope St	·			
	6B	1724 Calliope St.	\$22,200	3/8/1957		
	H-23	1730 Calliope St.	\$24,000	3/1/1956		
	Q	1726-28 Calliope St.	\$9,000	4/16/1956		
	ı Y	1720 20 Camope St.	Ψ2,000	7/10/1/30	I	<u> </u>

² Case was appealed to the Louisiana Supreme Court. Court affirmed the Civil District Court ruling of expropriation but increased the award to \$99,736.10 from \$70,000. This was the only expropriation record found in the City's files showing a ruling from any court other than the Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans. Louisiana State Supreme Court ruling dated April 1, 1957.

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	16	1734-38 Calliope St.			
238	A or 17	1740 Calliope St.	\$22,700	3/13/1956	
(cont.)	18	1742-46 Calliope St.			
	1	1100-08 Baronne St.	\$19,000	5/21/1956	X
	A, B		\$30,000	8/9/1956	
	1	1120 Baronne St.	\$30,000	0/9/1930	
	Undesignated		\$15,000	11/5/1982	
	10		\$70,973	3/3/1983	
Square	X	1113-15 Baronne St.	\$16,200	2/2/1956	
254	3, 4	1107-09 Baronne St.	\$39,000	3/8/1956	
	1, 2	1101-03 Baronne St.	\$20,000	3/23/1956	
	7	1816 Calliope St.	\$7,300	3/8/1956	
	1	1818-20 Calliope St.	\$8,500	4/17/1956	
	2	1010 20 Camope St.	\$7,775	3/23/1956	
	H-12	1828 Calliope St.	\$12,000	8/14/1956	X
	H-11	1020 Camope St.	\$17,500	4/17/1956	A
	A, B, C, 10,		·		
	pt. 9		\$67,827	7/6/1956	X
	4		\$48,134	1/17/1984	X
	2, 3		\$31,860	3/15/1983	X
Square 277	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16		\$140,500	8/21/1956	X
	1, 11	1100-02 S. Rampart St.	\$50,250	5/14/1956	X
	12	1108-18 S. Rampart St.	\$17,000	6/25/1956	
	13	1112 S. Rampart St.	\$15,000	4/16/1956	
Square	A		\$4,500	8/31/1956	X
290	pt. G	1127-29 S. Rampart St.	\$35,000	1/20/1956	
&	1, pt. 5	1123-25 S. Rampart St.	\$28,000	10/28/1955	
312	pt. 1	•	\$2,000	1/20/1956	
	2	1119-21 S. Rampart St.	\$9,000	1/27/1956	
	4	1113-17 S. Rampart St.	\$12,500	8/17/1955	
	8	1109 S. Rampart St.	\$46,403	9/1/1955	
	5	1105-07 S. Rampart St.			37
	6	1101-03 S. Rampart St.	\$32,500	9/30/1955	X
	1 through 14	1120 26 C' D 1'	\$178,607	5/31/1955	
	pt. C	1130-36 Simon Bolivar	\$7,912	3/31/1955	
	pt. 8	1122-24 Simon Bolivar	\$8,356	5/24/1955	
	pt. D	1126-28 Simon Bolivar	\$11,484	5/24/1955	
	pt. B	1134-36 Simon Bolivar	\$4,634	6/2/1955	
	X, Y	2025-31 Clio St.	\$17,800	2/1/1956	
	A		\$9,850	4/10/1956	
Square	pt. 1		\$1,500	4/22/1957	
325	N	1117 Simon Bolivar	\$22,000	5/29/1956	
	A	1111 Simon Bolivar	\$26,200	6/27/1956	
	Undesignated	2114-16 Calliope St.	\$26,200	0/21/1930	
	5	1105 Simon Bolivar	\$17,200	7/31/1956	
	6	1101-03 Simon Bolivar	\$35,775	6/20/1956	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square 325	B, 14, 15, Undesignated	2122-40 Calliope St.	\$66,000	9/28/1956	X	
(cont.)	8		\$35,500	8/17/1956		
	9, 10, 11, 12, 13		\$62,000	1/3/1957	X	

Appendix 5.3 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Interstate-10 and Interstate-610 Rights-of-Way.¹

hts-of-V	Vay.				
	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Interstat	te-10 - Tulane A	venue to Franklin Avenue	e (At I-10/I-61	0 Junction)	
Square	В	1601 Tulane Ave.	\$111,850	4/28/1965	
403	Undesignated	1605 Tulane Ave.	\$116,950	10/20/1966	
	A	1609 Tulane Ave.	\$125,300	2/2/1966	
	1, 4	200 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$29,176	3/14/1967	X
	2	202 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$16,800	5/3/1966	
	3	206 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$17,445	5/15/1967	X
	5, 6, 7	212 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$97,342	11/7/1966	
	8, 9, 10		\$162,650	9/26/1966	X
	11, 12, 13, A, B, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, B, 21	230 S. Claiborne Ave 1621-23 Tulane Ave.	\$1,024,500	4/25/1966	
Square 434	E	1728-30 Cleveland Ave	\$12,000	5/16/1966	
	Y or 7	1732 Cleveland Ave.	\$12,250	9/2/1966	
	D	216 S. Derbigny St.	\$17,500	6/4/1966	
	С	220-22 S. Derbigny St.	\$14,300	5/25/1966	
	22	226-28 S. Derbigny St.	\$12,100	8/10/1966	X
	12	230 S. Derbigny St.	\$9,541	5/18/1966	
	13	1731-33 Palmyra St.	\$24,975	4/7/1967	X
	14, 15		\$34,035	8/16/1966	
	26	1723 Palmyra St.	\$20,800	8/22/1966	
	27	1719 Palmyra St.	\$20,250	8/19/1966	
	28		\$21,050	9/7/1966	
	19	241 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$31,000	6/30/1966	
	2, 3		\$56,440	8/22/1966	
	4, 5	223 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$59,750	9/2/1966	
	F	221 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$34,900	8/23/1966	
	E	215 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$58,200	1/25/1967	
Square	1, 2, 3, 2	901 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$188,250	9/24/1965	
207	4	913 N Claiborne Ave.	\$77,300	1/14/1966	X
	5	919 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$13,975	3/17/1966	
Square	13	819 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$12,600	1/28/1966	
208	12	823 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$14,800	1/26/1966	
	9	827 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$24,100	11/10/1965	
	T	831 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$19,650	10/12/1965	
	9	835 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$13,500	10/14/1965	
	6	839 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$23,000	10/11/1965	X
	11	1712 Dumaine St.	\$14,950	10/4/1965	
	4	1718 Dumaine St.	\$12,300	10/8/1965	

¹ City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, City Property Files for indicated Squares.

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	3	1722 Dumaine St.	\$13,500	9/20/1965	X
208	2	1726 Dumaine St.		1/11/1965	
(cont)	1	1730 Dumaine St.	\$19,500	6/17/1965	
	10A	826 N. Derbigny St.	\$10,800	10/19/1965	T.
	1.1		\$1,500	1/27/1966	X
	11	822 N. Derbigny St.			
	14	820 N. Derbigny St.	\$42,250	1/11/1966	X
	15	814 N. Derbigny St.			
	2	1727 St. Ann St.	Φ5.500	2/21/1065	v
	1	1731 St. Ann St.	\$5,500	2/21/1965	X
Square	3	1727 Orleans Ave.	\$11,500	6/3/1965	
209	2	1731 Orleans Ave.	\$24,200	10/22/1965	X
	1	1730 St. Ann St.	\$10,150	10/26/1965	
Square	A-2		\$16,000	8/11/1965	X
225	1	1805 St. Ann St.	\$13,400	8/17/1965	
	2	1811 St. Ann St.	\$14,600	8/4/1965	
	1	1800 Dumaine St.	\$16,500	8/24/1965	
	13	819 N. Derbigny St.	\$18,175	8/4/1965	
	12	815 N. Derbigny St.	\$13,400	8/9/1965	
	L	811 N. Derbigny St.	\$11,000	10/21/1965	
Square	1, 2	1400 St. Peter St.	\$62,713	12/7/1966	
164	3, 4, 5		\$44,375	12/20/1966	
	4		\$10,000	6/3/1965	
	1, A		Exchange		
Square	4, 5, 6, 7, 8	1533 Lafitte St.	\$64,000	2/8/1966	
182	8	1510 St. Peter St.	\$10,000	8/31/1965	
	6	1508 St. Peter St.	\$10,500	3/14/1966	
	4	1504 St. Peter St.	\$11,450	5/27/1965	
	2	1500 St. Peter St.	\$17,850	11/4/1965	
Square	R, 1, 2	1600 St. Peter St.	\$80,750	3/23/1967	X
193	S		\$7,650	3/23/1967	X
	W		\$11,000	5/31/1965	
	X		\$44,000	5/27/1965	
	1, 2	600 N. Claiborne St.	\$28,139	3/2/1967	X
	17		\$12,000	5/27/1965	
Square	2	1622 St. Philip St.	\$16,200	8/13/1965	
197	N, 30, Undesignated		\$62,000	8/13/1965	
	4	924 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$32,250	10/22/1965	X
	D	916 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$28,100	9/28/1965	
	С	912 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$26,940	11/15/1965	
	21	910 N. Claiborne Ave.	\$14,863	12/21/1965	X
Square	1	1618 Ursulines Ave.	\$11,800	8/3/1965	
198	29	1622 Ursulines Ave.	\$20,500	7/29/1965	
	L	1038 N. Claiborne Ave	\$24,000	12/15/1965	X
	M-2	1032 N. Claiborne Ave	\$25,000	8/2/1965	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	N-3	1028 N. Claiborne Ave	\$13,000	9/20/1965	X
198	3	1024 N. Claiborne Ave	\$27,000	12/21/1965	X
(cont.)	A, B, 15	1020 N. Claiborne Ave	\$127,100	10/6/1965	
	16	1010 N. Claiborne Ave	\$46,225	10/18/1965	
	A-15		\$46,000	6/22/1965	
	C	1623 St. Philip St.	\$21,000	12/21/1965	X
Square	A	1608 Gov. Nicholls St.	\$46	12/17/1965	
199	15	1624 Gov. Nicholls St.	\$8,626	1/20/1966	X
	A-B	1628 Gov. Nicholls St.	\$95,000	12/6/1965	X
	17	1130 N. Claiborne Ave	\$30,000	1/11/1966	X
	4	1128 N. Claiborne Ave	\$118,700	11/29/1965	X
	20	1120 N. Claiborne Ave	\$22,000	11/15/1965	X
	Н	1110 N. Claiborne Ave	\$14,100	7/21/1965	
	I	1114 N. Claiborne Ave	\$25,500	10/11/1965	X
	A-1	1106 N. Claiborne Ave	\$37,000	1/14/1966	X
	B-1	1100 N. Claiborne Ave	\$30,000	10/22/1965	X
	В	1619 Ursulines Ave.	\$3,282	11/12/1965	
Square	B, 1-B	1700 N. Derbigny St.	\$15,500	12/28/1964	
753	14		\$10,750	8/17/1964	
	15 or V		\$23,500	1/20/1965	X
	465A		\$12,500	3/5/1965	X
	A		\$142,900	1/30/1964	
	С	1625 Allen St.	\$13,500	9/2/1964	
Square	R	1634 Allen St.	\$12,600	10/7/1964	
754	S	1630 Allen St.	\$12,500	6/15/1964	
	0	1626 Allen St.	\$14,500	7/14/1964	
	D		\$20,500	8/3/964	
	Undesignated		\$144,500	10/7/1964	
	1, 2, 3, 4, 12	1623 N. Claiborne Ave	\$157,000	11/16/1964	X
	A, B, G		\$70,000	12/7/1964	
	S	1615 New Orleans St.	\$12,000	8/31/1964	
	R	1619 New Orleans St.	\$8,750	6/11/1964	
	40		\$19,500	7/8/1964	
	Q	1629 New Orleans St.	\$9,100	6/22/1964	
	P	1631 New Orleans St.	\$12,600	8/11/1964	
	О	1635 New Orleans St.	\$12,500	6/29/1964	
	M		\$14,750	6/30/1964	
	N	1637 New Orleans St.	\$16,400	6/24/1964	
	T		\$10,200	9/30/1964	X
Square	Н	1601 St. Bernard Ave.	\$75,000	11/12/1964	
755	D	1621 St. Bernard Ave.	\$26,000	8/12/1964	
	X		\$22,350	12/21/1964	
	37		\$31,000	8/3/1964	
	A	1633 St. Bernard Ave.	\$17,000	8/11/1964	
	4	1637 St. Bernard Ave.	\$12,300	9/8/1964	
	2	1643 St. Bernard Ave.	\$9,250	10/19/1964	
	E	1636 New Orleans St.	\$14,500	6/3/1964	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	9	1632 New Orleans St.	\$7,500	7/2/1964	
755 (cont.)	В	1628 New Orleans St.	\$7,800	7/24/1964	
Square	1	1543 N. Claiborne Ave	\$36,000	11/29/1965	X
757	pt. 1		\$7,025	10/29/1965	
	Undesignated		\$65,000	1/19/1966	
	L		\$33,250	10/11/1965	X
	N	1565 N. Claiborne Ave	\$29,800	9/24/1965	
	M	1561 N. Claiborne Ave	\$16,200	10/12/1965	
	В		\$49,950	11/2/1965	
	U	1551 N. Claiborne Ave	\$38,500	11/15/1965	X
	2		\$16,000	9/30/1965	
Square	A-1	1501 N. Claiborne Ave	\$11,800	1/31/1966	
758	В	1509 N. Claiborne Ave	\$27,725	11/18/1965	
	pts. B, C	1513 N. Claiborne Ave	\$19,750	9/13/1965	
	С	1517 N. Claiborne Ave	\$17,750	10/8/1965	
	6	1523 N. Claiborne Ave	\$22,500	9/29/1965	
	5	1527 N. Claiborne Ave	\$24,750	10/8/1965	
	6, 10, 10-B		\$33,000	9/13/1965	
Square	Y	1716 Allen St.	\$8,544	1/14/1965	
767	X	1714 Allen St.	\$10,500	2/1/1965	
,	1	1665 N. Derbigny St.	\$17,000	12/9/1964	
	В	1661 N. Derbigny St.	\$11,000	10/27/1964	
	F		\$12,750	10/14/1964	
	4	1655 N. Derbigny St.	\$13,000	2/25/1965	X
	5	1649 N. Derbigny St.	\$7,500	9/23/1964	
	С		\$7,750	12/9/1964	
	11, 12	1645 N. Derbigny St.	\$16,000	2/12/1965	X
	A	1641 N. Derbigny St.	\$6,500	12/14/1964	
	pt. B		\$5,500	2/23/1965	X
Square	A	1701 Allen St.	\$11,750	6/25/1964	
768	11	1705 Allen St.	\$8,000	5/29/1964	
. 50	I	1709 Allen St.	\$8,750	6/30/1964	X
	9		\$9,250	10/13/1964	X
	8		\$11,400	8/4/1964	
	7		\$8,500	5/29/1964	
	6		\$9,500	8/25/1964	
	5	1727 Allen St.	\$9,350	10/6/1964	
	4	1731 Allen St.	\$11,800	9/17/1964	
	18	1733 Allen St.	\$1,650	2/15/1964	
	14B		\$11,750	9/28/1964	
	13A		\$19,000	10/28/1964	
	15	1766 N. Roman St.	\$10,000	6/22/1964	
	A	1738 Annette St.	\$10,500	10/12/1964	
	13		\$7,500	9/14/1964	
	10	1734 Annette St.	\$8,500	9/17/1964	
	9	1730 Annette St.	\$8,000	9/30/1964	X

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	Н	1726 Annette St.	\$8,550	11/30/1964		
768	6, G	1718 Annette St.	\$22,000	9/1/1964		
(cont.)	5	1714 Annette St.	\$7,800	10/20/1964		
	3, 4	1710 Annette St.	\$3,850	9/17/1964		
	1, 2		\$1,025	8/27/1965		
	M		\$10,000	11/17/1964		
	N	1725 N. Derbigny St.	\$15,500	8/18/1964		
	5	1717 N. Derbigny St.	\$9,000	6/12/1964		
	24	1715 N. Derbigny St.	\$18,500	7/22/1964		
Square	10	1733 Annette St.	\$7,800	1/15/1965		
769	11	1737 Annette St.	\$8,400	1/15/1965		
-	8	1741 Annette St.	\$8,750	12/28/1964		
Square	X	1822 St. Anthony St.	\$11,250	2/4/1965		2
888	10-A	1818 St. Anthony St.	\$11,000	1/22/1965		
	X	1010 SW 11MMony SW	\$13,475	11/12/1964		
-	8	1830 St. Anthony St.	\$13,000	12/28/1964		
-	В	1834 St. Anthony St.	\$22,500	1/20/1965	X	
-	16-A	1838 St. Anthony St.	\$20,000	9/14/1964		
-	17, 18	1924 N. Prieur St.	\$19,600	6/24/1964		
-	19		\$15,000	10/15/1964		
-	20		\$20	3/4/1965		
-	Y, Z		\$17,000	2/2/1965		
=	23	1827 Annette St.	\$13,500	1/18/1965		
=	25		\$8,750	10/19/1964		
=	26	1821 Annette St.	\$10,750	10/6/1964		
-	27		\$10,500	6/19/1964		
=	28	1815 Annette St.	\$11,000	8/7/1964		
-	24 or 29	1813 Annette St.	\$10,200	8/6/1964		
-	A, B	1805 Annette St.	\$22,500	7/24/1964		
•	A	1813 N. Roman St.	\$6,000	10/13/1964	X	
•	2	1817 N. Roman St.	\$13,000	10/16/1964		
	4		\$2,450	2/19/1965		
Square	Q	1916 St. Anthony St.	\$6,500	10/15/1964		
909	Ē	1918 St. Anthony St.	\$10,250	11/12/1964		
=	24	1921 N. Prieur St.	\$220	5/7/1965	X	
=	D	1927 N. Prieur St.	\$10,000	12/7/1964		
=	С	1931 N. Prieur St.	\$15,500	10/26/1964		
-	R	1935 N. Prieur St.	\$12,200	7/24/1964		
Square	5	2616 Pauger St.	\$130	2/4/1965		
910	6	2620 Pauger St.	\$1,353	10/28/1964		
	7	2622 Pauger St.	\$16,500	12/18/1964		
-	8		\$14,000	1/15/1965		
-	9		\$6,500	10/13/1964		
-	10	2638 Pauger St.		11/6/1964		
	10 B	2638 Pauger St. 1968 N. Johnson St.	\$24,200 \$7,350	11/6/1964 6/26/1964		

² Property purchased from the Republic of France.

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	11	1964 N. Johnson St.	\$12,200	7/22/1964		
910	12	1958 N. Johnson St.	\$8,900	7/1/1964		
(cont.)	13, 14		\$23,925	1/18/1965		
	15		\$14,000	12/22/1964		
	16	1929 St. Anthony St.	\$16,500	7/9/1964		
	17		\$12,450	7/6/1964		
	18		\$12,400	7/27/1964		
	19(A)		\$6,250	12/9/1964		
	A(19)		\$10,250	6/18/1964		
	20		\$11,600	10/16/1964		
	1A		\$9,000	6/29/1964		
	2B		\$9,000	1/4/1965		
	C, D	1955 N. Prieur St.	\$19,550	1/7/1965		
Square	1, 2	2039 Touro St.	\$28,000	9/21/1964		
1026	8	2031 Touro St.	\$20,000	1/18/1965		
	5	2025 Touro St.	Exchange			
	H, X	2064 N. Galvez St.	\$25,500	12/28/1964		
	4	2060 N. Galvez St.	\$9,750	10/12/1964		
	3	2062 N. Galvez St.	\$7,500	10/26/1964		
Square	A-2	2013 N. Johnson St.	\$9,500	10/1/1964		
1027	B, C, 5, 6		\$28,600	2/23/1965	X	
	pt. C		\$1,500	2/19/1965		
İ	pt. 3		\$2,567	10/28/1964		
	1		\$2,100	2/4/1965	X	
	8		\$11,000	10/21/1964		
	3		\$10,200	9/25/1964		
	3		\$10,500	9/22/1964		
	4	2028 Touro St.	\$17,400	2/4/1965		
	1, 2	2026 N. Galvez St.	\$32,900	12/4/1964		
	18		\$11,175	1/4/1965		
	2	2729 Pauger St.	\$11,000	9/23/1964		
	A	2721 Pauger St.	\$13,000	2/12/1965	X	
	23, 24		\$32,000	1/14/1965		
	B-3		\$16,000	9/30/1964		
Square	Y	1961 N. Johnson St.	\$9,404	10/23/1964		
1028	14		\$17,800	6/29/1964		
	13		\$14,000	9/16/1964		
	H or 12	2710 Pauger St.	\$16,500	10/6/1964		
	G	2714 Pauger St.	\$15,800	11/23/1964		
	F	2718 Pauger St.	\$16,000	11/13/1964		
	Е	2722 Pauger St.	\$9,480	11/19/1964		
Square	В	2120 Touro St.	\$50	2/19/1965		
1056	A	2114 Touro St.	\$10,800	10/27/1964		
	41		\$15,000	10/29/1964		
	42		\$15,000	2/25/1965	X	
	40		\$32,000	12/7/1964		
	13	2017 N. Galvez St.	\$900	2/19/1965		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	3		\$14,450	9/16/1964		
1057	2		\$22,000	1/6/1965		
=	P		\$10,500	9/16/1964		
=	1	2067 N. Galvez St.	\$27,500	10/21/1964		
	4, 5	2116 Frenchmen St.	\$20,000	11/9/1964		
	Н	2126 Frenchmen St.	\$21,000	7/30/1964		
	M-2	2136 Frenchmen St.	\$39,200	9/16/1964		
	A	2118 N. Miro St.	\$30,000	10/12/1964		
	X-9	2131 Touro St.	\$16,500	9/28/1964		
•	R, Y		\$11,165	10/8/1964		
	16		\$13,500	9/16/1964		
	17		\$10,800	7/17/1964		
•	C, D	2119 Touro St.	\$19,200	9/23/1964		
=	В	2105 Touro St.	\$15,500	12/11/1964	X	
=	A	2101 Touro St.	\$16,000	10/14/1964		
=	F	2057 N. Galvez St.	\$9,800	2/1/1965		
=	23, 24		\$19,000	1/20/1965	X	
Square 1058	8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14		\$88,575	12/22/1964		
1000	9	2115 Frenchmen St.	\$10,000	8/4/1964		
-	6	2127 Frenchmen St.	\$14,400	9/23/1964		
-	7	2123 Frenchmen St.	\$13,500	7/27/1964		
-	1A	2120 110101111011 201	\$14,000	8/4/1964		
•	Н	2162 N. Miro St.	\$16,800	9/2/1964		
-	F, G	2128 Elysian Fields Av	\$15,000	10/12/1964		1
-	D, E	2124 Elysian Fields Av	\$23,900	10/14/1964		
•	Č	2120 Elysian Fields Av	\$15,500	1/8/1965		
•	В	2116 Elysian Fields Av	\$13,700	1/14/1965		
•	A	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	\$13,450	1/19/1965		
=	14		\$550	3/23/1965		
C	7		¢14.200	0/6/1064		1
Square 1073	$\frac{Z}{X}$	2212 E1 C4	\$14,300	8/6/1964		
1073		2213 Frenchmen St.	\$14,800	9/17/1964		
-	2	2205 Frenchmen St.	\$15,450	8/12/1964		
-		2225 Frenchmen St.	\$18,000 \$22,600	12/9/1964 10/12/1964		-
-	6, ½ 11 B	2227 Frenchmen St.	\$12,400	9/16/1964		-
-	<u>В</u>	2227 Menchinen St.	\$12,400	10/12/1964		-
-	9		\$10,500	12/4/1964		-
-						-
-	10 8	2170 N. Tonti St.	\$16,500 \$16,600	9/25/1964 10/12/1964		-
-		2170 N. Tollu St.		9/4/1964		-
}	13, 14		\$31,000 \$14,400	10/8/1964		
-	3		\$14,400	9/18/1964		
-	1, 2		\$17,300	9/18/1964		
}	1, 2	2208 Elysian Fields Av		10/21/1964		
-	•	2200 Eigsiaii Fieius AV	\$35,000 \$18,000	1/20/1965	X	-
-	A B		\$18,600	10/5/1964	Λ	
-		2150 N. Mino C4				
-	2A	2159 N. Miro St.	\$9,800	10/29/1964		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square 1073 (cont.)	2B	2163 N. Miro St.	\$17,600	9/18/1964		
Square	7A, 7B	2184 N. Rocheblave St	\$26,000	2/19/1965	X	
1209	C	2334 Elysian Fields Av	\$18,500	2/4/1965	X	
	3		\$13,300	10/30/1964		
	Y		\$35,000	10/29/1964		
	X		\$17,250	9/8/1964		
	4	2312 Elysian Fields Av	\$14,000	8/27/1964		
	3	2310 Elysian Fields Av	\$19,750	9/9/1964		
	2	•	\$26,000	12/9/1964		
	22	2197 N. Tonti St.	\$9,450	2/2/1965		
	6	2189 N. Tonti St.	\$48,800	12/7/1965		
	F		\$10,983	1/8/1965		
	В		\$1,125	3/5/1965		
	С		\$1,152	3/8/1965		
	В		\$500	2/19/1965		
	В		\$1,910	3/4/1965		
Square	M		\$15,500	11/5/1964	X	
1172	N		\$15,000	11/5/1964	X	
	В		\$14,500	9/23/1964		
	P		\$18,000	10/22/1964		
	Q		\$17,500	9/15/1964		
	R		\$18,250	8/25/1964		
	T		\$16,100	9/4/1964		
	U		\$17,100	11/13/1964		
	15		\$15,000	1/22/1965		
	A		\$150	2/4/1964	X	
Square	1	2300 Marigny St.	\$13,750	12/21/1964		
1210	2	2217 N. Tonti St.	\$13,750	7/22/1964		
	3	2213 N. Tonti St.	\$11,000	7/10/1964		
	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16	2301 Elysian Fields Av	\$328,724	3/11/1965		
	A, B, C, D, E, F, G	2304 Marigny St.	\$80,000	1/15/1965		
Square	С	2307 Marigny St.	\$12,825	1/13/1965		
1211	4	2311 Marigny St.	\$11,700	8/27/1964		
	8	2327 Marigny St.	\$10,100	7/1/1964		
	6	2319 Marigny St.	\$11,450	8/3/1964		
	7	2323 Marigny St.	\$13,700	7/23/1964		
	10	2335 Marigny St.	\$12,950	12/10/1964		
	9	2331 Marigny St.	\$11,500	7/16/1964		
	5	2315 Marigny St.	\$12,200	9/91964		
	11	2339 Marigny St.	\$12,500	1/15/1965		
	12	2414 N. Rocheblave St	\$11,250	9/22/1964		
	13	2418 N. Rocheblave St	\$11,200	8/11/1964		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	14	2422 N. Rocheblave St	\$9,500	8/5/1964		
1211	A	2336 Mandeville St.	\$18,800	10/16/1964		
(cont.)	В	2334 Mandeville St.	\$3,345	9/22/1964		
	С	2332 Mandeville St.	\$239	8/11/1964		
Square	M-3	2309 N. Dorgenois St.	\$9,700	10/1/1964		
1380	M-2	2507 Mandeville St.	\$1,100	2/19/1965		
	14	2526 Spain St.	\$55	2/11/1965		
=	15	2520 Spain St.	\$15,500	12/29/1964		
=	16	2518 Spain St.	\$8,800	9/18/1964		
	17-B	2514 Spain St.	\$9,500	10/19/1964		
=	18-A	2512 Spain St.	\$10,750	2/4/1964	X	
=	19	2506 Spain St.	\$9,250	2/12/1965	X	
=	20	2500 Spain St.	\$14,300	10/8/1964		
	21	2317 N. Dorgenois St.	\$15,750	10/30/1964		
	В	2311 N. Dorgenois St.	\$6,250	9/29/1964		
Square	1	2501 Spain St.	\$10,700	10/12/1964		
1381	2	2505 Spain St.	\$12,000	10/20/1964		
=	3, 4	1	\$23,000	10/13/1964		
-	5		\$10,700	11/20/1964		
=	6	2523 Spain St.	\$10,000	10/16/1964		
•	7	•	\$14,500	8/6/1964		
=	8		\$15,000	7/29/1964		
=	9, 10, 11		\$21,500	2/18/1965		
=	A	2536 St. Roch Ave.	\$20,000	2/4/1965	X	
-	В	2534 St. Roch Ave.	\$19,000	1/15/1965		
-	С	2530 St. Roch Ave.	\$15,700	11/13/1964		
-	17	2526 St. Roch Ave.	\$9,000	12/31/1964		
•	18, 19	2520 St. Roch Ave.	\$12,750	1/15/1965		
	24		\$375	3/3/1965	X	
Square	A		\$26,375	1/12/1965		
1493	B, 4	2635 St. Roch Ave.	\$56,951	1/19/1965		
•	23, 24	2619 St. Roch Ave.	\$15,050	12/11/1964		
-	25		\$34,775	1/28/1965		
Square	8	2632 St. Roch Ave.	\$50	2/26/1965		
1494	9	2628 St. Roch Ave.	\$11,800	1/4/1965		
=	10	2624 St. Roch Ave.	\$15,500	12/31/1964		
	11	2620 St. Roch Ave.	\$7,500	10/9/1964		
	23		\$6,250	3/26/1965	X	
	24, B	2610 St. Roch Ave.	\$20,000	1/11/1965		
	A	2604 St. Roch Ave.	\$12,500	9/21/1964		
	28	2600 St. Roch Ave.	\$5,000	1/14/1965		
	U	2471 Law St.	\$9,000	2/23/1965		
	T	2465 Law St.	\$12,125	9/10/1964		
Square	M-8		\$10,500	12/14/1964		
1708	M-9		\$18,150	8/5/1964		
F	M-5		\$675	8/6/1964		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	4		\$21,000	12/13/1963	
1917	3		\$17,145	11/13/1963	
	5		\$13,900	11/18/1963	
	7		\$15,000	3/12/1964	X
	9		\$15,750	12/3/1963	
	1		\$13,500	11/14/1963	
	2		\$13,000	12/3/1963	
	6		\$15,000	10/24/1963	
	8		\$13,800	10/4/1963	
	11		\$17,800	3/20/1964	X
	12		\$13,750	12/6/1963	
	10		\$14,500	10/14/1963	
Square	N-13		\$14,750	9/21/1964	
1918	N-14		\$16,000	9/16/1964	
	N-15		\$14,750	11/6/1964	
	N-16		\$15,950	8/4/1964	
	N-7		\$12,300	9/2/1964	
	N-12		\$2,245	3/31/1964	X
	N-9		\$16,500	9/14/1964	
Square	Q-7		\$14,500	11/5/1963	
1978	Q-9		\$14,500	11/14/1963	
1770	Q-12		\$15,000	10/17/1963	
	Q-13		\$14,500	10/21/1963	
	Q-14		\$15,600	10/21/1963	
	Q-16		\$16,500	11/13/1963	
	Q-15		\$16,500	10/21/1963	
	Q-6		\$1,945	10/30/1963	
	Q-11		\$750	1/9/1964	
Interstat		Avenue to Pontchartrain	Expressway (Junction)
Square					
2095 / 2096	Undesignated		\$122,000	7/24/1963	
	Undesignated P-1		\$122,000 \$21,500	7/24/1963	
2096			,		
2096 Square	P-1		\$21,500	10/21/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2		\$21,500 \$14,800	10/21/1963 9/16/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5 P-6		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800 \$14,400	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963 8/13/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5 P-6 P-7		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800 \$14,400 \$14,200	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963 8/13/1963 7/31/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5 P-6 P-7		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800 \$14,400 \$14,200 \$14,500	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963 8/13/1963 7/31/1963 8/16/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5 P-6 P-7 P-8		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800 \$14,400 \$14,200 \$14,500 \$14,900	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963 8/13/1963 7/31/1963 8/16/1963 8/13/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5 P-6 P-7 P-8 P-9 P-10		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800 \$14,400 \$14,200 \$14,500 \$14,900 \$14,300	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963 8/13/1963 7/31/1963 8/13/1963 7/24/1963	
2096 Square	P-1 P-2 P-3 P-4 P-5 P-6 P-7 P-8 P-9 P-10 P-11		\$21,500 \$14,800 \$14,500 \$15,000 \$15,800 \$14,400 \$14,200 \$14,500 \$14,500 \$14,300 \$12,850	10/21/1963 9/16/1963 1/24/1964 8/9/1963 8/26/1963 8/13/1963 7/31/1963 8/16/1963 8/13/1963 7/24/1963 11/18/1963	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	1		\$29,295	10/6/1972	X
2098	2		\$11,500	11/21/1963	
	3		\$10,800	8/28/1963	
	4, 5		\$16,200	9/11/1963	
	6, 7		\$15,650	9/3/1963	
	1-16-A-1		\$15,680	8/29/1972	
	8		\$2,500	2/14/1964	X
	9		\$18,935	7/21/1972	
	10,11		\$19,850	8/22/1963	
	12, 13		\$20,500	1/2/1964	
	14		\$14,850	10/18/1963	
	15		\$12,800	9/3/1963	
	16		\$11,000	7/25/1963	
	17, 18		\$13,500	10/31/1963	
}	19, 20		\$13,300	7/8/1964	
	21		\$19,800	9/6/1963	X
	22		\$16,000	12/6/1963	Λ
			\$10,000		
Square	J-1		\$23,500	6/1/1972	
2099	J-2		\$14,600	8/12/1963	
	J-3		\$13,450	9/12/1963	
	J-4		\$15,200	8/26/1963	
	J-5		\$14,100	10/9/1963	
	J-6		\$27,982	9/28/1972	
	J-7		\$18,900	11/8/1963	
	J-8		\$16,750	10/24/1963	
	J-9	3240 Music St.	\$19,560	7/11/1972	
	J-10		\$14,650	11/4/1963	
	J-11		\$15,400	8/8/1963	
	J-12		\$13,225	9/5/1963	
	J-13		\$13,650	10/29/1963	
	J-14	3202 Music St.	\$20,725	8/30/1972	
C	1			9/14/10/7	
Square	1		\$16,780	8/14/1967	
2100	2		\$15,650	3/21/1966	
	3		\$14,000	6/14/1966	
	5		\$17,600	3/17/1966	
			\$19,000	12/28/1965	
	6		\$19,400	9/6/1967	
	7		\$20,500	7/24/1967	
	8		\$22,000	8/9/1967	
	9		\$18,000	1/19/1966	
	10		\$15,100	12/3/1965	
	11		\$13,650	10/25/1965	
	12		\$15,000	11/15/1965	
	13		\$37,200	8/23/1967	
	14		\$18,250	5/11/1967	
Square	1		\$19,550	7/8/1968	
2101	2		\$13,600	1/25/1966	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	pt. 3		\$2,250	8/26/1968		
2101	pt. 3		\$12,300	3/18/1966		
(cont.)	4		\$15,000	10/31/1966		
	pt. 5		\$12,650	2/28/1966		
	pts. 5,6		\$7,800	8/22/1968		
	pt. 6		\$26,650	2/2/1966		
	7		\$17,200	12/9/1965		
	8		\$13,100	12/9/1966		
	9		\$16,000	11/8/1965		
	10		\$12,000	11/6/1967		
	11		\$19,000	6/1/1967		
	12		\$23,000	6/21/1967		
İ	13		\$21,400	7/26/1967		
İ	14		\$21,500	5/31/1967		
İ	15		\$20,600	9/18/1967		
İ	16		\$18,450	11/8/1967		
Square	1		\$24,100	12/14/1965		
2102	2		\$24,100	12/14/1965		
2102	3		\$21,400	11/17/1965		
	4		\$22,400	11/17/1965		
	5		\$17,100	11/13/1905		
ŀ	6		\$17,100	10/26/1965		
ŀ	7		\$19,030	12/11/1965		
ŀ	8		\$18,400	10/14/1965		
ŀ	9		\$19,950	10/14/1965		
ŀ	10					
ŀ	10		\$20,425 \$24,650	11/2/1965 11/2/1965		
ŀ	12					
ŀ	13		\$19,250 \$19,350	10/18/1965 10/12/1965		
ŀ			\$19,330			
ŀ	14 15			10/25/1965 11/3/1965		
ŀ	16		\$22,675	11/3/1965		
ŀ			\$18,275			
ŀ	17		\$17,250	12/22/1965		
	18		\$21,000	12/28/1965		
Square	3-A	3305 Franklin Ave.	\$21,000	10/11/1963		
3	1-B	3301 Franklin Ave.	\$16,400	8/22/1963		
	9	2620 Sage St.	\$3,500	11/8/1963		
	10	2622 Sage St.	\$975	10/16/1963		
	11	2626 Sage St.	\$18,300	7/8/1963		
	12	2628 Sage St.	\$16,300	8/13/1963		
	13, 14	2630 Sage St.	\$20,000	11/5/1963		
	15, 16	2638 Sage St.	\$15,600	2/4/1963		
	X	2644 Sage St.	\$17,700	10/10/1963	X	
	18, 19	2654 Sage St.	\$17,400	6/14/1963		
	20, 21	2666 Sage St.	\$21,500	3/18/1963		
	S	2672 Sage St.	\$15,700	6/28/1963		
	K	2670 Sage St.	\$15,500	4/5/1963		
	22-A	2641 Bay St.	\$9,300	3/26/1963		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	23	2639 Bay St.	\$13,500	4/15/1963		
3	24	2637 Bay St.	\$12,750	4/18/1963		
(cont.)	25, 26	•	\$15,850	4/9/1963		
•	27, 28	2627 Bay St.	\$12,750	3/15/1963		
•	29, 30	2623 Bay St.	\$17,000	3/18/1963		
•	31	2621 Bay St.	\$13,400	7/25/1963		
	32	2615 Bay St.	\$13,200	6/25/1963		
Square	1, 2	3328 Franklin Ave.	\$24,650	1/6/1963		
4	3, 4	3334 Franklin Ave.	\$20,800	11/14/1963		
•	5, 6	3338Franklin Ave.	\$22,200	11/22/1963	X	
•	7, 8	3340 Franklin Ave.	\$32,000	12/19/1963	X	
•	20			10/7/1963		
Square	18	2644 Elder St.	\$2,960	9/3/1963		
6	19	2650 Elder St.	\$14,400	8/2/1963		
•	20, pt. 21	2654 Elder St.	\$14,500	6/10/1963		
•	pt. 21, 22	2668 Elder St.	\$14,500	8/12/1963		
•	A	2672 Elder St.	\$11,900	12/11/1963		
•	K	2680 Elder St.	\$16,000	4/29/1963		
•	26, 27, 28	2688 Elder St.	\$19,700	5/7/1963		
•	29, 29-A	2690 Elder St.	\$14,800	5/22/1963		
•	30	2694 Elder St.	\$5,900	2/27/1963		
•	30-A	2698 Elder St.	\$8,800	8/8/1963		
•	31-C	2699 Sage St.	\$13,000	7/9/1963		
•	31-B	2695 Sage St.	\$13,500	7/11/1963		
•	32, 33	2691 Sage St.	\$29,000	5/15/1963		
•	34	2685 Sage St.	\$14,200	7/8/1963		
•	35	2681 Sage St.	\$10,500	6/26/1963		
•	36	2677 Sage St.	\$13,800	5/21/1963		
•	37	2675 Sage St.	\$14,350	5/10/1963		
•	38		\$14,200	1/29/1962		
•	39	2661 Sage St.	\$15,250	4/10/1963		
•	40, 41	2651 Sage St.	\$18,000	4/29/1963		
•	42, pt. 43	2645 Sage St.				
	pt. 43, 44	2641 Sage St.	\$11,675	12/31/1963		
Square	1	2700 Myrtle St.	\$24,000	10/8/1963		
7	2, 3	2704 Myrtle St.	\$14,450	8/1/1963		
•	4	2714 Myrtle St.	\$5,000	1/21/1963		
•	5, 6	2716 Myrtle St.	\$18,200	7/8/1963		
•	9	2734 Myrtle St.	\$17,800	3/4/1963		
	7, 8	2730 Myrtle St.	\$17,000	2/18/1963		
	X		\$17,500	2/25/1963		
	X-3		\$16,750	3/14/1963		
	11, 11-A	2746 Myrtle St.	\$15,000	5/11/1963		
	В	2752 Myrtle St.	\$12,750	1/9/1963		
<u></u>	Y	2725 Elder St.	\$7,800	4/3/1963		
	12-A, pt. 13	2715 Elder St.	\$13,300	6/25/1963		
	pt. 13, 13-A		\$13,900	6/27/1963		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	14, 15		\$23,000	7/17/1963		
7 (cont.)	16-B, 18-A		\$30,000	3/1/1963		
Square	J	2736 Acacia St.	\$3,700	10/21/1963		
12	11, 12	2742 Acacia St.	\$24,450	12/19/1963	X	
	13	2750 Acacia St.	\$13,200	5/9/1963		
	14	2754 Acacia St.	\$13,000	12/4/1963		
	15, pt. 16	2756 Acacia St.	\$15,350	2/18/1963		
	pt. 16, 17	2758 Acacia St.	\$13,550	2/14/1963		
	18, 19	2760 Acacia St.	\$19,750	11/7/1962		
	T	2764 Acacia St.	\$16,000	11/2/1962		
	21, 22	2757 Myrtle St.	\$22,200	3/22/1963		
	23	2755 Myrtle St.	\$8,900	5/24/1963		
	24	2749 Myrtle St.	\$16,000	3/11/1963		
	25	·	\$12,000	12/4/1962		
	26		\$12,300	12/14/1962		
	27		\$12,400	12/6/1962		
	28	2735 Myrtle St.	\$12,300	8/23/1963		
	29	2729 Myrtle St.	\$11,400	8/8/1963		
	30, pt. 31	2725 Myrtle St.	\$18,700	8/5/1963		<u> </u>
	pt. 31, 32	2717 Myrtle St.	\$16,650	6/28/1963		
	D	2715 Myrtle St.	\$2,375	12/19/1963		
Square	18		\$250	10/22/1963		
13	19, 20	2772 Clover St.	\$12,475	10/3/1963		<u> </u>
	21		\$2,550	1/3/1964		
	pts. 22, 23		\$12,750	5/23/1963		
	X	2775 Acacia St.	\$12,500	5/7/1963		
	24, 25		\$28,000	5/28/1963		
	26, 27	2759 Acacia St.	\$17,800	10/25/1963		
	28		\$13,400	12/4/1963		
Square	1		\$12,500	4/11/1967		
2104	2		\$26,850	11/16/1966		1
	3A		\$23,750	9/27/1966		
	4	3216 Elysian Fields Av	\$30,000	11/23/1966		
	5, 6	3200 Elysian Fields Av	\$41,340	4/3/1968		
ŀ	7, pt. 4	2165 Benefit St.	\$25,600	8/16/1966		
	8, pt. 4	2100 Benefit St.	\$22,600	1/30/1967		
	9		\$18,200	7/13/1966		
	10		\$16,850	9/7/1966		
ŀ	11		\$18,400	8/4/1966		
ŀ	12		\$16,500	12/20/1966		
ŀ	13		\$16,200	12/1/1966		
ŀ	14		\$15,650	9/28/1966		
ŀ	15		\$16,000	9/9/1966		
ŀ	16		\$16,800	10/3/1966		
ŀ	17		\$14,350	9/26/1966		
ŀ	18		\$25/750	10/31/1966		<u> </u>
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	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	С		\$16,250	9/1/1967		
2105	В		\$19,500	5/1/1967		
	A		\$18,000	10/26/1967		
	7		\$16,800	7/19/1967		
	8		\$18,600	6/6/1966		
	9		\$18,900	9/15/1966		
	10		\$25,350	6/14/1966		
	11		\$20,900	4/7/1967		
	12		\$18,700	1/25/1967		
	13		\$19,700	6/8/1966		
	14, 15		\$32,000	10/14/1966		
	16		\$18,100	12/8/1966		
	17		\$18,200	10/21/1966		
	19		\$17,700	9/20/1966		
	20		\$18,000	8/31/1966		
İ	Н		\$14,500	8/22/1966		
İ	G		\$14,750	10/5/1966		
	18		\$18,000	11/16/1966		
	F		\$14,500	9/4/1966		
	D		\$16,500	8/16/1966		
	Е		\$14,300	9/6/1966		
Canara	1		\$7,000	0/26/1060	X	
Square 2106	2		\$7,900 \$19,000	9/26/1969 10/6/1967	Λ	
2100	3		\$18,500	7/13/1967		
ŀ	4, 5		\$37,500	8/17/1967		
ŀ	6		\$18,500	7/17/1967		
ŀ	7		\$18,500	7/17/1907		
ŀ	8		\$18,400			
ŀ	9		\$17,000	9/8/1967 9/6/1966		
ŀ						
ŀ	10-B 11		\$17,750	9/27/1966		
ŀ	12		\$17,000	9/27/1966		
ŀ			\$19,400	1/23/1968		
	13		\$18,450	9/6/1967		
ŀ	14-A 15-B		\$29,600 \$22,450	4/2/1968 4/1/1968		
ŀ						
ŀ	16		\$19,300 \$38,250	11/2/1967		
ŀ	17, 18 19			10/18/1968		
ŀ			\$19,500	12/13/1967		
	20		\$16,800	2/7/1968		
Square	A		\$18,500	1/20/1967		
2107	В		\$19,100	3/20/1968		
	C-1		\$15,500	9/23/1966		
	25		\$18,824	3/4/1969		
	26		\$20,000	7/22/1968	X	
	S		\$22,000	2/15/1967		
	27		\$16,700	8/10/1967		
	28		\$21,350	3/19/1968		
	29		\$18,000	1/11/1968		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	34		\$19,500	6/5/1967		
2107	35		\$4,437	2/28/1967		
(cont.)	36		\$19,500	4/11/1967		
	L		\$17,000	1/29/1968		
	K		\$18,200	4/21/1969		
	K-2, N-2		\$28,000	11/27/1967		
	L-2		\$22,750	4/28/1967		
	M-2		\$22,400	7/12/1967		
Square	1, 2		\$30,000	12/11/1967		
2109	3		\$13,000	1/8/1968		
	4, 5		\$24,000	9/28/1966		
	6, 7		\$20,000	10/14/1966		
	8		\$25,000	4/3/1968		
	9, 10		\$30,000	2/5/1968		
	11		\$17,500	8/9/1966		
	12, 13		\$17,500	6/6/1966		
	14, 15		\$16,500	2/19/1968		
	16		\$13,550	7/27/1966		
	17, 18		\$15,000	7/22/1966		
	19		\$10,880	10/13/1966		
	C		\$18,500	10/26/1967		
	В		\$24,000	11/17/1967		
	A		\$27,700	1/2/1969		
	24, 25, 26		\$35,000	6/7/1967		
Square	Q		\$27,600	4/5/1968		
2110	Z		\$33,900	1/30/1967		
	P		\$39,000	5/10/1968		
	Undesignated		\$8,085	10/31/1969	X	
	F, K		\$31,550	2/23/1967	21	
	J		\$19,600	12/7/1966		
	E		\$26,750	1/26/1967		
	11		\$16,200	2/2/1968		
	I		\$17,850	1/3/1967		
	1		\$29,500	5/16/1968	X	
	N		\$17,000	2/13/1967	Α	
	M		\$17,500	2/13/1967		
	L		\$17,500	1/25/1967		
	J		\$16,500	5/12/1967		
	K		\$17,000	1/17/1968		
	13-A 14, 15		\$20,500 \$20,000	3/1/1967 7/13/1966		
	14, 13 16, 17, O		\$20,000	12/6/1967		
Square	D	3200 New Orleans St.	\$18,400	1/14/1967		
2111	E	3206 New Orleans St.	\$17,500	6/22/1967		
2111	4, pt. 3	3216 New Orleans St.	\$16,000	10/10/1966		
	4, pt. 5	3220 New Orleans St.	\$19,000	9/6/1966		
	6	3224 New Orleans St.	\$19,000	10/7/1966		
	υ	3224 New Offeatis St.	\$11,230	10///1900		<u> </u>

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	7	3228 New Orleans St.	\$18,500	2/16/1967		
2111	A	1836 Humanity St.	\$15,300	10/20/1966		
(cont.)	В	1830 Humanity St.	\$16,300	7/27/1966		
	С	1824 Humanity St.	\$19,000	10/12/1966		
	11	1818 Humanity St.	\$13,800	8/1/1966		
	12	1816 Humanity St.	\$13,700	10/26/1966		
	13	1808 Humanity St.	\$15,000	7/25/1966		
	14	1806 Humanity St.	\$17,000	7/21/1966		
	15	1800 Humanity St.	\$15,500	8/3/1966		
İ	16	1803 Benefit St.	\$10,500	5/18/1967		
İ	T	1807 Benefit St.	\$13,000	7/10/1967		
İ	S	1811 Benefit St.	\$15,000	6/12/1967		
	R	1815 Benefit St.	\$13,600	6/14/1967		
	Q	1819 Benefit St.	\$13,500	7/7/1967		
	21	1823 Benefit St.	\$14,000	7/6/1967		
Square	С	3426 Live Oak St.	\$17,900	1/30/1967		
2137 /	D-1	3420 Live Oak St.	\$21,200	3/29/1967		
2289	Е	3416 Live Oak St.	\$19,900	6/5/1967		
	F	3414 Live Oak St.	\$21,000	3/28/1967		
	G, H	3408 Live Oak St.	\$44,750	12/13/1966		
	I, pt. K	3401 Live Oak St.	\$29,820	7/18/1968		
	L, pt. K	3409 Live Oak St.	\$32,450	6/15/1967		
	M, N	3419 Live Oak St.	\$32,000	12/22/1966		
	O-1	3423 Live Oak St.	\$23,500	12/12/1966		
Square	pt. 2		\$12,125	2/16/1968		
1966	2B		\$12,500	3/9/1967		
	pt. 1		\$19,075	1/9/1967		
	3, 4		\$35,000	8/29/1967		
	5, 6		\$28,300	4/24/1967		
	pts. 7, 8, 9		\$15,920	6/10/1968		
	pt. B		\$11,600	5/26/1967		
	24		\$11,900	9/12/1967		
	25		\$14,600	5/26/1967		
	26		\$15,321	6/1/1967		
Square	1, 2, 3	1736 Humanity St.	\$26,000	9/22/1967	X	
2112	4	1746 Humanity St.	\$14,200	12/27/1967		
-	5	1, 10 110111111111111111111111111111111	\$6,400	12/1/1967		
ŀ	6	1756 Humanity St.	\$14,000	9/1/1967		
ŀ	7	1760 Humanity St.	\$14,500	9/15/1967		
ŀ	8	1762 Humanity St.	\$17,700	8/28/1967		
ŀ	9, 10, 11, 12	1778 Humanity St.	\$30,000	3/25/1968		
ŀ	13, pt. 14	1781 Benefit St.	\$13,600	11/3/1967		
ŀ	X	1779 Benefit St.	\$23,700	7/29/1967		
ŀ	16, 17	1775 Benefit St.	\$13,300	9/26/1969	X	
ŀ	T T	1771 Benefit St.	\$17,000	7/10/1967		
	W	3201 Havana St.	\$19,700	12/4/1967		
		Jaci III i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	417,700	12, 1, 1, 0, 1	1	1

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	Y	3211 Havana St.	\$19,500	1/25/1967	
2112	Z	3215 Havana St.	\$22,600	2/28/1967	
(cont.)	V	3223 Havana St.	\$26,000	9/14/1966	
Square	1, 2, 3, 4, 8	2210 Gentilly Rd.	\$120,000	7/17/1967	
2113	5-A, 7-A	2216 Gentilly Rd.	\$152,650	5/15/1967	X
	9	1731 Benefit St.	\$31,000	5/6/1968	
	11-A		\$91,850	6/27/1967	
	14-A		\$102,230	3/10/1967	
	15, 16		\$25,110	3/18/1968	
Square 2114	Full Square		\$64,500	2/7/1968	
Square	A	2137 Gentilly Rd.	\$23,500	11/7/1968	
2115	10-A, 10-B, 10-C, 10-D	3223 Bruxelles St.	\$61,800	1/4/1968	
	9	1654 Humanity St.	\$12,000	3/31/1967	
	6	1660 Humanity St.	\$10,300	4/27/1967	
	5	1664 Humanity St.	\$13,750	3/23/1967	
	В	2135 Gentilly Rd.	\$22,500	6/14/1967	
	4	2133 Gentilly Rd.	\$25,500	10/21/1966	
	7	2129 Gentilly Rd.	\$33,800	10/11/1966	
	8	2123 Gentilly Rd.	\$51,500	10/28/1966	
Square 2116	Full Square		\$38,500	2/19/1968	
Square	14	3323 Bruxelles St.	\$12,227	9/25/1967	
2133	15	3319 Bruxelles St.	\$10,300	7/10/1969	
	16	3313 Bruxelles St.	\$11,498	1/21/1970	
	17, 18, 19	3301 Bruxelles St.	\$40,500	12/12/1967	
	20	1659 Humanity St.	\$10,350	8/10/1967	
	21	1661 Humanity St.	\$8,940	4/11/1968	
	22	1665 Humanity St.	\$10,900	2/27/1969	
	23	1671 Humanity St.	\$8,650	9/10/1969	
	24	1675 Humanity St.	\$7,350	7/8/1969	
Square	1	3324 Bruxelles St.	\$14,550	7/7/1966	
2132	2	3326 Bruxelles St.	\$11,550	7/8/1966	
	3	3332 Bruxelles St.	\$12,800	9/11/1967	
	4	3336 Bruxelles St.	\$16,900	9/13/1967	
	5	3342 Bruxelles St.	\$3,250	2/11/1969	
	6, 7	1616 Pleasure St.	\$22,000	1/25/1967	
	8	1622 Pleasure St.	\$12,250	5/4/1967	
	9	3339 Paris Ave.	\$13,250	11/30/1967	
	10	3335 Paris Ave.	\$22,250	9/28/1967	
	11, 12	3323 Paris Ave.	\$24,200	12/7/1967	
	13	3321 Paris Ave.	\$11,100	6/27/1967	
	14	3317 Paris Ave.	\$12,600	11/30/1967	
	15	3311 Paris Ave.	\$13,600	4/24/1967	
	16, 17	3307 Paris Ave.	\$16,000	6/18/1968	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	18	3301 Paris Ave.	\$14,500	4/29/1968	
2132	19-B	1623 Humanity St.	\$11,500	7/29/1968	
(cont.)	20, pt. 19	1625 Humanity St.	\$13,750	3/2/1967	
	21	1627 Humanity St.	\$12,500	1/23/1967	
	22	3300 Bruxelles St.	\$24,000	6/19/1967	
	23, 24	3304 Bruxelles St.	\$29,950	7/1/1969	X
	25		\$5,850	2/10/1967	
	26	3322 Bruxelles St.	\$14,500	3/2/1967	
Square	Undesignated	1568 Pleasure St.	\$46,300	7/29/1969	
2131	A, B, Undesignated	1570 Pleasure St.	\$35,000	8/10/1967	
	C, D	3310 Paris Ave.	\$34,000	6/27/1968	
	E	3304 Paris Ave.	\$17,325	4/24/1970	X
	F	3300 Paris Ave.	\$5,650	8/10/1967	
Square	15	3417 Hamburg St.	\$665	4/8/1970	
2295	16	1541 Pleasure St.	\$19,482	1/22/1970	
	В	1547 Pleasure St.	\$10,951	5/11/1970	
	C	1549 Pleasure St.	\$11,536	3/11/1970	
	D	1551 Pleasure St.	\$12,802	5/1/1970	
	A	1545 Pleasure St.	\$10,963	3/10/1970	
	20, 21, 22	15 15 1 leasare 5t.	\$578	3/24/1971	
C	20, 21, 22		4270	0,2 1,19,71	
Square 2296	Full Square		\$294,730	7/1/1969	X
Square 2297 2298 2313 2314 2315	Full Squares		\$405,000	12/1/1969	
Square	1	1453 Lafreniere St.	\$29,900	8/22/1969	X
2316	2	1457 Lafreniere St.	\$12,900	3/6/1969	
	3	1461 Lafreniere St.	\$11,865	4/7/1970	
	4	1465 Lafreniere St.	\$8,751	1/21/1971	
	5	1469 Lafreniere St.	\$7,727	5/7/1970	
	6	1473 Lafreniere St.	\$100	1/27/1970	
	25	3517 Duplessis St.	\$9,755	1/27/1970	
Square 402-B	Full Square	-	\$120,000	10/17/1969	X
Square	1, 2	5757 Marshal Foch St.	\$27,500	11/6/1967	
400	D	5739 Marshal Foch St.	\$23,000	8/9/1966	
	С	5747 Marshal Foch St.	\$21,500	5/15/1967	
	В	5751 Marshal Foch St.	\$21,900	5/16/1967	
	 E	5733 Marshal Foch St.	\$18,519	4/10/1968	
	2	5728 Argonne St.	\$20,300	8/6/1968	
	4	5714 Argonne St.	\$19,250	9/12/1967	
	1	5734 Argonne St.	\$22,375	8/23/1968	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	3	5722 Argonne St.	\$19,800	7/8/1966		
400 (cont.)	5	5710 Argonne St.	\$19,300	9/12/1967		
Square	A	5757 General Diaz St.	\$38,500	9/22/1966		
399	В	5747 General Diaz St.	\$31,000	1/5/1968		
	С	5739 General Diaz St.	\$30,000	5/18/1966		
	8, 9	5733 General Diaz St.	\$29,000	3/16/1967		
	10, 11	5731 General Diaz St.	\$29,000	7/15/1968	X	
	В	5728 Marshal Foch St.	\$19,000	2/19/1968		
	30, ½ 29		\$20,500	5/31/1967		
	31, 32	5740 Marshal Foch St.	\$20,500	12/5/1967		
	33, 34	5748 Marshal Foch St.	\$29,500	6/17/1966		
	35, 36	5754 Marshal Foch St.	\$24,500	6/20/1966		
	37, 38	5760 Marshal Foch St.	\$22,800	9/29/1967		
Square	1, 2	5761 Memphis St.	\$26,500	6/11/1966		
398	3, 4	5755 Memphis St.	\$26,100	10/30/1967		
	5, 6, 7	5753 Memphis St.	\$41,000	6/7/1967		
	8, 9	5737 Memphis St.	\$27,000	6/22/1966		
	10, 11	5731 Memphis St.	\$27,000	11/29/1966		
	28, 29	5730 General Diaz St.	\$24,400	8/8/1968		
	32, 33, 34	5748 General Diaz St.	\$38,650	6/6/1968		
	30, 31	5732 General Diaz St.	\$26,500	10/7/1966		
	35, 36	5754 General Diaz St.	\$42,000	11/6/1967		
	37, 38	5768 General Diaz St.	\$40,500	8/21/1968		
Square	1, 2	5759 Vicksburg St.	\$30,150	6/26/1967		
397	3, 4	5755 Vicksburg St.	\$30,130	6/6/1966		
371	5, 6	5753 Vicksburg St.	\$30,500	7/5/1966		
	7, 8	5737 Vicksburg St.	\$30,000	7/13/1967		
	11, 12	5737 Vicksburg St.	\$26,950	7/1/1968		
	13	5721 Vicksburg St.	\$16,174	4/26/1968		
	9, 10	5721 Vicksburg St.	\$29,000	5/19/1966		
	26, 27	5724 Memphis St.	\$23,608	6/6/1968		
	28, 29	5730 Memphis St.	\$29,000	12/15/1967		
	30, 31	5738 Memphis St.	\$23,000	9/6/1966		
	32,33	5744 Memphis St.	\$23,500	6/15/1966		
	34, 35	5750 Memphis St.	\$23,500	7/25/1966		
	36, 37, 38	5770 Memphis St.	\$37,500	7/26/1967		
Canara	1 2	1				
Square 396	1,2 3, 4	5757 Canal Blvd. 5751 Canal Blvd.	\$40,000 \$42,500	3/7/1968 5/20/1968		
390	5, 6	5749 Canal Blvd.	\$42,000	5/2/1968		
	7, 8	5737 Canal Blvd.	\$42,000	4/8/1968		
	9, 10, 11	3131 Canai Divu.	\$46,000	7/18/1968		
	14, 15	5717 Canal Blvd.	\$5,000	4/30/1908	X	
	12, 13	5717 Canal Blvd.	\$47,000	3/13/1968	Λ	
	27, 28	5726 Vicksburg St.	\$32,000	11/16/1967		
l l	21, 20	ÿ				<u> </u>
1 †	29, 30	5734 Vicksburg St.	\$25,500	4/5/1967		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	33, 34	5750 Vicksburg St.	\$23,600	12/8/1966		
396	35, 36	5754 Vicksburg St.	\$23,300	4/27/1967		
(cont.)	37, 38	5760 Vicksburg St.	\$28,600	9/6/1967		
Square	1, 2		\$31,097	6/29/1960		
395	3, 4	5741 Louis XIV St.	\$22,750	5/21/1959		
	5, 6	5737 Louis XIV St.	\$25,250	9/18/1959		
	7, 8	5735 Louis XIV St.	\$32,000	10/18/1960		
	9, 10	5731 Louis XIV St.	\$29,000	8/23/1961		
	11, 12		\$26,000	2/18/1960		
	13, 14		\$28,339	11/10/1959		
	R, S		\$40,000	8/1/1961		
	29,30	5734 Canal Blvd.	\$49,500	8/10/1961		
	31, 32	5736 Canal Blvd.	\$37,450	8/29/1961		
	33, 34, 35, 36	5740 Canal Blvd.	\$50,700	10/13/1961	X	
	37, 38	5758 Canal Blvd.	\$38,200	9/21/1961		
Square	6, 7		\$11,000	2/18/1960		
5 or	8, 9, 10		\$39,700	9/13/1961		
394	11, 12, 13, 14	5725 Woodlawn Pl.	\$28,200	9/11/1961		
	15, 16		\$22,000	2/8/1960		
	17, 18	5735 Woodlawn Pl.	\$27,400	5/12/1959		
	19, 20, 21, 22		\$50,331	1/29/1960		
	T	5720 Louis XIV St.	\$24,400	10/30/1961		
	U	5728 Louis XIV St.	\$26,000	11/2/1959		
	V	5742 Louis XIV St.	\$31,400	9/20/1961		
	pt. W		\$31,000	6/15/1959		
	pt. W	5760 Louis XIV St.	\$33,250	10/23/1959		
Square	A	441 Bakewell St.	\$26,625	11/9/1959		
4 or	K	435 Bakewell St.	\$26,900	10/8/1959		
393	J	5736 Woodlawn Pl.	\$31,900	10/22/1959		
	7, 8		\$26,500	6/23/1959		
	9, 10		\$23,375	9/15/1960		
	11, 12	420 Kenilworth St.	\$19,300	6/8/1959		
	13, 14		\$31,700	8/14/1959		
	15, 16	414 Kenilworth St.	\$20,725	9/30/1959		
	17, 18	5753 Rosemary Pl.	\$16,993	3/4/1960		
	19, 20	5751 Rosemary Pl.	\$18,800	8/28/1959		
	21, 22	5747 Rosemary Pl.	\$18,500	8/22/1961		
	23, 24	5743 Rosemary Pl.	\$23,500	10/13/1961	X	
	25, 26	423 Bakewell St.	\$25,000	9/15/1959		
	27, 28	427 Bakewell St.	\$25,393	8/25/1959		
Square	pt. A	5722 Woodlawn Pl.	\$11,180	5/31/1966		
3	В		\$25,498	7/31/1961		
	15, 16		\$27,600	12/7/1959		
	17, 18	5729 Rosemary Pl.	\$17,150	9/29/1959		
	19, 20	5727 Rosemary Pl.	\$17,850	10/1/1959		
Square	13, 14	5728 Rosemary Pl.	\$22,200	1/27/1960		
	1./. 1.7		11/44,411/		i e	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	17, 18		\$29,700	9/2/1961		
2/392	19, 20		\$17,000	9/2/1961		
(cont.)	21, 22		\$24,000	7/22/1960		
	23, pt. 24		\$21,350	2/10/1960		
	pt. 24, 25, pt. 26	5754 Rosemary Pl.	\$24,100	7/26/1961		
•	pt. 26, 27		\$23,761	6/30/1959		
•	28, 29	5771 Ridgeway St.	\$19,250	11/8/1961		
•	30, 31		\$19,300	11/19/1959		
	F		\$19,285	9/5/1961		
•	G	5749 Ridgeway St.	\$18,275	9/1/1959		
•	Н	5743 Ridgeway St.	\$18,630	8/13/1959		
•	37, 38	5737 Ridgeway St.	\$26,550	5/28/1959		
•	39, 40	<u> </u>	\$25,650	5/28/1959		
•	41	5727 Ridgeway St.	\$20,350	5/11/1959		
Square	1	303 Florida Ave.	\$3,996	11/17/1961	X	
1	В	5720 Ridgeway St.	\$6,842	10/13/1961	X	
1	C	5730 Ridgeway St.	\$25,500	9/20/1961	Λ	
•	D	3730 Ridgeway St.	\$23,300	6/27/1960		
•	E	5740 Ridgeway St.	\$19,300	8/25/1961		
		5740 Ridgeway St.				
	13, 14	<u> </u>	\$17,023	9/8/1961		
	15, 16, 17	5750 Ridgeway St.	\$16,700	9/1/1959		
	18, 19	5754 Ridgeway St.	\$21,150	8/7/1959 7/27/1961		
	20, 21, 22		\$16,875			
Square	1, 2, 3, pt. 4		\$31,350	1/26/1960		
391	5-A	5747 Catina St.	\$32,200			
	8-B		\$30,630	10/20/1959		
	9, pt. 10	5721 Catina St.	\$22,701	9/15/1959		
	pt. 10, 11, pt. 12	5717 Catina St.	\$21,800	3/30/1961		
	pts. 12, 13 or C		\$17,460	8/25/1959		
	pt. 13, 14		\$20,850	8/19/1959		
	15, 16		\$32,750	10/28/1959		
Square	Undesignated		\$36,350	6/29/1959		
390	B	5757 West End Blvd.	\$20,180	9/21/1959		
370	pt. 4, 5	5753 West End Blvd.	\$41,050	8/19/1959		
	6, pt. 7	5741 West End Blvd.	\$27,600	2/24/1960		
	F	5739 West End Blvd.	\$13,475	4/20/1960		
•	pt. 8, 9, 10	5733 West End Blvd.	\$38,650	10/28/1959		
-	В	5755 TOST LING BIVG.	\$20,250	7/13/1959		
	C		\$18,872	6/2/1959		
-	H		\$26,450	7/1/1959		
•	15, 16	5701 West End Blvd.	\$50,156	10/19/1960		
	17, 18	5701 West Life Dive.	\$38,300	1/29/1960		
	19	5714 Catina St.	\$23,388	4/28/1959		
I				〒/ 40/ 1フラブ	1	1
-	20	3711 Cutilia St.	\$21,128	9/22/1959		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation
Square	X	5726 Catina St.	\$25,350	2/18/1960	
390	Y	5740 Catina St.	\$37,500	8/5/1959	
(cont.)	27, 28	5746 Catina St.	\$25,250	4/12/1960	
	29, 30		\$25,500	8/20/1959	
	31, 32	5762 Catina St.	\$26,703	10/15/1959	
Square	1-A		\$35,000	11/2/1959	
427	2-A		\$27,800	7/23/1959	
Square	1, 2	126 Florida Ave.	\$36,900	7/23/1959	
428	Undesignated	120 Florida Ave.	\$35,975	12/16/1959	
	rear 5, 6, 7, 8		\$33,300	11/30/1959	
	front 5, 6, 7, 8		\$50,850	11/17/1960	
	9, 10, 11	5673 West End Blvd.	\$42,350	1/21/1960	
	12, 13	5665 West End Blvd.	\$28,150	8/29/1960	
	14, 15		\$13,200	2/1/1961	
	16, 17		\$28,600	5/30/1960	
	X	5645 West End Blvd.	\$26,000	9/15/1959	
	pt. 19, 20, pt. 21	5639 West End Blvd.	\$27,400	11/4/1959	
	pt. 21, 22		\$26,673	8/13/1959	
	Y		\$18,550	7/9/1959	
	pt. Z		\$38,000	12/3/1959	
	pt. 27-A		\$28,000	7/17/1959	
	В		\$327	2/24/1960	
	44, 45		\$1,250	5/19/1961	
	46, 47		\$15,200	7/15/1959	
	48, 49		\$21,998	9/8/1959	
	50, 51		\$24,050	5/7/1959	
	52, 53		\$22,614	7/22/1959	

Appendix 5.4 - Comparison of Active Businesses Along N Claiborne Avenue from Canal Street to St. Bernard Avenue, 1950 to 1996.

Address	Business Name (1950) ¹	Business Name (1996) ²
107 N Claiborne Ave.	N. O. Motor Co. Inc.	,
133 N Claiborne Ave.	Bettcher Bros. Bodies	
141 N Claiborne Ave.	Schulingkamp's Serv. Sta.	Chun King Chinese Food
201 N Claiborne Ave.	Schulingkamp's Used Cars	Precise Collision Center
211 N Claiborne Ave.	Gen'l Truck Co.	
215 N Claiborne Ave.	Canal Auto Pntng & Body Wks.	
217 N Claiborne Ave.	Claiborne Shell Service Sta.	
301 N Claiborne Ave.	Mack Motor Co.	BBCL Auto & Truck Sales
325 N Claiborne Ave.	N. O. Motor Co. Inc.	
401 N Claiborne Ave.	Greco Sam Beer	
405 N Claiborne Ave.	Schmidt Jno. A. Sheet Met Wks	Energy Management Systems, Inc.
419 N Claiborne Ave.	Alaska Ice Cream Co	
419 N Claiborne Ave.	Bassil's Refrigeration Sales & Service	G&M Electric Sales Co.
425 N Claiborne Ave.	Smith Rudy Body Fender & Wrckr Serv	Rudy Smith Svc. Inc.
435 N Claiborne Ave.	Manno's Service Station	
503 N Claiborne Ave.	Colonial Buick Co.	
514 N Claiborne Ave.	Bologna A & Co Liqr	
612 N Claiborne Ave.	Betat Gus & Son Bicycles	
708 N Claiborne Ave	Valentino J. F. Dr Ofc	
710 N Claiborne Ave.	Majestic Ind Life Ins Co	
714 N Claiborne Ave.	Supreme Industrial Life Ins Co Inc	Cohen's Formal Shop
716 N Claiborne Ave.	LaBranche Drug Store	Geno's Lounge
717 N Claiborne Ave.	Douglas Restrnt	
720 N Claiborne Ave.	Douglas K. L. Dr Dent	Maurice's Barber Shop
721 N Claiborne Ave.	Blanks Herbert C. Dr. Dent.	
722 N Claiborne Ave.	LaBranche Hernandez G Dr Ofc	
724 N Claiborne Ave.	Two Sisters Beauty Shop	
728 N Claiborne Ave.	Original Orleans Club	
732 N Claiborne Ave.	Joseph Harry S Dept Store	Basin Street Club
757 N Claiborne Ave.		Duke's 24 Hours Liquor Store
801 N Claiborne Ave.		J&G Furniture Co

¹ Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company (1950). New Orleans, LA Street Address Telephone Directory, March 1950.

² Polk Cross-Reference Directory for New Orleans, LA (1997).

812 N Claiborne Ave.	Grand Super Market	
816 N Claiborne Ave.	Excel Finance Co.	
017 N Cl 'l	Claiborne Wholesale Candy	Women Entrepreneurs for
817 N Claiborne Ave.	Co.	Dev.
817 N Claiborne Ave	N. O. Amusement Co.	
824 N Claiborne Ave.	O'Brien's Mattress Wks	
827 N Claiborne Ave.	Peters Joseph R. Furn	
830 N Claiborne Ave.	Pearl's Beauty Shoppe	
841 N Claiborne Ave.	Guichard Pharmacy	
900 N Claiborne Ave.	Continent Wine & Liqr Co.	
901 N Claiborne Ave.	People's Ind Life Ins Co.	
906½ N Claiborne Ave.	Moderne Beauty Salon	
910 N Claiborne Ave.	Moore's Pie Shop	
912 N Claiborne Ave.	Smith Norman Studio phtgr	
913 N Claiborne Ave.	1 5	Jackie & George's Lounge
913 N Claiborne Ave.		Olivier's Beauty Salon
914 N Claiborne Ave.	Suzanne's Dress Shop	·
915 N Claiborne Ave.	Dandy Ice Cream Co.	
924 N Claiborne Ave.	Sehrt Wm & Son Confry	
926 N Claiborne Ave.	Citizen Flower Shop	
926 N Claiborne Ave.	Williams Camilla Mrs. Flrsts	
930 N Claiborne Ave.	Gosserand Superior Printers	
930 N Claiborne Ave.	Gosserand V. Mrs. Ofc	
934 N Claiborne Ave.	West's Watch Repair Shop	
938 N Claiborne Ave.	Green Spot Restaurant	
943 N Claiborne Ave.	Reed's Pharmacy	
943 N Claiborne Ave.	Venus Industrial Life Ins Co	
1000 N Claiborne Ave.	Green O Liqr Store	
1001 N Claiborne Ave.	Katz Manuel Grocery	
1003 N Claiborne Ave.	Wong's Barber Shop	
1004 N Claiborne Ave.	Commerce Cash Grocery	
1004 N Claiborne Ave.	Curtis M. J. Ofc.	
1005 N Claiborne Ave.	Superior Cocktail Lounge	
1015 N Claiborne Ave.		Wong's Barber Shop
1016 N Claiborne Ave.	Elaine's Beauty Shop	-
1018 N Claiborne Ave.	Darril's Barber Shop	
1018 N Claiborne Ave.	Morales N. J. Roofer	
1020 N Claibarra Assa	Bernissant E. F. & E. S.	
1020 N Claiborne Ave.	Hdwr	
1020 N Claiborne Ave.	Claiborne Hdwe & Paint Co.	
1022 N Claiborne Ave.	Joubert Ernest R1 Est	
1025 N Claibarna Ava	Bernadas Charles Sr. Auto	Holly's Auto Repair
1025 N Claiborne Ave.	Serv	
1028 N Claiborne Ave.	Fox Hole Bar & Liqr Str	
1028 N Claiborne Ave.	Matassa Joseph A. liqr	

1031 N Claiborne Ave.	Clabon Theatre	Church of God in Christ
1032 N Claiborne Ave.	Albright's Sewg Mch Repr	
1038 N Claiborne Ave.	Johnnie's Bar	
1100 N Claiborne Ave.	Elite Pharmacy	
1100 N Claiborne Ave.	Heliam Inc Drugs	
1101 N Claiborne Ave.	Jim's Bar	
1108 N Claiborne Ave.	Acme Life Ins Co.	
1108 N Claiborne Ave.	Robin Labasse J. Dr Ofc	
1115 N Claiborne Ave.	Stern Sales Co. Auto	
1120 N Claiborne Ave.	Ben's Bicycles	
1125 N Claiborne Ave.	Sheffield J. O. Dr Ofc	
1125 IV Clarbothe AVC.	St John Berchman's Ind Life	New Orleans Jazz & Entrtn.
1125 N Claiborne Ave.	Ins Co.	Safety Industrial Insurance
	Safety Ind Life Ins & Sick	Sarety madstrar msarance
1128 N Claiborne Ave.	Ben Assn	
1136 N Claiborne Ave.	Paul's Spot Café	
1130 IV Clarbothe AVC.	Walter's Body & Fender	
1137 N Claiborne Ave.	Wks	
1139 N Claiborne Ave.	WKS	La Parisienne Liquor & Food
1200 N Claiborne Ave.	N. O. Floor Covering Co.	La i arisienne Liquoi & i ood
1208 N. Claiborne Ave.	Eumont Gustave Groc	
1200 N. Claiborne Ave.	Matassa John J. Ofc.	
1210 N Claibonie Ave.	Sixth Ward Civic	
1210 N Claiborne Ave.	Improvement Assn.	
	Massicot for Councilman	
1212 N Claiborne Ave.	Hdgtrs	
1214 N Claiborne Ave.	Antonia's Beauty Parlor	
1214 N Claiborne Ave.	Toca Gladys H Bty Shp	
1214 N Claiborne Ave.	Claiborne Poultry Mkt	
1210 N Claibonie Ave.	Claibothe Foundy Wikt	Industrial Demolishers MBE
1240 N Claiborne Ave.		SVC of Louisiana, Inc.
1250 N Claiborne Ave.		Claiborne Auto Repairs
1251½ N Claiborne Ave	Dominick's Ligr Store	Claiborne Auto Repairs
1410 N Claiborne Ave.	Tom's Pool Hall	
1412 N Claiborne Ave. 1413 N Claiborne Ave.	Tedesco's Oyster Bar Swan Cleaners	Manahu East Stone
	Swan Cleaners	Manchu Food Store
1414 N Claiborne Ave.		Elite Burial Plans
1418 N Claiborne Ave.		Gallery of Braids
1418 N Claiborne Ave.		Latitude 31 Communications
1418 N Claiborne Ave.		Special Touch Home Health
1410 N C1 '1		Care
1418 N Claiborne Ave.		Golden Comb
1433 N Claiborne Ave.		Kern Reese (Attorney)
1433 N Claiborne Ave.	N	Michelle Diaz, CPA
1441 N Claiborne Ave.	Magner E. S. Dr. Dent	Magic World Hair Design

1449 N Claiborne Ave.	Francois Bobbie Funrl Dir	Louisiana Undertaking Co.
1449 N Claiborne Ave.	LA Undertaking Co. Inc.	
1455 N Claiborne Ave.	LA Industrial Life Ins Co.	
1468 N Claiborne Ave.	Southern Sch of Cooking & Baking	
1471 N Claiborne Ave.	Crescent Tractor & Implement Co.	
1476 N Claiborne Ave.		Robert Magee, MD
1479 N Claiborne Ave.		Cottman Transmission Ctr.
1500 N Claiborne Ave.	Lou's Restrnt & Bar	Ernie K-Doe's Mother-in- Law Lounge
1501 N Claiborne Ave.	Puelo Joseph Groc	
1506 N Claiborne Ave.	Steve's Poulty Place	
1509 N Claiborne Ave.		Darlene's Beauty Salon
1512½ N Claiborne Ave	Lillie's Beauty Salon	
1514 N Claiborne Ave	N. O. Informer	
1520 N Claiborne Ave.	Little Beck's Restrnt & Bar	
1523 N Claiborne Ave.		Classis Nails of Hollywood
1525 N Claiborne Ave.		Ho Ho Chinese Restaurant
1527 N Claiborne Ave.		Hair Station
1529 N Claiborne Ave.		United States Government
1530 N Claiborne Ave.	Haydel C. C. Dr Ofc	
1530 N Claiborne Ave.	Standard Ind Life Ins Co. Inc	
1536 N Claiborne Ave.	Steve's Restaurant	M&C's Sports Page Lounge
1540 N Claiborne Ave.	Saltalamachia Frank Pltry	
1544 N Claiborne Ave.	Heckmann's Shoe Store	Equal Care Medical Transportation
1548 N Claiborne Ave.	Levata A. A. Restrnt	
1556 N Claiborne Ave.	Dixie Dept Store	
1565 N Claiborne Ave.	Levachez Drug Store	
1571 N Claiborne Ave.	Dad's Café	
1575 N Claiborne Ave.	Buras R. A. Contr	
1575 N Claiborne Ave.	Serve Your Self Station	
1600 N Claiborne Ave.	Gabriel H. Fruits	
1608 N Claiborne Ave.	Galle Furniture Store	
1610 N Claiborne Ave.	Echo Wine Cellar	
1611 N Claiborne Ave.	Claiborne Circle Garage	
1623 N Claiborne Ave.	St. Bernard Hdw & Supply Co.	
1624 N Claiborne Ave.		Afro House Hair Care Clinic
1624 N Claiborne Ave.		Bejae's Skin Care Salon
1627 N Claiborne Ave.	Rimbolt Finance Serv Inc.	
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Appendix 6.1 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Cultural Center Site¹

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	A	901-03 N. Rampart St.	\$50,000	8/5/1971	X	
113	В					
	С	915 N. Rampart St.	\$58,250	3/19/1971		
	T	917 N. Rampart St.	\$65,000	12/14/1970		
	4	919-21 N. Rampart St.	\$60,000	10/9/1970		
	15	923-25 N. Rampart St.	\$49,500	12/30/70		
	Undesignated	931 N. Rampart St.	¢100.000	10/20/1070		
	Undesignated	935 N. Rampart St.	\$100,000	10/20/1970		
	C or 7	937 N. Rampart St	¢70.200	12/14/1070	V	
	A	941-45 N. Rampart St.	\$70,200	12/14/1970	X	
	8	1108-10 St Philip St.	\$32,000	4/22/1971	X	†
	A	1112-14 St Philip St.	\$15,600	11/30/1970		
	L	1120 St Philip St.	\$13,000	12/9/1970		
	A & K	1122 St Philip St.	\$18,700	1/11/1971		
	C	1126-28 St Philip St.	\$18,200	10/23/1970		
	B & H	1130 St Philip St.	\$14,000	11/13/1970		
	A	940-42 St Claude St.	\$28,000	10/1/1970		
	S or Undes.	938 St Claude St.	\$6,300	1/18/1970		
	A or Undes.	934 St Claude St.				
	16	928-30 St Claude St.	\$73,400	9/25/1970		
	D or Undes.	926 St Claude St.	\$16,250	12/14/1970		
	Undesignated	922 St Claude St.	\$29,000	12/29/1970		
	Undesignated	1141-43 Dumaine St.	\$17,000	11/10/1970		
	2	1137 Dumaine St.	\$20,000	11/21/1970		
	1 Undesignated	1131 Dumaine St.	Fire House	2/28/1913		
	2	1123-25 Dumaine St.	\$16,650	11/13/1970		
	X	1119-21 Dumaine St.	\$17,400	11/10/1970		
	25	1111-13 Dumaine St.	\$10,300	10/9/1970		
G	1		ф1 2 500	4/14/10/0		
Square	1	1124.26 D : G	\$12,500	4/14/1969		
114	2	1134-36 Dumaine St.	\$17,000	8/1/1968		
	6 S	1130-32 Dumaine St.	\$19,200	6/20/1968		
		1126-28 Dumaine St.	\$18,250	6/21/1968		
	Undesignated	1120-22 Dumaine St.	\$18,900	5/30/1968		
	9	920 N. Dammant Ct	\$92.600	5/21/1069		
	10	839 N. Rampart St.	\$82,600	5/21/1968		
	A 2	841-43 N. Rampart St.	\$71,000	8/15/1968		
	4 or 1	827-29 N. Rampart St.	\$45,000	1/14/1969		
	Undesignated	825 N. Rampart St.	\$43,000	1/14/1969		
	Undesignated	821 N. Rampart St.	\$ 44 ,000	1/14/1709		
	Undesignated	815-17 N. Rampart St.	\$290,000	10/17/1968	X	
	Unidesignated	613-1/ IV. Kallipart St.				

¹ City of New Orleans Department of Property Management, Division of Real Estate and Records, City Property Files for indicated Squares, Second Municipal District, Seventh Assessment District.

Square	3	811-13 N. Rampart St.	\$61,000	7/30/1968		
114	Undesignated	801 N. Rampart St.	\$331,000	9/24/1968		
(cont)	С			9/24/1968		
	В		Land swap			
	Undesignated		with School	8/2/1968		
	Undesignated		Board			
	Undesignated	826 St Claude St.	\$34,000	7/19/1968		
C	C 0.010					
Square	C or 8,9,10		Land swap			
137	Undesignated		with	0/15/1057		
	Undesignated		Catholic	8/15/1957		
	14 or Undes.		Church			
	13 or Undes.	000 11 0, 01 1 0,	¢12.000	5/20/1050		
	B F	809-11 St Claude St.	\$13,000	5/28/1959	37	
		817 St Claude St.	\$27,000	3/11/1960	X	
	E & 6		\$25,000	1/6/1960	X	
	S	022 0 01 1 0	\$22,175	6/1/1959	X	
	X	833 St Claude St.	\$45,700	12/29/1958	T 7	
	A	839-41 St Claude St.	\$24,000	8/4/1959	X	
	I & 5	1218-20 Dumaine St.	\$18,300	8/4/1959	X	
	2	1222 Dumaine St.	\$19,000	5/19/1959		
	20	1226-28 Dumaine St.	\$11,500	10/21/1958		
	4		\$19,250	4/3/1959		
	18	822 S. Liberty St.	\$7,000	6/26/1958		
	17	820 S. Liberty St.	\$9,000	4/28/1958		
	6	818 S. Liberty St.	\$12,500	7/24/1958		
	D	1007.07.0.1	Land swap	0/20/40##		
	Н	1225-27 St Ann St.	(C. Tessier)	9/20/1957		
		1017 01 G. A. G.	+ \$3,700	10/1/1050		
	G & D	1217-21 St Ann St.	\$18,900	10/1/1958		
Square	Undesignated	907 St Claude St.	\$101,250	11/10/1970		
138	Undesignated	919 St Claude St.	\$19,800	12/29/1970		
	Undesignated	921 St Claude St.	\$17,000	12/27/17/0		
	2	923-25 St Claude St.				
	9	931-33 St Claude St.	\$175,000	1/28/1971		‡
	Undesignated	1216-18 St Philip St.				
	10	929 St Philip St.	\$39,400	10/22/1970		
	8	1200-02 St Philip St.	\$15,750	9/18/1970		
	7	1204-06 St Philip St.	\$12,000	10/9/1970		
	6	1208-10 St Philip St.	\$14,000	9/18/1970		
	5	1212-14 St Philip St.	\$11,000	10/21/1970		
	X	1224-26 St Philip St.	\$33,200	3/9/1971		*
	3-A	1228 St Philip St.	\$16,275	10/5/1970		
	2	1230 St Philip St.	\$10,273	10/3/1970		
	1	1232-34 St Philip St.	\$15,325	10/22/1970		
	Undesignated	926-28 N. Liberty St.	\$16,500	9/25/1970		
	20	922 N. Liberty St.	\$12,000	10/5/1970		
	19	918-20 N. Liberty St.				
	5	914-16 N. Liberty St.	\$53,400	11/30/1970		
	7	1231-33 Dumaine St.				
Ī	pt 10	908 N. Liberty St.	\$16,000	10/5/1970		

Sq 138	Undesignated	1225-27 Dumaine St.	\$36,000	12/29/1970		¥
Square	1-B	1300 St Philip St.	\$25,000	12/14/1971	X	
147	Undesignated	1304-06 St Philip St.	\$15,000	10/27/1970		
	4-B	1308-10 St Philip St.	\$14,000	10/9/1970		
	4	1312-14 St Philip St.	\$19,550	11/23/1970		
	5	1318-20 St Philip St.				
	С	1325 Dumaine St.	\$135,000	11/23/1970		
	X	1321 Dumaine St.				
	Undesignated	1322-24 St Philip St.	\$17,000	10/5/1970		
	A	1332-34 St Philip St.	\$175,000	1/28/1971		
	В	928 Marais St.	\$13,000	12/14/1970		
	8	924 Marais St.	\$10,000	2/22/1971		
	7-A	920 Marais St.	\$13,000	11/13/1970		
	pt 6	918 Marais St.	\$8,000	12/15/1970		
	A	1331 Dumaine St.	\$23,000	9/18/1970		
	В	1329 Dumaine St.	\$26,000	12/14/1970		
	5	1315 Dumaine St.	\$37,500	11/23/1970		
	10-A	1309-11 Dumaine St.	\$36,000	12/29/1970		
	Undesignated	1305-07 Dumaine St.	\$37,500	11/15/1970		
	Undesignated	1301 Dumaine St.	\$17,000	10/8/1970		
	3-A	911-13 N. Liberty St.		11/02/1070		
	4-A	915 N. Liberty St.	\$26,000	11/23/1970		
	2	919-21 N. Liberty St.	\$12,375	10/27/1970		
	21	923-25 N. Liberty St.	\$33,200	3/9/1971		•
	2	927-29 N. Liberty St.	\$11,000	2/17/1971		
	1-A	, and the second	\$11,000	10/8/1970		
Square	1	1300-02 Dumaine St.	\$33,000	3/11/1966		
148	1	1306-08 Dumaine St.	\$16,500	3/10/1966		
140	2	1312-14 Dumaine St.	\$26,500	3/10/1966		
	5-B	1318-20 Dumaine St.	\$20,300	2/11/1966		
	5-A	1322-24 Dumaine St.	\$14,200	3/10/1966		
	6 6	1332 Dumaine St.	\$39,175	3/18/1966		
	6-B	828-30 Marais St.	\$12,000	2/11/1966		
	7	822 Marais St.	\$16,500	2/11/1966		
	pt 7	818 Marais St.	\$6,750	3/10/1966		
	A	812-14 Marais St.	\$12,000	5/27/1966		
	1	1331-33 St Ann St.				
	2 or B	1327-29 St Ann St.	\$31,200	2/25/1966		
	1	1321-25 St Ann St.	\$22,000	4/29/1966		
	2	1317-19 St Ann St.	\$24,750	3/4/1966		
	3	801-03 N. Liberty St.	\$55,000	4/21/1966		
	4	805-07 N. Liberty St.	\$13,150	8/29/1966		
	5	809-11 N. Liberty St.	\$14,125	2/11/1966		
	6	815-17 N. Liberty St.	\$23,045	6/17/1966	X	
	19	819-21 N. Liberty St.	\$19,400	3/17/1966	2.1	
	20	823 N. Liberty St.	\$13,000	3/4/1966		
	B	827 N. Liberty St.	\$18,000	3/24/1966		
	A	831-33 N. Liberty St.	\$24,000	3/10/1966		
		·	·			
Square	Undesignated	1401-03 Orleans St.	\$22,500	3/21/1966		
167	2	1405-07 Orleans St.	\$13,250	5/4/1966		

Square	2	1409-11 Orleans St.,	Φ72.000	7/06/1066		
167	2	1408-10 St Ann St.	\$73,000	7/26/1966		
	3	1419-21 Orleans St.		7/26/1966		
	3	1423-25 Orleans St.	\$1,500.60	3/11/1966		
	2					
	1		\$39,500	8/24/1966		
	6	1430-32 St Ann St.				
	5	1426-28 St Ann St.	\$10,000	2/25/1966		
	Undesignated	1424 St Ann St.	\$9,175	7/14/1966		
	4	1422 St Ann St.	. ,			
	10 or B	1416-18 St Ann St.	\$10,200	5/26/1966		
	В	1406 St Ann St.	\$19,500	7/29/1966	X	
	A	1400-02 St Ann St.	Ψ17,500	7/25/1500	71	
Square	Undesignated	1405-07 St Ann St.	\$16,000	10/27/1966	X	
168	Undesignated	1409-11 St Ann St.	\$19,400	7/8/1966	X	
	Undesignated	1415 St Ann St.	\$11,600	10/24/1966	X	
	9-A	1417-19 St Ann St.	\$15,500	11/9/1966		
	6	1425 St Ann St.	, ,	5/24/1966	X	
	5	1427-29 St Ann St.	\$14,500	3/24/1966		
	1	1431-33 St Ann St.,		2/10/1066		
	1	806-10 N Villere St.	\$16,000	3/10/1966		
	2	814-16 N Villere St.	\$15,000	7/18/1966	X	
	2 or 8	818-20 N Villere St.	\$14,000	3/25/1966		
	1-A	822-24 N Villere St.	\$12,600	3/4/1966		
	22	826-28 N Villere St.				
	23	830-32 N Villere St.	\$35,857	2/25/1966		
	Undesignated	834 N Villere St.				
	Undesignated	1428 Dumaine St.	\$16,500	2/25/1966		
	Undesignated	1422 Dumaine St.	\$37,200	3/3/1966		
	Undesignated	1414-16 Dumaine St.	\$14,122	2/25/1966		
	E	1410-12 Dumaine St.				
	15	1400-02 Dumaine St.	\$37,500	7/14/1966		
	16	827-29 Marais St.				
	Undesignated	1408 Dumaine St.	\$6,800	3/3/1966		
	Undesignated	823-25 Marais St.	\$13,500	3/3/1966		
	5	819-21 Marais St.	\$13,000	7/14/1966		
	Undesignated	815-17 Marais St.	\$14,500	3/10/1966		
	20	811 Marais St.	\$21,000	1/25/1967	X	
Square		1432 St Philip St.,	Φ24.000	10/0/1070		
169	1	936 N Villere St.	\$24,000	10/8/1970		
	В	923-34 N Villere St.	\$11,000	10/22/1970		
	Undesignated	926-28 N Villere St.	\$11,000	11/16/1970		
	1	922-24 N Villere St.	\$29,000	9/25/1970		
	2	918-20 N Villere St.	\$18,000	3/8/1971		
	A	916 N Villere St.	\$12,000	10/22/1970		
	Undesignated	910 N Villere St.	\$21,000	0/19/1070		
	pt 4	1431-33 Dumaine St.	\$21,000	9/18/1970		
	Undesignated	1427-29 Dumaine St.	\$15,850	10/8/1970		
	A	1423-25 Dumaine St.	\$21,250	9/18/1970		
	В	1421 Dumaine St.	\$40,500	10/8/1970		

Square	4 or C	1415 Dumaine St.	\$12,000	10/8/1970	
169	Undesignated	1409-11 Dumaine St.		4/22/1971	
	Undesignated	1405-07 Dumaine St.	\$15,000	11/24/1970	
	15	1401-03 Dumaine St., 913-15 Marais St.	\$12,000	10/23/1970	
	X	919 Marais St.	\$14,000	12/15/1970	
	Undesignated	921 Marais St.	\$17,000	11/23/1970	
	2-B	923-25 Marais St.	\$18,000	10/23/1970	
	3D 927-29 Marais St.				
	3C	931-33 Marais St.		12/29/1970	
	3A	935 Marais St., 1400-02 St Philip St.	\$36,000		
	3B	1404-06 St Philip St.			
	4-A	1410 St Philip St.	\$11,750	12/15/1970	
	24	1414 St Philip St.	\$9,000	11/23/1970	
	A	1418-20 St Philip St.	\$16,000	5/14/1971	
	Undesignated	1422-24 St Philip St.	\$11,300	12/14/1970	
	D	1426-28 St Philip St.	\$13,000	11/30/1970	

Appendix 7.1 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Medical Center of Louisiana at New Orleans Site.¹

W Offean	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	С	1709-11 Tulane Ave.	\$56,000	5/5/2011		
433	13	1731 Tulane Ave.				
	14	1725 Tulane Ave.	\$190,449	3/11/2011	X	
	15	1727 Tulane Ave.	\$150,445	3/11/2011	Λ	
	16	1729 Tulane Ave.				
	A		113,218	4/27/2011	X	
	17		\$97,000	3/16/2011	X	
	18		\$97,000	3/10/2011	Λ	
	3	251 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$98,000	3/23/2011	X	
	4	253 S. Claiborne Ave.	·			
	11	1728 Palmyra St.	\$34,500	4/21/2011	X	
	A	1705 Tulane Ave.	\$116,500	4/28/2011	X	
	В	1701 Tulane Ave.	Ψ110,500	1,20,2011	71	
	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9	1714-1722 Palmyra St.	\$104,500	4/29/2011	X	
	10, 12, 13, 14, B	310-14 S. Derbigny St 1724 Palmyra St. 1734 Palmyra St.	\$95,000	5/24/2011	X	
Square	14, 15	1729 Palmyra St.	\$11,300	6/8/2010		
434	15, 16, C, D-1, E, F	1722-30 Cleveland Ave 221 S. Claiborne Ave. 216-22 S. Derbigny St.	\$235,345	10/11/10	X	
	C, D	209-11 S. Claiborne Av	\$80,000	9/28/2010		
	26	1723 Palmyra St.	\$433,449	10/18/2010		•
	12	228-30 S. Derbigny St.	\$4,700	10/11/2010	X	
	A, B, C	201 S Claiborne Ave. 1708 Cleveland Ave	\$119,000	2/15/2011	X	
	Е	213 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$43,350	2/10/2011		
	4, 5	227 S. Claiborne Ave.	\$42,500	2/15/2011		
	G	1716 Cleveland Ave.	\$135,000	11/9/2010		
	14, 15	1729 Palmyra St.	\$198,827	3/9/2011		†
	19, 21, 28, 7		\$18,600	3/31/2011	X	
	14	1718 Cleveland Ave	\$33,500	2/15/2011		
	2, 3		\$13,700	4/4/2011	X	
Square 435		1732 Canal St.		10/18/2010	X	
Square	26, 27, 28	1813-19 Cleveland Ave	\$175,094	5/13/2010		
436	2	127 S. Derbigny St.	\$37,966	10/7/2010	X	
	X	1801 Cleveland Ave	\$18,848	2/15/2011	X	
	11, 12, 13, A	1820-24 Canal St. 120 S. Roman St.	\$446,456	3/1/2011	X	

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¹ Orleans Parish Conveyance Records

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	13, 14, 15	1830-34 Canal St.	\$279,657	2/23/2011		
436	29, A	1805-11 Cleveland Ave	\$55,000	2/23/2011		
(cont.)	X	131 S. Derbigny St.	\$23,391	3/17/2011	X	
	14, 15, A, B	122-26 S. Roman St.	\$91,563	9/28/2010		
	11, 16	1838 Canal St. 127 S. Roman St.	\$25,496	3/21/2011	X	
	28, 4, 8-B, E	1806 Canal St.	\$772,157	2/10/11		
Canana	I Indonianatad	1836 Cleveland Ave	¢10.700	5/18/2010		
Square 437	Undesignated 12	1822 Cleveland Ave	\$18,700 \$33,400	10/7/2010	X	
437	12		\$33,400	10/7/2010	Λ	
	16, 21	1837 Palmyra St. 228-30 S. Roman St.		10/19/2010	X	
	17, 18, 28, 29, 30, A	216-18 S.Roman St. 219 S. Derbigny St.	\$550,600	10/29/2010	X	
	R	211 S. Derbigny St.	\$4,250	10/29/2010	X	
	24	1827 Palmyra St.	\$138,600	2/14/2011		
	11, 13, 14, 15	1826-34 Cleveland Ave 210-12 S. Roman St.	\$118,612	2/23/2011		
	10, B, 11	1812-20 Cleveland Ave	\$90,600	2/23/2011		
	7, S	1800-04 Cleveland Ave	\$41,000	2/25/2011		
	25	1823 Palmyra St.	\$65,000	3/21/2011		
	A	1808-10 Cleveland Ave	\$35,700	4/8/2011	X	
	24	1827 Palmyra St.		3/9/2011		
	23	1829-31 Palmyra St.	\$180,000	3/29/2011		
Canana	22	1900 Tulana Ava	\$65,000	2/22/2011		
Square 438	23 B	1809 Tulane Ave. 1805-07 Tulane Ave	\$65,000 \$82,000	2/22/2011 3/11/2011	X	
436					X	
	16, 17, 18 E	1831-35 Tulane Ave 1829 Tulane Ave	\$365,000	3/11/2011 3/21/2011	Λ	
	15, A	1837 Tulane Ave 318 S. Roman St.	\$46,000	4/25/2011	X	
	2	1800-02 Palmyra St. 313 S. Derbigny St.		5/24/2011	X	
Canara	6.7	1010 12 Dolmyro Ct	¢12.400	1/25/2010		
Square 466	6, 7 C	1910-12 Palmyra St. 307. Roman St.	\$13,400 \$6,400	1/25/2010 1/25/2010		
400	1	301 S. Roman St.	\$49,202	7/27/2010		
	25, 26, 27, A,	1901-09 Tulane Ave.	\$49,202	7/27/2010		
	B, C	315-19 S. Roman St.	\$3,277,150	2/17/2011	X	
	8,9	1914-16 Palmyra St.	\$42,880	3/21/2011		
	υ, ν	1717 10 1 anniyia bi.	Ψ-12,000	J1 411 4 U 1 1	ļ	
		1933 Tulane Ave			l l	
	B, 21	1933 Tulane Ave 318, 330 S. Prieur St.	\$118,734	3/11/2011		
		318, 330 S. Prieur St.				
	4, 5, 6	318, 330 S. Prieur St. 311-13 S. Roman St.	\$272,946	3/28/2011		
	4, 5, 6 2, 3 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 24,	318, 330 S. Prieur St. 311-13 S. Roman St. 303-05 S. Roman St. 1919-39 Tulane Ave.		3/28/2011 5/3/2011		
	4, 5, 6 2, 3 10, 11, 12, 13,	318, 330 S. Prieur St. 311-13 S. Roman St. 303-05 S. Roman St.	\$272,946	3/28/2011		
Square	4, 5, 6 2, 3 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 24, pt. 9, A, A-1,	318, 330 S. Prieur St. 311-13 S. Roman St. 303-05 S. Roman St. 1919-39 Tulane Ave. 314-24 S. Prieur St.	\$272,946	3/28/2011 5/3/2011		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	18	218 S. Prieur St.	\$165,000	4/22/2010		
467	17	216 S. Prieur St.	\$240,297	6/2/2010		
(cont.)	В	1926-28 Cleveland Ave	\$330,000	10/7/2010		
	25, A, B, D	1921-27 Palmyra St. 1933, 1939 Palmyra St.	\$433,449	10/18/2010		•
	1, 2, 3, A, B, 24, 28	1901-13 Palmyra St. 223, 231 S. Roman St.	\$360,000	10/28/2010	X	
	26	1919 Palmyra St.	\$6,935	10/27/2010	X	
	C	1915-17 Palmyra St.	\$200,000	2/15/2011		
	11, A	1918-24 Cleveland Ave	\$49,000	2/23/2011		
	29, 30	217-21 S. Roman St.	\$84,000	2/28/2011		
	19, 20, A, B	1932-38 Cleveland Ave 220-22 S. Prieur St.	\$883,214	3/28/2011		
Square 468	P-1	1837-39 Cleveland Ave 130-36 S. Prieur St.	\$131,985	5/13/2010		
	14, 15, 6, 7, D	1900 Canal St.	\$2,000,000	1/27/2011		
	A	1905-07 Cleveland Ave	\$198,260	2/14/2011		
	13, 14, 15	1926-34 Canal St.	\$535,000	2/28/2011	X	
	В	128 S. Prieur St.	\$25,272	2/28/2011		
	18	118 S. Prieur St.	\$40,843	2/25/2011		
	23	1927 Cleveland Ave	\$21,211	2/25/2011		
	B, 27	1909-11 Cleveland Ave 1917 Cleveland Ave	\$62,000	2/25/2011		
	22	1933-35 Cleveland Ave	\$198,827	3/9/2011		†
	29, 30	122-26 S. Prieur St.	\$84,613	3/14/2011		
	16	1936 Canal St.	\$461,100	3/9/2011		
	A, B	1919-23 Cleveland Ave	\$65,252	3/15/2011		
Square 469	19, 20, B, C	2024-30 Canal St. 126 S. Johnson St.	\$825,705	3/11/2011	X	
•	X	116 S. Johnson St.	\$94,500	3/9/2011		
	A	2020 Canal St.	\$203,975	3/21/2011		
	22-B	2035 Cleveland Ave	\$34,100	3/25/2011	X	
	A, B	2032 Canal St.	\$325,000	4/1/2011		
	A	2014 Canal St.	\$246,000	5/26/2011		
	17, 23, 24	2023-31 Cleveland Ave	\$106,000	5/26/2011		
Square	X	220-22 S. Johnson St.	\$214,000	10/13/2010	X	 _
470	33, X	2014-20 Cleveland Ave	\$55,000	10/14/2010	X	+
170	13-D, 14-C	2030 Cleveland Ave	\$401,652	9/28/2010	71	1
-	B, C, P	215-21 S. Prieur St. 2008-10 Cleveland Ave	\$433,449	10/18/2010		•
	7	2024 Cleveland Ave	\$164,000	11/9/2010		
	16-A	2038-40 Cleveland Ave	\$120,000	2/10/2011		
	15-B	2034-36 Cleveland Ave	\$89,000	2/28/2011	X	
-	A	2000-02 Cleveland Ave	\$160,000	3/1/2011	- 11	+
-	17	216 S. Johnson St.	\$61,000	3/14/2011		+
ļ				3/28/2011		+
	A	223-25 S. Prieur St.	\$331,457	1 3/28/2U11		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square 470 (cont.)	1, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, A, B, C, Undesig.	236 S. Johnson St.	\$2,430,000	6/14/2011		
	16-C	212 S. Johnson St.	\$8,000	6/17/2011		
Square 471	10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 17-B, 19, 2, 20, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, A, B, C, D, E, F	2008-26 Palmyra St. 2032-38 Palmyra St. 312-22 S. Johnson St. 315-29 S. Prieur St. 2001-05 Tulane Ave 2017 Tulane Ave	\$2,400,000	3/25/2011	X	
	9	2028-30 Palmyra St.	0	6/7/2011		
Square 520	30-B	2107-09 Banks St. 2010 Banks St.	\$84,000 \$368,272	11/12/2010 3/11/2011	X	
	10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 2, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, B, C	2111-19 Banks St. 2131 Banks St. 2100-14 Palmyra St. 304-28 S. Galvez St. 315-29 S. Johnson St.	\$4,450,000	3/25/2011	X	
	25, 26	2121 Banks St.	\$345,000	3/11/2011		
	3	325 S. Johnson St.	\$178,000	3/28/2011		
Square 521	9, 18 A	2110 Cleveland Ave 240 S. Galvez St.	\$10,000 \$20,293	1/25/2010 3/25/2010		
	31	236 S. Galvez St.	\$8,104	3/25/2010		
	16, 26	226 S. Galvez St.	\$165,300	6/4/2010		
	A, B Undesignated	223-27 S. Johnson St. 2118 Cleveland Ave	\$20,118 \$43,226	6/9/2010 7/19/2010		
	1, 17, 18, 2	230-32 S. Galvez St.	\$200,000	10/14/2010		
	Y	2104 Cleveland Ave	\$185,000	10/14/2010		
	15	224 S. Galvez St.	\$106,177	10/12/2010	X	
	19	2114 Cleveland Ave	\$130,000	10/18/2010		
	25	2105 Palmyra St.	\$14,405	10/26/2010	X	
	23	2113 Palmyra St.	\$62,640	10/26/2010	X	
	24	2107-09 Palmyra St.	\$14,185	10/27/2010	X	
	13, 20, 21, 5	2119-21 Palmyra St. 217-21 S. Johnson St.	\$140,000	10/27/2010	X	
	25	2115 Palmyra St.	\$70,470	10/26/2010	X	
	20	2123 Palmyra St.	\$290,000	11/12/2010	X	
	1	2101-03 Palmyra St. 237 S. Johnson St.	\$197,000	9/20/2010		
	19	2127 Palmyra St.	\$171,800	2/14/2011		
	8	2106-08 Cleveland Ave	\$140,000	3/2/2011		
	W	213 S. Johnson St.	\$10,000	2/28/2011		
	X	2100-02 Cleveland Ave	\$37,800	2/25/2011		
	14, 24, Undesignated	200-20 S. Galvez St. 2122 Cleveland Ave	\$517,100	5/5/2011		
<u> </u>		<u> </u>				<u> </u>

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square 522	5, 6, 7, 8, A, B, C, 1, 10, 11, 13, 14, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9	2115 Cleveland Ave.		10/18/2010	X	
	2, X, Y	2100 Canal St. 121-25 S. Johnson St.	\$550,000	3/17/2011		
	12, 13	2109 Cleveland Ave.	\$195,000	4/25/2011		
	1, 14	2105 Cleveland Ave. 133 S. Johnson St.	\$375,000	4/25/2011		

Appendix 7.2 – Addresses, Cost and Dates of Acquisition of Veterans Administration Medical Center Site.¹

inter Site.	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	5, 6	2216-18 Canal St.	\$500,000	4/26/2010		
523	23	2201-03 Cleveland Ave 127-29 S. Galvez St.	\$130,848	5/18/2010		
	1, 2, 3, 4	2200-12 Canal St.		7/9/2010	X	
	Undesignated, 5, 6, 7, 9-A, 10, 11, 12, K, L, R, X	2220-26 Canal St. 2205-33 Cleveland Ave 122-26 S Miro St. 121 S. Galvez St		7/22/2010	X	
	8	125 S Galvez St.	\$235,151	8/6/2010		
	14, 15, Undesignated, Undesignated	2201-03 Cleveland Ave 127-33 S Galvez St.	\$1,500	9/27/2010	X	
Square	21	229 S. Galvez St.	\$95,000	4/22/2010		
524	В	232-34 S Miro St.	\$227,051	4/22/2010		
	20, A, B, S	233-37 S. Galvez St. 2211-13 Palmyra St.	\$141,415	5/27/2010		
	F, F-1, G	217-19 S. Galvez St.	\$267,000	6/23/2010		
	3	2208-10 Cleveland Ave	\$160,927	7/1/2010		
	1, 10, 11-A, 12, A	2225-29 Palmyra St. 218-40 S. Miro St.	\$151,500	7/16/2010	X	
	5, 6, 9			7/22/2010	X	
	Undesignated	201-05 S. Galvez St.		7/22/2010	X	
	4, 14, 15	228-30 S. Miro St.	\$295,010	8/5/2010	X	
	4	2212 Cleveland Ave.		8/23/2010	X	
	Е	223 S. Galvez St.	\$223,532	8/23/2010	X	
	7	2224 Cleveland Ave	\$141,933	8/30/2010	X	
	pt. 16, 17	2217-19 Palmyra St.	\$229,150	8/30/2010		
	A, B	200-08 S. Miro St.	\$38,250	8/25/2010	X	
	18-A	239-41 S. Galvez St.	\$244,552	8/31/2010		
	D	227 S. Galvez St.	\$29,150	9/1/2010		
	8	2226-28 Cleveland Ave	\$37,900	10/18/2010		
Square	11	321 S. Galvez St.	\$210,000	2/26/2010		
525	A	310-12 S Miro St.	\$135,000	4/16/2010		
	1, 2	300-02 S Miro St.	\$40,000	4/5/2010		
	5	2216 Palmyra St.	\$169,600	5/20/2010		
	С	2213-15 Banks St.	\$225,000	5/27/2010		
	X	2209-11 Banks St.	\$210,000	6/15/2010		
	22	314-16 S Miro St.	\$187,728	7/19/2010		
	3	2224 Palmyra St.		7/22/2010	X	*
	A	309 S. Galvez St.	\$50,000	7/29/2010	X	
	K	325-27 S. Galvez St.	\$238,140	8/4/2010	X	

¹ Orleans Parish Conveyance Records

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	14	2217 Banks St.	\$47,000	8/13/2010		
525	X, Y	2205-07 Banks St.	\$200,000	8/4/2010		
(cont.)	10	319 S. Galvez St.	\$54,568	8/20/2010		
	7	305-07 S. Galvez St.	\$18,150	8/30/2010		
	pt. 8, 9	311-13 S. Galvez St.	\$162,000	8/31/2010		
	6	2212-14 Palmyra St. 301-03 S. Galvez St.	\$110,000	8/30/2010		
	4	2220 Palmyra St.	\$150,000	8/24/2010	X	
	16, 17, 2	2223-27 Banks St.	\$120,000	8/30/2010	X	
	Undesignated	2201-03 Banks St. 331-37 S. Galvez St.		9/7/2010	X	
	21	318-20 S. Miro St.	\$220,762	9/7/2010	X	
	15	2221 Banks St.	\$230,000	9/20/2010	71	
	7	305-07 S. Galvez St.	\$18,150	9/14/2010	X	
	1, 1-L, 19	2231 Banks St. 330 S. Miro St.	ψ10,130	10/19/2010	X	
	20	322-24 S. Miro St.	\$43,000	10/20/2010		
Square	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, C	2231 Tulane Ave.	\$230,000	8/23/2010	X	
526	A, B	2201-09 Tulane Ave 349 S. Galvez St. 2202 Banks St.	\$230,000	8/23/2010	X	
Square 549	A	2337-39 Tulane Ave. 414 S. Tonti St.	\$45,299	8/11/2010	X	
	5, 6-A	2319-21 Tulane Ave.		8/23/2010	X	
	7	2323 Tulane Ave.	\$82,000	8/25/2010		
	8, B	408-12 S. Tonti St. 2327 Tulane Ave.	\$241,200	8/13/2010	X	
	1, 2, 3, 4	2301-09 Tulane Ave.	\$697,858	8/23/2010	X	
Square	4	2322 Palmyra St.	\$38,960	5/19/2010		
550	D	323-25 S. Miro St.	\$42,600	6/23/2010		
	A	315 S. Miro St.	\$140,628	7/14/2010		
	7	2314 Palmyra St.	\$239,624	7/19/2010		
	1, A, X, 10, 11, 9, Undesignated	2335-37 Banks St. 318-20 S. Tonti St.	\$138,590	7/20/2010	X	*
	5, 6	2320 Palmyra St.	\$162,645	7/27/2010		
	Undesignated	2321-23 Banks St.	\$379,318	7/28/2010		
	11	2330 Palmyra St.	\$14,230	8/5/2010	X	
	2	2338 Palmyra St. 310 S. Tonti St.		8/23/2010	X	
	17	2315-17 Banks St.	\$443,795	8/25/2010		
	В	2307-09 Banks St.	\$404,854	8/25/2010		
	18	2311-13 Banks St.	\$72,413	8/25/2010		
	1A	2300 Palmyra St.	. ,	8/26/2010	X	
	1	2332-34 Palmyra St.	\$73,736	8/13/2010	X	
	B, C	2325-27 Banks St.	\$189,510	8/13/2010	X	

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	X	329 S. Miro St.	\$143,357	8/26/2010	X	
550	29	319-21 S. Miro St.		9/1/2010	X	
(cont.)	6	2316 Palmyra St.	\$350,083	8/31/2010		
	A	2301-03 Banks St.		9/10/2010	X	
	2A	2310 Palmyra St.	\$147,515	10/11/2010	X	
	1, 11, 2	314 S. Tonti St.	\$88,824	10/11/2010		
Square	7	2322-24 Cleveland Ave	\$295,000	2/26/2010		
551	M	2336-38 Cleveland Ave	\$65,000	4/21/2010		
	33	218-20 S. Tonti St.	\$65,000	6/16/2010		
	Н	2328-30 Cleveland Ave	\$220,000	7/1/2010		
	6	2318-20 Cleveland Ave	\$150,000	7/19/2010		
	23, 24	227-29 S. Miro St.		7/22/2010	X	*
	42	2310-12 Cleveland Ave	\$250,000	7/27/2010		
	25, 26, 27	219 S. Miro St.	\$28,080	8/3/2010	X	
	24 or 25	223 S. Miro St.		8/5/2010	X	
	8	2326 Cleveland Ave.	\$280,000	8/5/2010		
	1, 2	201 S. Miro St.	\$265,000	8/11/2010	X	
	Q	2333-35 Palmyra St.	,,	8/10/2010	X	
	17, 18	2319-21 Palmyra St.	\$230,000	8/20/2010		
	43	2314-16 Cleveland Ave	\$70,192	8/25/2010		
	21, 22	2305 Palmyra St.	\$45,000	8/26/2010	X	
	7	2323 Palmyra St.	\$250,000	8/31/2010		
	pt. 22, 23	2301-03 Palmyra St.	\$82,000	8/31/2010	X	
	16	2327 Palmyra St.	\$6,655	8/27/2010	X	
	1, Q, Undesignated	2339 Palmyra St.	\$140,057	8/27/2010	X	
	19	2313 Palmyra St.		9/1/2010	X	
	3, 4	228-30 S. Tonti St.	\$51,000	8/28/2010		
	19	2317 Palmyra St.	1- 9	9/10/2010	X	
	5	224 S. Tonti St.	\$143,068	7/16/2010		
	B, B-1	212-14 S. Tonti St.	\$226,512	9/15/2010		
	R	2329 Palmyra St.	+===,===	10/25/2010		‡
Square 552	1, 2, 3, 21-A,	2300 Canal St.		7/22/2010	X	т
332	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18	2324-30 Canal St. 2317 Cleveland Ave	\$3,942,000	8/23/2010		
	19, 5-A	2322 Canal St. 2313-15 Cleveland Ave		10/5/2010	X	
Square 553	Full Square	2400 Canal St.		3/11/2010	X	
Square	C, D	2410-14 Cleveland Ave	\$72,500	12/7/2009		
554	В	2415 Palmyra St.	\$120,000	6/16/2010		
	Н	2400 Cleveland Ave	\$198,000	7/1/2010		
	13	218 S. Rocehblave St.	\$33,000	7/1/2010		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	28	223 S. Tonti St.	\$40,000	7/9/2010		
554	23	2411 Palmyra St.	\$233,000	7/9/2010		
(cont.)	1, 2	213 S. Tonti St.	\$176,000	7/28/2010		
	6	2418-20 Cleveland Ave	\$165,000	8/5/2010		
	25	2405 Palmyra St.	\$236,000	8/5/2010	X	†
	14	222 S. Rocheblave St.	\$15,000	8/11/2010	X	
	1, 2	2402 Cleveland Ave	\$36,000	8/11/2010	X	
	29, 30	217 S. Tonti St.	\$164,304	8/20/2010		
	20	2423-25 Palmyra St.		8/19/2010	X	
	7	2422 Cleveland Ave		8/19/2010	X	
	15	224-26 S. Rocheblave		8/23/2010	X	
	19	2427-29 Palmyra St.		8/13/2010	X	
	26, 27	2401 Palmyra St. 227 S. Tonti St.	\$173,000	8/26/2010	X	
	21, pt. 22	2419-21 Palmyra St.	\$136,000	8/30/2010		
	8	2426 Cleveland Ave.		8/31/2010	X	
	9	2430 Cleveland Ave.	\$164,520	9/8/2010		
	11	2436-38 Cleveland Ave		9/7/2010		
	5	2416 Cleveland Ave.	\$136,000	9/15/2010		
	10	2434 Cleveland Ave.	\$140,000	10/11/2010	X	
	24	2407-09 Palmyra St.	\$116,259	10/4/2010		
	12	214 S. Rocheblave St.		10/20/2010	X	
~			420 700			
Square	28	325 S. Tonti St.	\$39,500	11/12/2009		
555	27-В	327 S. Tonti St.	\$8,300	11/12/2009		
	6A	2420 Palmyra St.	\$124,000	3/5/2010		
	30	319 S. Tonti St.	\$135,000	3/9/2010		
	7-A	2422-24 Palmyra St.	\$248,000	4/16/2010		
	4	2412 Palmyra St.	\$37,000	4/19/2010		
	С	2421-23 Banks St.	\$178,000	4/23/2010		
	В	2415-17 Banks St.	\$42,000	5/20/2010		
	8	2426 Palmyra St.	\$127,000	6/2/2010		
	31	317 S. Tonti St.	\$105,000	6/29/2010		
	32	313 S. Tonti St.	\$274,763	6/30/2010		
	27	2401-03 Banks St.	\$138,590	7/20/2010	X	*
	5	2414 Palmyra St.	\$125,000	7/27/2010		
	1	2400 Palmyra St.	\$110,000	7/29/2010		
	16	328 S. Rocheblave St.	\$13,929	8/5/2010	X	
	2	2404 Palmyra St.	\$156,407	8/5/2010	X	
	26	2405-07 Banks St.	\$236,000	8/5/2010	X	†
	pt. 12	314-16 S. Rocheblave	\$114,000	8/20/2010		
	15	324 S. Rocheblave St.	\$74,000	8/23/2010	X	
	9, 11	2434 Palmyra St.	\$230,000	8/26/2010		
	A	2411-13 Banks St.	\$160,000	8/30/2010		
	29	323 S. Tonti St.	\$36,500	8/31/2010	X	
	H, F	2433-35 Banks St.	\$268,109	10/15/2010		
	14	320-22 S. Rocheblave	\$13,500	10/13/2010		

	Lot Number	Address	Acquisition Cost	Acquisition Date	Expropriation	
Square	D	2425-27 Banks St.		10/21/2010		
555 (cont.)	25, 3, A	2409 Banks St. 2408 Palmyra St.		10/25/2010		‡
Square 556	Full Square	2401 Tulane Ave	\$52,285	2/25/2011	X	

Appendix 8.1 – Louisiana Legislature, Act No. 851 of the 2006 Regular Session

Regular Session, 2006

ACT No. 851

ENROLLED

SENATE BILL NO. 1

BY SENATOR MCPHERSON AND REPRESENTATIVE BRUNEAU AND SENATORS ADLEY, AMEDEE, BARHAM, CAIN, CRAVINS, DUPLESSIS, DUPRE, ELLINGTON, HINES, HOLLIS, LENTINI, MOUNT, MURRAY, NEVERS, SCHEDLER, SMITH, N. GAUTREAUX AND MARIONNEAUX AND REPRESENTATIVES STRAIN, SCHNEIDER, R. CARTER, CRAVINS, MONTGOMERY, TOWNSEND, HUNTER, ALARIO, ALEXANDER, BALDONE, BAUDOIN, BOWLER, BURNS, CAZAYOUX, CROWE, CURTIS, DAMICO, DARTEZ, DOERGE, DOWNS, DURAND, FANNIN, FARRAR, FRITH, GREENE, E. GUILLORY, HILL, JEFFERSON, JOHNS, KLECKLEY, LAFONTA, LANCASTER, MCDONALD, MCVEA, T. POWELL, RITCHIE, ROMERO, WALSWORTH, BADON, BAYLOR, BEARD, BURRELL, CHANDLER, CRANE, DEWITT, DORSEY, ERDEY, FAUCHEUX, GLOVER, HARRIS, HEATON, HEBERT, HOPKINS, JACKSON, KATZ, KENNEY, LABRUZZO, MARCHAND, MORRELL, MORRISH, ODINET, PIERRE, PINAC, PITRE, M. POWELL, ROBIDEAUX, SCALISE, GARY SMITH, JACK SMITH, JANE SMITH, THOMPSON, TRAHAN, TRICHE, TUCKER, WADDELL, WHITE AND WINSTON

1	A JOINT RESOLUTION
2	Proposing to amend Article I, Section 4(B) and Article VI, Section 21(A) and to add Article
3	VI, Section 21(D) of the Constitution of Louisiana, relative to the expropriation of
4	property; to prohibit the expropriation of property by the state or a political
5	subdivision of the state for the predominant use by or transfer to any private person
6	or entity under certain circumstances; to provide for the definition of "public
7	purposes"; to provide for items included in just compensation to be paid to the owner
8	of expropriated property; to provide exceptions for the operation of public ports; and
9	to specify an election for submission of the proposition to electors and provide a
10	ballot proposition.
11	Section 1. Be it resolved by the Legislature of Louisiana, two-thirds of the members
12	elected to each house concurring, that there shall be submitted to the electors of the state, for
13	their approval or rejection in the manner provided by law, a proposal to amend Section 4(B)
14	of Article I and Section 21(A) of Article VI and to add Section 21(D) of Article VI of the
15	Constitution of Louisiana, to read as follows:
16	§4. Right to Property
17	Section 4. * * *
18	(B)(1) Property shall not be taken or damaged by the state or its political

Page 1 of 4

Coding: Words which are struck through are deletions from existing law; words in boldface type and underscored are additions.

	SB NO. 1 ENROLLED
1	subdivisions except for public purposes and with just compensation paid to the
2	owner or into court for his benefit. Except as specifically authorized by Article VI.
3	Section 21 of this Constitution property shall not be taken or damaged by the
4	state or its political subdivisions: (a) for predominant use by any private person
5	or entity; or (b) for transfer of ownership to any private person or entity.
6	(2) As used in Subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph and in Article VI.
7	Section 23 of this Constitution, "public purpose" shall be limited to the
8	following:
9	(a) A general public right to a definite use of the property.
10	(b) Continuous public ownership of property dedicated to one or more
11	of the following objectives and uses:
12	(i) Public buildings in which publicly funded services are administered,
13	rendered, or provided.
14	(ii) Roads, bridges, waterways, access to public waters and lands, and
15	other public transportation, access, and navigational systems available to the
16	general public.
17	(iii) Drainage, flood control, levees, coastal and navigational protection
18	and reclamation for the benefit of the public generally.
19	(iv) Parks, convention centers, museums, historical buildings and
20	recreational facilities generally open to the public.
21	(v) Public utilities for the benefit of the public generally.
22	(vi) Public ports and public airports to facilitate the transport of goods
23	or persons in domestic or international commerce.
24	(c) The removal of a threat to public health or safety caused by the
25	existing use or disuse of the property.
26	(3) Neither economic development, enhancement of tax revenue, or any
27	incidental benefit to the public shall be considered in determining whether the

 $\label{eq:page 2 of 4} Page 2 of 4 \\ Coding: Words which are $\frac{\text{struck through}}{\text{through}}$ are deletions from existing law; words in $\frac{\text{boldface type and underscored}}{\text{through}}$ are additions.}$

taking or damaging of property is for a public purpose pursuant to

Subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph or Article VI, Section 23 of this

28

29

30

Constitution.

OR NO. 1	ENDOLLER
SB NO. 1	ENROLLEI

1	(4) Property shall not be taken or damaged by any private entity authorized
2	by law to expropriate, except for a public and necessary purpose and with just
3	compensation paid to the owner; in such proceedings, whether the purpose is public
4	and necessary shall be a judicial question.
5	(5) In every expropriation or action to take property pursuant to the
6	provisions of this Section, a party has the right to trial by jury to determine whether
7	the compensation is just, and the owner shall be compensated to the full extent of
8	his loss. Except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, the full extent of loss
9	shall include, but not be limited to, the appraised value of the property and all
10	costs of relocation, inconvenience, and any other damages actually incurred by
11	the owner because of the expropriation.
12	(6) No business enterprise or any of its assets shall be taken for the purpose
13	of operating that enterprise or halting competition with a government enterprise
14	However, a municipality may expropriate a utility within its jurisdiction.
15	* * *
16	ARTICLE VI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT
17	* * *
18	§21. Assistance to Local Industry
19	Section 21.(A) Authorization. In order to (1) induce and encourage the
20	location of or addition to industrial enterprises therein which would have economic
21	impact upon the area and thereby the state, (2) provide for the establishment and
22	furnishing of such industrial plant, (3) facilitate the operation of public ports, or
23	(3) (4) provide movable or immovable property, or both, for pollution control
24	facilities, the legislature by law may authorize, subject to restrictions it may impose
25	any political subdivision, deep-water <u>public</u> port commission, or deep-water <u>public</u>
26	port, harbor, and terminal district to:
27	(a) issue bonds, subject to approval by the State Bond Commission or its
28	successor, and use the funds derived from the sale of the bonds to acquire and
29	improve industrial plant sites and other property necessary to the purposes thereof
30	(b) acquire, through purchase, donation, exchange, and (subject to Article

Page 3 of 4
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1	I, Section 4) expropriation, and improve industrial plant buildings and industrial
2	plant equipment, machinery, furnishings, and appurtenances, including public por
3	facilities and operations which relate to or facilitate the transportation of goods
4	in domestic and international commerce; and
5	(c) sell, lease, lease-purchase, or demolish all or any part of the foregoing.
6	* * *
7	(D) Property excepted. The bona fide homestead, as defined by Article
8	VII, Section 20(A)(1), shall not be subject to expropriation pursuant to this
9	Section.
10	* * *
11	Section 2. Be it further resolved that this proposed amendment shall be submitted
12	to the electors of the state of Louisiana at the statewide election to be held on September 30
13	2006.
14	Section 3. Be it further resolved that on the official ballot to be used at said election
15	there shall be printed a proposition, upon which the electors of the state shall be permitted
16	to vote FOR or AGAINST, to amend the Constitution of Louisiana, which proposition shall
17	read as follows:
18	To prohibit the expropriation of property by the state or a political
19	subdivision of the state for predominant use by or transfer to a private person
20	or entity under certain circumstances; to define "public purposes" relative to
21	the expropriation of property; to provide exceptions for the operation of
22	public ports and airports and for the expropriation of property for industrial
23	development purposes; and to provide for items included in just
24	compensation to be paid to the owner of the expropriated property. (Amend
25	Article I, Section 4(B) and Article VI, Section 21(A); Adds Article VI
26	Section 21(D))

SB NO. 1

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ENROLLED

Page 4 of 4
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Vita

Jared E. Munster was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, and has lived in the Greater New Orleans area all his life. He graduated in the class of 2000 from Archbishop Shaw High School in Marrero, Louisiana, a suburb of New Orleans.

Jared earned his Bachelor of Science in Urban Studies and Planning from the College of Urban and Public Affairs at the University of New Orleans in 2004. While an undergraduate at UNO, Jared was elected Student Government President, and served in that role for the 2002 – 2003 academic year. He also served in the University Senate and on the University Athletic Council as a Student Representative. Additionally, he served as a student member of the University of New Orleans International Alumni Association's Board of Directors from 2002 – 2004.

Jared attained his Master of Urban and Regional Planning from the University of New Orleans in 2006. While a graduate student, Jared held an internship with the Planning Department of the City of Sanford, Florida during the summer of 2005. He was also awarded a Mayoral Fellowship with the City of New Orleans for the 2006 – 2007 academic year. After completing his fellowship, Jared remained with the City of New Orleans as a full-time employee, and worked with the City Planning Commission before taking his current position as Assistant Zoning Administrator in the City's Department of Safety and Permits.

After attaining his Master's degree, Jared entered directly into the Doctorate in Urban Studies program in the School of Urban Planning and Regional Studies at the University at New Orleans, and will earn his Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Studies in December of 2012.

He currently lives in the Gentilly Terrace neighborhood with his husband, Brandon Robb, and their cats, Gingerbread, Dodecanesel and Dreidel.