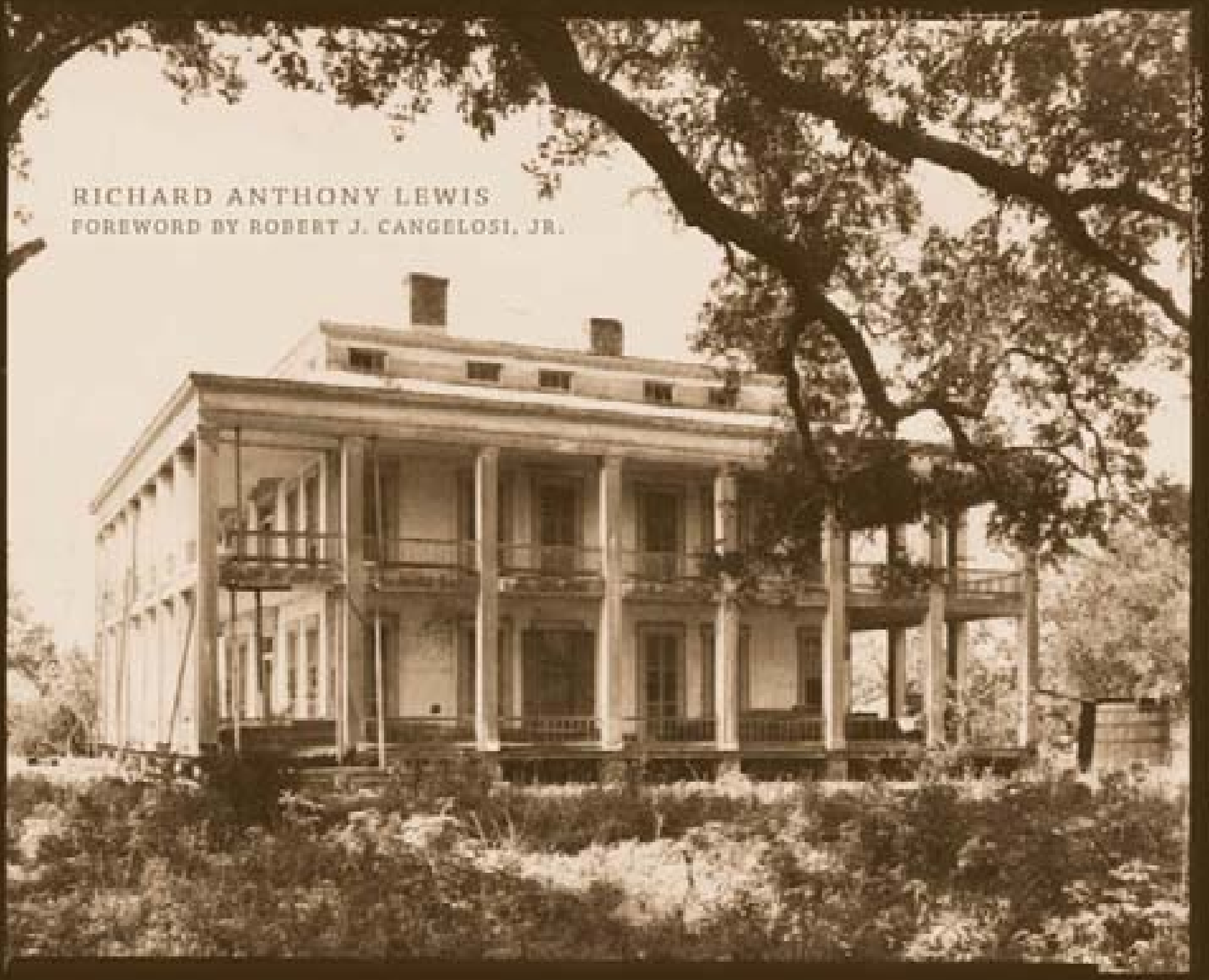

RICHARD ANTHONY LEWIS
FOREWORD BY ROBERT J. CANGELOSI, JR.

ROBERT W. TEBBS

PHOTOGRAPHER TO ARCHITECTS

LOUISIANA PLANTATIONS IN 1926

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Belle Grove Plantation (interior with Corinthian columns), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.026

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For Betty & Richard, and Jae-Hwa

Belle Grove Plantation (front entrance), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.021

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FOREWORD

It was 1926, and New Orleans jazz was all the rage. Louis Armstrong had his Hot Five, Jelly Roll Morton had the Red Hot Peppers, and King Oliver, the Creole Jazz Band. Women called flappers sported calf-length dresses and short "Eton crop" hairstyles. Prohibition was in effect, and in New Orleans, the Absinthe House was closed by court injunction for violation of the Volstead Act. Louisiana governor Henry Fuqua died in office on October 11 and was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Oramel H. Simpson. During his tenure, Fuqua, who had defeated Huey Pierce Long for the state's top office, worked to suppress activities of the Ku Klux Klan by outlawing masking, and approved the contract for the first bridge across Lake Pontchartrain.

In 1926, the present campus of Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge was dedicated; Lake Charles completed a waterway establishing it as a gulf port; Louisiana's first public airport was built in Mansfield; and the Pelicans, the state's minor league baseball team, won the Southern Association's pennant.

New Orleans mayor Martin Behrman died in office on January 12, 1926, after serving seventeen years; Tulane Stadium, later known as Sugar Bowl Stadium, was built Uptown; the *Double Dealer,* an influential literary magazine in its sixth and final year of publication, offered a national medium for southern writers; the New Orleans Arts and Crafts Club provided local artists a venue for their work; and the Louisiana chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) began work on special preservation zoning for the Vieux Carré.

The weather in 1926 was not the best. In August, persistent heavy rains began to fall across the Mississippi Valley, including Louisiana, and continued until spring, culminating in the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 that left 300,000 people homeless in Louisiana alone. In August 1926, a hurricane with 120-mile-per-hour winds struck southeast Louisiana, near Houma. New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Lutcher, Garyville, Burnside, Geismar, Hammond, and Ponchatoula all sustained heavy damage following the fifteen-foot tidal surge that smashed into Terrebonne Parish, causing twenty-five deaths and millions of dollars in property damage as far north as Shreveport. The next month, the Great Miami Hurricane hit Louisiana, having initially made landfall in Miami on September 18, killing 372. The category 4 storm crossed Florida, entered the Gulf of Mexico, stalled below Pensacola, and then ravaged Mississippi and Louisiana on September 21.

Also in 1926, photographer Robert Tebbs made a tour of southeast Louisiana, accompanied by his wife Jeanne and architect Richard Koch, documenting its architectural history. At fifty-one, Tebbs was established in his photography career, while Koch, at age thirty-seven, was only in his tenth year as partner in his architectural firm of Armstrong and Koch. As early as 1924, Koch had commissioned Tebbs to photograph his firm's projects in Natchez, Mississippi, and the following year, in both New Orleans and Natchez. These excursions were undertaken in connection with the ill-fated Octagon Library project that was to have been published by the Press of the American Institute of Architects. With Koch guiding the Tebbses, the three toured and documented the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rural homes of Louisiana, recording, even for then, a bygone era. Tebbs focused on the architecture and architectural details, apparently with little interest in laborers, animals, and crops. His photographs record the 1920s appearance of historic houses now lost, as well as those that survive.

The photographic documentation by Tebbs of the historic architecture of southeast Louisiana was part of an ongoing national movement to record America's architectural heritage—in particular Federal and Greek Revival buildings that are often erroneously called Colonial—through photographs and measured drawings. The movement had inspired an architectural revival that gained speed after the country's centennial celebration in 1876. As early as 1869, at the AIA national convention, Richard Upjohn suggested that architects "make careful studies of some of the old houses yet remaining" in order to "gain a valuable lesson."[1] For the centennial celebration in Philadelphia, architect Donald Mitchell suggested that Louisiana reproduce for its state exhibition building an old New Orleans–style structure with a wraparound gallery such as the one he had illustrated in his 1867 book *Rural Studies.* Except for isolated regional efforts, the interest in America's architecture was centered on the Atlantic seaboard, especially New England; however, other areas of the country quickly realized that their heritage was different.

An 1881 AIA national committee concluded that Colonial architecture should influence, not govern, contemporary designs, and that seems to have been the case, for most revivals took a Mannerist approach. During the 1880s and 1890s, practically every architectural magazine carried well-illustrated articles on "Colonial architecture," often with measured drawings. In Louisiana, as elsewhere, the initial form of the Colonial Revival ignored its heritage and looked to the East Coast for inspiration. In 1888, the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* reported that "Old Colonial" architecture had its admirers in New Orleans, and was influencing designs of large residences.[2]

As more and more photographs and drawings appeared in periodicals and books, the revival movement became more academically correct. The six volumes of *The Georgian Period,* edited by William Rotch Ware and initially published in 1898, contained photographs and measured drawings of American architecture, including in the 1923 edition pictures of four Louisiana plantations and three New Orleans buildings. The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs, published between 1915 and 1940, also contained photographs and measured drawings of historic buildings. Both sets of publications were in the libraries of many local architects, including that of Richard Koch. The national magazine *American Architect and Building News* in 1896 and 1897 featured plates of New Orleans buildings, and the New Orleans–based *Architectural Art and Its Allies* in 1895 illustrated many local historic structures. The editors of that periodical argued in 1909 for indigenously inspired houses for Louisiana, patterned after the state's galleried plantation houses.

The Greek Revival style was erroneously thought to be Colonial at the beginning of the twentieth century. The New Orleans architectural magazine *Building Review* commented in 1915 on the "obvious dignity of the type we call 'Southern Colonial,' the tall colonnaded portico and severe classicism." The Louisiana chapter of the AIA founded its Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments in 1915, and established a budget of "$25 at a time for the measuring or photography of old, historic buildings liable to be destroyed."[3]

Building News in 1916 reported that Ellsworth Woodward and John Kendall had photographically documented the ironwork of New Orleans and exhibited their work at Newcomb College with hopes of publishing it. That same year, local architect Nathaniel C. Curtis announced in the national AIA journal that the Louisiana chapter, in conjunction with the architecture department of Tulane University, was to record the state's historic buildings through a series of measured drawings and photographs, accompanied by text on each structure's history and architecture.

This focus on the past was leading to a greater appreciation of Louisiana architecture. Morgan Hite, another local architect, wrote in *Building Review* in 1918 that he hoped New Orleans would "create, in time, an architecture that will be of itself, for itself, outstanding and unique in the history of such things." The following year, Nathaniel Curtis reported in *Building Review* on the growing influence of Louisiana's architecture outside of the state: "I am reminded of the Institute Convention [AIA] of 1913 held in New Orleans and every once in a while I come across a building illustrated somewhere which makes me believe that some of these visitors at that time have known how to make use of their impressions of what they saw in the 'Vieux Carre' or 'Garden District.' Such, for example, as the house illustrated in the *Architectural Forum* last July designed by Delano and Aldrich for a man in Woodbury, Long Island."[4] Indeed, Samuel S. Labouisse, Richard Koch, and Hays Town were prominent among local architects developing a revival of Louisiana architecture. By the time Tebbs began recording Louisiana plantations in 1926, there was an established tradition of local architecture.

The designers of most of the Louisiana rural residences photographed by Tebbs in 1926 go unrecorded; for some, there is speculation, but only five can be attributed with any certainty. Henry Howard designed Woodlawn, Madewood, and Belle Grove. Known for his Greek Revival and Italianate designs, Howard was born in Cork, Ireland, immigrated to New York at age sixteen, and arrived in New Orleans in 1837, during the height of a yellow fever epidemic. He studied architecture with James Dakin and Henry Molhausen, and after the construction of Madewood on Bayou Lafourche for Thomas Pugh, Howard opened his office on Exchange Place in New Orleans. Gilbert Joseph Pilié, designer of the iconoclastic Oak Alley, was a native of Santo Domingo who fled to New Orleans during the slave revolts. A civil engineer and architect by profession, Pilié served as city engineer from 1818 to 1844. Little is known of James Hammond Coulter, designer of Greenwood, the only other documented house.

The fifty-two houses illustrated in this book are located in eighteen southeast Louisiana parishes, with the most in West Feliciana Parish. The residences photographed are generally of two types, the regionally appropriate Louisiana Creole type and the Greek Revival. As a rule, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Louisiana Creole (French Colonial) plantation houses have hall-less plans, with rooms arranged *en suite,* casement doors and windows, boxed mantels projecting into the rooms, and external stairs. Galleries are a distinctive feature, extolled by traveler Claude César Robin in *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803–1805:* "These wide galleries have several advantages. First they prevent the sun's rays from striking the walls of the house and thus to keep them cool. Also, they form a convenient and pleasant spot upon which to promenade during the day . . . one can eat or entertain there, and very often during the hot summer nights one sleeps there."[5]

The Greek Revival style, which arrived in Louisiana with the influx of easterners during the 1830s, promoted Classical, preferably Greek details, such as dentils, crossetted frames, egg-and-dart, bead and reed, triglyph and mutules, central halls, low-pitched or hidden roof, and a monumental scale. The style was popularized by *The Antiquities of Athens,* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, published between 1762 and 1816 and republished in 1830; and by *The Beauties of Modern Architecture,* by Minard Lafever (1835), for which James Gallier, Sr., and James Dakin provided many of the plates. East Coast architects, particularly from New York, brought the style to Louisiana. William Strickland, who started the vogue with his Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, designed the United States Mint (1835–1838) in New Orleans in the Greek Revival style.

While other photographers, such as George François Mugnier and Olide Schexnayder, documented rural life in Louisiana, Tebbs was one of the first to make an in-depth study of the architecture. Richard Koch almost certainly selected the sites to visit. He would himself photograph many of the same houses between 1933 and 1941 while serving as director of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) in Louisiana. Koch "gained much knowledge of photography" from Tebbs during the trips, according to his later partner, Samuel Wilson, Jr.[6]

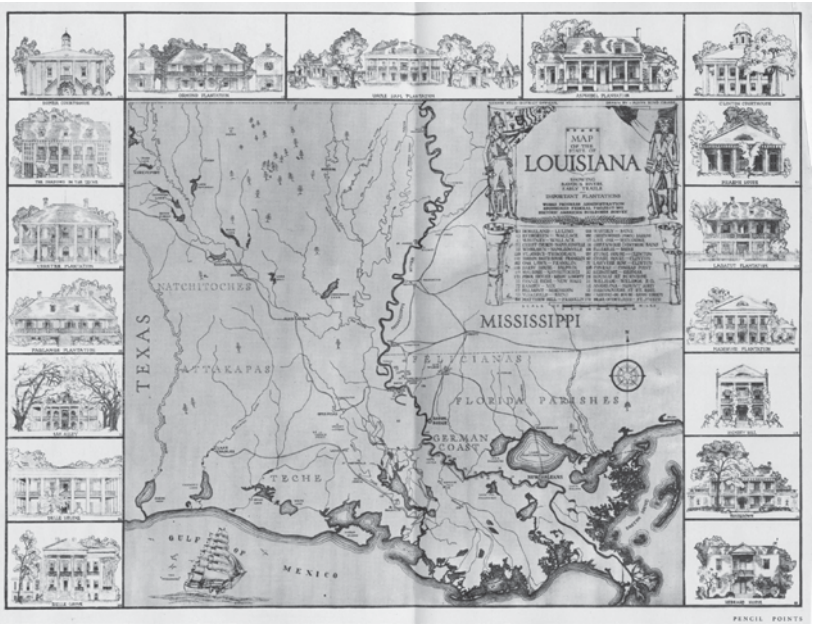
For the 1938 AIA national convention in New Orleans, the architectural journal *Pencil Points* published twelve photographs by Tebbs of historic Louisiana plantation houses, accompanied by four sheets of HABS drawings of Ormond Plantation, the documentation of which had been overseen by Koch. Also featured were photographs of several Vieux Carré buildings taken by Richard Koch, and two architectural projects of his firm, Le Petit Théâtre and 730 Esplanade Avenue. The special issue also contained a foldout *Map of the State of Louisiana,* drawn by Alvyk Boyd Cruise, with images of seventeen historic buildings in the border, most of which had been photographed by Tebbs in 1926.

As district director of HABS during the 1930s, Koch oversaw the measuring of many of the houses photographed by Tebbs that were later renovated by his architectural firm, including Oak Alley, Shadows-on-the-Teche, Evergreen, the René Beauregard House, Elmwood, Hurst-Stauffer House, and Rosedown. Koch's approach to preservation architecture was to extend the useful life of the building through renovation and adaptive reuse rather than restoration, as his successor firms would later do for San Francisco Plantation, in Garyville, Louisiana, and the Pitot House and the Cabildo in New Orleans.

As president of the Friends of the Cabildo and Koch & Wilson Architects, I am honored to pen this foreword.

Robert J. Cangelosi, Jr., AIA
PRESIDENT, KOCH & WILSON, APC

Richard Koch, *Parlange Plantation: Detail of Dining Room Mantel,* September, 1936, HABS LA, 39-NEWRO.V, 1–12



Boyd Cruise, Works Progress Administration Sponsored Federal Project No. 2, Historic American Buildings Survey, *Map of the State of Louisiana Showing Bayous, Rivers, Early Trails and Important Plantations,* fold-out map in *Pencil Points,* vol. 19, no. 4, 1938. Original drawing in The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1961.15.2.

Houmas House Plantation (staircase), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.274

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project originated with a phone call from Margaret Hart Lovecraft, acquisitions editor at the Louisiana State University Press, to Greg Lambousy, director of collections at the Louisiana State Museum. We were gratified to learn not only that the Press was interested in the possible publication of a book on Robert W. Tebbs's photographs, but also that the museum would have the opportunity to develop the project. As the curator of visual arts, and with an academic interest in historic photography, I assumed the task of selecting the photographs and writing the text. I am grateful, therefore, especially to Margaret Lovecraft, for envisioning the project and shepherding it through the publication process with an endless supply of patience and grace; and to Greg Lambousy, for providing unflagging support with time and, when necessary, a barrage of e-mails and phone calls to keep things on track.

The Friends of the Cabildo (FOC), an umbrella group supporting the Louisiana State Museum, generously agreed to sponsor the book. I am indebted to Kaitlin Ryan, former director of the FOC; Rachael Vives, current FOC director; Rivers LeLong, FOC past president and legal counsel; and Robert J. Cangelosi, Jr., president of the FOC and president of Koch and Wilson, APC. Particular thanks are extended to Mr. Cangelosi for providing images by Tebbs from his firm's files, lending his expert knowledge about all things architectural, enlisting his staff and other experts as advisers, and writing the elegant foreword. I should note, however, that any mistakes or misinterpretation contained in the text regarding architectural terminology, assessment of style, and so forth are solely mine.

Members of Robert W. Tebbs's extended family have offered invaluable assistance and support. I am indebted to Barbara Briden, Tebbs's granddaughter; her daughter, Sharon Briden; and her granddaughter Linda Ryan. These women provided a great deal of information about the family and several invaluable scans of photographs in the family's collection. Indeed, the Tebbs family has provided keen encouragement at every turn. The project would have been diminished immeasurably without their assistance.

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ROBERT W. TEBBS

PHOTOGRAPHER TO ARCHITECTS

Tebbs & Knell, *Arlington, Natchez, Mississippi,* 1925,
courtesy of Koch and Wilson, APA, New Orleans, Louisiana

INTRODUCTION

Representing Louisiana Plantations, 1926

THE OCTAGON LIBRARY PROJECT

In the late spring of 1926, at the apex of his career, New Jersey–based photographer Robert William Tebbs (1875–1945) and his wife, Jeanne (1887–1980), embarked on a monumental expedition through rural Louisiana to photograph plantation architecture. They came at the invitation of New Orleans architect Richard Koch (1889–1971), with the goal of creating the first systematic, professional record of the state's historic architecture. Koch had been commissioned by Charles Harris Whitaker, of the Press of the American Institute of Architects, to edit a book on the plantation homes of Louisiana and Mississippi, which was to be a part of the projected Octagon Library of early American architecture. Koch, Whitaker, and series editors Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., hoped that systematic documentation of historic architecture, including plantations, would appeal to "the professional architect [and] . . . also to the cultured layman." The envisioned twenty volumes of the Octagon Library series were to depend heavily on the work of architectural photographers—notably Tebbs and his partner, Charles E. Knell (fl. 1925–1951). The resulting photographic survey focused on plantations, which had reentered the national conscience (as an admixture of history and myth) with books such as Alcée Fortier's *A History of Louisiana* (1904) and Grace King's *Creole Families of New Orleans* (1921).[1] This broadly romantic view of plantation life would soon be fixed indelibly in the public imagination with Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1939).

Koch was an ideal choice to edit the Octagon volume on Louisiana plantations, having demonstrated his commitment to historic preservation through sensitive renovations (emphasizing adaptive use) of Shadows-on-the-Teche (in New Iberia) and Oak Alley (near Vacherie) with his partner, Charles R. Armstrong (d. 1947). Koch described Tebbs in later correspondence as his "assistant," but it is more likely that the two men collaborated as equal partners. They had worked together as early as 1924 in Natchez, Mississippi, and appear to have respected each other's abilities.[2]

The result was four hundred images documenting the features and condition of about one hundred historic structures scattered across mostly rural Louisiana. But the Octagon Library project was canceled after the first volume, *Charleston, South Carolina,* was published in 1927. It featured the photographs of Tebbs & Knell. Tebbs retained both physical and intellectual property rights to the mostly nitrate negatives, though he seems to have distributed eight-by-ten-inch prints rather freely to architects and libraries across the country. But the Louisiana photographs were not seen by a more general audience until the AIA journal *Pencil Points* published a special issue dedicated to Louisiana in April 1938, reproducing fourteen of Tebbs's Louisiana plantation photographs. Thirty years after they were taken, Jeanne Tebbs

Robert W. Tebbs and Jeanne Spitz Tebbs, ca. 1930, silver gelatin print, courtesy of the Tebbs family

Jeanne Tebbs in the Couple's 1927 Oakland in Front of R. J. Reynolds Building (Completed 1929), Winston-Salem, North Carolina, ca. 1929–1930, gelatin silver print, courtesy of the Tebbs family

sold the entire 1926 Louisiana collection to the Louisiana State Museum, where they are today preserved as the Robert W. Tebbs Collection.[3]

Billed as "Photographers to Architects and Decorators," Tebbs & Knell handled a steady stream of commissions from architects, designers, and publishers. By the early 1920s, the pair was counted among the preeminent architectural photographers in the United States. Peers and competitors included traditional photographers such as Wurts Brothers (1894–1979), Henry Fuermann and Sons (fl. 1905–1960), F. S. Lincoln (1894–1976), Albert Levy (active 1890s), and J. W. Taylor (fl. 1885–1910). Tebbs & Knell also faced competition from commercial photographers with a modernist or internationalist orientation, such as Hedrich & Blessing (1929–present) and Nyholm & Lincoln (fl. 1930s), as well as an emerging group of progressive photographers, including Ralph Steiner (1899–1986), Roger Sturtevant (fl. 1925–1996), Paul Strand (1890–1976), Charles Sheeler (1883–1965), Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) and Berenice Abbott (1898–1991). Despite the competition, Tebbs & Knell remained in high demand throughout the 1920s. They were, for instance, the preferred photographers for Graham, Anderson, Probst & White, the largest architectural firm in the United States at the time.

Tebbs's photographs reflect many of the established conventions of architectural documentation of the era. His compositions are precise and conservative, and the finished negatives and prints reveal technical proficiency. Alternating between panoramic and detail views, Tebbs recorded the specific and characteristic features of each plantation, underscoring the spatial and economic relationships between buildings as well as the interdependent environmental organization of plantations. Tebbs suppressed or, more likely, never seriously considered adopting a modernist approach—one marked by independence of vision, aesthetic innovation, and sense of novelty. Instead, he strove to match potential clients' expectations of straightforward and legible documentation. At the same time, however, many of Tebbs's plantation photographs have an elegiac character borne of attention to aspects of decay, neglect, and loss. Considered from this vantage, Tebbs may be regarded either as a commercial photographer with the soul of an artist, or as an artist constrained by process and client expectations.

In 1910, at the onset of his career, Tebbs himself ruminated on the relationship between photography as fine art and as a means of mechanical reproduction in the *American Annual of Photography,* one of the many flourishing journals that catered to professional photographers and adventurous amateurs. The "real purpose of a photograph," he argued, was to represent the subject "as it looks everyday." Yet Tebbs insisted that a photographer could not be successful "without some artistic ability." Put another way, though the "hand" should be invisible, the "eye" should be apparent. Tebbs was, it seems, above all, an eminently practical man. He concluded the 1910 article with advice from a colleague to always remember, "We are not in business for our health."[4]

Much of his success, Tebbs admitted, owed to a sympathetic knowledge of architecture combined with an "unlimited fund of patience." It thus comes as no surprise

that Tebbs's manner, as described by his descendants, was deliberate, reserved, and cautious. Tebbs's articles and family lore also suggest that he had at least a smattering of formal training in architecture. "An architect sees things in a different way from the layman," he wrote, "and the things he sees he expects his photographer to see and he is not satisfied unless he gets them."[5]

Between 1910 and the summer of 1926, when he came to Louisiana, Tebbs had steadily gained eminence. During his most productive period, from 1923 through about 1939, Tebbs & Knell, Inc., was headquartered in New York City. By the early 1930s, Tebbs maintained offices in Plainfield, New Jersey, New York City, and Detroit. He traveled throughout the eastern United States, often with Jeanne, between the years 1917 and 1942 working on commission for architects, interior design firms, and publishing companies. In addition, he seems to have made thousands of negatives along the way on speculation or to build his comprehensive reference library of architectural photographs.

During the Great Depression, Tebbs worked at least occasionally for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), a division of the Works Progress Administration. Koch became HABS district officer, or section head, in 1933. Tebbs seems to have increasingly worked alone as commissions became scarce in the early 1930s, though he maintained offices in three states. At the time of his death in 1945, the *New York Times* reported that Tebbs's personal collection of architectural photography was "one of the largest in the country."[6]

Samuel Wilson, Jr. (1911–1993), later Richard Koch's architectural partner, confirmed in 1983 that Koch accompanied Tebbs and his wife on the 1926 excursion through Louisiana. With Jeanne at the wheel—Tebbs never learned to drive—the three traveled to at least ninety-seven plantations scattered across the state. Robert and Jeanne appear to have been proud of their ability to undertake long trips by automobile, as is suggested by a photograph from the Tebbs family collection showing Jeanne at the wheel of the couple's 1927 Oakland. Parked in front of the R. J. Reynolds Building in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, about 1929, the car carries a box on the running board lettered with a detailed chronicle of their travels through Virginia and the Carolinas. They were no doubt in Winston-Salem to document the newly constructed 21-story building designed by Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, best known as a prototype for the Empire State Building.

An earlier photograph in the family collection shows Robert and Jeanne unloading boards from an automobile, presumably to provide additional traction on a deeply rutted and desolate dirt road. A second snapshot reveals the couple spattered in mud, doubtless the result of a spinning tire. Neither appears appropriately dressed for fieldwork—Robert's dark suit with a bow tie and Jeanne's gauzy dress with low heels appear more suited for afternoon tea than an expedition into the hinterlands. Inscriptions on the back of the photos indicate that they were taken somewhere in Virginia, probably near the East Coast, in 1920.

The snapshots suggest something of the character of the Tebbs's journey through the Louisiana countryside six years later when Robert documented well-

Robert and Jeanne Tebbs Unloading Boards from Their Car, Virginia, 1920, gelatin silver print, courtesy of the Tebbs family

Robert and Jeanne Tebbs Spattered with Mud, Virginia, 1920, gelatin silver print, courtesy of the Tebbs family

Columbia Plantation (parlor mantel), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.033b

known plantations such as Ormond (in Destrehan) and Belle Grove (near White Castle), as well as more obscure properties, such as the Hurst-Stauffer House (in Metairie) and Pleasant View (on False River). In line with the goals of the Octagon Library editors, Tebbs and Koch envisioned building a comprehensive pictorial record of Louisiana's historic rural architecture, with a focus on plantations. Many of the plantations were in decrepit condition, while others had been renovated or maintained to reflect their original glory. The resulting photographs, though probably taken for purely commercial intent, often possess a poetic quality that transcends the documentary function.

Tebbs's seemingly deliberate emphasis on cropped framing, oblique perspective, dilapidation, and extraneous details sounds a curious note amid the otherwise diligent attention to composing crisp and legible images. A photograph of the parlor mantel at Columbia Plantation (built about 1835 in St. John the Baptist Parish and now lost), emphasized geometry and precision. In other images, such as that of Hickory Hill (near Wilson), overgrown vegetation and peeling paint heighten the effect of ennui. The wistful aspect of many of Tebbs's photographs, for twenty-first-century viewers, arises as a palpable vestige of the economic collapse of Louisiana's cotton and sugar economy after the Civil War. The photographs attest to the resulting neglect that befell so many of the plantations, and mark the inception of general appreciation of plantations as historic structures among Americans.

The term *plantation,* as noted by Barbara SoRelle Bacot, refers specifically to the "agricultural establishment for the production of a cash crop," as opposed to an emphasis on the main house and related dependencies. Not all plantation owners constructed large central houses on working plantations; some preferred to live on adjacent plantations, in nearby or distant towns such as Natchitoches, Louisiana, or Natchez, Mississippi, or in modest houses. Especially after 1812, however, many did build impressive mansions on site. The quintessential Louisiana plantation house, built in the French Colonial tradition, the Greek Revival style, or some combination thereof, tends to date from the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. In the popular imagination, the neoclassical grand manors of the 1830s through 1850s overshadow the larger number of more modest French Colonial cottages that so often were rebuilt and expanded over time.[7]

Colonial and antebellum plantations differ from farms in terms of scale, capital investment, use of slave labor, and the presence of manufacturing facilities on the property. During the colonial period (1699–1803), indigo, rice, wax myrtle, and tobacco were the key crops. After 1790, due to technological innovations and scientific principles of agriculture, the predominant source of wealth for Louisiana planters was cotton and sugar. These two commodities built and concentrated vast fortunes, based on chattel slavery. Sugar production in Louisiana, for example, went from less than 10,000 hogsheads in 1800 to more than 500,000 in 1860, and the number of sugar mills (presumably closely associated with working plantations) rose from a scattered few in 1800 to a high of about 1,500 in 1849. The classic plantation system came to an end with emancipation, though the exploitation of labor contin-

Hickory Hill Plantation, vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.004

ued. Sugar production fell by 80 percent in 1864. Rice emerged as a staple of many plantations after the war. Tebbs concentrated on photographing plantation houses constructed during the heyday of sugar and cotton production—essentially the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. Travel journals of that period emphasize the stately character of the houses, as well as acknowledging the slave labor necessary to operate the plantation complex: "The dwelling houses of the plantations are not

inferior to any in the United States, either with respect to size, architecture, or the manner in which they are furnished. The gardens, and yards contiguous to them, are formed and decorated with much taste. The cotton, sugar, and ware houses are very large, and the buildings for the slaves are well furnished. . . on some of [the plantations] there are hundreds of negros."[8]

Almost all early Louisiana plantations were situated along a river or bayou to facilitate transportation. The advent of the railways in the 1830s diminished the need for access to waterways; however, river communication had the advantages of economy and convenience. The river served not only as an economic thread binding the plantations together but as a physical manifestation of the social and familial relations that bound together plantation owners—and, in a less apparent manner, slave families and hired laborers. To this day, spectacles such as the Christmas Eve bonfires offer a ghostly reminder of the once complex and elaborate social rituals surrounding antebellum plantation culture. Tours of surviving plantations—including Laura and Oak Alley in Vacherie, Rosedown and The Cottage in St. Francisville, and Asphodel, near the present town of Cole—offer tourists a glimpse of plantation life with varying degrees of historical accuracy.

The mid-1920s signaled a pivotal epoch in Louisiana, straddling the long postwar recession and a boom sparked by agriculture, shipping, and especially oil. Like the more self-consciously artistic plantation photographs taken a few years later by Clarence John Laughlin (1905–1985), Tebbs's photographs from this period bespeak an uneasy relationship with the past. Nostalgia for slavery among southern whites emerged in the 1870s and 1880s, finding expression in figures such as Uncle Remus. In the popular imagination, these stereotypes persisted well into the twentieth century. In 1927, for example, an infamous statue entitled *The Good Darky,* commissioned by planter Jackson Lee Bryan and sculpted by Hans Schuler, was erected in Natchitoches. According to the inscription on its base, the statue was constructed "in Grateful Recognition of the Arduous and Faithful Service of the Good Darkies of Louisiana." Tebbs's photographs are far removed from such an awkward gesture, but his images simultaneously evoke nostalgia for a past epoch and induce a sense of something lost or unresolved. Such nostalgia undergirds the historic preservation movement and cultural tourism, both of which were gathering strength in 1926. Still, there were no formal plantation tours, and only a limited number of houses entertained visitors. Few owners possessed the means to maintain, much less the inclination to restore, the great mansions that lined the Mississippi.[9]

This sense of unease may in part be a result of early twentieth-century ambivalence about the nature and legacy of chattel slavery. As an English-born Yankee with strong Anglican and Presbyterian roots, Tebbs surely must have approached the project with uneasy awareness that plantations were predicated on slave labor. Occasional contrasts between the grand French Colonial houses or Greek Revival mansions and the modest slave quarters appear in his photographs. Whether intentional or not, the dichotomy evident in the photographs between the big house

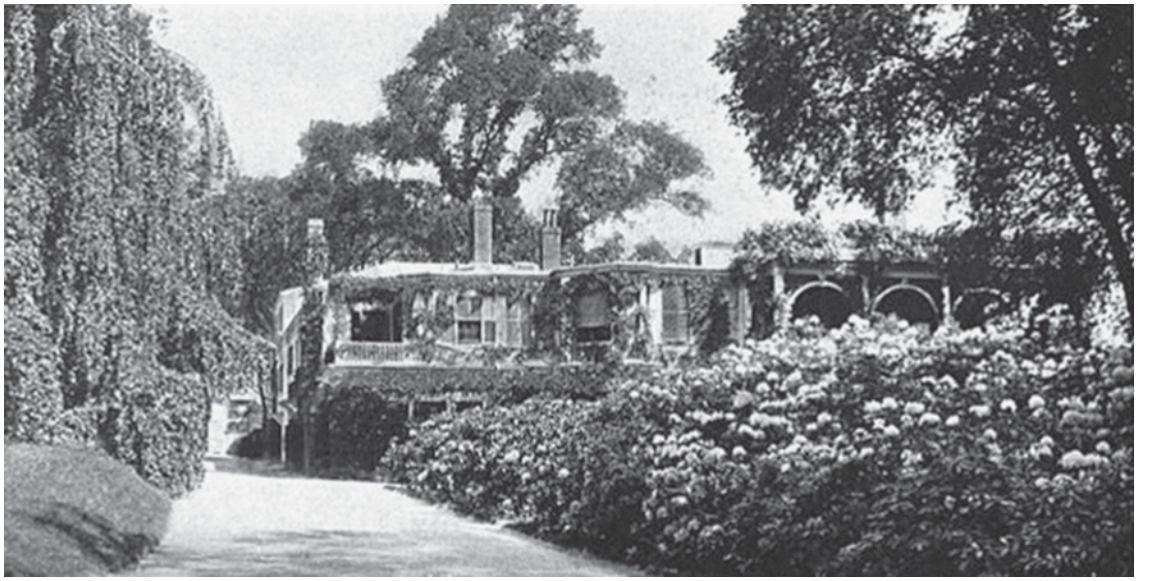
and slave cabin suggests an undercurrent of suffering and brutality at the margins that no veneer of white plaster, silver-plated door hinges, carved mantels, or mahogany double-curved staircases can elide. While Tebbs may have set out merely to document unique and rapidly vanishing architecture, his photographs nevertheless betray uncomfortable truths about plantation life that lay beneath the façade.

TEBBS'S LIFE AND CAREER

Robert William Tebbs was born August 17, 1875, at Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, England. His parents were Charles Harding Tebbs (born in March 1840 in St. Peters London, Middlesex, England) and Lillian Marie D'Almaine (born at sea in July 1845 near France). Charles and Lillian had a son, Charles Ernest Tebbs, born in 1871, and a daughter, Belinda Marguerite, born in 1873, followed by Robert William. The Tebbs family immigrated to the United States in 1888 and settled in Oakland, California. They later moved to 1739 Milvia Street in Berkeley. At some point the family adopted an orphan named Lillian Yeo, who would later serve as a deaconess in the Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C. Tebbs joined the U.S. Marines about 1896 and was stationed at Mare Island off the coast of San Francisco during the Spanish-American War. It is plausible that he became interested in photography while serving in the Marine Corps, perhaps as part of his training or duties. After leaving the Marine Corps in 1900, Tebbs worked for Hearst Publications, presumably as a photographer. According to the Tebbs family, he was in San Francisco during the earthquake of 1906.[10]

In February of 1907, Tebbs secretly married twenty-year-old Jeanne Spitz, who had been born to Samuel and Hortense (née Souweine) Spitz on October 6, 1887. The couple had an official marriage ceremony on June 11. Robert and Jeanne moved to New York City briefly before settling in Plainfield, New Jersey, sometime prior to the birth of their first son, Charles D. Tebbs, on June 24, 1911. The move coincided with Tebbs's decision to become an architectural photographer, and he probably moved east to seek opportunities offered by the commercial building boom of the early twentieth century. The family built a house at 718 Leland Avenue in 1913. A second son, Robert William, Jr., was born in 1919.[11] Descendants include two grandsons, John R. Tebbs of Slidell, Louisiana, and C. David Tebbs of Wall Township, New Jersey; three granddaughters, Barbara Briden of Tafton, Pennsylvania, Linda Ryan of Chincoteague Island, Virginia, and Candace Powell of North Plainfield, New Jersey; and fifteen great-grandchildren and eighteen great-great-grandchildren.[12]

Tebbs was an accomplished, meticulous, and successful photographer by the opening years of the twentieth century. In 1907, he wrote that he had been sending articles to the *American Annual of Photography* for "the past two years." During these early years, he seems to have concentrated on freelance work for newspapers, most notably the *New York Times*. Tebbs focused at first on "sporting photogra-



Tebbs-Hymans, Ltd., *The Old House is Half Hidden by Creepers which Canopy the Entire Frontage,* published in "The Berkshire Estate of Mr. Warren M. Salisbury, Walker & Gillette, Architects," *American Country Houses of To-Day* (1915)

phy," though he noted that by 1907 editors of "the various New York papers" told him that "Cartoonists" would "cover the pictorial end of sports this year." At this juncture, he turned to architectural photography.[13]

Photographing church interiors emerged as an early specialization. On his first job, Tebbs managed to work for several clients concurrently, receiving an unexpected total of $300 from the "architect, the builder, the stucco man, and priest." Encouraging commissions and exploiting speculative opportunities seem to have been a pattern followed for the remainder of his career. In the early years, Tebbs used a large format 11-by-14-inch camera fitted with a 5-by-8-inch Zeiss Tessar lens and Standard Orthonon plate. He printed the photographs on Special Studio Artura paper developed with a combination of metol, hydroquinone, sulphite soda, carbonate soda, bromide potassium, and water. For interior work, Tebbs was adamant about using natural light; he preferred long exposures—often up to two hours—and stopping his lenses down to f32. This method, Tebbs argued, produced a "finer and *more natural* picture." "Flashlight workers," he continued, "are the nature fakirs of photography." Clients, he noted, tended to appreciate an unobtrusive artisan who did not "smoke them out." Tebbs does not appear to have altered working methods significantly over the course of his career.[14]

Tebbs formed a partnership with an otherwise unidentified photographer named Hymans in New York in about 1910. Tebbs-Hymans, Ltd., appears to have been flourishing in New York within the space of a year or two. The earliest known example of their work is a series of images of the Woolworth Building taken in February 1913 and published in the *Architectural Record*. Cass Gilbert, the architect, presented several portfolios with Tebbs-Hymans photographs, as well as those of Underhill & Underhill and Wurts Brothers, to the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and several museums in Europe. In March 1913, Tebbs-Hymans photographed Grand Central Terminal in New York for Warren & Wetmore and Reed & Stem.[15] In 1915, the partners documented with photographs and drawings "the Berkshire Estate of Mr. Warren M. Salisbury," a house built by the architects Walker & Gillette, for Samuel Howe's *American Country Houses of To-Day*.[16]

The partnership between Tebbs and Hymans seems to have dissolved in the early 1920s, possibly because Hymans died or was debilitated. About 1923, Tebbs formed an enduring partnership with Charles E. Knell. Little is known about Knell, though it is fair to assume he is the Lieutenant Charles E. Knell recorded as attached to the Army 12th Second Corps Area Headquarters at Governors Island in New York. It is plausible to induce that both men mastered large-format photography while serving

in the military. Knell maintained a very low profile, but continued to work as late as 1951, described in the *American Organist* magazine that year as "one of the greatest photographers of architectural subjects." Tebbs & Knell's main offices in New York City were located at prestigious addresses: 400 Fifth Avenue and 101 Park Avenue.[17]

Tebbs was passionately interested in choral music. He served as the recording secretary for the Oratorio Society in New York City and was close friends with a number of musicians, including famous conductor and NBC musical director Walter Damrosch. Tebbs was also an active member of the Literary Guild in New York.[18] Circumstantial evidence suggests that he was an astute and scrupulous business manager. However, a judgment against Tebbs for a debt of $133.30 to A. Arndt was filed in the New York county court in 1918.[19]

Tebbs & Knell entered their most productive period in the mid 1920s. In 1925 they were commissioned to take photographs of three houses in Ohio for *House & Garden Magazine.* The original photographs, currently in the Cleveland Public Library, include an image of a residence at 13842 Lake Avenue in Lakewood, designed by Clarence Make in 1922. In 1926 or 1927, Tebbs & Knell photographed Charles King's mansion, Kingwood Hall, in Mansfield, Ohio, for *Architectural Record.* Tebbs & Knell also took photographs of Scarritt College for Christian Workers in Nashville, Tennessee, designed by Henry C. Hibbs, for the December 1929 issue of *Southern Architect and Building News.* As suggested by the geographic diversity of the subjects, Tebbs & Knell traveled extensively during these years.[20]

The photographers began their involvement in the complicated, and ultimately contentious, Octagon Library project in 1925. In the early 1920s, Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., envisioned developing a series of books for the American Institute of Architects project based on articles they had written for the *Architectural Forum* and *Architectural Record.* By November 1924, J. B. Lippincott of New York agreed to serve as publisher. Before the contract was signed, however, editor Charles H. Whitaker convinced Simons and Lapham to prepare another, second project for the Press of the American Institute of Architects. Whitaker rejected the concept of comprehensive social history of Charleston architecture proposed by Simons and Lapham, suggesting instead that the volumes interpret architecture through photographic documentation and measured drawings. Brief introductions—about one thousand words—would introduce each section, and dates would be entered in the captions for the illustrations. He suggested engaging Tebbs & Knell as principal photographers. As a result, both men made three trips to Charleston, resulting in 237 photographs, about two thirds of which were selected for publication.

As already noted, after *Charleston, South Carolina* was published in 1927, the grander project collapsed. The AIA board disagreed with Whitaker's interest in historic architecture as reflected in the AIA journal, believing it came at the expense of the work of modern architects. He was summarily fired as editor. Koch, too, was frustrated. In a letter to the board, he complained of great expense he had incurred preparing materials for the Louisiana project. Tebbs & Knell also sent a letter demanding satisfaction for "the claim of this firm under its arrangement with

Woodlawn Plantation (detail, possibly Koch), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.290c

Mr. Whitaker for the production of photographs, records, and other material in the southern colonial states." The AIA eventually settled with Tebbs & Knell in 1932, paying $10,000 for copies of the photographs and for the publication rights for all images except those "taken of for the proposed Louisiana Plantations and the proposed Kentucky volumes."[21]

There are small indications of the conditions under which Tebbs worked as he took photographs for the Octagon Library project. (Some of the vintage prints in the LSM collection are stamped "Tebbs & Knell," others "Robert W. Tebbs, Photographer to Architects and Decorators." It is not known why Knell didn't travel to Louisiana.) A figure appearing in two of the photographs, seen only from the back, may be Koch.[22] Like Tebbs in earlier photographs, he wears formal dress ill suited to Louisiana summers. The attention to the particular architectural features of each antebellum plantation (down to the small details) and surviving outbuildings attests to the systematic nature of the project. Although Tebbs's approach remained dispassionate, it often emphasizes picturesque qualities—decay, abandonment, and neglect. Perhaps unintentionally, these aspects suggest nostalgia for a bygone era, and even a subdued Romantic quality. In the context of renewed interest in southern history and plantation life in the 1920s, it would have been difficult for Tebbs, or any artist, to have regarded the plantations that he visited with an entirely disinterested gaze.

The plantation photographs eventually became part of Tebbs's comprehensive library of architectural photographs. In addition to expecting compensation from the AIA for work on the Octagon Library series, Tebbs probably intended to sell individual images to architects or builders seeking inspiration. The particular focus on mantels, staircases, and doorways also suggests that he anticipated interest among interior designers. More than a dozen years after they were taken, a selection of the Louisiana plantation photographs was published in a special edition of *Pencil Points*. The issue includes measured drawings of plantations created by HABS architects under Koch's direction, as well as a group of photographs by Koch himself. The photographic essay makes clear that Tebbs's work in Louisiana in 1926 provided an example that would have particular resonance during the Works Progress Administration and Historic American Buildings Survey.[23]

Tebbs became seriously ill, resulting in partial paralysis, in 1930. His daughter-in-law believed that he had contracted diphtheria, while other family members have speculated that he had spinal meningitis. His son Charles left high school to assist the family. Tebbs sought the guidance of a Christian Science practitioner and, upon his recovery, joined the Church of Christ, Scientist. He later became a Reader. According to the Tebbs family, Jeanne had converted to Christian Science as a young woman. Robert previously had been a member of the Grace Episcopal Church in New Jersey, followed by the Crescent Avenue Presbyterian Church.[24]

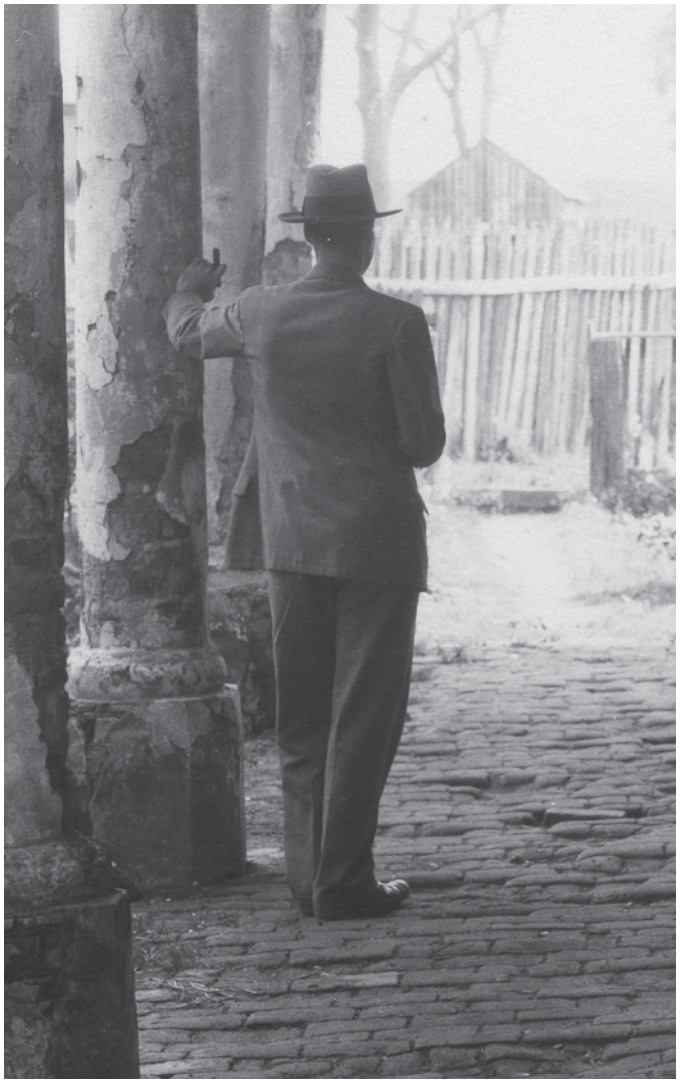
In 1931, Tebbs & Knell contributed most of the photographs reproduced in *Southern Architecture Illustrated,* a compendium of Depression-era suburban architecture. The book includes a foreword by Lewis E. Crook, Jr., and an introduction

by Dwight James Baum, both members of the AIA. *Southern Architecture Illustrated* included 277 photographs, described in publicity as "illustrations and plans of outstanding Country and Suburban homes in the South as selected by a committee of prominent architects, members of the American Institute." The book project was an extension of the magazine *Southern Architect and Building News,* regularly published in Atlanta from 1889 (though issues may have appears as early as 1882) through 1932. Thomas Henry Morgan and Ernest Ray Denmark served as editors.[25]

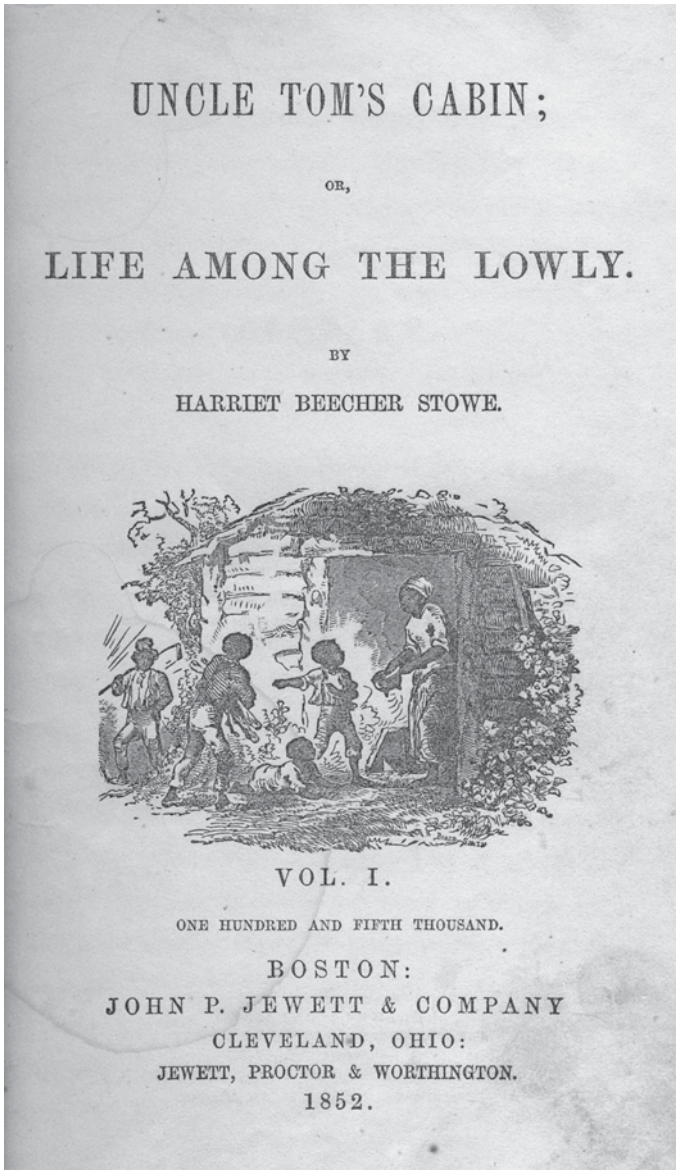
In 1932 or early 1933, Ernest R. Graham engaged Tebbs (and possibly Knell) to take photographs for a privately published book entitled *The Architectural Work of Graham, Anderson, Probst and White.* Tebbs traveled to Chicago and was escorted by Graham's personal secretary, Charles F. Murphy, to take pictures of the architectural firm's buildings. Murphy recalled in a 1995 oral history interview that Tebbs took hundreds of photographs over a long period of time. He also related a story that suggests the cautious nature of Tebbs's character:

> I remember one hot summer day during Prohibition. Oh, it was a hot day, and we'd worked our way from South Side parks and got over near Clinton and Jefferson, southwest of the Loop, and I said, "How'd you like a drink of beer?" He said, "There's Prohibition but," he said, "I'd love it." Well, Tom Dooley's father had some property over there and there was a saloon in one of them. The old man had some houses around over there. They were pretty decrepit old things, but there was a speakeasy because everything was out. We pulled up and parked a little ways away from the saloon, and we walked over and here was a man lying on the curb and his head was bleeding. He was lying there, and he apparently had been shot. We went in and had our beer. I don't think we enjoyed it too much, and Tebbs turned scared. He was absolutely white as a ghost. He said, "My God, I heard about these terrible things in Chicago and Capone running the show." When we got outside, there were detectives there all over the place and they grabbed us. We said we were just in there having drinks, you know. They said okay then. I guess the fellow did die. He was shot. That was a little incident in the course of getting all those photographs.[26]

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Koch seems to have recommended Tebbs for commissions.[27] However, the partnership between Tebbs and Knell began to dissipate during the early 1930s. Lack of work seems to have been at the core. According to the Tebbs family, the two remained on good terms, and Knell apparently helped Tebbs secure a veteran's pension, perhaps after he became ill. Tebbs provided photographs for a book on colonial-era churches in 1941, though the onset of World War II further depressed the market for publications as well as architectural photography.[28] Despite his age, he went to work for Robinson Corporation, a company in New Jersey that made pipe fittings. Tebbs later obtained a position in the office of Mack Trucks in Dunellen, New Jersey, on the recommendation of a fellow Christian Scientist. One final architectural commission reportedly came on the eve of



René Beauregard House (detail, possibly Koch), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.324


UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

VOL. I.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH THOUSAND.

BOSTON:
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY
CLEVELAND, OHIO:
JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON.
1852.

Title page of *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly,* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1852), with illustrations by Hammatt Billings, courtesy Library of Congress

his death. He was, however, too ill to travel. Tebbs died at his home in Plainfield on May 23, 1945.[29]

Jeanne Tebbs sold most of her husband's comprehensive archive of architectural photographs over the course of the next twenty years. The largest portion went to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., in 1955. New Jersey senator Harrison A. Williams, a personal friend, helped arrange the sale. The following year, Mrs. Tebbs sold her late husband's collection of Louisiana plantation negatives and vintage prints to the Louisiana State Museum. The photographs are grouped under ninety-seven subject headings, each representing a plantation or other historic property.[30] There are a total of 321 presumed nitrate negatives in the collection. Seventy-eight of the subject headings are represented by vintage prints created by Tebbs. The collection also includes 243 gelatin silver prints created from the original negatives in the 1970s.[31]

Tebbs's photographs are held by a number of other museums, archives, and libraries. In addition to the photographs that Jeanne Tebbs sold, the U.S. Department of the Interior gave a collection of approximately 1,200 negatives and corresponding gelatin silver prints to the Library of Congress in 1964. The photographs were listed as part of Tebbs's personal collection, even though at least some of them presumably were made in conjunction with Tebbs's work for HABS. The Library of Congress collection documents buildings in twenty-six states, with the greatest number of photographs depicting the architecture of South Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.[32]

PRECEDENTS

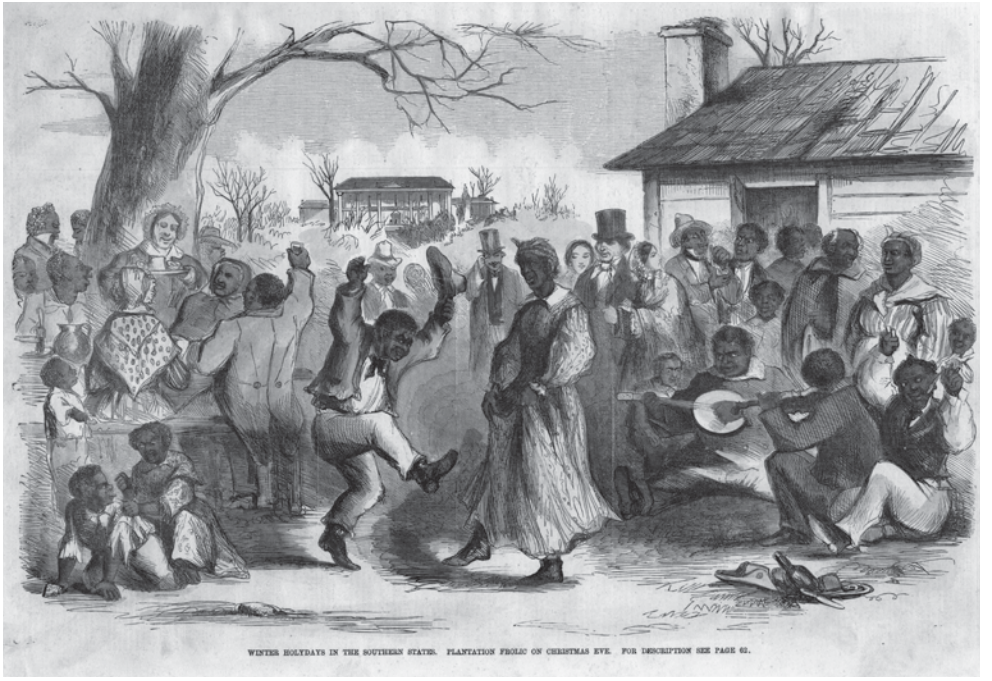
Tebbs's photographs fit within the historical continuum associated with the visual representation of plantations and plantation culture. Yet they represent a significant milestone in the developing attitudes about architectural heritage, the southern economy, and the legacy of chattel slavery. The desire to record, more or less dispassionately, the legacy of an uncomfortable past speaks volumes about the evolving understanding of Louisiana's history in the mid-1920s.

Visual culture in antebellum Louisiana was dominated by portraiture. Jacques Amans (1801–1888), Jean Joseph Vaudechamp (1790–1866), and François Jacques Fleischbein (1801–1868)—together with a number of other visiting and native portraitists—catered to the seemingly insatiable demand for depictions of planters and their families. Many artists, such as Amans, made regular trips to plantation houses. Others, such as Vaudechamp, were more likely to entertain clients in their studios near Canal Street or St. Louis Cathedral during their winter-season visits to New Orleans. Development of the visual arts in Louisiana and other southern states did not follow the pattern of the Mid-Atlantic and North, where a taste for landscape and genre painting emerged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Not until the eve of the Civil War did artists engage in sustained efforts

to depict the local landscape of the built environment, including plantations and scenes of plantation life.

The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly,* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, in 1852 surely was most responsible for sparking interest in the subject, especially in the North. The first edition was illustrated with wood engravings by Hammatt Billings that focus on sentimental attachments and familial bonds, presenting plantation life as a series of melodramatic moments. Although many southerners disagreed with the novel's abolitionist message, the pathos reflected in both text and illustrations struck a chord. Over 300,000 copies of the first few editions had been sold by 1855, with a surprising number finding their way into the libraries of southern planters such as the Turnbull family, owners of Rosedown in St. Francisville, a plantation with 450 slaves in the late 1850s.[33]

Plantation Frolic on Christmas Eve (1857), published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine,* attests to the sudden interest in plantation life that followed publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* In contrast to Billings's illustrations for the novel, this small wood engraving is ambitious and complex in composition and message. A series of undulating lines formed by the silhouettes of dancing African American slaves stand in sharp contrast to the rigid demeanor marking the plantation owner and his wife. The unruliness and impromptu nature of the activity in foreground stands in sharp contrast to the stable, rigid, and geometric façade of the main house in the distance. Looming in the background, the main house reinforces the distinction between the envisioned supposed chaotic social relations associated with slave culture and the decorum and restraint of the white masters. *Plantation Frolic* additionally supports a mythic belief, widely held in both northern and southern states on the eve of the Civil War, that the relationship between masters and slaves mimicked familial relations. Here, the benevolent white parental figures have temporarily left their refuge. They encourage their subordinates, portrayed here as children, to make merry or act the fool. Christmas Eve, like Mardi Gras, represented a rare opportunity in nineteenth-century Louisiana to abandon the rigidly defined rules of interaction and strict social hierarchy. At any moment, the scene promises, the plantation owners may join in the dance and lift their voices in song. And yet, the inversion of roles ultimately is a one-way street. It is improbable that the slaves might one day don top hats and bonnets in order to participate in a fête at the big house—unless invited for comic relief.



Winter Holydays [sic] in the Southern States: Plantation Frolic on Christmas Eve, in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine,* December 26, 1857, wood engraving, 11 x 15 ¾ inches, Louisiana State Museum, 1976.112.08

Lest *Plantation Frolic* leave the impression that African Americans necessarily appeared as caricatures throughout the nineteenth century, a striking ca. 1850 daguerreotype of a nurse suggests that race relations may have been much more complex than the cartoon version presented in *Plantation Frolic.* Named Marguerite, she holds a young Caucasian child identified as D. L. Kernion and confronts

Unidentified photographer, *D. L. Kernion with Nursemaid Marguerite,* ca. 1850, sixth plate daguerreotype, 3 ¼ x 2 ¾ inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Marie Kernion, 08516

Unidentified Plantation House in Acadia, ca. 1850, sixth plate daguerreotype, 3 ¼ x 2 ¾ inches, Louisiana State Museum, 09954.1

the viewer directly, without a hint of subservience. Although she has been placed in care of the child, the very fact that someone chose to document the relationship with a somewhat expensive daguerreotype suggests that the bond between nurse and child was deep and appreciated. Her clothing—silk plaid dress with attached lace color and separate sleeves—is of apparently high quality and surely is not the everyday wear of a domestic servant. The blousing of her dress apparent at the bottom suggests that she is wearing crinoline petticoats or even a hoop, again surely not the costume of a plantation slave as seen above. Marguerite is, in fact, probably a slave—though she may have been a free woman of color. Perhaps most important, her dress and gaze do not mark her has socially inferior to the child that she holds. Indeed, if the woman and child were of the same race, the Louisiana State Museum undoubtedly would have accessioned this photograph as a portrait of mother and child when it entered the collection in 1923.[34]

Another rare daguerreotype of a plantation house in Acadia, ca. 1860, offers a more straightforward representation of plantation life. What is surprising about this image, however, is the proximity of so many other buildings. This is no stereotypical plantation house set amidst a grove of oak trees. The daguerreotype reinforces the fact that plantations were first and foremost economic units, connected to the nexus of associated commercial activities. Plantations generally not only produced crops but operated ancillary businesses, such as dealing in lumber, as indicated by the truncated sign in the foreground, or providing general stores. Many plantation owners chose to live in nearby towns, other parishes, out of state, or even abroad. Like Tebbs's photographs, *Unidentified Plantation House* serves to document the physical features of the architecture. In this case, the photograph shows a Mississippi Valley–area house built about 1850 with a Georgian façade and clapboard kitchen at the rear. Unlike Tebbs's project in 1926, which resulted from his and his clients' interest in architectural history, pride of ownership or fascination with the new technology of photography likely motivated the daguerreotype's creation.

The plantation economy's reliance on vital waterways is evident in the famous illustrated map by Marie Adrien Persac known as *Norman's Chart* (1858). Persac's cadastral map identifies various properties stretching along the Mississippi River from Natchez to Baton Rouge on the left and from Baton Rouge to New Orleans on the right. The map is measured to provide scale and color coded to indicate sugar or cotton plantations, revealing a nearly even distribution of crops. Vignettes at the bottom of the chart depict representative cotton and sugar plantations. Belle Grove appears on the right, suggesting that both artist and audience appreciated the architecture. Tebbs apparently shared this assessment—sixty-eight years later he produced nearly a dozen of his most carefully composed Louisiana photographs at Belle Grove.[35]

The same year that Persac's map was issued, German émigré artist Johann Wilhelm Rümpler painted a portrait of the children of John Davidson (1816–1872) and his wife, Henrietta (née Slidle; 1827–1891) at their plantation, Poydras (established

during the mid-eighteenth century in St. Bernard Parish). Annette, a nurse, dangles grapes in front of eight-year-old Elizabeth and her four-year-old brother, John. An enormous Newfoundland—dogs often appearing in American "Grand Manner" portrait groups—sits at the children's feet. Flowers and a banana tree appear in the foreground, while orange trees are evident beyond the fence. Poydras thus is conceived as an idyllic pleasure garden or Georgic paradise where luxurious goods—oranges were considered a special, seasonal treat—are readily available. There is no indication of the labor necessary to maintain the productive aspects of Poydras, much less evidence of those who tend the exotic fruits and flowers. It is perhaps not insignificant that ominous storm clouds gather in the upper right, suggesting that this idealized vision of plantation life faces an imminent threat. In addition to owning Poydras Plantation, Davidson operated the largest slate-importing company in the United States before losing his fortune during the Civil War. The painting, which hung in the Davidson mansion on St. Charles Avenue in New Orleans, serves as a tangible emblem of material success and a somewhat anxious commemoration of the couple's progeny.[36]

Pride in material success seems to have motivated the patron of Persac's depiction of Olivier Plantation (established about 1820 in St. Mary Parish), painted on the eve of the Civil War. Like Rümpler, Persac envisioned the plantation as a bucolic pleasure garden that provides entertainment for the genteel spectators populating the landscape. Everything is ordered and arranged with clockwork precision. Even the crisply delineated trees succumb to the overarching order and topographical schema. Persac had trained as an engineer in France and seems to have been interested in getting the details right, even at the expense of compositional unity. For example, the perspective of many of the buildings is twisted to provide the most ideal and all-encompassing view. Unsurprisingly, there is little hint of the slave labor that made all this splendor and pleasure possible. Only the synecdochical wisps

J. H. Coulton and Benjamin Moore Norman after Marie Adrien Persac, *Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River,* 1858, hand-colored engraving, 59 x 31 inches, Louisiana State Museum, T0104.1971

(right)
Johann Wilhelm Rümpler, *The Davidson Family at Poydras Plantation,* 1858, oil on canvas, 66 ¼ x 62 ¾ inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Mrs. J. Davidson, 10824.3

(left)
Marie Adrien Persac, *Olivier Plantation, Orange Grove,* gouache and collage on paper, 15 ¾ x 22 inches, 1861, Louisiana State Museum, Loan of Mrs. Rene T. Beauregard, 07155

Alfred R. Waud, *Sugar Plantation on the Bayou Teche, Louisiana, Harpers' Weekly,* December 8, 1866, wood engraving (detail), Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Mrs. Lee McLean, 1978.099.15

Samuel T. Blessing, *Louisiana Scenery: Sugar Planter's Residence,* ca. 1875, albumen stereopticon card, 3 7/16 x 6 15/16 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Mr. Gordon D. Hoffman, 1979.120.134

Samuel T. Blessing, *Plantation House Slave Quarters,* ca. 1885, albumen stereopticon card, 3 7/16 x 6 15/16 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Mr. Gordon D. Hoffman, 1979.120.167

of smoke, rising from the chimney in the background, hint at actual labor and the source of all this economic prosperity, fashionable dalliance, and rigorous order.[37]

Alfred R. Waud's post–Civil War engraving of a sugar plantation on Bayou Teche stands in sharp contrast to Persac's idyllic view of Olivier Plantation. Rather than a Georgic setting, Waud depicts a crowded, industrial landscape. Focus has shifted from the main house to the sugar house and other outbuildings. The viewer is clearly meant to appreciate this plantation not as pleasure grounds or showplace, but rather as a productive, working plantation. Set within a low horizon and constrained by smoke billowing from a river steamboat, the landscape takes on a slightly menacing quality. And yet *Sugar Plantation* presents a counterargument to the notion of economic decline associated with the destruction of southern infrastructure and the transition from slave to free labor, showing instead an efficiently operated plantation.

Visual emphasis on the industrial nature of the plantation marks Waud's wood engraving as an exceptionally rare portrayal, signaling a pressing desire to reinforce the southern plantations' economic viability following the Civil War. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, despite the need to assert a faith in the sustainability of plantations, visual representations had begun to shift toward a decidedly nostalgic view. For example, Samuel T. Blessing's *Sugar Planter's Residence* (ca. 1875) downplays the agrarian nature of the plantation complex, focusing instead on the tree-lined approach to the main house. The massive oaks, draped with Spanish moss, at once suggest the ancient vintage of the plantation and a degree of neglect that borders on the picturesque.

The picturesque quality of plantation photography could hint at a more nefarious subtext, as suggested by Blessing's ca. 1885 stereocard showing slave quarters. There is a strange sense of emptiness, isolation, and stillness in the image, almost as if we are looking at a contemporary plantation historic site. An uncomfortable tension between nostalgia for the economic vitality of the plantation system and concern about the fate of displaced African American slaves has replaced the jovial —even frivolous—sentiments expressed in the *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* wood engraving *Plantation Frolic* of a generation earlier. This tension is understandable in the context of Reconstruction, the changed relations between plantation owners and slaves, backlash against the Freedmen's Bureau, and the open hostility toward former slaves marked by the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the South. By the late nineteenth century, attitudes toward the "peculiar institution" in Louisiana were complicated by the economic depredations as well as the uneasy and uncertain state of racial relationships. Then again, Blessing's stereocards were intended for consumption by northern as well as southern audiences.

As the twentieth century drew near, plantations were beginning a gradual recovery (albeit without the benefit of slave labor), due in large measure to scientific agriculture and mechanization. George François Mugnier's ca. 1900 glass-plate negative of Evan Hall Plantation (established in 1778 near Darrow in Ascension Parish) is a

testament to a renewed sense of optimism. Although the fields look a bit ragged, the plantation appears productive. Fences enclose three sheep at the far right side, a sign of activity. On the balance, however, Mugnier's emphasis has shifted to the architectural features of the main house. A low vantage point, following a long wooden walkway, psychologically invites the viewer to enter the space, making the long trek toward the entrance. Mugnier conceives the plantation principally as a residence, differing in striking ways from the view of the plantation as an integrated series of productive units suggested in representations by Persac or Waud. Indeed, Mugnier's glass plates are harbinger to Tebbs's 1926 project.

Optimism, renewal, and pride of ownership are also the messages presented by C. R. Churchill's ca. 1903 view of the back of the main house at Evergreen Plantation (constructed in 1832 near the town of Edgard). Any hint of agricultural activity has been replaced, quite literally, with an enormous swath of apparently unproductive lawn. Animal husbandry is represented by the dog used in support of sport. The elegantly dressed lady, perhaps a member of the Songy family, owners of Evergreen at the time, poses casually with a shotgun, as if embarking on a hunting expedition. Like an eighteenth-century English conversation piece by Thomas Gainsborough, the shotgun and dog are paraphernalia, appurtenances reinforcing the woman's social stature. All of this is buttressed by the imposing Greek Revival house framing her in the background. The vision of Louisiana plantation houses emergent in Churchill's photograph is as an emblem of social privilege, gentility, perseverance, and pride.

Churchill's ca. 1903 view of Uncle Sam Plantation (built between 1841 and 1843 near Donaldsonville) delivers a similar message of renewal and promise. As suggested by the inscription, Jules Jacob (b. ca. 1845) operated the plantation as a thriving sugar plantation. The well-manicured lawn and pristine white picket fence bespeak attention to the plantation's appearance. The tight frame and lack of contextualizing figures suggest appreciation for the house itself as a point of pride. Churchill's image insists on the particular features of the house. Like Tebbs's later photographs, it also serves the function of architectural documentation at a specific moment in the property's history.

A final image, by John Norris Teunisson, showing workers filling a break in the levee in St. Bernard Parish during the flood of 1913, provides a rare glimpse of the labor necessary to operate plantations. It also embodies a remarkable comment on race relations nearly fifty years after emancipation. A white overseer, standing with his back to the camera, is positioned at the precise center of Mugnier's composition. Dozens of African Americans are laboring beyond the overseer, stretching from middle distance toward the horizon. Not all labor on plantations was performed by African Americans. Many Italians, especially Sicilians, immigrated to Louisiana to find work in the fields in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They supplied a ready and fungible source of labor, together with African Americans and other impoverished European immigrants. In this case, however, Teunisson's im-

George François Mugnier, *Residence, Evan-Hall Plantation,* ca. 1900, silver chloride on glass, 8 x 10 inches, Louisiana State Museum, 09813.0207

C. R. Churchill, *Evergreen Plantation,* ca. 1903, gelatin silver print, 3 x 5 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Mrs. I. I. Lemann, 1955.059A

C. R. Churchill, *Uncle Sam Plantation,* ca. 1903, gelatin silver print, 3 x 5 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Mrs. I. I. Lemann, 1955.059B

John Norris Teunisson, *Poydras Plantation Crevasse,* May 1, 1913, vintage albumen print, 8 x 10 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of Robert Norris Teunisson, 08482.126

age is a stark reminder that little, in terms of power relations on plantations, had changed between the Civil War and Jim Crow America. Relations between African Americans and whites in Louisiana were essentially static between 1865 and 1926, despite the determined efforts of African Americans and other progressives to secure civil rights.

PHOTOGRAPHY'S DECEPTIVE CADENCE

By the time Tebbs traveled to Louisiana, visual representations of plantations were subject to a set of conventions guiding viewers' associations, which ranged from the narrative structure of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the current price of sugar. Tebbs's project coincided with a resurgence of interest in American history, culture, and art in general that had been building since the Centennial Exposition (1876) and had reached something of a crescendo in the early 1920s. For example, Colonial Williamsburg, envisioned as a historical theme park by the Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1926, represented a landmark effort to establish cultural tourism and thus foster appreciation of U.S. history. Closer to home, the founding of the Louisiana State Museum in 1905 and the work of historian Alcée Fortier in the 1900s and 1910s, notably *Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons* (1914), represented important milestones in the appreciation of local history and historic preservation.

Published one year after Tebbs created the plantation photographs, *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana,* with illustrations by William P. Spratling and text by Natalie Scott, is of particular importance. The book signaled renewed interest in Louisiana's agrarian and architectural past, sustained two years later with the publication of Lyle Saxon's *Old Louisiana.* The latter opens with two old gentlemen and a boy discussing the past and fate of Louisiana's culture. "The old houses and the old families are going to pieces, and nobody care," said one of the men. "I care," responds the boy, setting up the narrative structure of Saxon's tome. The boy's response may as well have served as a motto for Tebbs and Koch's generation of preservationists.[38]

For these preservationists, much of the attraction of historic architecture went beyond an academic interest. As N. C. Curtis noted in the preface to *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana,* plantations present spectacles that are at once familiar and enigmatic. While the houses invite "impressionistic and romantic treatment," they "lend themselves rather badly to the sort of treatment which seeks to show the character of architecture by means of details and measured drawings." Architectural renderings, she notes, at once "absurdly" present the houses and fail to capture "the quality of Picturesqueness." Curtis is using the term *picturesque* in the original, Burkean sense, meaning that the houses lend themselves to pictorial representation precisely because they are decrepit, decayed, or ruinous. "Nature," Curtis continues, "must be in evidence and the softening and disintegrating effects of time must as-

sert themselves, tending always, as they do, to disrupt and overthrow what the hand of man has shaped and set up." It is clear that the Burkean Romantic view still held sway around the time Tebbs set out to document Louisiana's vanishing agrarian estates and plantation culture.[39]

Yet in reading *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana,* one is struck by the tension between the Romantic tendency to regard plantation as "ghosts of the past" and the interest in providing precise, accurate description. Tebbs's photographs reflect this dual concern. They are at once straightforward architectural photographs designed to match the interests of the professional architect, and intended to impress upon the imagination "contemplation of things of age and beauty." Accordingly, Tebbs, Curtis, and their audience were inclined to view plantation architecture and the plantation itself in Burkean terms and from the vantage of dispassionate observer simultaneously. Tebbs stressed meticulous observation in one shot and took pains to highlight picturesque decrepitude or heighten atmospheric effects in another. A ruler stretched across a doorway at Parlange betokens the obsession with measurement so important to architects and designers. The composition is framed with symmetrical precision, emblematic of Tebbs's larger effort to compile a complete taxonomy of southern building styles and construction methods. Yet in other images, such as a view of the fireplace at Chrétien Point, Tebbs emphasizes the more picturesque aspects, pulling back to include the peeling paint and plaster above the mantel in the frame. In the popular imagination of 1927, plantation houses provided both inspiration for building and decorating projects and opportunity to meditate on the romance of a bygone era.

Despite the post-war devastation and slow recovery, New Orleans was still the third-largest port and the fifth-largest metropolitan area in the United States (after New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston) in 1926. The state's economy depended heavily on agriculture, but the manner of producing cash crops had changed. Plantations of the 1920s operated on razor-thin margins and were often sold and resold within a matter of months, put in the hands of tenants, or simply abandoned. The few successful plantations were characterized by a relentless pursuit of the bottom line, with little tolerance for the frivolous expenditures associated with maintaining a grand plantation house. In 1926, most of Louisiana's plantations were in various states of decay, motivating Tebbs and Koch to preserve through photographs many of the houses before they were swept aside by the ravages of time or in the name of economic progress. They also documented many in a state of benign neglect, providing valuable records for current-day preservationists.[40]

Thus Tebbs's photographs present a rather quixotic conception of antebellum life. A deliberate emphasis on the play of light and shadow in Tebbs's view of Waverly Plantation, for example, creates a sense of mood and atmosphere that undercuts the image's primary function as a measurable index of building techniques and styles. So, too, the deep shadow cast across an exposure of Shadows-on-the-Teche obscures nearly half of the structure, belying a purely documentary function.

Parlange Plantation (French door with ruler), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.159b

Chrétien Point Plantation (portrait over mantel), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.242b

Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Parlange Plantation House, Pointe Coupée Parish,* 1938, gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of the Friends of the Cabildo, 1981.132.331

There seems to be little reason, from the documentarian's perspective, to photograph Hickory Hill from a distance unless to underscore the majestic main house's abandonment. Tebbs himself, such images suggest, appears to have been swayed by the "stately dignity" of the architecture and moved by "something of the charm of the deep South."[41]

For the most part, however, the Louisiana plantation photographs are straightforward and eminently legible representations. They focus, on the whole, on the most characteristic features of each plantation. Tebbs's eye leaned toward economy of means, efficiency, and expedience—even if occasionally at the expense of compositional unity. He usually took between six and ten exposures of each plantation—a shot or two of the front, the rear, details on a porch, perhaps a window, a couple of interior views, often focusing on staircases and mantels. He seems to have taken particular care in composing views of staircases, contrasting the sweeping curves of handrails with the geometry of intersecting floors and walls. Outbuildings were also of interest to Tebbs, particularly the more exotic structures such as *pigeonniers* (pigeon houses) and *garçonnières* (separate dwellings for bachelor sons).

Considered as individual photographs, Tebbs's images may appear to be—with few exceptions—routine and conventional. Considered in context and as a body, however, the photographs present a remarkable inventory of rural elite architecture at a crucial juncture in the history of the state. As is the nature of the architectural photograph, Tebbs's compositions seek to discriminate fine details—for example, the particular cant of a hipped roof that becomes significant when compared to that of a neighboring plantation. A detail shot of a mantel ornament becomes, in Tebbs's vision, as important and as characteristic a feature of the property as the long frontal view. For Tebbs, as for the serious preservationist, the devil is indeed in the details.

A central truth of Tebbs's project lies in the creation of an insistent, legible, and mimetic index of a reality—one that is unambiguous and transparent to viewers and especially to his clients. But one can discern another truth that works on a less obvious and less immediately accessible level. Tebbs's photographs of the plantations, whether by accident or design, leave open the possibility of a social program. Though absent the human face to encourage empathy, traces of activity are evident—discarded farm implements, for example, or well-worn shutters in need of attention—to provide the imaginative space around which the viewer can construct a narrative. Other traces—the abandoned slave cabins in particular—denote the plantation economy's sinister and, in 1926, largely unspoken aspect. The picturesque quality of debilitated mansions and neglected quarters, as well as the ennui suggested by empty spaces, offers silent statements about the past. It is unclear how Tebbs's audience interpreted these statements apart from their documentary value to professional architects and designers. With the distance of three generations, however, viewers are inclined to read them both as *memento mori* and, perhaps more subtly, as artifacts that raise the specter of redressing the legacy of the plantation

slave system. In this way, they foretell something of the double-edged aspect of the WPA-era documentary photographs—vivid accounts of American life, but documents that call to action as well.

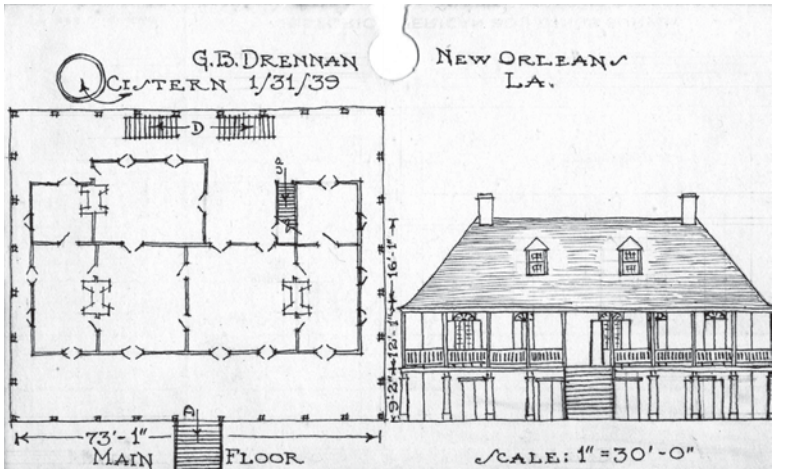
This is not to suggest that Tebbs had a particular social program—as Susan Sontag has noted, the very act of taking photographs "is to have an interest in things as they are, in the status quo remaining unchanged." Rather, it is possible to discern a creeping ambivalence in Tebbs's vision of Louisiana plantations as artifact or icon of the past. To uncover the images' deeper significance, one must probe beneath the realm of the anodyne.[42]

AN ELEGY TO PLANTATION LIFE

As already suggested, Tebbs's plantation photographs were part of a larger, sustained effort to build a library illustrative of architectural styles, forms, and decorative motifs. In this regard, Tebbs was a pioneer. It is not far-fetched to suggest that his project sparked Koch's recognition of the instrumental role that architectural photography would play in HABS projects. In addition to using the camera himself, Koch encouraged experienced architectural photographers such as Frances Benjamin Johnston to work in the field in plantation country. Her photographs are more carefully framed or cropped than Tebbs's work from a dozen years before. Johnston's photographs are more classically composed; at the same time they possess something of a mechanical feel. Even her photographs of slave quarters generate a more antiseptic and disinterested aura than Tebbs's compositions. Similar emblems of decay and neglect are apparent, but the symmetrical balance creates a sense of timelessness and stasis much less pronounced in Tebbs's earlier images.

Still, vestiges of tension between the documentary and fine art approach remain in Johnston's photographs. Aesthetic considerations often override the photographs' documentary function. Her carefully structured, beautiful compositions tend to obscure the dialectic between architectural documentation and a developing sense of historical consciousness—if not social conscience. Johnston was indeed among the first to popularize the notion of historic preservation, through editorial work for architectural books and magazines such as *Town & Country* and the White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs (1915–1929). She also pioneered photographic documentation of more mundane, everyday historic structures. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, followed by the National Park Service, and then HABS, she traveled across the South between 1927 and 1943, creating about 8,000 photographs. Yet Johnston was from an earlier era, a commercial photographer with an astonishing range all the more notable at the time for her gender. In 1889, for example, she took a remarkable portrait of Benjamin Harrison on the lawn of the White House with his children and his son's pet goat, His Whiskers. Suffice to say, her approach was more straightforward—and likely partisan—than Tebbs's.

Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Columbia Plantation Laborer's Cottage,* ca. 1938, gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Gift of the Friends of the Cabildo, 1981.132.235



G. B. Drennan, *HABS Measured Sketch of Parlange Plantation,* 1939, ink and graphite on index card, 3 x 5 inches, Louisiana State Museum, Historical Center

Alvyk Boyd Cruise, *Ormond Plantation,* ca. 1938, graphite, watercolor, and gouache on paper, 11 x 8 ¼ inches, Loan to the Louisiana State Museum by National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, EL2007.1.167

Tebbs's photographs may now be appreciated as fine art, but not necessarily for the reasons that he or Koch would have expected. It is, I venture, because the view of the plantation that they present is so complex and open to interpretation. Emphasis on decay and creation of atmosphere in many of the compositions works against the architectural photographs' function as useful, mechanical transcription of physical appearance. There is, in Tebbs's photographs, a lingering gulf between dispassionate documentarian approach and probing beneath surface appearance, approaching the sublime. Some of the tension may also result from an apparent inability in 1926 to confront the legacy of the plantation system, slavery, and race relations in the South with any degree of seriousness.

The mid 1920s represents a pivotal moment in Louisiana history. The state had made significant strides toward mechanization and scientific agriculture, and was perched on the brink of social and political reforms advocated by progressives such as Huey P. Long. A general historical consciousness and the preservation movement were likewise nascent. As suggested by Natalie Curtis, plantations may have been regarded as picturesque; yet they seem not to have been established firmly enough within the visual repertoire to be called Romantic. Tebbs, in other words, helped us regard the plantation anew.

For HABS officers under Koch's direction, photography proved to be a most useful tool. Yet the result—a dialectical relationship between the photographer's aesthetic and the supposed omniscience of architectural photography—went beyond HABS's stated goal of cataloging the characteristic and unique features of each plantation house. This arguably could be better accomplished through measured drawings. For example, the thumbnail sketches of important properties found on HABS index cards in the Louisiana State Museum's Historical Center provide architects with a great deal more actionable information than one or two of Tebbs's photographs. Koch therefore must have appreciated the vivid and direct as well as the metonymic and elegiac aspects of Tebbs's photographs, using his example as a model for HABS documentation. This perceived need to complement the dry, documentary content seems to have motivated Koch to create a job for his friend Boyd Cruise (1909–1988). Between 1937 and 1940, Cruise made hundred of watercolors depicting historic properties, mostly in the French Quarter of New Orleans. In addition to helping build support among the public and government officials, masterly photographs and drawings of historic structures established HABS officers as artists in their own right.

Ghosts along the Mississippi, by Clarence John Laughlin (1905–1985), published in 1948, presents what is arguably the fullest artistic treatment of Louisiana plantation houses. Laughlin's Gothic vision of the plantation is informed by the crystalline sense of stillness and clarity evident in the work of Edward Weston (1866–1958) and Eugène Atget (1857–1927), as well as Surrealist photographers such as Man Ray (1890–1976) and Lee Miller (1907–1977). For Laughlin, plantation houses and rural landscapes became backdrops for spectral fantasies. Although occasionally conventional, a great many more of Laughlin's photographs convey what he called the "se-

Tragic Queen, No. 1, 1946, gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches. Image by Clarence John Laughlin. Copyright The Historic New Orleans Collection, accession number 1981.247.878.

cretive and innominate life" of buildings. *The Apparition, No. 6* was accomplished with a double exposure that includes Charis Weston (née Wilson; 1914–2009), his mentor's wife, appearing as a ghostly figure wrapped in a veil. Such compositions may seem a bit too self-consciously surreal today, and Laughlin's titles and captions sometimes overreach. Of *Tragic Queen, No. 1,* for example, he wrote, "The wraith of the past appears on a gallery long since vanished, the nameless emanation which,

The Apparition, No. 6, 1946, gelatin silver print, 10 x 8 inches. Image by Clarence John Laughlin. Copyright The Historic New Orleans Collection, accession number 1981.247.1.915.

through memory and desire, still lives in old houses." Still, Laughlin's photographs stand as a monumental achievement that profoundly altered our view of Louisiana's plantations.[43]

Laughlin, like Curtis, explicitly rejected the exclusively documentarian approach often cultivated by architectural photographers and draftsmen of the era. "[N]o coldly correct presentation of the exact dimensions of a wall or column, or even a measured drawing of an entire building," he wrote, "can ever give us the total reality a house has (if it is a good house) as an *entity.*" Instead, Laughlin champions the "eye of the imagination," in this case, the photographer's intervention if not artifice, to create a body of work that captures the plantation house as an "organic whole."

Between 1926 and 1948 much had changed in the United States. American attitudes and culture had taken a more cynical and sophisticated turn in the wake of the Great Depression and World War II. The post-war hard-boiled attitude, so aptly expressed in films such *Double Indemnity* (1944), *Call Northside 777* (1948), and *The Naked City* (1948), was borne of a sudden sense of uncertainty and alienation. Service during the war, and the hardships at home, provoked a general feeling of fatalism and created a sense of unease with conventional social structures. Soldiers, especially those who served in Europe, returned with broadened perspectives, more inclined, perhaps, to appreciate historic architecture and avant-garde art. At the same time, an undercurrent of Romanticism and sentimentalism—nostalgia for a bygone era—is evident. Consider, for instance, the obsessive concern with childhood innocence and defense of traditional, nuclear families in films of the 1940s such as Frank Kapra's *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946) and John Ford's *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949). After the horrors of the Second World War, antebellum southern culture came to represent in the popular imagination a simpler way of life. The image of the plantation house served as a convenient sign or emblem of a range of reassuring associations about family life, social hierarchy, manners, and good taste—curious as it seems on the surface in the context of the opening salvos of the civil rights movement.[44] Hollywood played a crucial role in creating a mythic space where cultural attitudes regarding slavery, chivalry, privilege, and the meaning of history crystallized, with the plantation house supplying the anchor. *Gone with the Wind* (1939) was as responsible for defining the twentieth-century image of the plantation house as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had been nearly a hundred years earlier. Iconic images of grand plantation homes and even the picturesque ruins emerged as enduring visual metonyms of antebellum southern culture. As Laughlin put it, the plantation house had irresistible appeal, reverberating a "siren song, tender beyond words, of a still sensate past."

The lure of plantation architecture continued to attract photographers, especially after improvements in film and printing technology meant that good color reproduction was practicable. Although early color photographs tended to deteriorate, turning a sepia tone or experiencing other color shifts, Kodachrome and especially digital technology have made it possible for the average or amateur pho-

tographer to capture images of plantation houses that are remarkably successful and enduring. Brandon Rush's view of Rosedown is a typical example of the genre—an iconic frontal view emphasizing the plantation's most characteristic features, an *allée* of oaks and ideally proportioned Greek Revival edifice. What makes Rush's photograph remarkable, however, is that it is *the* image of Rosedown that today's casual observer is most likely to see—posted on Wikipedia, it appears at the top of an Internet image search for Rosedown Plantation. It is probable that many thousands more people already have seen this photograph by an amateur than shall ever see any photograph by Tebbs.[45]

Brandon Rush, *Rosedown Plantation, Viewed from the Front,* 2008, digital photograph, entry on Rosedown in Wikipedia

Dozens, if not hundreds, of professional architectural photographers such as David King Gleason have capitalized on the broadly romantic perception of the plantation as a site reflecting genteel manners and refined tastes. Gleason's aesthetic conforms to the demands of an industry based on sanitizing the image of the Louisiana plantation house. Although one reader found the photographs in one of Gleason's many books generally "good," he or she did not "enjoy the photos of the rundown and derelict plantations." Beautiful, well-maintained plantation complexes such as Oak Alley, Houmas House, and Rosedown conform to public expectations. In addition, restorations more or less faithful to the antebellum appearance of the main house offer the sense of an "authentic" historical experience. In the more refined sense, this included acknowledgment of the presence and legacy of slavery, or, in the words of another reviewer, the "cruel institution that created them." The disjunction between the polished façade and the awful, hidden infrastructure that once supported the plantation economy in Louisiana remains. It can be resolved gradually and from multiple angles, as reader Shannon Deason concluded, as through a "prism to understand the struggle to overcome."[46]

As a meticulous, businesslike, and highly experienced architectural photographer, Tebbs worked with the goal of efficiently documenting Louisiana's past for a professional audience. The resulting images are tinged nevertheless by Romanticism, ennui, and discernible nostalgia, as with Laughlin's assessment: "Majestic, surely, were the great plantation houses; based upon a substratum of human exploitation, it is true; but nevertheless, evocative of a dignity that even age cannot wholly humble."

Organized in a rough chronological order, which is complicated by the contested histories of so many of the plantations, the photographs that follow attest to Tebbs's skill and sensitivity as an architectural photographer.

Oak Alley Plantation (front elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.078

PHOTOGRAPHS OF

LOUISIANA PLANTATION HOUSES

Elmwood Plantation (side elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.331

ELMWOOD PLANTATION ca. 1724/1762/1836

Once located in Jefferson Parish near Harahan, Elmwood has traditionally been cited among the earliest plantations in Louisiana. Tebbs's photographs combine the picturesque approach with emphasis on exacting precision. Although some authors have suggested that Elmwood was originally built as a one-story plantation house about 1724, it is more likely that the main house was constructed for Norbert Fortier (b. ca. 1785) between 1805 and 1812. Architectural details support this contention.

Elmwood's chain of ownership is complicated. Records suggest that Nicholas Chauvin de La Frénière, Sr. (1679–1749) received the property from Rudolfe Guilain (b. ca. 1700) as part of Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville's concession on September 20, 1737. Guilain is said to have acquired it from a man named Jean Febvre (n.d.). Other records suggest that La Frénière may have owned or occupied the land as early as 1723. Nicholas Chauvin de La Frénière, Jr. (b. ca. 1720) may have built a Creole-style house on the property about 1762. In 1768, the year La Frénière was executed for conspiracy against the Spanish government, Elmwood was described as "a brick house raised to its first story, a shed and five negro cabins." Jean-Baptiste Cézaire LeBreton (b. 1724), a member of the French royal bodyguard, purchased the property January 11, 1768. As the property's colorful history continues, LeBreton was killed May 21, 1771, by a slave hunter named Pedro Nicholas (n.d.), who went by the name Temba. The conspirator reportedly sought revenge for having been censured for sleeping. LeBreton's heirs sold the plantation to Pierre Denis de La Ronde (1762–1834) in 1783.

The dimensions of the earlier structures as recorded in reports do not seem to match those of the present building. The house appears to have been enlarged, or even rebuilt, in 1836 by Jacques Berthier Norbert Fortier (1811–1873). The second story, with a hipped roof covered with cedar shingles, was added at this time. Lower columns are made of brick while the upper are of wood. In 1839 Fortier sold the plantation for $150,000 to noted cartographer Charles Frederick Zimpel (b. 1799), who in turn lost it to creditors. William Frederick Mason (fl. 1850–1872) purchased the property at auction in 1850. He gave it the name "Elmwood." Mason sold the property in 1872 to Charles Théodore Soniat Dufossat (1847–1918). In 1939, the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad owned Elmwood, and it was occupied by the Durel Black family for a number of years. On February 3, 1940, a fire destroyed the upper story. The house was restored without it. In about 1965, Mrs. May Mouteleone Stone purchased the property and opened a restaurant. Elmwood was completely destroyed by another fire in 1978.[1]

Elmwood (view of the rear galleries), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.332

Elmwood Plantation (fireplace), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.334

Parlange Plantation (side elevation), vintage silver gelatin print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.155b

PARLANGE PLANTATION ca. 1754/1820/1835–1840

Parlange is situated on the banks of False River near New Roads in Pointe Coupée Parish. According to tradition, it was built about 1750–1754 for Vincent de Ternant, Marquis de Dansville-sur-Meuse (ca. 1710–1757), a French immigrant with a land grant from the French crown and a contract with Prussian interests to produce indigo. Parlange is often cited as one of the earliest examples of a French raised cottage and of French Colonial construction techniques in the state, though it is difficult to ascertain how much of the original structure remains in the wake of renovation, addition, and remodeling campaigns that began about 1820. A steep roof with a pair of dormer windows on the front and back, an encircling main floor gallery with slender cypress colonnettes, and tapering brick Tuscan columns below are distinguishing features. The upper story is constructed of cypress timbers infilled with *bousillage* (a mixture of mud and Spanish moss) placed on *barreaux* (a cypress lattice support also known in Louisiana as *cats*) and covered with stucco. The ground floor is composed of bricks molded and fired on site.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Charles Paquet (fl. 1787–1791), a free man of color, may have been the builder. The main house underwent extensive alteration about 1835–1840, with the addition of exterior stairs. A son, also known as the Marquis de Ternant (1757–1818), appears to have inherited the house. The plantation then descended to Claude Vincent de Ternant II (1786–1842), followed by his second wife Virginie (née Trahan; 1818–1889). The de Ternants became among the first to grow sugarcane successfully in Louisiana, eventually abandoning indigo. After Marquis Claude's death in 1842, Virginie married Charles Parlange (ca. 1810–ca. 1864), a former colonel in the French army. According to local tradition, during the Civil War the main house was spared destruction by federal troops after Madame Parlange treated Union general Nathaniel P. Banks and his men to a feast on tables spread beneath the oaks. Her son Charles (1851–1907) became associate justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana and later federal judge of the Eastern District of Louisiana. Charles's former law partner, E. D. White, became chief justice. Virginie's granddaughter from her first marriage, Virginie Amélie Avegno Gautreau (1859–1915), posed for John Singer Sargent's famous painting *Madame X* (1884). Virginie's grandson, Walter Charles Parlange (ca. 1895–1968), and his wife Paule (née Brièrre; ca. 1889–1981) returned to the house in 1918. Members of the Parlange family continue to live in the house and operate Parlange as a cattle and sugarcane plantation. In his photographs, Tebbs seems to be appealing both to artistic and documentarian interests.[2]

Parlange Plantation (front view from a distance), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.209

Parlange Plantation (front door), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.160

Voisin Plantation (side elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.297b

VOISIN PLANTATION 1785–1790

Probably begun in 1785 and completed in 1790 for Jean Baptiste Voisin (fl. 1760–1790) in St. Charles Parish above Norco, Voisin Plantation is a typical example of the raised-cottage construction characteristic of Louisiana French Colonial architecture. Like many very early houses, Voisin has only three rooms on each floor. The lower level is constructed of brick covered with plaster. The slightly wider upper floor is built of mortise-and-tenon cypress frame (*colombage*) filled with *bousillage*. A steep hipped roof is broken by two chimneys and two small dormers. An unbroken line of Voisin's descendants occupied the property, which was moved back as the river encroached. Voisin fell into disrepair after Hurricane Betsy blew the roof off in 1965 and not long after was pulled down. Only one photograph of the side elevation of Voisin Plantation is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection.[3]

Homeland Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.189b

HOMELAND PLANTATION 1787–1791/1800–1801

Homeland Plantation (also known as Home Place, Homeplace, and the Keller House) is located near Hahnville in St. Charles Parish. Begun as early as 1787–1791, the main house appears to have been completed about 1800 and is among the largest surviving French Colonial plantation houses. Records suggest that Pierre Gaillard (ca. 1730–1799) and his wife Marie Jeanne (née Fauche; 1736–1821) began building the main house, a raised cottage in the French Colonial or Creole style, two rooms deep and four across surrounded on all sides by a sixteen-foot gallery, about 1787. The lower story is constructed of brick and the upper of cedar posts in-filled with *bousillage*. Homeland and Parlange share nearly identical plans, a dormered roof, construction methods, and wedge molded bricks forming the columns. Architectural historians have suggested that Charles Paquet, a free man of color, built both houses. Paquet is documented as the builder of another similar house, Destrehan (1787–1790).

As seen in Tebbs's photographs, the fireplace features a narrow overmantel that extends to the ceiling. Nineteenth-century imported French wallpaper was still in place in 1926. On February 25, 1806, the "Widow Gaillard" and her son, Guillaume, sold Homeland to Louis Edmond Fortier (1784–1849) and his wife, Félicité (née La Branche; 1787–1859). Upon his death in 1849, Homeland passed to Drausin Fortier, Louis's son, and three sons-in-law. Following Drausin's death in 1856, Homeland passed through several owners before Pierre Anatole Keller (1854–1931) and his wife, Jeanne Pujo (1871–1964), purchased the property in 1889. Their youngest son, Richard Keller, Sr., owned and managed the property as late as the 1979, when it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Homeland continued until recently to serve as a working farm. Tebbs's photograph of the mantel is of particular interest because it includes a wider view of the Kellers' furnishings.[4]

Homeland Plantation (mantel), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.187b

Ormond Plantation (front and side elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.315b

ORMOND PLANTATION ca. 1789

One of the earliest and most intact plantations in Louisiana, Ormond appears to have been built shortly before 1790 for Pierre d'Trépagnier (b. ca. 1740), a retired Spanish colonial official who had received the land about 1772 from Governor Bernardo de Gálvez in recognition of his military service. Located in St. Charles Parish above Destrehan and about twenty miles west of New Orleans, the house is quintessentially Creole in style, built around a cypress-frame *colombage* filled with *bousillage*. The plastered surfaces are scored to resemble stone blocks. Unusual for a plantation house of the period, the house originally contained four rooms on each floor.

Trépagnier disappeared without a trace in 1789. It is said that he conversed with a stranger, who refused give his name, before departing with him in a carriage, never to be heard from again. Richard Butler (1777–1820), son of War for Independence leader Colonel William Butler (d. 1789), and his wife Margaret (née Farar; n.d.) purchased the plantation on June 25, 1805. Butler selected the name "Ormond," honoring a castle in Ireland. On June 29, 1819, shortly after members of the Butler family succumbed to yellow fever, Butler appears to have relinquished control of Ormond to his business partner, Captain Samuel McCutchon (1773–1840), husband of his sister, Rebecca (1782–1844), though he seems to have reacquired a one-third share of the property on August 7 of that year. Settlement of the Butler estate was complicated by a lack of direct heirs. Evidence suggests that McCutchon demolished the two square *pigeonniers* and built flanking two-storied brick wings, with floors set at a slightly different level, about 1830. Others contend that the work was done before Butler died and that Benjamin Henry Latrobe designed the wings. James William McCutchon (1814–1888) eventually inherited the house. The property fell into a neglected state after the Civil War and changed hands many times, at one time belonging to state senator Basile LaPlace, Jr., who was found mysteriously shot and hanging from a tree in 1899, the year after he purchased the property. He may have been lynched by members of the Ku Klux Klan or by relatives discovering his fraternization with a young woman.

Five Schexnaydre brothers (Joseph [b. 1865], Emilien [b. ca. 1867], Barthelemy [b. ca. 1868], Albert [b. ca. 1870], and Norbert [b. ca. 1874]) co-owned the plantation beginning in 1900. Emilien lived at Ormond until his death in 1910. His family continued to live on the property until it passed into the hands of the Inter-Credit Corporation in 1926. After having been rented to tenants and used as a barn, Ormond was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Alfred W. Brown in the early 1940s. They began restoring the property about 1943, and later sold it to Johnson and Loggins, a Houston real estate developer that envisioned turning the property into a golf course. The plan failed, and Betty R. LeBlanc, vice-president of Barq's Beverages, purchased Ormond in 1974. She worked to undo the disfiguring work performed by Johnson and Loggins, a project that her son, Ken Elliot, continues to this day. Ormond is currently open to the public. Photographs of the gallery and staircase are among the most carefully composed of Tebbs's images.[5]

Ormond Plantation (lower gallery), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.309b

Ormond Plantation (twin staircases), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.314

Labutut Plantation (three-quarter view from a distance), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.090

LABATUT PLANTATION 1790/1818

Dozens of writers have proposed that Labatut was built between 1790 and 1810 for Evarist Barra (fl. 1790–1830), a Spanish nobleman who would help defend New Orleans during the War of 1812. However, architectural details and analysis of nails used in construction suggest that the present house was most likely constructed after 1818, about the time that Jean-Pierre Labatut (b. ca. 1787), son of Jean-Baptiste Labatut (1752–1839), one of Andrew Jackson's generals and treasurer of the City of New Orleans, married Euphemie Barra (fl. 1795–1818), the landowner's sister. Other records suggest that Labatut was built as late as 1830 for Zénon Porché (ca. 1791–1861 or 1872), who occupied the house at the time with his wife, Julie Pourciau (1825–1880). Both were free people of color.

Located near New Roads, in Pointe Coupée Parish, Labatut represents a crucial milestone in the history of Louisiana plantation architecture. It combines the essential features of a Creole plantation house—such as second-story loggia with turned colonnettes, a *briquette entre poteaux* (bricks made from *bousillage*) construction method, and hipped umbrella roof—with Greek Revival details, such as the cornice fanlights and interior decorative motifs. Labatut thus represents a transitional style. The bottom story is constructed of locally produced brick, and the upper of cypress planks. Six slender Doric columns on the ground floor meet six cypress columns on the upper floor. The fanlight transoms and sidelights are reminiscent of English Georgian architecture. Tebbs took pains to emphasize these features in his photographs. An innovative wide central hall, adapted from French Colonial architecture for ventilation, is one of the innovative features of the house and was copied by many subsequent plantations in the region. Unfortunately, the Mississippi riverbank gradually eroded the land in front of the house, resulting in the need for a levee that rises to the level of the porch on the second story. Remarkably, members of the Labatut family occupied the house continuously until about 1983, and still own the property.[6]

Labatut Plantation (rear elevation), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.091a

Labutut Plantation (front door with sidelights and fanlight), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.095

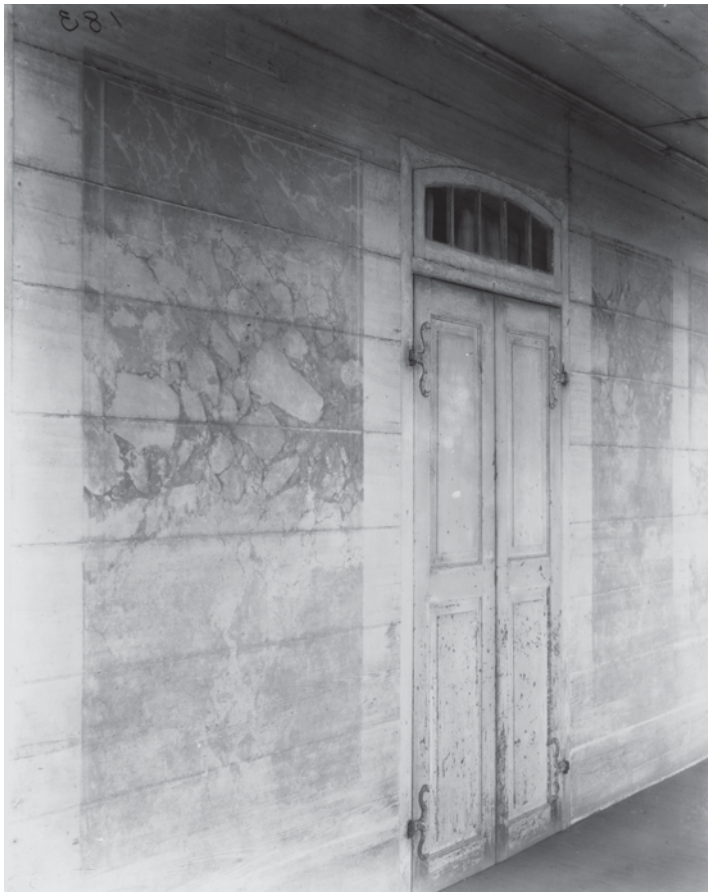
Labatut Plantation (entrance with Doric columns, stairs, and fanlight entrance), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.100

Whitney Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.001b

WHITNEY PLANTATION ca. 1790/ca. 1803/1836–1839

Located in St. John the Baptist Parish near Vacherie, Whitney Plantation was established about 1790 on land owned by Jean-Jacques Haydel, Sr. (1741–1826) and Nicolas Haydel (1764–1812). In 1803, the Haydels' modest house was expanded to nearly its present dimensions. Building methods, characterized by a brick first floor supporting a *colombage* and *bousillage* second story plastered in the front, reflect the early colonial practice. The steep hipped roof broken by dormers and four chimneys enhance the harmonious and symmetrical appearance of the house. Jean-François Marcelin Haydel (1788–1839) and Jean-Jacques Haydel, Jr. (1780–1863) jointly owned the plantation after 1820. Between 1836 and his death in 1839, Marcelin undertook a comprehensive remodeling project and is thought to have commissioned New Orleans–based artist Dominico Canova (1800–1868) to paint *trompe l'oeil* decorations on the front and rear galleries and in the interior chambers. Canova's decorative treatment of the walls is visible in Tebbs's photograph of the rear gallery.

Marcelin's widow, Azelie, managed the property until her death about 1861. She substantially expanded the size of the plantation. Bradish Johnson (1811–1892) purchased the plantation from Azelie's heirs in 1866. He is said to have given it the name "Whitney" to honor his grandson, Henry Payne Whitney (1872–1930). A sugar house fire destroyed much of the productive value of the plantation in 1879. The following year, Johnson sold Whitney to Peter Edouard St. Martin (1842–1919) and Théophile Perret (1834–1909), who converted it into a rice plantation. The property descended to Perret's daughter, Mathilde Tassin (1857–1956). Alfred Barnes purchased Whitney as a weekend retreat in 1946. John Cummings, the current owner, undertook a comprehensive renovation of Whitney in the 1990s.[7]



Whitney Plantation (faux decorative painting by Dominico Canova, lower rear gallery), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.002a

Evergreen Plantation (double-curved entry stairway), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.282b

EVERGREEN PLANTATION ca. 1790/1832

Evergreen Plantation is located in St. John the Baptist Parish east of Donaldsonville. The present Greek Revival–style house dates to the early 1830s and is stylistically similar to the contemporary Ellerslie (1835). Brick Tuscan columns, a wide gallery, and fanlight doors are key features. A sweeping, double-curved stairway reaching the upper story is an unusual aspect. Two *pigeonniers* are on the grounds, as well as *garçonnières,* a separate kitchen, and an office, all of which mimic the architectural details of the main house. Even the outhouse has a Greek Revival façade. A total of thirty-nine buildings survive, including twenty-two slave cabins. Many of these are seen in Tebbs's photographs.

Evergreen was well known for its formal garden, orchard, and alleys bordered by live oaks, magnolias, and cedars. Like many plantations, the property has a complex history. A two-story Creole residence, presumably built about 1790 by Jean-Christophe Haydel (1735–1800), is thought to have been the origin of the present-day Evergreen. Magdelaine Haydel Becnel (1755–1830), widow of Pierre Antoine Becnel (1744–1790), is recorded as owning the land in 1812 when a wing was added to the house. Her grandson, Pierre Deduront Clidamont Becnel (1803–1854), and his wife, Magdelaine Cesira (Desirée) Brou (1807–1847), inherited a shared property in 1830. In 1832 they hired builder John Carver (n.d.) to remove the 1812 addition and remodel the house. Samuel Wilson, Jr., has suggested that François Correjolles (1797–1853) may have been the architect based on the renovated house's similarity in style to the Beauregard-Keyes House (1826) on Chartres Street in New Orleans. He also states that Pierre Becnel discussed building plans with Marie Eméronthe (née Becnel; 1776–1851), his aunt and the wife of Samuel Hermann (1778–1853), who hired architect William Brand (fl. 1821–1831) to build the Hermann-Grima House (1831). By this time, however, Marie had sold her share of Evergreen. Pierre also may have consulted architect Gilbert Joseph Pilié (ca.1790–1842).

The unusual cupola at Evergreen resembles that of Pilié's Mariner's Church (1827) on Canal Street in New Orleans. Evergreen's contract called for a pavilion "made of an octagonal form, six feet in diameter and seven high, with benches on six sides, the west and east side to be left open . . . [t]he room on the pavilion shaped in the Chinese style." It is not known whether the pavilion was included originally, but the renovations put Becnel into debt. Members of the Becnel and Brou families continued to occupy the plantation until about 1890. Evergreen then passed through a chain of owners, including the Songy Brothers, the Marine Bank, and the Canal Bank Liquidators, before falling into disrepair. Matilda Gedding Gray (d. 1971) acquired the plantation in 1946 and hired architect Richard Koch to undertake a comprehensive, historically sensitive restoration. Gray's niece, Matilda Gray Stream, and her husband, Harold H. Stream, maintained Evergreen for many years.

Evergreen is among the most complete and intact plantation groups in Louisiana. It remained a working plantation, comprised of twenty-five hundred acres, into the 1960s and has been a national historic landmark since 1992. Evergreen is currently open to the public for tours.[8]

Evergreen Plantation (staircase), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.277b

Evergreen Plantation (outbuilding), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.279b

The Cottage Plantation (side elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.218b

THE COTTAGE PLANTATION 1795/ca. 1813/1859

Located north of St. Francisville in West Feliciana Parish, and originally known as China Grove, The Cottage was begun about 1795 on land owned by John Allen (n.d.) and Patrick Holland (n.d.). The oldest, central portion of the main house reflects the Spanish influence in the Felicianas, with low ceilings, one-and-a-half stories, and cypress post-and-beam construction. Judge Thomas Butler (1785–1847) purchased the plantation in 1811. He married Anne Madeline Ellis (b. 1795) in 1813 and enlarged the main house three times, culminating in 1859 with the conjoining of three principal buildings. The central house is more than eighty feet long and forty feet wide, with an L-shaped wing measuring sixty-five feet. As is evident in Tebbs's photographs, many of the Butler family's Queen Anne–style furnishings remained on the property. The family owned The Cottage until 1951, when it was purchased by the J. Edward Brown family and converted to a bed-and-breakfast. Although constructed over a long period of time, The Cottage preserves most of its outbuildings and is counted among the most intact antebellum plantations in Louisiana. The Cottage currently operates as a bed-and-breakfast.[9]

The Cottage Plantation (interior with mantel), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.220b

The Cottage Plantation (distant view of outbuildings), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.224

The Cottage Plantation (L-shaped porch), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.219

Houmas House (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.276b

HOUMAS HOUSE/BURNSIDE PLANTATION ca. 1795/ca. 1840

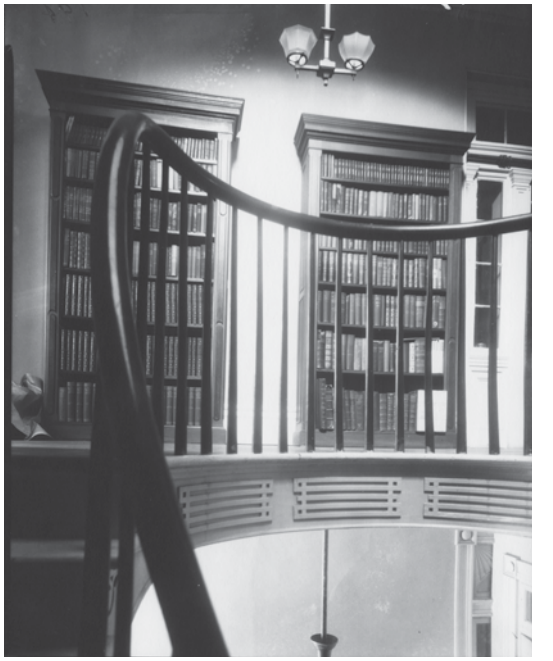
The origins and chronology of Houmas House, later known as Burnside Plantation, located near Burnside in Ascension Parish, are unclear. Some have proposed that the house dates to about 1774 when Maurice Conway (ca. 1730–1792) and Alexandre Antoine Latil (1726–1791) purchased several thousand acres of land from the Houmas Indians for four cents per acre. Latil may have erected a simple Spanish Colonial house consisting of four rooms shortly after the purchase. Records suggest that a house, possibly built by William Donaldson (n.d.) and John W. Scott (n.d.), was on the property by 1809. Despite vague origins, a four-room brick house dating from the colonial era remains as the rear portion of the current main house.

John Coxe (n.d.), who would later own the plantation again, sold Houmas House to General Wade Hampton (1752–1835) in 1811. Hampton was among the first American-born planters to grow cotton in Louisiana, having made a fortune with the crop in South Carolina. Hampton's daughter and her husband, John Smith Preston (1809–1881), acquired the property in 1835. They constructed what is now the front portion of the main house about 1840. Despite earning most of their income from the plantation, the Prestons lived primarily in South Carolina, where Preston was elected to the state legislature. From 1836 to 1846, he served in the U.S. Senate, and was later president of South Carolina College.

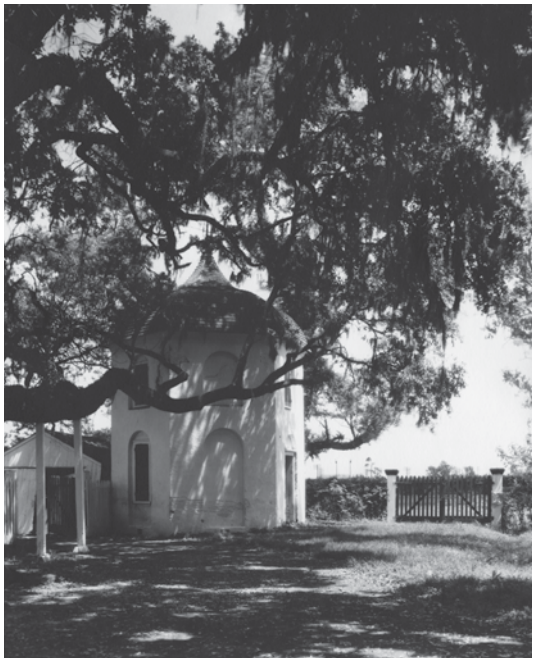
The 1840 Greek Revival Houmas House features a glassed belvedere inspired, no doubt, by the manor homes in South Carolina. Brick-and-stucco *garçonnières* line each side of the house to provide a modicum of privacy for unmarried male members of the family. Irish immigrant John Burnside (1800–1881), known as the "Sugar Prince of Louisiana," purchased Houmas House in 1857 or 1858 for one million dollars, renaming it after himself. Burnside also purchased nearby land from the Bringier and Valcour Aime families for a reputed total of nearly two million dollars. He eventually owned nearly eight hundred slaves on what was for a time the largest plantation in the state. During the Civil War, Burnside defied General Benjamin Butler's attempt to commandeer the house. As a British subject, he successfully argued that the U.S. Army had no jurisdiction over his property.

An associate, Oliver Bierne (d. 1889), inherited the property on Burnside's death. William Porcher Miles (1822–1899), the husband of Bierne's daughter, Betty, operated the plantation for Bierne after 1882 and inherited the property immediately before his death. His son, Dr. William P. Miles, Jr. (d. 1935), operated the plantation with little success, and Burnside ceased to be a working plantation in 1912. Dr. George Crozat (d. 1966) of New Orleans purchased the plantation in 1940 and undertook a comprehensive restoration, which was completed about the time of Crozat's death under the direction of architect Douglass V. Freret (1903–1973). A bachelor, Crozat left Burnside to relatives, who opened it to the public in 1970. Kevin Kelly purchased the plantation at auction in 2004 and has exhaustively renovated the house. Interior scenes for the film *Hush . . . Hush, Sweet Charlotte* were shot there.

The lighting in Tebbs's photograph of the staircase prefigures Clarence John Laughlin's self-consciously Gothic images.[10]



Houmas House (staircase and library), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.273



Houmas House (*garçonnière*), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.271

Oakley Plantation (rear elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.038a

OAKLEY PLANTATION 1796–1799/1806/1813–1820

Among the most well-known plantations in Louisiana, Oakley is located in West Feliciana Parish, just east of St. Francisville. The plantation was founded on 700 arpents of land granted by the Spanish government in 1796 to Ruffin Gray (b. ca. 1765–1799), who had moved to Homochitto, Mississippi, from Virginia. Gray probably erected a modest house on the property before his death. His widow, Lucretia (née Alston; 1772–1833), better known as Lucy, moved to Oakley about 1800 and married Scots immigrant James Pirrie (1769–1824). Although family tradition suggests that Gray began construction shortly before his death, Oakley more likely was built during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Records suggest that Lucy and James began construction in 1806, though a recent HABS survey dates the main house to between 1813 and 1815. Finish work appears to have continued through 1820. The main house is constructed of cypress framing and planks resting on a brick basement that serves as the foundation.

Unlike most plantations built in Louisiana at the time, Oakley has three floors. The upper story is largely shuttered by fixed louvers. Each floor is divided by hallways. In his photographs Tebbs shows both the louvers and staircases leading from the ground to the second floor. Mrs. Pirrie engaged John James Audubon as a tutor for her daughter, Eliza (1805–1851), in 1821. He initially spent four months at Oakley, during which time he produced at least twenty-one paintings for *Birds of America*. Eliza (a.k.a. Pirrie Barrow Bowman Lyons—she married three times) inherited the three-thousand-acre cotton plantation upon her mother's death. Oakley depended upon the labor of more than two hundred slaves by this point. Members of the Matthews family inherited the plantation in 1844; they were related to the Pirries through the Bowmans of Rosedown. Lucy Matthews (d. 1952), who remained at the plantation until 1942, occupied the house when Tebbs photographed it. The house passed to Rosalie Matthews, who continued to reside in Washington, D.C. Oakley fell into a dilapidated state, suffered a burglary, and was vandalized during the mid 1940s. In 1947, Mary Fort and Sarah Duncan Butler, acting for the Daughters of the American Revolution, encouraged the State of Louisiana to purchase Oakley and restore its appearance to the mid 1820s, when Audubon was a resident. Today, the grounds are the site of a nature preserve known as the Audubon Memorial State Park.[11]

Oakley Plantation (exterior stairway leading from lower to upper gallery), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.036a

Three Oaks Plantation (side elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.319

THREE OAKS PLANTATION ca. 1800/ca. 1820

Once located in St. Bernard Parish near the site of the Battle of New Orleans, Three Oaks had rather obscure origins. The house photographed by Tebbs apparently stood on the site of an earlier structure used as a hospital during the battle and probably was built by French émigré Sylvan Peyroux (ca. 1770–ca. 1835), a sugar grower and wine importer. Large galleries surrounded the house, enclosed by Doric columns made of brick and painted white. A hipped roof was marked by two dormers on the front and rear and one on each side. Each floor had four large rooms and two smaller ones at the rear. Edgar Dahlgren, son of a wealthy Natchez plantation owner, purchased the house prior to the Civil War. One of its columns was damaged by a cannonball in April 1862—fired, ironically, by a ship in Admiral David Farragut's fleet using a revolutionary naval "shell gun" invented by Edgar's uncle, Admiral John A. Dahlgren. Because it was ideally situated for a federal headquarters, Three Oaks was spared destruction. Members of the Cenas family, followed by the Perez family, owned Three Oaks after the war. The American Sugar Refining Company eventually purchased the house, but most of the property was abandoned. In the early 1960s, only the main house—by then in a dilapidated state—presided over grounds that had been developed as part of a canal system. Three Oaks met an inglorious end in 1966, torn down by the American Sugar Refining Company because restoration costs were judged too high. Tebbs's photographs of Three Oaks are among his most crisp, precise, and geometric.[12]

Three Oaks Plantation (three-quarter view), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.318.1

Glendale Plantation (rear elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.186b

GLENDALE PLANTATION 1805

In 1805, François Daniel Pain (1751–1812) and his wife, Marie Françoise (née Boissier; 1753–ca. 1820), built Glendale Plantation on 4,200 acres in St. Charles Parish near Lucy. With wide galleries, a hip roof, simple brick piers, cypress colonnettes, and dormers on the side, Glendale is typical of the French Colonial houses built in southern colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Five doors pierce each story, with four additional windows set between them on the upper story. Alcée Louis LaBranche (1806–1861) operated the plantation, supposedly with Jean Baptiste Sarpy (1795–1864), under the corporate name of Alcée LaBranche & Company, beginning about 1828. LaBranche served in the Louisiana House of Representatives from 1831 to 1833 and as *chargé d'affaires* for the Republic of Texas from 1837 until 1840. He also served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1843 to 1847. His widow, Aimée (née Sarpy; b. ca. 1819), appears to have assumed control of the plantation before his death, as suggested by inscriptions on a map of east St. Charles Parish from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain drawn on March 15, 1858, by Theodore Gillespie. Glendale was purchased in 1922 and restored by the Lanaux family. It was a working plantation as late as 1995. Currently a private residence, the house is occasionally open for tours. The general untidiness evident in Tebbs's photograph suggests little attention to maintenance, which was characteristic of working plantations of the time.[13]

The Shades (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print, 1956.087.128b

The Shades (side elevation), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.127b

THE SHADES 1808

The Shades (also known as Scott House or Scott Plantation) is located near Wilson in East Feliciana Parish. William Rochelle, Jr. (n.d.) built the house for Alexander Scott (1780–1844) in 1808. Scott had established the plantation in 1796. Like a handful of plantations in East Feliciana Parish, including Lane Plantation (ca. 1830) and Oakland (ca. 1835), The Shades resembles Carolina "I" houses, distinguished by a wide gallery on the first floor and chimneys at each end. Scott, who had moved to Louisiana from Black Mingo, South Carolina, no doubt selected the style to reflect his English heritage. Doric columns, an Adams mantel, and twelve-pane windows are key features. Scott's son, Major Gustavus Adolphus Scott (1832–1863), inherited the house, followed by his granddaughter, Eva Scott (1877–1961). She worked the plantation with her aunt, Kate Scott (d. 1936), and then alone until her death. Scott House is a private residence today. Tebbs's approach here, characterized by an integrative approach to buildings and landscape architecture, resembles his earlier work on suburban houses.[14]

Old Hickory Plantation (plantation bell with outbuildings and main house in background), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.018

OLD HICKORY PLANTATION ca. 1808/1842

The first structures on the property now known as Old Hickory Plantation—located near LaCour in Pointe Coupée Parish—were probably built about 1808 on land owned by Zénon Ledoux (1776–1817) and his wife, Marie Felicité Adelaide Armant (1779–1814). Ledoux had acquired the land about 1793. He later served as a captain of a militia company during the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. Little of the first building campaign has survived, and the present five-bay house appears to have been built by Zénon Ledoux, Jr. (1796–1860) and his wife Mathilda (née Vigne; 1799–1863) in 1842. Originally known as Raccourri, the main house is considered among the most significant Creole raised houses in Louisiana. Robert W. McRae (n.d.), who purchased the plantation from Ledoux on December 23, 1850, is said to have renamed the property Old Hickory in honor of Andrew Jackson. Captain Ovide Lejeune (1820–ca. 1879) and his wife, Laura Archer Turpin (1817–1896), bought the plantation in 1852. Their son, John Archer Lejeune (1867–1942), later a famous marine commander for whom Camp Lejeune was named, was born on the plantation. Only one photograph of Old Hickory Plantation, showing the original bell that established a routine for slaves, is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection. The main house and outbuildings appear in the distance of this photograph. Old Hickory lay abandoned between about 1880 and 1936, when it became a school for African American children. It was abandoned again in 1957, but reclaimed as a private residence shortly thereafter.[15]

Butler-Greenwood Plantation (plantation store), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.229b

BUTLER-GREENWOOD PLANTATION ca. 1810/1855

Greenwood's first structures appear to have been built on property on Bayou Sara near St. Francisville in West Feliciana Parish after 1786, the year the Spanish government granted 2,200 acres to Samuel Flower (1751–1813). A surgeon who had moved from Reading, Pennsylvania, Flower is thought to have built a larger main house after an early structure burned about 1810. The house was reconstructed in the French Colonial style with six principal rooms and front and rear galleries. After Flower's death in 1813, Greenwood passed to one of his five children, Harriet (1793–1873), and her husband George Mathews (1774–1836). Although Mathews is best known as an eminent lawyer and early Louisiana Supreme Court justice, he and his wife were also among the most successful plantation owners in the region. After her husband's death in 1836, Harriet and her son Charles (1824–1864) competently managed Greenwood and other plantations in Lafourche and Rapides parishes. By 1860, Greenwood was producing 2,000 bushels of corn, 175 hogsheads of sugar, and 10,554 gallons of molasses. Mathews's personal estate in West Feliciana Parish alone totaled $260,000, including ninety-six slaves.

About 1855, the family remodeled the main house, adding a three-story wing, rebuilding the front gallery, and remodeling the interior to reflect the then-fashionable Rococo Revival. Exterior details, such as the jigsaw decoration and pointed front gables, also reflect the Gothic Revival. Of special interest are the formal gardens with detailed records of plantings dating to 1847. Benign neglect over the course of the twentieth century has contributed to Greenwood having one of the best preserved antebellum gardens in Louisiana. The property passed to Harriet's daughter Penelope (1828–1897) in 1877. The three-story wing added in the 1850s was demolished about this time. Although the plantation's output was modest, Harriet and Penelope operated Greenwood as a working plantation for nearly sixty years. Anne Butler, a seventh-generation relative of the original owners, transformed Butler-Greenwood into a bed-and-breakfast in 1990. Only one photograph of Butler-Greenwood Plantation by Tebbs, showing a plantation store, with its peculiar stepped gable parapet, is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum Collection. Depiction of such a mundane building underscores the systematic nature of the ill-fated 1926 Octagon Library project.[16]

Hickory Hill Plantation (three-quarter elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.004a

Hickory Hill Plantation (detail of mantel carving), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.008a

HICKORY HILL PLANTATION 1812

Hickory Hill Plantation is located near Wilson in East Feliciana Parish. Construction on the main house began in 1812 for Captain David Scott McCants (1781–1864) and his wife, Elizabeth McNish McCants (1780–1839), who had moved to Louisiana from Charleston, South Carolina, in 1809 or 1810. The house represents one of the earliest Greek Revival buildings in Louisiana. Like Oakley, Hickory Hill has three stories, though the proportions and plastered brick scored to resemble stone make it appear more monumental. A large wooden pediment enclosed by cornices and thick Tuscan columns are key features. After his wife's death, McCants married Maria Young Livingston (1814–1877), governess for the children of his friend Judge Thomas W. Scott (1787–1871). She bore nine additional children. The plantation descended through a succession of family members and in the 1960s was owned by Mabel Richardson, a direct descendant of David McCants. The house is a private residence. Tebbs's photographs of Hickory Hill emphasize the picturesque aspects of the exterior, but concentrate on intact details of the interior.[17]

L'Hermitage (front and side elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.266a

L'HERMITAGE (HERMITAGE PLANTATION) 1812–1819/1849

L'Hermitage is located near Darrow in Ascension Parish. It was built between 1812 and 1819 on land given by Marius Pons Bringier (1752–1820) as a wedding present to his son, Michel Douradou Bringier (1789–1847), and Michel's wife, Louise Élizabeth Aglaé (née Du Bourg de St. Columbe; 1798–1878). The Bringier family owned many plantations along River Road, including Bocage, Ashland, Union, and White Hall. Michel Bringier served as an aide-de-camp to Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) during the War of 1812. He entertained Jackson at his plantation shortly after the Battle of New Orleans and thus resolved to name the property after Jackson's own home near Nashville, Tennessee.

The house is built of *briquette entre poteaux*. Twenty-four massive Doric columns surrounding the house are its most striking aspect, marking L'Hermitage as the earliest fully realized Greek Revival residence in Louisiana. The house originally had only eight rooms. A rear balcony wing was added about 1830–1833, necessitated by the birth of nine surviving children to the Bringiers between 1814 and 1842. Carpenters cut through the lead-lined cypress gutter to attach the wing to the existing structure, leaving the original entablature dentals in place. Bringier died in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1847, and his wife Louise Élizabeth managed the property through the Civil War. L'Hermitage was renovated in 1849, possibly under the direction of James Gallier, Sr. (1798–1866). A shell from a Union gunboat damaged the house during the Civil War.

Following his service as a colonel in the Confederate army, Louis Amédée Bringier (1827–1897), son of Michel and Louise Élizabeth, and his wife, Stella Tureaud (1834–1911), assumed control of L'Hermitage. Louis Bringier sold L'Hermitage to his brother-in-law, Duncan Farrar Kenner (1813–1887), owner of Ashland/Belle Helene and husband of Annie Guillemine Nanine (1822–1911), in 1881. Bringier eventually moved to Florida, where he managed a citrus farm owned by his aunt and served as a postmaster. His wife Stella and Mrs. Kenner continued to live at the plantation until their deaths in 1911. L'Hermitage passed to the Maginnis family and through several other owners to Wilmon Duplessis (n.d.), by this time having fallen into disrepair. Mrs. Rene La Salle and her son were listed as owners of the plantation in 1945. Dr. Robert Judice and his wife purchased L'Hermitage in 1959 and have undertaken a comprehensive and sympathetic restoration of the home over the course of many years. L'Hermitage remains a private residence but is open frequently to the public. The play of light and shadow and concentration on relatively distant views in his photographs suggests that Tebbs was interested in capturing L'Hermitage in the fullness of its environment.[18]

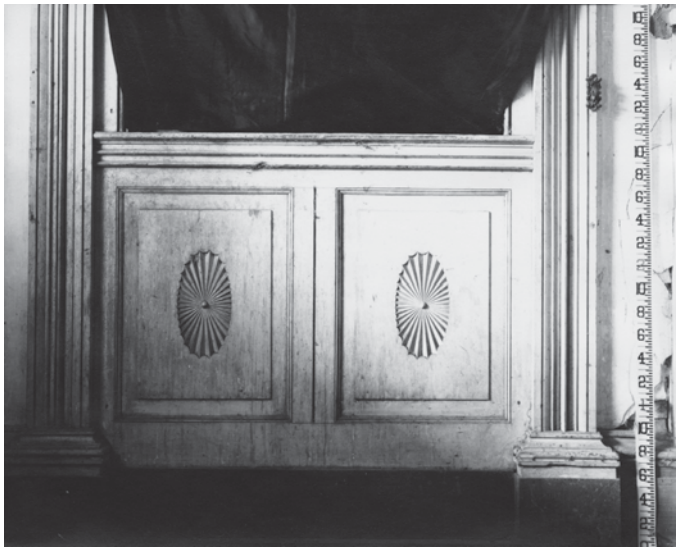
L'Hermitage (rear elevation), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.268

Asphodel Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.133b

ASPHODEL PLANTATION 1820/1833

Asphodel Plantation was established on Carr's Creek in East Feliciana Parish near Clinton in 1820. The main house was built between 1822 and about 1833 for North Carolinians Benjamin Kendrick (1779–1838) and his wife, Caroline (née Pollard; 1795–1833). They derived the name "Asphodel" from the Greek word for daffodils, which grow in abundance on the property. The main house is built in the Greek Revival style, featuring a Doric colonnade painted white to resemble marble, two brick wings covered in white plaster, and a wide front gallery. A high gabled roof with dormer windows accentuates the second story. Unlike most plantation houses built at the time, Asphodel has no central hall. It is also comparatively small. Kendrick's daughter Isabella (1816–1875) inherited the house just before her marriage to David Jones Fluker (1807–1854) in 1833. John James Audubon had been Isabella's tutor when he lived at nearby Oakley Plantation.

Federal troops twice tried to burn the house down during the Civil War, but it survived relatively unscathed. Kate and Sarah Smith, relatives of the Flukers, next lived in the house for nearly thirty-five years. Following the death of the Smith sisters, the house was unoccupied until Mr. and Mrs. John Fetzer purchased it in 1948. They completed a restoration of the home in 1953. In 1958, Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Couhig bought the house, and a relative, Mrs. E. B. Briggs, Jr., then owned the home until 1999, after investing in a restoration. Asphodel is a private residence but may be visited. *The Long Hot Summer,* starring Paul Newman, Orson Welles, and Joanne Woodward, was filmed there. As with other of his plantation photos, Tebbs treated the exterior with a much freer aesthetic outlook, while the interior is tightly composed.[19]



Asphodel Plantation (carved elliptical fan motif below a window with a ruler), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.130b

Asphodel Plantation (three-quarter view), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.135b.1

Pleasant View Plantation (front elevation from a distance), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.211

Pleasant View Plantation (three-quarter view including gallery and staircase), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.212

PLEASANT VIEW PLANTATION ca. 1820–1825

Begun about 1820 along the south bank of False River in Pointe Coupée Parish, the main house at Pleasant View is a quintessential example of the French Creole style. Although the architect and early owners are unknown, it is counted among the most significant historic houses in the region. Remarkably, renovations and rebuilding campaigns have resulted in only superficial modification to the original appearance of the house. The ground floor is constructed of solid brick, while the upper story is *briquette entre poteaux*. The front gallery is supported by brick pillars on the ground floor and relatively slender turned wood on the second. A rear gallery was added later, perhaps around the turn of the century. Tebbs documents each of these features with relatively cold precision. Curiously, despite its importance as a historic structure, Pleasant View has remained rather obscure. A gated community comprising fifty lots has been planned on the grounds of the former plantation.[20]

Waverly Plantation (front elevation from a distance), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.121b

WAVERLY PLANTATION 1821

Waverly Plantation was located in West Feliciana Parish near St. Francisville. It was built in 1821 for the English émigré and physician Henry Baines (1796–1833) and his wife, Emily (née McDermott; n.d.), on land granted to her father, Patrick McDermott (d. 1814), in 1804. Unlike most similar structures, the house was built entirely of wood in the Georgian style. Large fanlight doorways on the upper and lower stories commanded attention. Galleries on both stories were supported by plain, square columns made of cypress. Waverly has a colorful history. John James Audubon taught dancing to local residents on the property. Emily's brother, Charles McDermott (1808–1884), is reported to have first experimented with aircraft on the property. "I hope[d] to give a flying chariot to every poor woman," he later stated. Despite the dubious merits of McDermott's flying machine, he was granted a patent in 1872. Baines's descendants occupied the house until just after the Civil War. It was abandoned and fell into disrepair until 1921, when Mr. and Mrs. George M. Lester bought and began renovating it. The Lesters sold Waverly to Dr. A. R. Gould, the West Feliciana Parish coroner, in 1962. Ten years later, on November 23, a fire originating in a utility room entirely consumed the main house. Limited water was reported to have hampered firefighters' efforts to contain the blaze. Only one photograph of Waverly Plantation is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection. It is suggestive of the Pictorialist treatment popularized in Louisiana by Eugene A. Delcroix, whose work appeared in the 1938 issue of *Pencil Points* alongside that of Tebbs.[21]

Ellerslie Plantation (front elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.125b

ELLERSLIE PLANTATION 1828–1832

Ellerslie, also known as Elsie, is located in West Feliciana Parish on Little Bayou Sara, approximately ten miles south of St. Francisville. It was built on twelve thousand acres of land for Judge William Center Wade (1791–1845) and his wife, Olivia Ruffin (née Lane; 1795–1870), between 1828 and 1832. Wade brought from the Carolinas a large capital and hundreds of slaves in 1830, though it appears that Olivia financed construction of the house. James Hammond Coulter (1795–1861), who also built Greenwood, served as architect. Like many Louisiana plantations, Ellerslie is a two-story frame and stucco house built almost entirely with slave labor, representative of the fully realized Greek Revival style popular among plantation owners in the Felicianas during the 1830s. Distinguishing features include Doric columns made of brick, a substantial cornice, wide galleries, and an enclosed observatory. Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Percy bought Elsie in 1914 and occupied the house at least through 1939. Ellerslie is currently a private home and is not open to visitors.[22]

Ellerslie Plantation (*pigeonnier*), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.190

Ellerslie Plantation (double-curved staircase), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.126b

Live Oak Plantation (staircase), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.168b

LIVE OAK (OR LIVE OAKS) PLANTATION ca. 1828/1838

Originally from Nashville, Charles H. Dickinson (ca. 1803–1848), together with his wife, Anna M. Turner (ca. 1812–1886), built a four-room main house on his property near Bayou Grosse Tete in Iberville Parish beginning in 1828. Live Oak Plantation was constructed in at least two phases. About 1835, Dickinson merged the first building with the present two-and-one-half story, eight-room house. The work was completed by 1838. Although Greek Revival structures dominated along the River Road in the 1830s, Live Oak reflects the Louisiana Creole style, with slender square pillars supporting the galleries at each level, large windows that extend to the floor, and almost no exterior ornamentation. The walls of the first floor are *briquette entre poteaux* and clapboard over a massive cypress *colombage* framework. The most striking feature of the house—which Tebbs emphasized in his photograph—is the twenty-four-foot hallway leading to a gracefully curved stairway. The stairway appears to float up from the ground, with the supports camouflaged by a series of four-by-four-inch beams fit into mortise-and-tenon joints in the wall. A brick chapel built for slaves on the grounds about 1840 is the only such structure to have survived on a plantation in Louisiana.

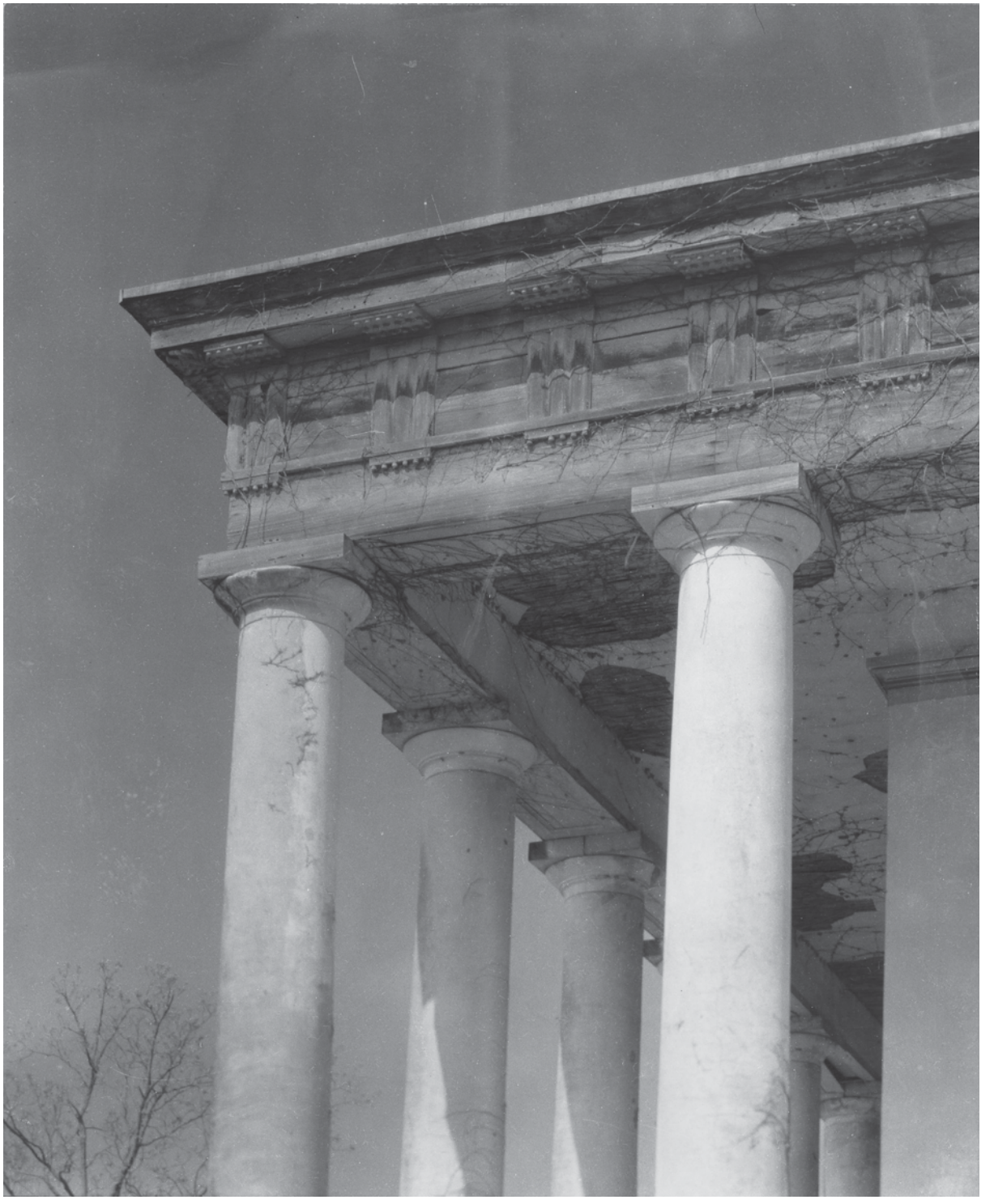
Dickinson inherited the property from his guardian, Captain Joseph Irwin, in 1828. Twenty-three years earlier, Andrew Jackson had killed Dickinson's father in a duel after the two men disagreed over the result of a horse race and Jackson learned that the elder Dickinson had called Jackson's wife, Rachel, a bigamist. Only one photograph from Live Oak Plantation—the interior shot reproduced here—is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection. This photograph, together with that of the staircase at Ellerslie, is among his most striking images. Live Oak is currently a private residence.[23]

Hurst-Stauffer House (side elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.342

HURST-STAUFFER HOUSE 1830/1922

Constructed in 1830, the Hurst-Stauffer House was located originally on the 5600 block of Tchoupitoulas Street in New Orleans. Built for Cornelius Hearst (1796–1851) and his wife, Eleonor (n.d.), the house was designed by an unidentified architect, but details appear to have been adapted from plates depicting Grecian architecture in Asher Benjamin's influential book *The American Builder's Companion* (1816). The plantation property was developed in the early 1830s as Hurstville, one of the first Uptown suburbs in New Orleans. It was incorporated into the city and fell into disrepair. Myrthé Bianca Taylor (1864–1942), daughter of Confederate general Richard Taylor (1826–1879) and wife of Isaac Hull Stauffer (1861–1897), purchased the house in 1922. The couple eventually had it dismantled and reconstructed on its present site on Garden Lane in Metairie, using original architectural elements and materials. William Maples and James Bozemen were the masons, Rausburg & McCurrie completed the millwork and carpentry, and William Cochran served as supervisor. The main floor was elevated, adding a *rez-de-chaussée* (first floor). Armstrong and Koch undertook a second renovation about 1930. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Williams owned the house from 1940 until 1975, when Ken Marshall purchased it. Actor John Goodman later bought Stauffer House, followed by Robert and Deborah Patrick. Why Tebbs photographed the house so as to emphasize the pitiful fence remains a mystery.[24]

Hurst-Stauffer House (three-quarter view), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.346



Greenwood Plantation (detail of Doric columns, entablature, pediment, and metopes), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.012b

GREENWOOD PLANTATION 1830–1834

Greenwood Plantation was located in West Feliciana Parish near St. Francisville. It was built on 12,000 acres between 1830 and 1834 for William Ruffin Barrow (1800–1862) and his wife, Olivia Ruffin (née Barrow; 1806–1857). Barrow had purchased the land from Oliver Pollock (1737–1823) after Pollock went bankrupt helping to finance the American War for Independence. The main house was in the Greek Revival style, with twenty-eight Doric columns, a stout entablature decorated with classical triglyphs and metopes, and a corniced roof. Uncommon among similar plantations, Greenwood did not have a second-story gallery, and the columns rose without interruption from a tall porch to the entablature. It was designed by James Hammond Coulter (1795–1861) and built by African American carpenters. The main walls were composed of cypress lathe covered with plaster rather than brick.

Greenwood was remarkable for its wide central hall with four large rooms on each floor, gold-leaf window cornices, silver-plated doorknobs and hinges, and elaborate curved mahogany staircase. Outbuildings included a sugar house, kitchens, a smokehouse, a man-made lake, cotton gins, a race track, and more than one hundred slave cabins—Barrow owned 275 slaves in 1840. Virtually all of these structures were destroyed during the Civil War. The Reed family purchased Greenwood shortly after Barrow's death in 1862. Frank S. and Naomi Percy bought Greenwood in 1906 and restored the property. The house burned after being struck by lightning on August 1, 1960, leaving only the columns standing. Walton J. Barnes bought the site in 1968 and with his son constructed an approximate facsimile that was completed in 1984. Only one photograph of Greenwood Plantation, showing details of the entablature, is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection.[25]

Belle Chasse Plantation (side elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.040

BELLE CHASSE PLANTATION ca. 1845

Belle Chasse Plantation was located thirteen miles south of Gretna in Plaquemines Parish. The early and late history of Belle Chasse is shrouded in mystery. It appears that a house was built on the site sometime between 1803 and 1810 by Joseph Deville de Goutin Bellechasse (1761–ca. 1840), who had served as commander of Spanish colonial troops at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, and his wife, Marie-Adélaïde (née Lalande Dalcour; b. 1797). Antoine Vallette (1765–1818), who had sold the land to Bellechasse, also may have had a residence on the property. He reportedly filed a claim to recover the land from Bellechasse in 1803. Bellechasse moved to Cuba in 1814, though it is unclear whether he sold the property to William C. Milne (n.d.) at that time or later.

In 1844, Judah P. Benjamin (1811–1884), who served in the U.S. Senate from 1853 to 1861 and was secretary of state for the Confederacy, bought the three-hundred-acre plantation from Milne. Benjamin demolished the earlier structures and built the main house seen in Tebbs's photographs. Benjamin's Belle Chasse reflected the taste for Greek Revival architecture in Louisiana in the 1840s. It was characterized by square-columned galleries on all four sides, a symmetrical façade, and attic windows on the roof. Benjamin's primary residence was in New Orleans, where he was a leading attorney. The plantation provided him with a source of income and a summer retreat. Benjamin sold Belle Chasse, together with his 150 slaves, in 1850, probably to Theodore J. Packwood, who had owned a share of the plantation. James E. (n.d.) and M. J. Zunts (n.d.) briefly owned the plantation about 1889, followed by an unknown buyer. Joseph P. Kearney (n.d.) purchased the plantation about 1892. By 1926, Belle Chasse was, as William P. Spratling has noted, "silent, deserted, and falling to pieces." Although scaffolding suggests that repairs were underway when Tebbs visited in 1926, a campaign to save Belle Chasse in the 1950s failed, and it was razed in 1960. Alvin Callender Field, a naval air station–joint reserve base, is today located near the site where Belle Chasse Plantation once stood.[26]

Belle Chasse Plantation (three-quarter view), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.042b

Magnolia Ridge Plantation (three-quarter view from the rear),
gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.253b

MAGNOLIA RIDGE PLANTATION ca. 1830

Magnolia Ridge Plantation, also known as Prescott House, is located in St. Landry Parish, about ten miles north of Opelousas in the town of Washington. It was built for Judge John Moore (n.d.) in the popular Greek Revival style, with six Doric columns and a symmetrical distribution of windows and doors on the upper and lower stories. Brick exposed beneath the plaster, as seen in one of Tebbs's photographs, shows how the columns were constructed. The house is located on North Prescott Street, though it is unclear if sugar planter Ben Prescott (1839–1914), his son Arthur Taylor Prescott (b. 1863), or other family members owned the property at some point. The house had fallen into disrepair by 1926. George Wallace and his wife, a descendant of the original owners, purchased and began restoring the property in 1939. Valery Mayers bought Magnolia Ridge in 1948. The property was listed with the National Register in 1980. In 2006, the plantation and its fifteen acres were offered for sale for $6.5 million and have not found a buyer as of this writing.[27]

Magnolia Ridge Plantation (rear galleries), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.251

Calumet Plantation (general view of front elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.338

CALUMET PLANTATION ca. 1830/ca. 1850–1870

Calumet Plantation is located in St. Mary Parish near Patterson. The property was known originally as the O. and N. Cornay Plantation. About 1830, brothers Octave (1805–1869) and Christophe Numa Cornay (b. 1807) built the main house. They had acquired the plantation through their mother, Françoise Radeville (née Haydel; b. 1786), who had inherited it from her parents, Jean-George Haydel (b. 1753) and Marguerite Bossier (1765–1795). Marguerite's father, Jean Baptiste Bossier (b. 1727), had received the land as a grant.

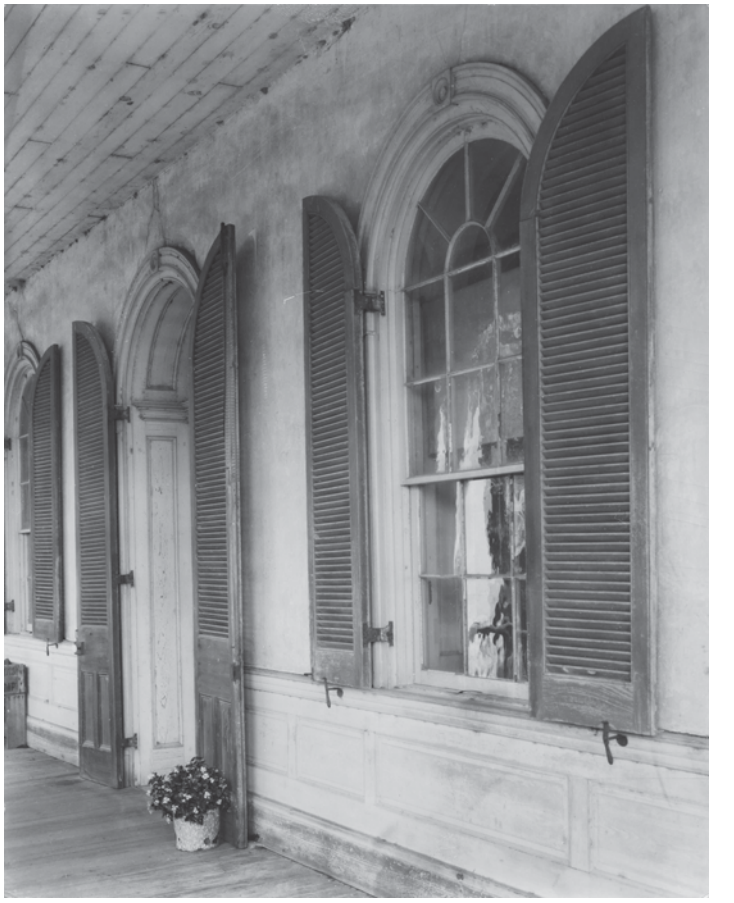
Calumet is a one-and-a-half-story center-hall frame cottage with porches at the front and rear. The walls are composed of *briquette entre poteaux*. Federal-style dormers and six-over-six windows provide a neoclassical character to the cottage style of the original house. Daniel Thompson (d. 1900) and his wife Georgine "Geordy" Urquhart (née Wibray; b. 1829) purchased Calumet in 1871. Working with a group of chemists from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Thompson operated Calumet as a sugar plantation and experiment station until his death, achieving great success testing various fertilizers. Lumber magnate and aviation pioneer Harry Palmerston Williams (1889–1940) and his wife, silent film star Helen Marguerite (née Clark; 1887–1936), owned Calumet during the early twentieth century. Clarence W. Baughman later operated Calumet as a sugar plantation until about 1956. Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Hunter currently own the main house, now located on the grounds of an airport constructed by Williams. Only one photograph of Calumet Plantation is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection. It is more of a portrait of the house than an architectural photograph.[28]

Chrétien Point Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.243b

CHRÉTIEN POINT PLANTATION 1831–1835

Chrétien Point Plantation, also known as Gardiner Plantation, is located in St. Landry Parish near Sunset, about ten miles south of Opelousas. Joseph C. Chrétien (1781–1839) is the first recorded land owner, having purchased it on December 7, 1781, from the estate of Louis St. Germain (d. 1780) or Pierre de Clouet (n.d.), one of whom allegedly had received the land as a grant from the Spanish in 1776. Legend holds that Jean Lafitte (ca. 1782–ca. 1825) and his band of Baratarian privateers helped build Chrétien's fortune. In 1831, Joseph's son, Hypolite II (1781–1839), and Hypolite's wife, Félicité (née Neda; 1797–1881), hired carpenter Samuel Young (n.d.) and bricklayer Jonathan Harris (n.d.) to build the house at a cost of seven thousand dollars. The contract is extant, listing Young and Harris as "undertakers of building." The house may not have been completed until 1835 or 1839. Red brick covered with plaster forms the 16¾-inch-thick main walls, which are pierced in the front on both levels by two arched windows and three doors. Tebbs's view of the first floor windows is among his most successful compositions. The Tuscan columns are also made of brick, and the interior is finished with cypress. Chrétien Point represents a fusion of Greek Revival, Georgian, and Federal details with a Creole plan, or what Clarence John Laughlin terms the grand Louisiana Classical style.

In 1839, Félicité assumed management of the plantation, which now included about five hundred slaves. She was reputed to have killed a highwayman attempting to rob her and is said to have won at least one plantation through her skill with cards. Her son, Hypolite III (1823–1881), and his wife Célestine (née Cantrelle; 1827–1913), inherited the plantation. Although debilitated by illness, Hypolite reportedly saved the plantation in 1863 by giving federal officers a Masonic sign. The couple's son, Jules, married Celeste (Lessie) Gardiner (n.d.) in 1877 and assumed management of Chrétien Point in 1881. Many writers have criticized Jules for his love for wine, socializing, and books at the expense of sound management, noting how he ended his days as a peddler; however, Jules had the foresight to transition to rice before most other growers in the region. The plantation was deserted for a number of years, but had not fallen into serious disrepair when Tebbs visited in 1926. Marie Simon (b. ca. 1880), a descendant of the Chrétien family, and her husband, Dr. C. A. Gardiner (b. 1872), subsequently purchased the plantation. It descended to their children, including noted judge Lessley P. Gardiner (1901–1976). Louis J. Cornay and his wife bought Chrétien Point in 1975 and restored it as a bed-and-breakfast.[29]



Chrétien Point Plantation (doorway and window), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.248b

Shadows-on-the-Teche (rear elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.107

SHADOWS-ON-THE-TECHE 1831–1834

Shadows-on-the-Teche (also known as The Shadows or Weeks Hall) is located in Iberia Parish in the town of New Iberia. This suburban residence was built in the Greek Revival style between 1831 and 1834 by mason Jeremiah Clark (n.d.) and carpenter James Bedell (n.d.) for David Weeks (1786–1834) and his wife, Mary Clara (née Conrad; 1796–1863), on land granted to Weeks's father in 1792 by the Spanish government. The Weekses owned fields at Weeks Island in nearby Vermilion Bay. David moved to New Haven, Connecticut, for his health, and died before seeing the completed house. The main house is constructed of bricks fired on site and is distinguished by eight simple Doric columns, a sloping slate roof with three dormers, and two outer staircases enclosed with lattice. Each floor has an identical plan with six large rooms. In 1836, Mary Clara enclosed the rear *loggia* (cabinet gallery), which has architectural details directly related to an illustration of the Doric order appearing in an 1830 edition of *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter* by American architect Asher Benjamin (1775–1843). Mary Clara married Judge John Moore (1789–1867) in 1841, but separated her inherited property from that of her second husband. She died during the Civil War, when federal troops occupied the plantation, and it passed to her son, William F. Weeks (1841–1895), followed by his daughters Lily Weeks Hall (1851–1918) and Harriet "Pattie" Weeks Torian (1864–1945).

In 1922, Lily's son, the artist, historian, and preservationist William Weeks Hall (1894–1958), returned to The Shadows from Paris. Hall devoted the rest of his life to restoring the plantation. With the benefit of a complete set of records and family papers, Armstrong and Koch worked to reconstruct the building according to its 1830s appearance. The Shadows subsequently acquired the name "Weeks Hall." Upon Hall's death in 1958, the National Trust for Historic Preservation acquired the property to be "perpetually preserved and maintained as a house and garden museum of its period." Richard Koch and Samuel Wilson, Jr., undertook a second restoration for the National Trust in 1961. In the 1990s Diana Balmori and Associates and Jon Emerson and Associates restored the garden to its 1930s appearance. Because of the care exercised by Hall, the architects, and the National Trust, Shadows-on-the-Teche is among the most intact and well-preserved antebellum houses in Louisiana.[30]

Shadows-on-the-Teche (interior with parquet floor, armoire, and servants' staircase), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.115b

Shadows-on-the-Teche (garden), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.118

René Beauregard House (three-quarter view from the front), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.322c

RENÉ BEAUREGARD HOUSE ca. 1832–1833/1855–1856

The René Beauregard House (also known as Bueno Retiro and today as the Malus-Beauregard House) is located at the Chalmette Battlefield just off St. Bernard Highway (LA 46) in St. Bernard Parish. The Battle of New Orleans took place, in part, on the grounds of the property in 1815. The main house was built on land that passed through a complicated series of transactions between 1817 and 1833: from Ignace de Lino de Chalmet (ca. 1755–1815) to Pierre Denis de la Ronde (1762–1824) to Hilaire (d. 1833) and Louis St. Amand (1817–1832) to Alexandre Baron (d. 1835) and finally, in 1833, to Baron's mother-in-law, Madeleine Malus (née Pannetier; n.d.). No house was mentioned at the time of the sale to Baron in March 1832. François Malus (b. ca. 1798) and his sister, Baron's widow, inherited the land in 1835.

The house is first mentioned in 1848, when the property was transferred to François's brother, Lucien Malus (d. 1876), though circumstantial evidence suggests that the basic French Colonial house had been erected about 1832–1833. The main house is described as a private home with an orchard and gardens, but not associated directly with a nearby working plantation known as the Rodriguez House, which had served as Andrew Jackson's headquarters during the Battle of New Orleans. Josephine Caroline Fabre Cantrelle (1793–1872), widow of Michel Bernard Cantrelle, Jr. (1788–1844) purchased the property in 1856. Although the basic style recalls French Colonial architecture, interior details are more characteristic of the late Greek Revival style of the 1850s. It seems probable that the house was altered substantially during Cantrelle's ownership with the addition of Greek Revival elements. She may have enlisted James Gallier, Jr. (1829–1870), who was related to her family, to undertake the remodeling. Cantrelle sold the property to José Antonio Fernandez y Lineros (n.d.), also known as the Marquis de Trava, on July 5, 1865. He is probably responsible for appending the name Bueno Retiro, or "Sweet Seclusion." Fernandez added a wing to the west end of the house and enclosed the upper rear gallery. It is possible that Gallier again was responsible for this work.

In 1873, Carmen Lesseps Fernandez (n.d.) was awarded the property in a divorce settlement. Seven years later, she sold it to Judge René Toutant Beauregard (1843–1910), eldest son of Confederate general Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, and the judge's wife, Alice Cenas (1856–ca. 1915). Beauregard lived at Bueno Retiro until 1904, when he sold the property to the New Orleans Terminal Company for $18,000. After years of neglect (used, for example, to quarter troops during World War I), what was now known as the Beauregard House was either transferred or sold by the railroad company to the State of Louisiana on March 14, 1949. The state turned it over to the National Park Service. Architect Sam Wilson, Jr., supervised a comprehensive restoration in 1957–1958 based on original mid-nineteenth-century records. Tebbs's images reveal that the neglect was indeed benign during ownership by the railroad company. Malus-Beauregard House is now part of the Jean Lafitte National Park's Chalmette Battlefield. The property was damaged significantly by flooding in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, but has been restored and is open to the public.[31]

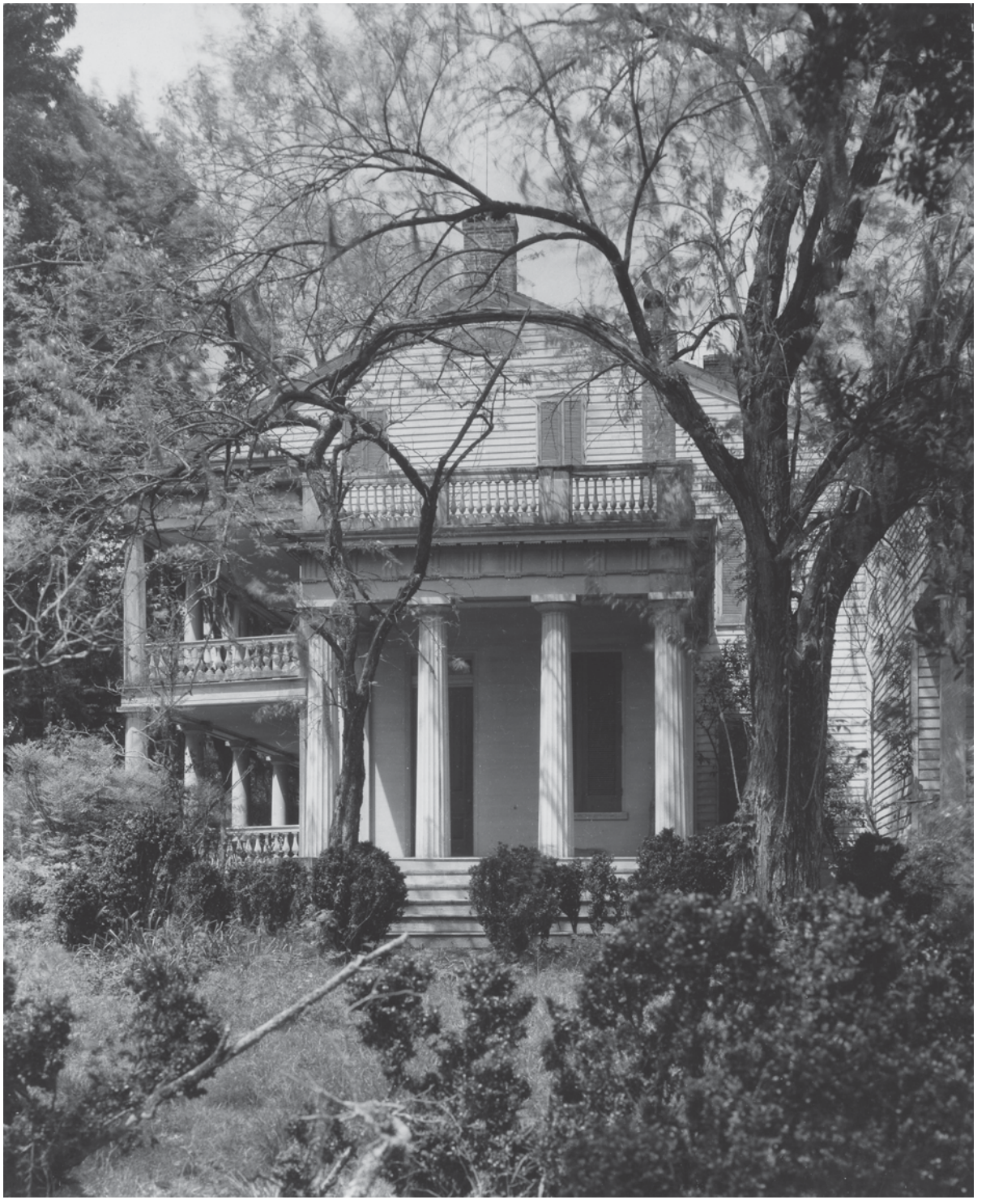
René Beauregard House (rear gallery), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.324c

Wakefield Plantation (three-quarter view from the front), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.010b

WAKEFIELD PLANTATION 1833/1835

Wakefield Plantation is located in West Feliciana Parish near St. Francisville. It was built in 1833 by Joseph R. Miller (n.d.) for Lewis Sterling (1786–1858). Although essentially indigenous Creole in style, Wakefield has many Greek Revival elements, such as the ill-proportioned and poorly detailed Doric columns and geometric black marble mantels in the parlor. Its name was taken from *The Vicar of Wakefield,* a novel by Oliver Goldsmith published in 1766. After Sterling's wife died in the 1870s, the main house was cut down from two-and-a-half to one-and-a-half stories, and the plantation was subdivided into three sections. Only one section remained by the time Helene Allain owned the house in 1939. Dr. Gene and Joanna Berry are the current owners. Tebbs's interior view recalls his earlier work for architectural journals.[32]

Wakefield Plantation (interior), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.011a



Rosedown Plantation (end view), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.072b

ROSEDOWN PLANTATION 1834–1835/1844–1845

Rosedown Plantation is located about five miles from St. Francisville in West Feliciana Parish. It was built by contractor Wendell Wright (n.d.)—who also worked as a builder for the West Feliciana Railroad—for Daniel Turnbull (1796–1861) and his wife, Martha Hilliard (née Barrow; 1809–1896), at the exact recorded cost of $13,109.20. Turnbull's journal indicates that work progressed quickly, beginning on November 3, 1834, and completed by May 1, 1835. The main house exhibits many characteristic Greek Revival features found among neighboring plantations, such as double galleries, Doric columns, Federal elliptical arch doorways, fanlights, and an entablature with triglyphs and metopes. Greek Revival wings designed by T. S. Williams (n.d.) were added to the main house between 1844 and 1845. Martha supervised the development of a 28-acre garden and the planting of an *allée* of oaks leading to the main house, shown in one of Tebbs's photographs. The 1850 census records 347 slaves owned by the Turnbulls living at Rosedown.

Sarah T. Turnbull (1831–1914), who married James Pirrie Bowman (1832–1927), inherited the house near the end of the nineteenth century. Thereafter, sisters Corrie (1872–1929), Isabel (1876–1951), Sarah (1861–1952), and Nina (1869–1954) Turnbull jointly owned Rosedown. They reportedly performed some of the manual labor required to operate the plantation following the Civil War, when the property was in debt. Milton and Catherine Fondren Underwood purchased Rosedown from the Turnbull family in 1956. The couple hired landscape architect Ralph Ellis Gunn and New Orleans architect George M. Leake, and invested several million dollars in comprehensive renovations of the gardens and buildings. By the time of Catherine's death in 1970, Rosedown was among the most intact nineteenth-century plantation complexes in the state and retained much of its original furnishings. Gene Raymond Slivka purchased Rosedown in 1994. After living at the plantation for several years, Slivka began selling much of the original furniture and part of the library, as well as the twelve original Italian sculptures that the Turnbulls had purchased in Florence, Italy, in 1851. The Louisiana Office of State Parks bought Rosedown in 2000 and opened it to the public. Extensive excavations by state archaeologists have focused on living patterns of the plantation's slaves.[33]

Rosedown Plantation (mahogany staircase), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.063

(left) *Rosedown Plantation* (detail of interior with oil-burning chandelier, portrait, cast of an antique sculpture, and plaster ceiling medallion), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.058b

(right) *Rosedown Plantation* (detail of copper downspout catch with date and eagle motif), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.062b

Welham Plantation (three-quarter view from the front), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.299b

WELHAM PLANTATION ca. 1836–1839

Welham Plantation was located in St. James Parish between the towns of Hester and Convent. It was built for William Peter Welham (1801–1860) and his wife, Reine Seraphine (née Terrio; b. 1805), between 1836 and 1839. Establishing the plantation complex, including the main house, was costly; Welham & Godberry Company borrowed $71,500 via several mortgages in 1839 to complete the project. The house was constructed of brick covered with white plaster on the first floor and plastered wood on the second. In addition to typical Greek Revival features, the main house had a substantial belvedere atop the roof. Members of the Welham family owned the plantation until the early 1900s. After that, members of the Keller and Poche families managed Welham until the early 1970s. Marathon Oil purchased the property in 1975. Amid protests from the community, the company demolished the main house and outbuildings in 1979. The commissary, overseer's house, and several other buildings and artifacts from Welham were donated to the Rural Life Museum in Baton Rouge in advance of the wrecking ball. Entergy Economic Development, the current owner, offered the property as a suitable location for a chemical or petrochemical plant in 2008 for $3.5 million. Tebbs's photographs, showing the house within its environment, are more of a portrait treatment than architectural documentation.[34]

Welham Plantation (front elevation), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.301

Seven Oaks Plantation (three-quarter view from a distance),
gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.327

SEVEN OAKS PLANTATION ca. 1835–1840

Seven Oaks Plantation was located in Westwego in Jefferson Parish. The main house appears to have been built by Camille Zeringue (1791–ca. 1872) in the late 1830s. Ownership of the property was complex. The land originally was part of the concession granted to John Law's Company of the Indies. Camille's grandfather, Johann Michel Zehringer (ca. 1684–1738), a master carpenter commissioned to build the first St. Louis Cathedral and Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, had come to Louisiana in the early 1700s with Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville's chief engineer, Pierre Le Blonde de La Tour. Camille's father, Michael Zeringue (d. 1816), purchased part of twelve arpents of land from his father-in-law, Alexandre Harang (n.d.). Zeringue's widow, Josephine (n.d.), inherited the property, also known as Petit Desert, which eventually passed to Camille; he also inherited other properties owned by his sister Marie Anne Azelie (née Zeringue; n.d.), the widow of Jean-Baptiste Dorsino de Blanc (b. ca. 1775). The couple had built an earlier house, described in an inventory as sixty feet square, on the present location. Camille presumably demolished the house and built Seven Oaks beginning about 1835.

Scholars have proposed one of two builders: George Swainey, who built Oak Alley, or Francis D. Gott (fl. 1830–1840), architect of Avondale, formerly known as Tchoupitoulas, a plantation residence owned by George Augustus Waggaman (1782–1842). It is more likely, however, that the restrained Greek Revival style evident in the main house was the work of Valentine von Werner (1813–1854). Seven Oaks was comparatively large, with eighteen rooms, and appears substantial, constructed of bricks covered with plaster. Tuscan columns, made of curved bricks prefabricated in Europe, a hipped roof with a belvedere, and restrained ornamentation are notable features. The Zeringue family owned the plantation until after the Civil War. It served as an army barracks during World War I and was owned by Columbia Gardens Resort until 1939, when the Texas & Pacific Railroad bought the property. Seven Oaks served briefly as a private residence, but fell gradually into disrepair and was razed in 1977. Dr. Henry and Kay Andressen enlisted noted New Orleans architect A. Hays Town to design and build a reconstructed version of Seven Oaks in nearby Kenner, using fragments salvaged from the demolished original. Softened by a relatively long exposure, the wisps of trees in the middle ground of Tebbs's photographs lend a slightly ominous tone.[35]

Woodlawn Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.292b

WOODLAWN PLANTATION ca. 1835–1850

Woodlawn Plantation was located near Napoleonville in Assumption Parish. Renowned architect Henry Howard (1818–1884) designed the house for William Whitmell Hill Pugh (1811–1906) and his wife, William Ann (née Thompson; 1815–1843). Pugh had moved to Bayou Lafourche with his father, Dr. Whitmell Hill Pugh (d. 1834) and uncles, Augustin (1783–1853) and Thomas (1796–1852), in 1818 from Bertie County, on the border of North Carolina and Virginia. After an education at the University of North Carolina and work as a merchant in Norfolk, Virginia, Pugh returned to Bayou Lafourche in 1834. He likely commissioned work on the main house shortly after purchasing the land in 1835.

Woodlawn features elements characteristic of the Greek Revival in Louisiana, such as a symmetrical plan, a monumental colonnade on the façade, stucco covering brick exterior walls, and restrained ornamentation. Tebbs's compositions mimic the architecture, emphasizing balance and geometry. Low ceilings on the interior are an unusual aspect of the house. Conflicting information from the Pugh family suggests that the main house was completed in 1840 and wings were added about 1850, after Pugh married his second wife, Josephine Williamina Nicholls (1820–1868), in 1844. The Pugh family eventually owned thirteen plantations, including nearby Madewood, and 2,000 slaves. Woodlawn was probably the earliest rural property in Louisiana to be illuminated by gas, which was generated from coal on the property. Following the Civil War, members of the Pugh family had limited success operating the sugar plantation, and they sold the property to the Munson family in 1910. The Munsons remained until 1929. By that time the house had deteriorated, as is evident in Tebbs's photographs, and it was described as "a bleak ruin" by Koch in 1942. Dr. B. Thibault (n.d.) owned the plantation at that time but was unable to restore it. Woodlawn was razed a few years later. No trace remains.[36]

Woodlawn Plantation (outbuildings with figure peering through a window), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.290c

Woodlawn Plantation (three-quarter elevation from the front), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.294c

Oak Alley Plantation (distant view), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.079b

OAK ALLEY PLANTATION 1837–1839

Considered by many to be the most iconic Louisiana plantation, Oak Alley is located in Vacherie, in St. James Parish. It was built by contractor George Swainey (or Swainy; n.d.) for Jacques Télésphore Roman III (1800–1848) and his wife, Marie Thérèse Célina Josephine Pilié (1816–ca. 1867), on land purchased from François Gabriel Valcour Aime (1798–1867) in 1836. Gilbert Joseph Pilié (ca.1790–1842), an architect as well as Célina's father, probably was responsible for the design. Construction took place between 1837 and 1839, beginning with the baking of bricks on site by slaves. Likewise, the cypress boards and most of the metalwork were fabricated on site. Doric columns, classical proportions, and a wide gallery mark this as a quintessential Louisiana plantation house. Named Bon Séjour ("Good Stay") by Roman, the main house is considered one of the finest peripteral plantation houses in the lower Mississippi Valley.

A slave horticulturist named Antoine grew the first successfully grafted pecan trees on the property in 1846. By this time, the property had acquired the name Oak Alley, owing to the line of trees along the vista from the river. In 1866, Célina and her son Henri (b. 1839) sold the plantation and most of the family's belongings at auction for $32,800. Other members of the Roman and Buchanan family remained on the plantation for some time, however. In 1881, Antoine Sobral (ca. 1840–ca. 1907) bought Oak Alley and through judicious management reestablished prosperity. Sobral sold the plantation to partners John Bradford Pittman (1866–1927) and Etienne O. Hotard (b. ca. 1862) in 1905. After living on the plantation until 1911, Pittman sold it to Efraim Rosenberg (n.d.). About 1916, Jefferson Davis Hardin, Jr. (1880–1961) presumably bought Oak Alley and worked to rescue the house until his resources ran out. In 1925, Andrew Stewart, Sr. (1872–1946) and his wife, Josephine (née Armstrong, 1879–1972), bought Oak Alley and began a series of renovations supervised by New Orleans architects Armstrong and Koch. Mrs. Stewart died in 1972, leaving the property in the hands of the non-profit Oak Alley Foundation. In addition to offering house tours and educational programs, the OAF operates a restaurant and an inn on the property. Significant portions of the films *The Long Hot Summer* (1958) and *Interview with a Vampire* (1994) were shot at Oak Alley. Tebbs's photograph of the front door recalls earlier work by Eugène Atget.[37]

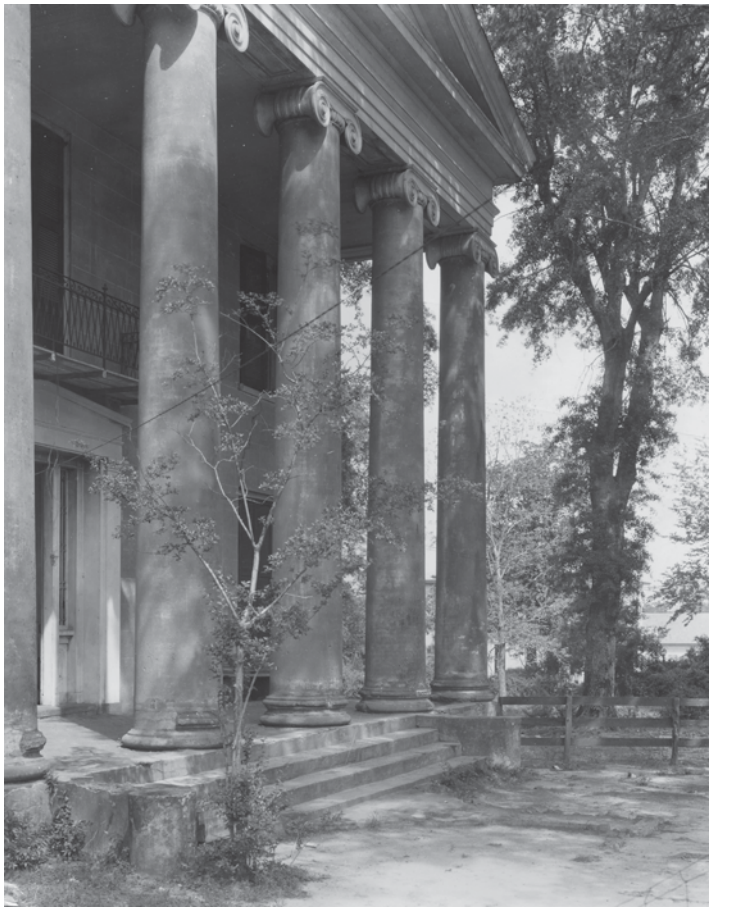
Oak Alley Plantation (rear elevation with garden), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.081

Oak Alley Plantation (front doorway with columns, sidelights, and a fanlight transom), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.083b

Marston House (three-quarter elevation from the front),
vintage gelatin silver print, 1956.087.015

MARSTON HOUSE 1837–ca. 1845

Marston House is located in East Feliciana Parish near the Silliman Institute in Clinton. In 1837 the Union State Bank of New Orleans began construction of a Greek Revival edifice as a branch office on property it had purchased the previous year. Large Ionic capitols atop six monumental columns, gray plaster scored to resemble stone, and galleries at the front and rear are distinguishing features. Tebbs's photographs concentrated on these architectural details. Running short on funds in the wake of the Panic of 1837, the bank accepted Henry W. Marston's (1794–1884) offer to complete the building at his own expense in the 1840s with the provision that he become the bank's cashier and occupy the top floor as his residence. Marston, who also owned Washington Place Plantation (later known as Ashland), purchased the property in 1851. He and his wife, Abigail (Abbie) Fowler Johnson (1811–1888), operated the plantation. Their daughter, Abigail (Abbie) Louisa (1849–1935), inherited it upon her mother's death and established an elementary school on the ground floor. The Bulow W. Marston Estate assumed ownership following Abbie's death in 1935. Six years later, the estate gave the property to East Feliciana Parish, which in turn leased it to the East Feliciana Pilgrimage and Garden Club for a term of ninety-nine years beginning in 1958. True Heart Feliciana, Inc., a foundation created by the Marston heirs, recently developed a preservation plan for the building.[38]



Marston House (detail of front gallery, showing Ionic columns, entablature, and pediment), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.016b

Brame House (front elevation), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.084

BRAME HOUSE 1839–1842

The Brame House, also known as the Brame-Bennett House, is located in Clinton in East Feliciana Parish. Dana D. Davis (d. 1843), a physician from Amite County, Mississippi, and his wife, Lavinia (née Bartlett; b. 1818), purchased two lots on April 8, 1839, for $1,000.02 and began building the house. The one-and-a-half-story house is constructed of brick covered with stucco in the Greek Revival style. The portico features plastered-brick Doric columns, a large fanlight, a pediment decorated with triglyph frieze, and an entablature. Tebbs also photographed the unusual, slightly Gothic cedar window shades on the upper floor. The ground floor consists of a wide hall with two rooms on each side, and the upper floor holds three bedrooms. The house was almost certainly finished by 1842, when the property passed to William Langfitt (n.d.).

The house changed hands many times before Judge Franklin Drake Brame (1846–1894) and his second wife, Martha Belle Overton (1861–1923), bought it on December 28, 1886. Brame had been a member of Scott's Cavalry during the Civil War and was elected judge for the Sixteenth District shortly after moving to the house. On July 26, 1895, the Brames transferred ownership of the property to the judge's daughters, Leticia Irwin Brame (1875–1941), who married William Hays Bennett (1875–1939), and Cora Ellen Brame, wife of Ben Delegarza. Leticia and her husband occupied the house and purchased Cora's share three years later. William T. Bennett bought the property from the Bennetts' daughters, Mary Irwin Bennett and Jeanne Marie Elissalde, on August 14, 1947. The Brame-Bennett House was placed on the National Historic Register in 1973. It remains a private residence.[39]

Brame House (detail of cedar window shades), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.086b

Rienzi Plantation (three-quarter elevation from the front), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.181b

RIENZI PLANTATION ca. 1796–1810 by tradition/ca. 1840

Rienzi Plantation is located in Lafourche Parish, two miles from Thibodaux. Legend holds that Rienzi was built between 1796 and 1810 by a Spanish agent for one of Queen Maria Luisa of Spain's ladies-in-waiting—or even as a refuge for the queen herself. Its name is said to have derived from that of a fourteenth-century Italian patriot, Cola di Rienzi (1313–1354). Many writers, including Karen Kingsley, have stated that Juan Ygnacia de Egaña was the Spanish agent who built Rienzi, but this almost certainly represents confusion with the name of a man who later owned the property. Contested evidence suggests that Rienzi may have been built as early as 1800, and expanded between 1815 and 1840, for William Fields (n.d.), Louisiana governor Henry Schuyler Thibodaux (1769–1847), or Louisiana governor Henry Johnson (1783–1864).

Although the nucleus of Rienzi was probably constructed earlier, the gallery and piers and other aspects of the current central-hall plan probably date to about 1840. Built of brick, cedar, and cypress, Rienzi is one of very few fully peripteral Greek Revival houses in Lafourche Parish. Rienzi is also one of the few plantations in Louisiana based on a cruciform plan. The upper floor has a cross hall, dividing it into four rooms. The ground floor was originally open to serve as a stable. Double, curving staircases lead to the second floor. Thomas Bibb, Jr. (n.d.) appears to have owned the plantation in the 1840s and sold it to Count Juan Ignacio de Egaña (ca. 1800–1860) in 1850. By 1859, de Egaña's estate was producing 950 hogsheads of sugar annually and consisted of 2,799 acres and 306 slaves. De Egaña reportedly was responsible for enclosing the ground floor. In 1861, Judge Richard H. Allen (ca. 1825–1894) bought the house but allowed it to fall into disrepair by the time of his death, as suggested by a statement in his will, "I fear property will be very low and dull." The next owners, Jean Baptiste Levert (1839–1930) in partnership with Ulysse Emile Morvant (1839–1911), undertook an extensive restoration beginning in 1896. The plantation was the subject of a contentious lawsuit ultimately resolved in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1899.

Elegant curved staircases were added to the front of the house after this photograph was taken, in the 1930s. The J. B. Levert Land Company donated the plantation to Nicholls State University in 2004. Only one photograph of Rienzi Plantation, showing the main house framed by a large oak, is accessioned in the Louisiana State Museum's Tebbs Collection.[40]

Ashland/Belle Helene Plantation (front elevation from a distance), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.262

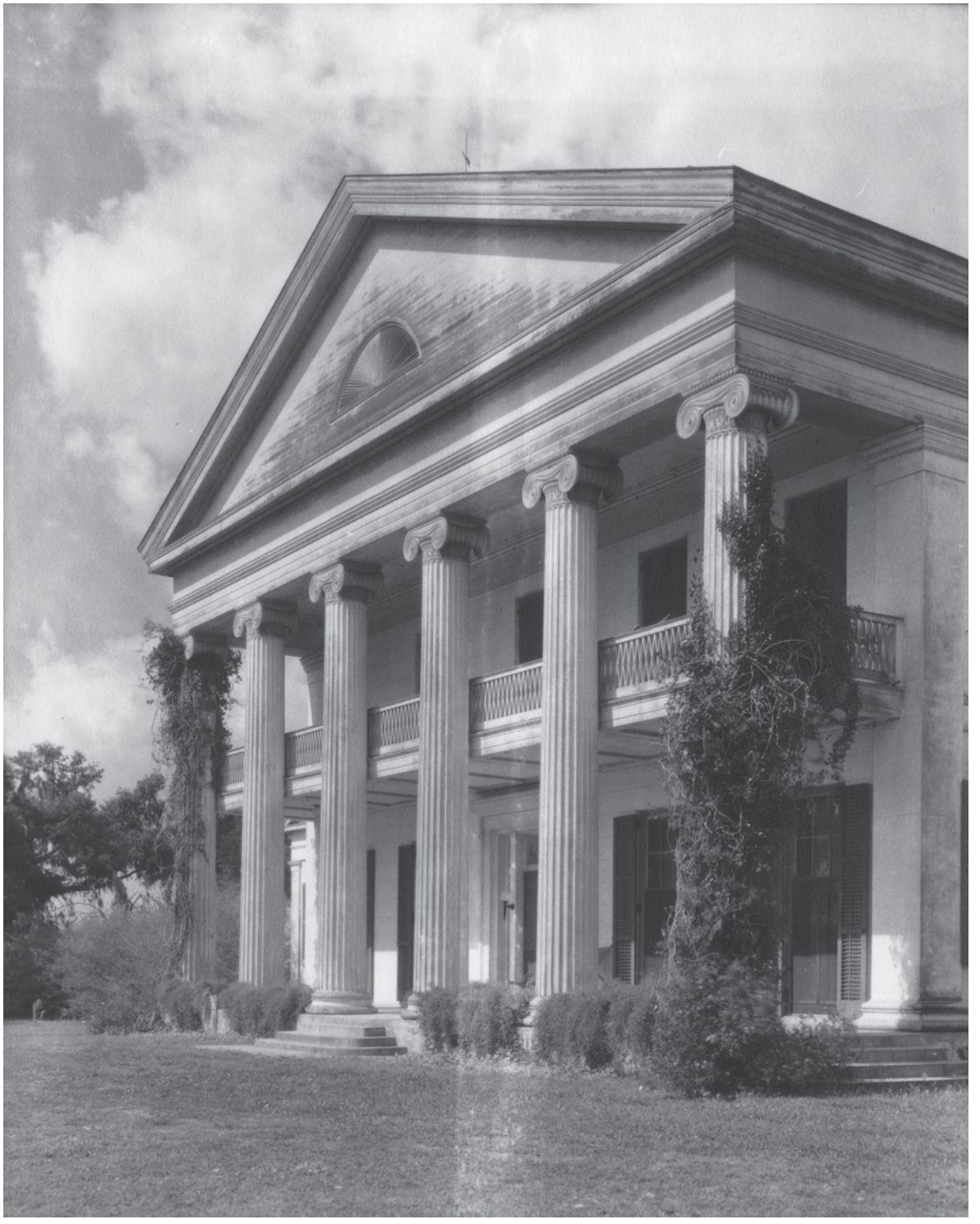
ASHLAND/BELLE HELENE PLANTATION 1839–1841

Counted among the most iconic plantations in Louisiana, Ashland was built between 1839 and 1841 in Ascension Parish, near Geismar. The house was designed for Duncan Farrar Kenner (1813–1887) and Annie Guillemine "Nanine" Kenner (1823–1911), a daughter of Michel Douradou Bringier (1789–1847). James Harrison Dakin (1806–1852) most likely served as architect. Bringier made unspecified payments to him during construction, though details of the main house compare with the work of Dakin's brother Charles Bingley (1811–1839), James Gallier, Sr. (1798–1866), or Henry Howard. Kenner had received money as a wedding gift to construct an "Ashland," named for Henry Clay's home in Kentucky. Kenner emerged as one of the most successful sugar planters in Louisiana, with $250,000 in personal property in 1860.

Kenner liked risk. He maintained a stable of racehorses at Ashland and is said to have lost as much as $20,000 in a single sitting playing cards at the Boston Club in New Orleans. He served in the state senate, as a delegate to the secession convention in Montgomery, Alabama, and as the Confederate minister plenipotentiary to Europe. Kenner failed in a bid to the U.S. Senate, losing to Judah P. Benjamin in 1851. The two men nevertheless remained close friends. Like Benjamin, Kenner advocated general emancipation in the South as early as 1862 as a means of winning support from the French and English during the Civil War. Jefferson Davis and Benjamin granted Kenner the power to negotiate an agreement with England in 1865, but by then the southern cause was lost. He had narrowly escaped capture by Union forces after the fall of New Orleans in 1862, and again evaded federal troops in New York City on his way to Europe. Kenner found Ashland in near ruins upon his return in 1865. Although the house was intact, his fields were devastated and his livestock confiscated. The slaves, ironically enough, had been emancipated. By 1870, Kenner was well on his way back to prosperity, growing sugarcane and rice; many of his former slaves apparently returned to the plantation as paid workers.

Ashland is one of the purest expressions of the Greek Revival architectural style in Louisiana. The main house is built of brick covered with stucco scored and painted pale yellow to resemble stone, with square brick columns originally painted white to resemble marble. The ground floor gallery is twelve feet wide and encloses all four sides of the house. A twelve-foot-wide central hall, terminating in a spiral staircase with cypress treads and mahogany balustrades, opens to three rooms, two of which are twenty feet square. Two years after her husband's death in 1887, Nanine Kenner sold Ashland to George B. Reuss (1858–ca. 1920), an immigrant from Germany. Reuss renamed the property Belle Helene after his granddaughter, Helene Reuss (ca. 1890–ca. 1960), who eventually inherited the house with her husband, W. Campbell Hayward (n.d.). Shell Oil Company bought the plantation in 1992. Unlike many other corporate owners in Louisiana, Shell has made a public commitment to preserving and restoring Ashland/Belle Helene. Tebbs's photographs emphasize the play of light and shadow, which, combined with the hanging Spanish moss, gives the photographs an ethereal aura.[41]

Ashland/Belle Helene Plantation (detail of side gallery, featuring Doric columns, pediment, and entablature), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.264



Madewood Plantation (three-quarter view from the front), gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.286c

MADEWOOD PLANTATION 1840–1848

Madewood Plantation is located near Napoleonville in the Bayou Lafourche area of Assumption Parish. Designed by New Orleans architect Henry Howard, the two-story plantation house was built of stuccoed brick between 1840 and 1848 for Colonel Thomas Pugh (1796–1852), who died shortly after its completion. By 1860, the Pugh family owned a total of thirteen plantations comprising over 10,000 acres, including Woodlawn. They also owned 1,502 slaves. Madewood represents an adaptation of the wing pavilion plan and is among the most pristine examples of the Greek Revival style in Louisiana. Two flanking wings mimic the main house, including gabled roofs covered with slate. The main house is distinguished by central hallways on each floor, twenty-three rooms, and a spiral staircase. In many ways, it resembles plantations in the Mid-Atlantic region. Characteristic features include six Ionic columns rising from a plinth and a half-circle window in the pediment. The moldings, doors, and door frames are made of cypress painted by *faux bois* painter Cornealieus Hennessey (n.d.) to resemble oak. Madewood established Howard's reputation as a preeminent architect in the South.

A company founded by Leon Godchaux (d. 1899) is listed as the plantation's owner in the early twentieth century. Other records suggest that the Pugh family sold the plantation to Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Baker (n.d.) in 1916, who in turn sold it to Mr. Bronier Thibaut in 1946. Naomi Marshall (d. 1987), widow of Harold K. Marshall, bought Madewood in 1964 and restored the house, which was opened to the public in 1978. Naomi's son, Keith Marshall, is the current owner. Since the 1980s, it has served as a bed-and-breakfast. The name derives from the fact that all the wood used in construction came from the plantation grounds. Again, Tebbs's photographs reinforce the integral relationship between the main house and its plantation environment.[42]

Madewood Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.287

Madewood Plantation (carriage house), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.285b

Madewood Plantation (three-quarter view from a distance), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.284b

Ramsey Plantation (three-quarter view from the front), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.210b

RAMSEY PLANTATION ca. 1840

Ramsey Plantation is located on the bank of False River in Pointe Coupée Parish. The present house was built about 1840, incorporating an earlier structure about which little is known. Indeed, the history of the plantation and details of the building campaigns are obscure. Tebbs's photographs document a raised Creole house with a few neoclassical details. Lt. Allan Ramsey Wurtele (b. ca. 1893), who developed a machine harvester for sugarcane processing, purchased the 5,000-acre property in 1928. Wurtele also attempted to make artificial rubber from sugar. The house is made of brick on the first floor, is framed on the second, and features a raised basement and spiral staircase in the hallway. Wurtele granted the Josephite Fathers permission to use a building on the property as St. Catherine's Chapel in 1938. His daughter, Joanna Wurtele, owned the plantation as late as 2004. At present, Ramsey serves as a private residence.[43]

Ramsey Plantation (front elevation), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.213

Bagatelle Plantation (front elevation), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.261b

BAGATELLE PLANTATION 1841–1842

Bagatelle Plantation was originally built in St. James Parish on property near Donaldsonville. On December 7, 1841, builder Robert Spencer Chadsey (1806–1850) and property owner Augustin Marius Claiborne Tureaud (b. ca. 1810) signed a contract to build the main house. Like many of the smaller plantation houses nearby, Bagatelle was constructed in a restrained Greek Revival style. Key features include a central hall, flanking wings (now gone), an entablature, and six fluted Doric columns. Tebbs's photograph shows the two original dormers on the front, which complement two at the rear, before a later owner added dormers to each side. Tureaud married Joséphine Françoise Aurore Mather (b. ca. 1803), the daughter of George Mather, Sr. (1783–1837). Their daughter, Stella Tureaud (1834–1911), and her husband, Louis Amédée Bringier (1828–1897), operated the plantation together with L'Hermitage until 1881. Another, unmarried daughter, Louise Olivia Tureaud (1841–1929), owned the plantation when Tebbs photographed it. Soon after, the 1927 flood necessitated the house being moved farther from the levee.

Following Louise's death, Bagatelle passed to Gordon McDonald Mather (b. 1869), a cousin. He sold the property to Monsignor Célestin M. Chambon (b. 1879) in 1941. In addition to adding dormers, Chambon enclosed and enlarged the kitchen and rear façade. Chambon, who had been the curate of St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans and founding pastor of St. Anthony of Padua in Darrow, lived at Bagatelle until 1946, when it was sold to Francis Henderson James (1888–1959), chief engineer at the Salsburg Sugar Factory. The house was vacant following James's death until 1977, when his son, Dr. Trenton James, and daughter-in-law, Kay, moved Bagatelle on a barge about seventy-five miles upriver to a site on Plaquemine Point in Iberville Parish near the East Baton Rouge Parish line. Many of the outbuildings are preserved at the LSU Rural Life Museum in Baton Rouge. Only one photograph of Bagatelle by Tebbs, a front elevation, is accessioned at the Louisiana State Museum. The property is now a private residence.[44]

Uncle Sam Plantation (three-quarter view from the front with unidentified figures), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.256

UNCLE SAM PLANTATION 1841–1843/1849

Originally known as Constancia, Uncle Sam Plantation was located near Donaldsonville in St. James Parish. It was built between 1841 and 1843 for Piérre Auguste Samuel Fagot (ca. 1797–1860) and his wife, Emilie Jourdan (b. ca. 1800–ca. 1875). After being damaged by a fire, Constancia was rebuilt in 1849. The main house was constructed of brick fired on site and covered with stucco. The shutters were painted an oxide green. Constancia featured twenty-eight Doric columns with a plain entablature and wide enclosed galleries. Two *garçonnières* and two smaller cottages, each with Doric columns, two octagonal *pigeonniers,* and forty slave cabins were adjacent to the main house. The Fagots' youngest daughter, Felicie (1823–1886), and her husband, Lucien Malus (b. ca. 1825–ca. 1880), inherited the plantation. It descended to their two daughters, Emilie (b. 1852) and Felicie (b. ca. 1848), who married brothers Jules (b. ca. 1845) and Camille (b. ca. 1845) Jacob. The Jacob brothers operated the plantation and the store jointly, though Jules Jacob eventually assumed principal ownership. In 1915, he sold Uncle Sam to Hymel Stebbins (n.d.), a New Orleans commission merchant. Stebbins did not occupy the house but continued to operate the sugar plantation.

Uncle Sam was torn down in 1940 because the changing course of the Mississippi River threatened the property. The plantation reportedly received a last-minute reprieve from the National Park Service, but the telegram arrived too late to stop the bulldozers. Legend suggests that locals called Fagot "Oncle Sam," eventually applying the name to the plantation. Alternately, the name may have derived from the letters "U.S." stamped on hogsheads of sugar that came from the plantation's sugar mill. Both stories have the air of apocrypha that is so often associated with plantation houses in Louisiana. One of Tebbs's photographs of Uncle Sam shows two people sitting on the steps—one of the few instances in which figures appear in his images.[45]

Uncle Sam Plantation (rear elevation from a distance), vintage silver gelatin print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.254b

Belle Alliance Plantation (three-quarter view from a distance), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.182b

BELLE ALLIANCE PLANTATION ca. 1846/1889

Located on Bayou Lafourche, Belle Alliance is one of the few surviving grand plantation houses in Assumption Parish. Like neighboring Madewood, Belle Alliance is a well-preserved testament to the taste for Greek Revival architecture in south Louisiana. Its builder, Charles Anton Kock (1812–1869), had emigrated from Bremen, Germany, in 1830. After working for a cotton factor named Pescatore, he established his own business. Kock eventually purchased about 7,000 acres in Assumption Parish from the heirs of Don Juan Vives (1754–1822), who had received the land as a grant from Spanish colonial governor Don Bernardo de Gálvez for his services during the 1779 campaign against the British in Baton Rouge.

According to local tradition, a house located on the site burned shortly before Kock and his wife, Jeanne Heda (née Longer; 1828–1858), began construction about 1846. The front section of the present house remains from this first building campaign. Although the architect is unknown, he was conversant with the Greek Revival style. Characteristic features include rectangular pillars with simple capitals, an entablature ornamented with dentils, a high parapet, and an interior decorative program marked by restraint. Inside, a wide central hallway separates three rooms on each side on the ground floor. The upper story, containing the formal areas, is decorated with shoulder moldings and black marble mantels. Belle Alliance is remarkable for the use of cast iron as both supporting and decorative elements.

At the height of his prosperity in 1860, Kock owned 176 slaves. Upon his death, son Edouard Kock (1848–1884) inherited Belle Alliance, followed by his younger brother, James P. Kock (1855–1915). The latter restored the plantation to prosperity. In 1889, Edouard hired New Orleans architect Paul Andry (1868–1946) to renovate and expand the home. Andry's design matched the character of the original house seamlessly. John T. Many (n.d.) owned Belle Alliance from about 1915 to 1923. At the time Tebbs photographed Belle Alliance, C. Stewart Churchill (n.d.) managed the plantation with business partner Dubourg Thibaut (n.d.). By 1944, the partners had purchased the plantation, and the Churchill family occupied the house until 1985. The Evan Belle Corporation then assumed ownership, selling it to Mr. and Mrs. Philip Grieve in 1998. Bryce Revely and Alan Caspi bought the property shortly after and hired Barry Fox Associates to restore Belle Alliance. It is currently a private residence. Only one photograph of Belle Alliance by Tebbs, a distant view revealing the grounds to be in good condition, is accessioned at the Louisiana State Museum.[46]

Mount Airy Plantation (outbuildings), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.302b

MOUNT AIRY PLANTATION 1850

Mount Airy Plantation was located in St. John the Baptist Parish. Joseph LeBourgeois (b. 1824) built a raised Creole cottage in 1850. Local tradition holds that LeBourgeois originally called the plantation Monterey, and the name was corrupted over time into "Mount Airy." It is of note, however, that LeBourgeois attended college in Mount Airy, North Carolina. The house was one-and-a-half stories, with a staircase and belvedere railings made of cast iron. Felicien Waguespack (b. ca. 1840) and wife Marie-Rosella (née Faucheux; b. 1841) purchased the property following the Civil War and rechristened it Little Mount Airy. The property included a main house, *garçonnières, pigeonniers,* slave quarters, and carriage houses. Waguespack later owned nearby Sport and Golden Grove plantations. Mount Airy was moved farther back from the Mississippi River in 1929 to accommodate a new levee. Kaiser Aluminum purchased and demolished the plantation house in the early 1950s. For some reason, Tebbs seems to have concentrated on the outbuildings; the Louisiana State Museum collection includes no image of the main house.[47]

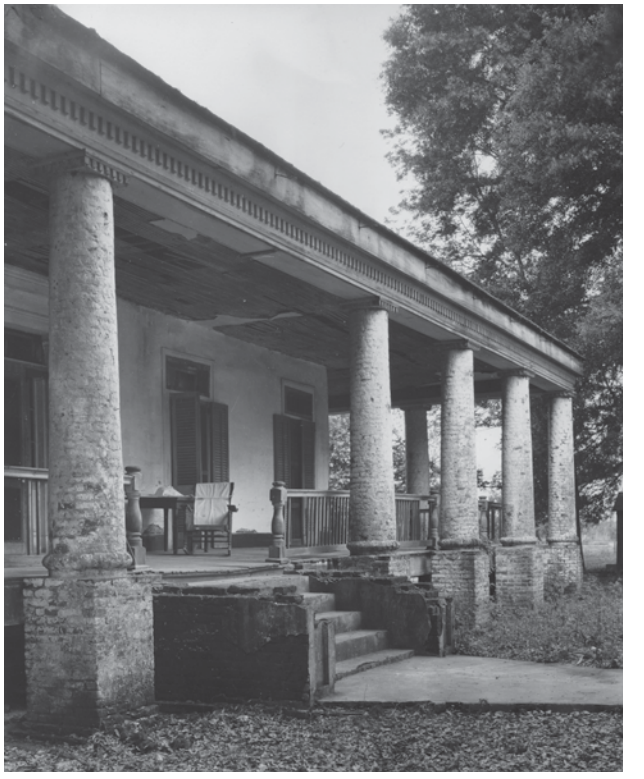
Mount Airy Plantation (outbuilding), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.303

Belmont Plantation (three-quarter view from a distance), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.163b

BELMONT PLANTATION ca. 1850–1857

Belmont Plantation was located in Pointe Coupée Parish, very near the Bayou Maringouin section of the Grosse Tete area in Iberville Parish. Belmont appears to have been begun about 1850 by Willie Macajah Barrow II (1832–1904) and his wife, Martha Jane (née Pilcher; 1835–1923). He was the son of Willie Barrow (1770–1825) and his second wife, Anna H. Beck (1789–1834), who lived in Nashville, Tennessee. Members of the Barrow family owned many Louisiana plantations, including Locust Grove (later known as Highland), Afton Villa, Greenwood, and Rosedown. The house was a frame building with brick colonnades. Tebbs focused on the colonnades, apparently attracted to the method of construction revealed beneath the flaking plaster. The Barrows did not occupy Belmont for long. Thomas Garten Sparks (1828–1901), Barrow's brother-in-law, moved to the plantation with his wife, Mary Jane ("Jeanie"; 1834–1896). According to family lore, an intended second story was not completed due to the interruption of the Civil War. Members of the Sparks families are recorded as owners of the plantation until about 1930, when Dr. W. R. Buffington bought the house with the intention of restoring it. Belmont was destroyed by a fire in 1947.[48]

Belmont Plantation (front perspective), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.165b



Belmont Plantation (rear gallery featuring Doric columns, entablature, and dentals), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.162b

Angelina Plantation (interior view of outbuilding with hearth),
gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.306

ANGELINA PLANTATION 1852

Angelina Plantation was located in St. John the Baptist Parish near Mount Airy, six miles west of Edgard. It was constructed of brick in 1852 by Godfroi Boudousquié (b. 1822), though it may have been begun as early as 1850. A playhouse known as "the dollhouse" mimicked the main house, even including a working fireplace. James William Godberry (1804–1870) apparently bought or inherited the property shortly after construction, naming it for his wife, Angelina (née Roussel; b. 1828). Their children—Noelie, Henry, George, and Laura—jointly inherited the plantation. According to a case heard before the U.S. Supreme Court, Edward F. Stockmeyer, a German immigrant living in New Orleans, held a note on the property. He eventually was "adjudged to be incompetent to perform validly any act that could be performed by a sane person" and was placed in an asylum; however, Stockmeyer's "curator" sued the estate after the property was sold to Charles P. McCan (n.d.) in 1885 for $15,000. McCan leased Angelina to Edward F. LeBourgeois (n.d.).

Difficulties apparently continued, and William Bloomfield (n.d.) acquired Angelina in a sheriff's sale in 1890. From about 1900, the plantation was owned by a partnership formed by six Troxclair (also spelled Trosclar) brothers. The brothers included company president Arnold (b. 1862), Noé Dominique (n.d.), and Joseph (n.d.), all of whom lived with their families in the main house. Two other brothers, Alonzo (n.d.) and Benoit (n.d.), lived on the plantation grounds. Although Angelina was consumed by the Mississippi River in 1930, HABS recorded it in 1934. The name Angelina was revived in 1998 by Bernard Ebbers, of WorldCom notoriety, for a 29,000-acre plantation located in Monterey, Louisiana. Ebbers sold the new Angelina in September 2006 for $32 million just before entering prison on a fraud conviction. Angelina's namesake is one of the largest working farms in Louisiana. As with Mount Airy, only photographs of outbuildings at the historical Angelina are in the Tebbs Collection.[49]

Angelina Plantation (outbuilding), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.305

Goodwood Plantation (main house from the gate), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.173

GOODWOOD PLANTATION 1852/1856

Goodwood Plantation is located in Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge Parish, near present-day Independence Park. It was built for Dr. Samuel G. Laycock (1811–1884), apparently completed in 1856, on the two-thousand-acre plantation granted to Thomas Hutchings (d. ca. 1800) in 1776 by King George III, through Peter Chester, governor of West Florida. Hutchings was described as a "reduced paymaster," and the patent contained some unusual conditions about forfeiture should Hutchings fail in the performance of his duties. Laycock had moved with his family from Ohio. One of the later plantation houses, Goodwood reflects the influence of English Georgian architecture relatively uncommon in Louisiana, being a straightforward replica of Goodwood House, home of the Duke of Richmond, in West Sussex, England. It is constructed of brick covered with cement and reflects an English approach to Greek Revival style, characterized by a restrained decorative program and rigid geometric symmetry. A notable feature is running water, carried to washstands in each room by a system of wooden pipes. Laycock's English roots may have influenced the architectural design program.

The plantation was later owned by Charles Lewis Mathews (1824–1864) and his wife, Penelope (née Stewart, d. 1897). Louis U. Babin (b. 1873) purchased the home in the 1930s and developed the property as Goodwood Place, an upscale community, with his partners, Cyrus J. Brown (1875–1952) and John T. Laycock (b. 1890). Tebbs may have been prevented from entering the site, for his only photographs of the plantation are three exposures from the gate, showing the house in the distance. Members of the Babin family continue to reside in the home, which is the centerpiece of a Baton Rouge neighborhood known as "Old Goodwood." Scenes from the 1967 film *Hurry Sundown,* directed by Otto Preminger and starring Jane Fonda and Michael Caine, were shot at Goodwood.[50]

Goodwood Plantation (entrance gate), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.174

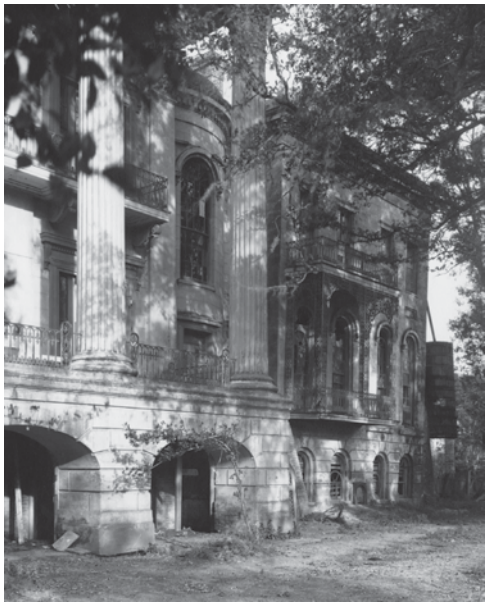
Belle Grove Plantation (three-quarter view from the front), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.025b

BELLE GROVE PLANTATION 1857–1858

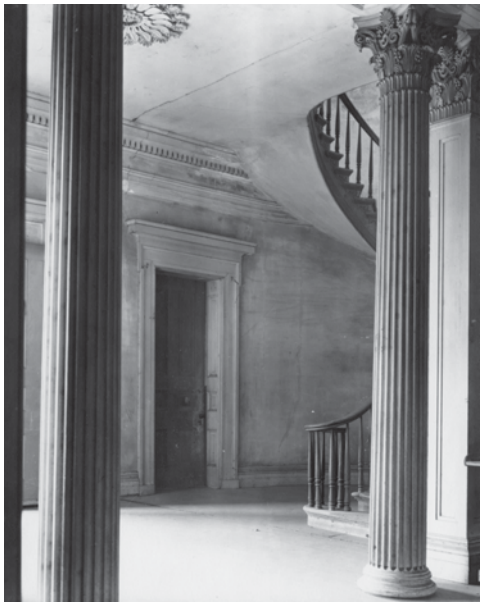
Belle Grove Plantation was located near White Castle in Bayou Goula, in Iberville Parish. It was designed by Henry Howard in 1857 for John Andrews (1804–1868), a Virginian who had arrived in New Orleans from Norfolk twenty-four years earlier. Upon the death of his wife, Penelope Lynch (née Adams; b. ca. 1804–1848), Andrews inherited the land she had received from her father, Christopher Irvine Adams (1769–1839). Belle Grove represented a late Mannerist approach to the Greek Revival style in Louisiana, moving toward the Italianate, with ornate Corinthian capitals rising thirty feet from a stylobate covered with stucco scored to resemble stone, a monumental Greek pediment, interior columns, and a grand curved staircase. Belle Grove had seventy-five rooms, making it the largest plantation house in Louisiana and one of the grandest in the South. European craftsmen created the plaster details on the walls and mantel. The interior staircase was covered with imported marble. The doorknobs and keyhole guards were made of silver plate. It cost the staggering sum of nearly $80,000 to complete.

During the Civil War, Andrews went to Texas, leaving supervision of Belle Grove in the hands of three of his daughters, including Penelope Adam Lynch (b. 1837), who had married antebellum governor Paul Octave Hébert (1818–1880); and Emilie Lynch Adams (1831–1911), widow of Edouard L. Schiff (d. 1860). Emilie complained that in May 1863 a northern officer identified as Lieutenant Hanks had "stripped the plantation of property to the amount of upwards of twenty thousand dollars." In 1868 Andrews sold Belle Grove to Henry Ware (d. ca. 1894), a Methodist minister and commission broker from Greene County, Georgia. Ware sold the plantation to his sons John (b. 1857) and James (1847–1908) on February 21, 1879. James quickly bought out his brother's share, and Belle Grove descended to his son, John Stone (1870–1950). Belle Grove remained in the Ware family until 1924. It was abandoned in 1925, just before Tebbs photographed it. The contents, including the black marble mantels, were stripped and sold at auction. John and William Wickes of Saginaw, Michigan, purchased the property in 1940, and Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Nehrbass of Lafayette, Louisiana, bought Belle Grove in 1945. On March 17, 1952, a fire of mysterious origin left only a skeleton. The lighting in Tebbs's views of the stunning interior marks these photographs as among his most successful of the period.[51]

Belle Grove Plantation (double curved staircase), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.028



(left)
Belle Grove Plantation (side elevation), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.022



(right)
Belle Grove Plantation (central hall with Corinthian columns), gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.027

Avery Island Plantation (outbuildings), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.047b

AVERY ISLAND PLANTATION 1868

Located in Iberia Parish, Avery Island Plantation was built in 1868 by Edmund McIlhenny (1815–1890), creator of Tabasco hot sauce, after his previous plantation house was destroyed during the Civil War. McIlhenny's eldest son, John Avery McIlhenny (1867–1942), briefly managed the plantation after his father's death before joining Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Another son, Edward Avery McIlhenny (1872–1949), assumed control of the plantation upon his return from a series of Arctic expeditions in 1899. A renowned naturalist, Edward developed an extensive botanical garden on the site, complementing the company's thriving Tabasco pepper business. The plantation remains in the McIlhenny family today, as does the Tabasco company. One would be hard pressed to identify the building in these images as part of a plantation; they are suggestive instead of the mundane routines of plantation culture.[52]

Avery Island Plantation (plantation complex from a distance), vintage gelatin silver print, Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.046b

Labatut Plantation (*pigeonnier*), vintage gelatin silver print,
Louisiana State Museum, 1956.087.093

APPENDIX

The Robert W. Tebbs Collection at the Louisiana State Museum

In early 1956, Jeanne Tebbs sent Lester B. Bridaham, executive director of the Louisiana State Museum, a telegram offering to sell her husband's collection of "plantation negatives and prints of Louisiana." The offer included photographs of New Orleans's French Quarter, but Bridaham replied that the museum was interested only in the plantation photographs. Upon Richard Koch's advice, the museum paid five hundred dollars for the collection. In 1970, Jack Beech, owner of Industrial Photography in New Orleans, made prints of all the negatives in the collection; nevertheless, the collection was not cataloged systematically until the 1980s. Curator J. Burton Harter discovered that rather than an assumed 162 unique objects, the collection included 347 images grouped under 97 headings. Tebbs produced prints for 78 of the 97 headings; those are described as "vintage" prints in this book's captions. Some of the plantations are represented by a single photograph in the museum's collection, while others, such as Belle Grove and Rosedown, are represented by several images.

Individual prints have been displayed and published over the years, but the collection has not been featured as a group heretofore. The collection is, however, online at the LOUIS Digital Library: www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=/RTC

The Tebbs Collection is housed in a climate-controlled environment at the Old U.S. Mint, one of the Louisiana State Museum's properties. The negatives, which Gary Albright of the Northeast Document Conservation Center estimated in 1988 to be nitrate, are in refrigerated storage.

Below is a list of photographs in the Tebbs Collection not reproduced in this book. They are not included due to limitations of space, or because they are not the best representations of Tebbs's work.

ADDITIONAL LOUISIANA PLANTATIONS

Belwood (or Bellwood) Plantation, Bayou Lafourche
Caffrey House Plantation, Franklin
Capri Plantation
Columbia Plantation
Davey Plantation, Baldwin
Hackberry Hall
Homewood Sugar Plantation, possibly in Port Allen
Mandy Woodward Plantation
Mrs. May's Plantation, St. James Parish
New Hope Plantation
Plantation House, Patterson
Plantation House Lost in the Flood (possibly in Stanton)
Plantation Store, Bayou Lafourche
Rooney Plantation, Pointe Coupée
St. Gabriel Plantation
Singletary Plantation
Stone House, Clinton
Tolliver Plantation
Ventress Plantation, St. Francisville

ADDITIONAL HISTORIC PROPERTIES

Barracks, Old Campus of LSU, Baton Rouge
Christ Episcopal Church, Napoleonville
College Group, Louisiana State University
Convent at Grand Coteau
Courthouse, Clinton
Courthouse, Plaquemine
Edward Percy House, St. Francisville
Grace Episcopal Church, St. Francisville
Grand Coteau Cemetery, Iron Crosses
Hebrard House (Opelousas)
House at Baldwin
Judge Simon House, St. Francisville
Lawyers' Row, Clinton
LeJeune House, Plaquemine Parish
Major Kundy House, near Clinton
Marston House, Clinton
Masonic Temple, St. Francisville

Old Colony House, Baton Rouge
Old Hickory Mill
Jefferson College
Silliman College, Clinton
Unidentified River Road Plantation

HISTORIC PROPERTIES KNOWN TO BE OUTSIDE LOUISIANA

Borough House, South Carolina
Pleasant Hill (may have been in Amite County, Mississippi)
Presbyterian Church, Adams County, Mississippi
Windy Hills Manor, Natchez, Mississippi

ADDITIONAL OBJECTS

Boot Scraper
Document Signed by B. H. Latrobe
Copy of Contract by Gallier & Easterbrook, signed by Gallier

NOTES

FOREWORD

1. *Proclamation of the Third Annual Convention of the AIA* (November 1869): 47–51.

2. "Hammer and Trowel," *New Orleans Daily Picayune,* September 1, 1888.

3. "Sincerity in Architecture," *Building Review* (January 23, 1915): 21; "Activities and Accomplishments of the Louisiana Chapter AIA during the Past Year," *Building Review* (January 30, 1915): 8.

4. Morgan Hite, "The Influence of Wood Architecture," *Building Review* (June 1918): 24; "Influence of New Orleans Architecture Is Spreading," *Building Review* (February 1919): 9.

5. C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803–1805,* trans. Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican, 1966), 122.

6. Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Survey of Louisiana in the 1930s," in *Historic America: Buildings, Structures, and Sites* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983).

INTRODUCTION: Representing Louisiana Plantations, 1926

1. Gene G. Waddell, "The Only Volume in the Octagon Library," in *Renaissance in Charleston: Art and Life in the Carolina Low Country, 1900–1940,* ed. James M. Hutchisson and Harlan Greene (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 117–24, 227.

2. The precise nature of the relationship between Tebbs and Koch is unclear, and has been a matter of speculation.

3. Waddell, 117–20.

4. Robert W. Tebbs, "Flashlight vs. Daylight," *American Annual of Photography, 1910* 24: 91–92.

5. Ibid., 92.

6. "Robert W. Tebbs" [Obituary], *New York Times,* May 25, 1945.

7. Barbara SoRelle Bacot, "The Plantation," in *Louisiana Buildings, 1720–1940: The Historic American Buildings Survey,* ed. Jessie Poesch and Barbara SoRelle Bacot (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 87–88.

8. Ibid., 87–88; J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753–1950* (Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), 29. Sitterson calculated data based on reports in P. A. Champomier's *Statements of the Sugar Crop Made in Louisiana, 1844–1862* and *New Orleans Price-Current, 1822–1882;* Estwick Evans, *A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles . . .* (1819), quoted in Sitterson, 45.

9. "Negroes: Statue," *Time Magazine* (January 3, 1927); James W. Loewen, *Lies across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (1999; New York: Touchstone, 2007), 203–10. The statue was based on a photograph taken at Middleton Plantation near Charleston, South Carolina, that had appeared in *National Geographic* in 1926. Schuler worked in Baltimore, and was director of the Maryland Institute of Art from 1925 until his death. The monument stood at the corner of Washington and Lafayette streets until it was removed in 1968 with the permission of Bryan's daughter, Jo Bryan Ducournau. Four years later, *The Good Darky* was transferred to the Rural Life Museum in Baton Rouge.

10. "Reminiscences by Hilda Tebbs, his daughter-in-law, to Barbara Tebbs Briden, his granddaughter," typescript, ca. 1995, in possession of Barbara Tebbs Briden. Tebbs's birth date is listed in his *New York Times* obituary as January 17, 1875, though the family states that he was born on August 17.

11. "My branch of the Tebbs family," *Rootsweb,* http://boards.rootsweb.com/surnames.tebbs/25.2.1/mb.ashx; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920,* T625; Social Security Death Index, Master File, Social Security Administration. Charles D. Tebbs died in St. Petersburg, Florida, in December 1985.

12. "Hilda E. Tebbs, 84, Was Employed at Department Store and Library," *Westfield Leader* (Union County, N.J.), June 24, 1999, 11.

13. None of Tebbs's "sporting" photographs have been identified; they likely appeared without a byline. The earliest identified work for the *New York Times* is a portrait of Andrew Carnegie taken at his home on Fifth Avenue, published on February 14, 1915. Tebbs continued to work as a freelance photographer for the *Times* through the late 1930s, principally taking photographs of architectural interiors such as the Morgan Library (Feb. 24, 1925), Colonial Williamsburg (Feb. 18, 1934), a hunting lodge named Huntland in Middleburg, Virginia (July 30, 1916), Eugene O'Neill's home in Georgia (Nov. 22, 1936), Woodlawn near Lexington, Kentucky (Feb. 10, 1929), and Jekyll Island Club in Georgia (Dec. 9, 1934). On June 4, 1939, Tebbs took photographs of Queen Elizabeth during a visit to the United States and Canada. Photo Standalone 1, *New York Times* (1857–Current file). See ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *New York Times* (1851–2003), RP1; Robert W. Tebbs, "Church Interiors," *American Annual of Photography, 1908* 22:57.

14. Tebbs, "Church Interiors," 57–59; Tebbs, "Flashlight vs. Daylight," 91–93. The 5 x 8 inch Zeiss Tessar lens was considered state-of-the-art when it was patented in 1903. Bausch & Lomb was licensed to manufacture the lens. Tebbs worked principally with nitrate negatives and after about 1920 typically printed using the gelatin silver process.

15. Mary N. Woods, "In the Camera's Eye: The Woolworth Building and American Avant-Garde Photography and Film," in *Cass Gilbert, Life and Work: Architect of the Public Domain,* ed. Barbara S. Christen and Steven Flanders (New York: Norton, 2001), 151. These photographs were published in the *Architectural Record* 33 (February 1913): 109–23, including *Rear View of the Woolworth Building.* Woods suggests that one of the Tebbs-Hymans photographs, entitled *Detail of the 51st Story, The Woolworth Building,* inadvertently, perhaps, partakes of a modernist aesthetic. It includes a figure on scaffolding gazing at the city, simultaneously emphasizing the chronological dissonance and psychological continuity of "the cathedrals of God and those of commerce." For an example of Tebbs-Hymans' architectural work of the period, see New York Public Library, Mid-Manhattan Library, Picture Collection, *Lunchroom and Restaurant, Grand Central Terminal, New York, Plate XXVII,* ID 578402.

16. *Architectural Record* (February 1913): 109–23; Woods, 151; Samuel Howe, "The Berkshire Estate of Mr. Warren M. Salisbury. Walter & Gillette, architects. Illustrations from photographs and original drawings by Tebbs-Hymans, Ltd.," in *American Country Houses of To-day: An Illustrated Account of Some of the Excellent Houses Built and Gardens Planted During the Last Few Years Showing Unmistakable Influence of the Modern Trend in Ideals Architectural* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1915), 333–36.

17. "Reserve Corps Orders," *New York Times,* May 28, 1922; Thomas Scott Godfrey Burhman, ed., *The American Organist* 34 (American Guild of Organists: New York, 1951), 18; Ken Thomas, "Re: Tebbs and Knell photographers," December 7, 2001, *Surnames: Knell Family Genealogy Forum,* http://genforum.genealogy.com/knell/messages/25.html.

18. "Display Ad 195—No Title," *New York Times,* September 19, 1919, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *New York Times* (1851–2003), 54. The Oratorio Society was located at 1 West 34th Street in New York City. "Reminiscences by Hilda Tebbs," ca. 1995.

19. "Business Records," *New York Times,* December 6, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *New York Times* (1851–2003), 19.

20. Henry C. Hibbs Papers, 1882–1988, Series II, Professional Documents, 1896–1975, box I, folder 6, Special Collections Division, Nashville Public Library, Nashville, Tenn., acc. no. 2002.007.

21. Waddell, 117–24, 227.

22. Robert Cangelosi and others who have examined the photographs have suggested that the figure in the photograph of Madewood is Koch. Koch reportedly did not smoke, however. Thus, the individual in the photograph of the René Beauregard House may well be someone else.

23. Robert W. Tebbs, "Louisiana Plantations," *Pencil Points* 19 (April 1938): 249–64. Tebbs (and Knell) sold or gave thousands of photographic prints to countless architects and architectural firms. Several dozen, for example, are in the G. Wilson Small Collection, Photographic Prints, Louisiana Landmarks Society, Southeastern Architectural Archives, Collection 38: "Correspondence, photographs and other records," ca. 1940–1988, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

24. "Reminiscences by Hilda Tebbs," ca. 1995.

25. *Southern Architecture Illustrated* (Atlanta: Harmon Publishing Co., 1931). At least a portion of the print run was sponsored by the Georgia Marble Company of Tate, Georgia. It was reprinted in 2002 by the Southern Architecture Foundation and Golden Coast Publishing Company, with a foreword by William R. Mitchell, Jr.; quotation in Library of Congress, *Catalogue of Copyright Entries. New Series: 1932, Part I* (Washington D.C.: Copyright Office, United States Department of the Treasury, 1933), 62.

26. Oral History of Charles F. Murphy, interview by Carter H. Manny, compiled under the auspices of the Chicago Architects Oral History Project, Art Institute of Chicago website.

27. Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Survey of Louisiana in the 1930s," in *Historic America: Buildings, Structures, and Sites* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983). See Louisiana Landmarks Society Records and Collection, Collection 38, Tulane University. Almost all of the photographs in the collection of Koch and Wilson, APC (preceded by Armstrong & Koch from 1916 to 1935) are signed Tebbs & Knell, including plantation photographs taken between 1924 and 1926. There is no evidence that Knell accompanied Robert and Jeanne Tebbs during the summer visit, and Jeanne described the photographs as solely Tebbs's work when she sold them to the Louisiana State Museum. It is therefore likely that the photographs were printed and signed thus for Koch and Wilson for the sake of consistency and to simplify the contracting process for future commissions. The Southeastern Architectural Archives at Tulane University has accessioned about one hundred prints by Tebbs depicting New Orleans architectural subjects.

28. Although the partnership of Tebbs & Knell essentially dissolved in the late 1920s or early 1930s, the name continued to appear on photographs distributed as late as 1939. That Knell reportedly helped Tebbs secure a pension provides further circumstantial evidence that Knell served in the military. The book mentioned is listed as *Photographs of Colonial Churches,* by Robert W. Tebbs. The only extant copy appears to be at the Art Institute of Chicago library. Tebbs also was considered the author of *Architecture and Design: This Issue Devoted to the Work of Scroggs and Ewing, Architects, Augusta, Georgia* (New York: Architectural Catalogue Co., 1937).

29. "Reminiscences by Hilda Tebbs," ca. 1995.

30. E-mail from Barbara Briden, January 5, 2008; e-mail from Linda Ryan, January 5, 2008. In the 1970s and early 1980s, J. B. Harter, curator of visual arts and later director of collections at the Louisiana State Museum, arranged the Tebbs Collection in folders under the subject headings of individual plantations. Harter conducted research on the history of each plantation, cross-referencing them with HABS records from the 1930s. The files contain basic information such as date built, original owner, and in some cases, chain of ownership. In most instances, bibliographic citations are also included.

31. Robert Tebbs Collection, Louisiana State Museum Accession Files. The negatives have numbers assigned by Tebbs (427308 through 427664), suggesting that he made a total of 356 photographs during the period. In the late 1960s, curator Harter assigned accession numbers ranging from 1956.087.001 to 1956.087.347. As described in a survey prepared for the museum by Gary E. Albright of the Northeast Document Conservation Center, February 19, 1988, "The amber tone of some of the negatives and the 1926 date both suggest the presence of nitrate. This collection is very well housed in acid-free envelopes in archival storage boxes. Currently there are very few signs of deterioration. . . . Nitrate negatives deteriorate generating oxidative gases which will destroy photographic and paper collections in the area. . . . These collections also contain early safety film. This film generates acetic acid as it deteriorates. This acid is not an oxidizing agent and therefore these negative are not as serious a threat to the collections as nitrate films. However, any paper in contact with this material will become brittle over time." Between January and March 1970, Industrial Photography of New Orleans made 8 x 10–inch paper prints of many of the negatives, including those with no associated prints by Tebbs. In addition, a number of vintage prints in the collection do not have associated negatives.

32. Tebbs worked in Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. See Robert W. Tebbs Collection, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

33. Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 4452.

34. I am grateful to Wayne Phillips, Curator of Costumes and Textiles, at the Louisiana State Museum for his insights into the woman's dress. Although the photograph appears to have been created in an urban setting, there is a high probability that the patrons were involved at some level in the plantation economy. Free women of color were required by law to wear a *tignon* when appearing in public. Such restrictions did not apply to private spaces, however.

35. H. Parrott Bacot et al., *Marie Adrien Persac: Louisiana Artist* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 58.

36. "John Davidson, Esq.," *Jewell's Crescent City, Illustrated* (New Orleans: Edwin L. Jewell, 1873), 180.

37. Bacot et al., *Marie Adrien Persac,* 60–61.

38. William P. Spratling, with text by Natalie Scott, *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana* (New York: Helburn, 1927), vii–viii; Lyle Saxon, *Old Louisiana* (1929; rpr. Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1988), 4.

39. Spratling, vii–viii. For eighteenth- and nineteen-century definitions of the picturesque, see Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. J. Dodsley, 1757); Sir Uvedale Price, *Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared to the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: J. Robson, 1794); and Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytic Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London: T. Payne and J. White, 1805).

40. Some references in the accession files suggest that the photographs were taken in 1927. However, it is likely that this represents the year that some or all of the negatives were printed.

41. Tebbs, "Louisiana Plantations," 249. The images of Waverly and Shadows-on-the-Teche mentioned in this paragraph are reproduced later in this book. The Hickory Hill image appears earlier in this introduction.

42. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (1977; rpr. New York: Picador, 2001), 12.

43. See Clarence John Laughlin, "Prologue," *Ghosts along the Mississippi: An Essay in the Poetic Interpretation of Louisiana's Plantation Architecture* (1948; rpr. New York: Bonanza, 1961). All subsequent in-text quotations are from Laughlin's elegantly written prologue.

44. Consideration of the presence and role of slavery on Louisiana plantations, before the civil rights movement of the 1950s, was rarely among these associations, as suggested by discussion among scholars and in popular literature.

45. A Google image search of Louisiana plantations revealed 5,500 results on November 29, 2010.

46. Art and Soul (pseudonym), "Okay Book but not for Repeat Viewing," review of David K. Gleason, *Plantation Homes of the Louisiana and Natchez Area* (1983), Amazon.com, July 16, 2007, and Shannon Deason, "Lovely Louisiana," review of *Plantation Homes,* Amazon.com, May 13, 2005. The first reader tellingly states, "I bought this book because I thought it contained BEAUTIFUL pictures of the finest homes."

PHOTOGRAPHS OF LOUISIANA PLANTATION HOUSES

1. John F. McDermott, ed., *Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), 239. According to the *New Orleans States* of January 29, 1941, Elmwood was built in 1762. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 10 (October 1927): 542; Betsy Swanson, *Historic Jefferson Parish: From Shore to Shore* (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1975), 67–72; Grace King, *Creole Families of New Orleans* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 173. The property was part of Bienville's land concession from the Company of the Indies on March 27, 1719, a map of which appears in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 10 (January 1927): 8. Fred Daspit, *Louisiana Architecture, 1714–1830* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1996), 27–28; Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 165; J. A. Rubenstein, *Jefferson Parish Yearly Review* (1941), 128–29; "Plantation Home Relic of the Past," unidentified clipping in File 1: Plantations, Louisiana State Museum (hereafter LSM) Historical Center; "Parlange Plantation House," National Register of Historic Places Database, Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation & Tourism, Office of Cultural Development, Division of Historic Preservation, www.crt.state.la.us/hp/nationalregister/historicplacesdatabase.aspx.

2. "Parlange Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Alain Bugnicourt, "Bio-Généalogie de Virginie Gautreau = Mme X," May 2005, http://jssgallery.org/Resources/Photos/People/FamilyTreeMmeX.pdf; W. Darrell Overdyke, *Louisiana Plantation Homes, Colonial and Ante Bellum* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1965), 117; J. Wesley Cooper, *Louisiana: A Treasury of Plantation Homes* (Natchez, Miss.: Southern Historical Publications, 1961), 78; Laughlin, Plate 14; Daspit, 31–32; John Curtis Guillet (photography), Robert N. Smith (illustrations), and Patricia Land Stevens (text), *Louisiana's Architectural and Archaeological Legacies* (Natchitoches, La.: Northwestern State University Press, 1982), 180; Karen Kingsley, *Buildings of Louisiana* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 415; Gioia Dilberto, *I Am Madame X: A Novel* (New York: Scribners, 2004); Deborah Davis, *Strapless: John Singer Sargent and the Fall of Madame X* (New York: Tarcher/Penguin, 2003).

3. Mary Ann Sternberg, *Along the River Road: Past and Present on Louisiana's Historic Byway* (1996; rev. ed., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 141; Laughlin, Plate 17; Daspit, 10.

4. "Homeplace Plantation House," National Park Service Web site, http://www.nps.gov/history/nR/travel/louisiana/hom.htm. Homeland and Home Place are popular names, with other sites listed in Donaldsonville, Ascension Parish; Taylors Bruslie and Belle River, Assumption Parish; St. Gabriel, Iberville Parish; St. Patrick, St. James Parish; Waterloo, Pointe Coupée Parish; and Bayou Boeuf, Rapides Parish. Barbara Allen, *Falgoust: A History and Genealogy of the Falgoust and Falgout Families of France and Louisiana, 1555–1988* (privately published, 1988), n.p.; Stella Pitts, "River Road Reveries," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* July 23, 1973, clipping in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center.

5. "Ormond Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Overdyke, 107; Cooper, 38; Laughlin, Plates 12–13; Daspit, 97–99; "Ormond Plantation Manor: A History of Ormond Plantation," http://www.plantation.com/history.html; "New Life for Plantation: Area Being Developed into Private Home Sites," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* Oct. 20, 1974; Italo W. Ricciuti, *New Orleans and Its Environs: The Domestic Architecture, 1727–1870* (New York: Helburn, 1938), 122–23; Herman Boehm de Bachellé Seebold, *Old Louisiana Plantation Homes and Family Trees* (1941; rpr. Gretna, La.: Pelican, 2005), 1: 81–95, 289–92; Edward A. Suydam, "A Portfolio of Old Plantation Houses Reflecting Glory That Was Louisiana's," *Country Life* 58 (October 1930): 52; clipping in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center; "Envision Life for Old Ormond," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* January 28, 1978; Pitts clipping.

6. Cooper, 128; Laughlin, Plate 19; Daspit, 240–41; Kingsley, 418; "Labatut," National Register of Historic Places Database; Miriam G. Reeves, *The Felicianas of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La.: Claitor's, 1967), 22; A brochure published by Pointe Coupée Parish erroneously states that the present house was built for Zénon Porche in the 1830s; see "Pointe Coupée Historic Driving Tour," http://pointecoupeetour.tripod.com/brochure.html. Don Evariste de Barra's name is often spelled "Evarist" and "Bara"; Succession of Zénon Porché, Process Verbal of Sale, 7th JD Court #84, I. G. Olinde, Clerk of Court, New Roads (Pointe Coupée Parish), La., 1872.

7. "Whitney Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; "Whitney Plantation Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Database; Daspit, 156–57; Kingsley, 227–28. Whitney has been listed as being built in 1810 by Martini & Perrett [or St. Martin & Perrett]; Ron Stodghill, "Driving Back into Louisiana's History, *New York Times,* May 25, 2008; Thaddeus Roger Kilpatrick III, "A Conservation Study of the Decorative Paintings at Whitney Plantation, St. John the Baptist Parish, Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1992).

8. "Evergreen Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box II of III, LSM; Cooper, 86; Seebold, 1:168, 170; Kingsley, 228–29; Laughlin, Plates 35 and 36; "Evergreen—Yesterday and Today," *New Orleans Times-Picayune Dixie Roto Magazine,* September 23, 1973; Pitts clipping; "Evergreen Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database; Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Notes and Documents: The Building Contract for Evergreen Plantation, 1832," *Louisiana History* 31 (Winter 1990): 399–406. HABS index cards at the Louisiana State Museum mistakenly state that Evergreen was built in 1840 by Ralph Brou and that Canal Bank Liquidators owned the property in 1929.

9. Daspit, 123–24; Guillet et al., 263; Butler Family Papers, 1663–1950, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 1026; Kingsley, 428–29; "The Cottage," National Register of Historic Places Database.

10. "Burnside Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box I of III, LSM; Mrs. Stephen R. Campbell, "Les Oumas," *New Orleans Genesis* 7 (June 1968): 206–14, 308–22; Kingsley, 183–84; Laughlin, Plates 55–59; "Brief History," *Progress* (September 23, 1938), 16; Pitts clipping; Cooper, 40; Guillet et al., 13; "John Smith Preston," *Dictionary of American Biography* 15:202–203; Spratling, 17–19; Inventory of the William Porcher Miles Papers, 1784–1906," Collection No. 508, Manuscripts Department, University Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; "The Houmas," National Register of Historic Places Database. See *Slidell v. Grandjean,* 111 U.S. 412, for the complicated history of the original land sale and grant.

11. "Oakley Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Kingsley, 423–24; "Oakley Plantation House," National Register of Historic Places Database; Overdyke, 114; Cooper, 60; Seebold, 1:238–45; Laughlin, Plates 27 and 28; Daspit, 181–82. James Pirrie's name is also listed on several genealogical websites as "Perrie." Stanley Clisby Arthur and George Campbell Huchet de Kernion, *Old Families of Louisiana* (1931; Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1998), 195. Guillet et al. (269) and other writers have suggested that Audubon produced thirty-two paintings during his four-month stay at Oakley. "Oakley Purchase as Park Is Voted," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* May 30, 1947; "Vote to Buy Oakley," *St. Francisville Democrat,* May 23, 1947; *Progress* (March 10, 1939), 10; M. Presley, "Audubon's Happyland," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* April 28, 1974, all clippings in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center.

12. "Three Oaks Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Cooper, 52; "Three Oaks Plantation," http://michael.flaherty.net/threeoaks.htm.

13. Cooper, 146; Daspit, 157; Federal Writers' Project, *Louisiana: A Guide to the State* (New York: Hastings House, 1945), 555; *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography,* ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, La.: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 1:472; Arthur, 252. One Jean Baptiste Sarpy, a merchant in New Orleans, died unmarried and presumably without issue in 1798. However, another Jean Baptiste Sarpy appears to have been in New Orleans during the late 1820s and early 1830s. See "Cassino, Jos. (Agt. Jean Sapia) to Jean Baptiste Sarpy, Release of Mortgage," April 23, 1828, Act 546, Felix des Armas, Notary Public, April–May 1828, Acts 511–725 Inc., New Orleans Notarial Archives Web site; "The Handbook of Texas Online," Texas State Historical Association Web site. After John Hueston, editor of the *Baton Rouge Gazette,* published what LaBranche considered a slanderous article, LaBranche killed him in a duel with double-barreled shotguns in 1842. The map of St. Charles Parish is in the LSM collections (1998.001.006.03). See also "Louisiana Historical Society Annual Fall Tour: 2009 Annual Tour," Louisiana Historical Society Web site.

14. "Scott House," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Guillet et al., 73; Jay Dearborn Edwards and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 118; Eva Scott Family Papers, 1832–1959, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 2994; Paul Malone (photography) and Lee Malone (text), *The Majesty of the Felicianas* (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1989), 87–88.

15. Guillet et al., 179; "Old Hickory," National Register of Historic Places Database. A lawsuit filed by Ovide Lejeune's divorced wife, Marguerite Levy, states that the plantation went through a series of owners and mortgages from 1850 through the early 1870s, but the Lejeune family appears to have maintained ownership. Jay Hawkins, "No. 3794.—Jules Levy et al.—v. Police Jury of Pointe Coupée," *Reports Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Printed for the Republican Office, 1872), 24: 292–73.

16. Sternberg, 260; Kingsley, 425–26; Daspit, 263–64; "Butler-Greenwood Plantation," Louisiana National Register of Historic Places; Mathews-Ventress-Lawrason Family Papers, 1770–1934, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 4358; Charles Watts, "Discourse on the Life of the Hon. George Mathews," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* 4 (April 1921): 189–200; Suydam, 33; untitled clipping in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center; Cooper, 64; Seebold, 1:280–83; Laughlin, Plates 42–44.

17. "Hickory Hill Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box II of III, LSM; Daspit, 189–90; Seebold, 1:229–31; *Progress* (May 19, 1939), 12; Reeves, 62; "Hickory Hill Plantation, near Wilson, Louisiana, Home of David Scott McCants, C.S.A.," and "Capt. David Scott McCants, 18 Nov 1781–4 Jan 1864," ID Number: I287, http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mysouthernfamily/hickoryhill.html.

18. "The Hermitage Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box II of III, LSM; "The Hermitage," National Register of Historic Places Database; Overdyke, 108–109; Kingsley, 185–86; Cooper, 44; Laughlin, Plate 41; Daspit, 269–70; Guillet et al., 12; e-mail from Dr. Robert Judice, August 21, 2008; Louis Amédeé Bringier Papers, 1827–1897, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 43, 139, 544; Scarborough, 49; Seebold, 1:131, 136, 152.

19. Overdyke, 36; Seebold, 1:227–29, 233; Cooper, 58; "Asphodel Plantation and Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Database; J. Frazer Smith, *White Pillars: Early Life and Architecture of the Lower Mississippi Valley Country* (New York: Helburn, 1941), 131–32; Guillet et al., 62. HABS recorded Asphodel in 1936. Isabella Kendrik's name is also listed in several sources as "Isobel."

20. "Pleasant View Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database; "Pleasant View Lake at False River," http://www.pleasantviewlake.com/propertydescription.htm.

21. "Waverly Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Cooper, 68; Laughlin, Plate 30; "Charles M. McDermott (1808–1884)," *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History,* www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2635; "Waverly Plantation: Antebellum Home Destroyed by Fire," *Baton Rouge State Times,* November 24, 1972.

22. Cooper, 145; Overdyke, 145; Seebold, 1:270–75; Kingsley, 426; Reeves, 44; *Progress* (April 29, 1938), 14. Wade married Olivia Ruffin Lane, daughter of William Lane and Mary Barrow, in 1820, after her first husband, William Ratliff, was killed in a hunting accident about 1815. According to HABS records in the accession files at the LSM, Ellerslie was built in 1830.

23. Seebold, 1:327; Kingsley, 246; "Live Oak Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database; *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (Chicago: Goodspeed, 1892), 1:379–80; Leroy Willie, "Refugees from a Duel—Live Oak Steeped in History," *Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate,* March 21, 1965, clipping in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center.

24. Seebold, 1:42–47; "Stauffer House," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM. For examples, see plates 22, 27, 35, 38, and 39 in Asher Benjamin, *The American Builder's Companion; or, A system of architecture, particularly adapted to the present style of building* (Boston: R. P. & C. William, 1816). Despite conjecture on the part of Seebold, little is known about the Hurst family or the early history of the house. It may have been associated with a plantation, but many architectural historians believe that it was designed originally as a suburban home.

25. "Greenwood Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box II of III, LSM; Cooper, 64; Kingsley, 426; Laughlin, Plate 42. Boyd Cruise executed a watercolor of the summer house at Greenwood.

26. Overdyke, 143; *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography,* 1:60; Spratling, 158; Seebold, 1:163–65; Laughlin, Plate 65; *Louisiana State Papers,* No. 72 (Philadelphia: William Hill Co.), 53; "Belle Chasse," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box I of III, LSM; "Once Owned by J. P. Benjamin, Now Owned by James E. and M. J. Zunts," *Louisiana Planter* 3 (October 26, 1889), 258; "Death Notice of Theodore J. Packwood, Once Owner with Judah P. Benjamin of this Plantation," *Louisiana Planter* 3 (December 19, 1891), 350; "Brief History," *New Orleans States,* March 1, 1925; "Belle Chasse Plantation House," http://www.geocities.com/BourbonStreet/Bayou/3653/tree/BelchsPl.html; Marcie Cohen Ferris, *Matzoh Ball Gumbo: Culinary Tales of the Jewish South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 96; Carl Sommers, "Q and A," *New York Times,* November 26, 1989; Anita Libman Lebeson, *Pilgrim People: A History of the Jews in America from 1492 to 1974* (New York: Minerva Press, 1975), 274–75; "C. V. Thibaut v. Joseph P. Kearney, Appt.," *The Lawyers Reports Annotated,* Book XVIII (Rochester, N.Y.: Lawyers' Cooperative Publishing Co., 1905), 596–97; Spratling, 158; Kingsley, 163. An unsigned letter dated September 9, 1953, in the LSM accession files states that Mrs. Thomas Eaton considered buying the property but was dissuaded by an estimate of $100,000 to refurbish the house.

27. Cooper, 100; "Magnolia Ridge Is Part of the National Register," *Lafayette Advertiser,*

June 1, 1980; Henry E. Chambers, *A History of Louisiana* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1925), 2:312–14.

28. "Calumet Plantation House," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box I of III, LSM; Robert E. Smith and Ruth R. Fontenot, "Calumet Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database.

29. Overdyke, 127; Cooper, 126–27; Laughlin, Plates 37–39; Seebold, 1:342–47; Kingsley, 287; Smith, 165; *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography,* 1:177, 333; "Chrétien Point Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database. Many writers have suggested that the house was built by Chrétien's son, Hypolite II. However, records indicate he was not born until 1823 (Chrétien and Neda married in 1818) and thus would have been too young to have contracted for a plantation house. See 1850 Federal Census, St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, Enumerated on Nov. 16, 1850, by L. E. Lee, Sheet No: 99B Reel No: M432-240.

30. "The Shadows (Weeks Hall)," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Cooper, 92; Kingsley, 253–54; Betsy Wade, "Louisiana's Cajun Country Prospers amid Traditions," *New York Times,* April 16, 1978; "Shadows-on-the-Teche," National Register of Historic Places Database.

31. "René Beauregard House," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Laughlin, Plate 55; Smith, 203–205; Cooper, 32; "Brief History," *States,* June 1, 1924; "Chalmette National Historical Park," National Register of Historic Places Database; Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Beauregard House: Architectural Survey Report" (unpublished report, 1956); *The Battle of New Orleans: Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans* (Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Historical Booklet, distributed by Louisiana Landmarks Society, 1965), 30, 39–48; "The René Beauregard House," Jean Lafitte: Historic Resources Study (Chalmette Unit), chap. 14, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/jela/hrs14.htm. Biographical information about the Cenas/Beauregard family was provided by William K. Brunot of Brisbane, California. Charles F. Zimpel created a topographical map of Chalmette and New Orleans that seems to depict a building on the St. Amand property in 1833, leading to the supposition that the house may have been constructed by then. Architectural historians have disputed the often-repeated assertion that the main house was designed by James Gallier, Sr.

32. "Wakefield Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Guillet et al., 275; "Wakefield Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database. Sterling's diary was in the possession of Helene Allain in 1939. Naming the plantation after the Vicar of Wakefield represented an odd choice—the novel is about a series of calamities that befall the vicar's family, including a fire that destroyed their home. The vicar's family is, however, rescued in the end by a *deus ex machina* plot twist.

33. "Rosedown Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Laughlin, Plates 46–49; Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers, 1771–1956, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 4452; *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography,* 2:801; "Rosedown Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database. For discussion of some of the controversies that erupted during Slivka's ownership, see Peter Applebome, "A Plantation Church Becomes a Biracial Cause," *New York Times* (Feb. 16, 1994), and Thomas J. Durant, Jr., "The Enduring Legacy of an African-American Plantation Church," *Journal of Negro History* 80 (Spring 1995): 81–95.

34. "Welham Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; "William P. Welham Plantation Record Book," Keller Family Plantation Records, 1858–1937, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 3010; John McQuaid, "Transforming the Land," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* May 21, 2000; "Welham Plantation," Louisiana Site Selection Center, http://www.louisianasiteselection.com/content/sites_display.asp?sitesid=52; Rick Halpern and Enrico Dal Lago, eds., *Slavery and Emancipation* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002), 126. "Terrio" is also spelled "Theriot."

35. "Seven Oaks Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Overdyke, 144; Cooper, 144; "Seven Oaks Plantation Site," Jefferson Historical Society of Louisiana: Monuments & Markers, 2003, http://www.jeffersonhistoricalsociety.com/placemarkers.htm; Federal Writers' Project, *Louisiana,* 556; John Pope, "When it was home . . . ," *New Orleans States-Item,* June 6, 1977, B-1; Spratling, 54; Marc R. Matrana, *Lost Plantation: The Rise and Fall of Seven Oaks* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 30, 122, 137, 149–53. The Federal Writers' Project and several subsequent authors state that Seven Oaks was built for the widow of Lucian (also listed as Lucien) LaBranche. Matrana says that no evidence supports this contention.

36. "Woodlawn Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Overdyke, 174; "Woodlawn Plantation," HABS index cards, LSM Library and Historical Center. Information about Woodlawn is conflicting. The above-cited HABS index cards state that the house was completed in 1847, whereas Dr. Thomas Boyant Pugh, the first owner's son, stated that the house was built in 1840 and the wings added ten years later. See Richard Koch, "Historical American Buildings Survey in Louisiana," Dec. 14, 1942, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey; see also the Pugh-Williams-Mayes Family Papers, Josephine Nicholls Pugh Civil War Account, William W. Pugh and Family Plantation Records, and Mrs. Mary W. Pugh Papers, Young-Sanders Center of the Study of the War Between the States in Louisiana, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Gas illumination was introduced in New Orleans in 1829, and the Hermann-Grima House was built with gas fixtures in 1831. As noted in the text, Pugh's first wife was named "William," according to the family Bible.

37. "Oak Alley Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Cooper, 84–85; Laughlin, Plates 50–53; Kingsley, 226; Pitts clipping; *Progress,* July 15, 1938, 16, unidentified clipping in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center; Smith, 191–92; "Famed Oak Alley Plantation Has Exciting Future in Store," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* November 28, 1976; "Oak Alley Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Database; Guillet et al., 213; Joan Amort, "The Genesis of Oak Alley," Oak Alley Plantation, http://www.oakalleyplantation.com/about/history/.

38. Kingsley, 446; Henry Marston Papers, 1794–1884, Louisiana and Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Libraries, LSU, Baton Rouge, Mss 624; "Marston House," National Register of Historic Places Database. The foundation was named after Bunlow Ward Marston (1841–1917), Abigail Louisa's brother.

39. "Brame House," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box I of III, LSM; Kingsley, 445–46; "Brame-Bennett House," National Register of Historic Places Database. Langfitt sold the property to Sarah Wheat on November 16, 1849, who in turn sold the property to Owen F. Langworthy on December 2, 1858. Two years later, Michael Frank bought the house and on February 2, 1853, sold it to William H. Jewell. Colonel D. C. Hardee owned the house after September 7, 1865. He sold it to an unrecorded buyer, who in turn sold the property to Thomas J. Kernan sometime before December 28, 1886.

40. "Rienzi Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Kingsley, 237; Overdyke, 121; Cooper, 88; Laughlin, Plate 22; Daspit, 225–27; "Legend Is House Built for Queen," *Baton Rouge State Times,* August 27, 1965; Charles W. Price, "Rienzi Mansion on Bayou Lafourche Relic of Intrigue? Lost Dreams and Empire," *Progress,* March 18, 1938; Frances Parkinson Keyes, *All This Is Louisiana: An Illustrated Story Book,* photographs by Elemore Morgan (New York: Harper, 1950), 262; Guillet et al., 99; "Allen v. Smith, argued Jan. 19, 1899, decided March 6, 1899," 173 U.S. 396 (1899); William Kauffman Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 191; "Rienzi Plantation House," National Register of Historic Places Database.

41. Overdyke, 110; Cooper, 46; Sternberg, 185; Kingsley, 186–87; Guillet et al., 11; Seebold, 1:137–55; Smith, 189; Laughlin, Plates 60–63; "Ashland," National Register of Historic Places Database. Kenner owned 473 slaves on three plantations in 1860. The name "Reuss" is often spelled "Rousse" in documents and records.

42. The spelling was often given as "Maidwood" during the nineteenth century. "Madewood Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box II of III, LSM; Cooper, 90; Kingsley, 242; Seebold, 1:197–99; Smith, 173; "History," *Progress* (May 27, 1938), 14; Laughlin, Plates 60–68; Guillet et al., 18; *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography,* 2:667; Suydam, 51–54; "Owners Restore Madewood to Beauty and Usefulness," *Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate,* October 15, 1978, clipping in File 1: Plantations, LSM Historical Center; "Madewood," Explore the Culture of Southeastern Louisiana: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary, http://www.nps.gov/history/nR/travel/louisiana.text.htm; "Madewood," National Register of Historic Places Database. HABS records suggest that Madewood was completed in 1846. Cornealieus Hennessey is otherwise unknown as an artist.

43. Seebold, 1:196–97; "Cane-Cutter?" *New York Times,* October 10, 1938. Wurtele was the author of two books on foreign relations and continentalism in the 1940s.

44. Building contract for Bagatelle, filed under Augustin Marius Tureaud (duplicate), no. 267 (p. 350), conveyance Book D, St. James Parish, dated December 27, 1841; William Bringier, "History of Donaldsonville," http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/la/ascension/history/donaldso.txt; Sternberg, 174–75; "Bagatelle," National Register of Historic Places Database; Louis Amédeé Bringier Papers, 1827–1897, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 43, 139, 544.

45. "Uncle Sam Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box III of III, LSM; Laughlin, Plates 69–73; Harnett T. Kane, *Plantation Parade: The Grand Manner in Louisiana* (New York: William Morrow, 1945), 156–69; Smith, 199–201; Overdyke, 136–37; Cooper, 136; Pitts clipping; Laughlin, Plates 69–73; Uncle Sam Plantation Papers, 1815–1914, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Mss. 208, 602, 1252.

46. Overdyke, 177; Seebold, 1:195–97; Smith, 171–72; Laughlin, Plate 64; Kingsley, 243; "Death of James P. Koch, Once Owner of Plantation," *Louisiana Planter* 55 (September 4, 1915): 148; "Belle Alliance Owner John T. Many Dies," *Louisiana Planter* 70 (February 17, 1923): 135; Bob Franks, "Belle Alliance," Assumption Parish, LAGenWeb Project, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~laassump/belle.html; "Belle Alliance," National Register of Historic Places Database.

47. "Mount Airy Plantation," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box II of III, LSM; Seebold, 1:105–106; Sternberg, 147. HABS index cards at the LSM Library and Historical Center indicate, without documentation, that Mount Airy was constructed for one "Mr. Fortin" prior to the Civil War.

48. "Belmont," Tebbs Collection Files, Accession no. 1956.87, Box I of III, LSM; Seebold, 1:332.

49. Overdyke 31; Seebold, 1:186–92; Laughlin, Plates 84–92; Sternberg, 146; Stockmeyer v. Tobin, 139, U.S. 176, *Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Terms, 1890, 1891 in 139, 140, 141, 142 U.S.,* Book 35 (Rochester, N.Y.: Lawyers' Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1901), 123–27; Andrew Backover, "Ebbers linked to over $4M in farm subsidies," *USA Today* (November 12, 2002).

50. Federal Writers' Project, *Louisiana,* 519; Merritt M. Robinson, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Louisiana, vol. 5, From May to September, 1843* (New Orleans: Published for the Reporter, 1845), 460; Genealogy Trails History Group, "Plantation Homes of Louisiana," http://genealogytrails.com/lou/plantatons.html; Anne Butler, ed., *The Pelican Guide to Plantation Homes of Louisiana* (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 2009), 42; postcard of Goodwood Plantation, Baton Rouge Digital Archive from the East Baton Rouge Parish Library, ebrpl.com; "Fine Homes about in Baton Rouge and Vicinity," *States Times–Morning Advocate,* n.d., in Regional History—East Baton Rouge Parish Collection, Box 1, Folder 9, Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies, Southeastern Louisiana University; Paige Dampf, "Goodwood Plantation: History Revealed," *InRegister* (April 2007): 18–19.

51. Overdyke, 133; William Edwards Clement with Stuart Omer Landry, *Plantation Life on the Mississippi* (1952; rpr. Gretna, La.: Pelican, 2000), 175; Matrana, 184; "Pictures and History," *Progress* (August 20, 1937), 12; Charles Dufour, "Henry Howard: Forgotten Architect," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 11 (December 1952): 21–24; Harry Skrdla, *Ghostly Ruins: America's Forgotten Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006), 217; Robert Mark Rudd, "Apocryphal Grandeur: Belle Grove Plantation in Iberville Parish, Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 2002); Henry Whittemore, *History of the Adams Family: With biographical sketches of distinguished descendants of the several American ancestors, including collateral branches* (New York: W. McDonald & Co., 1893), 69; "To Captain Bussard, Superintendent of Plantation, re: The petition of E. L. Shiff [*sic*], residing in the parish of Iberville, a loyal citizen of the United States," January 17, 1863, Incoming correspondence of the Plantation Bureau, Box 5, Entry 414, Records of the Civil War, Special Agencies of the Treasury Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Letter from Pat Ware to Kara Schneiderman, June 19, 2001, Accession file 0733A, "Henry Ware" by James Reid Lambdin, LSM. Many writers, including Harnett Kane, have reported erroneously that Belle Grove was designed by James Gallier, Jr. HABS documented the plantation in 1938; Walker Evans photographed Belle Grove for HABS in March 1935, and Edward Weston photographed the plantation in 1941. The LSM has two watercolors of Belle Grove by Boyd Cruise (EL2007.1.196 and EL2007.1.197) and two prints showing the elevation by Dan Leyrer (T0173.1991).

52. Mark Robichaux, "Ingredients of a Family Fortune: The Hot Story of Tabasco Sauce," *Wall Street Journal,* October 10, 2007.

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