

# **Tourism – A Conservation Tool for St. Louis Cemetery No. 1**

## ***Introduction***

Some might say that the city of New Orleans, specifically the French Quarter or Vieux Carré, is, and always has been, the quintessential cultural tourism city. Whether in New Orleans for leisure or business, the modern day visitor experiences an “otherness” that has changed, but has not been lost through the centuries. Tourism can be managed with vision, poorly, or not at all, but it will always be a factor in New Orleans. This paper explores how tourism has defined the cemeteries of New Orleans throughout history and suggests that the growing tourism interest in the cemeteries now be harnessed to positively impact the future conservation needs of these cultural sites.

## ***Tourism and Cultural Tourism Defined***

There are many definitions and perceptions of “tourism.” One definition of tourism is the “voluntary, leisure-time travel that brings guests, who are strangers, into contact with hosts, who anticipate and cater to guests’ needs and desires.”<sup>1</sup> Dean MacCannell defines tourist two ways. First as sightseers, mainly middle-class, who are at this moment deployed throughout the entire world in search of experience.” And secondly, as “one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general.”<sup>2</sup> A simple definition by the World Tourism Organization is “tourist – any person who stays away from home overnight.”<sup>3</sup> Cultural tourism is a smaller subset that often includes travel involving music, arts, history or ethnic exchange.

Anthropological studies often focus on the negative consequences that local, or host, communities experience from tourism, and tourism has been long criticized by the preservation community. “The tourist, many claim, erodes cultural sites, trivializes their significance, fosters theatrical reconstructions, perverts local culture and treats heritage as a consumer good.”<sup>4</sup> These claims can be true, but the blame is not well placed. Tourism, per se, should not be considered the culprit. Poor management, or worse, the complete lack of management of the tourism component of an important cultural site, is the real problem.

“Good management of cultural tourism is central to the mission of the conservation community.”<sup>5</sup> Sites that present mankind’s cultural heritage, whether at the very small local level or at the World Heritage Site level, should be available to the public for both learning and enjoyment. Our responsibility is to manage that public interaction so that the site is preserved and can continue to provide learning and enjoyment for many generations. We should also strive to manage the interpretations of such sites so that the local community’s past and present use of the site is respected and truthfully represented.

In many cases, it is the conservation community that first creates or defines the “heritage” component of a site that later becomes a tourist attraction. The research into the

historical significance, and the definition of the contributing aspects of a site, provide material for establishing the attraction as a desirable location. Converting an unknown cultural resource into a heritage tourism site is often the single most effective way to save the resource from destruction. “Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing, because they are no longer occupied or functioning or valued, will survive. It does this by adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference, and where possible, indigeneity.”<sup>6</sup> The tourism industry then makes the attraction economically viable as an exhibit of itself.

Growth in cultural tourism and the heritage industry can open up a variety of opportunities for conservation. “From small town arts councils to state economic development agencies to the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Park Service, one finds optimism that heritage tourism can stimulate economic growth and enhance quality of life to help moribund communities attract new business and industry.”<sup>7</sup> Heritage sites can be exported to the world through tourism. Unlike other export industries, tourism does not export goods for consumption elsewhere, but imports visitors to consume the goods and services locally, with the ability to provide economic and development benefits to the greater community beyond the heritage site.<sup>8</sup>

Involvement in cultural tourism links the conservation community to a multi-million dollar global activity. In 1990, only the petroleum, petroleum products and the automobile industry were larger.<sup>9</sup> There have not been enough cases where these resources have been tapped effectively, but that opportunity is definitely there for the right programs. At the local, national or international scale, convincing arguments need to be developed that will lure the politicians and the tourism industry into viable programs that provide a share of the tourist revenues for worthy conservation programs.

Cultural tourism should be a powerful tool for the conservation community, and yet there exists serious concern that this tool cannot be controlled. The tourism process at a heritage site often does not occur with the guiding hand and input of the conservation community. It should be remembered that commercializing the local culture does not require the consent of the participants; it can be done by anyone. If there are obvious aspects about a site or location that can be profitably marketed to outsiders, enterprising members of the tourism industry will do so, as will others involved in the publication of books, movies, and information on the Internet. “Once set in motion, the process seems irreversible and its very subtlety prevents the affected people from taking any clear-cut action to stop it.”<sup>10</sup> This is a key concept for the conservation community to understand, as it becomes most difficult to gain control of the tourism component of a site after the process has spread out into multiple directions.

The tourism industry packages economical, scripted slices of local color with a small dash of physical adventure for the mass marketing of most tours. “Marketing considerations mean that representation intended for tourists are unlikely to challenge stereotypes and conventional wisdom unless cultural specialists and the subjects of cultural tourism can advance strong alternative concepts.”<sup>11</sup> Heritage marketing thrives

on the gaps between history and memory introducing elements of colorful folklore and fictional accounts. Timeframes can be jumbled and the negatives selectively forgotten.<sup>12</sup> The attempts to fictionalize the past is a threat that must be met by the conservation community, so that the unique heritage of these sites does not become lost, trivialized or corrupted.

With the wealth of interesting factual information on the St. Louis 1 cemetery, alternative concepts should be easy to package and sell to the tourism industry. If these alternatives are not developed, the local guides will fill the voids “staging inauthentic events and inventing spurious cultural traditions that undermine rather than sustain the vitality of genuine cultural expression.”<sup>13</sup>

Tourism is part of the historical significance of the site in St. Louis 1 cemetery. Tourism has always been a factor, and it is now growing to be a much greater factor. Today, there are many cooperating, competing, and sometimes conflicting, tourism and non-profit programs involved in the commercialization and interpretation of the site. The message can vary widely amongst tour guides, web sites, books, brochures and pamphlets for sale, and in the various non-profit organizations’ fundraising events. While the increased interest has created a safer, more active site, and the demonstrated public interest has supported the applications for public funding of conservation plan studies, the tourism process is beginning to take precedence in local decision making and there is no long-term management plan evident. These are danger signals that must be heeded.

### ***What Do Tourists Want?***

The reasons to tour and the expectations of travelers have changed over the centuries. Travelers experience different lands, cultures and sites through lenses and filters shaped by their own time, backgrounds and individual experiences.<sup>14</sup> Tourism did not begin as leisure travel, but as cultural travel, with the Grand Tours of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries to visit the places where the traditions of our western high culture were shaped. The emphasis was first on Italy and to a lesser degree on France. Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, visits to Greece increased as travel to the Middle East became easier and safer. The sons of aristocratic families would make these tours, often in the company of tutors, and come away from the experience “cultured.” During the next century, cultural travel was adopted by merchants to develop “class.”<sup>15</sup>

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, romantic concepts took hold of travelers. Excursions were often driven by nostalgia, and travel to cities with their streets full of history or landmark sites and picturesque landscapes were part of this response. Adventurous travel was made to sites that excited visions of a past where one could experience forgotten places and ruins. These vicarious adventures could occur in physical form, or through the stylized accounts of others, such as the distilled views of New Orleans as recounted by Lafcadio Hearn. “Merely looking at architecture and urban spaces for their visual excitement, just viewing them as pure decoration and backdrop illustrations, became a spectator habit within the visual imagination of the nineteenth century, nurtured further by the plethoric

outpourings of the illustrated press, the photograph, and theatrical displays... Architecture and city places, as we have seen, give particular form to our memories; they are the mnemonic codes that awaken recall.”<sup>16</sup>

As the International style of architecture and common city planning practices turned our modern cities into similar repeating views of commercial business towers, the modern tourist looks for new venues for leisure time escape and adventure. Hence the growing interest in vernacular architecture in cities and rural landscapes where they are neighborhoods of architecture and well preserved ethnic cultures. Wherever 19th century development did not completely erase the traditional fabric of housing, people can still discover the charm of old neighborhoods and traditions.<sup>17</sup> This heritage tourism is often the primary motivation or rationale for a leisure vacation, and cities and sites today “rarely neglect the chance to point out their glorious past in tourist brochures . . . History sells and heritage is hyped.”<sup>18</sup>

Tourists want various things from their experience. They seek distraction from their everyday life, the place they call home, their work and the responsibilities they leave at home. But that distraction can be achieved in different ways, often combined in the same vacation. On one side of the pendulum is an escape into contrived amusement and a carnival atmosphere, and on the other is immersion into the authentic life of another culture or place that is not their own. Both of these extremes provide relaxation, pleasure and adventure outside the ordinary experience. “Thus the tourism industry is preoccupied with shaping and responding to the desire for carnival-like diversion, on the one hand, and a yearning for extraordinary, but real, experience on the other.”<sup>19</sup> The city of New Orleans, with its selected streets of continual carnival atmosphere, and so many diverse neighborhoods providing alien pasts, cultures and lifestyles, has always been able to meet both extremes and continues to draw great numbers of tourists.

An aspect of New Orleans that has always been labeled a “must see for visitors” is the great variety of historic cemeteries that are scattered throughout, and beyond, the city. The tourism of cemeteries is not a modern action. Whether it is to view a layout that varies from the norm, to visit the graves of important or famous persons, to experience the varied architectural or sculptural elements that dot a landscape or to experience solitude and stimulate thought, cemeteries have long provided the tourist with a destination. The above ground cemeteries of New Orleans, with Saint Louis 1 being the first, were visited for all of the above reasons. Originally situated outside of the city limits, the cemetery was a curiosity as to the burial traditions associated with it, and the visual stimulation in which these traditions resulted. As it was built up, Saint Louis Cemetery No. 1 came to resemble a miniature city, as opposed to the countrified rural landscapes common in cemeteries of the period.

The rural cemeteries of 19<sup>th</sup> century America, which include Mount Auburn (1831), outside of Boston, and Mount Laurel (1836), on the outskirts of Philadelphia, served as respites to the burgeoning urbanism of city life. With carefully designed landscapes based on English prototypical gardens of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these picturesque cemeteries,

which pre-date the creation of public parks, were to present a visitor with "...a programmed sequence of sensory experiences, primarily visual, intended to elicit specific emotions, especially the so-called pleasures of melancholy that particularly appealed to contemporary romantic sensibilities." These "pleasure grounds" were touted in travelers' accounts and in guidebooks as "...*musts* to be seen by any stranger, American or foreign, visiting their vicinity."<sup>20</sup> They were tourist attractions from the time of their inception, and many were planned as such.

Saint Louis Cemetery No. 1 differs from these landscaped cemeteries, not in its purpose, but in its visual appearance. The above ground tombs give rise to the description "city of the dead," one which is often used by travelers in their accounts relating to New Orleans. In this respect it can be compared to the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris (1804), composed of tombs in the same style, many by the French emigré designer, De Pouilly.. Though designed in a similar fashion to the rural cemeteries (which are of a later date) of the American states, Père Lachaise offers the visitor transport into a world of architecture and art, a world also presented by the Saint Louis 1 Cemetery of the same period.

Rather than serving as a respite from the rapidly growing urbanism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Saint Louis 1 serves as a strict representation of it. Over time, the cemetery came to be a microcosm of the city for whose inhabitants it served as a final resting place. By the mid-1800s, the alleys and streets of the cemetery were built up with tombs of styles similar to the architecture of the city, and representative of its Francophile and Spanish roots. "Although urban metaphors are common in speaking of cemeteries everywhere, the complex relationship between the living and the dead was particularly poignant in New Orleans, because the abodes of the two were visually so similar to each other."<sup>21</sup> While people were drawn to the rural cemeteries of the North for their park-like setting, they were drawn to the cemeteries of New Orleans for their blatant acknowledgement of location and the culture for which they were built.

Rich or poor, black Creole or "American", Irish immigrant or old family, Catholic or Protestant, all found final resting houses at St. Louis 1. Unlike the historic cemeteries located elsewhere in the United States, St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 truly resembles a miniature city. With structures of varying styles, sizes and worth, housing persons representing all periods in, and levels of, New Orleans society, St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 is a tangible record of a continuously developing history.

### ***Tourism and New Orleans Cemeteries***

The above ground cemeteries of New Orleans have long been a source of awe and inspiration to the tourist. In accounts of travelers dating from the earliest years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and continuing through accounts of the present day, are references to these "cities of the dead" as curiosities not to be missed on a trip to New Orleans. Even the arm-chair travelers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century could visit one of these other-worldly places through published travel accounts in publications such as the *Daily Advertiser* (1802),

*The South West by a Yankee* (1835), *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* (1873), and various *Harper's Weekly* articles and sketches that date from the 1860s through the early 1900s.

"When I entered the gateway, I was struck with surprise and admiration. Though destitute of trees, the cemetery is certainly more deserving, from its peculiarly novel and unique appearance, of the attention of strangers, than...any other in the United States."<sup>22</sup>

St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 is the oldest existing above ground cemetery in New Orleans. It is also one of the most frequented. The current diversity of tomb styles, sizes and conditions is a landscape that tourists of the past would still recognize. Throughout accounts dating back to the early years of the cemetery's visitation are tales describing the mixture of rich well-kept white tombs with unkempt tombs and ruins. This contrasting picture of richness and decay is a significant part of the historical landscape.

In the 1800s, travelers sought out the cemetery to experience, just for a moment, the thrill of contemplating a foreign custom and place of burial. They walked through the wrought-iron gates and trod down the "tortuous paths,"<sup>23</sup> using the visual experience of the place to stimulate thought and conjure visions of their own lives and mortality. They dwelled on thoughts of water burials, crayfish and the dreaded yellow fever. Later visitors came to see this unique cemetery style, an urban model of the more familiar rural cemetery, to view the "sepulchral houses" of the famous and infamous of New Orleans. Writes A. Oakey Hall in 1851, "The cemeteries of New Orleans are peculiar to the city, and are visited by all strangers."<sup>24</sup>

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century tourists particularly remarked on the democratic means of burial in the wall vaults, open to all citizens who "were mapped in time by means of inscriptions, and in space, within the gridded structures of the fours (wall vaults)."<sup>25</sup> Today, the cemetery is still a major tourist draw, and cemetery tours are a key element for the total New Orleans experience. Many visitors are drawn by the architectural and historical content of the cemetery, while others seek to experience a small moment of the modern intrigue created by fictional accounts in popular books and movies; the excitement of voodoo, vampires and high adventure.

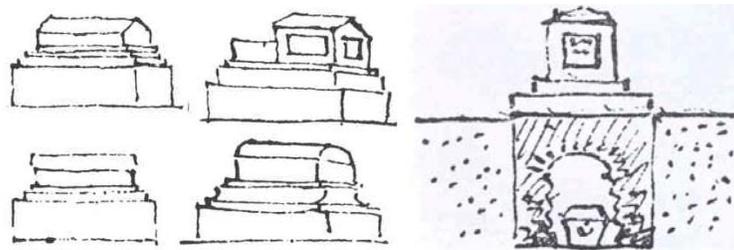
Throughout the historical accounts are both fact and fiction as writers sought to dramatize their own experiences and impressions. St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 was visited because of its unusual appearance and emotive qualities. It evoked a sense of romance, with its seemingly unplanned paths and decaying brick tombs amongst tombs of grandeur. And today? Architecture, intrigue, history, memory. These are but a few of the attributes that serve to draw the modern tourist to this place. Whether it is on an organized tour, or through individual wanderings, each person who walks through the iron gates of St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 will be cast into a world completely unlike their own.

### ***Timeline of Historical References to the New Orleans Cemeteries***

To document the historical significance of tourism at St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, a brief summary of the travel accounts and a selection of the published images follows.

- 1789 Formation of St. Louis Cemetery No. I after the St. Peter Street Cemetery, primarily a below ground burial place, was completely filled to capacity. In St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, the poor were buried in unmarked graves below ground at first. Starting soon after its formation, all but the indigent were buried in step tombs of bricks built over a coffin laid on the ground, or above ground tombs of one or more vaults. The vaults built into the walled enclosure provided above ground burial for those who could not afford private or family tombs. The society vaults that later developed were the precursors to the large public mausoleums found in modern cemeteries.
- 1801 John Pintard describes New Orleans and St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 in a series of articles published in the *Daily Advertiser* April 15 to May 22, 1802 while an editor of that paper in New York City. “Over its gate is a Cross – the usual emblem of every thing [sic] sacred among the Catholics - a broken palisade gave me admittance, during one of my solitary gambles [sic] into this melancholy enclosure – not a single grave stone marked the remains of either the noble or ignoble dead – Over some few, brick arches were turned. At the head of every grave was planted an Iron or wooden cross some of the Iron ones were indented with the names of the lifeless tenants below.”<sup>26</sup> St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 was only 12 years old at that time. The above ground tomb was not yet the defining aspect of the landscape.
- 1801 John Pintard in another cemetery comment says “it is of little consequence whether ones carcase [sic] is prey to crayfish on land – or the catfish in the Mississippi [sic – I believe in either case of burial – a body is speedily devoured and transmigrated in crayfish or catfish – dressed by a French cook and feasted on by a greasy Monk – a fair lady - a petit maitre or a savage who in their turn supply some future banquet – Heavens what a luxury! Mon Dieu, quelle sort! Give my bones terra firma I pray.”<sup>27</sup>
- 1819 Benjamin Latrobe’s notes and sketches show us a cemetery with the wall vaults and family vaults that exist today. “graves built of bricks, much larger than necessary to enclose a single coffin, and plastered over, so as to have a very solid permanent appearance. They are ... 7 or 8 feet long and 4 or 5 feet wide, and ... from 5 to 7 feet high.” His notes also show concern about being buried in water and the crayfish. In one diary note he discusses in detail why he believes that cremation would have a “stronger and more beneficial” moral effect.<sup>28</sup>

- 1822 Timothy Flint, a protestant missionary from New England, spent 10 years traveling throughout the Mississippi valley. He was conflicted concerning his assessment of the “morals” of the people of New Orleans, as he found so many contrasting practices of what he felt was good and evil, including the practice of the duel. Of St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, he writes “The old Catholic cemetery is completely covered either with graves or monuments. The monuments are uniformly either of white marble, or plaister, or painted white, and by the brilliant moonlight evenings of this mild climate, this city of the dead, or as the more appropriate phrase of the Jews is, of the living, makes an impressive appearance.”<sup>29</sup>



Latrobe Sketches of various tomb types (left) and of the tomb for Eliza Lewis (THNOC 640)  
Scanned: *New Orleans Architecture, Vol. III The Cemeteries*, Edited by Mary Louise Christovich, 1974  
See Latrobe, Benjamin Henry Boneval. *Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary & Sketches 1818 – 1820*. Edited by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (Columbia University Press: New York), 1951.

- 1823 Formation of St. Louis Cemetery No. 2

- 1834 John H. B. Latrobe, Benjamin Latrobe’s son, also writes of concerns of water and crayfish. He describes one common burial practice of the step tomb, “the coffin is laid upon the surface of the ground, and a strong structure of brick built around it. This is then plastered and whitewashed.”<sup>30</sup> His watercolor sketch shows more color amongst the tombs than might be expected from the various historical accounts. His sketch shows the Varney tomb, several step tombs with iron crosses, several versions of the family vaults and ships masts in the background.



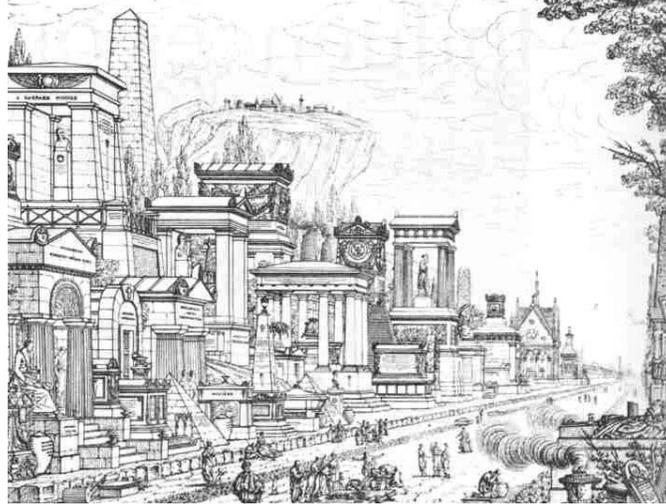
Section of the Watercolor by John H. B. Latrobe, 1834.

Scanned image from the *St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans*, Published by St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, LA in 2001, Owned by Mrs. Ferdinand Claiborne Latrobe, II of Baltimore

#### 1932 Formation of Lafayette I

- 1834 Cyril Thornton writing in *Men and Manners*, is surprised that there are no stones in New Orleans, and again writes with distaste about the idea of being buried in wet ground with the crayfish. “One acquires from habit a sort of lurking prejudice in favour of being buried in dry ground, which is called into full action by a sight of this New Orleans cemetery. . . . something so offensive to the imagination in the whole process, and in the idea of being devoured by the crawfish, which burrow in myriads, that the richer people generally prefer being kept above the level, both of ground and water, in little buildings like ovens, composed of brick and plaster, without ornament of any sort.”<sup>31</sup>
- 1835 Joseph Holt Ingraham writing in *The South-West by a Yankee* in 1835 describes a funeral service and St. Louis Cemetery No. 2. “The idea was ludicrous enough; but as I passed down the avenue, I could no but indulge the fancy that I was striding down the Broadway capital of the Lilliputians. . . . All were perfectly white, arranged with the most perfect regularity, and distant little more than a foot from each other. . . . It was in reality a “City of the Dead”. But it was a city composed of miniature palaces, and still more diminutive villas.”<sup>32</sup> Joseph Holt Ingraham is writing colorful descriptions for publication. He exaggerates this view as unique to New Orleans, as similar traditions along the Gulf Coast, and family mausoleums were also becoming fashionable in the northern rural cemeteries.<sup>33</sup>
- 1830s The newer cemeteries were beginning to be filled with family tombs and Mausoleums (as attracted Joseph Holt Ingraham’s attention above). These became very popular with New Orleans elite. With the immigration of J.N.B. de

Pouilly in 1833 with a sketchbook and experience of Paris's fashionable Père Lachaise cemetery, the high-style tombs became more evident.



Le Père Lachaise illustration from an early nineteenth-century publication that was at one time owned by J.N.B. de Pouilly and is now in the collection of Leonard V. Huber.

Scanned: *New Orleans Architecture, Vol. III The Cemeteries*, Edited by Mary Louise Christovich, 1974



J.N.B. de Pouilly Sketch of the Malard family tomb (THNOC #577)

Scanned: *New Orleans Architecture, Vol. III The Cemeteries*, Edited by Mary Louise Christovich, 1974

1841 Formation of Cyprus Grove Cemetery

1845 H. Didimus, *New Orleans As I Found It*. He sought out the “homes of the dead.” He makes brief mention of the tombs, but mostly he discusses the yellow fever and the impact it has on New Orleans.

- 1847 *Sarmiento's Travels in the United States in 1847*, "Unfortunately, New Orleans is incurably sick. Yellow fever appears there every year, starting on a set day and remaining until another set day. It kills those who do not flee from the center of the city. The city then recovers, reestablishes its health until the same time the following year. At one league from the city conditions are perfectly healthful and not even by contagion can the periodic scourge reach here. The city had 102,000 inhabitants in 1840, a figure which is not increasing to any appreciable extent, even though New Orleans is a port of disembarkation for French immigration."<sup>34</sup>
- 1848 to 1850 *Travels by Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley*. "New Orleans has several peculiarities of its own, . . . The graves are also elevated. The dead are buried in sepulchral houses, which are termed here "ovens." These often contain three or four tiers. Those belonging to the wealthy are frequently very handsome, and built with marble walls. There are walks leading to different parts of this singular cemetery, paved neatly with shells. . . . Certainly, in general, however little value America may seem to attach to life, before Death, in their magnificent cemeteries, they usually spread a "feast of roses."<sup>35</sup>
- 1849 Formation of Odd Fellows Rest Cemetery
- 1851 A. Oakey Hall in *The Manhattaner in New Orleans* writes of the cemeteries and of the swiftness of the killer yellow fever.
- 1852 *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory* for 1852 refers to early genealogical research done through reading of the inscriptions of the tombs, methods of interment in the New Orleans cemeteries, "sanitary history" relating to disease, immigration and yellow fever epidemics. There are many ads for suppliers to the cemeteries. Contains information for visitors to New Orleans.
- 1852 Formation of Greenwood Cemetery
- 1853 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*. "The French Cemetery, New Orleans, La." Wood Engraving, published August 27, 1853, 101, The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans. This represents a view of the above ground cemetery published for wide circulation.



The French Cemetery, At New Orleans, Louisiana, Wood engraving, ca. 1853.  
Frank Leslie's Illustrated News, August 27, 1853  
Scanned image from The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

- 1854 *Cohen's New Orleans Directory for 1854* contains information on the epidemics of yellow fever in New Orleans. There are many ads for suppliers to the cemeteries. Contains information for visitors to New Orleans.
- 1855 Formation of Lafayette II
- 1854 Formation of St. Louis Cemetery No. 3
- 1854 Formation of Dispersed of Judah Cemetery
- 1854 Fredrika Bremer, in *The Homes of the New World; Impressions of America*, writes of the cemeteries as the "cities of the dead."<sup>36</sup>
- 1855 Robertson, James. *Few Months in America: Containing Remarks on Some of Its Industrial and Commercial Interests*. "The cemeteries of New Orleans are peculiar to the city, and are visited by all strangers. . . . The citizens seem to take a melancholy pleasure in decorating the resting places of the dead. A great many of the tombs are of white marble, with brief, but expressive inscriptions, indicative of the affection borne towards their tenants. Round many of them are planted rose bushes and other flowering shrubs, some of which at this time were in full bearing and here and there were cedar and orange trees, which always retain their greenness. . . .tokens of friendship and of love, were more numerous at this time than at any former period in the history of the city. This was in consequence of the terrific ravages of the fever – I might almost say the plague – which during the previous summer had carried off thousands of the inhabitants."<sup>37</sup>

1856 *Cohen's New Orleans and Southern Directory for 1856*. Contains information for visitors to New Orleans.

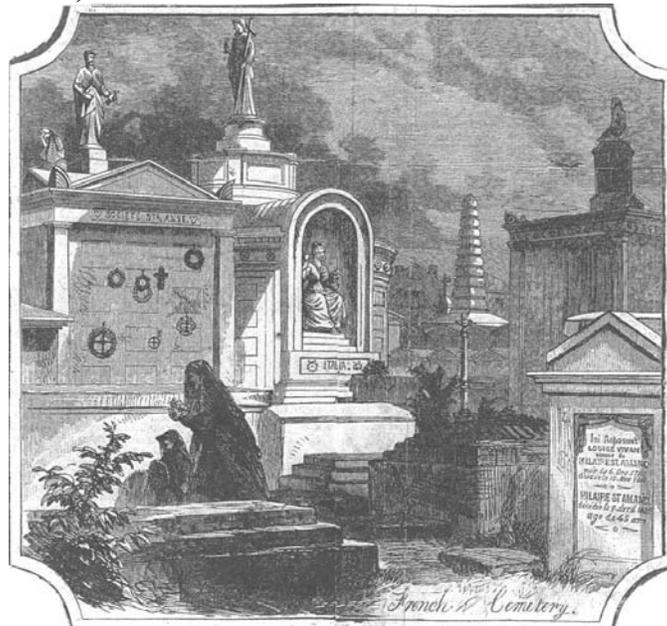
1856 Formation of Masonic Cemetery

1861 Oct. 12, 1861, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* with a woodcut of Lafayette No. 1 Cemetery. The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

Aug. 29, 1863 *Harper's Weekly* article (page 549) and woodcut print of the "Funeral of Late Captain Cailloux, First Louisiana." Article describes his New Orleans funeral and burial practices. The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

1867 Formation of St. John's (Private Lutheran cemetery, Girod remains are here)

1867 Waud, A.R. "French Cemetery." Wood Engraving after a sketch by A. R. Waud, *Harper's Weekly*, 1867, The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.



"French Cemetery." (View of St. Louis 1, Societé Ste. Anne, Italian Benevolent Tombs)  
Wood engraving, 1867, after a sketch by A. R. Waud, *Harper's Weekly*, 1867  
Scanned image from The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

1872 Formation of Metairie Cemetery

1873 Champney, J. Wills. "The Great South, Old and New Louisiana" Wood engraving from sketch by J. Wills Champney, *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*, Vol. VII No. 2,

Dec. 1873, The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.



“The French Cemetery – Les Fours.” Wood Engraving, Dec. 1873, Sketch by J. Wills Champney  
*Scribner’s Monthly Magazine* “The Great South, ‘Old and New Louisiana’”  
Scanned image from The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

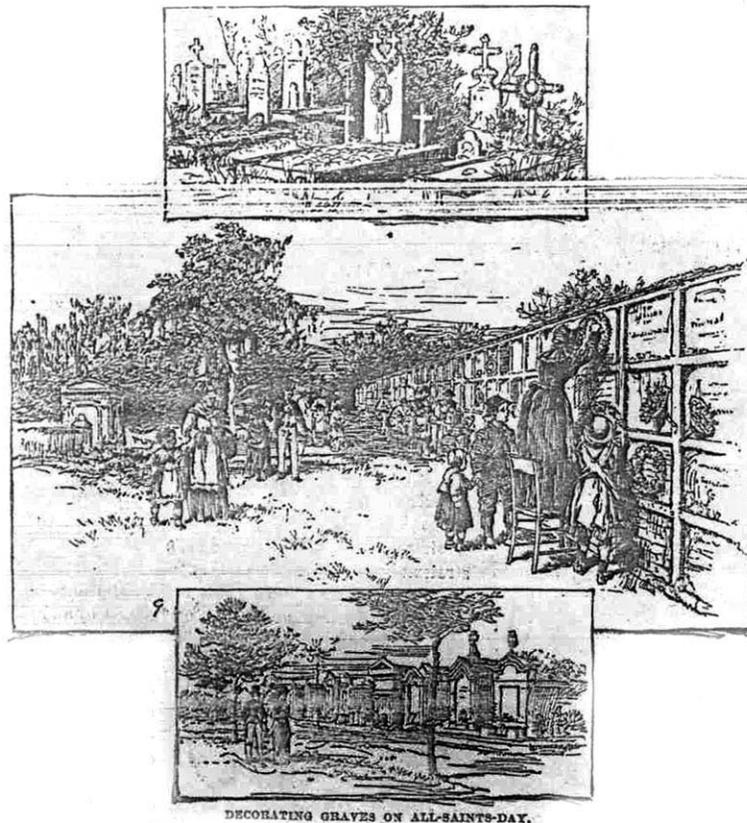
1875 Mark Twain said that New Orleans had no architecture except that found in its cemeteries.<sup>38</sup>

1879 A reporter for *Times Picayune* (New Orleans Newspaper) writing on All Saints Day. “The cemetery on Basin and St. Louis Streets [No. 1] witnessed a large concourse of people . . . Here the tomb of the Lusitanos Portugues Benevolent Association is situated. It was draped in mourning and surmounted by various Portuguese flags. The Italian Benevolent Society’s fine tomb was decorated with flags and draped in black. The Societé Française, Orleans Artillery, Catalan Society, Sieurs Bien Aimée and other societies bedecked their tombs in becoming manner. . . The Claiborne, Duralde and other family tombs were adorned with beautiful floral ornaments in the shape of crosses, wreaths, bouquets, etc.”<sup>39</sup> The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

1870s Christine M. Boyer describes the Vieux Carré situation during the 1870s, “By the 1870s it had become a melancholic symbol of ruin and decline for both the antebellum south and the Creole culture. *An Illustrated Visitors’ Guide* in 1879 shows images of “the French Quarter withdrawing into the mouldy corners of a romantic ruin” She posits that this nostalgic mood actually was the beginning of the restoration of Creole New Orleans.<sup>40</sup>

1880s A nationwide audience had access to the primarily fictional accounts of New Orleans architecture and creole culture by George Washington Cable appearing in

- The Century Magazine* and *Scribner's Magazines*. "He popularized the aura of local color hanging over New Orleans' architectural atmosphere and had diffused the sharpness of its imagery in picturesque ruinous forms."<sup>41</sup> Cable's fabrications included architectural sites like the Old Absinthe House of 1790 and Madame Laturie's Haunted House, both of which have since been created to meet the expectations of visiting tourists.
- 1882 Saint Roch – His Shrine in this City Visited by Pilgrims Who Receive Miraculous Answers to Their Prayers" *The Daily Picayune*. 12/24/1882, 6c2 The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.
- 1884 New Orleans Cotton Centennial William H. Coleman decided to published 3 books, with writing help from Lafcadio Hearn, to "packaged" the New Orleans experience of cuisine, architecture and Creole culture for the world.
- 1885 La Cuisine Creole: A Collection of Culinary Recipes by Lafcadio Hearn and published by William H. Coleman.
- 1885 Gumbo Zhèbes: A Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs by Lafcadio Hearn and published by William H. Coleman.
- 1885 Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs by William H. Coleman and published by William H. Coleman.
- 1885 "All Saints and All Souls Day in New Orleans – Decorating the Tombs in one of the City's Cemeteries," Harpers Woodcut engraving 1885 by, J. Durken *Harper's Weekly* Nov. 7, 1885. A view of the cemetery published for wide circulation. The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.
- 1885 *Demorest's Monthly Magazine*, 1885. The writer describes above ground interments, the diversity of rich and poor tombs, and wall vaults. His final statement reflects the discomfort with visiting with the dead: "But a cemetery, even while looking its brightest, as these to-day, is not a pleasant place to tarry in. We would much sooner be back in the old French quarter, where the people, though lying dormant, are by no means dead."<sup>42</sup>
- 1885 *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 7, 1885, Article on All Saints Day with woodcut engraving by J. Durkin. The news and image clipping are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.



“Decorating Graves on All-Saints Day”  
Demorest’s Monthly Magazine, 1885

Scanned from newsprint page at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans

- 1895 Grace King – New Orleans historian, and widely read by tourists, writes on All Saints Day and describes the funeral of Charles Gayarré, a well-known Louisiana historian. She calls St. Louis 1 the mother cemetery of the city, the vieux carré of the dead. “as confused and closely packed a quarter as the living metropolis, whose ghostly counterpart it is; with tombs piled in whatever way space could be found, and walls lined with tier upon tier of receptacles, “ovens” as they are termed in local parlance; the lowest row sunken into a semi-burial themselves, in the soft earth beneath. The crumbling bricks of the first resting-places built there are still to be seen, draped over with a wild growth of vine, which on sunshiny days are alive with scampering, flashing, green and gold lizards. (In 1895, the old St. Louis Cemetery was closed.) It opens its gates only at the knock of an heir, so to speak; gives harbourage only to those who can claim a resting place by the side of an ancestor.”<sup>43</sup>

“The festival of the dead might be called the festival of the history of the city. Year after year from under their decorations of evergreens and immortelles, roses and chrysanthemums, the tombstones recall to the All-Saints pilgrims the names and dates of the past; identifying the events with the sure precision of geological strata. On them are chronicled the names of the French and Canadian first

settlers; the Spanish names and Spanish epitaphs of that domination; the names of the émigrés from the French revolution; from the different West Indian islands; the names of the refugees from Napoleon’s army; the first sprinkling of American names; and those interesting English names that tell how the wounded prisoners of Pakenhams’s army preferred remaining in the land of their captivity, to returning home. The St. Louis cemetery for the coloured people unfolds the chapter for the coloured immigration, and by epitaph and name furnishes the links of their history.”<sup>44</sup>

1899 *Harper’s Weekly* December 30, 1899 article and sketches published for wide circulation include a watercolor sketch of the wall vaults and of the western gate of St. Louis 1. The Aeschlepus statue is still at the gate in 2001.



“Tombs, Old St. Louis Cemetery”



“Gateway, St. Louis Cemetery”

Dec. 30, 1899, *Harper’s Weekly*

Mechanical Reproduction of watercolor sketches by W. A. Rogers.  
Clippings are at The Williams Research Center, New Orleans.

1900 - *Donahoe’s Magazine* from Boston Massachusetts. Story of the St. Roch, Describes tours and tour guides telling embellished tales about how a special type of clover only grows in the cemetery of St. Roch. “The fanciful idea is well dilated upon by the guides, and visitors eagerly seek all the information concerning it, which, however, they soon find to be very meager.”<sup>45</sup>

1900 - *The Standard History of New Orleans, Louisiana* Chapter X “Old Burial Places” by A. G. Durno. Detailed description of St. Louis 1 including both tomb construction information and many of the well-known persons buried within. This information appears to be the basis of the later tour guide booklets for the St. Louis cemeteries. Two names not seen again in the guides for St. Louis 1 are Stephen Zacharie, founder of the first bank in the Mississippi Valley and Dominique You, a captain of Lafitte appointed by Jackson to the command of a battery on the Battle of New Orleans, who later left piracy to become a model citizen. An article in *New Orleans Magazine* in October 1989 identifies Dominique You as buried in St. Louis 2.<sup>46</sup>

- 1920 In *The Creole Tourist's Guide and Sketch Book to the City of New Orleans*, St. Louis 1 is described on page 109.
- 1924 *Creole Sketches* by Lafcadio Hearn. He is very critical of the practice of the old intramural cemeteries. Talks about the beautiful rural cemeteries of other cities. His concern is not with the burial practices, but with the lack of upkeep and care. It appears that in the early 1900s, St. Louis 1 was in very poor condition. "If we must have intramural cemeteries, at least let them be worthy of a civilized people. As they are, they are nightmares."<sup>47</sup>
- 1930 The WPA project wrote a history of New Orleans and within gives a tour of famous people at St. Louis 1. It states that "St Louis Cemetery No. 1, Basin St. between St. Louis and Toulouse, along with St. Louis Nos. 2 and 3, contains practically all of the tombs of the old Creole families." The book also includes two humorous sketches, one labeled, "Tourists" and the other, "Cemeteries."<sup>48</sup>
- 1948 Joseph S. Carey wrote the *Saint Louis Cemetery Number One Souvenir Booklet* which contains photographs of the cemetery and a self-guided walking tour of famous tombs and residents. In the later publications of *The St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans* by Samuel Wilson, Jr. and Leonard V. Huber in 1988 and 2001, this original list of highlighted tombs is repeated with very little new research added.
- 1951 Else Kirsch, reminiscing of All Saints Days she knew as a child in the 1880s "In the early eighties some tombs were decorated with tarlatan which was draped with artificial pansies and moss. Some of the tombs, especially the Society ones, had vases with flowers and also wreaths with seed pearls and glass beads [which] hung all through the day. As these were valuable, some of the members sat throughout the day to watch them... "The bouquets were made of tiny, stiff chrysanthemums and the colored people always placed a cock's comb (a course red homegrown flower) in the center of them held by a stiff perforated paper. There were no large roses, nor cultivated mums."
- 1965-1968 Tourism study on the French Quarter with 3 key findings:<sup>49</sup>
1. Vieux Carre plays an important role in affecting the decision of visitors coming to New Orleans
  2. Enjoyed the restaurants and cuisine most.
  3. History and sightseeing were the next most important (This category would include cemeteries).
- 1970s Historic bronze plaques begin to be added by the Archdiocese to the key tombs highlighted in the 1948 Joseph Carey souvenir booklet.

- 1988 Wilson, Samuel Jr. and Leonard V. Huber. *The St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans*. Twentieth edition. New Orleans: St. Louis Cathedral, December, 1988. Basically repeats the information in the Joseph S. Carey booklet from 1948.
- 2001 Wilson, Samuel Jr. and Leonard V. Huber. *The St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans*. Twenty-sixth edition. New Orleans: St. Louis Cathedral, February, 2001. A reprint of the 1988 booklet.
- 2001 Numerous web sites exist for the armchair traveler or for person's planning a trip to New Orleans.
- 2001 As one walks through the St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 today, the diversity of tomb styles and conditions is striking. Down any alley, dramatic contrasts of names, styles, color, materials, and condition can be found. Some visitors find the picturesque decay beautiful, some find it intriguing as a social or historical statement, and some find it deplorable. Yet, these are exactly the same emotions and opinions of the historical visitors discussed above, as they experienced similar conditions at St. Louis Cemetery No. 1. This site still represents its "period of significance" by its very diversity of conditions, a diversity that has always existed.

Today we find that diversity threatened. As one tourist couple from California remarked, "We were here in the 1980s, and we don't remember all these shiny white tombs. Where did the original tombs go?" With increased tourism, there is an understandable desire of the caretakers to "clean up for visitors" to improve the site, make it neater, tidier, and safer. That desire results in decisions made to maintain and repair tombs that exhibit loss of surface coverings, marble tablets and other decorative elements. Each of these actions should be carefully thought out, assumptions regarding what tourists want, and what the site needs, should be challenged, and a balance should be sought that places the conservation of the site first, and tourist needs second. The truth may be that both needs are actually the same.

Since tourists come to St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 for its unique architecture, history and atmosphere, the long-term conservation of that cultural landscape will ultimately best meet the needs of the tourists. The trend to "improve" conditions, if taken too far, can only destroy the original historic fabric to the point that the site loses significance for future generations of residents and tourists. Each modern maintenance and repair action impacts the site's cultural value and may diminish the atmosphere that tourists and the families burying loved ones, expect to find at St. Louis Cemetery No. 1.

### ***Tourism at St. Louis 1, Survey Pilot***

A pilot survey was developed as a means of gauging the interests and reactions of tourists, as well as residents of the city of New Orleans, as they regarded Saint Louis Cemetery No. 1. The community that interacts with the cemetery on a daily basis is an important stakeholder in the understanding of the place as a whole. As a preservationist, it is often difficult to look beyond the bricks and mortar of a place, as we are focused on saving the structure itself. It is necessary to look beyond the structure (or structures) in this case, as the site that we are attempting to preserve is an active landscape. How do we attempt to understand this landscape as outsiders? Who are we affecting with our work? How will people react to our intervention? Why is this place important to those who view it as a sacred site, and those who view it as a tourist attraction? It is necessary to answer these questions *before* we institute a plan that will conserve/preserve this landscape, so that we can act in a way that will be sensitive to the nature of the site. Will our intervention alter perceptions of the cemetery? This is what we are trying to avoid in attempting to understand the people for whom we are conserving it.

The survey was generated in order to get a feel for who was coming to the cemetery and why they were drawn to it. Who are they? Where do they come from? Do they have similar or diverse backgrounds? Why do they come? Is it as a result of interest in architecture, history, religion or the fantastic that has been related time and time again in books and movies? Do they come to see the tombs of famous people, or to see the tombs themselves? How are they affected by the place, whether it be emotionally or physically? Do they feel that intervention is needed, and why, or why not? Do they feel that the site is threatened? A limited number of people were provided with this questionnaire on site, as a means of testing whether or not it would be received well, and most were willing to participate. Our results were as follows:

- 3 out of 13 questioned were from the state of LA (2 from New Orleans)
- 1 out of 13 from out of state (international)
- 9 out of 13 from out of state (American)

Most people had never been to the site previous to this visit.

Two people had been to the site more than once.

One person had participated in a fundraising event on site, and one had attended the All Saints' Day events. (local to N.O.)

Main interests in the site:

- Most referred to Architecture and/or History
- Famous occupants (Voodoo Queen)

Tombs of interest, plus comments

- Marie Laveau (“voodoo queen”, “pop culture, occult interest”)
- Homer Plessy
- Italian Benevolent Society
- Paul Morphy
- Daniel Clark/Myra Clark Gaines (“jurisprudence”)
- Varney tomb (“architecture”)
- French Society (“architecture”)
- DeMarigny
- Cavalier (“old and seems typical”)
- Hubeau/Robinson/Bowen (“bench and pots for flowers”)
- “the old brick ones for historical value”
- “historic occupants”
- “older tombs”
- “decaying ones”

Overall impressions: Results were mixed, no conclusions can be made according to interest.

- Charming (4)
- Well-kept (2)
- Visually attractive (6)
- Decaying (7)
- In need of repair (1)
- Depressing (1)

Would alteration of tombs affect visitation?

- Yes (40%)
- No (60%)

Introduction of a tourist center:

- Yes (9) – all out of state visitors (“Interpretation is needed...history of new Orleans can be brought to life”, “provide money for preservation”)
- No (4) (“already a well established landmark”, “something about making the cemetery an *official* tourist site makes it more like Disneyland and less like the sacred place it should remain”, “a tourist center next to a housing project does not seem to be an inspired idea” – local to N.O.)

Effect on neighborhood:

- Positive (10) – (“bring \$ to the local economy”, “as long as visitors are respectful and visitors are encouraged to be respectful of religious/historical significance of the site”, “with a tourism center it would seem safer”, “brings money to the city and surrounding neighborhoods”, “It would be good if the

tourist area would spread out in that direction – eliminating some of the congestion near the river.”)

- Negative (1) – (“Why would tourism flourish next to a crime area? A tourist was murdered visiting St. Louis #1. That certainly had a negative effect on others visiting the area” – local to N.O.)
- Both (1)
- None (1)

Most from out of state had not been to any of the other historic cemeteries on New Orleans, but had visited cemeteries in other parts of the country/world while traveling.

Low values were associated with the cemetery in terms of education and sometimes tourism. In all other instances, values were consistently high.

Comments:

“One must be careful to strike a balance between upkeep/preservation and historical significance. The stark contrast between the new / redone tombs and the old / dilapidated tombs lend to its uniqueness / appeal.”

“It should be repaired and preserved”

“I would rather see a decayed, falling apart cemetery than one which is pasted together with cement, poorly.”

The resident/visitor survey (see Appendix I), even in its limited circulation, was able to provide information that will be beneficial to the stakeholders of the site. The Archdiocese will be able to better understand those to whom they are opening their doors. The tour companies and the conservation community of the city have input with which a larger survey can be designed. The local residents can be taken into account when decisions are made as to the upkeep, maintenance and presentation of the cemetery to outsiders. If the interest in a historic site is understood, it can be managed and maintained in a way that will be beneficial to the culture to which it refers, the visitor that makes use of it, and those who provide management. Understanding a landscape should be the first step in preserving it.

### ***The Benefits and Pitfalls Analyzed***

After studying the comments from the pilot survey, the data gathered during the site visits and the literature on the subject of tourism, the following strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 were identified.

### Strengths

- Tourism as a business is bringing money into the city; the tourism of the cemetery contributes to the total tourism draw.
- As tourism increases, more people are visiting the space making it more active and less dangerous as a whole.
- Tourism provides a means of spreading the word about the issues important to the conservation needs of the cemetery.
- As tourism increases, more people are made aware of the value of this space, which will inevitably increase use of the site as a cemetery.

### Weaknesses

- An increase in use can be damaging to the physical fabric of the site (traffic on the paths, handling of the tombs, litter, etc)
- Mistruths are being told in regards to occupants and cultural practices.
- Disrespect for the historic uses of the cemetery. Do the tourists view the site as an active burial ground with religious affiliations?
- The peaceful park-like setting disappears when large tours or multiple tours converge on the site.

### Opportunities

- Education. This site is a historical archive and repository for architectural styles, cultural folkways and traditions, as well as historical and genealogical information. Tourism provides a means to disseminate this information to the public.
- Tourism can provide the monies for use in preserving/conserving the site so that it remains a part of the future of the city.

### Threats

- Is the Archdiocese "restoring" the tombs for the sake of the tourists? If so, does that make tourism an indirect threat to the historic fabric of the cemetery?
- Impact of tourism on the "cultural landscape": The focus on the fictional aspects of the site portrayed in books and movies can overshadow the historical truths.
- The garbage, loud tour guides and groups and crowds threaten the park setting and atmosphere for quiet reflection and contemplation.

These are by *no* means all of the issues associated with the tourism of the Saint Louis Cemetery No. 1, though they represent the points that need to be, and should be addressed in order to understand the effects of tourism, tourists and tours on the site. There are both negatives and positives with respect to tourism, but, as it is a historically important aspect of the cemetery, and of the other cemeteries of its type within the city, it is not something that will go away, nor can it be ignored. If the weaknesses and threats can be addressed and mitigated through the development of a plan that would manage the use of the site by visitors, the strengths and opportunities can be taken advantage of.

Tourists are major stakeholders of St. Louis Cemetery No. 1. Their historic presence was significant, and, today, their accounts provide us with our best views into the

development of this rich cultural site. In the past they were a minority, as most who crossed the threshold were larger groups of family members visiting their past loved ones and providing maintenance and care for the tombs. Today, tourists are in the majority. Tours are scheduled daily, and from about 10:00 am until closing, the alleys can be quite crowded by the various tour groups. Their presence keeps the site active during daylight hours. One positive result of this activity has been a dramatic decrease in vandalism, drug trafficking and other crimes in the cemetery and surrounding neighborhood.

As an historic site on the Louisiana and National Registers of Historic Places, and as a “Save American Treasures” site, the ability of the cemetery to interest and educate the public is an important factor in future funding potential. If managed properly, tourism can be a beneficial program and provide funding for the preservation of St. Louis 1. While the picturesque decay has always been part of the historical landscape, there are real stabilization and restoration needs that must be met to ensure the long-term survival of the site, and funds will be required for the work.

The tourist companies licensed to conduct tours at the site are also stakeholders. These companies, and the tour guides that they hire, have a great interest in the future of the site. The dramatic tours they develop, and the impossible tales that some of the guides spin, can only continue if the cultural resource they are describing exists in its current or similar form. Any drastic change to the condition and/or architecture of the site threatens them. The Archdiocese mistakenly believes that they need to improve the conditions of the cemetery by “restoring” everything to a smooth white pristine state, since they now manage a very public (tourist) site. While it may not be obvious to the tourism companies yet, the rapid replacement of historic fabric by concrete, rebar, modern coatings and granite tablets, could soon convert St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 to a site that does not evoke the same images and impressions that their tours represent. The loss of historic fabric will eventually lead to a loss in tourism interest.

There are additional stakeholders that must not be ignored in the emphasis of managing tourism. Treating all visitors to the site as “tourists” is a real danger. The cemetery is also a park that is symbolically tied to the memories of family members, neighbors and New Orleans residents. The history, veterans, genealogical and conservation communities all feel strongly about this site. In many ways these groups have been the local caretakers of the site, maintaining the heritage and memories more completely than has the Archdiocese in their physical caretaker role.

### ***Recommendations***

As written by the ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism, “Good management of cultural tourism is central to the mission of the conservation community . . . We preserve our heritage sites with an educational intent, to make sure that their value and significance are made accessible and intelligible to all.” . . . it is now the heritage sites, and not communal living, that have the greatest, often the only impact on the

tourist. The way that these neo-pilgrimage sites are preserved and presented has been instituted as the most direct medium through which a visitor can gain some degree of insight into local history, idiosyncrasy and intangible culture.”<sup>50</sup>

During this project, the direct impacts, benefits and threats of tourism on this cultural site were only given a cursory study. Tourism has always been, and always will be, a factor at St. Louis Cemetery No. 1. “Tourism is an irreversible social, human, economic and cultural fact,”<sup>51</sup> and one that cannot be easily ignored in terms of the development of a feasible Conservation / Management Plan for this site as a whole. We recommend that a sustainable Tourism Management Plan be developed *immediately* and integrated into the Conservation / Management Plan for the physical site.

Further research should be conducted on tourism activities at the site, and on how these activities can be coordinated and managed to respect and enhance the heritage of the site and host community. The transfer of funds from tourism visits to various non-profit groups, and the use of those funds, should be analyzed. The Tourism Management Plan should be developed to encourage programs that will facilitate the long-term preservation and survival of the site and ensure that tourists have worthwhile, satisfying and enjoyable experiences. The plan should also ensure that the historic use of the site is respected and that current family visitation and burial practices are unhindered by any commercial tourism activity. The plan should contain some minimum “respect regulations” on the tour guides and tourists that use the cemetery. Work to engage the surrounding neighborhood, particularly at the level of school age children, should be encouraged. The recent information concerning the National Park Service activities with regard to the Louis Armstrong Park should be considered for any synergistic programs that can be developed.

The team to develop this plan should primarily be from the Archdiocese, the New Orleans community of preservation groups, conservation professionals, and the tourism council. The development of this plan should be facilitated by individuals experienced with tourism at sites of historical significance. The ICOMOS Cultural Tourism Charter would be a good model to follow as a starting point. This charter was developed for sites upon which “heritage tourism” has an impact, and St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 is definitely such a site. The objectives of this charter are:

- *To facilitate and encourage those involved with heritage conservation and management to make the significance of that heritage accessible to the host community and visitors.*
- *To facilitate and encourage the tourism industry to promote and manage tourism in ways that respect and enhance the heritage and living cultures of host communities.*
- *To facilitate and encourage a dialogue between conservation interests and the tourism industry about the importance and fragile nature of heritage places, collections and living cultures, including the need to achieve a sustainable future for them.*

- *To encourage those formulating plans and policies to develop detailed, measured goals and strategies relating to the presentation and interpretation of heritage places and cultural activities, in the context of their preservation.*<sup>52</sup>

The management of tourism is vital to the success of a sustainable plan that will attempt to conserve and manage the physical and cultural landscape associated with the cemetery. Those who interact with the site must be made aware of how their actions affect the site, and a Tourism Management Plan would be a good vehicle for developing and disseminating this information.

We also recommend that a short, colorful, non-academic form of the tourism paper and web-site material be prepared for presentation to the various New Orleans stakeholders, including the Tourism Council and the Association of Tour Guides. We must remember that it is now those daily tours that define the site to thousands of people each month. The objective of the presentation would be to relay the needs of both the tourist and the cemetery, in order keep the site as a viable tour location well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Through this presentation, we would also hope to impart subtle persuasion for the replacement of damaging and/or fictional statements by tour guides with truthful facts that are just as exciting and colorful. Such a meeting and presentation would open a dialogue between the groups that interpret the site on a daily basis, and would establish a greater air of respect and understanding for the cultural site. Presentation of the work produced in the Dead Space studio through the web site would also be a powerful tool for motivation and enlightenment.

The Tourism Survey pilot should be extended to a larger scale survey for a period of 2 weeks or more. Additionally, 1-2 questions that refer to the visitation of New Orleans cemeteries should be added to the general tourism survey that the New Orleans Tourism Council conducts on a yearly basis. Per Ann Masson, the City of New Orleans spends \$200,000 per year on tourism surveys.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Conclusions***

Cultural, or heritage tourism is a bankable business, and one which helps many places to remain viable and active as modern-day resources. Just as many sites are struggling to survive in a world of shifting interests, the Saint Louis Cemetery No. 1 in New Orleans is struggling to contain and manage an interest that seems to be growing with every year that goes by. Since the early years of its existence, outsiders have been drawn to this place of mystery, and that continues today. With every novel published by authors such as Anne Rice, with every film depicting scenes of vampires taking their rest in above ground crypts, with every image captured and article penned, this cemetery is brought more into the foreground as a primary tourist attraction in a city that thrives on tourist interest. It is for this reason that tourism itself cannot be ignored in the development of a plan that will serve to conserve and maintain the site and its cultural and historical associations. Tourism is as much a part of the history of the cemetery, as is construction

of the tombs themselves, for as soon as this place was brought to life in physical form, it was borne into the visitor's imagination.

The conservation of the material aspects of the Saint Louis Cemetery No. 1 must be addressed in order to assure its survival in physical form. The historic uses of the place must be addressed as a means of maintaining its cultural integrity. As use for burials is limited at this point, tourism may be the best means by which this cultural integrity is sustained.

The conservation community in the city agrees that tourism has, and can potentially be that which saves this site.<sup>54</sup> As long as there is interest, there is hope that the goals set out in the conservation/management plan will be realized. Tourism keeps crime and vandalism at the site at a minimum; it keeps the site active; it provides a forum that can be used to educate the outsider as to the history of a place and a culture; it brings money into the city's economy. Though many are wont to admit it, tourism is one of the main reasons for which an attempt is being made to preserve this site. Outside interest creates local interest, which will, hopefully, induce an interest in preservation. Managed correctly, tourism is a valuable tool for the conservation of the physical fabric of the tombs, and the preservation of the site as a cultural landscape.

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<sup>1</sup> D. Nash, "Tourism as an Anthropological Subject." *Current Anthropology* 22, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *World Tourism Organization, 1995b, Global Tourism Forecasts to the Year 2000 and Beyond: The World*, Vol. 1, (Madrid: World Tourism Organization), p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> ICOMOS, "Letter from the Executive Director," *The ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism Newsletter*, Special Edition (November/December, 1996), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," from *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter 1995, p. 370.

<sup>7</sup> Benita J Howell, "Weighing the Risks and Rewards of Involvement in Cultural Conservation and Heritage Tourism," *Human Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1994, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter 1995, p. 373.

<sup>9</sup> *World Tourism Organization, 1995a, Compendium of Tourism Statistics, 1989-1993* (Madrid: World Tourism Organization), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> D. J. Greenwood, "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization," *Host and Guest*, V. L. Smith, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 180.

<sup>11</sup> Benita J. Howell, "Weighing the Risks and Rewards of Involvement in Cultural Conservation and Heritage Tourism," *Human Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1994, p. 150-159.

<sup>12</sup> Notes from a paper given by Christine M. Boyer on April 6, 2001 at the US/ICOMOS Symposium on Sustainable Change held at the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*. p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> Amos Rapoport, "On Cultural Landscapes," *TDSR* Vol. III, No. II 1992, p. 33-47.

<sup>15</sup> ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism, *Tourism at World Heritage Cultural Sites: The Site Manger's Handbook*, Garfield, Donald, ed. (Madrid, Spain: World Tourism Organization, 1993).

<sup>16</sup> Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1996), p. 305.

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- <sup>17</sup> Paul Claval, “The Museification of Landscape,” *In Person, Place and Things: Interpretative and Empirical Essays in Critical Geography*, Shue Tuck Wong, ed. (1992), p. 347 – 8.
- <sup>18</sup> Briavel Holcomb, “Marketing Cities for Tourism,” *The Tourist City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 65.
- <sup>19</sup> Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein, “Global Forces, Local Strategies and Urban Tourism,” *The Tourist City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 7.
- <sup>20</sup> Blanche Linden-Ward, “Strange But Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries,” *Material Life in America, 1600 – 1860*, edited by Robert Blair St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), p. 295.
- <sup>21</sup> Dell Upton, “The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery,” *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII*, Edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), p. 132.
- <sup>22</sup> Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The South-West by a Yankee*, Vol. 1, 1835, p. 154.
- <sup>23</sup> Emmeline Stuart Wortley, *Travels in the United States etc. During 1840 and 1850*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1851), p. 127.
- <sup>24</sup> A. Oakey Hall, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans or, Phases of “Crescent City” Life*, Published for the Louisiana American Revolution Bicentennial Commission (Louisiana State University Press, 1851).
- <sup>25</sup> Dell Upton, “The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery,” *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII*, Edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), p. 139.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid* p. 135.
- <sup>27</sup> David Lee Sterling, ed., “New Orleans, 1801: An Account by John Pintard,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (July 1951), p. 231.
- <sup>28</sup> Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary & Sketches 1818 – 1820*, Edited by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 82-86, 98-99.
- <sup>29</sup> Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the last ten years, passed in occasional residences and journeyings in the valley of the Mississippi*, Reprint of the 1826 edition (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968), p. 225.
- <sup>30</sup> Dell Upton, “The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery,” *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII*, Edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), p. 134; Referencing John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times – 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917).
- <sup>31</sup> *Men and Manners in America*, Vol. II, Second Edition, By the author of Cyril Thornton, etc. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, etc., 1834), p. 215.
- <sup>32</sup> Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The South-West By a Yankee* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Cliff St., 1835), p. 152 – 158.
- <sup>33</sup> Dell Upton, “The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery,” *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII*, Edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), p. 137.
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- <sup>38</sup> Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, Louis M. Hacker, general editor (New York: Sagamore Press Inc., 1957).
- <sup>39</sup> *Times Picayune*, November 1, 1879.
- <sup>40</sup> Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1996), p. 325.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid* p. 325
- <sup>42</sup> *Demorest’s Monthly Magazine*, 1885.

<sup>43</sup> Grace King, *New Orleans: The Place and The People* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1895), p. 401.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 401

<sup>45</sup> “At St. Roch’s” *Donahoe’s Magazine*, September 1900.

<sup>46</sup> Ronnie Virgets, “Tales from the Tombs.” *New Orleans*. October 1989, p. 38-43, 45-46.

<sup>47</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, *Creole Sketches*, Edited by Charles Woodward Hutson (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston and New York, 1924), p. 137. This appears to be material reprinted from his 1885 book and there is confusion as to whether his comments are from the 19201 or the 1880s.

<sup>48</sup> *The WPA Guide to New Orleans*, “Cemeteries” (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), p. 192.

<sup>49</sup> Bureau of Governmental Research, *Vieux Carré Historic District Demonstration Study*, New Orleans, City of New Orleans, 1968.

<sup>50</sup> ICOMOS, “Letter from the Executive Director,” *The ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism Newsletter*, Special Edition (November/December 1996), p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> ICOMOS. *International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance*. 8<sup>th</sup> Draft, Mexico, October 1999, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> This statement comes as a result of several conversations with Ann Masson, an active member of the preservation community in the city of New Orleans.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

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- Reflections on the “old” cemetery - refers to below ground burial in Natchez, Exhuming dead to remove to another tomb.
- Impressed by architecture of above ground cemeteries – City of the Dead, 154-158,
- In appendix there is mention of brick manufacture (p. 276, Vol. 1)

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- Cemeteries (p. 82 – 86)
- Tombs (p. 98 – 99)
- Funeral of a Black Woman (p. 137 – 138)

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- Chart depicting the “statistical recapitulation” of the interments of the cemeteries in N.O.

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- Dead are buried in “sepulchral houses...termed here ‘ovens’” (p. 127)

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P.H. Monsseaux  
Etienne Courcelle, Architect and Keeper of the Old Catholic Cemetery, No. One.  
V. Munck, Sexton and Undertaker.  
Jervis Cutler – Stone Cutter  
Henry Grant – Furniture Warehouse  
Albert Beiblen – Marble and Granite Maker  
Newton Richards’ Granite and Marble Yard  
Newton Richards’ Cape Lime  
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- Important residents of all of the historic cemeteries in New Orleans
- Work of SOC

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----- *The St. Louis Cemeteries of New Orleans*, Twenty-sixth edition. New Orleans: St. Louis Cathedral, February 2001.

- Good history of Saint Louis 1 with important inhabitants highlighted
- Includes a tour of the cemetery at the end of the book

In addition, the following were used as reference materials:

Current Brochures from Tour Companies in New Orleans

- History, Voodoo, Ghosts, General

Web Sites from Cemetery Related Groups:

- Save Our Cemeteries ([www.saveourcemeteries.org](http://www.saveourcemeteries.org))
- The Historic New Orleans Collection ([www.hnoc.org](http://www.hnoc.org))
- The Archdiocese of New Orleans  
([www.catholic.org/neworleans/archdiocese.html](http://www.catholic.org/neworleans/archdiocese.html))

Web Sites from Tourism Sites

More than 30 websites were looked at in searching for current tourism/tourist/tour information regarding the city of New Orleans and the Saint Louis 1 Cemetery, including:

- [www.nolalive.com/arts/culturalguide/culturalguide.html](http://www.nolalive.com/arts/culturalguide/culturalguide.html)
- [www.tourneworleans.com/contact.htm](http://www.tourneworleans.com/contact.htm)
- [www.regional.searchbeat.com/neworleans.htm](http://www.regional.searchbeat.com/neworleans.htm)
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- [www.neworleansonline.com](http://www.neworleansonline.com)
- [www.neworleanscvb.com/new\\_site](http://www.neworleanscvb.com/new_site)
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Web Sites from other Special Interests (NPS, Tulane, etc.)

- Tulane University, Department of Historic Preservation, Tomb Surveys for Saint Louis 1 ([www.tulane.edu/%7etsahome/intro.html](http://www.tulane.edu/%7etsahome/intro.html))
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- Louisiana Legislature ([www.legis.state.la.us/tsrs/tsrssearch.htm](http://www.legis.state.la.us/tsrs/tsrssearch.htm))
- City of New Orleans ([www.new-orleans.la.us/cnoweb/body.htm](http://www.new-orleans.la.us/cnoweb/body.htm))

***SAINT LOUIS CEMETERY #1***  
**RESIDENT / VISITOR SURVEY**

DEAD SPACE: DEFINING THE NEW ORLEANS CREOLE CEMETERY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Religious Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

**How would you classify yourself?** (Please check appropriate box / boxes)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Visitor to New Orleans       | <input type="checkbox"/> Local to area                |
| from: <input type="checkbox"/> State of Louisiana     | from: <input type="checkbox"/> Immediate neighborhood |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Out of state (American)      | <input type="checkbox"/> French Quarter               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Out of state (International) | <input type="checkbox"/> Greater New Orleans          |

**How many times, if any, have you visited the Saint Louis Cemetery #1?**

- Never                       Once                       2 - 5                       5 +

**What is your main interest in the site?**

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> Family related |
| <input type="checkbox"/> History      | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____    |

**Have you ever participated in an organized tour or event associated with the site?**

- Yes                       No

**If so, what type of tour / event was it?**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ghost tour               | <input type="checkbox"/> All Saint's Day      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Voodoo tour              | <input type="checkbox"/> Family related event |
| <input type="checkbox"/> History tour             | <input type="checkbox"/> Fundraising event    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tour of famous residents | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____          |

**Which are the most interesting tombs / occupants of the cemetery? Why?**

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

**What is your overall impression of the site?**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Well-kept           | <input type="checkbox"/> In need of repair |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Visually attractive | <input type="checkbox"/> Unappealing       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Charming            | <input type="checkbox"/> Depressing        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Decaying            | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____       |

In your opinion, would visitation to the cemetery be affected if the tombs were visually altered / repaired?  Yes  No

Would you take part in activities that would relate to upkeep, including those associated with historical use of the site (such as All Saint's Day whitewashing of the tombs)?  Yes  No

Do you think that the introduction of a tourist center would benefit this cemetery?  Yes  No

Why / why not?

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Does the tourism of this site affect the surrounding neighborhood in a positive or negative way?  Positive  Negative

Explain.

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Have you visited the other historic cemeteries within the city?  Yes  No

Have you visited any cemeteries in other areas of the country / world?  Yes  No

How would you rate the value of Saint Louis #1 as it relates to:

Local history	1 (low)	2	3 (high)
American history	1	2	3
Culture / tradition	1	2	3
Architecture	1	2	3
Education	1	2	3
Tourism	1	2	3
Other historic cemeteries	1	2	3

Please list other sites of interest within the city of New Orleans.

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Do you have any additional information, feelings or concerns relating to the Saint Louis #1 Cemetery?

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