<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Wednesday, September 29, 2021</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 p.m. – 6 p.m.</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 p.m. – 8 p.m.</td>
<td>SESAH Board Meeting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Thursday, September 30, 2021</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m. – 2 p.m.</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 a.m. – 10:15 a.m.</td>
<td>Welcome and Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 a.m. – noon</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noon – 2 p.m.</td>
<td>Lunch on your own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.</td>
<td>BBQ at Bontura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Friday, October 1, 2021</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m. – noon</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 a.m. – 10 a.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Sessions IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15 a.m. – 11:45 a.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45 a.m. – 1:45 p.m.</td>
<td>SESAH Business Meeting with Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45 p.m. – 5:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – 7 p.m.</td>
<td>Keynote lecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 p.m. -until</td>
<td>Keynote reception, Elms Court</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Saturday, October 2, 2021</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Study Tour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• PRESIDENT - Jennifer Baughn, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (2021)
• VICE PRESIDENT - Lydia Mattice Brandt, University of South Carolina (2021)
• SECRETARY - Lydia Soo, University of Michigan (2021)
• TREASURER - Robbie Jones, New South Associates, Nashville, Tennessee (2022)
• MEMBERSHIP COORDINATOR - Ellen Turco, Richard Grubb & Associates, Wake Forest, North Carolina
• PAST PRESIDENT - Robbie Jones, New South Associates, Nashville, Tennessee (2021)
• PRESERVATION OFFICER - Ralph Wilcox, Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (2021)
• WEBMASTER - Mikesch Muecke, Iowa State University (2021)
• ARRIS Editors - Co-Editors: Mark Reinberger, University of Georgia (2021) and Vandana Baweja, University of Florida
• ARRIS Book Review Editor - Bryan Norwood, University of Michigan
• NEWSLETTER EDITOR - Justin Heskew, Tennessee Department of Transportation (2022)
• 2021 ANNUAL CONFERENCE CHAIR (Natchez, MS) - Carter Burns, Historic Natchez Foundation
• 2022 ANNUAL CONFERENCE CHAIR (Memphis, TN) - Claudette Stager, Tennessee Historical Commission
• 2023 ANNUAL CONFERENCE CHAIR (Little Rock, AR) - Ralph Wilcox, Arkansas Historic Preservation Program

STATE REPRESENTATIVES
• ALABAMA - Mary Springer, Jacksonville State University (2023)
• ARKANSAS - Mason Toms, Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (2023)
• FLORIDA - Ruben Acosta, Florida State Historic Preservation Office (2021)
• GEORGIA - Leslie Sharp, Georgia Institute of Technology (2021)
• KENTUCKY - Daniel Vivian, University of Kentucky (2023)
• LOUISIANA - Gerald McNeill, Southeastern Louisiana University (2022)
• MISSISSIPPI - Jeff Rosenberg, Mississippi Department of Marine Resources (2021)
• NORTH CAROLINA - Lee Gray, University of North Carolina, Charlotte (2022)
• SOUTH CAROLINA - Nathaniel Walker, College of Charleston (2022)
• TENNESSEE - Claudette Stager, Tennessee Historical Commission (2023)
• TEXAS - Gabriela Campagnol, Texas A&M University (2021)
• VIRGINIA - Gabriella Campagnol, James Madison University (2022)
• AT-LARGE - Bryan Norwood, University of Michigan (2022)
The Historic Natchez Foundation is proud to finally welcome SESAH to Natchez for the 2021 Annual Conference! The conference was originally scheduled to be held in Natchez in 2020 but was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Please observe COVID protocols during the conference and wear a mask while indoors at all venues.

I want to thank our co-hosts, Natchez National Historical Park and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The Mississippi Museum Store at Two Mississippi Museums is providing the bookstore for the conference. I also want to thank our generous sponsors for sponsoring the two receptions: Visit Natchez and the Tulane University Historic Preservation Program. The SESAH board, members, conference presenters and moderators are also to thank for making the conference happen.

I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the owners and operators of the sites for our events and tours:

• Ruthie and Jim Coy (Bontura)
• the Pilgrimage Garden Club (Longwood and Stanton Hall)
• the Natchez Garden Club (Magnolia Hall)
• the City of Natchez and Auburn Antebellum Home (Auburn)
• Debbie and Greg Cosey (Concord Quarters)
• Anne MacNeil (Elms Court)
• the Marshall family (Lansdowne)
• Mississippi State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution (Rosalie)
• the Beltzhoover and Koontz families (Green Leaves)
• Trinity Episcopal Church

Enjoy your time in Natchez and I hope you return in the future!

— Carter

Carter Burns
Executive Director
Historic Natchez Foundation
2021 SESAH Conference Chair
Throughout the eighteenth century, Natchez was a focus of the struggle for empire in the Lower Mississippi Valley among France (1716-63), Great Britain (1763-79), Spain (1779-98), and the United States. Natchez dates its founding to 1716, the year the French built and occupied a fort on a high bluff overlooking the Mississippi River. The Natchez settlement was then part of the French colony of Louisiana.

Natchez derives its name from the sun-worshipping and mound-building Natchez Indians who were living in the area when it was first explored by Europeans. They were vestiges of the great Mississippian culture that began about A.D. 700. The Natchez Indians are an important cultural group, because they are the only mound-building and sun-worshipping culture that survived long enough to be described and drawn by Europeans. The mound culture of the Natchez area is rich in significant sites, and three sites in the county are National Historic Landmarks.

Initially somewhat hospitable, the Natchez Indians later revolted against French oppression in 1729, destroyed the
1716 fort and French settlement sites, and killed at least 200 settlers. The French retaliated and subsequently destroyed the Natchez as a nation in 1731. Most of the Natchez Indians were sold into slavery in the Caribbean, but some escaped and took refuge with other southeastern Indian groups.

The Natchez Indian revolt curtailed a promising French settlement which became little more than a garrison of about fifty French soldiers for more than thirty years. The only structure that survives from this period is the earthen ruin of Fort Rosalie, which was rebuilt by the French in 1731. The main influence of the French on Natchez culture was the introduction of African enslavement to the region.

Great Britain seized control of Natchez in 1763. It became part of British West Florida and settlement rapidly increased. British military officers in the French and Indian War were rewarded for their service with large land grants, and, later in the 1770s, large numbers of British loyalists sought refuge from the Revolutionary War. The large numbers of Anglo-Americans who moved to the area became the dominant influence on the culture and physical character of Natchez.

In 1779, Spain took control of the Natchez District, confirmed the earlier English grants, and lured even more Anglo settlers with a policy of liberal land grants. Spain's greatest contributions were civil government and city planning. Governor Manuel Gayosa de Lemos directed the platting of the existing grid plan of the town in 1790 and reserved the land along the edge of the bluff to create a public park.

After the failure of first tobacco and then indigo, Spanish Natchez began to look toward cotton as a money crop in the early 1790s and had its first version of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1795. The region's climate and fertile soil, coupled with improvements in growing and harvesting cotton, caused the economy to boom.

In 1798, Natchez became the first capital of the
newly created Mississippi Territory, which consisted of most of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi. Territorial status and the cotton boom attracted more settlers, many of whom were educated entrepreneurs from the Middle Atlantic and New England states. Though still a frontier town in the late colonial period, the city began to reflect a growing sophistication. In 1797, surveyor Andrew Ellicott wrote that the people exhibited a “natural turn for mechanics, painting, music, and the polite accomplishments,” and, in the same year, General James Wilkinson advised Captain Isaac Guion, “at Natchez you will find yourself in an extensive, opulent and polished community…”

To improve communication, the federal government designated the old Natchez Trace, an Indian and animal path which led from Nashville to Natchez, as a post road in 1800. The Natchez Trace remained important during the territorial period as a trade route for upcountry boatmen who floated goods down the river to Natchez and New Orleans and returned north by foot and horseback.

The maiden voyage of the steamboat New Orleans in 1811-12 signaled new prosperity. Built to ply the Mississippi River between Natchez and New Orleans, the New Orleans proved that travel and shipping were possible upriver as well as downriver, with greatly reduced travel time. The number of steamboats operating on the Mississippi River grew from about twenty in 1820 to about 1,200 by 1830.

The Natchez cotton economy continued to expand until the eve of the Civil War, interrupted only by the Panic of 1837 and a devastating tornado in 1840. A long established settlement with a bustling river port, Natchez was located in the center of the world’s richest cotton-producing land. To the east were Mississippi and Alabama and, to the west, were Louisiana, Arkansas, and East Texas. The Natchez planters expanded their cotton empire first to the river parishes of Louisiana and then to the Mississippi Delta that extends from Vicksburg to Memphis. Ultimately, they established cotton plantations in
Arkansas and East Texas as well.

By 1860, Natchez was the richest principality in the domain of King Cotton and nowhere in the antebellum South was an economy based on cotton and African enslavement more successful or dominant. A successful cotton planter could manage only so much cotton and so many enslaved people before he began to invest surplus capital in railroads, banks, land speculation, money lending, and other enterprises, most of which were centered in the North. By 1860, members of the Natchez planting aristocracy had become more citizens of the world than citizens of Mississippi. Although they shopped in Philadelphia and New York, sent their sons and daughters to colleges and finishing schools in the Northeast, summered in fashionable watering places like Newport, and took the Grand Tour to Europe, they retained Natchez as their social and cultural center.

Also, by 1860, Natchez was one of the busiest markets for the sale of enslaved African Americans in the South. Traders sold enslaved people on street corners and throughout the downtown until the early 1830s, when the city enacted ordinances that pushed the traders to an area just outside the city limits known as the Forks of the Road. This Natchez slave market became the second busiest market in the Deep South—second only to New
Orleans. Natchez also had Mississippi’s largest population of free African Americans, a community that began to take shape during the territorial period and had a number of members who achieved a remarkable degree of economic success.

The wealthy Natchez planter class was largely opposed to secession, which they considered a threat to their investments and a terrible idea. More than 60% of the voters in Natchez and Adams County voted against secession and sent anti-secession delegates to the Mississippi Secession Convention. Some of the planter class gave belated support after the Civil War began; others remained loyal throughout the war. Some Unionist fathers saw their sons off to war to fight for the Confederacy. A New York Times reporter, embedded with the Union Army, described Natchez as having “strong Union sentiment” when the Union Army occupied the city in July 1863. He wrote, “One half of the inhabitants, at least, are loyal to the old government. The wealthiest planters and the largest slaveholders are the most stubborn Union men. They opposed secession from the beginning.”

Natchez experienced little conflict and damage during the Civil War. Confederate forces chose to fortify Vicksburg, which
had railroad connections, and left Natchez undefended and suffering little damage. Many newly freed African Americans in the Natchez area joined the Union Army. After the war, the planter economy became a merchant economy, largely fueled by thousands of newly freed African Americans entering the market. Merchants, many of whom were Jewish and had immigrated to Natchez in the 1840s, soon replaced the planters in affluence and influence and played a large role in rebuilding the economy of the city. The inauguration of railroad connections in 1882 also restored the region’s cotton economy by providing an additional transportation option that opened new markets.

Natchez African Americans became involved in local politics immediately after the Civil War. In 1869, Adelbert Ames, military governor of the state, appointed formerly enslaved John R. Lynch as Justice of the Peace for Adams County. He would later serve in both the Mississippi Legislature and the U. S. Congress. Natchez clergyman Hiram R. Revels became the first African American to sit in either house of the U. S. Congress when he was appointed by the state legislature in 1869 to fulfill an unexpired term in the U. S. Senate. In 1871, Natchez elected an African American mayor, Robert H. Wood, who became the only African American to serve as mayor of a Mississippi town during Reconstruction. The promises of Reconstruction unfortunately ended with Reconstruction and the later enactment of a new state constitution in 1890.

Natchez experienced a late 19th and early 20th-century cotton boom, which came to a halt in 1907 when the boll weevil first crossed the Mississippi River and was spotted in a cotton field south of the city. The city hardly noticed the Great Depression, which ironically sparked the city’s heritage tourism economy when a group of garden club women decided to open the city’s historic houses to the touring public in 1932. Known as the Natchez Pilgrimage, the event continues today although
heritage tourism is now a year-round industry. Between 1939 and 1950, Natchez experienced an economic revival and became one of the state’s most industrialized areas based on manufacturing and discoveries in oil and gas. Workers from surrounding rural counties flooded the city to work for Armstrong Tire and Rubber and International Paper Company. Jobs in these plants, which had health insurance and retirement benefits provided many poor whites and African Americans with middle class lives. Unfortunately, these two factories also became infested with the Ku Klux Klan, whose most violent members were from neighboring rural counties and Louisiana parishes. The Natchez African American community, led by Mississippi NAACP field director Charles Evers, waged the most successful Civil Rights campaign in the state in 1965 and the first to combine demonstrations and marches with armed resistance and boycotts. City officials capitulated to almost every demand of the NAACP without federal intervention.

The industrial prosperity of post-World War II Natchez took a toll on the city’s historic resources. In 1951, the city enacted one of the nation’s first dozen preservation ordinances, but, like its predecessor ordinances in New Orleans and Charleston, it was initially weak and has been strengthened over time. Reacting to a growing number of demolitions, some Natchez visionaries created the Historic Natchez Foundation in 1974. For the first time, men as well as women and blacks as well as whites became involved in historic preservation.

The foundation listed large swaths of town in the National Register, opening the door to historic preservation tax incentives, secured grant funding for a major storefront project, battled unceasingly to preserve the city’s historic character, and led the effort to create the Natchez National Historical Park. The foundation also acquired endangered properties and preserved them. When the oil and gas bust occurred in the mid-1980s and the future began to dim for the city’s aging manufacturing industry, the city and its citizens
developed a greater appreciation of the value of heritage tourism, which became the most important industry in town in the first two decades of the 21st century after all the mid-20th century factories had ceased operation.

Today, the Natchez economy is once again flourishing. Real estate sales have skyrocketed, particularly in downtown historic districts. Natchez is home to a motion picture studio which has invested heavily in downtown real estate and has been very successful in attracting filmmakers to the city. Two new businesses have relocated to Natchez and are bringing 250 new jobs to downtown. Hurricane activity in the Gulf of Mexico since Katrina in 2005 has also played a role as people seek to move inland—a process that will accelerate in the aftermath of Hurricane Ida. Covid has played a role as more people are working remotely and many people have fled cities for smaller towns. Cruise boats have proliferated on the Mississippi River and bring thousands of people to Natchez every month.

The Historic Natchez Foundation has expanded its role to embrace archival and museum development and has spread its wings to neighboring rural counties. However, it continues to acquire, preserve, and restore deteriorated historic properties and to serve as the voice of historic preservation in Natchez.
William C. (Bill) Allen served as the architectural historian in the Office of the Architect of the Capitol (AOC) from 1982 to 2010. In this role, he helped inform and guide restoration and rehabilitation projects throughout Capitol Hill as well as undertaking educational projects for the Capitol Visitor Center, the Library of Congress, and the U.S. Botanical Garden. He wrote the AOC’s Preservation Policy and was appointed the agency’s first historic preservation officer in 2005. Allen compiled the Capitol’s first documented history of the use of slave labor and authored numerous articles and books on the history of the Capitol. His book History of the United States Capitol: A Chronicle of Design, Construction, and Politics was published by the Government Printing Office in 2001. Prior to moving to Washington, D.C., Allen was an architectural historian with the Mississippi Department of Archives and History from 1974 to 1982. Allen holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Delaware and a master’s degree in architectural history from the University of Virginia. Upon his retirement, Allen was named the Historian Emeritus for the Architect of the Capitol.
Thank you to our conference cohosts:

and reception sponsors
Second Floor Plan
Dining in Natchez

Natchez has a variety of dining options, many of them within walking distance of the Natchez Grand Hotel and Natchez Convention Center. Below are some suggestions of places in which to dine during the conference.

Lunch & Dinner

- 100 Main
- Biscuits and Blues
- The Camp Restaurant
- Fat Mama's Tamales
- Farrah's at the Guest House
- Little Easy Cafe
- Magnolia Grill
- The Malt Shop
- Natchez Brewing Company
- Natchez Coffee Company
- Natchez Manor
- Pearl Street Pasta
- Pig Out Inn
- Planet Thailand
- The Pub at Dunleith
- Rolling River Reloaded
- Slick Rick's Café

Nightlife

- 100 Main
- The Corner Bar
- The Kitchen Bistro and Piano Bar
- Magnolia Bluffs Casino
- Natchez Brewing Company
- The Pub at Dunleith
- Smoot's Grocery
- Under the Hill Saloon
WEDNESDAY, Sept. 29

4 - 6 p.m.  
Registration  
Natchez Grand Hotel Lobby

5 - 8 p.m.  
SESAH Board Meeting  
Natchez Grand Hotel Banquet Room

Use the QR code to the left to read abstracts from this year’s SESAH Conference speakers with your smartphone or tablet.
### THURSDAY, Sept. 30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m. - 2 p.m.</td>
<td>Registration</td>
<td>Natchez Convention Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 10:15 a.m.</td>
<td>Welcome Address</td>
<td>St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room, Natchez Convention Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jennifer Baughn, President, SESAH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carter Burns, Conference Chair and Host, Historic Natchez Foundation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kathleen Bond, Superintendent, Natchez National Historical Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15 - 10:30 a.m.</td>
<td>Break</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 a.m. - noon</td>
<td>Concurrent Paper Session I</td>
<td>Natchez Convention Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Session IA: Monuments: Past, Power, Progress</td>
<td>St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jassen Callender, Chair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “The Black Space of Confederate Monuments,” Christopher Hunter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Iconoclasm and Architectural Heritage in Today’s Italian Culture,” Simona Salvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Of Monuments and Bureaucrats: Hierarchies of Control Over Symbolic Space,” Kateryna Malaia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Session IB: Women’s Work: Architecture, Landscape, Preservation</td>
<td>St. Louis/Memphis Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth Keslacy, Chair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Miss Belle Dinwiddie, Architect,” Callie Williams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Historic Trends in Architecture Affecting Careers of Women, and Women of Color,” Sanjukta Chatterji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Session IC: Introduction to SESAH: New Members & First-time Attendees - Vicksburg/Concordia Room

Lydia Mattice Brandt, Leslie Sharp, and Ellen Turco, Hosts

Noon – 2 p.m.    Lunch on your own

2 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.    Concurrent Paper Session II
Natchez Convention Center

Session IIA: Preserving the Architecture of Enslavement
St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room

Jennifer Baughn, Chair
• “Natchez District Outbuilding Survey,” Carter Burns
• “Concord Quarters,” Debbie Cosey
• “Behind the Big House,” Jodi Skipper
• “Starting from Scratch: Preservation, Public Outreach and Prospect Hill Plantation,” Jessica Crawford

Session IIB: Places for Reinterpretations
St. Louis/Memphis Room

Alice Klima, Chair
• “Futuristic Visions: The Modernistic Architectural Representations in Emory Holloway’s Janice in Tomorrow-Land,” Mason Toms
• “Weeds in the Walls: Ambivalence in Architecture from Serlio to the Present,” David Gobel
• “Climate Change and the 19th-century Roots of Heritage Conservation,” Ryan Roark
• “The Medieval Castle through a Post-Medieval Lens,” Ann Walton
Session IIC: Mid-Century Designers
Vicksburg/Concordia Room

Leslie N. Sharp, Chair
- “Modernism in Memphis: The Midcentury Work of Mah & Jones,” Sydney Schoof
- “Breathing New Life into Two Los Angeles Icons,” Mikesch Muecke and Diane Al Shihabi
- “Importing Sand to the Andes: Bringing Hotel Architecture from Florida to Quito, Ecuador, 1957-1960,” Ernesto Bilbao

3:30 - 4 p.m. Break

4 p.m. - 5:30 p.m. Concurrent Paper Session III
Natchez Convention Center

Session IIIA: African American Landscapes of the South
St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room

Lydia Mattice Brandt, Chair
- “The Divergent Landscapes of the Savannah State University Campus,” Arthur Clement
- “The Pioneering African-American Architects of Tuskegee Institute,” Kwesi Daniels and Roderick Fluker

Session IIIB: Designing Status
St. Louis/Memphis Room

Mary Springer, Chair
- “The Productive Networks of Millford, 1839-1841,” Jeffrey Klee
- “The Comforts with which he is Surrounded: Walled Family Cemeteries of Wake County, North Carolina,” Ellen Turco
- “‘When I See Architecture That Moves Me, I Hear Music in My Inner Ear:’ The Piano as Status Symbol in Twentieth-Century Architectural Drawings,” Ralph Wilcox
Session IIIC: The Architect’s Intention
Vicksburg/Concordia Room

Jeff Rosenberg, Chair

- “Speaking Architecture: Didactic Intentions at Georgia Tech’s Architecture East and West Buildings,” Robert Craig
- “Fay Jones and the Critical Regionalist Project,” Gregory Herman

6 - 7:30 p.m.  BBQ at Bontura
Bontura
107 S. Broadway
Friday, Oct. 1

8 a.m. - noon
Registration
Natchez Convention Center

8:30 - 10 a.m.
Concurrent Paper Session IV
Natchez Convention Center

Session IVA: Places of Work
St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room

Jeffrey Jensen, Chair
- “Black Bodies in White History: A Modern Shift from the Big House to the Slave Quarters,” Todd Gaines
- “Rightly Seasoned: The Landscape of the Black-Owned Kitchen,” Angela Keesee
- “Interpreting Urban and Suburban Enslavement in Natchez, Mississippi: Longwood and Stanton Hall,” Chase Klugh

Session IVB: Planning and Preserving Cities
St. Louis/Memphis Room

Lee Gray, Chair
- “Recreating Nature: Concrete Leisure in the American Midwest,” Elizabeth Keslacy
- “Marietta Square: A Town’s History Revived,” Marietta Monaghan
- “Bluff City Modernism: Sites of Vulnerability on the Memphis Promenade,” Michael Grogan

Session IVC: The Digital Lens on the Past
Vicksburg/Concordia Room

Ben Ross, Chair
- “Whence Craft? Expanding the Foundation Myth of Digital Craft,” Grant Alford
- “Exploring Historic Structures via Virtual Tourism,” Tonya Miller
- “Ruins and Renewal: Documentation and Development at Atlanta’s St. Mark’s AME,” Danielle Willkens
10-10:15 a.m. Break

10:15 - 11:45 a.m. Concurrent Paper Session V
Natchez Convention Center

Session VA: African American Stories through Place
St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room

Clifton Ellis, Chair

- “Recognizing the Legacies of African American Educations in the Built Landscape,” Laura Blokker
- “Recovering the African American Cemetery: Georgia Code for Abandoned Cemeteries and Burial Ground,” Lynn “Elizabeth” Jones
- “English Avenue School: The Bricks of Ancestors, Ushers, and Heralders,” Patricia Rangel

Session VB: Moving People and Places
St. Louis/Memphis Room

Patrick Sullivan, Chair

- “Signs of Urban Change: Localized Solutions in the Design, Materiality and Placement of Early Street Name Signage,” Robin Williams
- “The Story of the Cross-Bronx Expressway: Automobility, Revolt, and Memory,” Daniel Borrero
- “American Roadscape Preservation as Cultural Landscapes,” Kyra Lucas
Session VC: Visions and Plans for a Better Society
Vicksburg/Concordia Room

Brent Fortenberry, Chair
• “Trade and Empire in Wren’s Plan for Rebuilding London, 1666,” Lydia Soo
• “Trapped in Political Games: The Ill-fated Resurgence of Turin’s Mercati Ortofrutticoli all’Ingrosso,” Paolo Sanza
• “Vistas, Knolls, and Sloping Lawns: Frederick Law Olmsted’s Vision for a Democratic Campus,” Mary Springer

11:45 a.m. - 1:45 p.m.  SESAH Business Meeting with Lunch
Carriage House Restaurant
Stanton Hall
401 High Street, Natchez

Tour Stanton Hall before attending business meeting and lunch

2 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.  Concurrent Paper Session VI
Natchez Convention Center

Session VIA: Mississippi Places
St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room

Nathaniel Walker, Chair
• “Interpreting Parchman Farm: A Schematic Proposal,” Tracy Torrey
• “Mississippi Shotguns: Diversity Within Form,” Jeff Rosenberg
• “Architrave, Frieze and...White Supremacy? The Aesthetics Question in Contemporary Planter Dwelling Interpretation,” Laura Kilcer
Session VIB: Finding or Losing Cultural Heritage in Preservation – St. Louis/Memphis Room

Mason Toms, Chair
- “Beyond the Kiva: Conflicts of Preservation and Architectural History,” Patrick Haughey

Session VIC: Places of Worship and Community Vicksburg/Concordia Room

David Gobel, Chair
- “Friendship Baptist Church: A Church Built by a Community,” Jeremiah Ekoja
- “Ariel, Kentucky: Church, School, and Community in the Struggle for Equality in a Border State, 1868-1924,” Benjamin Ross

3:30 - 3:45 p.m. Break

3:45 - 5:15 p.m. Concurrent Paper Session VII
Natchez Convention Center

Session VIIA: Modernity, Race, and Contradiction St. Francisville/Baton Rouge Room

Danielle Willkens, Chair
- “Fears and Fantasies on Early American Roof Gardens,” Nathaniel Robert Walker
- “The Language and Landscape of Race in Frank Lloyd Wright’s Broadacre City,” Joseph Watson
Friday, Oct. 1

Session VIIB: Identity and Identification with Architecture
St. Louis/Memphis Room

Joss Kiely, Chair
• “How to Categorize Modern Japanese Architecture,” Koichiro Aitani
• “Signs of Gay Remembering: Place, Design and Identity,” Wayde Brown
• “New Identity/No Identity: Latin America and the Paraguayan Architecture Seedlings, 1980-2010 Persistencies and Exclusions,” Irina Rivero

6 - 7 p.m. Keynote Lecture:
William C. Allen
Trinity Episcopal Church
305 S. Commerce Street
Natchez

7 p.m. - until Keynote Reception
Elms Court
542 John R. Junkin Drive
Natchez

Reception sponsored by Tulane University Preservation Studies Program
8:30 a.m - 5 p.m. Study Tour
Begins and ends at Natchez Grand Hotel
- Auburn
- Concord Quarters
- Lansdowne
- Magnolia Hall (lunch)
- Green Leaves
- Rosalie
- Longwood
- Melrose

See the following pages for descriptions of the houses on tour.

Thank you for joining us in Natchez!

See you at next year’s meeting!
The construction of Auburn introduced academic classical architecture to the Mississippi Territory. Designer and builder Levi Weeks (1776-1819) described the construction of the house in a September 1812 letter to friend Epaphras Hoyt of Deerfield, Massachusetts:

The brick house I am building is just without the city line and is designed for the most magnificent building in the Territory. The body of this house is...two stories with a geometrical staircase to ascend to the second story. This is the first house in the Territory on which was ever attempted any of the orders of Architecture. The site is one of those peculiar situations which combines all the delight of romance, the pleasure of rurality, and the approach of sublimity...the owner of it is a Yankey, a native of our own state, Massachusetts...His name is Lyman Harding.

Levi Weeks was born in Massachusetts and worked as a builder with his brother Ezra in New York City from
about 1798 to 1803. Ezra Weeks built Alexander Hamilton’s house, The Grange, completed in 1802, and worked on other notable buildings. The Weeks family secured Hamilton’s services as defense attorney when Levi Weeks was arrested and tried for the murder of Gulielma Sands. Joining Hamilton as defense attorneys in the 1800 trial were Aaron Burr and Brockholst Livingston, later a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Although acquitted, Weeks undoubtedly left New York to escape the notoriety of what became one of New York’s most famous murder trials.

After returning to Massachusetts in 1803 and later making detours through Ohio and Kentucky, Levi Weeks arrived in Natchez in 1809 and opened a business as a cabinetmaker and builder. He married Ann Greenleaf, established a family, lived a productive life, and died in a yellow fever epidemic in 1819. Other documented examples of his work include an 1812 brick Presbyterian Church (demolished 1828 but depicted in an 1822-23 landscape by John James Audubon); an 1813 hospital (demolished in 1886 but photographed ca. 1865); and the initial plan for the existing East Wing at Jefferson College.

Other possibilities based on documentary and stylistic evidence include Burling Hill, built ca. 1815 and demolished in the 1960s; the Mercer House, built ca. 1816; Monmouth, built 1818; Arlington, built 1818; and The Briars, built 1818 and later the home of Weeks’s daughter Catherine Weeks Irvine.

Auburn was one of the first Southern houses to have to have a giant-order classical portico. Auburn’s Roman Ionic portico predates the porticoes added to the White House and Arlington in Virginia, as well as the porticoes designed by Thomas Jefferson for the University of Virginia. The Auburn portico was also immediately influential in the Natchez region.

While revolutionary in its giant-order Ionic portico, Auburn is old-fashioned in its interior Georgian details based on pattern books published long before 1812. Weeks based an interior first-

In 1827, Auburn became home to Pennsylvania native Dr. Stephen Duncan and his second wife, the former Catherine Bingaman. Many historians acknowledge Duncan as the South’s most successful cotton planter. In the 1830s and early 1840s, the Duncans added the two-story rear gallery with giant-order columns, some interior marble mantel pieces, and numerous outbuildings, which survive and include a two-story brick kitchen building, a one-story temple-form frame billiard hall, a brick dairy, and a brick carriage house/barn. The Duncans made their last substantial changes to Auburn in 1856 when they flanked the original house with two-story recessed symmetrical wings that echoed the architecture of the original house. The interior of the wings features such 1850s detailing as scagliola mantel pieces and five-quarter pine flooring.

Despite Dr. Stephen Duncan’s success as a cotton planter and his ownership of approximately one thousand slaves, he openly and steadfastly maintained his loyalty to the Union. The Natchez Courier in 1860 quoted Duncan as describing secession as a “monstrous idea” and stating, “If the Union is to be dissolved, I for one, would be for selling out my possessions immediately.” Duncan departed Natchez for New York in 1863 on a Union gunboat placed at his service. He died in 1867 at his home, Hawkswood, in Pelham, New York.

In 1911, Duncan’s heirs deeded Auburn and its associated acreage to the City of Natchez for use as a public park. The city unfortunately sold all the historic furnishings, some of which have since been donated to the house. An organization of volunteers administers the house for the City of Natchez and opens it to the public.
The grandest building of the Natchez colonial period (1716-1798) was Concord, built for Spanish Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos in 1794-95.

Gayoso bought a tract of land about a mile and a half from Fort Rosalie in 1794 “to build thereupon a house” and “to raise the commodities” to support a family. Wanting more land for pasture, he petitioned for a Spanish grant to enlarge his property. The land purchased and granted in 1794 constituted the original Concord property, which was once a working plantation of 1,000 acres.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, the son of a Spanish consul, was born in Portugal and married three times. His first wife, Theresa, was Portuguese and died in 1790, the year after he arrived in Natchez. In 1792 he married Elizabeth Watts, an American who died three months after the marriage. Her mother and sister continued to reside with Gayoso at Concord. By 1795, rumors were circulating that Gayoso was keeping a
mistress in Natchez, had built her a house, and intended to marry her. In February of that year, he transferred ownership of Concord to Margaret Watts, the sister of his deceased second wife. He wrote a letter explaining his “connection” with Margaret Watts and related that they had signed a marriage contract and he had deeded her “an elegant country house.” He explained that he had to wait for the king’s permission to announce his marriage to secure a military pension for his wife.

In July 1797, Margaret Watts gave birth to a son, Fernando. The couple soon left Natchez for New Orleans when Gayoso was promoted to Governor-General of Louisiana. Biographer Jack D. L. Holmes described an unusual religious ceremony in which the Bishop of Louisiana “baptized young Fernando and married his parents on the same Sunday, December 10, 1797.” This unusual ceremony occurred in St. Louis Cathedral, which became the final resting place of Gayoso who died of yellow fever in 1799 and was buried beneath the altar.

Gayoso served as governor of Spanish Natchez from 1789 until 1797 and was immensely popular and influential. Educated in Great Britain, he spoke fluent English and French. Stephen Minor, an American who served as the last Spanish authority in Natchez, eulogized him as having an “excellent and generous heart, a liberal mind, and an enlightened understanding.” A practitioner of “banquet diplomacy,” Gayoso lived large and entertained in a grand manner.

Gayoso’s contributions to Natchez were lasting. He directed the platting of the town plan and created the public park overlooking the river. He instituted zoning and required licenses for taverns. He created militias and the city’s first police force and was also interested
In the 1830s, writer Joseph Holt Ingraham noted Natchez’s nostalgia for its Spanish past, which was often recalled as the city’s “golden age.”

Gayoso’s widow sold Concord a month after his death, and it changed ownership twice before Stephen Minor acquired the property in 1800 for $10,000.

Neither Gayoso nor Minor ever knew the house with colonnades and curving front steps. Stephen Minor’s widow Katherine Lintot Minor added the distinctive columned portico, curving steps, and columned side galleries ca. 1820, after the 1815 death of her husband.

Fifty years after the Minor family bought Concord in 1800, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the Minor family’s title to the property. Gayoso’s son Fernando initiated a legal challenge in 1832 that was continued by his descendants. The issue was whether or not Margaret Watts Gayoso had the right to sell Concord or whether Gayoso’s infant son Fernando should have inherited the property. This 1850 court ruling includes correspondence, testimony, and documents related to the history of Concord and the illegitimacy of Fernando Gayoso’s birth.

Dr. Stephen Kelly of New York, who bought Concord in 1890 and rented it in his absence, owned the house when it burned in 1901. His son, George Malin Davis Kelly who resided at Melrose, still lamented its loss in the 1940s.

And what remains of Concord today to interpret its significant Spanish history? Remaining on the site are a deteriorated small building whose original use is unknown and a two-story brick building that originally served as one of two matching quarters for enslaved house servants.

The two matching brick buildings that originally flanked the rear courtyard behind the main house were built ca. 1820 for the Minor family. Each featured a two-story gallery supported by giant order columns. The same configuration of building siting and details exist at Melrose, built in the late 1840s.

Remodeled and enlarged to function as a single-family residence in the early 20th century,
the former outbuilding was badly deteriorated when purchased by Gregory and Debbie Cosey. It survives today to tell the story of Governor Gayoso and the “golden age” of Spanish Natchez and the lesser known story of African Americans who labored under enslavement to produce the cotton wealth of Natchez and to operate the mansion estates of planters. The building is today the only freestanding slave dwelling in Mississippi listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Few historic buildings exhibit the remarkable architectural and decorative arts integrity of Lansdowne. The significant Greek Revival house was built in 1853 as the residence of George M. Marshall and his wife, the former Charlotte Hunt, on land given by her father David Hunt. Lansdowne was once a working plantation and today occupies fifty acres of what was once a 727-acre tract of land.
George and Charlotte Marshall were young newlyweds when they moved into Lansdowne. George Marshall was born in 1830, married in 1852, and built Lansdowne in 1853. Both were children of wealthy cotton planters. George’s father was Levin R. Marshall, and their family home was Richmond, which, like Lansdowne, is still owned by Marshall descendants. George Marshall received a degree from Princeton, the college most favored by the Natchez planting aristocracy.

Like many Natchez planters, Levin Marshall was a Unionist. However, his son George caught the war spirit and enlisted in the Confederate Army. He was wounded at Shiloh in 1862 and returned to Lansdowne. In the late 19th century, Marshall served in the Mississippi Legislature.

Lansdowne is a one-story Greek Revival mansion, which is raised on a basement and built of brick covered in stucco that is scored in imitation of stone. A balustraded clerestory crowns the roof. The principal façade has a center doorway flanked by a pair of windows, with a portico sheltering the center three bays. The portico is supported by fluted Doric columns that are linked by a decorative cast-iron balustrade. At the rear, a gallery extends the full width of the elevation and is supported by square paneled columns.

Behind the mansion are two brick dependencies flanking a rear courtyard. Also surviving is a brick privy with male and female sections. Each of the two-story dependencies contain four rooms, a central chimney, double galleries with square columns, and an exterior staircase. The south building once housed a billiard parlor, office, schoolroom, and governess’s quarters. The north building housed the kitchen, washroom, and quarters for enslaved servants. A family cemetery is also located on the property.

The interior of the main house features a triple-pile plan—three rooms.
on each side of the central hall. The parlor and dining room feature white marble mantel pieces, and the corresponding two bedrooms across the hall have black marble mantel pieces. All four rooms feature marbled baseboards in the color of their corresponding mantel pieces. The hallway baseboards, all doors, and the pantry cupboards are grained in imitation of oak.

When Lansdowne was completed, the interior was lavishly decorated and furnished, most likely under the direction of the Prudent Mallard firm of New Orleans. One sewing table bears the Mallard label. The interior decoration exhibits the characteristic eclecticism of mid-nineteenth-century interiors with furnishings in the Rococo, Gothic, Renaissance Revival, and Elizabethan styles. The original gasoliers by Cornelius and Company of Philadelphia survive throughout the house.

The parlor of Lansdowne retains a remarkable survival: the original Zuber wallpaper cutout figures and a field paper by Delacourt. According to Catherine Lynn, who wrote *Wallpaper in America*, this may be the only example of this popular mid-nineteenth century treatment to survive in an American house. The family also retains a sample of the original hall paper which has been conserved by the Winterthur Museum for display at Lansdowne.

Generations of Marshall descendants have carefully preserved their family legacy and generously open it to the public. Lansdowne is today owned by the fifth and sixth generations of the descendants of George and Charlotte Marshall.
Construction on Magnolia Hall probably began in 1858 when widower Thomas Henderson acquired the site from family members. The $10,000 purchase price supports the family story that Henderson moved an existing Henderson house, Pleasant Hill, one block south to free the lot for his much grander mansion. A Natchez native, Thomas Henderson was a wealthy planter and cotton broker with offices in Natchez and New Orleans.

A newspaper account documents J. Edwards Smith as the architect of Magnolia Hall. Smith was in Natchez only a few years but left behind a diverse body of work in varied architectural styles—all dating to the late 1850s. In the Greek Revival style, he designed Zion Chapel A. M. E. Church, originally the Second Presbyterian Church. In the Gothic Revival style, he designed Christ Church in Church Hill. In the Italianate style, he designed The Towers, which was added to the front of an existing Greek

MAGNOLIA HALL
215 S. Pearl Street

STUDY TOUR
Revival cottage. Like most of the Natchez mansions built in the late 1850s, Magnolia Hall is a hybrid of Greek Revival and Italianate architecture.

Magnolia Hall exhibits the form of the grand Natchez mansion introduced at Auburn and fully developed at Rosalie. The hipped-roof building features a three-bay pedimented portico supported by giant-order fluted Ionic columns that are repeated on the rear where they support a full-width gallery. The mansion is finished in stucco, which was scored, tinted, and penciled to resemble brownstone. Some earlier houses like Elms Court, The Elms, and Linden were also updated to resemble brownstone in the mid to late 1850s.

Magnolia Hall, like its contemporary Stanton Hall, is an architectural hybrid with details of both the older Greek Revival and the newly popular Italianate style. The house is basically Grecian with an imposing Ionic portico but its primary entrance is Italianate with foliate scroll brackets supporting the cornice and an arched panel in the door. The interior detailing is largely Italianate with a scroll newel post and ornate reticulated cornice in the entrance hallway. Magnolia Hall, also like Stanton Hall, features a kitchen wing that is attached to the house.

Thomas Henderson died during the Civil War, and in 1870 the family sold Magnolia Hall to Audley C. Britton, one of the founding partners of Britton and Koontz Bank, chartered in 1866 and one of the oldest banks in the country. The house remained in the Britton family until the twentieth century.

The Armstrong family named it Magnolia Hall in reference to the magnolias in the plaster centerpieces of the double parlors. In adapting the house for school use, the church made significant alterations, which included reconfiguring walls, removing marble mantel pieces, and installing suspended ceilings. When Trinity Episcopal Day School relocated to a new campus, the property reverted to the Armstrong family which donated it for restoration to the Preservation Society of Ellicott Hill, an organization affiliated with the Natchez Garden Club which opens it daily to the public.
The Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette took notice of the nearing completion of a house for banker Edward P. Fourniquet in an article published on November 1, 1838:

E. P. Fourniquet, Esq. is finishing an elegant wooden dwelling house, corner of Washington and Rankin Streets, at a cost of $25,000. This house is in a new style of shape and finish, which will, if we mistake not, be extensively adopted in the South. The two ranges of double parlors, divided by a spacious hall, connecting with the front and rear balconies; the sitting rooms and cabinets in the wings of the building; with the dining room and offices in the basement, - present convenience connected with compactness and architectural beauty . . .
This “elegant” house became known as Green Leaves in the twentieth century. A law suit related to its construction reached the Supreme Court of Mississippi in 1848 and documents the local builder/assembler as Thomas Seaton, who is also the documented builder and designer of Montpelier, a plantation cottage in the county. Seaton apparently assembled the parts that were shipped from Cincinnati. This court case documents that E. P. Fourniquet contracted with William B. Dodson of Cincinnati “to furnish materials and prepare them for erection into a house.” The court case includes testimony from Seaton and another witness that in the spring of 1837, “the materials were all worked up ready for instant erection into a house.” Fourniquet first sued Dodson for overcharging him and Dodson countersued Fourniquet and the Planters Bank. The court decreed that the lot and buildings be sold and the proceeds divided in proportion to their respective claims.

Green Leaves is not the only historic house in the neighborhood that was a product of the collaboration between William B. Dodson of Cincinnati and E. P. Fourniquet. The houses at 613 and 621 Washington Street and probably three others at 600, 601, and 705 Washington Street were the likely products of their collaboration. Thomas Seaton may also have been involved as the builder/assembler of these other houses as well. He himself lived at 509 Washington Street.

Green Leaves is a sophisticated Greek Revival residence that was built of prefabricated materials shipped from Cincinnati to Natchez.
The designer is unknown but was not Thomas Seaton who served as the local carpenter to assemble the parts. The one-story frame house, stuccoed on all elevations, rests on a partially raised, finely finished basement. A clerestory crowns its hipped roof and lights the attic. A fully enriched Doric portico enlivens the façade of the house and its entablature extends around all elevations. The interior also features lavish finishes including hallway doors that feature pilasters supporting a full entablature with deeply projecting cornice, all richly molded.

Green Leaves is one of the great Natchez houses where succeeding generations of a single family have carefully preserved the architecture and interior decorative arts that date to the antebellum period. In 1849, the house was purchased by George W. Koontz, who in partnership with William and Audley Britton, established Britton and Koontz Bank, a major financial institution in Natchez for over 175 years. A descendant of a Britton later married a Koontz and their descendants occupy Green Leaves today. Their preservation of the house and its Empire and Rococo Revival furnishings makes it one of America’s most valuable documents of mid-19th-century taste. Its historic gardens are remarkable for their collection of heirloom camellias, whose plantings have been carefully recorded by family members.
The picturesque site of Rosalie on the Natchez bluff overlooking the Mississippi River enhances the beauty of its architecture. Lumber entrepreneur Peter Little and his wife Eliza built the grand Federal style house on property acquired in 1821. The name of the house honors the 1716 French fort that stood on a hill just south of the house. John James Audubon’s landscape of Natchez, in which the artist recorded himself sketching in November 1822, supports the 1823 traditional date of Rosalie. The house was not yet built when the landscape was painted, but the landscape depicts the brick kiln that burned the bricks for its construction. The Rosalie brick kiln in the landscape is identified in a published description of the landscape in the March 7, 1856, issue of the Natchez Daily Courier. Local tradition has long maintained that James
Shryack Griffin (1780-1823) of Pittsburgh and Baltimore was the architect and builder of Rosalie. Research on Griffin proves that he married Peter Little’s sister Elizabeth in Baltimore in 1810, that he was listed as a “carpenter” in the 1819 Baltimore City Directory, and that he died from yellow fever in 1823 in Natchez. Whatever career he may have had in Natchez was short and probably limited to Rosalie. Research has uncovered no documentation to link Griffin to any Pennsylvania or Maryland buildings, and the design of Rosalie is strongly rooted in the vernacular traditions of Natchez.

A National Historic Landmark, Rosalie established an architectural form associated not only with the grand houses of Natchez but with houses throughout the Lower Mississippi Valley and Deep South. This grand mansion form consists of a nearly cubical, two-story brick block with five-bay façade that is surmounted by a hipped roof, fronted by a three-bay giant-order portico, and spanned across the rear by a giant order colonnade. Rosalie was immediately influential in the design of new mansions and in the remodeling of older ones like Gloucester (1803), Auburn (1812), and Arlington (1818).

Rosalie rests upon a partially raised basement and the brickwork is flemish-bond on the two most public elevations. The brickwork was probably painted red and penciled like most of the fine Federal houses in Natchez. The entablature of the

This grand mansion form consists of a nearly cubical, two-story brick block with five-bay façade that is surmounted by a hipped roof, fronted by a three-bay giant-order portico, and spanned across the rear by a giant order colonnade.
STUDY TOUR

portico features a modillion cornice that extends unbroken around all elevations of the house, and the tympanum of the portico features an oval light with radiating muntins. A single gabled dormer pierces the rear slope of the roof.

Rosalie is one of the earliest houses to have a balustraded roof deck, an architectural feature that appears in historic drawings of three earlier houses, Burling Hill (ca. 1810; demolished 1960s), Clifton (1821; demolished 1864), and The Forest (1817; burned 1852). The roof balustrade of the early Natchez mansion evolved architecturally to become the cupola and clerestory of the later mansions.

The rear colonnade at Rosalie is unique among extant mansions in resting directly upon the brick-paved ground. Sheltered by the colonnade and leading from the herringbone-brick pavement to the rear doorway are the original back steps, which are an important and rare survival. Each of the three steps, including the riser, tread and bed molding, is fashioned from a single cypress log rather than created from component parts. The survival of a small portion of the original front steps at Green Leaves (1838), where the steps are exposed to the weather, indicates that constructing individual wood steps from a single log was perhaps relatively common for finer houses during the antebellum period.

Elliptical fanlights crown the upper and lower doorways on both the façade and rear elevation of Rosalie, which boasts elaborate Federal style millwork on both the exterior and interior of the house. Delicate Federal style plaster ornament enlivens the hall ceiling and consists of astragal moldings with hollow corners filled with plaster rosettes.

Rosalie has a conventional double-pile plan with central hall
with an important variation that also appears earlier in 1818 at Arlington. A secondary stair hall, perpendicular to the main hall, separates the library and dining room. This arrangement leaves the main hall unobstructed and wide open to cooling breezes. The staircase in the secondary stair hall extends with unbroken handrail from the main floor to the attic, where vents or windows allow the stair hall to function like a chimney and draw hot air from the house. This stair hall and staircase arrangement, with variations, is also a feature of D’Evereux, Elms Court, Ashburn (burned 1872), Cherokee, Melrose, Dunleith, Stanton Hall, and Homewood (burned 1940).

In 1857, after the deaths of Peter and Eliza Little, Rosalie became home to the family of Andrew and Ann Eliza Wilson, who architecturally updated the house with elaborate marble mantel pieces and plaster ceiling center pieces. They also redecorated the interior with up-to-date Rococo Revival furnishings including a large parlor suite by New York cabinetmaker John Henry Belter, a set so well known that Belter pieces with the same pattern of carving are identified as the Rosalie pattern.

In 1938, Wilson descendants retained a life estate and sold Rosalie to the Mississippi State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. Annie Rumble Marsh, the last descendant to live in the house, died in 1958. The Daughters of the American Revolution open Rosalie daily as a historic house museum that retains its original mid-nineteenth-century furnishings.

The Daughters of the American Revolution open Rosalie daily as a historic house museum that retains its original mid-nineteenth-century furnishings.
Longwood was built as the residence of Haller and Julia Nutt, both natives of the Natchez area. Haller Nutt’s father Rush Nutt was a physician and planter who made many contributions to the growing and harvesting of cotton. Julia Nutt’s grandfather Job Routh settled in Natchez before 1779 and became one of the wealthiest men in the Natchez District. Julia’s mother Caroline Routh married Austin Williams, and they became prominent members of the Natchez planter aristocracy.

In 1850, the Nutts bought a suburban retreat known as Longwood, on which stood a Federal style house built in the 1820’s. A guest at a wedding described the Longwood house as “a plain country mansion...enhanced by art and cultivation.” It may have taken its name from...
Napoleon’s home of exile on St. Helena.

In the late 1840’s, Orson Squire Fowler published a book entitled, *A Home For All, or the Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building.* Almost single-handily, Fowler created and popularized an architectural fad—the octagon house. Fowler was a phrenologist, vegetarian, teetotaler, sex educator, and publisher whose exotic ideas appealed to the emotional and idealistic age in which he lived.

Architects and carpenters in different parts of the United States experimented with the octagon form. Among these was Philadelphia architect Samuel Sloan, who published a design entitled “An Oriental Villa, Design Forty Ninth” in his 1852 publication, *The Model Architect, Vol. II.* Like other architects who published design books, Sloan might have included the design as a folly, or architectural whimsy.

Haller and Julia Nutt probably saw Sloan’s published design, because copies of *The Model Architect* made their way to Natchez libraries. Nutt apparently engaged Sloan in a letter dated December 24, 1859, and the architect made his first trip to Natchez in January 1860.

By March 1860, Sloan wrote that he had completed plans for the house and was preparing copies. On March 12, 1860, Haller Nutt wrote to Samuel Sloan, “I find on going to Natchez that my proposed building is attracting much attention and considerable stir among the mechanics and many a prophecy is brought up in regard to its result.” This same letter provides the information that Nutt will soon be ready to demolish his 1820s residence. The Nutt family took up temporary residence in a newly built two-story brick outbuilding intended for quarters for enslaved servants. This outbuilding incorporates some 1820s architectural elements that were salvaged from the demolition of the earlier house.

In April, Addison Hutton, a Philadelphia carpenter, was sent by Sloan to Natchez to supervise construction. Hutton later became a partner of
Sloan’s and was a leading Philadelphia architect in the late 19th century. Other Northern workmen soon followed Hutton to Natchez.

In January 1861, plans for Longwood were published in *Godey’s Lady Book and Magazine*. That same year, Sloan included the design in his new publication, *Homestead Architecture*, with this notice in the introduction: “We enter upon our series by the presentation of a design adapted to the wants of a man of fortune...A residence after this design is now being erected for a gentleman in the vicinity of Natchez, Mississippi.

The Northern brick masons worked feverishly in Natchez despite the gathering war clouds. They completed the job in just under a year and departed from Natchez on March 16, 1861. By this time, Mississippi had seceded from the Union.

In May 1861, Nutt wrote Sloan that the house was “creating much admiration now....I think after this the octagon will be the style. So you must get some other patterns of this style.” Nutt added, however, “Model them so as not to be so large or expensive.”

Sloan prepared a lithograph of the completed Longwood and one of the prints hangs in Longwood today. This colored lithograph documents Sloan’s intentions for Longwood and depicts a monochromatic house in a stone color. If completed, the bare brick walls of Longwood would have been stuccoed, scored, and penciled to resemble stone and match in color the Pictou stone of the chimney caps. The exterior millwork would have been painted with a sand finish to heighten the stone illusion.

Longwood, as designed and partially built, is an Italianate style building crowned by a Moorish onion dome with finial. Italianate
details include arched openings, overhanging bracketed cornices, columns on pedestals, and sawn millwork including balustrades, brackets, arcaded frontispieces, spandrels, and cresting.

Unique to Longwood are the exterior louvered blinds designed to slide into the wall cavity and the bedroom door openings which were to have both hinged solid doors and louvered pocket doors for ventilation.

In July 1861, Haller Nutt received a letter from furniture manufacturer and retailer George Henkels of Philadelphia, who noted that he had taken the liberty of forwarding a furnishing plan for the house. In October 1863, Sloan wrote Nutt in response to a letter he had received and commented that it had been two years since they had communicated. He also wrote that “Mr. Henkels sends his respects and hopes yet that he may have the pleasure of furnishing the new house.” The furnishings were never ordered.

George Henkels, however, did furnish the Asa Packer mansion in Jim Thorpe, Pennsylvania, which was also designed by Samuel Sloan and built at the same time as Longwood. The interior finishes and original furnishing of the Packer mansion provide insight into how the interior of Longwood would have been finished and furnished.

After the departure of the last northern workmen, Haller Nutt continued to work on Longwood and finished the basement floor sufficient enough to provide temporary housing for his family.
dining room, and bedrooms.

In July 1863, Ulysses S. Grant took control of Vicksburg and federal troops soon moved into Natchez, which had earlier surrendered but had not been occupied. Haller Nutt lost no time in making contact with the Union Army. In an 1865 letter, U.S. Grant wrote, “Soon after the fall of Vicksburg, Mr. Nutt of Natchez, Mississippi, with some three or four other gentlemen of the same place, visited me in Vicksburg. My understanding was that Mr. Nutt had been loyal to the government throughout.”

Haller and Julia Nutt were among many wealthy Natchez cotton planters who were opposed secession. Matilda Gresham, wife of Union General Walter Quintin Gresham, described the Nutts in a biography of her husband: “Another Union family at Natchez were the Nutts. Mr. Haller Nutt was a millionaire when the war began.... Longwood, the Nutt home, was about a mile and a half out of Natchez...When the war began, it was in the process of being built anew...Many times we dined there.”

In December 1863, Sloan wrote Nutt and expressed “regret to learn of the destruction and havoc that has been made upon your properties... I read in the New York Herald an account of your losses as collected by their correspondent upon a visit to Natchez. He named the principal sufferers among which your name was first on the list. He made out your loss at one and a half million dollars and set you down as the heaviest loser among the planters....”

Haller Nutt died from pneumonia in June 1864 before the end of the Civil War. In 1865, Julia Nutt sued the federal government for reparations, a suit that continued after her death in 1897, with the family eventually receiving some monetary compensation. Despite repeated promises to pay Samuel Sloan what he was owed, Julia made excuse after excuse and was eventually sued unsuccessfully by Sloan.

The Nutt family continued to own Longwood until 1968, when they sold the house to Mr. and Mrs. Kelly McAdams who subsequently donated the house in 1970 to the Pilgrimage Garden Club. The club will forever preserve and interpret Longwood in its incomplete state.
Melrose is a National Historic Landmark and the centerpiece of the Natchez National Historical Park. A suburban villa on the outskirts of town, the property features an exceptional Greek Revival mansion with original furnishings, a full complement of outbuildings, a landscaped park, and formal gardens. Melrose is also one of the most well documented historic sites in America. This combination of architecture, landscape, decorative arts, and archival material unite in one of the nation’s strongest interpretations of the history and culture of the antebellum and postbellum South.

John Thompson McMurran (1801-1866) was born in Pennsylvania and came to Natchez in the early 1820s via Chillicothe, Ohio, where he studied law and
met his future law partner, John Quitman. In 1831, he married Mary Louisa Turner, the daughter of a prosperous and politically connected attorney, Edward Turner, and the double first cousin of the wife of John Quitman.

In 1841, McMurran bought 133 acres, described as an “old waste cotton field” not far from the Quitman home, Monmouth. The McMurrans named the site of their suburban villa Melrose in reference to McMurran’s Scottish ancestry and Sir Walter Scott’s *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which featured Melrose Abbey in Scotland.

McMurran presented a copy of the book to his wife inside Melrose Abbey when they made the Grand Tour. Scott’s published works were very influential in the naming of estates in the antebellum South.

Family correspondence indicates that the McMurrans first focused their efforts on the landscape and construction of the outbuildings. McMurran hired master builder Jacob Byers to design and build his mansion residence and construction began about 1847. Byers was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, not far from where McMurran was born in Pennsylvania and the two men were the same age. Byers arrived in Natchez during the building boom of the 1830s. The *Mississippi Free Trader*, on June 23, 1852, published an obituary of Byers and described him as an “eminent architect and builder,—having made the plan and superintended the erection of the palace mansion of J. T. McMurran, Esq., by many considered the best edifice in the State of Mississippi.” Byers died just a few years after he completed Melrose, which is the only building he is documented as having designed and built.

The obituary reference to Melrose as the best edifice in the State of Mississippi followed an earlier article published in the *Mississippi Free
Trader on March 14, 1848, when the house was nearing completion. This newspaper article discusses the brickwork at Melrose, which survives today as a remarkable example of masonry craftsmanship, with evenly colored and locally made brick and finely struck mortar joints of natural white cement.

The records of Andrew Brown's Natchez sawmill also document the construction of Melrose. Among McMurrany's many recorded purchases of lumber in the 1840s is one particular purchase that indicates the house was being finished on the interior at the beginning of 1848. On January 31, 1848, charges to McMurrany appear in Brown's order book for flooring that is 1 1/4” by 5” for specific rooms that are identified by name. Interestingly, the wide rear hallway is identified both in Andrew Brown's order book and in an 1883 inventory of Melrose as the saloon. The term saloon was not unique for Melrose. Gervase Wheeler's 1854 publication, *Rural Homes*, also used the term: “The room answering to the saloon, drawing-room, or parlor, is difficult to treat in a country-house.”

Melrose exhibits many of the finishes and treatments fashionable in Natchez in the 1840s and 50s. The floors installed in Melrose are cypress on the first story, where they were all originally carpeted or covered in oilcloth, and pine on the second story. By the 1850s, harder pine had replaced softer cypress as the preferred wood for flooring in Natchez buildings. All doors on the interior are cypress and painted in imitation of oak, the pattern of graining that became popular in Natchez during the 1840s and 50s. Historic photographs and paint analysis also document that the exterior stucco on the sheltered portions of the façade and rear elevation was painted, penciled, and veined to resemble sandstone and marble.

Although Jacob Byers was born in Maryland, the architecture of Melrose reflects no discernible Maryland influence and indicates that Byers was well versed in the vernacular of Natchez architecture by the late 1840s. The house exhibits the architectural form of the grand Natchez mansion that was
introduced at Auburn in 1812 and fully established at Rosalie in 1823. Architectural details that respond to the region’s sub-tropical climate include a single jib window in the library, a dining room punkah (suspended ceiling fan), hinged windows in the clerestory, and a floor plan with staircase in a secondary side hall. The form of the house and the incorporation of all these climatic details make Melrose the most vernacular of all the great Natchez mansions.

The skill of Jacob Byers as a builder is demonstrated not so much in the sophistication of Melrose’s Greek Revival architecture, but in the high quality of its exterior and interior finishes.

The most outstanding interior features of Melrose are the Ionic frontispieces that frame the doorways between the drawing room, parlor, and library and define the secondary side hall with staircase. These frontispieces consist of fluted Ionic columns supporting a full molded entablature that incorporates a regionally unique panel adorned with an oval patera. The stair hall frontispiece also has a transom with muntins forming X’s that matches the other transoms and sidelights of the house. The entrance hallway, the grand rear hallway, and the triple arrangement of drawing room, parlor, and library all feature a full entablature in plaster which is supported by pilasters that also function as doorway and window surrounds.

Melrose retains a full complement of antebellum outbuildings, six of which are arranged symmetrically to flank a rear courtyard. Immediately behind the house are nearly identical, two-story brick buildings that housed the kitchen and dairy with the upper stories originally used as quarters for enslaved house servants. These two buildings, each with inset double-tiered galleries, feature giant-order columns that reflect the design of the rear gallery of the main house. Also flanking the rear courtyard are matching latticed cistern houses and nearly matching one-story brick buildings that functioned as the privy and the smoke house.

At a distance from the house are the remaining outbuildings which include two dwellings built for enslaved servants, servant privy, carriage house, stable/barn, and a second small barn. The property also includes a ca. 1880 playhouse. Historic landscape
features include scattered cisterns, fences, gates, drives, small ornamental cypress pond, larger pond, formal garden with urns, orchard, and slave cemetery.

In 1865, John and Mary McMurran sold Melrose, with most of the original furnishings, to another Pennsylvania-born attorney and planter, George Malin Davis, who resided with his wife Elizabeth in a mansion townhouse named Choctaw. The Davises apparently bought Melrose as a home for their daughter and her New York husband, Stephen Kelly. After the deaths of his in-laws and wife, Stephen Kelly located permanently in New York City, where he reared his only son, George Malin Davis Kelly. Melrose was left in the care of an agent and servants, primarily the families of Jane Johnson and Alice Sims, some of whom had previously been enslaved.

In 1900, George M. D. Kelly and his bride, the former Ethel Moore, came to Natchez to see the properties inherited from his mother’s family. Kelly had inherited four Natchez mansions, Choctaw, Cherokee, Concord, and Melrose, and several plantations in Louisiana. The Kellys decided to preserve and restore Melrose, a remarkable decision since the house and its furnishings were then only about fifty years old. The Kelly family owned Melrose until 1976, when it was sold to John and Betty Callon. Due to the foresight of the Kellys and the subsequent decision of the Callons to sell it intact to the National Park Service in 1990, Melrose is today one of the most significant historic properties in America. The Natchez National Historical Park opens the house daily to the public.

The most outstanding interior features of Melrose are the Ionic frontispieces that frame the doorways between the drawing room, parlor, and library and define the secondary side hall with staircase.
Bontura dates to 1851 and was built as the residence of free African Americans Robert and Ann Smith. The site of the house on South Broadway offered not only beautiful views of the Mississippi River but a convenient location for Robert Smith’s carriage and dray business.

The house stands near the top of Silver Street which leads to the waterfront where boats docked daily to provide passengers and goods to transport.

The April 3, 1852, issue of the Concordia Intelligencer [Concordia Parish, La.] documents the house’s construction and describes it as the “new house of Robert Smith…substantially built of brick, slated and fire-proof.” The following year Smith advertised his property for sale in the April 14, 1853, issue of The Daily Courier [Natchez] and described it as having a “good two-story dwelling house, very recently built, extensive stables and carriage houses, kitchens, outbuildings, etc.”

Robert Smith died in 1858 and his widow and children soon joined an older son who operated a foundry in South America. In 1860, Joseph and Fanny Bontura bought the house which became their family’s home until 1916. Like Robert Smith, Bontura operated a livery business which he expanded after the Civil War. He and wife Fanny also added a two-story wing with galleries to the rear of the house and expanded their operation to include an inn for river travelers.

As originally constructed in 1852, Bontura was a simple unadorned, Greek Revival brick townhouse with typical side
hall plan. The picturesque double-tiered cast-iron gallery is a late nineteenth-century addition. An outstanding feature of the property is the rear carriage house with its arcade of carriage openings. When Californians Hugh and Gladys Evans acquired the property in 1941, it had deteriorated substantially. The Evans restored the house and ultimately donated it to the National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Mississippi for use as a house museum. The house again became a private home when it was purchased by Dr. Jim and Ruthie Coy in 1996.

**ELMS COURT**

542 John R. Junkin Drive

Elms Court was built in 1837 for sisters Eliza and Katherine Evans, unmarried daughters of Lewis Evans, one of the leading men of wealth in territorial Natchez. The records of the Andrew Brown Saw Mill document the 1837 date of construction and the builders as the firm of Day and Caldwell.

As originally constructed, the house exhibited Federal and Greek details, which is typical of Natchez buildings dating to the mid-1830s when architectural fashion transitioned from the Federal to Greek Revival style.

The entrance doorway has Grecian rectilinear transoms but recalls the earlier Federal style in its eight-panel entrance door and Roman Ionic columns supporting a wide projecting entablature. The interior
proportions of the house are grand and its original 1837 millwork consists of symmetrically molded door and window surrounds with corner blocks and wooden mantel pieces with friezes supported by Doric columns. The elaborate plaster ceiling centerpiece of the central hall is deeply recessed and features both acanthus and papyrus ornament.

Elms Court’s original floor plan is a double-pile plan with a wide central passage, with the staircase in a lateral side hall between the dining room and a parlor. The staircase extends with unbroken handrail from the first floor to the attic and serves as a chimney to draw hot air into the attic which is vented by a rear dormer window.

This floor plan also appears at other Natchez mansions including Arlington, Rosalie, Melrose, Dunleith, Stanton Hall, and others.

In 1842, the Evans sisters sold Elms Court to George W. Turner, brother of Eliza Turner Quitman of Monmouth. In 1852, Turner sold the house to Francis Surget, who gave it to his daughter Jane and her husband Ayres P. Merrill. The Merrills hired Natchez architect/builder Thomas Rose to enlarge and update the house, which he flanked with one-story wings. He also replaced the original portico with an Italianate full-width, double-tiered gallery with elaborate cast-iron decoration that extends across the front of each side wing. The depth of the house was extended by the enclosure of the rear gallery and the addition of a new one.

In addition to the staircase in a lateral side hall and the expanse of galleries, architectural concessions to climate include jib windows and a large punkah, or fan, suspended beneath the arch of the expanded dining room.

In 1895, James Surget bought Elms Court for his daughter Carlotta and husband David McKittrick, whose granddaughter Anne MacNeil today resides in the house.
STANTON HALL
401 High Street

Stanton Hall is a National Historic Landmark and the most palatial of the extant Natchez mansions. Built for wealthy cotton planter and commission merchant Frederick Stanton and his wife Hulda, the house occupies an entire city block in the Spanish grid plan of the city. Its 1857 construction date appears in plaster relief within the tympanum of the portico pediment, and an 1857 codicil to Stanton’s will references the property as the “square of ground...on which my new dwelling now in progress of completion stands.”

Local master builder Thomas Rose (1806-1861), an English immigrant, designed and built the mansion, which has named Belfast in honor of Frederick Stanton’s Irish heritage. Rose relied heavily on the outdated designs of Minard Lefever published in 1835 in his Beauties of Modern Architecture. The portico’s Tower of the Winds columns, the interior doorway surrounds, and the plaster ceiling center pieces are identical to Lefever’s drawings. Rose demonstrated his fluency in the newly popular Italianate style by adding a bay window within a side porch enlivened by arcaded cast-iron ornament. The influence of the Italianate style is also evident in the arcaded double-tiered rear gallery, the brackets of the entrance doorway, and the bracketed cornice and arched windows of the roof observatory.
One of the most magnificent and princely residences of Natchez has just been completed, belonging to Frederick Stanton, Esq., senior partner of the great commission house of Stanton, Buckner & Co., of New Orleans and Natchez.

It is in the center of an entire square, on rising ground, in the northern portion of the city, bounded by High, Madison, Pearl, and Commerce streets. The edifice is an immense symmetrical brick pile, the work of those eminent brick-masons, Messrs. Reynolds and Brown; stuccoed to a snowy whiteness by those long-established and celebrated stucco-plasterers, Messrs. Price and Polkinghorne. The work-box, of the highest elegance of finish and tasteful pattern, was executed under the supervision of Capt. Thomas Rose — Mr. John A. Saunders being his experienced and faithful, as well as skillful, foreman. The painting and rich oak ingraining was done under the direction of Mr. John Wells, so famous for the high finish of his work. The ingraining prevails on doors, panels, window-sills, encasements, and stairs, from the basement to the observatory. All of the mouldings, the arches that spring so gracefully over the halls, are carved from wood, and in a style that instantly arrests the attention and attracts intense admiration — the work of Mr. Saunders, after Lefevre's [sic] richest models. The magnificent white marble mantels and jambs were sculpted in New York, and the immense mirrors were ordered from France. All the work on the edifice was done by Natchez architects, builders, artists and finishers. The grand front to the south presents a pure Corinthian...
façade, and might well be taken for a purely Grecian temple. On the eastern side another architectural style prevails—the tracery of the iron verandahs, closed alcoves and balustrades, strongly bringing to mind the Arabesque style of ornament.

From the observatory, not only a portion of Lake Concordia, some twelve miles of the sweep of the Mississippi River, but every dwelling in Natchez comes under the eye—a panorama of wondrous beauty.

The rear, three-story service wing of Stanton Hall is unusual in being attached to the house and represents a stage in the domestic progression of the kitchen from a separate building in the rear yard into the house itself. The rear wing was shortened in length between 1904 and 1910 but the alteration spared the original pantry and kitchen, which are adjacent to the dining room. The original brick carriage house/stable survives but is located on an adjacent block and under separate ownership.

The grand interior of Stanton Hall features ceilings that are sixteen-and-a-half feet tall and a broad center hall that extends the full seventy-five-foot depth of the house.

The grand interior of Stanton Hall features ceilings that are sixteen-and-a-half feet tall and a broad center hall that extends the full seventy-five-foot depth of the house. The floor plan is typical of grand Natchez mansions designed by architects and builders familiar with the local architectural idiom of placing the grand staircase in a lateral side hallway. The staircase extends with unbroken handrail from the main story to the attic. The stair
hall divides the library from the dining room on the western side of the main hallway. On the eastern side are three reception rooms with the first two separated only by richly ornamented arches. The hall of the second story is flanked by three bedrooms on each side.

The first-story interior rooms are the most finely finished but all interior rooms feature marble mantel pieces, plaster cornices, and foliate plaster center pieces. Rare survivals are the original gasoliers and gas wall sconces, which are attributed and documented to Cornelius and Baker of Philadelphia.

Rare survivals are the original gasoliers and gas wall sconces, which are attributed and documented to Cornelius and Baker of Philadelphia. The house also has a substantial amount of original furnishings, which reflect the eclecticism of the mid-nineteenth century and are documented in historic photographs as well as in the collections of Stanton descendants.

Frederick Stanton lived in Stanton Hall only a short time before his death on January 4, 1859. His widow Hulda continued to live in the house with members of her family until her death in 1893. Her heirs sold the house in 1894 to Stanton College for Young Ladies, which accepted both day and boarding students. During its school history, the house ceased to be known as Belfast and assumed the more academic name of Stanton Hall.

During the early twentieth century, Stanton College relocated to Choctaw and Stanton Hall again became a private residence. In 1938, the house became the club headquarters of the Pilgrimage Garden Club, which operates it as house museum open daily to the public.
Trinity Episcopal Church is the oldest church building in Natchez. On March 30, 1822, The Mississippi State Gazette reported that a meeting was held on March 16 in the courthouse of “subscribers to a fund for the erection of an Episcopal Church.” The church trustees purchased the site in April 1822, and the building was substantially complete when John James Audubon painted a landscape of Natchez in the winter of 1822-23. Audubon depicted the church with a portico, arched windows, and monumental dome.

On April 23, 1823, The Mississippi State Gazette reported that the “new Episcopal Church will be opened on Sunday next, when Divine Service will be performed by the Rev. James Venues
Pilmore." When he severed his pastoral duties at Trinity, Pilmore wrote a report stating that he arrived in Natchez in 1822 and regularly performed worship services in the courthouse until the spring of 1823, when he began holding services in the church. He noted that the building was still incomplete when he departed in 1825.

Writer Joseph Holt Ingraham provides the best written description of Trinity as it appeared in the early to mid-1830s in his 1835 publication, The South-West. By a Yankee (Vol. II):

There is a fine Episcopalian church in the south-east part of the town...It is built of brick, and surmounted by a vast dome, which has a rather heavy, overgrown appearance, and is evidently too large for the building. It has a neat front, adorned with a portico of the usual brick columns.... The pulpit, which is a miniature forum, is chaste and elegant, and its drapery rich and tastefully arranged. The choir was full and powerful, whose effect was increased by a fine-toned organ, the only one in the state...

In 1838, Trinity’s congregation decided to transform their domed Federal style church into a Grecian temple under the direction of builders Reynolds [George] and Breeden [Mark]. The November 29, 1838, issue of the Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Weekly Gazette contained the following article:

Improvement in the Episcopal Church...The services on the next Sabbath, we learn, will be attended in city hall, which will be used as a place of worship until the extensive enlargement and repairs in contemplation shall have been completed.

The remodeled Trinity Church was patterned after the Temple of Theseion (also known as the Temple of
Hephaestus), the best preserved Doric temple in Greece. Trinity’s dome was probably removed during the 1838 remodeling, since church records document damage from the devastating tornado of 1840 as totaling only $600. Charles Stietenroth in One Hundred Years with Old Trinity Church (1922) wrote that the remodeling cost the church $19,664 and that the church was not occupied until November 4, 1839, almost a year later. The last pre-Civil War changes occurred in 1848 when the congregation installed a bell tower and a door behind the pulpit.

English architect Thomas K. Wharton visited Natchez in 1859 and described Trinity as it looked on the eve of the Civil War:

*The church, neat, comfortable, well-finished, light and air in sufficient quantity, all in good taste, solid and durable. Exterior the Hexastyle Doric of the Thesion [sic], with plain square bell tower in the rear: ALL colored in delicate Portland Stone tint—a favorite tinge in Natchez, and vastly more beautiful than the clumsy brown ochres of New Orleans.*

Late nineteenth-century changes include the remodeling of the chancel (1884) and nave (1897) and the installation of art glass windows by Louis Comfort Tiffany and John LaFarge. In 1886, the church built an adjacent Romanesque Revival building now known as Kuehnle Hall. The architect was Frederick C. Withers of New York and the builder was William Stietenroth of Natchez. Withers was a well-known designer of ecclesiastical buildings and published a pattern book entitled Church Architecture in 1873.