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MAPPING MODERNITY:
REPRESENTATIONS OF PARIS IN THE EARLY THIRD REPUBLIC, 1870-1900

A Thesis in
French
by
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ABSTRACT

Many French politicians and academics believed that a lack of map-reading skills contributed to France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Following this loss, the introduction of geography into the national educational curriculum changed how maps were used and understood in the early Third Republic. Used widely by travel guidebook authors and by government officials administering the city prior to 1870, maps took on an additional role during the Third Republic: through visual representation they helped reaffirm the republic’s desire for a common national identity. This identity, based on the modernity and stability of the new regime, helped a volatile France redefine itself and its capital city.

This dissertation is a study of France’s view of Paris and of how the government and publishers wished to portray its capital city to the world. This study aims to define how France promoted Paris as a modern, stable capital city, and how the government used maps as instruments of power associated with the emergence of a more confident Republic.

Overreaching concepts in the study are the notions of map discourse (color, text, shapes, and symbols), modernity, and republicanism.

Though guidebook discourse has been studied in detail, the examination of maps as a valid tool for disseminating the government’s message has been only summarily treated. Studies in this area address primarily French travel or tourism, focusing mainly on the texts supporting these maps, such as travel guides. Among the maps this study examines are those published by the city of Paris and its government agencies, along with maps from the Guide Joanne travel guidebook series. To explore the background of these maps, I use approaches and methods in cultural history, but also rely on semiotics and historiography.
The study’s importance lies in multiple definitions of modernity and in how those definitions were used to promote the French capital. 1870 Paris was a damaged city, one prone to rebellion, and the French wished to counter this notion. Documenting the city as calm and republican on maps was one way to do just that. As the Third Republic continued, stability became the norm. Multiple Expositions Universelles served not only as demonstrations of national pride, but also as proof that Paris had recovered from both military defeat and internal strife with official and tourist guide map discourse helping to promulgate this message. Furthermore, as the French Third Republic became more confident in its ability to govern Paris, and France, and the French became better map readers, its discourse adapted. The examination of maps from the early Third Republic elucidates the changing nature of map use during this period as well as French ability to identify with the new government.
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Devant l'Hôtel de Ville, dans l'intervalle qui séparait l'ancienne Place du Châtelet de l'espace irrégulier qualifié Place de Grève, l'œil était affligé par d'horribles cloaques, nommés rue de la Tannerie, de la Veille-Tannerie, de la Vannerie, de la vieille Place aux Veaux, Saint-Jérôme, de la Vieille-Lanterne, de la Tuerie, des Teinturiers, etc. Cette dernière était si peu large, que la façade vermoulue d'une des maisons, en pans de bois hourdés de plâtre, qui la bordaient, essaya vainement de s'abattre : elle ne put que s'appuyer sur celle de la maison opposée.

Et quelle population habitait là !

-Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann, 1852

Twenty years before his downfall, Louis Napoleon’s 1851 proclamation of empire found Paris in need of attention. The city had undergone no significant renovation since before the 1789 Revolution. The narrow unlit streets as described above by Napoleon III’s Président Haussmann were a breeding ground for crime and disease. Bourgeois Parisians, tired of the instability at the end of the July Monarchy and the beginning of the short-lived Second Republic, soon became the base of Napoleon III’s support. Many were weary of venturing into the night for fear of losing not only their wallets, but their lives as well.¹ The large concentration of working-class people located in the center of the city was of concern

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¹ Crime was a major topic of discussion in nineteenth-century Paris. While “the bourgeois felt secure behind their triple bars and bolts,” they eventually needed to traverse “nooks and corners ideally suited to robbery with violence by day and night” (Chevalier 1-2).
to both the bourgeoisie and those in power. Yet Second Empire Paris had other problems as well. Lack of sunlight was blamed for multiple cholera epidemics that hit the city in 1832 and in 1849. Cholera struck everyone and everywhere. The first major epidemic killed 20,000 Parisians out of a population of 861,400 (Jordan 96). In addition to crime and disease, nineteenth-century Paris had a reputation for having its population pour into the streets, erect barricades, and topple governments. Accordingly, one of the first ways the emperor exerted his authority over the mutinous city was through mapping. Under orders from the emperor, Haussmann accurately surveyed Paris and created a large map on the basis of which Napoleon III was better able to transform the city. He then ushered his troubled capital city towards modernity, as evidenced by new industry, scientific advancements, and social progress.

Stability would prove necessary for economic development. Due in part to a violent revolution and the disruptive continental Napoleonic wars, the industrial revolution arrived in France much later than in Britain. As demonstrated in eighteenth-century England, the creation of an industrial-based economy required a large, inexpensive workforce. The impoverished rural peasant looking for work soon became the factory worker, whose cause was made famous by Marx and Engels. In France, this population flooded into Paris from poorer, rural settings, overcrowded the city center, and changed the city’s demographics. With industrialization, the French bourgeoisie’s wealth increased dramatically, but a more militant working class disrupted government and made the city dangerous for its leaders, giving the French capital a bad reputation at home and abroad. If this was modernity, the French ruling class had to ask if it was worth the trouble. Louis Napoleon, a true believer in Saint Simon, felt that the government could help its citizens. Saint Simon’s ideals, such as the
considerable emphasis placed on the moral virtues of industrialism in terms of its capacity to improve the standard of living of the poor, fit in well with the Emperor’s plan to use modern technology to alleviate the misery of the working class. During his imprisonment at the Ham prison under the Restoration, the emperor published a pamphlet of his *Idées napoléoniennes*, many of which included government programs to improve society (Lentz 92). These socialist ideals forecasted a city where its citizens would benefit from all that French industry and technology could offer. Modernity was to be used by the government to improve society.

Hoping to combine the Second Empire’s economic expansion with democratic values, yet eager to distance itself from the rest of the turbulent nineteenth century, the Third Republic (1870-1940) wanted to promote a unified French nation, with Paris, its capital, as the model example of modernity and stability. Taking into account the violent end of its predecessor, the Third Republic emphasized its differences with the Second Empire while reassuring business leaders and foreign governments that maintaining control was achievable. Was it plausible for the new regime to take the imperial city and claim it as republican? How did maps of Paris become instruments of power and how did their representations of authority change over the thirty year period? How are the maps associated with the emergence of Republican France? How were Paris’s map images read and how might today’s map reader excavate the multiple messages contained in official and commercial maps? How were the nineteenth-century improvement and embellishments to

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2 In his *Nouveau christianisme*, Saint Simon argued that these values corresponded to the ethics of true Christianity, and thus that no Christian could deny the validity of his doctrine (*Selected Writings* 27).

3 In *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, David Harvey highlights Louis Napoleon’s time spent imprisoned at Ham prison. There, the future emperor published a pamphlet entitled *L’Extermination du paupérisme*, in which he championed the right to work as a basic principle and proposed state legislation to set up associations of workingmen (69).
the city of Paris, along with the themes of modernity and security, portrayed in both official
maps of the Third Republic and French tourist guides? Did these map types portray
modernity and stability differently?

This dissertation seeks answers to these questions by examining how the
embellishment of Paris accomplished prior to the Third Republic was portrayed in the maps
of the capital city published after Napoleon III’s fall. In addition, it seeks to know how those
maps promoted the post-Commune city as modern and finally, how do depictions of Paris in
maps from 1870, 1889, and 1900 demonstrate modernity? How do they portray the changing
notions of city space and promote the regime’s visions?

The Question of Modernity

There is no one straightforward definition of the term “modern,” nor is there a
single event that can be used to determine the arrival of “modernity” in France. Under the
heading “Two Modernities,” Matei Calinescu discusses an “irreversible split” between
modernity as a stage in the history of Western Civilization and modernity as an aesthetic
concept (41). Third Republic maps needed to convince the bourgeoisie that Paris was
finished with rebellion, and that technology, combined with enhanced transportation, was
improving its daily lives. While aesthetic modernity was brought into being by the avant-
gardes and expressed itself through diverse means, ranging from “rebellion, anarchy, and
apocalypticism to aristocratic self-exile” (42), Calinescu’s term – modernity as a bourgeois
ideal – emphasizes the power structures involved in finance, industry, government, and publishing. In this definition, he highlights a

doctrine of progress, the confidence in the beneficial possibilities of science and technology, the concern with time (a measurable time, a time that can be bought and sold and therefore has, like any other commodity, a calculable equivalent in money), the cult of reason, and the ideal of freedom defined within the framework of an abstract humanism, but also the orientation toward pragmatism and the cult of action and success – all have been associated in various degrees with the battle for the modern and were kept alive and promoted as key values in the triumphant civilization established by the middle class (41).

Modernity permitted a larger portion of the population to take advantage of the scientific and technological advances made during the nineteenth century, thus directing economic largesse into the pockets of the middle class. Economic expansion, as manifested in spectacles such as Napoleon III’s Expositions Universelles of 1855 and 1867, both of which were housed in the aptly named Palais de l’Industrie, combined the bourgeois modernist ideal to showcase Paris as a cultural and international destination. Visitors to these staged events, both foreign and provincial, were eager to come see what the city had to offer. Modern Paris, in this definition, was a success.

Supplementing Calinescu’s definition, David Harvey suggests that “one of the myths of modernity is that it constitutes a radical break with the past” in that “modernity is…always about ‘creative destruction’” (Harvey 1). Initially it appears that, in pre-Third Republic Paris, Baron Haussmann established a “radical break,” effectively separating the
Second Empire from the unpopular July Monarchy and short-lived Second Republic. During
Haussmann’s reign as Préfet of the Seine, Parisians saw their capital transformed completely,
from a city many from the Middle Ages would recognize to one that was a model of
bourgeois modernity, covered with wide boulevards, provided with large supplies of fresh
water, and furnished with factories, slaughterhouses, and a new sewer system that,
Haussmann proudly thought was equaled by no other in Europe. In Haussmann’s Paris,
being a modern Parisian meant living in a secure, orderly, and clean city. The Prefect
believed that a more strategic embellishment of widened streets would render the revival of
the 1848 barricades impossible, and he planned new straight avenues to connect military
barracks with the workers’ districts. A modern city was trouble-free and the late-1860s, pre-
Commune Paris believed itself successfully disjoined from its violent past. Therefore, in the
twenty years of Napoleon III’s empire city space changed from one weakened by rebellion
to one designed for pleasure and business, and maps of the Second Empire and eagerly
promoted this.

However, the Third Republic, looking for its own “radical break” and unwilling to
endorse Napoleon III’s Empire, viewed modernity as a complement to republican values. It
documented the republic on maps, emphasizing the regime’s triumphs, and downplaying its
shortcomings. The cartographer JB Harley defines map discourse as “those aspects of a text
which are appraisive, evaluative, persuasive, or rhetorical, as opposed to those which simply
name, locate and recount” (54). Used to unite as well as to support, maps during the Third
Republic validated the new regime. Completed projects, schools, stable neighborhoods,
multiple Expositions Universelles, and other tourist destinations commonly appeared in
maps sanctioned by the government as well as in those produced by the private sector.
Cartography as Print Culture Studies

The study of maps as instruments of the new regime proves instructive in considering the ideology and policies of the early Third Republic. Within the study of history of reading, reading practices, and print culture, an analysis of map production and reception is useful for demonstrating what advancements were being made at the juncture of cartography and the publishing industry and how those advancements were received by map readers. For example, the use of color in maps changed dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century, becoming much more varied as the year 1900 approached. Additionally, print culture studies provide insight into distribution methods and technologies available to accommodate map publishing. With the passage of the hallmark 1881 law instituting freedom of the press, map publishers had more liberty in how they portrayed Paris and the government. Moreover, with improved publishing and distribution networks, more maps could be produced and distributed.

French publishing under the Third Republic made significant advances from 1870 to 1900. Political and economic factors combined with technological developments to change the nature of book production. To explore the varied French perspectives on Paris, I rely on approaches and methods in cultural history. As the combination of print culture and history, my study fits within the greater context of cultural history, drawing primarily on the formulations by Roger Chartier regarding the relationship of identity and power developed in his seminal article, “Le Monde comme représentation” (1989). In addition, the Histoire de l’Édition Française (1983), co-edited by Chartier, provides valuable insight into the publishing world in the second half of the nineteenth century.
Though researchers have examined the relationship between map discourse and the notion of modernity in its effect on an urban population, maps of nineteenth-century Paris as an expression of modernity remain under-examined. Studies in this area address primarily French travel or tourism, centering primarily on the texts supporting these maps, as in travel guides. They do not significantly examine the maps, the important visual schemata that often accompanied guidebooks. For example, Catherine Bertho-Lavenir has examined the role of the railroad in bringing new tourists to the regions of France, notably Brittany, at the end of the nineteenth century. She examines not maps, but the role of regional identity and stereotypes formed and promulgated by the Parisian middle class. Likewise, Jules Gritti analyzes itineraries found in the *Guides Bleu*, demonstrating how guidebook discourse is very specific in directing the reader to what should be seen, thereby assigning hierarchies based on cultural, historical, and physical characteristics. But Gritti, like Bertho-Lavenir, focuses primarily on the text of the guide, not the maps.

To address these lacunae, my research will build on several previous studies by Brian Harley, Dennis Wood, David Harvey, and James Lehning. While dealing extensively with the nineteenth century, Harley’s work primarily concerns England or Western Europe as a whole; he does not apply his theories to Paris. He does, however, examine the urban environment of London and the discourse of the historical city map, which could be applied to the French capital as well. With its different social make-up, history, and industrial base, Paris varies greatly from London.

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4 Bertho-Lavenir continues her study of belle époque tourism in *La roue et le stylo* (1999).

Building on Harley’s examinations of discourse and control in *The Power of Maps* (1992), historical cartographer Dennis Wood studies maps as semiological systems. While maps may appear neutral to the reader, “[cartographic] system[s] can be corrupted” (105), Wood maintains, acknowledging the desire by those in power to portray geographical areas as mythic objects. Applying to maps Roland Barthes’ semiological schema, in which the French philosopher “demythified” common myths in post-war France, Wood asserts that maps do not escape the “the grasp of myth” (105). Not focusing on maps, Barthes’ schema demythified images found in 1950s French advertisements. Through these schemas, he challenges the innocence of images and demonstrates that the connotation often involved an imposed meaning (181-233). Like many of Barthes’ *Mythologies*, maps have become commonplace in twenty-first century society. We have come to expect them in travel guides, newspapers, advertisements, and even phonebooks. The contemporary reader has faith in maps, regarding them as natural, ordinary objects. Although “[a map] is mythic [due] to the degree that it succeeds in persuading us that it is a natural consequence of perceiving the world” (Wood 105). The reader is therefore encouraged to see the world and maps in a specific way, guided by a biased cartographer. For example, on many maps Haussmann’s new boulevards, usually the most prominent, guide the nineteenth-century map reader from the new modern *gares* to the historic center of Paris. Wood’s analysis of maps points out the dangers of simply accepting a map’s message and reinforces the need for a multidisciplinary approach to the study of cartography.

Adding another important layer to the map theories of Harley and Wood, David Harvey provides an in-depth look at the discourse of modernity in Napoleon III’s Second Empire in *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (2003). For Harvey, “a fundamental question is how Paris
worked and how it became such a central site for the birth of modern” (18). He focuses his studies on Second Empire France, at the onset of the industrial revolution. Harvey holds a capitalistic view of modernity, which he defines as corresponding to the period in which finance was used to transform both society and the city.\(^6\) Modernity for Harvey can thus be viewed as the moment in which districts of Paris were transformed from working-class and integrated neighborhoods, where all classes commingled, to a city center used for government, spectacle, and recreation (cafés, department stores, and boulevards), with the working classes pushed further out, to the periphery.

While a prime destination for French and European travelers, Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century had many problems. It was, in Haussmann’s metaphor, a “sick” city. Baron Haussmann was appointed by the emperor in the early 1850s to cure Paris’s ills. Even though by 1861 significant progress had been made, there was more for “surgeon” Haussmann to do. The Préfet often used this terminology of sickness himself:

> After a prolonged pathology, the drawn out agony of the patient, the body of Paris, was to be delivered of its illnesses, its cancers, and epidemics once and for all by the total act of surgery. “Cutting” and “piercing” were the adjectives used to describe the operation. Where the terrain was particularly obstructed, a “disemboweling” had to be performed in order that arteries be reconstructed and flows reinstated (A. Vidler, qtd. in Harvey 260).

If Haussmann’s city was a patient, the cure was modernity.

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\(^6\) Stating that “the circulation of capital is in charge,” Harvey uses Balzac’s descriptions of Paris to demonstrate how Paris, as Balzac saw it, was a city “devoid of morals, principles and genuine feelings,” but how “everything stimulates the upward march of money” (32-33).
This study will continue Harvey’s examination of Second Empire modernity into the Third Republic, when the desire to be seen as modern remained equally important to the new French government. Modernity emerges in multiple maps forms in travel guide maps, manifested through technological achievements such as sanitation and transportation (railroads figure prominently). In addition, education, with free, secular school attendance, appeared through numerous schools included on the maps. Boulevards, another important part of the urban landscape during the Second Empire embellishment of Paris, remain prominent on maps though perhaps more as a former enhancement from which Third Republic could accentuate its own modernity than an example of republican action.

With much energy devoted to improving Paris throughout the Second Empire and early Third Republic, resentment from the rest of France surfaced (Harvey 317). The need for Third Republic France to look within and to homogenize the nation state made sense. By sending out loyal préfets and instituteurs, the Third Republic not only increased its presence in the countryside but facilitated the spread of republican ideals and control in Paris (Hobsbawm, Tradition 105). Regardless of that fact, Paris was an excellent showpiece. The Third Republic also used both the city and large-scale public events, such as World’s Fairs, prominent funerals, and the celebration of Bastille Day, the national holiday, to demonstrate its control over the tamed city. Focusing on how republican ideals were extended beyond Paris’s city limits into conservative, rural France, Eugen Weber’s Peasants into Frenchmen (1976) notes that improved roads and communication, among other factors, were instrumental in furthering the government’s message.

Echoing Lehning and Weber’s theses through map discourse, this dissertation argues that official maps of the Third Republic likewise represented and endorsed the republican
regime. Maps were used to publicize a stable, modern capital city. The French male population that would now play a more active role in government by voting made it an ideal target audience for these maps. Elites then developed “an interest in promotion and dissemination of national values through schooling and military education, as well as through the invention of public national ceremonies, rituals and symbols” (Hobsbawm, Nations 107). Maps fit well into the Republic’s new ideology by endorsing the new regime and its benefits to France.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Europe witnessed the transition from kingdoms and empires to nation-states. While Hobsbawm cites language as “the decisive or even the only criterion of potential nationhood” (Nations 102), the shift was also ideological and political: “the standardization of administration and law within it, and in particular, state education, transformed people into citizens of a specific country” (Invention 264). The city was becoming more democratic and maps portrayed this shift. Citizens from outlying areas, after years of paying for Haussmann’s transformation of the central city, were ready for the outer, most recently annexed arrondissements to be improved. This substantial governmental undertaking, subsequently mapped by the city, further documented the large investment the Republic had in all of Paris.

The Third Republic’s attention to the outer arrondissements of Paris epitomized the desire to unite the city, and a uniform Paris could serve as an example for the entire nation. For France, a traumatic defeat on the battlefield, the loss of territory, and the establishment

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7 Haussmann had largely ignored the outer ring of the city, annexed in 1860, despite its expanding industries and population. He had good reason for concentrating on the center, and with a sympathetic, nominated City Council he could ignore the demands of the outer areas. But under the Third Republic it was no longer possible to do so. The representatives of the outer arrondissements in the new City Council combined their influence to obtain a fair share of public investment for their own wards (Sutcliffe, Autumn 46).
of the Republic led to not only the formation of a new government, but also of a new ideology. In *Birth of an Empire* (2001), Philip Mansel suggests that a decisive step in the “nationalization” of Europe took place in 1870, with the defeat of the French by Prussia (429). The proclamation of the German Empire in Versailles disrupted previously established alliances and led to the eventual formation of new nations in Central and Eastern Europe. This event also triggered nationalist sentiments in France. Eager to find reasons for the French defeat in 1870, the Third Republic looked at perceived internal deficiencies. One solution was to examine France’s many internal cultural and linguistic differences. Leaders decided that a more homogenous nation was needed, and successive republican governments turned their attention to the promotion of a unified French identity. With much determination, modern, monumental Paris recovered quickly from military loss. Hosting the Expositions Universelles in 1878, 1889, and 1900, Paris was now a model for other cities. The message was clear: the French were proud of Paris, and maps showing a secure, embellished city played an important part in confirming that identity.

**Map Discourse**

In contemporary society, we are constantly bombarded with images, many of which are layered in meaning. However, by examining map discourse from Third Republic France, including a deeper understanding of the communication circuit between the cartographer and the map reader, we can evaluate and identify messages. But historical map discourse also provides clues to understanding how modernity and mobility were imagined by the traveler. My focus here will be less on the Second Empire or the critics of Napoleon III’s drive to
modernity than on how his modern, stable Paris was represented after his departure. How did cartography help transmit understanding of the Third Republic’s capital city?

Cartographers during the latter half of the nineteenth century facilitated the new republic’s message through map discourse. Relying on symbols, shading, text, and silence, maps helped promote Paris as a modern, secure, democratic capital city, eager to accept both business and tourism.

Throughout the nineteenth century, French map history had been influenced by the social and political forces that helped to encourage map use. Whereas “l'histoire du XIXe siècle s'intéresse très peu aux images, et encore moins à cette catégorie d'images que sont les cartes” (Weber, "L'Hexagone" 1178), increased exposure to images in the form of cartography took place in the Third Republic schools. Early nineteenth-century geography textbooks, such as Joseph Gibrat’s *Traité de la géographie moderne* (1813), often did not contain any maps, let alone cartographic representations of urban centers such as Paris. By the beginning of the Third Republic, the presence of maps in the educational system started to change. The French defeat by Prussia in 1870 initiated an internal examination of the French educational system, one that favored history and philosophy over geography. One result of this transformation was a re-examination of the role of geography in the national curriculum. Apart from education, smaller, more specialized maps, in the form of travel and transportation guides, provided users of public transportation of all ages with plans of rail lines and omnibus routes and, for the first time, cities. This exposure to geography and

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8 The notion that France had been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War by an army that was better-prepared, better equipped and above all, better-educated than the French forces was widespread at all levels of public discussion from the popular press through the flood of pamphlets to the debates at the National Assembly. Many called for maps to be made more available and up-to-date not just for the Army, but in the schools as well (Andrews, *Vidal de la Blache and Modern Geography* 177-178).
transportation at the end of the nineteenth century widened the French map-reading audience considerably.

The enhanced availability of maps towards the end of the nineteenth century helped eliminate the geographical unknown and strengthened French notions of specific physical locations, such as the city of Paris or France as a whole. Apart from dealing with issues of historical access, it is necessary to remind ourselves that maps are really instruments of power. What is their function? Maps represent. Maps represent not only familiar cities and areas, but also those that we do not know and about which we wish to learn more. The map is the apparatus that shows what no eye can see, even when it represents recognizable territory. Maps give as much to thinking as to sight; they project order and reason on the world (Jacob 15-16). Even today, map readers are often willing to accept maps as unbiased, informational sources. As readers of maps, “we’re accustomed to thinking of maps as useful objects, whose purpose is to direct us from one location to another” (Lehman 131).

Nevertheless, most cartographers will agree there is much more. Maps are never value free images, and they are never independent of the arrangement of power in society (Harley 53).

Apart from maps, print has always provided an excellent window on society. Newspapers, magazines and popular literature have long been analyzed to determine how a public perceives both society and current events. Maps provide their own crucial impressions. However, “while the object of mapping is to produce a ‘correct’ relational model of [a] terrain, its assumptions are that the objects in the world to be mapped are real and objective” (Harley 154). Harley also emphasizes that maps are preeminently a language

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9 For a more in-depth examination of the role of the press and pre-twentieth century print culture, see Darnton, *Revolution in Print*, and Cate, *Prints Abound*. 
of power, not protest (79). They are a socially conservative vocabulary used to favor the status quo (71).

In Third Republic France, that status quo meant maintaining the republican ideology. Nonetheless, maps do not always conjure up propagandist notions. They can be helpful, attractive, and welcoming. Maps often invite a reader’s attention. The cartographer Christian Jacob proposes two *lignes de forces* explaining attraction to maps. First, he identifies a powerful, imaginary draw by which the map invites us to look, explore, and dream. Second, he labels maps as an example of rational construction. We fill space with our knowledge of geometry and geography (16). The map is a model used to interpret and interrogate as much as to simply read. Michel de Certeau explains the general attraction to maps by mentioning the view from above, which provides a heavenly gaze (139). For him, the map reader assumes a powerful position, viewing and imagining the city in a way not possible on foot. The view from above has traditionally been reserved for urban planners and cartographers. Today however, anyone with access to maps can now access the heavenly gaze. The map therefore encourages interaction between the reader and the document itself, allowing for a more active role than traditional narrative travel guides, which, as their titles suggest, guide.

The object of cartography has been an enigma for centuries. From Roman antiquity maps have been present in coins and manuscripts. City plans for Rome and Constantinople were part of the library of Charlemagne (Thrower 41). During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, maps figured prominently in both the imagination and propaganda of European rulers. A highly stylized map would serve both to adorn, for example on a tapestry, and to document newly acquired territorial gains, often with stylized decoration being substituted for accuracy. European exposure to the Byzantines, among other cultures.
in the fourteenth century, introduced new cartographic techniques. With the discovery of
the new world by the Europeans in the fifteenth century, maps served an additional purpose
as informative devices. Documenting newly found territories provided legitimacy,
proclaiming both the extension and influence of the European crowns and the Catholic
Church. European “acquisition” of territory through cartographic nomenclature became a
common practice (Thrower 67). Maps documented control.

The rise of absolutism in early modern France encouraged this phenomenon. Using
French military victories as a sign that France was becoming larger, stronger, and more
important in Europe, Richelieu was eager to use cartography to document royal power.
Though he preferred the idea of “natural” borders for France as the idea of artificial
boundaries had yet to reach the French subjects at large, Richelieu continued the French
state’s support of the work of geographers and cartographer-engineers, enthusiastically
embracing the use of maps in the formulation of state policy and defense (Vayassière 252).

Acutely aware of the strategic importance of geography, Richelieu undertook numerous
projects involving the exploitation of physical space, including the continued fortification of
the nations’ borders, the annexation of adjoining territory, and the expansion of the king’s
colonialist designs (Peters 26-27). Under Louis XIV, in a period in which no global
knowledge of the French state was available, Colbert’s demands for corrected maps were
forwarded subsequently to Nicholas Sanson, the géographe ordinaire du roi, for examination.
This helped render cartography a language through which the king’s efforts to observe the
entire country from his central position of symbolic power in Paris and, later, Versailles, was
given material form (Peters 78). The publication of Cassini’s *Carte de France* (1744) demonstrated France’s continued royal support of cartography in the eighteenth century.

Later, in nineteenth-century France, various governments continued to use maps to promote both France at home and colonialization abroad, which seemed especially important after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. “La carte du nouvel Empire français, ou d’un monde sur lequel l’Empire s’étale, vaste et rassurant, accompagne désormais, et parfois éclipse, celle de la France diminuée” (Weber, "L’Hexagone" 1184). Eager to promote republican ideals and French aims, the Third Republic looked to foster a French national identity through government programs, national elections -- and maps. The post-imperial government hoped that a damaged France, documented though maps, would be easier to visualize by all Frenchmen. A better understanding of the missing territory would lead to a better grasp of France’s loss. These citizens would therefore be more receptive to revenging the loss of les “provinces perdues” to the Germans.

No longer exclusively government instruments, maps are now accepted as everyday objects. Yet, throughout history cartographers have always had a special relationship with power. Education, the cost of materials, and the time needed to color maps effectively limited map clientele to the church and nobility, and this power relationship added to their legitimacy (Ehrensvärd 127). Through its association with authority, a map becomes a multi-layered, accepted representation of a physical area. Therefore, by documenting a society or a city, the published map becomes fact, which the reader willingly accepts. This new-found recognition of a map’s authority cannot be ignored.

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10 For a better understanding of French cartography, see Tom Conley’s *The Self-Made Map*, Pierre Pinon’s *Les plans de Paris*, and Antoine Picon’s *Un atlas parisien*. 
Map Image Analysis

Maps have documented power throughout history, yet often their messages are complex. Semiotics provides a basis for map analysis, yet applying semiotics to historical images also involves examining hidden messages and map discourse. Since the present-day researcher never has absolute knowledge of an author’s intentions, he or she must use semiotics when interpreting the message. Semiologist Martine Joly explains:

Interpréter un message, l’analyser, ne consiste certainement pas à essayer de retrouver au plus près un message préexistant, mais à comprendre ce que ce message-là, dans ces circonstances-là provoque les significations ici et maintenant. Il faut en effet et bien entendu des garde-fou et des points de repère à une analyse. Ces points de repère, on pourra précisément aller les chercher dans les points communs que mon analyse peut avoir avec celle d’autres lecteurs comparables à moi. Certainement pas dans d’hypothétiques intentions de l’auteur (Introduction 36).

Through a methodical semiological analysis, implicit messages can be exposed. Regardless of the author’s intentions, once the map is published the reader assumes control of the message. Yet historically, map makers have been successful in framing their messages for a large audience.

The first strategy in map analysis is the attempt to identify “the rules of social order” within the map (Harley 45). Every map manifests two sets of rules. First, there are the cartographers’ rules, which operate in the technical practices of map making. The second involves external factors. It “can be traced from society into the map, where historical
factors influence the categories of knowledge” (Harley 45). As such, the map becomes a “signifying system” through which “a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored” (Harley 45). Historical maps present an interpretation of reality -- the map-maker’s reality.

Understanding historical factors is key, but equally important is knowing how to apply map-reading techniques to texts. The map-reader’s eye first targets the most noticeable objects on maps: “Je vois du rouge, et pas du vert, ni du bleu, ni du jaune, etc…. Je vois un cercle, et pas un triangle, ni un carré, ni un rectangle, etc…” (Joly 43). It is the first, preliminary scan that determines the tone of a map image analysis. Images chosen by the cartographer “replace” text, creating a visual message comprised of different signs. “On peut admettre qu’une image constitue en effet toujours un message pour autrui, même lorsque cet autrui est soi-même” (Joly 45). Everything is included on the map for a purpose.

Finally, when distinguishing between the recipient and the function of a visual message, there must be some “critères de référence.” When effectuating an analysis, according to Joly, referencing Roman Jakobson, “deux méthodes se proposent à nous et peuvent se montrer opératoires : la première consiste à situer les différents types d’images dans le schéma de la communication. La seconde à composer les usages du message visuel à ceux des principales productions humaines destinées à établir un rapport entre l’homme et le monde ”(46). These reference points help set standards for map analysis.

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Paris in Maps

Under Napoleon III, the promotion of Paris and the imperial regime was facilitated through imperial propaganda, such as boulevard inaugurations. The Third Republic too promoted its own ascendancy by continuing the manipulation of major events. The inauguration of Napoleon III’s grand Avenue Napoléon as the Avenue de l’Opéra in time for the 1878 Exposition Universelle was one such example. The Third Republic also relied on the rise in publishing and travel, and promoted the republic through travel guides and official maps of the period.

The end of the Second Empire and the beginning of the Third Republic coincided with a century-long increase in the circulation of printed materials. The circulation of Parisian newspapers, which had been around 50,000 in 1830, rose to over 700,000 in 1869, reflecting not only rising literacy rates but falling production costs as well (Price 260). The rise in rail travel, accompanied by the growth of travel guides, many of which contained partial maps, allowed the French to experience their country in a new manner. The ease of movement, facilitated by improvements in transportation, allowed many French to better know France outside their village for the first time. Increased travel expanded map use, and travel guide maps could allow first-time visitors to “see” Paris even before their arrival. Examination of a guide map would also help visitors form preconceived notions of the capital city well before the tourist stepped off the train into one of the modern gares, the gateways to Paris. By purchasing and understanding a map before arrival, the visitor would

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12 In April 1876, the government announced that an Exposition would be held in Paris in 1878. The Prefect and the city council agreed that the Avenue [de l’Opéra] would have immense prestige value if it could be completed on time (Sutcliffe, Autumn 51).
better know the layout of the city and feel more comfortable navigating its busy streets. In this way, increased map use further demonstrates how French society became more sure of its capital city.

Contrary to guidebook commentary, which can be quite explicit, the interaction between the text and the reader becomes more cryptic with regard to maps. Robert Darnton suggests that, in any successful communication circuit, messages provided by an author must be received and processed correctly by a recipient ("First Steps" 175). Without a large amount of text to guide the reader, a map’s message may cause either confusion or ambiguity on the part of the recipient. Although reader correspondence, censor reports, library catalogues, subscription lists, and the study of book advertisements have all contributed to a better understanding of book reception theory, it still is not a science (Darnton, "First Steps" 156-63). This, however, does not diminish the role of the message but reaffirms the fact that the cartographer transmits knowledge and clarifies an unknown terrain to the map reader. Although “the linking of text and image [has been] frequent,” Barthes states that regardless of what text is included, “a linguistic message is present in every image” ("Rhétorique" 49). Maps are an important combination of text and image.

While map text is present through titles, legends, and tables, the map reader often sees them only as part of the greater image. To amplify their significance, the cartographer uses tools such as stylized text just as he uses colors or shapes to stress key points. The text’s appearance matters more than its semantic meaning. The use of bold type or capital letters sets the text apart, increasing its importance. Therefore, examining both text and image is necessary for understanding cartography and map discourse.
Maps of Paris as French Cultural History

Map discourse throughout history, as previously stated, has incorporated both text and image. But its use and understanding differs between centuries. Both Tom Conley’s *The Self-made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (1996) and Eugen Weber’s article, “L’Hexagone” (1984) explore the understanding of image and space at various moments in French history. Weber describes the hexagon as “l’utilisation métaphorique d’une configuration symétrique pour suggérer à la fois la réalité et la personnalité du pays” (1171). Easier both to imagine and remember, a geometric France assimilated more easily into the French psyche than a country which had no geometric reference. Visually, the increasingly educated nineteenth-century nation could consent to the symmetrical hexagon, something that most French themselves might be able to envision and draw. In addition, French identity and self-image started to change once maps of France became available to the public. With greater exposure to maps and geography, French citizens became more familiar with the physical size and shape of France. Weber’s approach clarifies how France was visualized and promoted by the French government and how this visualization related to French self-perception. By looking at how “France” was conceptualized during the early stages of nation building and comparing Renaissance ideas to those of the late nineteenth century, we can illustrate the development of the mental image and understanding of both France and Paris.

Modern Paris therefore had changed and was ready to accept tourists. Benjamin’s “capital of the nineteenth century” had earned its title (“Arcades Project” 14). Nineteenth-century maps show Paris as hub of governmental activity and prominent business center. Publishers provided readers with a city that could be seen as safe and clean, as the multiple
prisons and hospitals figuring on as many maps attest. Paris was also an ornamental city, providing the tourist with more monuments and parks than religious buildings. The map demonstrates the transformation of Paris from a troubled city to one that exemplified modernity.

As we have seen, maps are not simple drawings. They reflect more than streets and buildings on paper. Maps provide evidence for expressing and delimiting power relations. Like other forms of print culture, they effectively communicate messages to those eager to accept. Effectively controlling what message is communicated, cartography proves that behind every map maker lays a set of power relations, and the approved message is pivotal. Modern, efficient, and beautiful, nineteenth-century Paris was worth a visit.

Nineteenth-century maps highlight both political and spatial discourse and project modernity onto the map reader. By representing Paris as modern, maps promoted the French capital as an equal to London, Paris’s nearest economic rival, and to which many French often compared their capital city. From the Second Empire to the Third Republic, map makers selected elements of map discourse to endorse the new French society championed by the current regime. Viewed today, Parisian historical maps appear neutral. The black and white printing from the earlier processes seems antiquated compared to the effects produced by today’s technology. These maps are far from neutral. Yet discourse from the early Third Republic confirms that the city of Paris was beautiful, modern, and secure.

The point in recognizing the connections between maps and society, then, is to open up and expose an additional level of discourse. Examining map discourse in nineteenth-
century Paris provides insight into the many semiological messages still encountered daily in the twenty-first century.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Overview of Dissertation}

Following the introduction, the chapters in this dissertation are arranged thematically. By documenting the transformation from Second Empire authoritarianism to a democratic Third-Republic France through maps, I am better able to identify related trends, themes, and changing ideologies than I would be able to do relying on chronological organization.

\textit{Chapter 1: “Creating Map Readers.”} Under the Third Republic, primary education became free, secular, and required. This change in policy helped improve literacy and enlarged the educated French population. With new demographics, the reception of travel guides and maps changed as well, affecting how maps were used, drawn, and seen. An increased “emphasis on geography [in Third Republic France], supported by the positive reception given to previous geography courses at Nancy, was entirely consistent with [Jules] Simon’s plan to enhance the discipline’s role in the state-education system” (Andrews 180). With geography in the national curriculum during the Third Republic, students were exposed to more maps of France than ever before, and maps were no longer considered as foreign to the French as they once were. This improved familiarity with maps affected their reception.

\textsuperscript{13} In the present day, as readers of maps “charged” with meaning, such as the “red/blue” 2004 United States Presidential election, we are reminded that biased map discourse is not a new phenomenon. This simple color designation, seen daily in polls and newspapers, provided American maps readers with broad generalizations involving millions of people. Following the election, other readers on the internet saw maps entitled “The United States of Canada,” proving that the liberal, “blue” states were much more in tune with attitudes and policies of Canada than with the rest of the “red” United States.
Cartographic technology also affected map reception. While the French were seeing more maps, the maps they were reading improved. For example, an increased use of color changed the look and reception of maps. With brighter colors used to promote their message, cartographers were able to attract the reader’s attention. From 1870 until the turn of the century, both government maps and travel guides incorporated various technological advancements. As they become easier to obtain in the decades preceding 1900, both the educated Parisian worker and the provincial businessman better understood and engaged smaller, more colorful maps as they crossed the capital city.

Chapter 2: “Government Mapping: Making Paris Republican.” As cartographic technology improved and the French, better educated, understood it, the Republic published more maps of Paris and France. This chapter examines official maps of Paris from 1870, 1889, and 1900, relying on semiotics and the history of cartographical color techniques, in conjunction with notions of official discourse and increased nationalism. I study maps published by the national government and the city of Paris or their respective agencies. The year 1870 marked the transition from the Second Empire to the Third Republic. The role of government therefore changed considerably and official representations of Paris reflect this. First, expansion and growth into the outer arrondissements exposed the city administration to areas not touched by previous administrations. Although 1870 Paris was in transition, the city used maps to document control through, among other means, a “republicanization” of street and building names. By 1889 Alphand, Haussmann’s former protégé, published an atlas documenting extensive work in Paris between 1871 and 1889. Alphand, nevertheless, chose to concentrate on the government’s investment in the previously neglected outer
arrondissements. By 1900, the army’s *Carte d’état-major* presented Paris as an integral part of a large and growing metropolitan area.

With the official separation of church and state, and with state-run education, the role of religion in the government changed drastically, and the Catholic Church began losing influence with the government. Maps from this period demonstrate this loss of clerical authority as the secular Third Republic becomes more prominent. Religious educational buildings, once the hallmark of the French educational system, decrease in number and, with the exception of the Sacré Coeur, fewer prominent churches are being built.

**Chapter 3: “Guiding the Visitor: Mapping Tourist Paris.”** Official maps, published both by the city and national governments, complimented many travel guidebook series, the result of a flourishing tourist industry. To examine the changing role of the tourist in late nineteenth-century Europe, I will study tourist representations of Paris, as manifested in the rise of the travel guide. I concentrate on Adolphe Joanne and his son Paul, two authors affiliated with the Hachette publishing house. Two main themes will be explored in this chapter: modernity as a tourist destination and Paris’s return as an international host after 1870.

After the French Industrial Revolution, Paris became home to many modern sites. A follower of Saint-Simon, Napoleon III wanted to use technology to improve the daily lives of his citizens. As was the case with its rival London, Paris acquired modern sanitation, transportation, and health-based sites (*gares*, *abattoirs*, and *égouts*). With the desire to be considered as modern as London, or perhaps even more so, Paris eagerly promoted itself as a world capital – and needed tourist sites to prove it. Adolphe and Paul Joanne successfully used color and other map technologies to make their maps more attractive and marketable
against their competition. Which sites appeared on which maps, and how did their representation change during this period?

As the home to both the 1889 and 1900 Expositions Universelles, Paris reclaimed its major tourist destination status under the early Third Republic. The World’s Fairs were seen as both demonstrations of French technological and industrial superiority (Eiffel Tower) and as a promotion of the new Republic (the 1889 Exposition Universelle was held to commemorate the centennial of the 1789 storming of the Bastille). What did the tourist guides promote? They needed to offer the visitor a variety of sights to see. Therefore a ranking system, albeit informal, emerged. The Republic and its institutions, for one, were again championed as worth seeing. “Modern” sites, such as the sewers, morgue, and slaughterhouses also figured prominently on the tourist map. Finally, historical Paris, used to demonstrate the “radical break” between pre-modern and its then current state, was necessary too.

Chapter 4: “The Silence of Maps.” After spending two chapters looking at what was included in maps of Paris in the early Third Republic, this chapter will examine what was left off them. Taking up Harley’s notions of a both deliberate and unconscious map silence, I examine official and tourist maps to see how certain “restless” neighborhoods are portrayed. The demographics of both the Belleville and La Villette neighborhoods changed after Haussmann cleared the central city of its working class population and forced it to move. Home to certain modern amenities, such as the abattoir, these northeastern Parisian neighborhoods also housed a dirty railroad line, crime, and squalor. However, it is likely that

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14 Dean MacCannell describes a process called “sight sacralization,” in which monuments, sites, and attractions move beyond buildings to become tourist destinations. For a complete description of this process, see Chapter 3 (146-149).
most map readers would not be able to detect the condition of these neighborhoods by looking at how they were mapped, with any hint of trouble removed. Do tourist maps portray these troublesome neighborhoods differently than official maps? Silence, ever-present in unstable 1870, was still deemed necessary in 1900. Even with the Third Republican government transformations of the outer arrondissements, leaders still did not fully know and control all Paris. Since the city center was reserved primarily for government and/or culture, the outskirts became permeated with new factories and cheap housing. These working-class neighborhoods retained their dark, narrow alleyways, tiny courtyards and dilapidated housing. This was not the Paris tourists should see, and the most effective way to deal with any perceived deficiencies was to “silence” them, or simply remove them from the tourist’s gaze. They then became simple, non-threatening “blank” areas on maps.

When compared to the mapped imperial city of 1870, 1900 Paris is the capital of a more confident nation in a changing Europe. The Third Republic taught its citizens how to be good republicans. Further nation-building, through programs such as the obligatory national educational system, the separation of church and state, and the championing of a common language, helped foster a universal national identity, promoting, through maps, the idea that France was a strong republican nation.

Conclusion:

Paris was becoming more modern each year. Nevertheless, this drive to modernity had many consequences. During the Second Empire, the poor and lower-middle classes did not benefit from Haussmann’s transformations in the same manner as did the upper-middle
classes. Losing their homes and shops in central of Paris, this marginalized population was forced to migrate to the less-desirable, northeastern sections of the city, where many of the new factories were located. It seems plausible that the poorer working class sections were, for the most part, ignored by the cartographer and publisher, who saw little need for visitors to venture there.

By eliminating representation of narrow alleyways, streets, and minor landmarks, the northeastern sections of Paris received much less attention in nineteenth-century maps than Haussmann’s newly transformed center. When problematic areas of the nineteenth-century city were mapped, they were represented as “dangerous landscapes to be explored” by social reformers, not tourists: “The ‘rookeries’ of London, for example, were often portrayed during the middle decades of the nineteenth century as beyond the public gaze, outside the ambit of official surveillance” (Driver 180). Like London, the early Third Republic was eager to conceal socially dangerous sections of Paris from maps. Nevertheless, to achieve complete control, eventually every section of a city needed to be understood and mapped. Regarding turn-of-the-century London, Christian Topalov argues in “The City as Terra Incognita” that “the era of the pioneer expedition was over; it was time to take possession of [East London] by a complete representation of it. Just as the statistical table could not tolerate a gap, the map could not tolerate a blank space, a terra incognita” (412). Mapping was one way in which control of East London was achieved. The city of Paris, too, eventually asserted its control over the working-class sections through improved mapping, and consequently, deliberate silences of the Paris map slowly diminished in official maps of the city from 1870 to 1900.
Under the Third Republic, the extensive renovations and transformation of the city by Haussmann and others appeared on all maps, for the boulevards and parks were a beacon for travelers. Third Republican governments completed many significant projects such as the Eiffel Tower. In addition, new growth on the city edge, events such as the Expositions Universelles of 1878 and 1889, and the inauguration of the métropolitain in 1900 soon dominated official and tourist maps of the period. These aspects of map discourse symbolize the triumph of the technologically advanced Third Republic over the authoritarian regime of Napoleon III.

Haussmann’s transformation of Paris and successive World’s Fairs altered the look of late nineteenth-century Paris on maps. Nevertheless, in order for the documents to be effective, map readers needed to understand them. Just as the Second Empire dramatically changed the streetscape of the French capital, technological innovations combined with the Third Republic’s focus on geography to revise the educational curriculum and create a new generation of map readers in France.
Chapter 1
Creating Map Readers: The Rise of Geography and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century France

Notre enseignement supérieur ne tend à autre chose qu’à former un peuple de dilettantes et de beaux esprits, d’avocats diserts, de penseurs de salon et d’écrivains agréables. Aucune des connaissances modernes n’a pu franchir le seuil de nos Facultés : ni la géographie vraiment scientifique, ni l’économie politique, ni l’administration comparée, aucune enfin de ces sciences contemporaines, nées depuis un siècle au plus, et déjà adultes aujourd’hui. De là vient l’esprit superficiel qui, du sommet à la base, se répand sur toute la société française ; de là viennent aussi cette légèreté et cette imprudence pratique qui nous ont précipités dans de si terrible désastres… (Paul Leroy-Beaulieu in *Le journal des Débats* [1871], qtd. M. Ozouf 25).

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, France witnessed a radical change in how its citizens were educated. The discipline of geography moved from a subset of history to a discipline considered vital to national security. Many French believed that the disastrous Franco-Prussian war was lost due to the inability of the French soldiers and commanders to perform such simple tasks such as reading a map.\(^\text{15}\) For France, regaining lost prestige after a humiliating defeat meant a critical self-examination and change. In regards to its educational system, France introduced the science of geography to French

\(^{15}\) In *Le nationalisme français*, Raoul Giradet examines the rise of nationalism in late nineteenth-century France and its expression in political and academic discourses. He examines the work of leading thinkers, many of whom looked at the Franco-Prussian War as an indication of what did not work in French higher education and society. The German education system, for example, included a greater emphasis on both science and geography.
school children on a unprecedented scale. The new exposure to maps helped the French better understand cartographic discourse, and coincided with changing printing and publishing technology to make new map readers.

It is under these circumstances that Third Republic France witnessed the birth of a new map reader. The rise of this reader can be attributed to three principle factors. First, this reader was better educated than before. As education minister from 1879 to 1881 and again from 1882 to 1883, Jules Ferry instituted major reforms regarding primary education in France. In 1881 primary school became free. The next year, primary education became both secular and required for children aged seven to thirteen. Within a generation, this vastly increased the number of school-educated people in the Third Republic. The second factor helping to enlarge the map reading population was better access to technology. Large-scale improvements to the rail network increased the amount of people able to travel by train. In addition, technology in the printing industry lowered the cost of large-scale distribution and improved map quality. It was no longer unheard of for people to have access to travel guides. In addition, enhanced techniques such as color changed maps. The use of color made maps more attractive and brighter, drawing attention to a chosen hierarchy of symbols.

Finally, the Third Republic turned to geography to promote the nation and the republic. The 1870 defeat combined with the annexation and the attempt to “Germanize” Alsace and Lorraine caused many French to rally to the republican cause. Maps were introduced throughout the late-nineteenth century as proof that an historical region of

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16 For an 1850 map demonstrating the rapidly expanding rail network, see Duby, *Histoire de la civilisation française* vol. 2, p. 243. The same network, greatly expanded by 1890, appears on p. 291.
France had been taken. Initially found primarily in travel guides, maps of an “injured” France eventually made their way into the French republican classroom.

Later, as Paris hosted multiple Expositions Universelles, more maps of the capital emerged as well. Like the maps of divided France, those of Paris promoted the French republic, as the expositions became showpieces for the new regime. Furthermore, the maps also proved to the reader that the city, and nation, had recovered from military defeat. Travel guidebook maps helped affirmed the government’s discourse as the bourgeoisie, the primary market of the guides, benefited from stability. Historically, map reading resulted from a complex relationship with education, money, and power. The abstract thought required to understand cartographic works was limited to those who had the means to devote time to education. Nevertheless, by the early years of the Third Republic, geography and cartography were exposed to a larger audience.

The reorganization of France’s educational system coincided with progress in publishing. How did these factors affect map reception under the Third Republic? As French society changed rapidly, it was education, through its greater emphasis on geography, that affected map acceptance the most. Underlying discourses, primarily those of a government eager to educate and unite its population, worked with maps to transmit its formulated message. Drawing on its épistémé, defined as “the regime of truth that underlay all the discourses of an epoch” (Foucault 55), late nineteenth-century French map reading developed as a fusion of education, technology, and government policies. Finally, expanding colonization fostered geography as a discipline necessary for documenting France’s newly acquired territories. The evolving map-reading épistémé served as an indicator of how Third Republic map readers understood what they were viewing.
**Geography’s Appeal**

Before the geographer/historian Pierre Émile Levasseur\(^{17}\) assumed the chair in Géographie économique et statistique at the Collège de France in 1872, geography occupied a limited place in the French curriculum, the only exception being courses devoted to geography’s relationship with history. “Pour la plupart de ceux qui s’étaient intéressés à la discipline avant lui, le rôle de celle-ci était de dresser le décoré dans lequel l’histoire s’était déroulée” (Claval 64). However, under the influence of geographers, such as Levasseur and Paul Vidal de la Blache, geography was transformed from a mere complement of history to a revered university subject.\(^{18}\)

The lack of geography instruction in schools resulted in poor map access for the average nineteenth-century French school child. Unable to recognize many cartographic materials, his or her basic map comprehension was limited. The contemporary geographer Christian Jacob theorizes the difficulty in determining what he calls “map literacy.” For Jacob, literacy “implies networks of diffusion and social practices of readership” ("Toward a Cultural History" 192). Determining historic text reception can be challenging. Exposure to printed words, combined with technological advances, affect reader reaction to published texts (Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" 135). The use of historical documents, such as maps, will also better help understand their reception. Jacob asserts that “a major need in...”

\(^{17}\) Selected by Jules Simon, the Education Minister in 1871, Levesseur and Alsatian born Auguste Himly put together the Rapport général sur l’enseignement de l’histoire et de la géographie, investigating the French inferiority to the German education system (Claval 27).

\(^{18}\) For a better understanding of the history of geography in France, see Claval, Histoire de la géographie française de 1870 à nos jours, and Claval, Autour de Vidal de la Blache, La formation de l’Ecole française de géographie, Howard Andrew “The Early Life of Paul Vidal de la Blache and the Makings of Modern Geography,” and Vidal de la Blache “La conception actuelle de l’enseignement de la géographie” and “Leçon d’ouverture de cours de géographie” in his Annales de Géographie.
the history of cartography is to comprehend the extent and the limits of maps in a society. The way maps were used is probably the most difficult single aspect to ascertain, since when people look at maps they leave no visible marks on the maps themselves. Unlike book readers, who might annotate a text, their vision is invisible to us” (Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History" 192). Therefore, any possible determinant of map use within a given society, or among a social class, affords a better understanding of map makers and institutions. Medieval *mapaemundi* are such examples. Maps from the Middle Ages, many of which were employed not for direction but for decoration, “[could not] be understood without examining the intellectual practices of clerks and monks and the ways they dealt with written texts and images, the religious context of the particular culture and the contemporary interpretation of ancient encyclopedic works” (Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History" 193). Likewise, in the nineteenth century, the national education system of the Third Republic was instrumental in the formation of French map readers. Over the thirty years from the fall of the Second Empire to the turn of the century, geography’s increasingly prominent position in the national curriculum combined with technological enhancement to expand the French map reading population considerably. New printing techniques allowed for more colorful and detailed printed maps and enhanced distribution allowed more French to see them. Due to technological advances and increased demand, books became cheaper and easier to publish and distribute. As a result, the French literate population had more choice in purchasing leisure reading materials and newspapers. As the French publishing industry became more specialized, a larger selection of scholarly textbooks also appeared in classrooms on a regular basis. Only a limited number of geographic *manuels de classe* and atlases published during the nineteenth century contained
maps. Of the few that did, Joseph Gilbrat’s *Traité de la géographie moderne* listed longitudes and latitudes and featured a list of major cities, but no maps. G. Bruno’s famous *Tour de la France par deux enfants* contained no maps before 1884, and no maps of France before its 1905 edition (Weber, "L’Hexagone" 1180). Therefore, as geography’s presence grew in the classroom, maps and atlases, while still limited, became more accessible.¹⁹

Predating Third Republic education, the authoritative regime of the Second Empire witnessed the rise of the *bibliothèques des gares*, bookshops inside train stations, which soon started selling travel guides, many of which included maps of rail itineraries.²⁰ This became a major catalyst for map publication in the nineteenth century. The ever-increasing reach of the railroads resulted in the construction of new train stations and with them, rail bookstores, enlarging both the map reading audience and possible destinations. France also turned its attention abroad. Its expanding colonial empire created a market for additional, detailed maps.

There was a growing receptiveness by government inner circles in the late 1870s to the idea of further colonial expansion. Between 1870 and 1878, Léon Gambetta, Charles de Freycinet, and Jules Ferry had shown limited interest in this endeavor. By 1878, the republican leadership began to accept the argument that, for political and economic reasons, France should begin asserting itself overseas. New colonies helped compensate for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, as well as combat French “decadence” in the wake of Sedan and the Paris Commune, by allowing the Republic to engage in the politics of grandeur. The government

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¹⁹ There has been much work done on nineteenth-century reading practices. For example, see Allen, *In the Public Eye*, and Lyons, *Le triomphe du livre* and *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*.

²⁰ Another source dealing with Hachette’s growing rail station bookstores is DeMarco *Reading and Riding*.
also made it clear that colonies were desirable because they would, as one member said, “open up new fields for [France’s] civilizing mission” (Conklin 12-13).  

By the turn of the century, the French were conquering and governing new territories in North Africa and Southeast Asia, and documenting mastery of these large expanses of land and people required maps. Furthermore, French citizens and soldiers began living, working, and traveling in the colonies, fostering a growing market for colonial maps. The combination of increased exposure to maps in the expanding French education system coincided with new printing techniques and improved distribution networks. Under these conditions, the French Third Republic was a pivotal era as it witnessed the transformation of both geography and maps.

**Geography in the Education System Prior to the Third Republic**

During the first half of the nineteenth century, education was a privilege reserved for children of the wealthy. Yet cost itself was not reason enough for the large absence of children in school prior to the 1880s. Many households did not have the luxury of parting with an essential farm-hand during critical times of the year, such as the planting and harvest seasons. The Guizot Law (1833) created publicly financed *école des garçons* in communes greater than 500. The Falloux Law (1850), while granting the power of education to the Catholic Church, expanded education by creating *écoles des filles* in communities with populations greater than 800 (Weber, *Peasants* 35). This system of free education in France

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dating from the July Monarchy was, however, not uniform. Even for the relatively low percentage of children in school, exposure to maps was rare. History was the only subject that attempted to integrate geography into its curriculum, though only at higher levels, by casting it as a setting for historical events. Primary school geography focused largely on a few select vocabulary terms related to landscape.\textsuperscript{22}

With the advent of the Third Republic many politicians felt that France needed to increase geography’s presence in the school system. Nevertheless, this initiative was hampered due to a limited number of properly trained teachers. The lack of geographers in French universities produced a system in which history teachers, the only geography instructors in the schools, were the front line in promoting and using geography. But many had never received formal training in the concepts and methods of geography, and therefore were rarely competent enough to teach (Martin, "Le monde des éditeurs" 191). With little structure in place for augmenting geography’s role in school, maps were absent in the mindset of teachers and, as a result, not present in the curriculum. Even though the Sorbonne, the apex of the French university system, had included a chair of geography since 1809, it was staffed not with geographers but historians (Martin, "Le monde des éditeurs" 191).

The limited regard for teaching geography prior to the Third Republic demonstrated its lack of influence in the education system. For example, Letronne, a school inspector in charge of teaching geography in Second Empire France declared:

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\textsuperscript{22} Claval states that geography had a very limited role in French primary schools prior to the Third Republic: “la géographie n’a pour but que de familiariser avec un vocabulaire descriptif de bas, la montagne, la plaine, le littoral, le fleuve, la ville, la forêt, l’île, la presque île, etc. et de mémoriser une nomenclature qui n’est pas toujours liée à l’apprentissage de la carte” (45).
On n’enseigne pas la géographie; on enseigne seulement la manière de l’apprendre.

Composée uniquement de faits ou isolés les uns des autres, ou qui, du moins ne sont pas liés entre eux par un enchaînement qui existe dans d’autres sciences, la géographie est en grande partie le domaine exclusif de la mémoire : elle s’apprend par la lecture de l’histoire et des voyages (Broc, "L'établissement de la géographie" 546).

Memorization, not map learning, was seen as the only proper way of retaining geographic information. In keeping with the idea that the French didn’t use or need maps, the French geographer Numa Broc mentions only one officially recognized reason for promoting geography under the Second Empire: educators realized that a better knowledge of geography could help the newly industrialized French business community sell goods abroad: “l’enseignement nouveau était destiné à former des industriels et des commerçants. La géographie avait pour eux une importance plus grande encore que pour les élèves de l’enseignement classique et un intérêt immédiatement pratique : pour bien faire le commerce, il importe de connaître les pays dans lesquels le commerce se fait” (Broc, "L'établissement de la géographie" 547). Outside providing benefits to business, geography prior to the Third Republic remained solely a complement of the history curriculum.

Having received his education under the Second Empire, the celebrated French geographer Vidal de la Blache lamented the role of rote memorization, even as late as 1905, indicating that in France “la géographie est surtout une affaire de mémoire.” Later, he encouraged a greater incorporation of maps into the curriculum, stating “on ne peut s’empêcher de penser que les cartes peuvent servir [à l’élève] d’auxiliaires, et qu’il y a un meilleur usage à faire du temps des élèves que de leur enseigner de simples noms” (L’enseignement 194). By encouraging the students to think in abstract terms and by shifting the
classroom away from rote memorization, geography would become more interactive, and therefore more interesting.

A Turning Point?

Many scholars look to the French defeat in the war with Prussia as the principle turning point in French geographical thinking. The rapid, humiliating defeat caused by “l’ignorance des officiers français qui auraient été incapables à lire une carte d’état-major” (Fierro 222), triggered a re-examination of the State’s role in forming a national curriculum in the Third Republic, previously under the auspices of the Church. The British geographer Howard Andrews argues that this change was reflected by the pressure felt by the University system to re-examine its mission and in particular focus its attention on what was necessary for the rebuilding and regeneration of the country (177). Many argued that an overly decadent Second Empire society had let France down and that the nation needed to reassess its priorities. Through insufficient education, industry, and science, Napoleon III had not prepared the nation for war. The Republic saw in the 1870 defeat a need to transform not only the military, but the entire French society. With the rebuilding of Paris and France after 1870, education emerged as one of the cornerstones in creating a new national identity. For

23 Some historians even predicted that before 1870 any conflict between France and Germany would be hindered by the lack of geography in the French educational system. Vivien de Saint-Martin, “bon cartographe et historien des explorations,” stated that “la faiblesse des études géographiques est un triste symptôme dans l’éducation du peuple.” Others, however, were quite content that France could withstand any confrontation, regardless of the state of French geography and cartography. One Minister of War declared with sword in hand, “J’ai sur moi la meilleure des cartes” (Meynier 8).

24 The construction of Sacré Coeur was construed by some contemporaries as a reaction to the “decadent ‘festive materialism’ of the Second Empire.” A majority of French Catholics accepted the notion that France had sinned, and this gave rise to a call for a return to law and order and a political solution founded on respect for authority” (Harvey, Paris, Capital of Modernity 329). See also Jonas, “Monument as Ex-Voto.”
Eugen Weber, there was “no better instrument of indoctrination and patriotic conditioning than French history and geography, especially history, which “when properly taught [is] the only means of maintaining patriotism in the generations we are bringing up.’ However most teachers knew history badly, and geography even worse” (Peasants 333). Elaborating on this republican ideology, “maps [were] didactic devises for the socialization of individuals, for the indoctrination of soldiers, settlers, or school children” (Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History" 195). In order to teach republican ideals, maps would prove useful only if understood. If citizens were unable to comprehend a geographical image of France, then other abstract notions such as a new republican model of France would be difficult to absorb as well. Many Frenchmen had not traveled far beyond their home village and didn’t relate to a neighboring **département**, let alone other far-reaching regions of France that might not speak French or respect the same customs. Without concrete, visual conceptions, such as the outline of France, creating a unified French Republic would be more difficult.

One such convincing visual image of republican France was provided by “l’hexagone,” seen as “la creation d’un certain état d’esprit” (Weber 1171). This six-sided geometric shape is a convenient symbol for defining historical and cultural France. Increased visual recognition in nineteenth-century French society adds significance in explaining how the French understood what the nation meant. With easy to recognizable visual references, such as a clear geometric definition of the shape and size of their country, republican citizens would be better able to mourn territorial loss. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the French were therefore encouraged to see the nation as a loosely defined hexagon (Strachan 108). If familiar with a “complete” France, visualizing the loss of Alsace-Lorraine
within a “damaged” hexagon would be easier to identify and would hopefully provoke patriotic reactions from a much larger percentage of the population.

While the creation of political divisions, such as the new French-German international border after the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, can be seen as arbitrary, such divisions were also difficult to explain to a largely illiterate population, even as late as the nineteenth century. Historically, reliance on physical frontiers was not unusual. Throughout much of the Ancien Régime, France was a kingdom that often turned to “natural” boundaries such as oceans, mountains, or rivers for self-definition. In January 1793, the revolutionary Georges Jacques Danton invoked what he perceived were the true limits of France as “telles qu’elles sont fixées par la nature: Le Rhin, l’océan Atlantique, les Pyrénées, [et] les Alpes” (qtd. in Weber, "L'Hexagone" 1175). For most French, natural borders were simply much easier to justify than artificially created man made ones.

Therefore, at what point did Frenchmen start to believe they were not only members of a geographical location but part of the concept of a French nation? The idea of using narrative to “map” France has existed for centuries. For example, during the Renaissance cartography played an important role in helping the French “visualize” France. Although the adolescence of Rabelais’s Gargantua “is defined by places visited,” his education “consists in tourism, and a nascent military way of ‘seeing the world’ prior to committing himself to a site where the cosmos, like a book or a map, might unfold before him” (Conley 141-42). As far back as the sixteenth century, the French nobility were touring the country as part of an educating process. Gargantua produced no physical map as a result of his travels, yet he alludes to a mental map, one to which the reader must also refer when following him around the kingdom. This mental map serves as an excellent demonstration of the first examples of
the formation of the idea of France, something that did not exist on a large scale in the 
Middle Ages. Regarding Gargantua’s travels, “the user supplied an imagination of distances 
in studying the toponyms and the points of interest listed or graphed in books that were no 
longer than four-by-three inches” (Conley 144). Just as Europeans in the nineteenth century 
turned to a common national language as a definition of identity, culture, and nation, 
Gargantua’s mental map served the same purpose; it provided the growing population that 
considered itself French with a common territory. By understanding the idea not only of the 
map, but of the geographical interior of France—Tours was a certain number of days west of 
Paris, and Nantes was a certain number of days west of Tours— the nobility and educated 
bourgeoisie were better prepared to accept the idea of belonging to a French nation.

The use of narrative to promote “France” continued past Rabelais, well into the 
nineteenth century, was best exemplified by Augustine Fouillée’s (Bruno) text, Le Tour de 
France par deux enfants (1877). Just as Gargantua traveled around sixteenth-century France, 
this very popular geography text served as children’s first exposure to geography in the Third 
Republic, promoting the idea, through the wanderings of two orphaned children from 
Alsace-Lorraine, that the many different regions of France were part of one nation.

Although many present-day readers would argue that much had changed in French society 
during the three hundred and fifty years since the publication of Rabelais’s Gargantua, French 
geographers of the early Third Republic were reluctant to rely on abstract thought, preferring 
more concrete examples of Frenchness, such as rallying around a common history, goal 
(recapturing lost territory), or language where, “si on ne parle qu’une langue et que ce ne soit 
pas le français, alors quelle ‘honte’!” (Ozouf, "Le Tour" 282). Their texts fortified this ideal.
The Appearance of the Classroom Map

With the increased emphasis on abstract thinking in nineteenth-century French education, a more precise idea of the French nation had evolved. However, by the end of the Second Empire only a very small percentage of the population had a firm understanding of geography. By the mid 1880s the education system had started to change this lacuna. One man in particular worked to promote geography and to make maps more available and comprehensible to the French. Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918) was instrumental in reshaping the role of geography in the Third Republic, and his career mirrored the rise of geography under successive Third Republic governments. The result of his efforts came just after the turn of the century. His 1903 *Tableau de la Géographie de la France* confirmed geography’s newly found position in the French university system. In his introduction to Lavisse’s *Historie de la France*, Vidal turned to geography to conceptualize the idea of nation, asking: “comment un fragment de surface terrestre qui n’est ni péninsule ni île, et que la géographie physique ne saurait considérer proprement comme un tout, s’est-il élevé à l’état de contrée politique, et est-il devenu enfin une patrie?” (*Tableau* 8). Tying land surface to identity, Vidal used geography and abstract thought to explain France’s *raison d’être*. This justification was not surprising, since others were also striving to define the French nation, whether through language, culture, or race. Many politicians and intellectuals of the time such as Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) turned to a common history and collective memory to define France. Charles Maurras (1868-1952) declared it is not the Republic, but “la nation [qui] est la plus haute des réalités politiques” (qtd. in Giradet 198). Citing race, language, common culture, geography, religion, and military interest, Ernest Renan contrasts with his contemporaries, contending that while all of the above are important and present in most
“nations,” the final definition is “une nation [soit] une âme [et] un principe spirituel” (31). For him, a national identity could not be demarcated solely on paper or defined in books, it also had to come from within the citizen.

Other Europeans debated their own definitions of nation as they witnessed the continent of kingdoms and empires transform into one of newly established nation-states. In an ever-changing Europe, nation and culture were increasingly relied upon as identification and justification for territorial gain and control. Officially, the French did not need a justification for Alsace-Lorraine’s return to their rule, but stirring up public sympathy was important nonetheless. The French cultural, historical, and geographical region belonged not with Germany, but France.

One individual was instrumental in helping France identify itself in geographic terms: Paul Vidal de la Blache (Vidal). Vidal began his career in provincial France, teaching at lycées in Angers. In 1872 Vidal, the son of Antoine Joseph Vidal-Blachle, a régent de rhétorique (teaching the senior language and literature class), was appointed to the chair of history and geography at the Université de Nancy. By 1877, he was appointed to teach geography at the École normale supérieure, a position ranking second only to that of a chair in the Sorbonne in terms of prestige and influence – and higher than the Sorbonne in terms of its direct influence in the training of potential geographers among the nation’s educated elite (Andrews 174). Vidal’s influence on the French national curriculum significantly enhanced

\[25\] Guionor provides a detailed description of Vidal de la Blache’s career, from his entrance in the Ecole Normale in 1863 to his career at the Sorbonne, which ended in 1908 (569).
\[26\] Andrews points out that “upward movement in a secondary school teaching career required a readiness to move from one teaching post to another.” As such, Vidal’s youth was spent moving around France as his father slowly advanced in the lycée system (175).
geography’s presence in the daily courses of the élèves and instituted the move from rote memorization to an increased use of visual tools such as maps.

Vidal was not alone in his tireless promotion of geography. Jules Simon, Minister of Education from 1870 to 1873, also encouraged geography’s rise. By September 1872, when he announced his intentions for curriculum reform in the secondary schools in a lengthy circulaire to school principals, he had already put in motion a variety of plans to expand and enhance the teaching of geography, modern languages, and physical education (Andrews 178).

Simon’s Commission de l'Enseignement de la Géographie transformed the French geography curriculum. It was established not only to revise the curriculum, but also to provide clear advice on which books, atlases, maps, globes, etc. could be recommended for classroom use (178). The 1875 international, geographic Congrès de Paris also set forth goals and guidelines for enhancing geographic education throughout Europe. These goals included the study of topography at all levels, a better alignment between history and geography, the training of geography professors, and the creation of an international body devoted to geography education (Broc, "L'Etablissement" 554). Instead of beginning the subject with the planetary system and having French school children work their way, during subsequent years, to the treatment of France, the intent of the proposed program was to turn this process on its head, beginning in the youngest years with a study of the immediate vicinity of the child’s home, school, and commune, and enlarging the scope of enquiry and scale of material in tandem with the child’s age and development. An emphasis on wall maps, the use of other teaching aids and local field excursions at all levels of the program were also important innovative elements of the Simon proposals (Andrews 178).
school children began to recognize from a very young age that they were part of a larger community. Not merely residents of a local village, these new republican citizens also belonged to départements, regions, the French republic, and, eventually, a greater European continent.

The Simon commission encouraged posting wall maps, and as a result they appeared with more frequency during the Third Republic. Their employment, however, was not uniform and often depended on the competency of the instituteur. Often, a large map of Europe or a French region was not effective when one tried to locate tangible local landmarks, such as a village or a river that children might recognize. Nevertheless, many school inspectors reported greater exposure of students to maps, enhancing the notion and recognition of location: “Si les cartes murales et les globes sont loin de figurer dans toutes les écoles, les inspecteurs ont remarqué que les maîtres faisaient fréquemment usage du tableau noir pour dessiner le plan de la classe, du village, ou de la commune” (Broc, "Etablissement" 548). For the first time, many students visualized their classroom or community cartographically. No longer were maps only large and abstract, they soon became relevant, clear, concise tools which could be accessed daily. Once these rudimentary blackboard maps drawn by the instituteur became part of the schoolchild’s imagination, it is easy to imagine how, twenty years later, the same students might better understand a map of a département, or a map of a never-visited, faraway city, like Paris.

Thus, just as the instituteurs used hand-drawn maps to illustrate what was known to villagers, the geographer uses maps to imagine the unknown. Looking at maps of larger areas (such as the world, or a nation) involves the viewer in paradoxical ways. It involves a physical place, their own identity, and their own reality. Confronting the world depicted has
intellectual consequences and is a major step in the process towards abstract thought (Jacob, "Towards a Cultural History" 194). Third Republic students were therefore no longer limited to understanding what they had memorized or seen. They had been provided with the necessary tools of abstract thought with which they were able to visualize the French nation.

While still a complement to history at this point, geography was becoming an integral component in defining that French nation. Yet the lack of representations of France in atlases or geography manuals, many of which were published without maps, was of primary concern to those who wished to include geography in the national curriculum. For example, after the fall of the Second Empire, an outlined image of a defeated France was not chosen to promote the French nation. Maps were not necessarily excluded from the republican ideology; they were only one of many rallying points for the republic. “Il devient possible de se référer à une image cartographique de la patrie, ainsi qu’à ses paysage et à sa personnification sous la forme du buste de Marianne” (Weber, "L’Hexagone" 1179). The absence of cartographic images was not necessarily due to a lack of desire, but of availability. A bust of Marianne at the town mairie would have been more accessible to most villagers than a recently acquired atlas or classroom wall maps.

**A New French Geography**

In addition to official government envoys such as the préfets or instituteurs, professors also began to promote the republic. Towards the end of the century, Vidal de la Blache, through his writings in his Annales de Géographie, facilitated geography’s rise in the French
education system. Recognizing the importance of a common history, Vidal reaffirmed that “l’histoire dans les vieux pays que nous habitons, ouvre des perspectives lointaines; elle contient un riche patrimoine d’expériences; elle est mise, dès le premier age, par des récits, en rapport avec l’esprit des enfants” ("Conception actuelle" 205). Yet Vidal also began to champion an idea of the geographical region. In his “Des divisions fondamentales du sol français,” published in 1888, he explored how some regions were naturally formed due to factors such as glaciers or mountains. For example, his definition of the Parisian Basin took into account geologic formations, which he then interpreted:

Les relations des habitants n’y rencontrent pas d’obstacles. Elles ont trouvé, au contraire, un stimulant et une aide dans la disposition du réseau fluvial et dans la variété naturelle des produits[…]. Le rapprochement des populations dans une contrée assez vaste pour embrasser le quart de la France, librement ouverte vers l’extérieur, a imprimé aux événements qui s’y sont accomplis un caractère de généralité qu’ils ne pouvaient avoir en aucune autre région de notre pays. Les différences locales s’y sont amorties. Les patois, en général, disparus. L’unité française y a grandi comme une plante naturelle (Claval 105).

Just as the root system of a thriving plant provides nourishment and a foundation, for Vidal the Parisian basin anchored and supported the overall rural, unified Third Republic.

Vidal identified the natural region, as opposed to the historical one, as a basis for understanding how geographical and natural divisions complemented each other and what influence they had on political constructions, such as in the Paris region (Claval 106). Being based in Nancy in eastern France, Vidal was also heavily influenced by the treatment of
geography outside of France, in central and northern Europe, primarily Germany. By the mid-nineteenth century, French geographers began following the German example by promoting more natural geographical divisions while French intellectuals historically had preferred dividing the country politically.\textsuperscript{27} This \textit{méthode naturelle}, using German practices as a model,

\begin{quote}
est portée à perfection par deux Allemands, Gatterer qui divise le globe en grandes régions naturelles (Gebiete) inspirées des bassins hydrographiques de Bauche, et son disciple Zeune, inventeur des grandes divisions de l'Europe : terres carpatiques, péninsule balkanique, péninsule ibérique… Aux partisans de cette Reine Géographique où Géographie pure s’opposent les tenants de l’école politico-statistique, comme Büsching ou Achenwald, qui ne connaissent que les divisions politiques et administratives (Broe, "Quelques débats" 37).
\end{quote}

This novel way of dividing Europe had a profound impact on traditional French views of themselves. The transformed definition of a region forged a new regard for France. Whereas historically natural divisions such as rivers were used to create borders of political entities such as kingdoms or empires, nineteenth-century geographers promoted the natural, geographic region in its own right, regardless of political or administrative agendas. French

\textsuperscript{27} In \textit{Le centre et la périphérie}, Maurice Agulhon focuses on the decentralization of the new political divisions. First Republic France took much administrative power from (royal) Paris and divided it up between the local authorities. “1789 renforce l’unification administrative et politique en remplaçant les provinces et autres institutions particulières par des départements, portions plus petites découpées dans le territoire national pour des raisons de commodité, administrées d’après les mêmes lois et règlements, et désignées par les noms tirés de la géographie physique objective (au lieu des noms de caractère historique, réputés entachés de ‘féodalité’)” (827).
geographers were therefore joining other European academics in naturalizing abstract borders and then re-naturalizing maps as a more accurate representation of reality.

Bringing these innovative ideas into the conventional French educational curriculum required greater integration of geography in schools. To comply with the new European standard, Vidal needed to ensure that physical geography was included in the school curriculum, but he soon found that there was no manual for students in secondary education. Put in charge of the growing number of geography students at the Fontenay École normale supérieure, Vidal authored and published La Terre. Géographie physique et économique. Histoire sommaire des découvertes (1883). However, he found this text was not sufficient for properly training geography instructors. Between 1891 and 1897, in collaboration with a former student, Paul Camena d’Almeida, he produced a four-volume Cours de géographie à l’usage du secondaire that conformed to the 1890 educational reforms, which among other things unified the baccalaureate degree (Claval 63). Vidal’s greatest influence on geography, therefore, was providing the means to expand student numbers.

Vidal was not the only French academic to write textbooks aimed at encouraging the republican form of government, and instilling pride in primary school children. Augustine Fouillée’s text, Le tour de France par deux enfants, was described by Ozouf as a “manuel de géographie, précis de morale, livre de sciences naturelles, initiation élémentaire à cette loi française que nul n’est censé ignorer” (291). In the context of the recent military loss, the story of “deux orphelins lorrains qui, à l’automne de 1871, franchissent clandestinement la frontière allemande et se lancent, à travers incendies, maladies et tempêtes, à la recherche d’un oncle et d’une mère” (Ozouf, "Le Tour" 291-92) became much more timely. Promotion of the Republic, hence, became a necessity. The French couldn’t forget their
former countrymen on the other side of the new political divide. This textbook, which was used until the Second World War, relied on a simple, easily digestible organization to promote a unified French geography, history, and culture.

Starting in autumn, the beginning of the academic calendar, the two orphans circled France in search of a lost uncle and in doing so exposed its school children to the different corners of the nation at the end of the nineteenth century. Promoting national unity and the French language, André and Julien encountered many languages and cultures on their travels. For example, when arriving at an “auberge provençale, où le langage des adultes déroute et isole André et Julien, quel bonheur, le soir venu, de voir rentrer des enfants avec qui parler, puisque eux, du moins, sont allés à l’école” (Ozouf, "Le Tour" 297). The French language united all Frenchmen. Relying primarily on narrative to champion a French national identity, the Tour de France did not include cartographic representation of France until 1905, focusing instead on engraved drawings of recognizable monuments such as the Louvre, Versailles, or the walled fortifications of Phalsbourg. Nevertheless through this textbook, whole generations of French were given their first exposure to geography of the France.²⁸

²⁸ Paul Claval further described the role of geography at the primary level, indicating that “les programmes sont mis en place dans l’enseignement primaire apprennent aux enfants les notions de base de la description géographique, la mer, le littoral, l’île, la plaine, le plateau, le montagne, le village, la campagne, la ville, l’industrie, etc. ; ils donnent une vision assez fouillée de l’espace français, et une idée du reste du monde. Les nomenclatures que l’on essaie de faire apprendre sont encore pléthoriques. La rénovation se marque surtout aux cartes que l’on fait dessiner aux élèves” (64).
A Geography for Colonization

The role of maps in the French Third Republic grew dramatically toward the end of the nineteenth century. Just as textbooks provided school children with improved map contact, the rise of physical geography in central Europe, and then in France, exposed new types of regions to be mapped. Topographic maps soon replaced historical, political ones as the map of choice after their well-publicized debut before the French public at the 1855 Exposition Universelle. Along with these additional map fields, the market for maps grew as the Third Republic entered the 1880s. Jules Ferry, a fervent proponent of education reforms, was also a champion of French occupation in North Africa and Asia (including Indochina). The French established its first major presence in North Africa with the colonization of Algeria in 1830 under Charles X. However, once the republic was established in the 1870s, expansion beyond Algeria gained support from leading Republicans, adding more territories to be mapped.

Just as the fundamental shift in the French education system towards geography was not universally accepted, Third Republic justification of colonization was heavily disputed. French intellectual and political society was divided into those who felt that, as a great nation, France needed to “civilize” people of Africa and Asia by introducing them to a republican form of government, and those who felt that France needed to concentrate on what went wrong with the 1870 loss. Just as Charles X was looking for distraction at home, the French government felt that an active international policy was needed to return France

29 In 1885, Jules Ferry gave an impassioned plea for French intervention in Madagascar, citing many reasons such as an increased market for French goods at a time when Germany and the United States allowed fewer foreign goods in their markets; the humanitarian and civilizing aspects that the French republic delivered to Algeria; and maintaining France’s status as “une grande nation” keeping its position among “le premier rang” instead of falling to the “troisième ou quatrième rang” (Wieviorka 68-81).
to grandeur and decided to annex large portions of western Africa and Southeast Asia. These subjects would then gain access to French language and customs and exposure to republican ideals. The historian James Lehning states that “French colonial policy had for most of the nineteenth century aimed at assimilating colonial subjects into the French nation, and for the republicans assimilation meant turning colonial subjects into republican citizens” (129).

There was much debate about which natives of the new colonies would ultimately be granted citizenship in the French republic, and how the government needed to effectively map, and thereby control, these subjects and territories. Just as the Third Republic looked to educate its rural French population on how to become productive citizens, successive French governments perceived their colonies in the same way. The colonial subjects needed not only to be “civilized,” but also trained regarding how to become productive members of France, and these territories would be better understood through mapping. By the turn of the century, much of colonial Africa had been conquered, subdued, and promoted as safe through complete mapping. The “unknown” had to disappear.

Several prominent geographers took advantage of French colonization expansion to promote geography and mapping. For example, the colonies were one reason for the

30 Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, a prominent liberal economist and moderate supporter of the Republic surveyed the history of colonization in his De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes (1874). After 1880 he became an ardent supporter of imperial expansion. He thought that colonization was an activity limited to civilized peoples, and modeled the relationship between colonial power and colony on that between parent and child. He also suggested that colonizers would place “the young society that it gave birth to” in a position to develop its abilities (Lehning 132).

31 Felix Driver asserts that when problematic areas of the nineteenth century city were mapped, they were represented as “dangerous landscapes to be explored” by social reformers, not tourists. Often imperial societies such as Britain had mapped their colonies, but were not able to do the same in certain neighborhoods, and as a result, these were left off maps. “The ‘rookeries’ of London, for example, were often portrayed during the middle decades of the nineteenth century as beyond public gaze, outside the ambit of official surveillance” (180). By accurately mapping these areas, a city would be able to claim complete control of itself. Of turn of the century London, Christian Topalov, in “The City as Terra Incognita,” states that “the era of the pioneer expedition was over; it was time to take possession of [East London] by a complete representation of it. Just as the statistical table could not tolerate a gap, the map could not tolerate a blank space, a terra incognita” (412).
creation of the Chair of Colonial Geography at the Sorbonne. Marcel Dubois, one of Vidal de la Blache’s first students, was the first to occupy this academic chair. A fervent believer in using geography to interpret and transform the world, Dubois was convinced that people outside the university such as the military, sailors, businessmen, and diplomats, would benefit from a better comprehension of a colony’s development potential. Dubois, an ardent nationalist and anti-dreyfusard, supported French colonial expansion with the assistance of geography. “La géographie doit être au service de la colonisation ; elle permet d’orienter l’action de la France, de mettre en évidence les perspectives de développement et de comprendre les peuples indigènes. Elle doit aider à faire de la colonisation une œuvre civilisatrice” (qtd. in Géographie de la France et de ses colonies, Paris 1892, Claval 80). Maps were therefore an integral part of the French “civilizing mission” in the French colonies.

**History of Cartography as a History of Society**

The Third Republic was an integral period in the histories of both cartography and print culture more generally. People’s relationship to maps changed considerably. Greater exposure to maps meant more familiarity and ease in use. But what did people see when looking at maps? A better understanding of the history of cartography, especially of printing and color, may help clarify map reception. To this end, historical cartography finds itself dealing with the challenging task of explaining the role of maps in past societies. While some maps are explicit in their purpose, such as those documenting a voyage by an explorer or the results of a peace treaty, others are more opaque, with no overt message, and thus require a
more in-depth study. Printed texts in Ancien Régime France, including maps, were not used or read by a mass audience due to low levels of literacy and high production costs.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, maps were often published for rulers to document authority or serve as decoration. The use of maps changed as quickly as did the technology employed to print them. In France the rise of absolute power under Louis XIII and Louis XIV funneled the necessary resources into French map production. This allowed France to replace the Low Countries as the dominant cartographic production center in Europe (Tooley 40). Significant royal support of cartography continued into the eighteenth century and French influence on European geography soon reached its height.\(^\text{32}\)

Triangulation, a system of mapping ground coordinates based on astronomical observations, started under Louis XIV. This technology allowed map makers to correct previous cartographic works, and a new, accurate map of France was produced. L’abbé Picard, head of the royal cartographic operation, organized a team for measuring France using self-designed instruments: “Picard mesure avec un soin extrême la base d’une chaîne de treize premiers grands triangles : c’est le premier tronçon de méridienne prolongée sur les latitudes d’Amiens en 1670, puis étendue après 1700, et terminée en 1718” (Vayassière 255). With this method, Picard drew the first rectifiée map of France, causing Louis XIV to proclaim, “Ces messieurs de l’Académie, avec leurs chers travaux, m’ont enlevé une partie de mon royaume” (Vayassière 255). By the eighteenth century, French geography was at its height. The Cassinis, one of the best-known families of French royal cartographers, started

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\(^\text{32}\) French supremacy in so many of the arts was so great that France took the lead from Holland not only in cartography, but in geographic science too. It was in France that scientific mapping from exact ground observation was commenced, and speculative cartography finally abandoned. Specific examples of this transformation were Nicholas Sanson’s \textit{Atlas Universel} and R.J. Julien’s \textit{Atlas Géographique et Militaire de la France} (Tooly 42-42).
triangulating a monumental *Carte de France* in 1744, turning in the first of 180 sheets to Louis XV in 1756.

The Cassini family is an excellent illustration of map producers in France during the Ancien Régime. Similarly, as with most cartographers of the period, Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625-1712) was a scientist. He surveyed waterworks and fortifications in Italy. His publication of tables of the eclipses of Jupiter’s four major satellites brought him to the French king’s attention in Paris, in 1669. Cassini had not wanted to stay in Paris for more than a few years, but Colbert encouraged him to remain to work on one of the king’s pet projects, demonstrating France’s superiority over other smaller kingdoms by continuing the mapping of France (Wilford 132). Cassini stayed in France and started one of the best-known French cartographic dynasties. Later, separate from astrology, cartography became a career in its own right.

In France, the major projects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries undertaken by the Cassinis and other cartographers dealt primarily with the kingdom as a whole. In general, city maps were not commissioned except when making large-scale urban planning changes and then primarily in larger cities like Paris, Lyon, or Bordeaux. Forms of urban mapping did exist on a smaller scale as part of territorial maps. Denise Turrel’s *La couleur de la ville* examines the representation of cities in regional and national maps of the Ancien Régime. Icons such as castles or churches used to symbolize urban settlements demonstrated royal authority. In the seventeenth century, maps rarely included legends so the

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33 His grandson, César-François Cassini, emerged as the most persistent, accomplished mapmaker in his illustrious family. In recognition of his many achievements, he was made a count, Cassini de Thury (Wilford 138).
cartographer relied on symbols to do the work. Many included only simple “explications” of included urban symbols, documenting a limited progression of value. For cities, adding an additional building for each category of importance culminated in distinguishing the “ville [qui] est au sommet de ce système hiérarchique par le nombre de ses constructions, remplissant ainsi la définition qu’en donnent les dictionnaires, c’est un lieu ‘plein de maisons’” (Turrel 128). This representation of larger inhabited areas not only indicated a larger potential literate population but, perhaps more importantly, also documented where most people would use the maps.

By the nineteenth century detailed city maps became more common, though often as part of larger areas. Map makers such as Alexandre Vuillemin were commissioned to provide maps for travel guides and atlases. The multiple bibliothèques des gares established by publishers such as Hachette et Chaix promoted various published Itinéraires such as Adolphe Joanne’s Itinéraire général de la France (1861), and travelers purchased rail line itineraries, with the major towns highlighted, often with descriptions of what to see, how to move about the city, etc. These guides would also include every rail stop. The hierarchy was self-evident: if the city was significant enough, it was provided with additional detail and, occasionally, a rough outline of the city itself.

Map Color

While size has always been an effective way to document hierarchy, color remains another useful technique. For the historical maps without “explications,” color can be one of only a few indicators of importance. Color often defined a city, helping it stand out. If the
pictograms used were ambiguous to the reader either through poor labeling or lack of text, then it became even more essential in transmitting meaning and giving value. For example, engravers often fortified their representations with biased, loaded hues, thus proclaiming that the place in question was of value and that “ce lieu est une ville” (Turrel 128). The reddish carmin most often represented cities on maps prior to the nineteenth century, providing a de facto standardized urban representation. This uniformity would help any map reader to better understand multiple urban map markings, employing color to distinguish larger cities from lesser developed urban areas.

Today, however, cartographers caution that it is too easy to assign “power” to certain colors. For example, many examples of carmin cities exist, and present-day map readers may be eager to associate this reddish tint with either authority or influence. Color found in Ancien Régime maps cannot be taken as the representations of power for at least two reasons. First, while geographers and cartographers produced maps, their cartographic work was often later interpreted and published by a printer or engraver. So, while red may have represented power on one map, on a different map a red city may have been the result of a printer’s ability (or lack thereof) to produce any other color. Therefore, today’s perceived dominance in one map is more likely not the result of who drew the map, but who printed it. Secondly, even if the geographer was heavily involved in printing and publication of the map, the colors were often esthetic:

Les géographes en effet ne pensent pas leur carte en couleurs, mais essentiellement en noir en blanc. Pour distinguer les catégories de villes, ils échafaudent des systèmes qui reposent sur des symboles ou des règles d’écriture des toponymes, à destination des graveurs. Mais leurs traités ne
proposent jamais un code de couleurs pour les enlumineurs. Pour eux, les coloris ne sont pas liés à la variété de la carte, mais à sa beauté – ainsi Pierre Duval oppose-t-il nettement le savoir-faire artistique des enlumineurs à leur manque de connaissance (Turrel 131).

Maps were considered both works of art and cartographic documents. Nevertheless, the addition of color did change how readers viewed maps, suggesting that, for example, a colored map “est en effet un objet à voir” compared to a black and white map “qui est à lire” (Turrel 132). This preference for looking at hand-colored over black and white maps continued well into the nineteenth century. Slowly, a preliminary standardization of color emerged, in which cartographers promoted a more uniform sense of what maps should look like and which colors should be used. The eighteenth-century French geographer Robert de Vaugondy documented this need for order in mapping, stating how “la carte de France était un vrai chaos, qui ne présentait qu’un amas de villes entrecoupé de noms de provinces” (Turrel 133). Just as carmin commonly documented seventeenth-century urban development, red began to emerge as an appropriate representation of brick cities. However, this association was short-lived. Toward the nineteenth century representing cities with the color red progressively diminished. Just as Louis XIV inherited a city (Paris) of brick and left it marble (Horne 125), other French cities underwent similar transformations in the eighteenth century. A red tint did not accurately represent this material and on many maps cities began to emerge as grey or black. Yet other parts of the map started or continued to receive color.

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34 The cartographer Remi Caron mentions how “la carte est le regard qu’un cartographe et une société posent sur le monde.” Turrel states that it is the map makers who make the world intelligible by, for example, including “frontières vertes, fleuves jaunes ou roses” on maps, none of which correspond to reality (133).
Similar to previous centuries, nineteenth-century colored maps were seen as superior to black and white engravings. Few would argue that colored maps were more apt to catch a reader’s eye, and throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century color use increased dramatically.

Even with documented exposure to maps and improved technology, historical map reception is still quite difficult. Many cartographers have expressed their frustration in trying to decipher printed color as a determinant in map reception. Did the nineteenth-century map reader react differently to mapped color representations of a city than did past readers? The cartographer Karen Ehrensvärd asserts that, throughout history “colour has clearly developed into an independent means of cartographic expression, albeit one whose visual impact on the map user has yet to be fully understood” (19). How then, did seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century map printing techniques, such as a greater variety of color, affect the map reader? Are we able to determine a past reaction to a published map, and if so, how? For example, a degree of familiarity with maps is important when trying to understand how a reader reacted to them. As we have seen, available cartographic technology determines the role of maps in society. In-depth knowledge of the printing practices and advances in the nineteenth-century French publishing industry help elucidate the socio-historical factors involved in interpreting map acceptance. This integral component, part of the ever-changing field of the history of print culture, affects not only historical map reception, but historical map comprehension. Therefore, by examining nineteenth-century publishing advances along with exposure to maps, we can better comprehend what influenced nineteenth-century map readers, as well as how those same people responded to map size, colors, and text.
Improved Color Techniques

Color has always been important for disseminating cartographic discourse. As demonstrated above, the creation of colored maps has been limited to available techniques, tools, and materials. The capacities of map printing procedures have been the controlling factor on the final map product throughout the history of cartography (Ehrensvärd 124). The actual coloring of maps also changed over time. As map publishing progressed throughout the seventeenth century, hand coloring became a common adjunct to the cartographic enterprise. Until printing and engraving became widespread, the cartographer had free reign in how his map was to appear. In the seventeenth century coloring maps, no longer reserved for academics or professionals, even became an accepted genteel pastime, as indicated by the numerous treatises intended for the instruction of amateurs.\(^35\) However, coloring a map by hand was slow, and if multiple copies were needed, each one could vary significantly from the original. This coloration technique, of course, adds yet another level of difficulty to examining historical maps, as any common discourse regarding a large number of hand-colored maps remains non-existent, even if one model was generally followed.\(^36\)

By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, book printing had made further advances. In color printing, various transfer methods could be employed to make accurate guide images for the registration of color plates that were used to put color on a page. Other significant improvements in color registration resulted from the development of various

\(^35\) Many treatises on the art of coloring (first published in Italy and later in England, Holland, and France) had traditionally included chapters on coloring fortification plans and maps (Ehrensvard 134).

\(^36\) One of the passages already quoted from John Smith’s treatise has shown how color was employed to distinguish different map features as well as in decoration. By the end of the seventeenth century, several map makers reacted against the distracting use of excessive color on maps and advocated reducing color to the practical minimum (Ehrensvard 137-138).
mechanical devices. Some early innovations were the registration frame for lithography in 1836 and Charles Knight’s system for wood engraving in 1838 (Ehrensvärd 132). Since that time, increasing mechanization made accurate registration much easier, although it still required great care and skill on the part of the printer.

Yet problems emerged when one tried to adapt the technology to larger scale projects. When Victor Raulin’s geologic map of the Paris area was lithographed in color by Kaeppelin in 1842 by overprinting four plates to produce eleven tints, it was heavily criticized for the colors’ lack of transparency. The solution soon found was to employ a variety of methods for breaking up the solid color surface into patterns of small dots, lines, or other marks whose cumulative visual effect was that of a “transparent” color surface. Trial and error was then needed to find a solution. A technological breakthrough came in the 1860s, when shading on grained transfer paper (coarser in texture than grained stone) made it possible to transfer crayon to the long-wearing smooth-surfaced stones used in printing lithographic ink drawings and lithographic engravings (Ehrensvärd 141).

As geography grew in importance in Third Republic French society, different genres of maps appeared, each with merits for using printed color. For example, despite the traditional employment of stencil color, new machine-ruled printed patterns in black, combined with more systematic map explanations, made hand color inadequate for the needs of geologic map printing as early as the 1840s. This improvement spurred experimentation with additional methods of color printing in this and many other areas of cartography. Particular drawbacks making hand coloring an increasing liability in map reproduction were the expense and inconsistency of the results, both of which could be solved using printing techniques. Accuracy was vital in the scientific community, and the
lack of reliable uniformity detracted considerably from the general utility of the maps, while the high cost of professional hand coloring limited the distribution of maps and discouraged production (Ehrensvärd 139).

However restricted, color was important to scientific map production, though often requiring hours of hand coloring. Each map series occasionally had great inconsistencies in quality depending on the engraver or available materials. Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, hand coloring of maps did offer many benefits. Whereas printing techniques witnessed the construction of larger and more elaborate printing presses, hand coloring did not require complicated machinery and could be done by almost anyone, anywhere with the proper color pigments and supplies.

As printing became more common, single colored maps became more uniform and more widespread. Today, the most commercially successful atlases, such as Rand McNally, prefer bright colors and easy to define shapes. However, in the late-nineteenth century large-scale colored atlases were still a novel concept. But color printing technology allowed more atlases and multiple paged color map collections, such as travel guides, to emerge. While rare before the Second Empire, it was not unheard of for a guide book in the late nineteenth century to include colored maps (usually as map-inserts), even if the vast majority of their engravings were still in black and white.

By the late-nineteenth century, employment of new colored maps began to change. No longer relied on exclusively for administration or diplomacy, maps started serving a larger public. As we observed earlier with the creation of the *bibliothèques de gares*, by the mid-nineteenth century more people were traveling and thus relied on color on their maps to enhance directions. While the railroad was the primary source of transportation, territorial
coverage was not comprehensive. Therefore, roads filled in the gaps. As the road network grew, map makers documented it. Cities, now predominantly grey, were eclipsed by roads, which were deemed important enough by cartographers to be colored red. “Les routes rouges ont définitivement pris le pas sur les villes grises. Désormais—ainsi, sur [les] cartes routières actuelles – la ville n’est plus elle-même représentée en rouge, mais elle est devenue le centre d’un réseau de routes nationales rouges ” (Turrel 136). Even today, most maps and road atlases use colored roads to guide people through unfamiliar territory. For example, in the American Rand McNally road atlas, the blue interstate highways and freeways are easy to follow both across great distances and through confusing, dense urban areas.

The end of the nineteenth century marked the end of large-scale hand coloring on maps. Printed color had finally become technically and economically feasible for large-scale projects and hand color, once the mainstay of colored cartography, was no longer uniform enough to justify its continued use on a commercial and institutional scale. When cartographers adopted printed color, they did not look to radically transform the hand-colored look of maps. Even with printing as the standard, many tried to imitate the preferred, centuries-old hand-colored look. When changing from hand to printed color on maps, the look of particular techniques such as broad color strokes and filled-in appearances persisted by imitation long after their replacement by technology. Hand-coloring tended to result in more subdued tints, and since many of the cartographers’ tastes had been formed during the era of hand-coloring, it was not surprising that many felt that color should be employed in a similar, restrained, harmonious fashion. This technique, it was thought, would better distinguish and integrate map elements rather than create a crazy quilt patter of garish colors (Pearson 15). Map coloring today depends on high standardized associative
symbolism (such as blue for water, red for towns, green for parks or trees, etc.), and thus naturalness has come to characterize the representation of the most common map features. Cartographers, looking for the closest interpretation of reality possible, attempted realistic portrayal through associative color, and this technique continues today.

During the nineteenth century, major improvements were made in lithographic techniques and in other new relief process, such as wax engraving and chemotypy, which succeeded wood engraving and altered the actual physical printing of maps. By the late-nineteenth century, the application of photomechanical methods in printing had made it possible to reproduce an ink drawing without having it recopied by an engraver or a lithographic artist. For the first time since the advent of printing, this technique placed the cartographer in direct control of the final manual stages of production (Ehrensvärd 140). This saved time and reduced chance at error. Multiple, accurate maps provided the French map-reading audience with a uniform product. Nineteenth-century color printing of maps displayed an early technological bias toward printing area symbols in color. Unlike hand color, which was easiest to apply to point and line symbols, printed color worked better for area symbols, for which accurate registration was less critical (Ehrensvärd 140-41). As part of a color revolution sweeping the French printing industry, posters, illustrations, calendars, and maps all benefited from increased standardization.

One of the goals of this chapter has been to recognize in context how maps were consumed in late nineteenth-century France. This chapter explores the rise of what constituted the Third Republic map-reading public. I am not suggesting that a simple analysis of the French educational system or cartographic technical advancements is sufficient for a complete understanding of this target society. However, better
comprehension of the growing nineteenth-century French map-reading epistèmé aids in our knowledge of how the maps studied in the forthcoming chapters were both consumed and recognized. Nevertheless, the information in this chapter offers an opening explanation of what maps were published during the nineteenth century, what the fin-de-siècle French map reader actually saw, and perhaps more importantly, how that reader might have reacted (if at all) to a published map.

Along with map technology and readers, it is germane to examine maps published during the first thirty years of the French Third Republic. Both the city and national governments needed to document Paris under the new regime. Improved techniques allowed both authorities to produce a greater number of higher-quality maps. What message will be promoted? Will Paris, recently transformed under Haussmann, be shown as a continuation of the Second Empire, or as a truly republican city – and how?
Chapter 2

Government Mapping: Making Paris Republican

Des pensées de découragement lui venaient; mais André était persévérant: au lieu de se laisser accabler par les difficultés qui se présentaient, il ne songea qu’à les combattre. Tout à coup il se souvint d’avoir vu dans la chambre du garde forestier une grande carte du département, pendue à la muraille : c’était une de ces belles cartes dessinées par l’état-major de l’armée française, et où se trouvent indiqués jusqu’aux plus petits chemins.

G. Bruno, *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants* (1905)

André and Julien, the two famous child adventurers of the Third Republic history and geography text, *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants*, cross France in search of a lost uncle, an adult who could help them obtain their rightful French citizenship after the annexation to Germany of their native Lorraine. As the two orphans set to traverse the new border, their original guide becomes injured and the two boys worry about entering France. However, André, the ingenious older brother, turns to an official army map on the wall to help the two boys cross the border.

It is ironic that the French army, so cartographically deficient and easily defeated in 1870 by the same Prussians the youths are fleeing, provides the eventual means of escape. The self-proclaimed “meilleur élève” in German-occupied Phalsbourg employs his recently acquired map-reading skills to maneuver unfamiliar territory and enter “la France glorieuse.” This account demonstrates not only the effectiveness of French geographical abilities but also the improved quality of French maps, to the point where even children recognized and
used government maps. With the book’s publication, Bruno shows a France united in language and in its love for “la patrie.” The book also represents a France coming to terms with its military defeat, and geography figured importantly in this endeavor. The expanding base of official maps helped the Third Republic promote itself. By the turn of the century a map from any of the départements would have been seen by and available to a large percentage of the population, a considerable change from the end of the Second Empire just thirty years prior. Increased cartographic knowledge coupled with technological advances in map publishing, provided the Third Republic with effective means of certifying knowledge and authority over the entire nation, showcasing its accomplishments and highlighting the government’s benevolent presence in its citizen’s lives.

As demonstrated by the two children’s return to “la patrie” in Le Tour de la France, Third Republic France relied on schoolbooks, maps, and even the army to legitimate itself to both its citizens and the world after its loss to the Germans. Like André and Julien, French politicians viewed republican France as a superior choice to imperial Germany. However, other parts of the country were less convinced. Some French were skeptical of the feasibility of the new government, and more radical Paris was perhaps the most difficult to persuade. In 1871 the national government, based in Versailles, had to “conquer” the city in order to end the Commune. This preceded an era of multiple high-level scandals – the Boulanger Crisis, the Dreyfus Affair, The Panama scandal, and anarchism (Duby, Histoire de la France 751-63) – hampered the government’s credibility and jeopardized social stability.

Establishing a republic after almost a century of regime changes – a Directoire, monarchies, and empires – the French state needed to anchor a democratic form of government in France. In addition, patriotism effectively distracted the French from problems at home.
Self-promotion alone could not convince the nation that the Republic was secure. Republican politicians therefore looked for additional ways to disseminate its message. André and Julien’s use of a government map demonstrates how growing map exposure became an effective medium through which to broadcast this message.

Championing national unity thus became a priority under the early Third Republic. The loss of Alsace and Lorraine dealt a severe blow to national morale. In order to reassure the French that the nation would survive without the two regions, representations of the Republic began appearing in national discourse, street names, and maps. With the exception of the World’s Fairs, the French Third Republic, unlike other nations and regimes, did not favor construction of massive public works to promote itself. French kings and emperors had been much more active in their physical embellishments. Instead, by the end of the nineteenth century, the creation and promotion of Republican symbols endorsed the nation. The powerful symbols included the tricolor flag, the Republican monogram (RF), the motto (liberté, égalité, fraternité), and the anthem, the Marseillaise, which hailed back to the 1789 revolution. “There was to be no official national day other than 14 July, no formal mobilizations, processions and marches of the civilian citizenry, but rather a simple ‘republicanization’ of the accepted pomp of state power - uniforms, parades, bands, flags, and the like” (Hobsbawm, Invention 271). Republican symbols epitomized the spirit of the regime. If needed, their physical presence could reassure the wavering citizen.

How, then, can one “represent” the republic on a map? The notion of map discourse is an important tool for better understanding an historical society. Map discourse never involves simply naming or locating a feature on a map, but calls on a reader to consider the political significance of every feature included. Map rhetoric is subject to a
cartographer’s ability to represent and map symbols; drawings, or images more generally, are never more than representations of the map elements themselves.

Since maps are comprised mainly of symbols and abbreviations, map analysis relies heavily on semiotics. “Signs,” “symbols,” and “icons,” terms employed by Charles Peirce, help contribute to a full semiological understanding of cartographic documents. Peirce defined a “sign” as “a thing which serves to convey knowledge of some other thing, which it is said to stand for or represent” (13). So something as simple as a name or label representing an object can serve as a sign on a map. To this Peirce added “icons,” which are “signs that stand for objects,” where most, “if not all, are likenesses of their objects” (13). Such examples might be employing the outline of a factory to represent industrial areas of a city, or using a tree for a park. Peirce’s third term, “symbol,” is “a sign … represented by an icon associated with it” (17). Some of the most common “symbols” in this regard are the use of a cross for a church, or a bell or apple to represent a school. Map color, shapes, symbols, legends, titles, and scale, individually or together, incorporate Peirce’s semiotic terms and are necessary in determining the discourse “chosen” by the cartographer and publishers, helping to “establish a connection between mind and object” (Peirce 14).

Barthes’ Mythologies took Peirce’s semiotics one step futher by examining contemporary objects as myths. By breaking down the discourses behind the myths of maps, more specifically those printed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, one may better determine what, if any, message was being promoted. It is possible that we can apply to maps Barthes’ rhetorical figures like “tautologie,” (226) in which the status quo is the primary emphasis. Perhaps maps belong to a “privation d’histoire” (225), legitimizing the government in place and trying to suppress any previous or present history or story of how
the city of Paris was transformed. Or perhaps maps fit better with another of Barthes’ rhetorical classifications “identification” (225). “Impuissant à imaginer l’Autre,” such as the dangerous or working class sections of Paris, “le petit-bourgeois s’aveugle, l’ignore et le nie” (226). Just as the petit-bourgeois chose not to acknowledge that which he didn’t know, maps were transformed or masked by something the reader did not fear, for example either a shaded-in city block, an oversized monument, or the use of a bright color. Barthes concludes that images are constituted by an architecture of signs drawn from a variable depth of meanings. Each image, no matter how complex and layered the meaning, is still being coded.

Republican iconography coupled with documented modernity soon found its way to maps. Furthermore, educational reforms created a demand for new schools; urban security involved increased police presence, in the form of casernes and prisons; a growing industrial base necessitated the construction of factories, many of which appeared on Third Republic maps. Paris had changed during the nineteenth century. It became a republican, industrial city, and government maps reflected this transformation.

**The Republic Begins : The Plan général de la ville de Paris (1870)**

The year 1870 was “terrible” for Paris, as for all of France. The first half of the year all but terminated the Second Empire. The authoritarian rule of Napoleon III, forced to become more liberal, began to offer parliamentary elections and limited citizen participation in government. At the same time, criticism of Haussmann’s large-scale public works in Paris grew. In 1869 the emperor dismissed Haussmann, hoping to deflect some of his own
unpopularity. With a majority of Haussmann’s Parisian transformations well underway upon his departure, any replacement Prefect of the Seine would have had to continue many of his works against the desire of an increasingly contentious city council. In January 1870, Napoleon III named Henri Chevreau as new Prefect of the Seine. A fervent supporter of the Empire, Chevreau had assisted in Louis Napoleon’s 1848 electoral victory. He was then sent to Lyon as a loyal Prefect for the Department of the Rhône in 1864 and was nominated for and accepted the post of Senator the next year. Even after Chevreau had been appointed Minister of the Interior on August 10, 1870, he retained his Seine prefectorial duties. Yet Napoleon III’s economic and political difficulties hindered Chevreau’s ability to change the face of Paris.

Following the end of the Second Empire, some politicians, led by Thiers, looked to return normalcy to the capital. One way to demonstrate this was to show Paris as a calm, trouble-free city. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Paris city administrations published maps for governing the city. Many were based on the famous Plan des Travaux de Paris prévus par Napoleon III ou Plan de Morizet (1853), on which the Emperor highlighted multiple phases of potential works to be undertaken. When referencing that map in his Mémoires, Haussmann indicates how the emperor “était pressé de me montrer une carte de Paris, sur laquelle on voyait tracées par lui-même, en bleu, en rouge, en jaune et vert, suivant leur degré d’urgence, les différentes voies qu’il proposait de faire exécuter” (Pinon, Les plans de Paris 108).

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37 All copies of this map, said to be mounted in Haussmann’s office throughout his tenure as Prefect of the Seine, had been thought lost when the Hôtel de Ville burned during the Commune. However, one copy, a gift to Wilhelm I by Napoleon III in 1867, survived in Berlin and was rediscovered in 1930 (Pinon, Les plans de Paris 108).
This map was given to the Préfet at the beginning of the summer of 1853, to be implemented at once.

The 1870 *Plan général de la ville de Paris et de ses environs comprenant les Bois de Boulogne et de Vincennes* (*Plan général*) was an additional large wall map produced in conjunction with the Prefect’s office (see Figure 1). Just like the emperor’s 1853 *Plan des Travaux*, it was designed to be mounted behind a desk to aid in city administration. With the subtitle, “publié sous l’administration de Mr. Henri CHEVREAU Sénateur, Préfet de la Seine, et dressé à l’échelle de 1/10 000 par les Géomètres du Service du Plan de Paris,” Chevreau’s map reader is provided with a layer of *mythe* – the full authority of the city government.38 Easily measuring one square meter, the immensity of the map, however, further enhances its prestige. Neither practical nor compact, the Prefect’s map was sized not for portability, but for governing.

Yet, backed by the Service du Plan de Paris, Chevreau’s map is not comprehensive. It does not include every building, street, or feature in 1870 Paris. Instability, due to war and unrest, rendered it impossible to publish a map of that scale. The lack of individually mapped property parcels did not indicate incomplete printing. Rather, it allowed the city to concentrate on what it knew. Chevreau’s map documented a city in transition, on its way to becoming secure and prosperous.

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38 It should be noted that the city of Paris had very little actual authority at this point. After the defeat of the emperor on September 2, the Prussians encircled the city and laid siege for months. After their departure, the Commune took over power in the city. Thiers’s government moved in and seized control from the Commune de Paris in May 1871.
Celebrating the Republic: *Paris en 1889*

1889 was a celebratory year for the French as it marked the centenary of the storming of the Bastille prison, which ended the Ancien Régime and, three years later, established the First Republic. At the fall of the Second Empire, the proclamation of the Third Republic was seen by the monarchists as a temporary measure, a necessary
compromise in anticipation of the return of a monarchy.\textsuperscript{39} The Comte de Chambord’s official rebuff of the tricolor flag definitively ended any hope of the Bourbon’s return to power in France. Even so, the Third Republic experienced barriers in taming Paris as demonstrated by the trouble-free funerals of Adolphe Thiers and Léon Gambetta. Early in the Republic these events tested the government’s ability to manage the Parisian crowds. Disruptions reminded the regime of the many revolts and revolutions throughout the nineteenth century and its perceived inability to govern Paris. July 14\textsuperscript{th} had been officially designated the \textit{fête nationale} in 1880 only after much debate, proving the difficulty in deciding what type of Republic France wanted. However, by 1885\textsuperscript{40} Victor Hugo’s trouble-free funeral procession and subsequent induction into the Panthéon proved the Third Republic’s ability to manage its capital city, something that Chevreu had hoped to document in 1870. By carefully planning the funeral cortège route, the government was able to avoid problematic crowded areas of the city, and proclaim the city cooperative:

In the end, the most direct route from the Arc [de Triomphe] to the Panthéon was chosen: down the Champs-Elysées, across the place de la Concorde and the pont de la Concorde, then left on the boulevard Saint-Germain to the boulevard Saint-Michel, the rue Soufflot, and the Panthéon.

This route would not only avoid the east and the boulevards but take the

\textsuperscript{39} Charles X’s legitimate heir, the Comte de Chambord, had no wish for a constitutional monarchy. The Orleanists pushed for Louis-Philippe’s son (the Comte de Paris) to take the throne. A compromise was eventually struck in which upon the death of the childless Comte de Chambord, the Comte de Paris would assume the throne. But Chambord’s refusal to compromise on the tricolor flag, coupled with republican gains in the Assemblée Nationale in the mid 1870s, effectively ended the hopes for a monarchy in France (See Vivier pp 23, 154, and 186).

\textsuperscript{40} In 1878 and 1879 national celebrations took place on June 30, a date with no historical significance. For those parliamentarians who wished not to commemorate crowd violence (the storming of the Bastille) in the national celebration, the date of August 4, the anniversary of the end of feudalism, was also proposed (Lehning 65-66).
procession past primarily governmental spaces: the Élysée, the Palais-
Bourbon, and the ministries on the place de la Concorde. It also brought this
republican ceremony through the heart of Paris, and staked out the left bank
as republican territory (Lehning 82).

By controlling both Paris and its population, the Third Republic could begin to fully
comprehend its capital city. The government started to use Paris to prove to the nation that
the city stood solidly behind the Republic and its policies, and the city benefited from the
new regime. After 1830, 1848, and 1870-71, the eighteen-year interlude had been calm and
the government needed 1889 to be a stable, republican year.

Much had been accomplished in Paris between 1870 and 1889. The legacy of the
Second Empire, especially that of Haussmann, lingered longer than republicans had wanted.
Yet many of Haussmann’s embellishment projects had been started and, after 1871, could
not be stopped.\textsuperscript{41} The destruction of large swaths of the city, along with pre-existing property
sales, meant that, at least for the short term, the transformation of Paris would continue. In
many cases, powers of compulsory acquisition had already been obtained by the developers,
and it was in the city’s interest to use them, for if they were to lapse, businessmen feared the
national government might raise objections to renewal requests. Even as they opposed
increasing debt, the Parisians wanted wide boulevards in their neighborhoods (Sutcliffe 44-
45).\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{41} Sutcliffe writes that it “would have been lunatic not to complete streets [of Paris] of which some sections were
already in use” (44).

\textsuperscript{42} Sutcliffe proposes two additional reasons why the Third Republic needed to continue Haussmann’s works
despite the cost and inconvenience. First, engineers, architects, and national governments were so impressed
with Haussmann’s achievements that they were planning similar improvements in their own countries. Second,
Occasionally the government itself pushed to finish some of Haussmann’s projects. When it was announced that Paris was hosting the 1878 Exposition Universelle, the Avenue de l'Opéra was immediately targeted for completion. Due to its diagonal direction, the boulevard had been earmarked for a second phase of development under the Second Empire. Yet it was agreed by both city and national leaders that the boulevard would have immense prestige upon completion, serving as a base for an ornate corridor from the Louvre Palace, past Garnier’s finally completed Opéra, to the developing business zone around the Gare Saint-Lazare. Yet its inauguration in September 1877 by President Mac Mahon marked the end of an era in Paris. The Avenue de l'Opéra, along with the Boulevard St. Germain (1876), were the last of Haussmann’s central boulevards. At this point Republican Paris expanded Haussmann’s transformations out of the central city and began constructing its own boulevards in the newly-annexed outer arrondissements.

To document this new direction, the city of Paris published the *Travaux de Paris* as an atlas depicting all of the major work accomplished in the city since the 1789 Revolution. The objective of this atlas was “de montrer l’ampleur de ce qui a été réalisé dans le domaine de l’urbanisme (voie, alimentation en eau, égouts) [entre 1789 et 1889]” (Pinon, *Les Plans de Paris* 112). The project was pursued under the direction of Jean-Christophe Adolphe Alphand, no stranger to city planning. He had begun his career at *Les Services des Travaux de Paris* (the Paris city works department) thirty years prior, from which he had been recruited by

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43 For more information involving the debate around the completion of the Avenue de l’Opéra, see Sutcliffe 50-51.
44 Sutcliffe describes Alphand’s position in Paris after Haussmann. One of Haussmann’s lieutenants, Alphand became director of *Les Travaux de Paris* in 1878. Regardless of the Third Republic’s desire to eliminate the possibility of another Haussmann, he was able to create an authority almost as broad as that of the former Prefect by taking control of several departments (44).
Haussmann to direct the *Service des Promenades et Plantations*. Alphand had been in charge of drawing up and the implementing the landscaping in the Bois de Boulogne, as well installing the trees that lined the many boulevards in the city (Pinon, *Les plans de Paris* 112).

The *Travaux* atlas, published in celebration of the 1889 Exposition Universelle, is comprised of 16 *planches* (map plates). Perhaps symbolically, the first *planche*, “Paris en 1789,” is a reconstruction of the famous “Plan indiquant les rues projetées par la Commission des Artistes,” one of the first large-scale urban renewal plans for First Republic Paris. Alphand provided four reference map dates: 1789 (the Revolution), 1854 and 1855 (Haussmann assumed full control of the city), 1871 (the end of the Second Empire), and 1878 and 1889 (the two Expositions Universelles hosted by Paris). All the dates correspond to maps titled “Eaux”, “Égouts”, and “Les Opérations de voirie.” To celebrate the 1889 centennial, Alphand added three additional *planches*: the “Revêtements des chaussés en 1889,” a “Transports en commun” map, and a map of “Édifices de Paris construits de 1871-1889.”

Going by the maps included, Third Republic Paris is the primary focus of the atlas, with the other *planches* demonstrating the various preceding stages needed for the city to arrive at its 1889 state.

In comparison with its 1870 counterpart, this official city map, published twenty years later, was much more compact. Alphand did not rely on an imposing document to demonstrate power. Yet beyond size, *Paris en 1889* (see Figure 2) differs in other ways from Chevreau’s 1870 *Plan général*. Alphand’s colors are more vivid and reassure the reader that Paris is improved. His yellows, reds, and black all compete against each other and with the mapped monuments and buildings for the reader’s attention.
In his role as head of *Les Travaux de Paris*, Alphand correctly ascertained color’s ability to monopolize map discourse. The bright colors on his *Paris en 1889* chart boulevards, streets, and other Third Republic infrastructure improvements concentrated primarily in the outer arrondissements. At first glance, the nineteenth-century reader is presented with the final result of Alphand’s work. Upon closer examination, however, the years indicating construction completion dates reveal the substantial amount of time and inconvenience required to get Paris to its 1889 state. The nineteen years of construction between 1870 and 1889, added to the years of Haussmann’s tenure as Prefect (1853-1869), lengthen this period of inconvenience considerably. The 1889 reader likely saw *Paris en 1889* as a work of art that celebrated the Republic’s accomplishments to date. Alphand, relying on propaganda and the latest technology, used *Paris en 1889, planche 13 of 16*, to promote the substantial work and attention devoted to Paris, not during the twenty years of Haussmann’s tenure as Prefect, but during the nascent Third Republic.
Figure 2: *Paris en 1889*: “Les Opérations de Voirie exécutées de 1871 à 1889.”
Defending the Capital: The *Carte d’état-major au 1/50 000* (1906)

By 1900, the Third Republic had reached its thirty-year anniversary. With the memory of the Commune receding from the minds of many Parisians, growth and stability had become the norm, a far cry from the Third Republic’s beginnings. Not only had the Republic matured but, with a more highly educated population, exposed to a greater emphasis on geography, the French had a more developed understanding of maps. With better transportation people became mobile, and notions of space changed. For many, the France outside their village was no longer the mystery it had been just thirty years prior. Just as André and Julien relied on the departmental *Carte d’état major* to find their way into France from Lorraine, schoolchildren around France were using maps to become familiar with their own departments. Similarly, the French map-reading audience matured and the market for maps of Paris flourished. No longer a nineteenth-century walled city, by 1900 Paris had become a major metropolitan area. As the city grew, it needed to be documented in maps. In response, the government increased its representations of the capital city.

The variety of French maps grew therefore along with demand. Under the Third Republic, school textbooks soon began including maps of France. Travel guides, an additional source of cartographic references, incorporated maps of both different regions and the country as a whole. Yet one of the largest map publishers had nothing to do with education or travel. The national government, including the army, had maintained a large-scale cartographical operation, continuing the French state’s significant role in map-making. One hundred fifty years after the Cassinis had first triangulated the entire nation, the Service
géographique de l’armée published its military *Carte d’état-major*.\(^{45}\) The assimilation of engineers into the *corps état-major* had ended in 1831. Yet the cartographic service of the army became progressively active again throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Finally, “la création d’un Service géographique de l’Armée, rattaché à l’état-major en 1888, puis détaché de lui en 1911,” institutionalized the national terrain (Seistrunck 372). The army was thus in charge of mapping not only France as a whole, but also the different *départements* and regions. Considered up-to-date at the time of publication, the 1900 *Carte d’état-major* soon revealed its limitations, including “son manque de précision [et] son absence de quadrillage kilométrique,” with the declaration of World War I (Pinon, *Les plans de Paris* 116). These deficiencies eventually led to the publication of a less colorful, more topographic *état-major* map in time for the war’s end.

The 1900 *Carte d’etat-major* of France was surveyed towards the end of the 1890s, and maps of different departments were published between 1900 and 1906.\(^{46}\) Paris and its environs had been surveyed and mapped earlier by the *corps* in 1878, but that edition featured a smaller, less-detailed scale (1/10 000). The national 1900 version, with its larger scale, “semble être la bonne échelle pour rendre compte de l’agglomération parisienne actuelle, alors que jusqu’au milieu du XIXe siècle, le 1/10 000 suffisait” (Pinon, *Les plans de Paris* 116). With Germany occupying Alsace-Lorraine and acting aggressively in North Africa, the French army needed more detailed potential defensive preparations for the city. Map-publishing technology had advanced considerably since 1870 and the 1900 *Carte d’état-major* (see Figure 3) reflected these changes:

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\(^{45}\) The *Carte d’état-major* includes a price of 1F06, indicating sale to the general public.

\(^{46}\) The *Carte d’état-major* of the territory around Paris was published toward the end of the series, in 1906.
Figure 3: *Carte d'état-major au 1/50 000 (1906)*
Les courbes de niveau sont définitivement adoptées après plusieurs années d’hésitation ; pour faciliter la lecture du relief, elles restent accompagnées d’un estompage exprimant un éclairage théorique venant du nord-ouest. La carte s’appuie également sur un nouveau réseau géodésique, établi à la fin du XIXe siècle (la Nouvelle Triangulation de France, NTF, 1873-1891). Enfin, elle s’accompagne d’une légende pour faciliter sa consultation par de nouveaux publics. Le découpage géographique et la numération sont toujours en vigueur. Bien que la lisibilité soit améliorée par l’impression lithographique en 10 ou 12 couleurs, la rédaction reste complexe et les mises à jour le sont davantage. Certains signes, trop précis, sont peu clairs à cette échelle (Pinon, *Les plans de Paris* 116).

Given the technological limitations that still hindered cartographers, how effective was this new color use in disseminating the desired discourse? How had color use, symbols, and map text changed the way maps were used in the thirty years since Chevreau published his 1870 *Plan général*?

**Color**

Color is one of the first features that catch the map reader’s eye on all three maps. Alphand’s color promotes the works completed between 1871 and 1889. The army’s *Carte d’état-major* shows a growing industrial city. But Chevreau’s 1870 *Plan général* depicts a calm city, through a significant absence of “bright” colors such as red or purple. His most
prominent colors – light blue, soft yellow, green, and pink – are not too vivid or garish and seem to endorse this message. Aside from eliminating trouble, Chevreau’s colors also help to outline the city. Between 1841 and 1845, then Prime Minister Adolphe Thiers equipped Paris with new, enlarged walled fortifications, definitively establishing the city shape. Even with the original goal of security, Paris used the walls primarily as a tax barrier, just as the Farmer’s General wall before it. The colored map, focusing on borders between quarters, arrondissements, and the city, validates the role of the administrative boundaries and tax limits in a modern economy.

Figure 4

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 4**: Bois de Boulogne and Western Paris, including walled fortifications between the city and the park.

While not prominent inside the city limits, dark green and bright red contrast with the softer colors and play a significant role in this map. The arrondissement sub-divisions are demarcated by deep red lines, further identifying them. Chevreau also included dark green parks (see Figure 4). While exiled in London, the emperor Napoleon III admired the small
parks that dotted the city. However, he bemoaned the fact that many of the green spaces in the British capital were closed off and limited to nearby residents. The emperor wished to provide the French capital with its own retreats, which Paris at the time lacked, but to open them to everyone. Baron Haussmann implemented many of the emperor’s recreational initiatives, creating and enlarging parks in all areas of the city. At that point the Parisian park system became a model for other European cities. The two large Bois on the city’s edges were transformed and played a significant role in official maps throughout the early Third Republic. Originally, the Bois de Boulogne was comprised primarily of woods, though with little natural drainage it also had many swamps. In his wish to transform the park, the emperor hoped to include a water feature similar to the Serpentine in London’s Hyde Park. Due to the topology and geology of the area, extensive work was needed:

La rivière fut remplacée par deux lacs à deux niveaux différents : lac Supérieur, lac Inférieur, entre lesquels l'eau passa par une cascade. Le lac Inférieur, le plus grand, reçut deux îles, que réunit un pont léger. L'eau, amenée à grands frais de la Seine, permit d’alimenter ensuite tout un système de pièces d’eau, de ruisseaux, de cascades, parmi lesquelles la Grande Cascade dominant la plaine de Longchamp (Lavedan, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris* 458).

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47 Most notable were the Buttes Chaumont, a former garbage dump in northeastern Paris, and the Parc Monceau, an existing park on Paris’s affluent western edge.

Upon completion, the Bois de Boulogne, on the western, more affluent side of the city soon became a playground of the newly wealthy. Chevreau’s 1870 *Plan général* duly highlights this massive project. The highly detailed depiction of trees, gardens, and pathways in the park attracts the map reader’s eye, immediately becoming the very “ce qu’on voit” mentioned by Joly (43). As the largest green space in the city and on the map, the Bois de Boulogne symbolizes one of the emperor’s and Baron Haussmann’s crowning achievements. The republican city administration, in place only weeks after the fall of the Second Empire, showcased the park as well, though almost as if the administration wished to claim it as their own. Green on the 1870 map is very noticeable and confirms not only Second Empire improvements but the conquest of nature through technological advancements.

**Figure 5**

![Figure 5: Bois de Vincennes, including the Château and Nouveau Fort](image-url)
The Bois de Vincennes occupies an equally important position on the 1870 Plan général. Its location on the eastern side of the city did not detract from the emperor’s desire to recreate the success of the Bois de Boulogne. Chevreau carpets a huge swath of land east of the city in the same dark green. Unlike the more “undeveloped” Bois de Boulogne, the map shows many public buildings housed in the Bois de Vincennes, most of which played a significant role in the daily lives of Parisian citizens (see Figure 5). For example, the Polygone de l’Artillerie (rifle range), the Hôpital Militaire (military hospital), and the Maison Impériale de Santé (Imperial Health Clinic) were all critical in a time of war. Yet it is perhaps the large, imposing, historic Château and Nouveau Fort that best attract the map reader’s attention, suggesting that imposing monuments would garner more interest than administrative additions. Promoting both culture and tourism, historical monuments enhanced daily life. At the end of the nineteenth century, pre-revolutionary structures were losing their royal and imperial connotations and becoming destinations in their own right. The former royal hunting lodge in the Bois de Vincennes was a crowning gem in the large, accessible park. French historian Pierre Lavedan himself mentions that, in the Bois de Vincennes, it was Louis XIV’s chateau, “une des réussites certaines de l’après guerre [qui] apporte quelque compensation [à la ville]” (Nouvelle histoire 462). Creating and developing historical sites both demonstrated how modern Paris had become and further cemented France’s patrimoine, helping the French develop as a nation as well.

Only a few other locations, such as the Jardin du Luxembourg, the Place du Roi de Rome, Avenue Ulrich [sic], and the Cimetière du Sud (de Montparnasse), receive the same dark green as the two major parks, thus asserting equal status in Chevreau’s urban hierarchy.
This color employment conforms to the trend followed by cartographers of the pre-printing period. Highly standardized “associative symbolism” (blue for water, red for towns, green for trees, etc.) had come to characterize the representation of the most common map features (Ehrensvärd 139). Yet other large parks designed or improved by Haussmann, such as the Parc Monceau and the Buttes Chaumont, were in effect downgraded when left the same color as the arrondissement in which they are located.

After green, another prominent color is dark blue. Water, primarily the Seine, had always been a lifeline for Paris. A major transportation artery, Chevreau’s blue river had also been used as a source of drinking water, a means of disposing waste, and occasionally a site for recreation. The chronic lack of adequate potable water had hindered Paris’s growth for centuries. To remedy this problem, between 1802 and 1805 Napoleon I had built a canal system to bring water into Paris from the Ourcq River, almost one hundred kilometers away. While this solution did not immediately solve the city’s water problem, it allowed Paris to become familiar with using technology to supplement its water supply. With a deep blue ribbon crossing the map, Chevreau’s 1870 *Plan général* presents a capital city with a steady supply of fresh water. Contrasting with the rest of the developed city, the blue river appears cool and refreshing, further complementing Paris’s large parks.

By attracting the map reader’s eye, Chevreau’s dark colors command authority. Harley states: “The rule seems to be ‘the more powerful, the more prominent.’ To those who have strength in the world shall be added strength in the map” (Harley 158). By 1889, almost twenty years after Chevreau’s map was published, the Third Republic had both

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49 For a good summary of Napoleon’s improvements to Paris’s water-based infrastructure, see Horne, *Seven Ages of Paris* (182-184).
stabilized and prospered. Similar to Chevreau’s map, Alphand’s *Paris en 1889* employs color to show confidence. The bright yellow and red not only mark an improved infrastructure, they also draw in the map reader’s eye, encouraging him or her to acknowledge the significant amounts of completed road construction and ignoring many large monuments. The vivid colors confront the reader, almost daring him or her to find anything else as momentous on the map. Drawing the reader’s eye, the colors also serve to validate the Republic’s existence.

Alphand’s map also presents a Republic that no longer feared the city that toppled Louis XVI (1789), Charles X (1830), Louis-Philippe (1848), and Thiers’s Government of National Defense (1870). At first, the Third Republic had a difficult time “taming” Paris. The disastrous loss to the Prussians in 1870 was compounded by the newly proclaimed Third Republic’s capitulation to the enemy. Through its continued amelioration of the capital in the twenty years that followed, the republic began to repair its reputation with the city’s residents. Alphand, the *Inspecteur général des ponts et chaussées, directeur des travaux de Paris*, and Haussmann’s protégé, thus had no qualms using the office of the *Travaux de Paris* to further his cause and to demonstrate how much the Republic had done for the citizens of Paris.

In his quest to convince those residents, Alphand took advantage of their presumed familiarity with map color. The choice of yellow and red to highlight road improvements was most certainly calculated. Paralleling a general shift in printing style during the late

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50 With its revolutionary heritage, the Parisian crowd still was a force to be reckoned with. Radical republicans (many of whom hailed from the eastern arrondissements of the city) wanted to remind the government of the debt it felt it was owed. The ultimate goal was to “create a new representation of the Parisian crowd: it was not to be reduced to isolated individuals, but transformed into an assembly of peaceful citizens” (Lehning 61).
nineteenth century, many cartographers recognized the need for bold printed colors as they were better able to stand on their own, independent of the black image (Ehrensvärd 143). The two bright colors instantly attract the reader’s attention, especially since they do not appear naturally in the city. In contrast to the 1870 map, which used color to draw the reader’s attention away from urban development towards parks and nature, Alphand’s document promoted the many public improvements realized by his office.

When examining the entire map, first impressions may cause the map reader to believe that, for the most part, only the outer, newly acquired arrondissements received Alphand’s attention after 1871. Closer inspection seems to confirm this point. Just as Chevreau’s earlier map highlighted many of Haussmann’s achievements, some pre-1870 projects such as the Avenue de l’Opéra and the Boulevard St-Germain remain on Alphand’s map. In this way, Alphand subtly acknowledged his former employer but at the same time took pains to point out that, while the Second Empire was unable to complete its transformation of the city, the Third Republic was both willing and able to do so.

On a map promoting roadwork in the Third Republic, which map section best attracts the reader’s attention? In a change from promoting parks outside the city walls, the largest clusters of yellow and red improvements in 1889 are found inside the city, most notably the southern twelfth and fourteenth, as well as the northern seventeenth and eighteenth, arrondissements. Arguably, it was the working-class populations of the Republic who have benefited the most through Alphand’s map. After the fall of Napoleon III, each of the twenty arrondissements gained equal representation in the Paris city council, thus eliminating central Paris’s monopoly on projects and influence. Even though few republican lawmakers had the desire to continue Haussmann’s projects unabated, it was in the interest
of each representative to include new projects in his district. Not only would this
continuation enhance property values and beautify neighborhoods, it would also employ
many people in a time of economic stagnation (Sutcliffe 45). Under the Third Republic, the
outer arrondissements, ignored by Haussmann, received unprecedented attention.

For Chevreau, color highlighted the best of Paris, but that constructed under the
Second Empire. Not looking to document past accomplishments, Alphand instead chose to
self-promote. Paris en 1889 reveals the culmination of city enhancement under his direction.
For example, in the fourteenth arrondissement, Alphand highlighted numerous projects (see
Figure 6). The first is the continuation of the long Boulevard Raspail. Similar to the Avenue
de l’Opéra, this pivotal boulevard served as a vital link between central Paris and points
south and southeast. The long, yellow, easily noticeable thoroughfare terminates in the Parc
de Montsouris, a welcoming oasis for the neighborhood’s working-class population. The
now green park is offset by the surrounding yellow, red, and pink city. As with the 1870 Bois
de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes, the green color appears calm and inviting, though
yellow roadways have cut through the park, promoting progress over quality of life.

51 One of the main criticisms of Haussmann’s works was that he was using his massive building projects as a
type of social program. The transformation of large sections of the city required an extensive labor force. The
working-class sections of Paris were full of unemployed men. By creating jobs, Haussmann and the emperor
were able to “occupy” this restless population and beautify Paris at the same time (Sutcliffe 45).
Additional improvements to both infrastructure and residential living are also evident in Alphand’s 1889 map. The adjacent Réservoir de la Vanne was one of many in Paris that stored and supplied drinking water for the city’s growing population. The neighboring Clinique des Aliénés provided up-to-date medical care for the working-class of this outer arrondissement. The Buttes aux Cailles in the nearby thirteenth arrondissement near the Parc de Montsouris, is another section of Paris that received much of Alphand’s attention. This hilly, village-like area of Paris was not as accessible to the rest of the city as were many other neighborhoods. Yet even by 1889 many of the small pedestrian streets had been upgraded to paved streets.
The industrial twelfth arrondissement is a second heavily-colored area of the map. Just south of the Gare de Lyon, near the various *chemin de fer* lines, is a large *entrepôt* (warehouse) district (see Figure 7). With its yellow mass of newly constructed roads, the area figures prominently. Just as Napoleon III provided the requisite stability for the industrial revolution to thrive in France during the Second Empire, the Third Republic was prepared to continue the trend. In 1870, the *entrepôt*, next to the Seine at the point where it reaches the city limits, occupies a relatively thinly populated area of the city that seemed ready for a transition from warehousing goods into an industrial zone. Under Alphand, the area was extensively modernized, further demonstrating the Republic’s commitment to business and industry.

Figure 8

The construction of the Entrepôt de Bercy had commenced under Louis XVIII. Located outside the city limits, the large *halle aux vins* became one of the largest wine wholesalers in Europe (Fierro 453).
Both the sixteenth and eighteenth arrondissements vie for the next largest amount of yellow-marked improvements in *Paris en 1889*. The sixteenth arrondissement’s achievements are centered on the area across from the Champs de Mars. This hilly western area of the city, home to the Trocadéro Palace, was an integral part of the Exposition Universelle site located just across the river. Yet development in the eighteenth arrondissement has perhaps more significance on Alphand’s map (see Figure 8). As of 1889 there had been no major event or landmark constructed in this part of Paris. Montmartre, a small village-like neighborhood similar to the Buttes aux Cailles, was all but forgotten by Haussmann. Home to the Moulin Rouge, which opened in 1889, and other cabarets around the Place Pigalle, this neighborhood was just beginning to become a center of bohemian life in Paris. The areas to the north received large, wide boulevards. The yellow Rues Ordener, Damrémont, and Campionnet form a northern border and join with the Rues Caulaincourt, Custine, and Carpaux to finish a golden “frame” of new roads on the map encircling Montmartre. The northern half of the arrondissement now had transportation routes for people, goods, and tramlines, enhancing the ability of its citizens to visit, experience, and know other sections of Paris.

Alphand’s yellow and red improvements take up a disproportionate amount of space and attention on the *Paris en 1889* map. However, he employs other colors as well. Returning to associative symbolism, the calm green and blue spaces so prominent in 1870 exist, yet contrast with the energetic yellow and red ones. The large Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes were jewels in Haussmann’s Second Empire Paris, and the role of parks in 1889 daily life was still significant. With increased public transportation, more Parisians had access to parks. The sections of the two parks that Alphand included on the map are a lush green
and they were still important to the city’s administration. In fact, Alphand had been one of the chief architects for the parks under Haussmann. Nevertheless, *Les travaux de Paris* was published to celebrate the Republic, not Haussmann or the Second Empire. Therefore, in contrast to the 1870 *Plan général*, these imperial parks are not even fully represented on the city map, even though they were well inside the official city limits.

The 1870 *Plan général* and *Paris en 1889* employ color differently. The 1870 Paris map promoted a city with both extensive parks and a sound administration. Twenty years later Alphand championed Third Republic improvements, often at the expense of Haussmann’s transformations. As the new century approached, Paris continued to expand. By 1900 color use was still an effective way to endorse Paris and the Republic. Beyond the deliberate promotion of transportation infrastructure found in *Paris en 1889*, color use on the army’s 1900 *Carte d’état-major* takes a more subtle approach in its backing of modernity and the Republic.

The first color that the map reader notices is red, one historically significant in urban cartographic representation. Similar to the seventeenth-century map makers who used red-like *carmin* to represent cities, the 1900 *Carte d’état-major* summons images of pre-Louis XIV brick Paris. However, by 1900, map publishers were not limited to a few shades of red. The filled-in Parisian city space is represented by this “power” color. In the thirty years since 1870, map printing had become much more sophisticated. The French cartographer Pinon counts between ten and twelve colors on the 1900 *Carte d’état-major*. This large color range arguably presents a more natural representation of the city. Multiple greens, reds, and blues correspond to the different levels of vegetation and urban development. Perhaps even more significantly, marking a change from both the 1870 *Plan général* and *Paris en 1889*, the army
began to label colors, documenting, for the first time, an increased familiarity with French map reading and legend use.

The red built-up areas of Paris and the surrounding suburbs on the 1900 Carte d'état-major designate a growing city. The depiction of the walled fortifications that defined the limits of Paris in 1870 and 1889 and served as both tax barrier and defense throughout the nineteenth century had diminished considerably (see Figure 9). While Thiers’s walls had yet to be demolished, they have virtually disappeared from the army’s 1900 map. They are not labeled and their red outline is faint at best; the walls blend with the developing communities outside the city limits. This once crucial line of defense had finally been neutralized, not only by modern warfare – as military technology could, by 1900, destroy the walls – but also by the increased commercial and industrial links between Paris and its suburbs.

The absence of a clear border between Paris and its suburbs further demonstrates map color’s power. In the eyes of the army, urban development had taken over as the most significant aspect of the region. In contrast to the dominant red, dark green loses predominance by 1900. By the turn of the century, the transportation infrastructure had developed to the extent that Parisians were no longer limited to the Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes when trying to escape city life. Trains and tramways moved residents in and out of the city regularly, and it was no longer uncommon for the bourgeoisie to leave the city for the afternoon or week-end. The western environs of Paris, opened up by the railway, were overrun by week-enders. This influx changed many small villages in the region. Argenteuil, one such example, was transformed from a sleepy rural village into a major Parisian resort. Many of the Impressionists were among the crowds leaving Paris. Monet, for one, lived in Argenteuil in the mid 1870s, at a time when the village was changing
considerably. At one time or another, practically every member of the group worked there. All painted in or around the village (Hall 234).\textsuperscript{53}

Figure 9

![Figure 9: 1900 Western Paris](image)

Corresponding to increased movement from Paris to the suburbs and additional wooded areas, the 1900 *Carte d’état-major* changed the color palette, demonstrating the diminished role of Haussmann’s great parks. While providing a dark shade of green in the

\textsuperscript{53} For additional information on Impressionism and fin-de-siècle Paris, see Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (1988).
legend, along with Prés, Vergers/Jardins, and Vignes, the two main parks now share the map with other surrounding wooded areas, from the small Bois des Champious near Argenteuil, the Bois de Fausses Reposes outside of Versailles, and the large Bois de Meudon south of the city of that same name. The lighter colored pré in each of these forests further diminishes the size of the prominent green colored bois. The uniformly-represented wooded areas from 1870 and 1889 have been replaced in 1900 by maintained meadows, perhaps a more accurate depiction of the spaces.

The dark blue waters of the Seine are again visible in 1900, but the river is no longer the sole waterway. The larger Paris metropolitan area now incorporates additional rivers and streams, all of which supplied the population with drinking water and enhanced the movement of goods. The Service géographique de l’armée even went so far as to rank the various waterways, all the same color blue, but presented in different degrees of thickness. The most important of these waterways (including the Seine) were labeled “Fleuve ou grande rivière.” The next four waterway levels in prominence were the “Rivièrre, ruisseau important,” the “Canal navigable, rivière canalisée,” the “Port, écluse et maison d’écluisier,” and finally the “Source, fontaine, puits.” Through this map the army, in effect, asserted control of the navigable waterways and categorized them. Its choice of blue is natural, as the river was still the leading source of drinking water.

Other colors in the map are less noticeable, but help to further elucidate the army’s map discourse. Complementing the red, developed city, even darker red buildings are visible inside the city limits, many of which have been highlighted on earlier maps. Both historical and industrial, these structures were vital in keeping Paris’s identity intact, either as governmental/historical monuments or as integral components in the city’s growing
industrial and commercial economy. The loss of either would have proven disastrous to
France since Paris was the administrative and economic capital of the country. By contrast,
in one significant departure from both 1870 and 1889, the non-developed surfaces of the
1900 metropolitan area are left the same cream color as the map background itself. The
army thus charted exactly what needed to be defended. Buildings and industry had been
painstakingly incorporated on the map, yet undeveloped land was relegated to non existence.
If it was not worth coloring, it was not worth defending.

Technology, then, progressed considerably from map to map. The use of color
changed not only the way the reader saw the maps, but also how the Third Republic wished
to be perceived. At the start of the Republic, the city was represented as a carry-over from
Haussmann and the Second Empire. Unsure of the nation’s direction, the city published a
map featuring the large parks on the edge of Paris and the twenty arrondissements,
demonstrating administrative, if not military, control over the city.

By 1889 color use had changed. Alphand, a disciple of Haussmann, promoted his
own transformation of the Republican city. His brightly colored improvements to Paris
stand out, drawing attention and asserting both progress and results in the outer
arrondissements. By the turn of the century, the army started identifying, albeit on a limited
scale, what each color represented. The French map reader no longer had to fully interpret
the cartographer’s message.
Shapes and Symbols

Color is not the only noticeable discourse tool employed on the three maps. By highlighting the 1870 city shape, all twenty arrondissements, along with natural resources, color on the Plan général becomes an integral part of the map’s message. Yet the use of shapes and symbols proves equally effective by evoking mental images; “ce type [d’association] permettant de repérer les éléments composant l’image s’étend à la distinction des différentes classes d’éléments” (Joly 43). As with color, shapes and symbols both developed and changed during the first three decades of the Third Republic.

How does the map reader interpret the symbols (or buildings) on the map? Does the cartographer believe that the symbols need to be easy to understand or can they require additional explication? “Dans la carte proprement dite, la disposition des signes est imposée par la loi topographique: un signe doit être situé, en principe, à l’endroit exact de la carte qui, selon la loi géométrique choisie, correspond à la position de l’objet sur le terrain” (Caron, "La légende" 329). While convention dictates where objects should be placed on a map, the cartographer has flexibility in how to represent those objects. He or she has the ability to alter the signs and symbols according to the audience or market. Even with access to Chevreau’s 1870 Plan général limited to city officials, all of whom would have had fundamental map-reading experience, the cartographer did not incorporate signs or symbols into the map. Chevreau instead chose to follow associative symbolism, representing the buildings as they would be seen from the street, in an acknowledgment of the basic level of French map-reading skills at the time.

The freedom expressed by Chevreau and other map publishers works only to the extent that the map reader comprehends it. Barthes acknowledges this point in Le mort
d'auteur. Once the author finishes a text, the reader assumes a significant role, interpretation. If the author poorly portrays his message, in the case of maps not providing clear, understandable symbols, then the work is for naught. In 1870, the eye is drawn towards the large, grey blocks in the center of the map. Most of these buildings were physically impressive, and most readers would expect them on maps. Yet, upon closer examination, Chevreau coupled large shapes with two different shades of grey to depict the major buildings, in effect establishing a hierarchy similar to that of his green park system. In the most central, first arrondissement, former imperial administrative buildings, such as the Louvre and the Palais Royal, are larger and darker, and therefore more noticeable than the surrounding structures (see Figure 10). Size and color are both used to promote the government. In contrast, commercial and industrial buildings, such as Les Halles and La Bourse, receive the lighter charcoal color, making them slightly less noticeable and less important. Chevreau’s preference for government buildings over those owned and operated by the commercial sector is subtle, yet present, establishing a government presence working in tandem with, yet superior to, the economic engine of Second Empire France.

Aside from building shapes, there are few other prominent cartographic symbols on the 1870 map. Chevreau’s choice to outline the shape of each building was greatly facilitated by the map’s large size. The Tuileries Palace, for example, is accurately depicted. Even though this former royal palace built by Catherine de Medici, once home to Louis-Philippe and the residence of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie, exemplified both royal and imperial courts, it was both a landmark and a distinguished addition to the Parisian cityscape. The Palais de Justice, located on the Île de la Cité, and the Hôtel de Ville serve as additional
examples of the large, grey administration centers in central Paris. Both confirm a present
and capable government, even as Paris in 1870 was on the brink of collapse.

Figure 10

Figure 10: Central 1870 Paris: Le Louvre, Le Palais Royal, Le Halle au Blé, La Bourse, and Les Halles

Many of these governmental institutions were located in the central arrondissements. But as Haussmann expanded the city limits in January 1860, both government and business began to spread out, filling in the newly annexed territory. The most noticeable presence of this phenomenon can be found in the northern, more commercial right bank. Large train stations such as the Embarcadère de l'Ouest (Gare St. Lazare), the Embarcadère du Chemin de Fer du Nord, and the Embarcadère du Chemin de Fer de Strasbourg (Gare de l'Est) occupy considerable city space and compete with the central city for the reader's eye.

Throughout the Second Empire, rail travel became both faster and more common. In 1842 the French government decided to make Paris the center of the French rail system, thereby
creating a rail hub. Travel to the capital was becoming not only easier and faster, but now also obligatory when crossing the country.\textsuperscript{54} By demonstrating the scope of Paris’s central role in the rail network, these sizable boxes on the map endorsed Paris as the premier transportation hub for France. Their large size validated to both the citizens of Paris and the world the ability to travel to any domestic and foreign destination. Therefore, Chevreau would be inclined to highlight them.

Transport was not the only focal point featured by Chevreau. From 1870 to 1889, the early years of transition between the Second Empire and the firm establishment of the Third Republic – the period James Lehning labels that of the “insecure republic” – the government affirmed the growing role of citizen participation in re-establishing order (10). The increased role of \textit{le citoyen} was facilitated by government institutions that, while they existed prior to the Third Republic, were modified and reformed to facilitate democracy. Throughout France, \textit{mairies} and \textit{préfectures} embodied the government and represented Republican rule. In Paris, the National Assembly soon returned to a center of political debate. Politicians, again chosen by direct vote, now governed France and “dealt directly with the relationship between the nation and the…the Assembly” (Lehning 11). Perhaps proving how far France still had to go at the time of the map’s printing, the Palais Bourbon, seat of the Second Empire’s Corps Législatif, retained the imperial title used under Napoleon III. The Third Republic’s Assemblée Nationale had not yet been so named.\textsuperscript{55} Home to French representative parliaments throughout the nineteenth century, the Palais Bourbon, 

\textsuperscript{54} The 1842 law also put the State in charge of the rail infrastructure, while allowing private companies to construct the superstructure, such as rail stations. After placing Paris at the center of the rail system, a huge “railway mania” erupted from 1842 to 1847, with the large Parisian banks fueling the speculation (Vivier 54).

\textsuperscript{55} On 4 September 1870, when news of Napoleon III’s defeat and capture at Sedan reached Paris, the Palais Bourbon was immediately occupied, preventing the \textit{Corps Législatif} from meeting. The Hôtel de Ville was the next major building occupied, where the Third Republic was declared (Duby, \textit{Histoire de la France} 726).
even with its uncertain status in the new government, is depicted in the darkest shade of grey, attracting further attention to the pale-green seventh arrondissement. With the Republic declared, elected delegates would soon fill this prominent structure.

Other examples of the political uncertainty of the chaotic months preceding the Commune are also inscribed on the map. Security, ever present during the authoritative Second Empire, was also critical for reassuring citizens throughout the chaotic and disastrous months following the fall of Napoleon III. Although many Parisians were glad to see the end of the Empire, the resulting temporary power vacuum was ruinous.

With enemy troops approaching, maintaining order was of primary concern. Wanting to reassure Parisians, Chevreu prominently included many *Casernes*, used to house soldiers, that had been strategically placed throughout the city by Haussmann and Napoleon III. Remembering the short-lived but effective 1848 barricades that had toppled the July Monarchy, the emperor had been eager to establish a secure, visible presence in the city, and Haussmann’s wide boulevards were a natural complement to a large military presence. The Third Republic therefore appropriated imperial security markers in establishing its own presence. The large, prominent Caserne Napoléon protects the Hôtel de Ville. In addition, there are two Casernes de la Garde de Paris. The first, adjacent to the Caserne Napoléon, reinforced the government’s military presence near the city hall. The other, next to the Palais de Justice on the Ile de la Cité, confirmed the ability to protect the central courthouse, often the destination of many of the former regime’s critics. The presence of large boxes serves to reinforce Chevreau’s color-enhanced calming message.
Other casernes throughout the city further indicate a government in control. In addition to multiple soldiers’ barracks, Chevreau included many prisons. For example, in the eastern arrondissements from which many nineteenth-century disturbances had erupted, there are two noticeable correctional facilities (see Figure 11). Their powerful dark grey hue leaves no ambiguity. Chevreau ensured that the reader could see them clearly. The first, the Prison des Jeunes détenus, is a bizarre octagonal building in working-class eastern Paris. Just to the south, in the twelfth arrondissement, the larger Prison Marras sits on the boulevard sharing the same name. Their presence confirms the existence of law and order.

Finally, industrial markers also figure prominently on Chevreau’s 1870 Plan général. Throughout the mid-nineteenth century France industrialized at a rapid pace, catching up to other European countries. Paris at mid-century was by far the most important, diversified manufacturing center in the nation (Harvey, Capital of Modernity 155). In contrast to
revolutions in 1830 and 1848, the stability of the beginning of the Second Empire, coupled with improved transportation, fueled a significant rise in French industrial output.\textsuperscript{56} Eager to promote France’s economic potential, Chevreau prominently displayed business and industry. Two examples of 1870 Paris’s industrial capacity can be found in the then somewhat rural fifteenth arrondissement. Next to the bright blue Seine, Chevreau included a Dépôt des pavés along with the Dépôt de locomobiles et de pompes (see Figure 12).

Figure 12

![Figure 12: 1870 Dépôt des Pavés in the Fifteenth arrondissement](image)

Unlike the larger monuments that most Parisians would recognize, these dépôts next to the river were rather obscure. Just as “large-scale and often dirty enterprises either were forced out or voluntarily sought out peripheral locations at favored points within the

\textsuperscript{56} Of industrial Paris during the Second Empire, Harvey writes: “On the surface, everything points to the vigorous growth of many very small firms and an increasing fragmentation of industrial structure, a process that continued until the end of the Empire and beyond.” Elaborating, he states that “large-scale printing retained its central location on the Left Bank [throughout the Second Empire], while metalworking moved only as far as the inner northern and eastern peripheries. Large-scale chemical operations, however, tended to move much further out” (Capital of Modernity 159).
transportation network where land was cheap” (Harvey, *Capital of Modernity* 159), their mere presence on the city map attests to their importance. Unsightly and malodorous, they represent the effort needed to keep Paris, and Paris’s industry, functioning. This administrative map again proved its functionality. Additional industrial sites include an Usine à gaz (gas refinery), also located in the fifteenth arrondissement, a Gazomètre (gas reserve and distribution point) in the northern nineteenth arrondissement, and multiple ateliers et gares aux marchandises des chemins de fer (rail yard maintenance facilities and warehouses), all of which help feed the city and maintain daily life. The large railroad companies were heavily involved in exporting Parisian manufactured goods, as well as importing those produced in neighboring countries.

The lack of cartographic signs in the 1870 *Plan général* indicates that, although the map was large and detailed enough not to need them, many map readers at the end of the Second Empire were not savvy enough to decipher complex cartographic representation. While French map reading had increased during the first twenty years of the republic, Alphand’s *Paris en 1889* prolongs Chevreau’s earlier practice of not using symbols. In 1889, the shapes of Alphand’s structures on his map are accurate, yet more muted than those of Chevreau. There are two probable reasons for this restraint. First, his atlas included other historic maps of Paris from 1789, 1854/55, 1871, and 1889. The *Travaux de Paris* atlas also provided additional *planches* for 1889, of which one was devoted to the “édifices de Paris construits de 1871 à 1889.” That particular map concentrated on buildings constructed in the early years of the Republic, thus eliminating their need on this map. Second, the full title of the *Paris en 1889* map is “Les Opérations de Voirie exécutées de 1871 à 1889.” Just as
Alphand’s “édifices construits” map concentrated on buildings, this particular *planche*, “Opérations de voirie,” focused on roadwork.

While not specifically accentuated, many buildings are visible on *Paris en 1889*. They serve mainly as anchors and reference points for the many newly constructed boulevards. Yellow, an abundant color in *Paris en 1889*, conceals most structures. However the Louvre and the Palais Royal, along with the multiple rail stations, are visible. Alphand even updated the outline of the Louvre after the 1871 Commune destroyed the Tuileries Palace. No longer dark grey, his buildings have been allocated a sand color, blending into the mapped-city background and avoiding any distraction from the city streets.

Figure 13

![Industrial Northwest Paris. 1889](image)

However, a few buildings are easy to distinguish due to white backgrounds. The Abattoirs and the Marché aux bestiaux in the northern La Villette neighborhood are two such examples. Located in the working-class stronghold from which the Commune erupted in 1871, these two structures were tremendously valuable to nineteenth-century Paris. At times both were even considered sites to visit when touring the city, since they demonstrated Paris’s ability to distribute food. In central Paris, the Palais de l’Industrie is also visible. This large pavilion hall built for the 1867 World’s Fair was a monument to modernity in its own right, housing various exhibits promoting French industrial might. Contrasting technology and industry on Alphand’s map are historical buildings. The Invalides hospital and the École
Militaire display the same white background. Louis XIV’s Invalides Hospital cared for French soldiers well into the twentieth century, and by 1878 Louis XV’s École Militaire, partially abandoned after the Revolution and neglected during the Restoration, began to house the École supérieure de guerre.

Both these highlighted historic buildings were integral to the French royal and imperial armed forces well into the nineteenth century. However, by 1900 the army’s Carte d’état-major promoted the republic, and its colors and shapes differ. Individually, the small size of each of the dark red buildings does not accurately portray its former impact, but when united with the innumerable other red boxes, they help to form the collective urban agglomeration. Other dark red clusters, representing the many commercial and industrial sites, enhance Paris’s economic power. The 1900 map reader can still identify, through building outlines, the same major historical and administrative monuments found on the 1870 and 1889 maps. Both the Louvre and the buildings on the Ile de la Cité constitute an urban power core. However, just as political and industrial revolutions changed the city’s economic dynamics in the latter half of the century, development continued migrating out of the center of the city, and the army documented this trend.
Combined, the army’s many dark red spaces equate a large symbol of power. Eleven years earlier, in Paris en 1889 color indicated the growing economic influence of the entrepôt area south of the Gare de Lyon in the twelfth arrondissement (see Figure 14). The 1889 bright yellow maze of streets had, by the publication of the 1900 Carte d’état major, become a collection of dark red boxes and rail lines (see Figure 7). This concentration of dark red is one of the largest in the city, attracting the reader’s eye and testifying to its economic weight. A second significant concentration of industrial buildings breaches the northern border of the city, starting just northwest of the Abattoirs complex and terminating in the industrial suburb of Aubervilliers, further demonstrating the decreased function of Thiers’s walled defensive barrier (see Figure 17). As the city’s population, business, and industry expanded beyond the Paris city limits, more red boxes spill over into suburban Paris.

A larger variety of colors and a greater mapped area suggested an increased French familiarity with maps as the documents became more complex. Perhaps the best evidence of this range on the Carte d’état-major is the use of symbols (see Figure 15). The légende, the only
one of the three official maps in this study, educates the reader and provides substantial information. The army’s employment of symbols is very much linked to their increased circulation in society, such as the “RF,” bust of Marianne, and other examples of republican iconography now found in mairies around France. As Remi Caron states:

Il faut d’abord comprendre comment fonctionne la légende. En théorie elle consiste à doubler chacune des relations entre les objets et leur représentation cartographique par une autre relation entre ce signe cartographique et un mot. Autrement dit, pour expliquer au lecteur le lien entre un objet du monde et son image sur la carte, on fournit d’abord l’expression, en langue française par exemple, de cet objet, puis on reproduit en face de ce mot le signe graphique correspondant. C’est donc bien une traduction, qui a de particulier qu’elle cherche à superposer une langue à un langage de signes graphiques ("La légende" 329).

A translation, a representation, or an expression, the legend takes on many roles, yet first and foremost it presents the cartographer’s point of view. On the 1900 Carte d’état-major, the army’s legend demonstrates exactly what it wishes to prioritize.

**Figure 15**

![Figure 15: 1900 Rail, Roads, Waterways, and Bridges](image-url)
Since most readers of this map were French and read from left to right, top to bottom, the more significant aspects of the legend, in this case those concerning roads, are found on the left-hand side. The first category of the legend is “Routes et Chemins entièrement entretenus.” Next, descending the column, are the “Route Nationale,” the “Route Départementale et Chemin de Grande Commune,” “Chemin ayant moins [de] 6m,” “Chemin ayant moins de 6m,” along with “chemin empierré, irrégulièrement entretenu.”

The maintained roads are the most prominently placed. The quality and significance of roads diminishes with the size of the lines. To include even the “chemin d’exploitation, sentier de piétons, [et] passages de voie ancienne,” further demonstrated the Third Republic’s comprehensive knowledge of every road, street, and pathway in the capital region.

None of this was done accidentally; ranking was established on purpose. “Le cartographe pourra bien assurer que rien de cela n’est prémédité, il reste que cet ordre révèle couramment des choix réels : placer les autoroutes au sommet de la colonne exprime vraisemblablement une option économique et sociale de grande portée” (Caron, "La légende" 329). To many mapmakers, it was logical to place the largest highways, railroads, and waterways at the top of each category. Yet the mere existence of multiple levels of maintained roads documents the extent to which the Third Republic had improved transportation in the city and the Paris region.

Similar to the 1870 and 1889 maps, the army’s 1900 map emphasizes the railroad’s influence on the capital. The solid dark lines of the “chemin de fer à quatre voies” appear even more prominently than the most developed roads in the region. Similar to the road network, the different levels of rail lines illustrate the complex nature of the French rail. The growing tramway system (and soon-to-be-operational métropolitain) inside the Paris city limits
complements the intercity rail network, not only authenticating the comprehensive nature of French transportation, but also proving in-depth knowledge of its infrastructure.

In as much as the Carte d'état-major documents the migration of people and goods in the region, engineering successes have also been championed. In addition to multi-level roads and rail lines, the aforementioned water improvements – “canal navigable, rivière canalisée” and “Port, écluse et maison d'éclusier,” along with bridges that cross these rivers – are also included. The river diagram crossed by different standards of bridges would be of obvious interest to the army. The Seine, in combination with the many other rivers or canals in the metropolitan area, played a major role in defense of the city. Bridge technology was also a matter of pride for the French army. Since Roman times, the Seine had always been an obstacle to master. Henri IV’s Pont Neuf (1604), the first permanent stone bridge to straddle both banks, transformed commerce and transportation in the city. By 1900 multiple bridges spanned Paris’s main river. Identifying every conceivable crossing – “Ponts en Pierre, en fer, en bois, [et] suspendu” – the army knows which bridges will be of service when needed.

Perhaps most significant, the legend for the 1900 Carte d'état-major provided a key to symbols used on the map: “Le cartographe subit la contrainte physique de la superficie dont il dispose. En général, il doit se satisfaire de peu de décimètres carrés, pour des symboles souvent nombreux, avec parfois une traduction en plusieurs langues imposées par son éditeur” (Caron, "La légende" 329). The scale of the 1900 Carte d'état-major was such that symbols were required when charting the vast growing urban infrastructure. For example, the army’s geographical service assigned symbols for churches, because it was not possible to name them all in such limited space. The different grades of churches, “Eglise, Chapelle isolée, croix,” with each level represented by signs – a circle, and two types of crosses –
certify that even with an official separation of church and state, the predominant religion at the turn of the century remained overwhelmingly Christian. Likewise, the “Gendarmerie” and “Hôpital” on the map had been assigned a red triangle and red cross respectively. The international symbol of medical assistance, a red cross, which began as an organization of the same name in mid-nineteenth-century Europe, had been therefore appropriated by the French army to represent hospital care.

The legend also manifests the importance of industrial production. While the massive red sections of the city proved that much of Paris and the surrounding area were being fitted for factories, the legend provides a more detailed diagnosis of the status of French industry in 1900. The “Etablissement industriel” sub-section was divided between those that were “mû par la vapeur, à moteur hydraulique, [et] producteur d’électricité.” With the exception of the hydraulic station, symbolized by a blue turbine, the industrial sites on the map were portrayed as mini-shaped factory buildings, thus documenting the Parisians’ presumed familiarity with factory buildings in the metropolitan area.

Other categories in the legend document the breadth of the Republic and its bureaucracy. The army equipped the map with “Bureau[x] de Poste,” depicted as an envelope; the “Bureau[x] de Poste et de Télégaphre,” symbolized by an envelope and a wire antenna; and the “Bureau[x] de Poste et de Télégaphre et Téléphone,” represented by an envelope and a larger wire antenna. While the physical postal buildings themselves were not integral in the defense of the nation, the dissemination of information was. By authenticating the expanding communication network in the Parisian basin, the Carte d’état-major documented an optimistic nation, where science could surmount all obstacles. The map includes many “Bureau[x] [et] télégraphique[s] ou téléphonique[s]” both “public[s]” and
“non ouvert[s] au public.” Again, capabilities exist if the army, or government, were ever to need them. What is missing, however, are the same categories that featured so prominently in 1870 and 1889. There is little or no representation of police or security. The army was in the business of defending the nation, not maintaining daily law and order. Industry, engineering, and communications are featured, suggesting that France is an advanced, modernized nation. However, was Paris safe? The army’s map suggests that it is. The city had been compliant for over thirty years. Instead of focusing on past problems, the army looked ahead.

Map Text

Both color and shapes, then, are integral in demonstrating importance. For example, larger shapes are more noticeable and therefore must be of greater importance. Text can also be a useful tool when establishing hierarchy. “Un toponyme, à vrai dire, peut nommer des objets de nature fort différente : des mers, des terres, des continents ou des régions, des villes ou des îles. Le nom peut porter sur une réalité sociale et politique, une ville, un village, un état” (Jacob, L’empire des cartes 263). Chevreau’s 1870 map labeling strengthens his hierarchy. Not only does the cartographer’s typology determine how easily (or difficult) it is to read a name or label, but a large, dark font can signify prominence, just as can a dark grey or black building. Christian Jacob highlights this phenomenon:

Le toponyme accompagne un signe conventionnel qui renvoie à un lieu de l’espace réel. Il peut jouer lui-même le rôle de nom et de signe, il nomme alors l’espace même qu’il occupe sur la carte. Car l’un des paradoxes de la
Writing names on the map establishes authority. Jacob equates it with planting a flag on virgin territory or allowing the author to lay claim to geographical or physical objects. When it comes to map text, final power lies in the hands of the cartographer as he or she makes the ultimate decision on which name to use, how it should look, and where it should be placed.

Keeping pace with governments, names and labels changed rapidly in nineteenth-century France. Starting in 1791 with the end of the absolute monarchy, regime change in France often equaled name change in Paris city streets. During the Second Empire, the annexation of the surrounding Parisian suburbs in 1860 coupled with rapid urban growth necessitated naming many new streets, and both the emperor and Haussmann were eager to oblige. After the fall of Napoleon III, the government announced a “de-imperialization” of the boulevards, streets, and buildings of the capital. On September 12, 1870, shortly after the official declaration of the Third Republic, the newly appointed mayor of Paris issued an arrêté that established a commission of twenty people whose task involved revising street names in the capital (Demory).

Historians also rely on street names to authenticate map publication dates. Just as map fonts demonstrate prominence, map labeling identifies power. “Pour les
révolutionnaires, les noms de rues servent de moyens de propagande. Mais sur les quelques neuf cents rues de la capitale vers 1794, 53 seulement 6 pour cent, ont été baptisées, le peu à ignoré, pour des raisons non-précises, les axes centraux de Paris” (Milo 283). The expected appropriation of Ancien Régime streets by the Revolution never materialized. The necessary bureaucracy was not yet sufficient. However, the republican government in 1870 had more success. The majestic Avenue de l'Impératrice, inaugurated with much fanfare in 1865, was one of the first to be renamed. The same September 12th arrêté that proposed and formed the commission to change street titles also took the job of renaming both the Rue du Dix Décembre (renamed Rue du Quatre Septembre) and the Avenue de l'Impératrice (which became the Avenue du Général Uhrich) (Demory). With both these names included on the map, the publication date of Chevreu’s map falls after September 12, 1870, and therefore after the declaration of the Third Republic.

While names have been changed, the map appears to have been published quite hastily. For example, General Uhrich’s last name is spelled incorrectly on the 1870 Plan général map. Chevreau robbed Avenue Uhrich of its ‘h’, publishing instead Urich. Jacob reminds us that “il y a des risques d’erreur, d’altérations orthographiques et d’omissions involontaires. Le toponyme est un objet particulièrement exposé à la tératologie orthographique : redoublement de syllabes, substitution de voyelles, analogie sonore, jeux d’assonances, autant de facteurs qui peuvent créer un lieu nouveau en métamorphosant un toponyme existant” (L’empire des cartes 271). In an uncertain democracy, one still at war, the government would most likely have had other concerns than verifying the spelling of street names. In its rush to validate its control over Paris, the transitional city administration needed to publish the map and distribute it as quickly as possible.
Regardless of mistakes, two large, symbolic transformations had been successfully implemented. Yet many other streets still retained their imperial markings. Of these, the most notable are the Avenue Napoléon (the future Avenue de l’Opéra), the Avenue de l’Emperor (Avenue Henri Martin), which led from the Place du Roi du Rome (Place Trocadéro) to the Bois de Boulogne in the sixteenth arrondissement, and the Avenue de la Reine Hortense (to be changed to Avenue Hoche), named after Napoleon III’s mother. Honoring the emperor and his family was not part of the ideological plans of the Republic. Spatially, these imperially named streets and boulevards are clustered in the western edge of the city. Only the majestic Avenue Napoléon, which linked the Louvre and Charles Garnier’s grandiose, though not yet completed, Opéra, is found outside the wealthy west, but this avenue was significant in its own right since it anchored monuments in the heart of imperial Paris. Of these names, Chevreau was not showing imperial tendencies. There just was not sufficient time for the government to transform the entire city.

Beyond street names, the imperial legacy also loomed in structures. Schools in 1870, a hallmark of Third Republic France, still retained their pre-republican names. The most notable is the Lycée Napoléon just behind the Église Ste. Geneviève, which had not yet been renamed the Panthéon. In the southwest suburb of Vanves, the Lycée du Prince Impérial figures prominently in a developing area of the city, thus enhancing its visibility. Returning to central city administrative buildings, the Imprimerie Impériale, the Bibliothèque Impériale, along with the imperial buildings in the Bois de Vincennes, received new names as the Republic advanced, yet remained linked to the Second Empire, giving it credit for further construction and enhancement of the city.
The actual typeface for names on the 1870 Plan général is uniform, consisting mainly of capitalized print. Clearly, the city administration chose to use font size, not typeface, to show hierarchy. Chevreau reserves the largest font for the Bois de Boulogne and de Vincennes. Combined with the dark green color, his text further affirms the parks’ value to 1870 Paris. The names of the surrounding suburbs also receive fairly large print. However, the tight text spacing prevents the map reader from equating suburbs with the two large parks. Further, Chevreau endows Haussmann’s main boulevards and thoroughfares, most of which are found in central Paris, with their own bold, capitalized printed font, further distinguishing them from the clustered, compact neighborhoods they dissect. The smaller, less important streets, if named, are not labeled with print. Instead, Chevreau identifies these streets, many of which were narrow and short, with a small cursive font. At a distance they are difficult to read. They are included on the map, but serve primarily as access and feeder streets for the larger boulevards.

Viewing the 1870 Plan général de la Ville de Paris, it is clear that the new Republic was still taking shape. “Republicanizing” the city, although a long-term goal, was not and could not be the regime’s primary focus. The initial name change of two more prominent streets appears today as superficial, a quick fix. With an impending siege by the Prussians, the city was technically still at war. In addition, both Haussmann and the emperor left Paris with far too many imperial streets and buildings to be transformed immediately. Finally, there was not enough support in 1870 to ensure the Republic would last. Yet the Republic did last and in fact prospered. In the next two decades, Paris was rebuilt and hosted two World’s Fairs. Chevreau’s 1870 Plan général, while documenting a city in transition, shows the basis of republican control.
The republicanization of Paris continued into the latter decades of the nineteenth century. By 1889 Alphand had completed most of Haussmann’s transformations. Besides the most conspicuous name-changes on Alphand’s *Paris en 1889*, most if not all the remaining 1870 imperial streets were renamed. These buildings and streets had been effectively appropriated by the Third Republic, not only demonstrating the power in names but eliminating remembrances of past regimes and marking a different Paris.

Chevreau’s 1870 *Plan général* highlighted the most important features of Paris with a large, print font, and *Paris en 1889* does the same. However, unlike the 1870 map, the most prominent, visible font on Alphand’s 1889 map is found in the noticeable open spaces of the city, not in the boulevards. The influx of provincial French into Paris to work in factories and industry throughout the Second Empire and the Third Republic generated severe crowding in many parts of the city. The population grew every year and space remained precious. The Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes were by far the most significant expanses of green and, as such, garner the most prominent font on the map. The Champ de Mars and the Esplanade des Invalides, integral parts of Paris’s 1889 Exposition Universelle, were sizable open spaces in central Paris. Furthermore, the Seine, the city’s unofficial divide and the Exposition’s “main street,” also received a large print font.

Both Haussmann’s Second Empire boulevards and the Third Republic yellow embellishments are typed in print font. Curiously, Alphand’s color highlights his street additions, and leaves Haussmann’s pre-1871 boulevards colorless. This plain background made the black type on the older streets easier to read. As the size of the street diminishes, so too does the font, with the smaller, less important streets becoming more difficult to read. Similar to the 1870 map, Alphand’s *Paris en 1889* continues using a font-size hierarchy,
further focusing attention on the broad boulevards that made the city famous. For a city hosting an international event, these boulevards would be as much a draw for domestic and international tourists as the fair itself.

Many of Haussmann’s wide boulevards had, by 1889, become home to omnibus and tramway lines. This municipal transportation monopoly, formed under the Second Empire, transformed the way people used and knew the city. With improved transportation, the citizens of the outer arrondissements now had more flexibility in choosing jobs and leisure destinations. Following both the population and the city’s improving infrastructure, the omnibus company expanded service into the outer arrondissements. By 1873 rail-based tramways, which held more people, emerged and slowly replaced the omnibuses. Even larger wagons, designed to hold between thirty and forty passengers, appeared between 1880 and 1889, effectively terminating omnibus operations (Fierro 1032). Perhaps indicative of their declining popularity and use, Alphand chose not include the omnibus lines in this map.

Alphand did include the ever-popular tramway lines. Drawn in with red ink, they are easy to spot on the white boulevards (see Figure 16). Yet either deliberately or accidentally, the red tramway lines cross out many of their names, as if Alphand had wished to “correct” the map. These red lines obscure Haussmann’s work, denying them their rightful place on the map and providing the Third Republic with another opportunity to appropriate the wide boulevards for its own use. Alphand’s map suggests that, while Haussmann and the Second Empire radically transformed the medieval city center into a bourgeois playground, the Third Republic transformed the bourgeois city into its republican capital.

57 In an effort to better organize the service, Haussmann combined the ten different omnibus companies into one large Entreprise générale des omnibus in 1855. This became the Compagnie générale des omnibus (C.G.O.), which possessed a monopoly on public transportation in the city (Fierro 1032).
Map makers can highlight or negate map text. Yet it is in their best interest to focus attention on a message. Power and influence conveyed through size continues into the twentieth century with the army’s *Carte d’état-major*. On it the largest, most visible names apply to two historically important cities: Versailles and Saint Denis. Since its founding by Louis XIV in 1682 up to the 1789 Revolution, Versailles and state power had been interchangeable. Most recently, Versailles had served as a temporary headquarters to Thiers’s Government of National Defense from 1870 to 1871. Its historical and political significance to the army is clear in the *Carte d’état-major*. Saint Denis, just north of Paris, is also clearly visible (see Figure 17). The city, at the intersection of the Seine River and the newly-constructed Canal de Saint Denis that bypassed Paris, was also historically prominent as home to the basilica that housed French royal remains. By the turn of the century, with improved transportation, a day trip to either of these historical cities would complement a
visit to modern Paris. In addition, with expanding railroad connections, the two towns were becoming de facto suburbs of Paris. In terms of population and influence, both Versailles and Saint Denis were significant.

Figure 17

Prominently labeled, again, are both the Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes. These two forests receive the largest font on official maps. Is it because they take up so much space on the map, or because the army chose to highlight their impact on national security? The two large parks were no longer the primary playgrounds of the city having been folded into the greater Parisian region and equated in the 1900 map with other bois. While recreation remained important at the turn of the century, any large undeveloped wooded areas near the capital would need to be accurately mapped to aid in defending the city. The mere fact that the cities, towns, and villages surrounding Paris obscure the sizeable woods further demonstrates their diminished role in the French mindset. Industrial, urban Paris grew at the expense of nature. It was also becoming more difficult to identify individual cities as they merged with Parisian urban sprawl. In contrast to the 1870 and 1889 maps
where anything outside the walled fortifications is often ignored, the 1900 *Carte d’état-major* demonstrates greater Paris’s new role, shape, and size. The metropolis now consisted of an area containing woods, water, other cities, and towns.

**Conclusion**

Official French government maps have existed for centuries. By the beginning of the Third Republic, Parisian city officials, along with national agencies, successfully employed maps to promote the nascent government. As map-printing technology progressed – and Republican officials grew more confident, maps became at the same time more sophisticated and more subtle in their promotion of the “status quo.”

Promotion of both modernity and the Republic advanced along with technology. In 1870, the City of Paris relied on text size to demonstrate power and status. The prominent boulevards were easy to see and read from afar. The limited use of color allowed the large fonts to demonstrate importance. In 1870 the French were unsure not only of the direction the government would take, but also of what would happen as the Prussian troops closed in on their capital city. Chevreau’s 1870 map thus demonstrated an unsure Republic, as it still relied on faded colors, imperial names and designations, and multiple *casernes*, hoping that a mapped police presence would deliver protection.

By 1889 the status of the Republic had changed, and this transformation is reflected in Alphand’s map. The bright colors used in *Paris en 1889* validated the regime’s existence. Relying on more advanced printing technologies, Alphand used non-natural yellows and reds
to promote his much-enhanced Paris. The colored representations of various infrastructure improvements in the outer arrondissements easily capture the map reader’s attention. Yet the extension of boulevards and road upgrades stopped at the city boundary, emphasizing the importance of the city’s administrative limits. The areas outside were simply not worth Alphand’s time. Finally, through the use of vivid colors, the map reader could see that it was the democratic Third Republic that had finished Haussmann’s imperial transformations.

By the turn of the century, both map-printing technologies and map readership had continued to advance. The Republic was stable, prosperous, and well-defended. The army’s 1900 *Carte d’état-major* promoted the enlarged Parisian city space. Color was still important, as dark reds highlighted industrial, commercial, and extra-mural residential developments. The most striking change was the inclusion of a working legend, proving that the French map reader was capable of and willing to use symbols. The acceptance of the legend was enhanced by the choice and breadth of symbols. Multi-tracked railroads, paved roads, canals, and bridges promoted France’s engineering successes. The many factories also demonstrated France’s ability to provide for itself and export to neighboring countries. Finally, post offices, police stations, hospitals, and telephone stations documented a nation with a functioning bureaucracy. France could heal, police, and communicate with its citizens.

As France entered the twentieth century, the French had grown comfortable with the Republic. A burgeoning middle class, coupled with the relative security of Third Republic governments, resulted in a wealthier, more self-assured population. Not only were the demographics of France changing, but the map market also grew during this time. The French were no longer limited to official government maps on classroom and administration walls. Improved transportation facilitated travel, and the guidebook map, another major
French cartographic product in the late nineteenth century, helped to foster the rise of a new map reader: the tourist.
Chapter 3

Guiding the Visitor: Mapping Tourist Paris


Adolphe Joanne, Paris Illustré (1870), Préface

In his Préface to the readers of his 1870 Paris Illustré, Adolphe Joanne acknowledged the disruptive period in Parisian history the nation had just experienced. As a “grand voyageur,” Joanne made a name for himself at the beginning of the Second Empire with his travels and guides for Switzerland and Germany, published as Itinéraires. Beyond the Guides Joanne, the precursor to the Guides Bleu, Joanne also became well known in France as a geographer during the 1860s with the publication of his Dictionnaire des communes de France (1864). This project continued after his death when his son Paul published the subsequent seven-volume Dictionnaire géographique et administrative de la France (1890-1904).

The chaotic period surrounding Napoleon III’s declaration of war, and the subsequent Commune, did not weaken the demand or market for guidebooks in France. In fact, even after war, occupation, and devastation, Paris remained a “must see” destination. Joanne himself trumpeted the brilliant, prosperous “Paris de l’avenir.” Even as the French

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58 For a full description of Adolphe Joanne’s rise in Second Empire travel guidebook publishing, see Bertho-Lavenir, La Roue et le sylo (60).
capital recovered from extensive damage, Alphand Joanne knew that it might take time, but the city would be rebuilt better than ever. Dependent on the bourgeois tourist, he encouraged people to believe in the French capital. “[L]es pertes sont immenses, et, dans certaines limites, irréparable[s] […] les œuvres d’art, les collections scientifiques, les monuments qui ont pu être sauvés assurent encore à Paris le premier rang parmi les capitales de l’Europe et du monde” (Joanne XI). Joanne believed not only that Paris would rise from the ashes, but that the French and other visitors would again travel to the city, spend money there, and profit from Paris’s cultural, scientific, and monumental attractions.

As manifested by the flourishing guidebook industry, tourism changed dramatically towards the end of the nineteenth century, technology radically transformed people’s means of traveling. Railroad expansion, the rise of industry, and a growing middle class opened Paris to a different type of tourist. The eighteenth-century English aristocrat’s Grand Tour was no longer in vogue. The French by virtue of increased nationalism, better quality maps, and improved education, were eager to explore their country. More accurate and easier to read as the century progressed, guidebook maps further facilitated travel as prior knowledge of an area eased apprehension.

As I have argued in the previous chapter, official maps served as both forms of propaganda and as validation of France’s growing power and influence in Europe. Maps documented what the nation controlled and how it presented itself to others. Yet as government agencies created, drew, and published maps of France and its cities, guidebooks provided a counterbalance to state-produced maps. Official maps were focused on administering the nation and educating France. In contrast, the purpose of private-sector guidebooks was, as their name suggests, to guide the reader through unfamiliar territory.
The nineteenth century witnessed a major transformation of guidebooks: “Le guide du XIXe siècle, qui ne se différencie que très progressivement du récit de voyage, ne correspond guère à cette description, étant encore souvent un bijou de subjectivité, rétif aux nomenclatures officielles, [et] plein d’arbitraire” (Hancock 22). From the beginning of the century, guides were not much more than literary accounts of those who had traveled. Based on mere “récit[s],” they were often just records of the author’s opinions. Yet as the century proceeded, authors realized that they needed to sell their books. Guidebooks had to be not only practical but also attractive and lively. Furthermore, as the industrial revolution pushed France towards modernity, the French publishing industry experienced a rise in large-scale, private-sector map publishing catering to tourists. This increased guidebook map use resulted in additional de facto standardizations in both size and simplicity. Tourists could not be expected to carry around heavy or oversized tomes as they explored unfamiliar cities. However, as smaller guides de poche were sold and updated each year, their success encouraged other guidebook series to do the same.

Historically, aside from the Italian campaigns of François I that brought the Renaissance to France and French Enlightenment philosophers who were recruited to rival courts in eighteenth-century Europe, the French had not been great travelers like the British for numerous reasons. First, in the seventeenth century, Versailles was very much a destination onto itself. Second, during Louis XIV’s reign, social value and prestige relied on physical proximity to the sun king and banishment from court was the ultimate punishment.

59 Alfred Fierro “Les guides de voyage au XIXe siècle” in the Histoire de l’Édition Française documents “les trois époques au XIXe siècle et de la production correlative de guides de voyages.” At the beginning of the century, British travel guides were the norm. Around 1840 French editors began publishing their own travel guides. Finally, following the rise of rail travel, “le phénomène touristique se banalise et s’étend à la moyenne bourgeoise avec une profusion de guides destinés à satisfaire sa curiosité ou à dissiper son ignorance” (Fierro, “Les guides de voyages” 193).
As a result, there was no significant effort on the part of the French to leave Versailles or Paris. There are many historical accounts of foreigners visiting Paris, but the French as a whole had little interest in what lay beyond their borders. Later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the French Revolution and Napoleon’s conquest of Europe restricted French travel as turmoil and ill-will reduced destinations. Finally, a poor infrastructure and limited income among the vast majority of the French were the greatest impediments to travel.

On the contrary, the early nineteenth-century British middle classes did travel en masse both inside and outside their borders. London, Paris’s rival, was the subject of many guides, and the mapping of the growing British capital city took many forms. Directories, guidebooks, and street-finders all began to appear between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, as the industrial revolution changed British society. The British historian Patrick Joyce has examined the role of street maps during this period. His findings are significant for this study, as Paris would find itself in the same position as London toward the end of the nineteenth century: the economic and political capital of an industrialized nation and host to a growing number of tourists and major international events. Joyce sees in the transformation of London, from a royal city to an industrial tourist destination, the emergence of facilitated urban movement:

The London [guide] delineated as a street finder was in the process of becoming one dedicated to free movement, the free movement of people

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60 London inaugurated the first World’s Fair craze. Starting with the Great Exposition in 1851, which featured the Crystal Palace, London also hosted the Great London Exposition in 1862, the 1887 American Exposition, and the 1899 Greater British Exposition. Paris hosted the Expositions Universelle of 1855, 1867, 1876. The Expositions of 1889 and 1900, however, were the largest in the second half of the nineteenth century.
and traffic. London was reproduced as a network of roads and traffic. In fact, the map itself was framed by representations of liberty and commerce. The modernity of the map is evident in other senses too, for instance the transition from personal patronage to map production in the market (Joyce 191).

London’s guides demonstrated a city devoted to free movement, where the “unknowability” of the city was being dramatically reduced. As the private sector took over map production from personal and royal patronage, the need to market “useful” maps also increased, and many of the British guides promoted functionality. *London at a Glance* (1860), for example, championed the fact that their “maps can be consulted in the street ‘without notice’ and without inconvenience,” which afforded the lost traveler “a certain anonymity” (Joyce 193).

In addition to pre-planning, which was recommended, guides were akin to having a local show you around. Better knowledge would help the tourist avoid trouble areas, not stand out or be a target for crime. One 1896 *Baedeker* guide for London warned:

> Ne vous adressez à un passant qu’en cas de nécessité absolue, et ne répondez à aucune question qu’un passant vous adresse, surtout en français, quelque impoli que paraisse un tel procédé, car une question de ce genre est en général le préliminaire d’un vol ou d’une escroquerie (qtd. in Bertho-Lavenir, *Le Rone et le stylo* 61-62).

Perhaps signifying a growing rate of crimes committed against lost travelers, guides were quick to suggest that it was best to keep to oneself, and look as if you were a local.
The British also traveled beyond London, extensively touring the European continent. By mid-century, the French too started going abroad in larger numbers, however not northward toward Britain but toward the south and east: “Quant aux Français, leur propension à voyager à l’étranger, en augmentation constante après 1815 et [connait] une poussée notable dans la second moitié du siècle” (Hancock 24). Italy, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire figured among the chosen destinations. Thanks in large part to the industrial revolution, the continental infrastructure was becoming more developed. Expanding railroad networks connected France with its neighbors, which made traveling easier. When Paris was made the hub of the French rail system, the nation became, to a greater extent, economically and mentally centered on Paris.

More than a mere transit point, Paris was a destination unto itself. Since the time of Philippe Auguste in the twelfth century, French rulers had embellished the capital. These historical reminders of grander days were everywhere – both the Notre Dame and Saint Denis cathedrals, the Arc de Triomphe at the terminus of the Champs Elysées, the Pont Neuf crossing the Seine on the Ile de la Cité, and the Bastille Column raised in honor of the trois glorieuses that toppled Charles X in 1830. Yet Paris also had non-historic monuments on display, monuments to modernity. From the 1840s, France’s industrialization added not only factories and new jobs to the city, but also new sights for tourists. For a city as modern as Paris, technology provided a glance into the future, a selling point drawing visitors to the city. The French government was proud of the country’s industrial progress and eagerly showed it off.
Creating the Nineteenth-Century Tourist

The nineteenth century witnessed not only a change in tourism, but the transformation of the tourist. Increased industrialization allowed for additional free time. Furthermore, now all of France was much more accessible and, after a century of war and revolution, the French were eager to visit other regions of the country.\(^{61}\) The congested, disease-harboring city may have enriched the bourgeoisie, but members of this class looked to escape the polluted city for fresh country air. The proximity of the Norman coast to Paris, for example, created growing resort communities such as Deauville and Trouville. Moreover, businessmen and their families soon realized that having a second home in Normandy was not only beneficial for their health, but enhanced social prestige as well.

In addition to improved social standing through traveling, the bourgeoisie hoped to experience different cultures and societies. As incomes and thus spending power increased toward the end of the century, travel became a form of conspicuous consumption, an honorific activity.\(^{62}\) Not only did the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie travel more than ever before in its free time, but it also wished to go further with greater ease, and guidebooks obliged. In England, for example, “la multiplication des voyageurs anglais avait amené…une certaine standardisation de l’offre touristique. Guides et aubergistes, postillons et marchands

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\(^{62}\) The emergence of a leisure class also coincided with increased ownership. But as one class becomes wealthier, access to leisure further divided society between the “nobles and the ignobles.” For Sociologist Thorstein Veblen, the gentleman of leisure (nobles) “consumes freely and of the best, in food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons and accouterments, amusements, amulets, and idols of divinities” (*Theory* 46).
Wanting to meet the needs of demanding bourgeois tourists, a uniformity of guidebooks, hotels, and restaurants began to emerge. This consistency made it easier to set standards and provide recommendations. Travel was an effective means of demonstrating wealth to others in a similar or lower social circle.

Yet travel became more universal as the century progressed, affecting a greater percentage of the population. As Dean MacCannell notes: “What begins as the proper activity of a hero (Alexander the Great) develops into the goal of a socially organized group (the Crusaders), into the mark of status of an entire social class (the Grand Tour of the British gentleman), eventually becoming a universal experience (the tourist)” (5). Movement and travel had finally become attainable by a greater number of people across the social spectrum. As railroad coverage expanded, French guidebooks also facilitated sightseeing both inside and outside Paris, since many voyagers would travel through towns and villages on their way to the French capital, and a large chateau or cathedral might spark interest. For the increasing number of travelers, many of whom would be unfamiliar with territory outside their native regions and departments, any knowledge of new cities was invaluable.

To help tourists in nineteenth-century Paris, a hierarchy of sites to see slowly became established in guidebooks. Starting with historical monuments in central Paris such as Notre Dame, the Palais Royal, and the Louvre, this list was then expanded to include additional modern sites such as the morgue, the sewer system, and food processing plants. The morgue, for one, contributed to the spectacle of Paris as the display of unidentified bodies attracted huge crowds. “The morgue administration may have needed people to come and see the bodies in order to identify them, but could it possibly have needed hundreds of
thousands of people? While the display’s defenders claimed that the spectacle existed in the name of science, the public knew what the morgue administration might have known but certainly would not admit: they offered the best free theater in town” (Schwartz 59). The morgue’s huge entrance numbers highlighted the public’s growing fascination with hygiene and science at the end of the century. The morgue eventually showed up as a “must see” in guidebooks, further increasing its popularity.

Initially however, travel guides did not provide any hierarchies at all, leaving tourists to decide for themselves what was “important” enough to visit. “On y trouvait mis au même rang palais et prisons, églises et hôpitaux, on y trouvera plus tard des éloges architecturaux des gares ferroviaires” (Hancock 33). In fact, many earlier guides would have offered only “[un] ordre alphabétique, qui rassemble, comme dans un dictionnaire, une succession de notices, [et qui] est bien tout le contraire de la description géographique : les lieux ne sont que des entités isolées” (Nordman 1036). This alphabetical organizational structure did not favor the changing nature of nineteenth century tourism. A more thematic approach would provide visitors with a more flexible way of seeing the city. If a reader wanted to see only churches are museums, for example, the guides provided a list.

Towards the end of the century, guides began to actively rank sights to visit and thus to arrange their information both geographically and by theme. Cities and cultural and economic centers, dominated country guides or became the subject of guides themselves:

63 For a complete description of the morgue as an attraction, see Vanessa Schwartz, Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris. Her chapter entitled “Paris Visits to the Morgue: Flânerie in the Service of the State,” examines the role of the morgue as both “modern” and necessary. Visits to the morgue served as an example of a model Republican institution. Ambroise Tardieu, a leading doctor of forensic medicine, praised the Paris morgue: “It can be considered the model of what these establishments, which are of primary necessity in populous cities, which are never useless, which respond to highly decent feelings and to an undoubted interest in public order and cleanliness, should be” (55).
Les textes se donnent également pour but d’attirer le regard d’un consommateursur la ville comme source de gratification personnelle, tableau esthétique ou lieu de divertissement. Les guides, et c’est là leur seconde spécificité, contribuent à une prise en compte nouvelle de l’expérience urbaine et du cadre urbain comme ludiques, associés au loisir- et, partant, au statut nouveaude la ville comme objet de consommation, à l’usage des groupes aisés de la société. La ville-spectacle le dispute donc à la ville-territoire dans ces textes (Hancock 28).

With the help of guidebooks, that included once untraditional sites, such as the morgue, the city became a spectacle. Although traditional monuments were still visited, the living, working city was its own attraction. Travel soon reduced the city (or city spectacle) to a commodity- itself. Leisure soon became its own industry and cities recognizing the financial benefits that tourists brought wanted to capture that market. Entertainment and culture, a large part of the bourgeois experience, soon assumed prominent positions in guidebooks and on guidebook maps, often more so than the physical state of cities. For those looking for a cultured trip, city guides offered theatre, opera, and shopping. Nineteenth-century guidebook transformation was then complete. From disseminating undifferentiated alphabetical listings to providing rankings, the nineteenth-century tourist had a tool to use to understand cities better.

64 It was not uncommon for guidebooks to include map-inserts devoted to lodging or entertainment.
Representing City Space in Guidebooks

Paris, then, equated culture, history, and modernity. Furthermore, nineteenth-century French governments promoted security in the city of Paris, which further endorsed the idea of the capital as a place to visit and in which to spend money. The large number of established facilities in Paris, represented by hotels, department stores, and the service industry, reinforced the burgeoning tourist industry and complimented the government’s promotion of France. Interaction between the government and business leaders helped boost the French economy. In addition, just as cathedrals, palaces, and business were championed, many of the new institutions created (or reformed) during the early Third Republic were also put on display. In an urban society dependant upon industry, labor soon came to be seen as desirable and “modern.” Again, French guides followed their English counterparts and predecessors:

The street atlases that emerged in London around the middle of the century were themselves situated around another heart of exchange, namely the General Post Office near St. Paul’s. Again the symbolic meaning is a powerful one: publications designed to effect rapid unimpeded communication were centered upon another heart of communications, this time not goods but information (Joyce 194-195).

As the financial capital of the British Empire, London also welcomed business, commerce, and those engaged in these pursuits. Many businessmen traveled to the city on day trips and familiarity with the area around the stock exchange, for example, was vital. Furthermore, efficient communication, represented by the Post Office, demonstrated an economy that
functioned properly. This imposing edifice also manifested the power of information and its increasing role in nineteenth-century daily life.

Similar to the situation in London, businesses in the French capital were publicized as tourist attractions: “in Paris, at the turn of the century, sightseers were given tours of a slaughterhouse, a tobacco factory, the government’s printing office, a tapestry works, the mint, the stock exchange, and the supreme court in session” (MacCannell 57). Business and industry enriched the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. The attractions dedicated to efficient administration, physical labor, and industrial production were therefore quite popular.

As the nineteenth century progressed, Paris welcomed and accommodated this modern tourism. Workplaces fitted with arenas, platforms, and chambers were set aside for the use of tourists. For example, throughout the nineteenth century, the courtroom had been a vital institution in the establishment of French justice. It was among the first to open to the public and would be among the first to close as its workings were increasingly revealed through the opening of other institutions to tourists (MacCannell 49-50). Years earlier, under the Restoration, attending debates at the Chambre de Députés became a fashionable social event among the city’s elite. By the end of the century, however, tourists from all levels of society had access to the functioning government. Stock exchanges and factories showed profit being made. Mental hospitals, army bases, and grade schools staged periodic open houses where non-commercial work was on display (MacCannell 53). It was just as much curiosity as the spectacle of labor that made these occupational sites popular tourist attractions.

The physical and mental barrier between worker and traveler became momentarily blurred during these visits, yet class divisions still permeated guidebook discourse. Certain
guides, such as Baedeker’s, highlighted a “distinctive upper-crustiness” characteristic of the British Grand Tour, listing only hotels and restaurants of “the highest class” (MacCannell 61). The bias of the Baedeker’s Guides regarding tourist facilities (hotels, shopping) did not influence his selection of sights. He calmly described the sewers, the morgue, the slaughterhouse – in their proper places in his suggested afternoon and morning walking tours. All of these sights would be far removed from the daily life of the typical Baedeker reader, perhaps enhancing their appeal. Other guidebooks, on the contrary, such as the Anglo-American Practical Guide to Exhibition Paris: 1900, touted the fact that they helped tourists save money on food and lodging (MacCannell 61).

Aside from opening up areas of the city (and businesses) that may have been previously unknown, many guides also took credit for helping the tourist see the city cartographically. For instance, readers of the Guides Joanne, “auront chance de ne pas laisser de côté tel monument, ou tel site, qu’il faut avoir vu – c est-à-dire, bien souvent, tel site qu’il est possible de contempler du haut du monument” (Nordman 1064). Height, a relatively modern capability, enhanced the city view further. Anticipating Michel de Certeau’s description of the commanding view atop the World Trade Center (139), the Eiffel Tower provided a new perspective on a crowded city, as it soared over the French capital. Even balconies in tall apartment buildings or hotels afforded bird’s-eye views of the streetscape. Guidebook maps provided the same service.

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65 Founded in 1827 by German publisher Karl Baedeker, this guidebook series with red binding was known for detail and accuracy. By 1900, the term “Baedeker” became synonymous with travel guides in general (Nordman 1035).

66 For further information on European guidebook authors see Catherine Bertho-Lavenir, La Roue et le stylo. She describes the rise (and sometimes fall) of nineteenth-century guidebook authors: Murray (England), Baedeker (Germany), Cook (England), Boitard (France), Joanne (France) and Conty (England) (59-60).
In addition to allowing for a different perspective of a city, many guidebooks further directed their readers by dividing cities into “tourist” districts. While originally this may have had the objective of making large cities easier to navigate, it may have also grown from the idea that the tourist would only be navigating certain neighborhoods at a time, not the entire city. These demarcated districts confirmed guidebook hierarchy. For example, Paris was frequently divided into the Latin Quarter, Pigalle, Montparnasse, and Montmartre, ignoring the rest. Nevertheless, tourists needed to traverse these “disregarded” residential and business areas that lay along the route to designated tourist districts. Because these other areas were unmapped, and therefore unacknowledged, the visitor would naturally assume that there was nothing of value in them and pass through. Areas of Paris, such as the 14e, 15e, and 20e arrondissements had neither monuments worth seeing nor any significant mapped representation and therefore were not worth visiting.

By framing tourist areas, the guidebooks further compartmentalized monuments and activities found within. Tourist guides “suggested” or “recommended” communities, regions, and neighborhoods by including only them on city maps or by providing additional map inserts that the tourist could remove and use: “[[les textes des guides sont essentiellement marqués par le besoin de rassurer le voyageur. Ils sont faits pour redonner confiance à une clientèle sans cesse confrontée à un monde inconnu” (Bertho-Lavenir, La Roue et le style 61). This of course eliminated much of the unknown travelers had previously faced. They would receive a list of itineraries that concentrated on “correct” neighborhoods to visit, without the inconvenience of trial and error.

At the same time the nineteenth-century tourist may have wanted all the major monuments, sights, and buildings within easy walking distance of each other. Guidebooks
also helped visitors tremendously in this regard. By demarcating the neighborhoods most heavily equipped with sights “to see,” the guidebook authors facilitated the use of city maps. Joyce refers to London:

Late eighteenth-century London guidebooks themselves presented the city in a manner which drew upon these representational traditions: the various “sights” of the city were located in a framework that offered the reader the freedom of the city as a public space, open to the wanderings and the gaze of the walker, as we have seen for nineteenth-century guidebooks. This freedom was realized in terms of the public street as the locus of certain valued and civilized identities (201).

As the guides solidified hierarchies based on geography, industry, and culture, they also provided the tourist or even the resident with the ability to truly “know” the parts of the city worth knowing. The nineteenth-century flâneur was in constant search of distraction, which urban commercial life fulfilled (Joyce 201). The bustle of select quarters was an attraction, and walking was promoted.67

Representation of movement in guidebooks changed the way the city was viewed. Just as railroad eased travel to all parts of France, urban displacement was critical for tourists to fully access Paris. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the European “transport revolution” changed the way citizens understood their counties and cities and marked the inception of the roadway as a place of free communication (Joyce 212-13). One outcome of

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67 In Joyce’s analysis, this walking was not that of the narcissistic flâneur, or indeed the “bourgeois” promenade, but a “liberal” walking, which emphasized a controllable private self. One walked so as to retain privacy, while responding to the public context in which walking occurred, a context which, through the activity of walking, was civilizing (219).
this transport revolution was that with journey times between cities cut dramatically, and
movement within towns and cities made much easier, the number of rail travelers increased
greatly.\textsuperscript{68}

It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century a combination of
direct governmental intervention and cheap fares meant that rail travel
became the experience of those who were not relatively well-off. It was not
until the development of the tram system (often municipally run), between
1880 and 1914, that the ranks of the walking poor were seriously depleted
(Joyce 212).

Transportation systems in large cities no longer limited the tourist or resident to one or two
neighborhoods: now the entire city was accessible. At this point, guidebooks and maps
rankings became indispensable as tourists planned their visits.

\textbf{Creating and Ranking Tourist Space}

With many different authors, publishers, and even nationalities presenting
nineteenth-century Paris, how did this ranking among sights take place? Unlike eighteenth
and nineteenth-century British aristocrats who followed an established itinerary, modern
sightseeing began to process its own structure, starting with a collective sense that certain
sights must be seen, not because they have been visited throughout history, but because they
best represent the city or culture. While guided tours today are similar to the former Grand

\textsuperscript{68} “La distance horaire entre Paris et province s'accrut brutallement. En 1870, ce n'était plus Rouen, Amiens,
Reims, ou Troyes que l'on pouvait, comme en 1840, atteindre en 10 ou 12 heures, mais Strasbourg, Londres,
Genève, ou Valence. Toutes les grandes villes françaises étaient à moins de 24 heures” (Caron 366).
Tour in the sense that they are “extensive ceremonial agendas involving long strings of obligatory rites” (MacCannell 43), the Third Republic French tourist did not travel in organized groups. He or she required greater flexibility when traveling with family or alone, frequently relying on recommendations from friends, family, and guidebooks. Thus, those who traveled at the beginning of the Third Republic to places devoid of personal connections turned to the recommendation of guidebook authors, whose job was to suggest what to see and do.

Seeking out broader readerships, guidebook authors, in turn, joined with the railroad companies to promote specific destinations:

Pour inciter les voyageurs à partir et guider leurs cheminements, les compagnies de chemin de fer provoquent la rédaction de guides touristiques qui constituent désormais un genre éditorial en soi. Les plus célèbres d’entre eux sont Murray en Angleterre, Le Baedeker en Allemagne, le guide Joanne en France (Bertho-Lavenir, _La Roue et le stylo_ 45).

France’s nascent republic needed affirmation. Sports clubs worked to reinforce the culture and identity of the nation. Nineteenth-century alpine clubs, created primarily to help the French escape urban problems, combined French patriotism with exercise, nature, and clean air to demonstrate that France boasted more than just cities and factories. Like-minded people gathered to “conquer” mountains, valleys, and glaciers. Yet in both urban and rural travel, who determined which monument was “better,” or which mountain merited the effort needed to get there? The establishment of informal criteria helped shape what tourists saw. MacCannell’s notion of “sight sacralization,” the process by which monuments, sights, and attractions become destinations, is useful for understanding how the process works. It
limited the possibility of minor sights and attractions monopolizing attention and confusing tourists. Guidebooks themselves do not assume full responsibility for the sacralization of different sights, for they are but one medium (of many) through which the traveling audience can become informed.

The first phase described by MacCannell occurs when a chosen site is distinguished from similar objects as worthy of preservation. This stage may be achieved deductively from the model of “attraction.” People will, of course, want to visit that site. In addition, these sites require proclamations. There are official proclamations (such as those of UNESCO, which establishes cultural sites), or the pronouncements of government institutions, which decide the potential value of national venues. In contrast to official declarations, unofficial proclamations through informal channels, such as word-of-mouth, the press, and guidebooks also participate in this process of legitimation. MacCannell refers to this first phase as the “naming phase” (44).

Once the site has been named as special, MacCannell’s second phase, framing and elevation, commences. Elevation involves setting the object apart, putting it on display. Examples of this phenomenon could be placing a statue on a pedestal in a case or opening official buildings for visitation. Framing, on the other hand, is the establishment of an official boundary around the object. Two types of framing may occur: protecting and enhancing. While this framing can take a literal shape, as with placing a frame or rope around the Mona Lisa, it may also appear in the form of a large garden or the framing of an historic site on a map in a crowded city. When framing joins with marking (first stage), the third

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69 In the United States, the National Park Service (NPS) does just that. Established by Congress in 1916, the NPS has drawn up a list of both natural sites and historical venues deemed worthy of preserving and visiting.
stage has commenced, that of “enshrinement” (45). His model here is the Sainte Chapelle, the church on the Île de la Cité constructed by Saint Louis to house the “Crown of Thorns.” The site has acquired additional distinction since the 1200s, if not as a shrine for ancient relics, then as an exceptional example of gothic architecture.

Following enshrinement comes the mechanical reproduction of the sacred object. Similar to Benjamin’s idea that a site becomes “authentic” once the first copy is produced, the creation of prints, photographs, models, or effigies of the object themselves become valued and are displayed by tourists as proof of travel. More than mere souvenirs, engravings of monuments for sale can be seen as validating travel. If the tourist was unsure of what La Bourse looked like (for stock exchanges looked differently in London, Berlin, and Paris) the author’s sketched drawing eliminated any ambiguity. The final stage of MacCannell’s site sacralization is called “social reproduction,” and occurs when groups, cities, and regions begin to name themselves after famous attractions (44-45).

If a site does not attain one or more of these stages, it does not mean that tourists will not visit it, nor does it mean that reproductions will not be made of it. It does mean, however, that the site will in all probability not benefit from a presence in major tourist discourse. The site might find itself part of a specialized tourism, such as one geared towards a particular segment of travelers. It was the nineteenth-century tourist who witnessed the birth of this multi-phased ascent as tourists and agencies publicized nature, buildings, and culture as valued attractions. Their new prominence in turn capitalized on increased

70 Benjamin states that “the unique value of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value” (Illuminations 224). The value of a monument can to some, therefore, depend on the number of reproductions made of it.

71 Versailles, Kentucky, Paris, Texas, and State College, Pennsylvania are such examples.
guidebook production and readership. Once included in the discourse, more people would know about these sites, resulting in additional visitors.

Yet, before a site can benefit from inclusion in tourist discourse, in guidebooks or via word of mouth, access to both travel and guidebooks must be ensured. This question also, therefore, needs to be addressed. As we saw in Chapter 2, both income and time limitations hindered many nineteenth-century French from traveling, let alone reading and using the travel guides, reducing the guides’ primary readership to the bourgeoisie.

Though limited to those who traveled, the public must validate the choice by visiting the site. Indirectly, nineteenth-century travelers, largely bourgeois themselves, determined what to see and how successful and popular a particular sight would become.
Visiting the New Republic: *Paris Illustre* 1870

As the bourgeoisie traveled in the early years of the Republic, its members were able to witness the full transformation of Paris; and the final result was worth visiting. Post-Commune Paris was, in contrast, quite bleak: “Many public buildings in ruins, and hundreds of houses had been destroyed or seriously damaged, first by the Prussian bombardment, and then by the savage battles which had accompanied the death throes of the Communards. The city’s industry and business were almost at a standstill” (Sutcliffe 43). The Paris of the early 1870s differed greatly from Napoleon III’s Second Empire capital city. Yet guidebook authors, including Adolphe Joanne, still championed Paris as a city worth visiting.

During Haussmann’s tenure as *Préfet*, Parisians saw their capital completely transformed from a medieval city to a model of modernity, boasting wide boulevards, large supplies of fresh water, and factories, slaughterhouses, and a new sewer system that, as Haussmann proudly proclaimed, had no equal in Europe. After Haussmann’s reforms neared completion, being a modern Parisian meant living in an clean and orderly city. Official maps documented improved infrastructure.72 During the twenty years of Napoleon III’s empire, Haussmann changed Parisian city space from a breeding ground of rebellion to one designed for business and pleasure for the bourgeoisie, and maps of the Second Empire were eager to publicize this image. The Third Republic, in turn, took bourgeois Paris and made it both modern and republican. Adolphe Joanne, who benefited financially from the Empire through the publication of his *Guides Joanne* and *Dictionnaires*, eagerly endorsed the

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72 Official maps are examined in Chapter 2.
emperor’s modern nation. His son Paul continued this trend, supporting the Third Republic though publication of this own *Guides Joanne*.

**Les Guides Joanne**

The *Guides Joanne*, first published under the Second Empire, differed from French travel guides published earlier in the century. Previous guides were destinés aux marchands, pèlerins ou érudits, dans le mesure où ils supposent toujours que le voyage n’a d’autre motif que l’agrément. Il indique également que ces guides, offrant une prise en charge de tous les détails pratiques du voyage (ce qu’ils ne sont certes pas les premiers à faire), contribuent à diffuser des normes et des valeurs bourgeoises : le budget, l’emploi du temps, les moyens et le savoir sont tous gérés par le guide (Hancock 26-27).

Following Baedeker’s example, Joanne’s guides addressed the more practical aspects of travel. Most guides, including the *Guides Joanne*, were orientated around the railroad, the primary means of transport. For example, Joanne included instructions on what to do upon arrival in a busy train station in Paris. He also construed travel as an adventure : “Le Guide-Joanne se propose d'instruire et de séduire. Instruire et séduire le lecteur qui prépare son voyage, qui a pris place dans le train et voit défiler les villes et leurs gares, qui peut se rappeler, longtemps après, grâce à un volume annoté par lui-même, les lieux visités”

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73 Joanne begins his 1870 *Paris Illustré* with a section entitled “Arrivée à Paris,” in which he describes the scene: “À peine descendu de convoi qui vient de l’amener à Paris, le voyageur est introduit dans une salle pour y attendre que le déchargement des bagages et leur classement par localité soient terminés” (Joanne 1).
(Nordman 1042). By focusing on effortlessness, the author helped reassure the traveler of the simplicity of train travel.

Capitalizing on increased mobility and the rise of rail station bookstores, the *Guide Joanne* travel guide series also served as an excellent gauge of late imperial society. While not politically active in the regime of Napoleon III, Adolphe Joanne’s fame, along with his guidebook series’ popularity and book sales, grew tremendously thanks to the stability afforded by the emperor’s authoritarian rule. Joanne’s 1870 Paris suggests the influence of Napoleon III’s imperial society on Paris. To have the means to produce a guide would require time, money, and expertise in travel. In the late-nineteenth century, large-scale travel-guide publishing would have been possible only with significant support provided by prominent publishing houses. Hachette, Joanne’s publisher, was not a *bonapartiste* (a supporter of the emperor), but he took advantage of the peace, security, and economic expansion of the early Second Empire to augment his publishing – his travel publishing – empire:

Le programme de Louis Hachette paraît, seulement, plus ambitieux encore puisque, dans un prospectus de 1852 qui trace le plan de la Bibliothèque des chemins de fer, il annonce, outre des ouvrages pratiques, d’intérêt spécifique, destinés aux voyageurs (guides, itinéraires, guide-interprètes, indicateurs d’horaires), des publications de toute nature prévues pour l’instruction ou la récréation de ces mêmes voyageurs : histoire et voyages, littérature française classique et moderne, littératures anciennes et étrangères, agriculture et industrie, livres pour enfants (Nordman 1040).
Educating as well as useful, travel guides were a natural fit within Hachette’s all-encompassing publishing house.

The success of Hachette’s travel guides, as well as his finances however, depended on a functioning economy. To prolong that stability Joanne, one of Hachette’s authors, had a vested interest in making sure Paris appeared to work. The Guides Joanne contained a socially conservative vocabulary and, by documenting an improved area or a successful event of the regime in control, promoted what Harley terms “status quo” (71). The guide series itself was “politiquement conservateur,” where “le ou les auteurs n’ont pas de sympathie pour les mouvements sociaux, séditions anciennes, ou manifestations ouvrières contemporaines” (Nordman 1063). Not meant to be radical but informative, Joanne’s series remained faithful to one of Hachette’s core publishing genres, education.

Hachette’s publishing house received many large textbook concessions, starting in 1835 with “une commande étonnante” of over 700,000 books. Years later, in the early twentieth century, Hachette “prit l’initiative de déposer ses principaux titres au chef-lieu de chaque département, soit chez le directeur de l’École normale primaire, soit chez un libraire auquel il assura une surremise et exclusivité de vente” assuring both bureaucratic and commercial support (Martin 191). It was therefore in Hachette’s best interest to promote a calm, welcoming Paris in any of the Joanne travel guides.

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74 For a complete description of the rise of Hachette’s publishing house, including his relationship with French governments, see Mollier, Louis Hachette.
75 The same year Martin lists 500,000 orders for Alphabet des écoles, plus 100,000 for Livret élémentaire de lecture, 40,000 for the Arithmétique de Vernier, 40,000 for Géographie de M. Meissas, and 40,000 for Histoire de France de Mme de Saint-Ouen (186).
In addition to conservative guidebook text, map discourse from this period also elucidates how modernity and mobility were imagined by the nineteenth-century traveler. How did cartography help transmit an understanding of Napoleon III’s capital city?

**Visiting the Centennial: *Paris par Paul Joanne* 1889**

Twenty years after 1870, the Republic was still in charge. The 1889 centennial of the French Revolution was a cause for celebration. After uncertain beginnings, the Republic had successfully overcome monarchist and Bonapartist threats, and the republicans began transforming French society. While the nation still mourned the 1870 loss of Alsace-Lorraine, a growing French colonial empire, at least in the view of its proponents, helped compensate and distract the nation. Reminder of defeat was soon replaced by the optimism expressed in economic and social progress as the French Third Republic approached its twenty-year anniversary.

Continued political stability allowed business and industry to flourish. Through voting, citizen participation fostered both a common republican identity and a sense of involvement in government. Simply put, the Republic worked. Pascal Ory described the centennial as an affirmation of “la République des républicains,’ celle qui ne contrôle la totalité des pouvoirs publics que depuis 1879, qui a voulu célébrer ainsi, avec tout l’éclat possible, sa victoire en même temps que celle de ses Pères” (Ory, *L’Expo* 13). Surmounting a difficult beginning and, unlike previous regimes proving its durability, the Republic overcame political scandal and economic slowdown.
In addition to promoting the Republic, 1889 was a year to celebrate modernity. French industry had flourished in the nascent twenty-year democracy. Although the industrial revolution accorded France the means to transform society through improved transportation and infrastructure, by the proclamation of the Third Republic advances in architecture and invention came rapidly. Politicians and businessmen were eager to commandeer technology. Known by some as “l’age du fer,” the second half of the nineteenth century, “la grande époque des Expos,” corresponded “à l’age d’or des métaux ferreux, c’est ce que 89 démontre dans toutes ses fibres. L’électricité a frappé un grand coup ; la chimie a pris date ; mais la métallurgie, elle, courbe les uns et les autres sous sa loi. Le métal – et c’est désormais le fer, qui se substitue un peu partout à la fonte – est à la fois objet et procédé d’exposition” (Ory, L’Expo 34). Technology embodied French optimism. Appropriating technology as a major theme for the 1889 Exposition Universelle presented France with a befitting spectacle and the nation invited the world. The most striking example of this demonstration of technology was the Grande Tour built by Gustave Eiffel. The Eiffel Tower, the epitome of France’s industrial advances that welcomed the visitors to the 1889 Exposition as its gateway, was not built without controversy. Many of the fair’s more traditional organizers were horrified by the thought of putting such a modern monument in Paris. However, Eiffel won the battle. Less than two years after the tower’s construction, public opinion had changed, and the eventual “élégance de l’édifice [a] gagné la partie” (Ory, 76). 

Ironically, even though 1889 marked a celebration of Paris and the Republic, it was Haussmann who contributed the most to the city’s beauty and uniformity. The apartment buildings along his wide boulevards provided the city with standardized facades all the same height and distance from the street. While the Republic was eager to discount Haussmann’s financial and political views, his beautiful thoroughfares were readily accepted and appropriated.
In 1889, modernity trumped history, and they soon began complementing each other.

The 1889 Exposition showcased the Republic. It not only provided a glimpse into the future, but also revealed what France had accomplished in the previous century: “Placée à la date de 1889 pour commémorer la Révolution française, l’Exposition universelle saisira ce prétexte pour pratiquer à tout va ce genre typiquement expositionnaire qu’est la ‘rétrospective’” (Ory, *L’Expo* 18). By referring back to the first Republic, France could celebrate its conquest of nineteenth-century authoritarian rule. The Republic had triumphed over two empires and the restoration of the Bourbon and Orleanist monarchies. However, through the Fair’s intense promotion of democracy, France had alienated many of the traditional European monarchies. As a result, imperial Germany and Austro-Hungary, along with Belgium, were reluctant participants in this republican festival, resulting in further ideological divisions in Europe.

Perhaps more importantly, France used the 1889 Exposition Universelle to prove to Europe and the world that it had finally recovered from the Franco-Prussian war. By welcoming visitors from the world over, Paris demonstrated its ability to entertain and to show the world it had rebuilt what had been destroyed in 1870-71. Guidebooks appeared in greater numbers as the centennial exhibition approached. Adolphe Joanne’s *Guides Joanne* series, now published by his son Paul, was among those marketed to the French consumer. His 1889 *Paris par Paul Joanne* remained faithful to the series his father made famous.

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77 Just a few such examples of this are: Baedeker’s *Paris et l’exposition de 1889*, Tit-Bit’s *The Tit-Bits Guide to Paris and the Exhibition*, Cook’s *Guide to Paris and the Universal Exhibition*, and Galignani’s *Illustrated Paris Guide for 1889*. 
Celebrating the Millennium: Paris 1900

Eleven years after the Centennial Exposition, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, Paris prepared to celebrate again with another Exposition Universelle. The third guidebook examined in this chapter is Paul Joanne’s *Paris 1900*. The historian Christophe Prochasson describes the 1900 fair’s success:

_Inaugurée officiellement par le président de la République, Émile Loubet, le 14 avril 1900, l’Exposition ferma ses portes le 12 novembre 1900. Plus de cinquante millions de visiteurs (celle de 1889 en avait attiré un peu plus de trente-deux millions) purent profiter de la présence de quatre-vingt-trois mille exposants dont 46 percent étaient français. Paris, sensiblement plus qu’en 1889, alors que les monarchies européennes avaient boycotté une manifestation qui célébrait le centenaire de la Révolution française, était bel et bien parvenu à faire venir une partie importante du monde (93)._ 

Parisians were ready to celebrate the new century, which for many French signaled renewed optimism. Paris, host to the 1855, 1867, 1878, and 1889 Expositions, wanted to stage another large spectacle celebrating this time not only France, but also the early Third Republic’s many technological advances.78

The turn of the century provided further affirmation of the Third Republic and continued the centralization of government in Paris. Although Napoleon I was the first to concentrate both government and bureaucracy in the capital city, drawing away people and

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78 In the early 1890s Germany wanted to host a large celebration for the closing of the nineteenth century. The French, who almost by tradition held the Exposition Universelle every eleven years, quickly won the fair for Paris. The Germans, therefore, had to content themselves with Berlin hosting an Exposition industrielle instead in 1896 (Prochasson 96).
resources from elsewhere in the country, the Third Republic was just as eager to consolidate power in Paris. There was no doubt that Paris would host the 1900 World’s Fair. Other regions were less inclined to let the capital city monopolize the world spotlight again. Nevertheless, the Parisian political and business establishments, its press, and its citizens all backed hosting the Exposition, believing it was best for the country. Henri Chardon, a journalist with the *Revue de Paris*, wrote in 1897:

*Croit-on qu’une Exposition à Paris ne profite pas aux soieries de Lyon, aux poteries de Limoges, aux verreries du Nord, aux toiles imprimées de l’Est, autant qu’à un fabricant de pianos de Paris ? Les industriels qui ont intérêt à exposer sont repartis sur la surface entière du pays ; plus la ville de Paris leur procure de publicité, plus ils lui doivent de reconnaissance. Et tous les agriculteurs de France n’ont-ils pas intérêt à une Exposition qui va leur assurer de nouveaux débouchés en augmentant la consommation de la ville de Paris ? On parle toujours des inconvénients des Expositions pour les provinciaux ; il serait plus exact de parler des multiples avantages qu’elles ont pour eux. […] (“L’Exposition de 1900,” *Revue de Paris*, qtd. in Prochasson 98).*

The government believed that the technology on display at the Exposition would benefit everyone. The capital was again leading the rest of the country, hosting visitors not only from France but from all over the world. The Republic was in control.

*Optimism prevailed in fin-de-siècle Paris: “Le progrès devint la religion du XIXe siècle, les Expositions universelles devinrent ses lieux de pèlerinage, les marchandises ses objets de culte, et le ‘nouveau’ Paris d’Haussmann sa cité du Vatican” (Hancock 261-62). The*
government capitalized on this veneration of new technology. For example, in the final years of the nineteenth century, Parisians took advantage of public transportation when accessing the Champ de Mars exposition site, and the Third Republic trumpeted this fact through its official maps.

Just as in 1889, the number of travel guides published for the 1900 World’s Fair surged towards the end of the century.79

By providing itineraries, suggestions and “lessons,” these guides followed Hachette’s overall educational emphasis. They instructed the reader how best to manage time and the city.

Alongside the land and space set aside for the fair, new buildings, roads, and monuments were constructed as well. To fully experience the Exposition Universelle, the visitor would need familiarity with the area framing the Exposition site. By mapping it so thoroughly, guidebook authors helped the government document its authority over...

79 Some notable examples of guides published for the 1900 World’s Fair include Baedeker Paris and its Environs, Guide Chaix: Les plaisirs et les curiosités de l’Exposition, and Cook’s Vacation Tours to Europe and the Paris Exposition and the Passion Play at Oberammergau.
additional areas of Paris. The “unknown” then all but disappeared from western Paris, allowing for less disruption. In addition, patriotic pride resulting from the fair had been stimulated. Recognizing these developments, Paul Joanne’s 1900 guide to the Paris Exposition employed map discourse to champion fin-de-siècle France.

Keeping with the process of examining color, shapes and symbols, and text in the three *Guides Joannes*, comparisons between maps published in the private sector and those produced by the government highlight the similar and different messages and allow further examination of the changing role of map discourse.

**Color**

Figure 18

Figure 18: Adolphe Joanne *Paris Illustre* 1870
Color is absent in Joanne's principal Paris map found at the back of his *Paris Illustré* (see Figure 18). However, Joanne used it in multiple map-inserts throughout the guidebook. So color, while not employed in the main map, plays a significant role in the perception of Paris in 1870. Joanne has singled out certain tourist districts as “special and attractive.” Color printing technology in 1870 was such that colored inserts were cost-prohibitive and impractical for use in large guidebook maps. Printing smaller inserts and joining them with the main text at a later date allowed Joanne to incorporate color without great financial setbacks. Costs did limit color choice. While Joanne's main black and white parks become green and the Seine blue in the inserts, he colored the city itself in a rose pink.

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80 Joanne’s five 1870 colored insert maps were for the following areas of Paris: “Champs Elysées_Invalides,” “Palais Royal_Bourse_Opéra,” “Halles Centrales_Château d'eau,” “Cité_Luxembourg_Ecoles,” and the “Jardin des Plantes_Bastille,” effectively designating these central Parisian neighborhoods as the tourist districts in the city.
Using green, associated with trees and plants, to identify parks in a teeming industrial city was a calculated move employed by guidebook authors. The notion of parks as destinations for both city dwellers and visitors gained further credence towards the end of the nineteenth century. France was not alone in its desire to integrate green space into urban fabric. Turning to New York City, the largest city in North America and a counterpart to Paris, parks were an important component of late nineteenth-century American cities. For
example, the great American planner Frederick Olmsted, in his “Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns” (1870), looked to make urban parks edifying spectacles, in which people themselves “would be the source of that spectacle” (Joyce 220). Even today, Olmsted’s Central Park in New York City serves as a refuge, as well as a destination in its own right. By flocking to open spaces, nineteenth-century park-goers everywhere contributed to the notion of a city as spectacle, and maps helped them find parks easily.

Joanne’s map-insert color use does not, nevertheless, provide the reader with a “natural” looking city (see Figure 19). The highly decorated pink, green, and blue were not the same colors the visitor experienced in reality as he or she explored Paris city streets. Then why use them? To a visitor, the colors appear attractive and welcoming. Of the three, the pink filled-in city space seems the most subjective and non-threatening. Contrary to the reds used in other historic and official maps that documented control, Joanne’s pink reassures. Similar to Chevreau’s pastel-colored 1870 *Plan général*, Joanne’s neighborhoods are fully developed, and they frame the lush city parks. The green promoted the relaxation and refreshment that parks could provide when the reader looked to escape busy city streets. As demonstrated in the grand size and condition of the Bois de Boulogne et Vincennes, Haussmann had spent considerable time, money, and effort developing Paris’s city parks throughout the Second Empire, and Joanne eagerly documented them.81 The many green spaces also drew visitors from other crowded European cities, as the green differentiated itself from the crowded, pink filled-in city space, further focusing attention on them.

81 When Napoleon III came to power, Paris had only 50 acres of parks. At his regime’s end, the French capital had been given over 4500 acres of green spaces, a significant improvement (Hall 726).
In addition to the green, the blue river moving through the various map-inserts is also unnaturally colored. Joanne relied on this bright blue ribbon’s ability to be easily viewed by the reader, just as the bright green parks served as both an attraction and escape from the energetic city. Tourists would not want to swim in the river, but Joanne hoped instead that they would profit from the open space and city views it afforded. Joanne’s color influence is limited since it appears only in the inserts. The five inserts were smaller than Joanne’s main city map and could be removed from the guidebook. The mere fact that they do not conjoin with Joanne’s main map relegates them to a supplemental position in the guide. If the tourist were to rely on only one map, it would not be one of the inserts, but the main map itself.

Figure 20

Figure 20: *Paris par Paul Joanne* 1889
Twenty years later, in 1889, Paul Joanne’s main guidebook map demonstrates some of the advances in color-printing technology. As discussed in Chapter 3, bold colors were seen as necessary to attract attention and demonstrate power. While his father’s 1870 “Plan de Paris” was limited to black and white, Paul Joanne provides his 1889 map readers with a colored depiction of the entire city. Although the 1889 Joanne map is not as multi-colored as Alphand’s official governmental *Paris en 1889*, it does represent progress for both map publishers and readers. The orange filled-in city is easily visible, emphasizing both the size and the shape of Paris (see Figure 20). By accentuating city shape, Joanne allowed the out-of-town visitor to “visualize” the city before arrival.

Paul Joanne demonstrates the growing size and complexity of France’s capital. Examining the map, Paris has expanded well beyond its 1860 walled fortifications, further signifying its recovery from 1871. Alphand’s official *Paris en 1889* eliminated suburban Paris from his city map, choosing instead to concentrate exclusively on the walled city. Paul Joanne, by contrast, integrated Paris into the larger metropolitan area, which had grown considerably since the 1860 annexation of the many surrounding villages. Visitors to Paris arriving by means other than rail might even be able to use his map for navigating their way into the capital.

Just as Adolphe Joanne’s 1870 *Paris Illustré* map used inserts to complement his main map’s discourse, his son Paul’s 1889 map continued this trend. Yet his two 1889 map-inserts differ from his father’s five from 1870. His first insert, the “Plan d’ensemble de l’exposition Universelle de 1889,” appears rudimentary compared to its 1870 counterparts, since Paul Joanne limited the insert to just two colors: orange and blue, similar to his main map (see Figure 21). Yet contrary to the general map, the Exposition Universelle insert’s bright orange
contrasts starkly with the surrounding white city space. By highlighting the shape along with the color of the Exposition site, Paul Joanne not only identifies and demarcates one of the “tourist districts,” to use MacCannell’s terminology, but also advises the tourist where to go. This was common practice in nineteenth-century guidebooks. For example, in Galignani’s tourist guides,

Il y avait un ton directif quant à la façon de procéder aux visites : « Le visiteur est censé commencer depuis les Tuileries, étudier sa carte de Paris avec soin, puis passer en revue tous les arrondissements, voir leur contenu dans l’ordre indiqué dans cet ouvrage, ou omettre certaines choses selon ses goûts et inclinations. » La propension dictatoriale du guide qui entend régenter jusqu’à l’ordre dans lequel sont vus (ou « inspectés ») les différents objets d’intérêt situe bien cette nouvelle version aux antipodes des premières qui ne propoisaient que d’impartiales énumérations : Galignani va désormais « diriger les pas » de nombreux touristes, ou du moins prétendre à cette fonction, et imposer une norme sur la façon d’aborder l’espace parisien (Hancock 41).

Paul Joanne’s maps were more subtle than Galignani’s in their guidance, but they perform the same function. Yet Joanne is explicit – using bright colors on maps, instead of text – to indicate what the tourist needed to see, and where he needed to go. The 1889 multi-site Exposition is linked by the Seine River (represented in blue) and a thin orange line, which represents the “Exposition de l’agriculture.” With no actual physical barrier like a wall, the border would be easily breeched. To prevent the tourist from deviating from his itinerary and perhaps missing part of the fair, Joanne leaves no doubt as to where the tourist should
remain. If the visitor strays, his or her exposition experience might be compromised. Joanne’s map confidently guided the visitor through the entire site.

Figure 21

Joanne’s second insert, the “Plan du Champ-de-Mars,” further reinforces what the visitor needed to see at the 1889 Exposition Universelle. In greater detail than the “Plan d’ensemble,” the second insert serves to calm the potentially lost or overwhelmed tourist with its clearly labeled buildings, colored red-orange (see Figure 21). Although the Eiffel Tower itself is not prominently labeled on the map-insert, which focuses primarily on color, the tower’s four *Soubassements du pilier* were.\(^\text{82}\) Comparing this representation to Alphand’s official *Paris en 1889*, a different depiction of the tower emerged. While the official map

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\(^{82}\) With construction completed, Eiffel’s tower was inaugurated in March 1889. The reader would presumably have no problem recognizing *La Tour* itself as it literally “towered” over the fair.
neither wanted nor needed the tower to promote the Republic, Joanne’s guide welcomed the monument and instructed the reader how to enter and experience it. The view from the tower would, in effect, provide the same view from above as his map. The tourist could even use Joanne’s insert to identify all the structures he or she might see from the tower’s observation deck. In contrast to the “active” orange, the blue in this insert appears to serve as adornment to the exposition site. The deep blue ponds and river frame and ornament the fair’s site, both contrasting and complementing the Exposition Universelle’s modern theme.

Figure 22

Paul Joanne’s 1889 main city map is missing many of the colors found in some official maps preceding its publication. Most striking is the lack of green. French map-makers had included green parks in every map examined so far in this study. Yet Paul Joanne chose not to continue this trend, relegating the parks to a grey scale, similar to that of the map paper itself. Several reasons might explain this color choice. First, those who had the means to attend the 1889 Exposition (and to purchase the guidebook) were most likely
already familiar with Paris’s parks. There also had been no significant additions to the park system since Haussmann’s 1869 departure, and the existing parks would not have changed greatly since previous editions. As head of the Travaux de Paris, Alphand had made improvements and alterations. His official map concentrated on improving infrastructure, providing roads and public transportation to the city, not parks.

Furthermore, as readers became more accustomed to seeing color on maps, its role diminished in tourist map discourse. Demonstrating that people used Joanne’s 1889 map, as the title suggests, as a guide to Paris, as opposed to an instructional device, his map informs the bourgeois reader, who would be presumably more interested in the Exposition Universelle itself. The guidebook reader needed practical information, such as how to get from the train station (or any other point of entry to the city) to the Exposition site, not which parks were located on the other side of the city. In the same manner, Joanne’s 1889 map clearly outlined and promoted the Exposition.

Travel guide maps continued to make headway in French society as the nineteenth century drew to a close. By the turn of the century, Paul Joanne published the 1900 edition of the Paris guides. More colorful than previous years, this edition reveals a varied yet subtle discourse of power. As with other guides, intra-mural Paris is the primary focus of the main map. Just as in 1889, the brown, filled-in, city contrasts with the white suburban surroundings. Again, Joanne presents the city as “full,” with Parisian development extending to and beginning to cross the walled fortifications. Through color, Joanne continued to present tourist readers with the image of a growing city, with both roads and boulevards expanding beyond the city limits.
Paul Joanne’s “brown” 1900 is less severe than his 1889 orange city. Similar to the official 1900 *Carte d'état-major*, city space was becoming more natural on maps. The army’s red could be regarded as development, just as Joanne’s 1900 map used red to outline buildings. Due to increased familiarity with reading cities on maps, especially those found inside travel guides, Joanne no longer needed to attract the reader’s attention to the city itself. By presenting additional associative colors, both the cartographer and the regime made map reading a more genuine experience, as the map became an extension, or close approximation, of what the reader would experience in real life. Moreover, the brown, by virtue of its muted tone, portrayed calm in the formerly tumultuous nineteenth-century capital city.
Absent from both the *Guides Joanne* in 1870 and 1889, multiple color use returned to Joanne’s 1900 main map (see Figure 23). Within his brown city, Joanne highlights green parks, blue water, and red buildings and tramlines. All the colors appear “natural,” matching trees, water, etc., and did not deviate from traditional colors used in historical map production. Perhaps the least realistic were the many dark red buildings (though brick was still used in construction at the turn of the century). Combining Paul Joanne’s 1900 Paris map with that published by the army the same year showed that red was becoming a recognized color for buildings. Yet, in a nod to map printing and publishing technology, the green used to represent parks appears more realistic than its 1870 counterpart. Even the Seine, while still very likely polluted due to continued industrialization in the Parisian basin, appears as a painted ribbon of bright blue, not the color one would have seen if looking at the dirty river.

Figure 24

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Figure 24: Transportation in Southeast Paris, Paris 1900
Joanne’s 1900 map confirms, as with the *Carte d’état-major*, the development of the French map-reading public. Incorrect or “unnatural” color use for parks, land, and water would have been seen as less professional and thus inferior. Since Joanne’s buildings and transport lines stand out to a greater extent than the other map colors, they become more visible and thus more valuable in the map discourse (see Figure 24). Besides, in contrast to parks and rivers, technology was man-made. Therefore, readers would not expect to see “natural” colors associated with it. In this regard Joanne’s red further represented the achievements of the Third Republic.

**Shapes and Symbols**

Upon first glance, Joanne’s main black and white map contains a large number of buildings portrayed as large, black blocks. With no color-based competition, these symbols of commerce and industry take a leading role in his 1870 map discourse. While the majority of these sites, such as the Louvre and the administrative buildings on the Ile de la Cité, belong to Haussmann’s transformed central Paris, the map reader’s eyes are pulled away from the historical center into other parts of the city, primarily towards the north, from the large Gare du Nord to the newly opened Abattoirs and Marché aux Bestiaux in La Villette. These alternative hubs of influence opposed traditional power centers but were pivotal in their own right. For a city that wished to declare itself both modern and powerful, industry and transportation were essential and needed to be displayed, even in the tourist guides.

As the city published its official 1870 *Plan général*, there was little certainty as to whether the French government would remain a republic or return to a monarchy or empire.
The government could only highlight projects completed under the Second Empire; therefore, imperial Paris remained prominent. Joanne’s privately published *Paris Illustré*, originally scheduled for publication just as war broke out between France and Prussia, confidently endorsed Second Empire Paris. When placing the two side by side, Joanne’s travel guide is considerably more compact, and the resulting smaller typeface rendered Joanne’s black blocks harder to read and more ambiguous, though no less significant. Yet as detailed and precise as the city’s *Plan général* was, it was simply not possible to include a map of that size in a travel guide. Mobility, one major goal of guidebooks, required compact size and ease of use.

Tourism therefore altered the way buildings and monuments were thought of and mapped. By acknowledging Paris as modern, an optimistic view of the city emerges on Joanne’s map. Nineteenth-century Paris also relied on “pre-modern” monuments to reaffirm its modern existence. Joanne includes the gothic Notre Dame cathedral, the renaissance Palais de Luxembourg, and Louis XIV’s Les Invalides as reminders of Paris before the industrial revolution, when France was at its former height and power. The tourist can visit the past, if only to be reminded of the France’s glory days – or at least those that took place well before Napoleon III.

The leisure class in Joanne’s industrialized France was mobile, and with modern transportation, the city became more international. Transportation networks connected Paris with other urban centers. Hence, in Joanne’s 1870 tourist Paris, rail lines figure prominently (see Figure 25). The monumental train stations, iron and glass marvels, symbols of nineteenth-century industry and capital, were themselves sights to see as guidebook engravings complemented their block-like appearance on the maps. These celebrated train
stations, notably the Gare du Nord and Gare de l'Est, served as gateways to modern Paris. They provided visitors with their first impression of Paris. Located on the margins of the city’s mapped tourist zone inserts, the rail stations worked with boulevards to guide tourists into central Paris.

Science and technology also improved the daily life of the average Parisian. In this era of Louis Pasteur’s work in the field of microbiology, health was a primary concern for the government. For many Parisians, tiny, dark streets were equated with disease. Sunlight and fresh air would rid the streets not only of unpleasant smells but also, in conjunction with hospitals, of unwanted maladies. The 1849 cholera outbreak flourished due to unclean city water and overcrowded living conditions. Disease still featured prominently in Parisians’ daily lives and, as would be expected, any modern city would need to have the ability to cure the sick. “Institutions de Bienfaisance,” such as hospitals – monuments to fighting disease – figure in all sections of Joanne’s Paris; examples include the Hôtel Dieu on the Ile de la Cité and the Hospice des enfants assistés in the sixth arrondissement. Joanne’s Paris also included an Institution des jeunes aveugles, an Institution des sourds-muets, and a Maison municipale de Santé, proving its devotion to needy citizens.
The historian Zygmunt Bauman defines modernity as “societies purified of the last shred of the chaotic, the irrational, the spontaneous, the unpredictable and the means to affect them” (Ogborn 18). Chaos in the form, for example, of overcrowding or disease, needed to be eliminated and could thus not appear in tourist guides. Joanne demonstrated how the French dealt with these impediments. The inclusion of the large, imposing La Villette slaughterhouse in the northeastern edge of the city, away from the center, is one such demonstration on Joanne’s map of how the city attempted to eradicate chaos. The modern city was able to feed itself. This clean, industrial, reliable source of food, connected to various lines of transportation, is well within the city’s periphery, serving as a symbol of both progress and hygiene. With potable water and a constant food supply, unpredictability played a smaller part in the daily life of the Second Empire Parisian.

Adolphe’s son Paul followed in his father’s footsteps. His 1889 Paris par Paul Joanne demonstrates the continued importance of modernity, transportation, and business. Similar
to his father’s 1870 Paris Illustre, the buildings on Paul Joanne’s 1889 Paris map are represented by the true outline of the actual physical structures. Continuing his father’s categorization of the city, many of the smaller buildings are not named, but labeled with a number that corresponds to the accompanying legend. Keeping with the notion that big, solid blocks are significant, the center of the city again commands the most attention, as the Ile de la Cité and the Louvre, Palais Royal, and other administrative headquarters are located there. But the enlarged city had continued to house and absorb greater numbers of industrial and commercial sites since his father’s 1870 publication. The traditional gares, highlighted on the 1870 map, are still present and equally vital to the city’s economy, yet additional gares aux marchandises and gare des marchandises begin to monopolize large swaths of the outer arrondissements. These freight rail yards were fundamental in the successful movement of goods in and out of the city. Although they were not high on the tourist list, Joanne includes them to further demonstrate Paris’s modernity to visitors.
Returning to Paul Joanne’s numbered legend, 1889 map readers were now starting to comprehend and use map symbols on a larger scale. Some monumental tourist sights are labeled on the map. Joanne needed to decide which monuments were worthy of map placement and which were not. For example, the Colonne de Juillet in the Place de la Bastille appears on the map itself (see Figure 26). The monument, dedicated to those who lost their lives toppling the absolutist intentions of Charles X in 1830, perfectly complemented France’s republican ideology. Not only did the Bastille column monumentalize the overthrow of an authoritative ruler, it served to remind the reader that France had left behind its authoritative past. By contrast, Louis XIV’s statue in the Place des Victoires is represented with only a simple number. As the epitome of absolutism and the Ancien Régime, Louis XIV contradicted what the Republic stood for. Yet in a time when France’s
common heritage was being promoted, historical and royal markers served to educate the French about their past and to distance the Republic from the Bourbons. Louis XIV’s statue provides the Third Republic with an effective “radical break” from the past.

Besides statues, locations associated with the activity of work also appeared as sights “à voir” on Paul Joanne’s 1889 map, either through simple identification or as imposing blocks occupying physical space on the map. Both the large and visible Entrepôt de Bercy and the Marché aux Bestiaux near La Villette appear in this Paris par Paul Joanne, as well as in Alphand’s official Paris en 1889 map. The city had devoted considerable effort to constructing these monuments to self-reliance and wanted to display them. In addition, some other work-based tourist sites appear on Joanne’s 1889 map. Just as his father demonstrated Paris’s ability to help its citizens, Joanne in 1889 included many hospitals, multiple Parisian prisons, and a Halle aux Vins across from the Bercy warehouse district, taking the reader out of central Paris.

The large concentrations of government and industrial buildings in Joanne’s guide document the growing significance of southeastern and northeastern Paris. By 1900, however, these clusters had been spread out over the four multiple maps, limiting their influence. Joanne’s multi-sheet city plan does not outline the whole city, but instead divides it up equally. Joanne limits the tourist’s movement, this time to geographic quadrants represented in the four coupures, each of which was easily removable, making them useful for anyone lost. By dividing up the city, Joanne allowed the visitor to use the map discreetly.
With Paris divided into four distinct *coupures*, the emphasis on the central city, so prominent in other maps, had all but disappeared, with each quadrant becoming its own subject (see Figure 27). 1900 Paris was no longer one large city, but four manageable ones. The tourist, as such, would have a much easier time manipulating each quadrant. Within each one, the reader’s eye is drawn to different elements. For example, in *coupure* I, the center of the map surrounds the Arc de Triomphe. Moreover, the converging red tramlines further draw the reader’s eye away from the “historic center” anchored around the Louvre and Palais Royal. The center has been relegated to the lower, right-hand corner, reducing its
influence considerably. The Ile de la Cité, another historically prominent area of Paris, appears only in *coupure* IV. It is absent in all others.

Figure 28

![Map of Paris 1900 with coupure IV highlighted](image)

**Figure 28:** Coupure IV, including the Ile de la Cité Paris 1900

Of the shapes and symbols on the main 1900 maps, those promoting industry and transportation remained prominent in each quadrant. Yet in terms of the number of modern monuments, the industrial northeastern *coupure* II, seemed to have been eclipsed by the southeastern *coupure* IV. For example, the large, red Halle aux Vins was much more noticeable than the historically prominent La Villette. In addition, the industrial areas south of the Gare d’Austerlitz enlarged the manufacturing and distribution aspects of the southern
sections of the city (see Figure 28). However, *coupure* III, which housed the 1900 Exposition Universelle site, appears the most significant of the four, given that this large event was the principal reason many traveled to Paris.

If desired, one could find the entire city mapped on one page. But in order to do so, the reader needed to consult the inserts, a complete reversal from earlier versions. The coloring of the insert “Moyens de transports” matched that of the *coupures*, and it feels like an extension of the main maps (see Figure 33). In addition, it provides a smaller, less-detailed version of a main Paris street map. Of course, by putting the only representation of the entire city in an insert, Joanne clarifies the extent to which the whole city had become less the focus of the map at the expense of transportation or entertainment.

Joanne also used symbols and shapes on various other inserts. His “Paris-Plaisir” map-insert includes outlines of not only the Louvre and Palais Royal, similar to the four *coupures*, but also of the Eiffel Tower, the Palais de Trocadéro, and both the Grand and Petit Palais, all of which were integral components of the 1900 Exposition Universelle (see Figure 29). Joanne had effectively framed key sections of western Paris, demarcating them as “special” and highlighting what should be seen. For the maximum experience, the tourist needed to stay in the western half of the city. Joanne’s map-insert used symbols to promote not only the Exposition site but the massive effort devoted to putting on a successful fair.
As demonstrated through the inserts, coupures, and choice of symbols, travelers were becoming more familiar with maps and, indeed, with the city of Paris. A tourist with increased freedom and movement relied less on mapped areas of central Paris as the entire city was visited.

**Map Text**

While the role of shapes and symbols is undeniable, there is not enough room for the cartographer to fully represent everything on the map. Legends, therefore, perform a crucial function. Adolphe Joanne’s 1870 *Légende* provides invaluable insight into what he felt was needed for the map reader to understand both the city and the map better. His legend,
comprised of two columns, lists two-hundred four points of interest and announces his hierarchy. The first column begins with “Édifices religieux” (religious structures). By placing the fifty-three religious buildings ahead of everything else, Joanne provided the Catholic Church with the enviable position of being the first section to which the tourist turned (see Figure 30). Other religions’ structures in 1870 included three “temples protestants” and a “synagogue.” What remains on the influential, left-hand side of the legend? Joanne includes six “Palais,” many of which served as museums or administrative centers, ten “Ministères,” and twenty “Mairies,” or town halls, one for each Parisian administrative district. Finally, Joanne finishes his first column with twelve “Établissements divers,” which include large, imposing edifices that every modern capital should have: the Banque de France, the Bourse (Stock exchange), the Caisse des DÉpôts (a municipal lending institution and city treasury), and the main Post Office. These one-hundred six buildings validated Paris’s position as a modern, imperial, capital city.

The less distinguished, right-hand side of the legend incorporates ninety-seven service and leisure-oriented sites. The entertainment sections encompassed twenty-four “Théâtres” and five “Musées,” twenty-two buildings devoted to “Instruction publique” (schools, seminaries, libraries and archives); six “Tribunaux et prisons,” fourteen “Institutions de bienfaisance” comprised of hospitals, clinics, and the Caisse d'Epargne (savings bank). Joanne concluded the right-hand column with sections for “Établissements militaries,” “Fontaines squares,” and the “Chemins de fer,” which included not only eight train stations but also the Grand Hôtel and the Hôtel du Louvre, both of which were heavily dependant on the railroad and the visitors it brought to the city. Cultural, educational, health, and travel-related buildings enhanced the religious and administrative representations of
Haussmann’s Second-Empire Paris, creating an all-encompassing city, one that could both govern and entertain.

Figure 30: Left and right-hand sides of “Légende,” Paris Illustre 1870
Joanne’s text hierarchy complements that of his map legend. The widest boulevards, many of which were constructed by Haussmann, create a broad canvas upon which Joanne was able to place the largest typescript, making them easy to notice and read. Away from Paris’s main thoroughfares, text clarity diminishes in relation to the size (and importance) of the street. The names of smaller, less significant streets are crowded into a much more limited space. Eventually, as the streets further declined in stature, the print text disappears altogether, and Joanne switches to a cursive font. From afar, these street names are difficult to read, sending a message to the reader that they were not worth knowing or using.

In 1889, Paul Joanne also bordered his map with a legend. Again following his father’s method of classification, he divides that legend into two main categories: “Edifices Religieux” and “Edifices Publics.” However, by 1889 Paul Joanne had considerably reduced the legend’s size. In fact, of the two-hundred four buildings and monuments listed in 1870, Paul Joanne included only eighty-one. The hierarchy had not changed, and with religious structures listed first, preference was still given to the Catholic Church (see Figure 31). Rome’s dominance had receded considerably under the Third Republic. Of the twenty religious buildings on the map, Joanne incorporates only twelve Catholic churches. In contrast however, the number of protestant - Calvinist, Lutheran, and Anglican - churches climbed to seven which, when joined with the two synagogues, demonstrated a greater freedom of conscience, a cornerstone of French republican ideals.
The remaining sixty-one of Paul Joanne’s “Edifices Publics” represent buildings or monuments that did not warrant labeling on the map itself, but needed to be identified nonetheless. From these public structures, we can determine that nineteenth-century Parisian tourist city space had indeed changed from twenty years earlier. First, Paul Joanne devoted a significantly smaller section of the legend to official government buildings. While the 1870 *Paris Illustré* included forty-seven such structures, Paul Joanne’s 1889 version had reduced
that number to eleven. Most notably, the twenty “Mairies” were no longer listed, nor were they included on the map itself, further indicating of the presence of the rule of law. With a more efficient city administration in place, there was no need to include twenty town halls. Second, the representation of public instruction had also been curtailed. Despite a government priding itself on its educational reforms, mapping schools was not part of Joanne’s itinerary, demonstrating perhaps that bourgeois readers of his Guide Joanne were less interested in seeing social progress than in the past.

However, Joanne’s 1889 map legend provides much for the bourgeois tourist to do. It lists four museums (including the large, mapped Louvre), and three triumphal arches (the Arc de Triomphe, and the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin). There is seventeen theaters, down from the twenty-one his father included in 1870. The Hippodrome was still listed, along with three “panoramas” (up from just one twenty years earlier), as well as three “cirques” and the Musée Grevin, all validating Paris’s ability to entertain.

Inclusion in the legend still enhanced visibility and therefore assigned value to sights. Yet Paul Joanne’s use of font size in street depiction remained effective for elucidating his 1889 hierarchy. In fact, he outdid both his father and Alphand when determining status and prominence of the Parisian street network. In 1870 his father tried to include all streets, eliminating only courtyards and alleyways. Adolphe Alphand’s official 1889 city map, Paris en 1889 does better, emphasizing street construction and prominently coloring and labeling any new addition to the cityscape. Paul Joanne’s 1889 tourist map does the opposite. Joanne eliminated excess streets and retained only those that the tourist would need. Haussmann’s main boulevards remained prominent, primarily, the Champs-Elysées, as well as the main north-south and east-west axes of St. Michel/ Sébastopol/ Strasbourg and the Boulevards
St. Germain, Haussmann, Montparnasse, and Capucines/Italiens. These white lines (contrasting with the orange filled-in city) accentuate the width and length of the unbroken thoroughfares.

Figure 32

This promotion continued through the turn of the century. In both 1870 and 1889 the text found on the maps themselves or in the legends that accompanied them complemented both Adolphe and Paul Joanne’s use of shapes in their map discourse. Paul Joanne’s 1900 map contains wide boulevards, the same ones his father championed in 1870. Yet different from earlier tourist and official maps, Joanne’s 1900 four main coupures maps do not contain legends in order to label and identify significant monuments and buildings. With
Paris divided, Joanne would have had to introduce multiple legends, increasing cost and risk of error. In addition, with increased familiarity with the city, the tourist would be more apt to recognize Parisian landmarks. The one legend present on any of the four coupures lists only quartiers and arrondissements. To find other legends, for they do exist, the reader had to turn to the supplementary inserts.

With Joanne slowly replacing color discourse with text, legends for the 1900 mapped insert provide the most insight into what Joanne wished to promote. For example, his “Paris-Plaisir” insert features a large, detailed legend (see Figure 32). On the right-hand, more significant side, Joanne lists thirty-eight “Théâtres,” three “Théâtres-à-côté,” five “Spectacles équestres,” and the first ten (of twenty-one) “Music-Halls et spectacles divers.” The less important, left-hand side includes the remaining eleven “Music-Halls,” plus eighteen “Café concerts,” nineteen “Cabarets artistiques et littéraires,” four “Bals,” and five “Panoramas.” This insert clearly demonstrated Paris’s readiness to entertain. As in 1870, when the Catholic Church occupied the most prominent position, Parisian Théâtres in the upper-left hand side of this map legend do the same, were clearly meeting the needs of the bourgeois traveler.
A second map legend, from Joanne’s “Moyens de transport” insert, authenticated Paris’s commitment to the movement of people throughout the city (see Figure 33). Paul Joanne mapped not only the omnibuses and tramway lines, but also those for *bateaux* and *chemins de fer*. Perhaps the most striking feature indicating Joanne’s optimism was the inclusion of the “Tracé du Métropolitain,” Paris’s answer to crowded street traffic. Not actually a part of the principal “Moyens de transport” map itself, it was placed underneath, accurately portraying the role that the *métropolitain* would play in the 1900 Paris streetscape: invisible above ground, yet dramatically changing the way residents and tourists moved about below the city. Inaugurated for the 1900 Exposition Universelle, the subterranean railway had yet to start running when Joanne’s guidebook map was published. But the *métropolitain* further represented Paris’s use of technology for the betterment of society, and Paul Joanne’s 1900 map proudly includes this technological innovation.
Conclusion

Travel had played an increasingly greater role in nineteenth-century French society. Not only had the travel industry matured in the thirty years following Napoleon III’s Second Empire, but tourist guidebook map discourse followed suit. Maps metamorphosed from black and white single-page documents to multi-page, multi-colored representations of a city. These *plans* continued promoting both modernity and the republic through map discourse. While map use differed greatly from that of official maps examined in chapter 2, the Third Republic tourist rhetoric mirrored the governmental view of the city’s evolution from an imperial to a republican city.

Contrary to governmental maps produced over the same thirty-year period, the three *Guides Joanne* remained uniform in their promotion of Paris. Although the official city and national maps had multiple uses, the guides authored and produced by Adolphe Joanne and his son Paul had one purpose: to direct and guide tourists around Paris. Through this continuity, the two Joannes formulated and strengthened their own discourse and that of tourist guidebooks in general.

Joanne’s 1870 *Paris Illustré* provided the reader with a secure, industrialized city that had been completely transformed under Napoleon III and Haussmann. Thanks to the guides, the visitor gained better knowledge of historical sites (churches, palaces, and monuments) and was presented with a competent administration (imperial ministries, prisons, and schools) and a modern city (rail stations and factories). Enhanced by large boulevards and the impressive Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes, Paris was also a cultural city with theatres, museums, and panoramas. Moving beyond the official *Plan général* drawn by the city of Paris later the same year, Joanne’s map documents a healed city. Neither
1870 map affirms the Republic to the extent we find in 1889 and 1900, but both maps accurately depict the transitioning society.

Contrary, however, to the city’s 1870 official Plan général, color on Joanne’s Paris Illustré was less consequential. Joanne’s black and white map relied instead on symbols, shapes, and text to promulgate its message. By focusing on the buildings and services that made Paris modern, Joanne promoted what he believed best about Paris. For obvious reasons, Joanne also concentrated on pre-1870 Paris, which was centered on Haussmann’s imperial additions. The monumental gares and rail lines, the large abattoirs and Marché aux bestiaux, and the hospitals, clinics, and casernes – all exemplify his modern Paris. Still catering to the bourgeois tourist, the guidebook author also included cultural enhancements such as theatres, museums, and fountains and squares in the legend and on the map. Joanne’s reader would not only see what there was to do, but know how to find it as well. When Adophe Joanne himself asked, “Qui peut savoir ce que sera le Paris de demain ?” (Joanne XI), the maps begin to answer his question.

Map discourse in Paul Joanne’s 1889 Paris par Paul Joanne differed from that of both his father’s 1870 tourist guide and Alphand’s official 1889 city map. The nineteenth-century tourist was savvier with regard to both travel and city life. The government no longer commanded the same dominance in the 1889 tourist map as in 1870. Even the Catholic Church’s influence is diminished. Paris par Paul Joanne had developed into a tool that the tourist could employ to find not only the Exposition Universelle, the principal event that year, but culture and entertainment as well. Color, while still present, became less important to the readers. Joanne’s orange filled-in city didn’t rely on color to advance his agenda. For him, it represented the administrative limits. His inserts, by contrast, outlined the large
Exposition site, restricting the tourist’s potential wanderings. The two inserts demarcate principal tourist districts, just as many authors had done previously. A less overtly propagandistic tool than Alphand’s official map, Joanne’s *Paris par Paul Joanne* provided the late-nineteenth century bourgeois tourist with a functional, portable city map.

By the turn of the century, maps also showed not only how the Third Republic transformed the government, but how the city had changed. How different, indeed, was Paris since 1870? For one, the republican city had been opened up to all. The bourgeois center, featured so prominently in the 1870 guide, had all but disappeared (divided up between four different *coupure*). In 1900 the outer reaches of intra-mural Paris received just as much attention as the center. The guidebook maps also followed population growth and development into the outer arrondissements, further indicating how the maps were being used by tourists and by residents who needed to navigate the growing city. The city hosted multiple Expositions Universelles, and the *Guides Joanne* adapted by providing both targeted and colored mapped inserts. Joanne separated the fair from his 1889 main map, relegating it to a map-insert, and providing a sharp color distinction between the exposition site and the rest of the city. With the new century, the Exposition had returned to the main maps.

What elements endured as the *Guides Joanne* progressed throughout Third Republic? Even as transportation enlarged metropolitan Paris, the city boundary remained the constant focus in guidebook maps. As the city grew in the first thirty years of the Third Republic, differences between the interior and exterior diminished. Although the walled fortifications provided security and identification at the turn of the century, they eventually became mere administrative markers. However, both Adolphe and Paul Joanne maintained this political
division, favoring the city over its surroundings, affirming again that Paris was the main attraction.

Chapters 2 and 3 have examined official and tourist maps of Paris in the early Third Republic. The map discourse analysis has focused on what cartographers included on maps. Perhaps more telling is what they did not include. The Third Republic and travel guidebook publishers championed Paris, presenting their version of the French capital to their map readers. The following chapter examines map silences: what the cartographers chose to eliminate from their maps and to hide from their readers.
Chapter 4

The Silence of Maps

[The “dark continent” within easy walking distance from the General Post Office] will, I hope, be found as interesting as any of those newly-explored lands which engage the attention of the Royal Geographical Society - the wild races who inhabit it will, I trust, gain public sympathy as easily as those savage tribes for whose benefit Missionary Societies never cease to appeal for public sympathy (George Sims, *How the Poor Live*, 1883).

As there is a darkest Africa is there not also a darkest England (William Booth, *In Darkest England* 1890)?

At its height, France’s constant rival Britain was the wealthiest and most powerful empire in the western World. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the British army and government conquered and governed large areas of territory on multiple continents outside Europe, to the extent that it was said that the sun never set on the British Empire. Civil servants, administrators, and their maps soon began circulating between the capital and her colonies. The unknown that was once “Darkest Africa” began to evolve into the known as a result of explorers like Stanley Livingstone. As their colonial spaces were dominated and surveyed, social reformers began looking at domestic Britain’s troubled urban areas as the next “unknown” to be conquered.

Since mapping the colonies validated British control over a subdued, sometimes hostile, population, it stood to reason that accurate representations of Booth’s “darkest England” were pivotal in improving not only the lives of the working class, but also the cities themselves. The Central Post Office, a prominent physical symbol and example of Britain’s competent, effective administration, was within walking distance from some of the poorest and most dangerous neighborhoods of London. Yet these areas often found
themselves excluded from survey maps during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was not until the latter decades of the century that any effort was made to include the residents of East London in surveys. 83

Britain was not alone in its treatment of the poor. For the most part, European map makers ignored problematic neighborhoods on maps. First, they were dangerous. Even though many regimes proclaimed, often with fanfare, their firm control over their territory, this was not always the case, as Charles X, Louis-Philippe, and Adolphe Thiers could attest. 84
With petty crime and violence common in major cities, any attempt at mapping narrow, disease-ridden alleyways could be dangerous. 85 Second, in late nineteenth-century European societies, the poverty-stricken population was seen as the result of moral and social decay and did not warrant mapped representation. Since few of the poor were educated or voted in large numbers, politicians risked little in ignoring them.

Finally, governments wanted to promote the best of their capital cities. Central city districts had the most monuments and prominent architecture. As a result, commercial districts, along with adjacent gentrified neighborhoods, were given unofficial priority in both government and tourist maps. At the same time, as European nations improved infrastructures and living standards in their colonies, a growing number of reformers, exemplified by England’s Charles Booth, hoped that government would turn its attention to the nation’s poor, not only to revitalize working-class neighborhoods, but also to understand

83 Frederick Engel, a foreigner, was the first to extensively document the poverty of the great cities of industrial England in his *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. 84 The barricades erected, in the cases of Charles X and Louis-Philippe, helped topple the regimes in power. 85 French socialist Eugène Buret warned of entering working-class neighborhoods in nineteenth-century Paris, declaring, “If you venture into those accursed districts in which they live, wherever you go you will see men and women branded with the marks of vice and destitution, and half-naked children rotting in filth and stifling in airless, lightless dens” (qtd. in Chevalier 360).
and serve those who lived there better. A simple act, such as documenting problematic areas, minimized both social voids and empty spaces on maps.

**Map Silence**

These voids found on many nineteenth-century European maps chronicled what the cartographer Brian Harley defines as a “silence” of maps, considered by many cartographers and historical geographers as one of the most original and provocative of all of Harley’s vehicles for meaning.\(^{86}\) Although the examination of color, shapes and symbols, and map text all help to define a cartographer’s map discourse, that which is not included, “map silence,” should not be considered by the reader as gaps in the mapped area but as “positive statements” in themselves (86). By ignoring or eliminating large swaths of working-class neighborhoods, cartographers continued to promote the status quo, that of the regimes in power.

But what exactly is map silence? Harley defines three primary silences, two of them deliberate and one unintentional. In the first, blank spaces on maps are “silent” by default, primarily when cartographers use them as an acknowledgement of their ignorance. For example, if the map-maker does not know that a street or building exists, he is unable to include it on a map. The resulting city sector is seen as empty. For example, different Parisian Expositions transformed the Champ de Mars every eleven years. Since much of this construction was temporary, map makers often left the large field blank when representing that area of the city in non-fair years.

\(^{86}\) A list of select historical geographers and their reactions to Harley’s works can be found in Andrews, “Preface,” *New Nature of Maps* (ix-xv).
A second silence, “negative spaces” can be employed to state that “this is not a town,” or “this is not a river.” On tourist maps the cartographer highlights points of interest. If a particular building or street does not meet “landmark” criteria, it may be dropped. On the 1900 *Carte d'état-major*, for example, the army obscured the Eiffel Tower, silencing tourist Paris in favor of infrastructure (see Figure 37). There is additional withholding of information where the omission of an object is taken to mean that “that object has certain properties that render it unsuitable for inclusion in this map” (14). In this instance, the cartographer implies that these areas are not worthy of inclusion. Such examples might be pollution, traffic congestion, or using a cross to represent Christian and non-christian structures. Even though they are not always visible to the reader, these silences should not be considered less significant than more prominent components of map discourse.

Yet beyond the silence of ignorance or that sponsored by the state, Harley defines a third instance, “unintentional silence,” as that which does not seem to have been “explicitly commanded” by cartographic patrons (in this case governments or private publishers) but nonetheless is instrumental in the diffusion of state power (96). Non-deliberate silences, contradicting the assumption that all maps are objective, affect the ways maps were seen and used. For example, European map standardization eliminated much local “color” from maps. As a certain tidiness developed, all towns and villages began to look alike, and individuality or regionalism was silenced.

Returning to the two deliberate silences, many of these instances evolved from the state’s role in cartography beginning with the European Renaissance and continuing through the nineteenth century. In his analysis of Foucault’s *épistémé*, mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, Harley suggests that cartographers furnished the state with a mass of
information that, from its strategic position as a holder of power, it was able to exploit. Moreover, governments frequently imposed their own rules upon this cartographic knowledge, creating silences that were introduced by those occasions of deliberate secrecy and censorship that occurred so often in the history of European state mapping (87). It would be in the best interest of weaker governments and rulers, for instance, to hide from circulating maps that disclose state secrets such as defensive fortifications, bridges, railroad lines, and even the storage of food. This power discourse supplied the reader with the “approved” version of a terrain or city, one that promoted the regime in power, highlighted military or technological advances, and downplayed features that failed to meet these requirements.

Both map ignorance and intentional map silence are not always easy for the map reader to identify or for the map maker to justify. Historically, most intentional silences result from military or strategic considerations. Even before the Renaissance, princes and statesmen alike began collecting maps both as working documents, used to plan or commemorate battles, and as art, though the maps rarely circulated freely outside elite circles. It was not in a ruler’s best interest to share strategic intelligence with current or potential enemies. Differences thus evolved between stronger monarchies, which needed less secrecy and made map knowledge more readily available, and weaker regimes that often felt threatened and allowed little or no cartographic information to spread. Harley cites sixteenth-century Elizabethan England and seventeenth-century France, under Louis XIV, as two “stronger, centralized” monarchies that felt few doubts in regard to mapping (and
making public) national surveys (90). With France moving towards more stable forms of governments as the nineteenth century ended, its maps became more public and less silent. For example, in 1867, unaware of the very real threat to his Empire’s east, Napoleon III, proud to show off Haussmann’s transformations, presented Wilhelm I of Prussia with a detailed map of the French capital transformed under the Prefect (Pinon, *Les Plans* 108).

The plan documented in great detail the same straight, wide boulevards Napoleon III himself hoped to use to subdue eastern Paris if needed. It appears today that Napoleon III provided the Prussian king with a vital tool to lay siege successfully to Paris, which he did just three years later.

Many cartographers purposely silenced areas of their maps to avoid mistakes such as this. Yet of all three silences, the third, unintentional silence, provides the most insight into the historical discourses of a particular map. By the end of the nineteenth century, French map makers were no longer in the business of intentionally ignoring or refusing to include military and commercially strategic map points. Their silences tended to be based on moral beliefs, often implying social or political worth. It was the urban poor, for one, which helped blockade neighborhoods and topple French regimes throughout the nineteenth century. This group was viewed as problematic by both the bourgeoisie, who longed for political stability, and political leaders such as Haussmann, who looked to control them. The poorer neighborhoods were among the first elements to be silenced on maps.

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87 Harley specifically cites the Elizabethan Saxton Surveys of the 1570s.
88 Richerand describes the crowds in Paris during the 1830 Revolution in his 1837 *Population dans ses rapports avec la nature des gouvernements*: “The ragged mob milled around the Palace gates […] and they remained sinister of aspect. A great number of released jailbirds, the pick of the line in riots, swarmed in the streets; already overburdened with the loot of the Royal Palace and some of the museums, they coveted yet richer spoils” (qtd. in Chevalier 371).
Catering to the urban officials and businessmen, nineteenth-century maps of Paris accurately documented the city’s changing hierarchy, giving prominence to both bourgeois neighborhoods and Republican labeling. Adolphe Joanne’s 1870 *Paris Illustré* included map-inserts, providing details of central, middle-class Paris. At the same time, official government decrees from the newly declared Third Republic in 1870 confirmed the anti-imperial government’s cartographic view of Parisian streets and buildings. Most imperial names of buildings and streets were officially changed by decree upon the proclamation of the Republic, negating Napoleon III’s impact. The Republic was able to appropriate the most prominent avenues, such as the Avenue de l’Opéra, to serve as examples of its legitimacy. In contrast, certain restless Parisian neighborhoods, the same ones from which the revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1871 erupted, were often erased from view in both official and tourist maps. Similar to East London, these economically disadvantaged areas of Paris could not command the same influence as the wealthier, Haussmann-modified central and western arrondissements, and it showed.

What was thus influential enough to be included? Money. As the value of titled nobility diminished following the Second Empire, wealth became much more of an indication of one’s status and importance. By 1870, being a noble meant less than it once had. Many of those who sported noble titles in the late nineteenth century had obtained them from the first Napoleon, who re-established nobility in 1808. Others received theirs as late as the Second Empire.\(^9\) Others even invented them. “By the end of the century, while nobility still carried social prestige in the small, declining world of high society described by Marcel Proust, wealth, land and respectability counted more” (Sowerwine 6). The social

\(^9\) Georges Eugène Haussmann’s title of Baron awarded by Napoleon III is one prominent example.
status and the nature of men’s occupations were both matters of concern in nineteenth-century Europe, especially among the *grande bourgeoisie*. They mattered, and this socio-economic reality needed to be translated into maps.

Neither the peasantry nor the urban poor held a respectable place in the social hierarchy, and as cartographically disenfranchised groups they had no right to representation on maps (Harley 101). When combined with Booth’s analogy of poor, “darkest,” Eastern London, the cartographic and demographic neglect of certain economically depressed neighborhoods resulted in the significant gap and miscalculation of the size, power, and influence of these people. With an ability to accommodate numerous soldiers, Haussmann and Napoleon III both believed that the installation of long, wide boulevards would eliminate the threats of violence and revolution. The large, empty quadrants on the edge of the city showed no tangible threat to the Empire. Nevertheless, the 1871 Paris Commune, erupting from the “silenced” working-class eastern arrondissements, proved the contrary.

In contrast to cartographers and bureaucrats whose primary concern was efficient administration, English social reformers such as the Salvation Army were concerned with the lack of knowledge and moral control over such spaces; hence, their overriding obsession with hidden recesses, narrow turnings, dark alleys, and shadowy corners all of which were absent from maps. These troubled neighborhoods were considered diseased spaces by the establishment, threatening the health of the social body as a whole and seen as fever dens, plague spots, hot-beds of moral pestilence, rendez-vous of vice, nurseries of felons, colonies of paupers, seedbeds of revolution, the nuclei of the disaffected. The task of the social

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90 Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet’s 1857 report, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, examined the state of hygiene and prostitution in early nineteenth-century France and Europe and serves as a French example of the need to document – and understand – a supposedly morally corrupt population.
explorer, the author and social scientist alike, was to map out the moral geographies of these areas (Driver 180-81). Charting these recesses would expose problems in modern industrial societies, further encouraging reformers to fix them.

Although many people wished to “fix” the problematic and silenced areas of cities, determining the exact reasons for the use of silence merits a closer look. Present-day judgments from researchers combined with historical context may best identify whether a silence is “the result of deliberate acts of censorship, unintentional epistemological silence, a mixture of both, or perhaps merely a function of the slowness with which cartographers revised their maps to accord with the realities of the world” (Harley 105). For nineteenth-century France, the introduction of geography into the Third Republic curriculum in the 1880s created more qualified geography teachers. Vidal de la Blache’s work with the *Annales de Géographie* transformed geography from a small, insignificant discipline into one that was recognized and valued by the French academic community.

As French geographical knowledge became uniform and widespread, ignorance played less of a role in map silence as the century drew to a close. A lack of knowledge was therefore replaced by an active desire to promote modern Paris at the expense of other, less desirable areas of the city. Yet even with a growing, cartographically literate, map-reading population, gaps still remained between knowledge of a terrain and its mapped publication, resulting in further map silence. However, with the central role of Paris’s in government and business and with the capital arguably the least “unknown” area of the country, it is curious to note that certain neighborhoods in northeastern Paris still remained “dark” well into the Third Republic.
When a cartographer actively chooses not to map an area or neighborhood, the resulting silence should not automatically be considered an omission or mistake. Such silences are affirmative statements that have or reflect an ideology for the societies in question. Since there really is no such thing as an empty space on a map, any silence is by default the cartographer’s choice (Harley 106). What choices, then, have the map makers made in the previously studied maps?

“Deliberate” Silences

In France, deliberate silences lingered well after the end of the Second Empire, even as improved education slowly eliminated the unknown in people’s imagination and on mapped areas of the city. Third Republic Paris still had many neighborhoods that the government did not truly comprehend. Economically depressed eastern Paris a center of poverty, was not much different from the east end of London described by George Sims and Charles Booth. In the late nineteenth century, eastern arrondissements, specifically the eleventh and nineteenth, were both crowded and dangerous. Haussmann and Napoleon III tried to eliminate potential uprisings and were quite successful, though not through social improvements like better or more affordable housing, but with defensive maneuvers like burying the Canal Saint Martin and constructing multiple casernes around the Place de la Bastille, both of which would hasten and facilitate troop movements in times of crisis.\(^91\) The mere fact that Napoleon III and his regime feared these neighborhoods further reinforced

\(^91\) The strategic objectives of transforming the area around the troublesome Faubourg Saint Antoine are described in Sutcliff (34). In his Mémoires, Haussmann identifies the 9 July 1860 décret that authorized the lowering of the Canal Saint-Martin. However, downplaying the dangers of the neighborhood, the Prefect preferred to concentrate on the cost and the resulting benefits of transforming the area (625, 943).
their negative reputation. Mapmakers, often dependent on imperial patronage, were not eager to highlight areas of the city hostile to the government. When depicting these neighborhoods in Second Empire and Third Republic maps, both their size and danger were summarily downplayed or ignored.

Nevertheless, regardless of their real or imagined reputations, people still lived there. So, what was the actual makeup of these “ignored” neighborhoods? Were they as bad as the bourgeoisie feared? Why did they exist? Few would assert that the dense living conditions, many of which resulted from Haussmann’s transformations that also expelled the working class from central Paris, made surveying effortless. It was simply much faster and easier, as well as politically advantageous, to ignore these neighborhoods than to send in unpopular government representatives to map them adequately.

The emptying of central Paris of its poor under Haussmann and the shifting of the displaced population to the edges of the city contributed to creating hostile environment for the government. Starting from around the Place de la République and ending at the edges of the nineteenth and twentieth arrondissements, huge tracks of eastern Paris were regarded by the government as actual or potential industrial sites, with little regard for the inhabitants who resided there:

Le centre de Paris fut vidé de ses habitants pauvres : après l’ouverture de nombreuses avenues nouvelles autour de la place du Château-d’Eau [Place de la République], de nombreux habitants du Xe arrondissement durent déménager vers le XXe. La grande dissymétrie parisienne, l’opposition entre une moitié orientale pauvre et une partie occidentale riche, apparut, certes,
avant 1840, mais elle devint un fait urbain fondamental sous le Second Empire, conséquence directe des travaux du préfet (Marchand 100-01).

Haussmann had effectively divided Paris in two. The western arrondissements enhanced by Garnier’s Opéra and multiple *grands magasins*, continued to attract wealthier bourgeois residents, while the eastern arrondissements soon filled up with the same poorer population Haussmann evicted.

With the working-class population absent from central Paris, both the government and the bourgeoisie felt safer. One result of this de facto “ghettoization” of the city’s poor on its outskirts was that the perceived trouble makers were no longer as visible as before. The feelings of helplessness coupled with regimes that ignored the rights of the poor spelled disaster for many nineteenth-century governments. Barricades had been erected in sections of Paris nine times in the twenty-five years before the Second Empire, and they could be used in the narrow streets to hold off large numbers of government troops, at least for a time (Sutcliffe 32). Upon the declaration of the Second Republic in 1848 and Louis Napoleon’s subsequent declaration of Empire in 1851, Paris witnessed a twenty-two year period with little or no large-scale rebellion in the French capital, validating Haussmann’s decision to empty central Paris of its rebellious elements. Map makers, absent from the public consciousness, did not need to provide the working class with the legitimacy of mapped representation.

This growing residential segregation not only protected the bourgeoisie from the real (or imagined) threats of the dangerous and criminal elements but also increasingly divided the city into relatively secure spaces for each of the different social classes, a situation that showed up in maps (Harvey 150). The western Parisian arrondissements, primarily the
eighth and seventeenth that housed the wealthy bourgeoisie and exemplified Haussmann’s work, were both frequented and known by cartographers and government administrators alike. The eastern neighborhoods on the contrary, full of dark recesses and narrow alleyways, were to be avoided, and map makers demonstrated the resulting suppressions on maps. For example,

on a simple traverse from the city center to the fortifications, [Second-Empire civil servant and critic of Haussmann’s division of Paris] Louis Lazare counted no fewer than 269 alleyways, courtyards, dwelling houses, and shantytowns constructed without any municipal control whatsoever.\(^{92}\)

Though much of the housing for impoverished families was in the suburban semicircle running around the east of the city, with particular concentrations in the southeast and northeast, there was intense overcrowding of single workers in the lodging houses close to the city center, and there were patches of poor housing even within the interstices of the predominantly bourgeois west (Harvey 199).

Lazare’s detailed description documents the economic segregation found in much of Paris, including the squalid living conditions for many of the working poor. Maps from the late Second Empire and the early Third Republic made no acknowledgement of this decrepit infrastructure, which might appear as a lack of municipal control on maps or an inability to care for the poor. With the Commune just months away, city and national leaders

\(^{92}\) In his *Les Quartiers de l’est de Paris* (1870) Louis Lazare observed, among his many other criticisms, that “[les] artisans et ouvriers sont refoulés dans de véritables Sibérias sillonnées de chemins tortueux, sans pavage, sans éclairage, sans marchés, privés d’eau, où tout manque enfin […],” proving as the Second Empire drew to a close that many problems still existed (Fierro 530).
commanded little actual authority in parts of eastern Paris. Even after the Second Empire, the Paris city government’s *Plan général* documents what little was known or wanted to be known there. The same recesses and shantytowns that Lazare recorded in 1870 were nowhere to be found on Chevreau’s map. Instead of alleyways and courtyards, there are only large, empty spaces (see Figure 34). The map reader, if not familiar with the city, could be convinced that there was nothing there.

Figure 34

![Map of nineteenth arrondissement in 1870 Plan général](image)

Figure 34: The "empty" nineteenth arrondissement in the 1870 *Plan général*

After the establishment of the Third Republic, the French government acknowledged and soon began to rehabilitate the very neighborhoods described by Lazare. But with such poor base conditions, any significant advancement would take time. Alphand’s *Paris en 1889* prides itself on documenting how much time, money, and effort the Republic spent in the outer arrondissements in the twenty years since Napoleon III’s fall.
Even if many of the improvements were superficial, concentrating on only the main thoroughfares and continuing Haussmann’s dissection of crowded neighborhoods, the Third Republic made a substantial effort to know all of Paris. By sending in an army, not of soldiers but of workers and surveyors, the government soon began familiarizing itself with and started documenting this Paris.

When the Third Republic began to express interest in the outer arrondissements, deliberate silence in the publication of maps of Paris changed. With the city’s remodeling and transformation complete, post-Commune Paris regained its position as a premier European tourist destination. Expositions Universelles in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900 added to the Paris cityscape with the construction of many large monuments. These edifices increased tourism. To continue bringing in tourists and their money as long as possible, guidebook authors wanted to promote the best of Paris. Not only did these authors simplify Paris by eliminating any part of the city that might confuse the map reader, they also decided that acknowledging the problematic areas of the city would discourage visitors. In addition, if tourists were to return after the Commune of 1871, the city needed to appear welcoming and calm.

93 The 1889 and 1900 Expositions Universelles alone added not only the Eiffel Tower, but the Trocadéro Palace, a new Gare de Lyon, the Gare d’Orsay, the Pont Alexandre III, and the Grand and Petit Palais.
With the need to demonstrate trouble-free neighborhoods, negative spaces—Harvey’s second silence—those that did not meet the criteria for inclusion, are evoked by mapmakers. By not inserting or labeling a site, guidebook authors were not explicitly stating “this is not a river” or “this is not a town,” but instead were focused on what tourists would want to see. At the end of the nineteenth century this list included not only Gothic cathedrals, former royal and imperial palaces, and statues, but also the “modern” rail stations, the massive grands magasins, and Haussmann’s boulevards. Minor streets were not always eliminated from tourist maps, as was the case for Paul Joanne’s 1889 Paris guide, but they were often simplified. Joanne portrayed these nameless streets simply as thin black lines feeding into and connecting larger, more significant labeled boulevards (see Figure 35). With no designation or identification, the road hierarchy and silence were in place. The map maker in effect told the tourist that “this is not a road [you need to take],” or “this road doesn’t matter.” The tourist would not be able to use these maps to maneuver around the
side streets, and that was the point. Joanne guided the reader via the main boulevards. The silenced map controlled how the reader and tourist viewed, and used, the city.

Joanne’s silence affected both streets and neighborhoods. The soon-to-be-operational métropolitain facilitated city movement. As people explored beyond central Paris, street names became more important than “faceless” buildings when finding their way.

Street silence continues in Joanne’s 1900 Paris et ses environs guide, but to a much lesser extent. Even though Joanne’s turn-of-the-century map of Paris begins to include and label more streets, the areas in between are not detailed. As with both the 1870 and 1889 guides, the small streets and alleyways remain off the map. So, even as Paris neared the beginning of the twentieth century, smaller roads were still regarded with disdain.

Figure 36

![Image of a map]

Figure 36: Alphand's Paris en 1889 silenced many areas around La Villette in Northeastern Paris

The official government maps address this second silence differently than does Joanne. Although Alphand’s Paris en 1889 specifically highlights all the road improvements undertaken by the city since 1870, there still remained significant amounts of “silent” areas.
Alphand’s multi-map atlas *Les Travaux de Paris*, demonstrates investment in all areas of Paris and includes other maps showcasing additional improvements to Paris, such as transportation and new building construction. For a series of documents boasting a large reduction of the unknown, Alphand does not manage to eliminate it completely. His map provides proof that, as a whole, Paris was better understood. However, Alphand’s “Les Opérations de Voiries exécutées entre 1871-1889,” silences many of the same areas found on the 1870 *Plan général* and the *Guides Joanne* (see Figure 36). The northeastern sections of the city continue to receive less attention than elsewhere. The reader has to look blocks away from La Villette to find any acknowledgement of road betterment. The Abbatoirs complex helped feed the growing city and is prominently mapped, but the pink neighborhood that surrounds it is not.

There is not much progress in a reduction of silence eleven years later. The army’s 1900 *Carte d’état-major* also ignores wide areas of Paris, though the map’s scale lessens the effect. Covering a larger surface – Paris and the surrounding métropolitain area – the army did not include many details, but then that was not the map’s purpose. More than a decade after Alphand’s acknowledgement of the outer arrondissements, the army realized that showing every detail of Paris on this map would be counterproductive when it wished to concentrate on the expanding metropolitan area.

**Silencing Monumental Paris**

The army was not the only map publisher to downplay the complex street network in the French capital. However, both tourist guides and other official government maps were
eager to suppress additional characteristics of the Parisian cityscape. Joanne’s 1870 Paris Illustré legend presents a lengthy list of what were considered reputable tourist venues: churches, imperial administrative buildings, and parks. As we have observed, the tourist guide silences many different neighborhoods in the imperial capital, possibly to appease Napoleon III, or perhaps to let the tourist know in which parts of central Paris they should remain. While certain attractions, such as La Villette and the various gares located outside the central arrondissements, are prominently positioned by means of Joanne’s map discourse, his silencing of the adjacent neighborhoods further exhibits the minor role ascribed to the surrounding areas in the Paris tourist industry.

Paris was known for its monuments, yet few of these did not integrate well into the surrounding neighborhoods. The Tour Eiffel, perhaps the most contentious of all monuments, was hated by many of the Exposition’s organizers, and considered too modern to assimilate properly into Haussmann’s (and now Paris’s) uniform look. Numerous literary and political figures wrote the Parisan newspaper Le Temps on February 14, 1887 to protester de toutes [leurs] forces, de toute [leur] indignation, au nom du goût français méconnu, au nom de l’art et de l’histoire français menacés, contre l’érection, en plein cœur de [la] capital, de l’inutile et monstrueuse tour Eiffel, que la malignité publique, souvent empreinte de bon sens et d’esprit de justice, a déjà baptisée du nom de « tour de Babel » (qtd. in Ory, L’Expo 39-40).

Due to the general animosity toward the Eiffel Tower on the part of numerous civic and literary leaders, many tourist guides chose not to include prominent representations of the now-famous landmark until well into the twentieth century, and Joanne’s 1889 guide is no
exception. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Paul Joanne’s main “Plan de Paris” provides only a large, blank space for the Exposition Universelle site, although the Tour Eiffel’s construction, lasting from January 1887 until March 1889, was well underway before the map was published (Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme*, 492). Yet eventually the Tower became extremely popular and joined tourist guidebook discourse: “Elle était prévue pour être, comme tout le reste, démolie après l’exposition. Mais, après bien des campagnes d’opinion pour ou contre, elle s’élève toujours dans [le] ciel parisien” (Rouleau 375-76). Eleven years later, in 1900, when the Tower's enormous popularity with both tourists and residents had not waned, Joanne, meeting the needs of his readers, finally includes the large structure on both his main map *coupures* and on multiple map-inserts. He could no longer justify silencing such a significant feature of the Paris skyline.

Official maps, on the other hand, were even less recognizant of the modern monument than the travel guides. Alphand’s *Paris en 1889* promotes the intense building around the Exposition Universelle site on both sides of the Seine. However, whereas Joanne’s 1889 *Plan de Paris* did not suppress the Tour Eiffel in its main map, Alphand’s *Travaux de Paris* did. His public work’s agency was not involved in the construction of the tower, which eliminated any need to include it on his map of completed street works. Perhaps most telling of Alphand’s opinion of the modern tower is manifested on his map entitled “Édifices de Paris Construits de 1871 à 1889.” Even this map, documenting all recent building in the city, somehow fails to incorporate the Eiffel Tower. In contrast, Alphand included other historically prominent structures, though perhaps to refer to the massive road-building projects that the Third Republic both initiated and completed.
The Army’s *Carte d’état-major* followed Alphand’s example and continued to let the private sector highlight the Eiffel Tower. The military’s mapping agency does include the structure, yet even with the map’s emphasis on technology and communication, the army represents the tower with small red squares, representing the four base pillars. The reduced size of the bases compromises their significance, and the surrounding green spaces hide them from the reader. Not unlike the city wall, which also blends into the red city, the modern Eiffel Tower is just four more red dots in an already red city.

Perhaps what is the most noticeable is not the tower’s presence on the army’s map, but the large, adjacent empty space. This sizeable “silent” area within the crowded city detracts from the tower’s prominence. The Exposition site is not labeled, making the resulting silence even more powerful (see Figure 37). The army is in effect stating, “This is an undeveloped area of Paris,” acknowledging the transitory nature of the Champ de Mars. Other parks, such as Parc Monceau and the Jardin du Luxembourg, both colored and labeled, are acknowledged by the army and further contrast with the undeveloped silent space.
Both the state-sponsored and private French cartographic publishing industries actively silenced many different areas of Parisian maps. As I have argued, controlling and manipulating the map content was not a new phenomenon and often resulted from a desire to please, directly or indirectly, the regime in power. The state had a genuine interest in affecting how the city of Paris was mapped and portrayed. However, as much as the government wished to appear neutral, it controlled and manipulated both map discourse and silence, often indirectly. Similar to Hachette, other publishers wished to profit from publishing government orders.\footnote{For a discussion of Hachette’s relationship with French governments, see chapter 3.} It was therefore in their best interest to promote a calm, welcoming Paris in any travel guide.
“Unconscious” Silence

Deciphering the difference between deliberate map silences or those that may be considered “unconscious” is not always simple. As suggested in the first half of this chapter, silence can result from deliberate acts of censorship or merely from the slow rate at which cartographers revised their maps, thereby documenting their ignorance. Deliberate silence is often the outcome of a ruling power interfering with the cartographic process either directly or indirectly; however, unconscious silences are not as evident (Harley 105). Map silence is not always a conscious decision on the part of the cartographer, and unintentional silence is that which is not explicitly commanded. For Harley, it stems more from rules within a culture, culminating in the appearance and disappearance of statements on maps (97). This definition of unconscious silence rests primarily with cartographic detail (or lack thereof) that cannot be explained by either secrecy or technical factors, but by “historical rules,” which are not merely theoretical but observable in forms that vary according to the particular “social, economic, geographic or linguistic zone” within which a map originated (97).

In Third Republic France, for example, many new streets or buildings took the names of important republican individuals or dates (Avenue du 4 Septembre, Avenue Léon Gambetta). Any “royal” designation would remind readers of pre-republican times and would thus not be entertained. Rather than map propaganda, found most often in the promotion of either regimes or sites, unintentional silence results instead from the rules or conventions in society. The cartographer is ultimately limited, though not always overtly, to observing social, cultural, or historical norms in cartography or in the publishing industry itself. Even if the mapmaker is able to keep up with the latest technologies and methods of
his trade, he or she often “unconsciously” silences parts of a map when trying to promote modernity or different governments.

One example of this silence – dating from early modern Europe – was the emergence of a universal science of measurement, along with improved classification or ordered tabulation, both of which were important underpinnings in present-day map design. With proper classification and formalized science of mapping, both the map maker and map-reader believed that the maps, freed from a regime’s whims, were becoming more objective. How true was this centuries later, during the Third Republic? The 1900 Carte d’état-major was based on the government’s impartial national survey, yet the army had a point of view, and the resulting map promoted communication and technology.

Mapped political discourse, as it has been presented throughout this dissertation, has relied on an assumption of the legitimacy of both an existing political system and its values. The democratic Third Republic proved its own credibility in part through laws and policies. Moreover, the newly proclaimed government, eager to document its authority over Paris, published maps showing its control. France, joining other European nations asserting colonial rights, also mapped vast African territorial claims from Algeria in the north to Madagascar in the south. Upon publication, European governments could then document and prove their administrative claims. Political statements on maps are intended, consciously or not, to prolong, preserve, and develop the “truths” and achievements initiated by the founders of that political system or modified by their successors (Harley 99). New or conquering regimes (colonial or other) validated their power through maps, promoting the status quo and continuing what leaders had done for centuries. With other European nations
documenting their own truths, national map standardizations developed based on both political discourse and a classification of landscape.

Silence Through Standardization

European map standardization also evolved from the science of measurement. Just as eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers attempted to classify knowledge in the *Encyclopédie*, many cartographic symbols were organized by European state mapping agencies. State-controlled cartographies, even as early as the sixteenth century, began establishing a semi-uniform, but still at this point unique, scientific and technical discourse. Some of the most common examples included situating north at the top of a map, or placing Jerusalem (or the capital city of the particular kingdom or nation) at the center of their world maps. There was no explicit reasoning for either action, except for the fact that it literally positioned the “advanced” European civilizations above those in the Southern Hemisphere. Another example: the Mercator projection, used regularly in nineteenth-century world maps, portrayed land surface area in the Northern hemisphere, including most of Europe, as bigger than its actually size. So when comparing the “civilized” societies of Europe to those of “darkest” Africa or Asia, Europe occupied a larger percentage of the earth’s surface than it really did.

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95 Longitudes on maps using the Mercator projection did not meet at the North (or South) Pole. The resulting maps – seen in countless classrooms around the world – overly “inflate” land closest to either Pole. Greenland, for example, is shown almost as large as Africa, while Africa’s true size is thirteen times larger. Marc Monmonier, in *How to Lie with Maps*, provides additional examples of the propagandist nature of the Mercator projection (94-96).
Map standardization documented European superiority in other ways as well. For instance, in many of the topographical atlases of early modern Europe, much of the character and individuality of local places was removed. Behind the façade of a few standard signs on these atlases there was little originality. In some cases, the only way to determine where exactly the mapped area was located was to read the place names. The outline of one town looked much the same as that of the next; identical villages were arranged in a neat taxonomic hierarchy; and woodlands and forests were aggregated into only a few types. The net result was that the cartographic landscape of Europe became more generalized, more abstract, and less differentiated in its representations. In France, as map making became increasingly centralized throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under Louis XIV and Louis XV, the kingdom’s maps also became increasingly uniform. Cassini’s *Carte de France* (1756) homogenized mapped representations of the entire kingdom for the first time.
In the nineteenth century, the popularity of a few select guidebook series created consistency in travel maps of cities and countries. Many map makers actively removed map elements that could confuse or frustrate new map readers, they also “unconsciously” eliminated others. This was done in two principal ways. First, many nineteenth-century French maps included visual representations of the larger monuments that highlighted their facades. These “monumental” maps seemed to decorate as much as to guide the reader. The Garnier Frères’ *Nouveau Paris Monumental* (1899) is one example. Their sizeable illustrations covered up much, if not all, of the nearby city space (see Figure 38). By the same token, in order to accommodate all the buildings on the transformed Ile de la Cité, the map makers had to significantly elongate the island, distorting its actual size.

The more prominent tourist guides (Baedeker, Joanne, Chaix, etc.) chose not to do this. Instead, their buildings and sites were represented only by an outline or shape. For
them, the more prominent the building, the more area it occupied on the map. Instead of promoting or highlighting historical monuments such as the Arc de Triomphe or the Bastille column with a large picture, they were given only the physical space occupied. Therefore, the smaller the statue, pillar, or obelisk’s “shadow,” the less significant it would appear on the map. In this manner, Joanne had, in fact, silenced “monumental” Paris by giving preference to sizeable, modern buildings. Iron, and later steel, afforded the construction of larger, more elaborate buildings, with rail stations and Les Halles being two such examples and they monopolized space on maps.

Furthermore, Haussmann’s transformation of Paris resulted not only in larger buildings being built, but being built next to each other. Often administrative in nature, these dark, prominent clusters attracted the reader’s eye, further silencing smaller, single-edifice sites. In Adolphe Joanne’s 1870 *Paris Illustré*, this representation was exemplified in central Paris by the Ile de la Cité and the Louvre, and in northeastern Paris by La Villette. Other guides were equally consistent with Joanne in their representation of central Paris, filling it with large, developed centers.

Beyond the silence that resulted from building standardization, political and social suppression could also be found on maps through the nineteenth century. One such example concerns toponymic silence. Conquering states often impose their own discourse on minority or subject populations through transformation of place names: “While such manipulations are, at one level, the result of deliberate censorship or policies of acculturation, at another – the epistemological – level, they also can be seen as representing the unconscious rejection of those “other” people by those belonging to the politically more powerful groups” (Harley 100). The most obvious demonstration of this in Paris is the
renaming of streets, boulevards, and buildings after the fall of the Second Empire. As discussed in chapter 2, the Third Republic eagerly eliminated any and all appropriation exercised under Napoleon III during the Second Empire. The 1870 Plan général documents the city in the process of “republicanizing” its street and building names. And by the time of 1889 Alphand’s city maps, published by the Travaux de Paris agency, these maps had almost completely silenced the former regime, affirming the Third Republic’s control over Paris.

**Legend Silence**

Map naming is critical in both informing the reader and in setting a tone, and it has historically demonstrated power. The legend, on the other hand, is often overlooked in favor of the names or labels included on maps, but it is significant nonetheless. Investigated in earlier chapters, map legends emphasize the mapmaker’s discourse. Yet examining what the map maker eliminates from the legend can be equally striking. For example, Joanne’s regime-friendly guidebooks promoted both the Catholic Church and the administrative capabilities of imperial Paris, incorporating them on the more significant, right-hand side of his legend. But for the two-hundred four points of interest included in his 1870 legend, which enlightened the tourist as to the most significant structures in late nineteenth century Paris, hundreds more are missing. These absences are even more striking eleven years later, since Joanne reduced his 1889 legend from two-hundred four points to only eighty-one. Even with increased secularization championed by the Third Republic, it is doubtful that the number of Catholic churches in Paris diminished by one-hundred twenty-three between the two publication dates, but as the available map-legend space grew smaller, something had to
give. Those churches not considered significant enough for inclusion were dropped, and if
the traveler chose not to read the guide text, they would thus remain anonymous, silenced in
Joanne’s Paris map discourse.

As the French traveled more, they became better map readers. Furthermore, as map
symbols became more universal and as people came to recognize the monuments
themselves, map makers could devote less space to legends. Joanne saw fit therefore to
include only the most prominent sites and buildings in the legend. Those items considered
less important were simply dropped, victims of the developing nineteenth-century map
production. Some examples were the Observatoire (The Observatory), the Faculté de Droit
(Law School), the twenty Mairies (town halls of each arrondissement), and the Puits Artésien
de Grenelle (Grenelle artesian well). By 1900 the four coupures, each on a separate sheet of
paper, rendered difficult including a single legend, and Joanne eliminated it altogether. It
then became the responsibility of readers to inform themselves, going beyond simply
looking at the map inserts to analyze the given data.

“Undeveloped” Silences

With Joanne’s legend eliminated, more space was freed to devote to the map. As the
Parisian metropolitan expanded beyond the walled fortifications after 1870, maps of Paris
began to include this new infrastructure. Yet with urban growth pushing further away from
the city center, cartographers needed to differentiate between built-up, settled areas and
those that remained undeveloped, even if only temporarily. Thus arose the issue of
representing fields and empty lots, and most map makers ignored them. This type of silence
is yet another manifestation of the western scientific values reflected in European cartography. Harley also sees this silence in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European colonial maps. When validating recently acquired territory, European and American settlers saw endless possibilities on the map.

Both the nineteenth-century western United States, as well as large parts of Africa, represented not only unlimited potential natural resources but also room to grow. Hesitant to acknowledge the actual native population’s territorial claims, many maps instead showed large, empty spaces. In short, these maps were ethnocentric images and part of the apparatus of cultural colonialism. It is not only that the government offered a promise of free, and apparently virgin, land – an empty space for Europeans to partition and fill – but that the image provided is also of a landscape in which the indigenous population is absent (Harley 105). The result is guilt-free annexation. Through this particular silence, the map becomes a license for the appropriation of much available territory. In regard to the native populations, it was another means by which to document and prove the superiority of the European way of life.

The French army, for one, continued this trend in its maps. It employed a legend to assess, among other things, Parisian land use. In doing so, terrain not claimed by a city or government, or with little or no significant development was “unconsciously” silenced. With the exception of the large open Exposition Universelle site, the vacant lots or uncultivated land at the edge of the Parisian urban fabric had limited strategic appeal because they often served as farms or private domains. Differing from mapmakers’ ignorance, this silence did not result from lack of knowledge, for the army had surveyed the entire Paris region, but from a lack of perceived worth. The unused land has been stripped of value since it appears
the same color as the map paper itself, ready for the map maker to record future city growth as Paris thrived and prospered.

The red built-up city infrastructure demonstrates a growing city. The green woods and parks demarcate the land needed for recreation. Yet, any land that does not fit into either of these two broad categories is left uncolored, essentially silent. Although it is doubtful that this land is truly “vacant” or contains no infrastructure, the map reader is not given the information to contradict this. The army, documenting Paris’s expansion from a city to a metropolitan area, keeps all undeveloped land outside the walled fortifications unclassified. Void of all development, vegetation, or even infrastructure, the army has provided Paris with considerable room to grow if needed. Just as the United States government furnished millions of acres to homesteading settlers, the land outside of Paris, regardless of its actual state, was available for the taking.

Conclusion

Harley’s definition of map silence has been instrumental in the examination of historical maps. He offers two conclusions about of the existence and use map silence. First, while initially simple and familiar, the power-knowledge of cartography as a discourse with social effects is complex. Not simply colored documents, maps and their multiple levels of meaning engage both the map maker and the reader (Harley 106). History, culture, and authority all merge to form a unique discourse of power.

As demonstrated with maps of Paris published during the Third Republic, the dynamic relationships between cartography and power constantly evolved. Map silence, even
in the nineteenth century, was not new. Cartography contributed considerably to French
authority throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Given the slow speed of
communication and their limited reach, the influence of maps was restricted. For the ruling
elite, cartography was an integral component in documenting and maintaining control.
Keeping faults and weaknesses hidden not only made sense in terms of defense, but also
allowed the regimes in power to monopolize information. The less an enemy knew about a
territory, the better. Even well into the Third Republic, governments used any means
necessary to promote the best of Paris and to silence the worst. But for some, silence was
not voluntary and could not be helped. Renaissance historian Richard Helgerson believes
that maps can never be ideologically neutral, in terms of their use or consequences, and that
they can never be “mere tools” whether of monarchical centralism or of any other
organization of power. They inevitably entered, he writes, “into systems of relations with
other representational practices and, in so doing, altered the meaning and authority of all the
others. It is this constantly shifting terrain between maps and other forms of power-
knowledge which still has to be charted within the history of cartography” (Helgerson 65).
Helgerson’s ideal grants additional importance to factors outside the map maker’s control,
accurately depicting cartography’s position as an integral component of a complex
information system. Maps and map silences were simply one reaction to competing forces.

Secondly, today we are on much surer ground when it comes to understanding the
importance of silences. Assuming that the world is a place where human choice is exercised
when drawing and publishing maps, absences must be seen as equally worthy of historical
investigation as presences. Furthermore, deliberate acts of silence have consequences. Lack
of accuracy on maps, for all the perceived benefits to a regime in power, limits knowledge
and hinders both development and dialogue with its citizens. As French cartography became more “objective” through improved technology and standardization, it was also imprisoned by a different subjectivity, that inherent in its replication of the state’s dominant ideology. While text, colors, and shapes and symbols were used by mapmakers to promote map discourse, silences were just as significant.

What is the role of maps and cartography in a society? Does map silence matter? This chapter further explored maps as instruments of propaganda for regimes in power. Third Republic governments influenced, directly or indirectly, both map production and publication. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, deliberate map silence further promoted a calm, safe, modern city to residents and tourists alike. Unconscious map silence, on the other hand championed monumental and developed Paris over the problematic or the insignificant.
Conclusion

In 1900, the Michelin Tire Company distributed its first Guide Michelin France, a small booklet published in Clermont-Ferrand and given to its patrons free of charge. Neither tourist nor hotel guide at its inception, it was primarily “un manuel d'utilisation des produits pneumatiques Michelin” (Francon 3). The first Guide Michelin allowed the reader to “approvisionner son automobile, la réparer […] de se loger et de se nourrir, de correspondre par poste, télégraphe ou téléphone” as he or she traveled around France in the early days of automobile travel (5). When leaving their hometown or neighborhood, Michelin’s tire customers could be assured of travel support in the form of mechanics, gas stations, distances to nearby towns, and reputable hotel rooms. Of course, the hope was that the more people traveled, the more often they would need to replace their tires. This free edition included many smaller towns and cities ignored by traditional travel guide, yet there is little cartographic representation inside. For example, the Guide Michelin provided no overall visual

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96 The 1900 edition limited itself to the 1410 communities that had at least one gas station (Francon 4).
representation of France or Paris and the company mapped only a few provincial cities. However cartographically incomplete, this guide marked the changing face of travel and travel guides as France entered the twentieth century.

No longer restricted by railroad schedules and routes, car owners had been “liberated” from the limits present in the many rail-based *itinéraires*. Once automobilists began to deviate from established guidebook routes, they needed different maps, ones for areas in between or away from railroad stations. Aided by the guidebook provided by Michelin Tire Company, the individual driver also began contributing to general tourist discourse. The *Guide Michelin* encouraged, even relied upon, motorists using the recommended businesses and providing feedback by sending in a questionnaire. The newly updated manual, published every year, created an interactive guide adapting with the tourist. Seeing France thus became easier and more individualized. Other events, such as the Tour de France bicycle race, begun in 1903, took advantage of the expanding French road network and the growing popularity of cycling. The French eagerly explored the countryside on bicycles. The “vogue of ‘excursionism’ was opening up France, carrying wheeled explorers off the beaten track into parts of the country long unvisited” (Weber 203). Modern inventions transformed the way the French saw the countryside.

By declaring that, “l’automobilisme se développera chaque année,”(5) the *Guide Michelin’s “Avant-propos”* epitomized French optimism at the turn of the century. The automobile, along with driving, became more popular each year and the Michelin Company

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97 The 1900 Guide Michelin mapped the following cities: Agen, Angoulême, Biarritz, Castres, Clermont-Ferrand, Nevers, Nice, Pau, Rheims, Rouen, Toulouse, and Tours, but not Paris, Lyon, or Marseilles, three large and historically important cities.

98 For a detailed account of cycling’s growth in the late nineteenth century, see Eugen Weber, “La Petite Reine” in *France, Fin de Siècle* (195-212), and Thompson, *The Tour de France*. 
hoped that this trend would continue. The future looked hopeful. Belle Époque France witnessed many new changes in technology and the arts.\(^99\) Diplomacy helped France improve relations with other countries, Germany being a notable exception.\(^100\) Late nineteenth-century French industrialization also brought a combination of more free time, larger incomes, and, with better access to both public transportation and individual automobiles, easier movement, further increasing the numbers of French travelers. As the century drew to a close, a greater variety of maps was needed to meet this demand.

One primary argument of the present study is that map discourse was used to further define and articulate the government’s view of French society in the early Third Republic. The chaotic nineteenth century ended with republican governments coming to power in 1870 and French publishers promoting both modernity and the Republic, showing Paris as a stable, efficient, welcoming city on maps. Complementing government, technology was also a catalyst for both travel and travel guides. Not only did advances in the publishing industry modify the look of maps with improvements in color and size. It also changed the way the French moved around, used, and understood their cities, transforming how urban areas were portrayed.

Beyond the different look of maps, France increased its contacts with the rest of the world. Colonialism became more dominant in French politics, lasting well into the mid-

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\(^99\) By the end of the nineteenth century, Paris “blossomed” with more than two-hundred café-concerts, bals musettes, guinguettes, and cabarets artistiques,” marking a “new age” of arts and literature (Horne 290-94). For an in-depth look at this new age, see Dominique Lejeune, ”Traditions et avant-gardes dans le champ culturel” in La France de la Belle Époque, 1896-1914 (127-49).

\(^100\) One such example, the 1904 Entente Cordiale between France and Britain (in addition to France’s alliance with Russia), ended centuries of conflict between the two nations and helped set the alliance that combated Germany in World War I.
twentieth century.\textsuperscript{101} The presentation of France’s colonial possessions to the nation in both maps and guides represented an opportunity to confirm the Republic’s international status and good intent by spreading French ideas and “civilizing” Africa and Asia. As France looked to validate its empire, it turned to detailed maps.

Yet as France documented knowledge of its colonies, the government also continued to silence marginalized and rebellious populations. In mainland France, the police often swept through areas frequented by the Parisian gay population,\textsuperscript{102} just as it had cracked down on resistant labor pools in colonial Dakar.\textsuperscript{103} If arrests were not enough to prove authority, maps were employed to show rule of law in known problematic areas, for example, in the interior of Algeria, where the French presence was less sure than on the coast. On paper, French jurisdiction over vast amounts of territory reinforced its status in Europe and the world. This concluding chapter examines various results of these strategies of proving authority. At the same time, it identifies additional, as yet unanswered questions, representing new avenues of study both for the author and those interested in the role of map discourse in better elucidating the early years of France’s longest lasting regime to date.

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\textsuperscript{101} In \textit{Rulers of Empire: the French Colonial Service in Africa}, William Cohen describes the politics, at the national level, of administering the French overseas colonial possessions.

\textsuperscript{102} Historically, Paris’s gay public spaces were found primarily in wooded areas, public urinals, and the Seine riverbanks. Changes to the urban landscape in the course of the nineteenth century created many new cruising sites, without eliminating the older ones (Sibalis, “Paris” 19).

\textsuperscript{103} Conklin acknowledged that the Governor General of Dakar insisted that the use of force was required to help Africans progress: “Dakar’s willingness to regulate the use of forced labor in the 1920s, should have conflicted with the free-labor ideology that had led to the non-recognition of slavery in 1905” (212).
Mapping the Transforming City

As map makers adapted to the transformation of both travel and improved map-reading ability during the Third Republic, they continued to provide a unified message to their readers: one of Paris as a modern, secure city. After years of silencing “problematic” neighborhoods from map readers, French cartographers were eventually able to present the actual state of Paris after 1900 once it had been “tamed.” Following revolutions in both 1830 and 1848, the Commune of 1871 solidified Paris’s reputation as a rebellious, riot-prone city. The early Third Republic needed to reassure the world of France’s complete recovery from civil war and of the restoration of business and industry. With Paris tamed on maps, the French government focused on the promotion of France’s modern capabilities.

How, then, did the Third Republic promote and map modernity? Both the city of Paris and travel guides certified the lengthy, continuous process of industrializing the French economy. They also corroborated the French government’s and citizens’ changing view of city space, moving from a newly transformed, nineteenth-century French imperial city to an ever-expanding, twentieth-century modern European one. The improved rail links with neighboring countries signified that Parisians were no longer just French, but members of a larger international community, welcoming all of Europe and beyond. Nineteenth-century World’s Fairs helped to solidify this ideal. Furthermore, the French became better educated, more well-traveled, and less reliant on the past for identification.

Mapped representations of the Tuileries Palace serve as one example in which the conversion from Paris’s past to the present manifested itself. Destroyed along with the Hôtel de Ville and many other buildings and monuments during the Commune, the palace’s
The debate over whether to rebuild or tear down the burned-out remains of the Tuileries Palace was indicative of the Republic’s reaction to both the Commune and past regimes. The former palace’s shell served as a constant reminder of the short-lived but bloody split between Paris and the Republic. In 1877 the Conseil Municipal resolved that “les ruines du palais des Tuileries soient rasées et remplacées par un jardin” (Lavedan, Histoire de l’urbanisme 491). This decision reflected not only the government’s continuing need to break from the past and eliminate reminders of former regimes, but also its desire to improve and mark, yet again, central Paris.

Once the government had issued its decree and the Palace had been demolished, the building quickly disappeared from maps. On the contrary, the adjacent Jardins des Tuileries, with its now de facto extension into the interior of the Louvre, remained prominently portrayed in tourist and official Parisian maps. An in-depth look at this debate, as it was depicted in maps and tourist guidebook discourse, would further enlighten present-day researchers about the disagreements surrounding the transition into the Third Republic.

Both Paul Joanne’s 1889 and 1900 maps of Paris eliminated any record of the Tuileries, while Alphand’s official Paris en 1889 highlights instead the road that replaced the former palace. In contrast, all three maps promote the large, newly rebuilt Hôtel de Ville, affirming the building’s role in Parisian government. In addition to sound administration, a modern European city would want the large open spaces afforded by planned gardens and improved

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104 For a complete list of the main government buildings destroyed by the Communards, including the Ministère des Finances and the Préfecture de Police, see Fierro, Histoire et dictionnaire de Paris (203-204).
transportation. Green parks in the center of the city, created by the disappearance of the Tuileries, would be welcome to the residents of crowded neighborhoods as well.

Central Paris, therefore, changed well into the 1880s. As imperial and royal Paris slowly disappeared, what role did cartography play in the government’s efforts to portray both the city and nation? Would structures such as the abattoirs and rail stations, promoted as modern in the 1870s, still be considered as such thirty or forty years later? The cartographers of the 1900 Carte d'état-major, for example, preferred to highlight communication over rail transport, and suburban Paris over the central city. This different emphasis, then, altered the previous target message and moved the map reader in a new direction. With greater numbers of successive French businessmen, school children, and visitors all reading and relying on maps for their first glimpses of Paris and the nation, they remained effective, reliable tools for the French governments’ dissemination of their chosen messages. Furthermore, French government’s found it was still prudent to exert influence on publishers both directly and indirectly to promote France, even at the expense of past regimes and foreign rivals. French maps therefore continued to instruct as much as to promote the French nation well past 1900.

**Changing Views of Modern City Space**

The French read and bought maps on a greater scale than before between 1870 and 1900, and their notions of city space also changed. With the introduction of omnibuses, tramways, the métropolitain, and suburban rail, Parisians were able to travel further to work. Some even began to live outside the city and to commute to their place of employment.
Historically, Parisians had been confined to specific neighborhoods through income, demographics, governmental control, and routine. Public transportation changed this. It opened up the city and allowed people from all social backgrounds to appropriate a larger surface area. The bourgeoisie had escaped crowded neighborhoods and moved to more spacious and desirable western areas of the city, and poorer Parisians were finally able to do the same. Many even frequented green spaces once accessible only to the wealthy.

In addition, greater numbers of tourists were coming to the city and they, too, profited from the improved transportation system. No longer limited to the historic central arrondissements, the city’s visitors were able to explore the ever-growing Parisian metropolitan area and the Ile de France:

Idyllic riverside villages, like Argenteuil on the Oise and Bougival on the Seine, could henceforth be reached in a twenty-minute train journey from the capital. The forest and rocks of Fontainebleau, half and hour by train, inspired poets and painters as much as courting couples and picnickers. Go a little farther, forty-five minutes or an hour away, and you could be in Pontoise or in Rambouillet, which, thirty-three miles from Paris, at the end of the century was still considered an unspoiled, “rural, distant, provincial nook” (Weber, *France, Fin de Siècle* 178).

Nature was just a short train ride from central Paris. This made the search for open space much more simple.

Looking for more room, large events gravitated to the outer arrondissements or outside Paris city limits in the decades that followed. The 1931 Colonial Exhibition, one such example more than a decade after World War I, was centered in the Bois de Vincennes,
away from crowded central Paris. Léandre Vaillat, architectural critic and columnist for the daily newspaper, *Le Temps*, championed that site in an article written in March 1928. For Vaillat, “it was logical to avoid the center of Paris since it would be difficult to reconcile its classical monuments with the exotic palaces of the exhibition” (Morton 361). Many agreed with him, hoping that the colonial Exposition would result in giving eastern Paris transportation and other infrastructure improvements, just as Haussmann’s boulevards and parks did for western Paris.

With greater accessibility afforded by public transportation, city distances were “minimized,” and mental notions of city space followed. As Parisians began using the urban area differently, the idea of Paris as a huge, incomprehensible city began to disappear. Crossing the city took much less time than before, and it would not be uncommon for a turn-of-the-century Parisian to have seen more of the city than had the preceding generations. And, there was much more to see. Multiple Expositions Universelles brought tourists into the city, and government and city officials erected modern monuments that both complemented and contrasted with Haussmann’s once historically uniform city, igniting intense debate and further changing how people viewed the cityscape. Examples such as the controversial Eiffel Tower, the Pont Alexandre III, the Sacré-Cœur, and the Palais de l’électricité all helped Paris solidify its status as a tourist destination, and Parisians were just as eager as visitors to see what had been built.  

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105 "The Building of the Basilica of Sacré-Cœur" in *Paris, Capital of Modernity* explores the politics behind building the large, controversial monument in Third Republic Paris (Harvey 311-340). Ray Jonas, in "Monument as Ex-Voto," further examines the debate surrounding the role of the Basilica along with the Church’s desire to construct moral order into a matter of “national interest and public utility” (488). See also Jonas’ 2000 *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart.*
making the city known as a place to visit as much as an administration center, thus bringing in additional tourists and their revenue in non-exposition years.

Modernity had multiple definitions in this study. Characterized as both “a radical break with the past” by David Harvey (1) and “a reliance on the confidence and beneficial possibilities of science and technology” by Matai Calinescu (41), modernity’s acceptance into Parisian mentality depended on the support of the French middle class, the same population often targeted by both official and tourist maps and the demographic groups upon which most regimes depended for legitimacy. Third Republic politicians recognized the fundamental role that modernity played in advancing the middle class both economically and politically in the late nineteenth century and used maps to show that they understood this. For bourgeois residents, a large green park, even if far from home, would be a welcome sight in the crowded city and proof that the government did indeed work to improve daily life.

Modernity also represented the future. In breaking with a turbulent past, the early French Third Republic wished to be seen as a stable, viable form of government. It further erased the persistent turbulent image of Paris by silencing the many chronically troubled areas of the city. With little or no large-scale rebellion present in their daily lives, the middle class had proof that its government functioned, though perhaps not perfectly. Paris had not erupted in mass organized violence for almost thirty years. As citizens and tourists explored Paris with greater confidence, the city became more accurately mapped, eliminating much of the unknown. Regardless of these advancements, silence remained on both official

106 Beginning in 1891 disturbances such as anarchist attacks, including several bombings and the stabbing of President Carnot in 1894, disrupted the perceived calmness of Third Republic Paris.
and tourist maps. At what point did either official or tourist mapmakers break with tradition and map every neighborhood more accurately?

The Third Republic’s newly established political reliability resulted in fewer regime changes. Despite a number of political crises that seemed close to toppling the republic, the regime prevailed. This durability of the Republic was exemplified, for example, by the large public ceremonies that were performed successfully. The public funeral possessions for Adolph Thiers and Victor Hugo, in addition to the selection and celebration of July 14th as the national holiday, were such examples. After a difficult, century-long transition into a democracy, Paris had finally been subdued. With nineteenth-century authoritarian rule then “conquered,” documenting the actual political stability, through the presence of multiple casernes and administrative buildings, diminished in mapped priority. Rule of law slowly began to be replaced by what visitors wanted to see: tourist monuments.

Paris vs. the Provinces and Colonies

How did tourist Paris compare to the rest of France? Bordeaux, Arcachon, Biarritz, Nice, and Saint-Tropez, cities and stations balnéaires in the southern half of the country, courted the northern French, especially in winter. Southern France’s improved accessibility, thanks to the developing railroad and road network, profited from the region’s warmer climate to create desirable destinations. With international travelers from England,

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107 For a description of the success of these large-scale events, see chapter 3.
108 The definition of the Côte d’Azur developed thanks to travel guides. While most people at the time agreed that the eastern boundary of the Côte d’Azur was Menton on the Italian border, its other end is more elusive. In 1928, “the city of Marseille, 83 kilometers west and a world away from Hyères [considered the eastern end
Germany, Belgium, Austria, and other northern countries also wintering both on the Côte d’Azur and in southwestern France, the market for guides and maps of this frequented part of the country grew quickly.\footnote{The \textit{Nice Artistique Illustré} in 1884 noted the presence of Emperor Franz Joseph and the Empress Elisabeth (Austria) at Cap Martin and also the Widow Fama, Baroness de Wyckersloth (Germany), Count Gurowsky de Wezle (Poland). Leopold II of Belgium created Cap Ferrat, where he took daily swims, but the seal of approval came with the return of Queen Victoria, who in the last ten years of her life visited the Côte d’Azur seven times (Blume 61).} Although many visitors relied on the railroad for travel, automobile drivers accounted for the largest growth of tourists. Furthermore, towns outside the trafficked tourist zones also needed to be mapped as they too contributed to the expansion of business and industry. Marseilles, for example, as the principal seaport between continental France and its northern African colonies, received greater numbers of both people and goods traveling through the city.\footnote{The 1900 \textit{Plan de la ville de Marseille} by René Espigue shows administrative districts and neighborhood names. Paul Joanne’s 1908 \textit{Lyon} map both catered to tourists and businessmen.} Other regional and business centers (Lyon, Toulouse, Rouen, Lille, and Tours) also welcomed newcomers and required maps.

As the French traveled around their own nation, they also visited neighboring countries. European rivalry for power and influence in urbanism, arts, and architecture fueled cross-border travel. For example, Munich’s 1908 Austellung München (Munich Exposition) resulted in a growing admiration of German invention and creation throughout Europe (Dell 312). To counter twentieth-century German cultural ascendancy, the French organized and hosted the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes, attracting visitors from around the world. The French wished to influence the style and direction of art and design in early-twentieth century Europe, just as they had for urbanism under Haussmann in the previous century. Capitalizing on the reputation of

by Stéphen Liegeard, the French poet who invented the name], was annexed in one guidebook but quickly expelled when hoteliers from more conventional resorts protested” (Blume 9).
French style and creativity, the Exposition was yet another indication of how the government promoted itself and the French nation to the world.

As France increased their interaction with Europe, the nation also began administering a large colonial empire. The 1889 Exposition Universelle introduced many of these colonies to France for the first time. The fair included a large section, located on the Esplanade des Invalides, devoted to many recently-created European colonies. On display was France’s civilizing discourse, though imbued with a tone of western superiority. The “spécimens’ exposés” [people brought from the colonies] were often victims of racism and xenophobia (Ory, *L’Expo* 94). Yet the “supériorité française encourage un type de discours ‘éclairé’ où le pays des Droits de l’homme et du citoyen, implicitement comparé au ‘cynisme’ britannique ou à l’’obscurantisme’ ibérique, s’entend à traiter les races inférieures (Jules Ferry dixit) comme des civilisations dans l’enfance” (Ory, *L’Expo* 95). The French leaders saw the benevolent mission as helping their colonies, and the Republic would gratefully mentor them to maturity. This first, large-scale exposure to France’s many overseas territories helped solidify French greatness in the minds of its citizens, complementing the work done by Third Republic map makers.

Regardless of the “why” of European colonization, the “how” of mapping it is significant in elucidating how nations viewed themselves. William Booth’s turn-of-the-century Britain relied on colonial mapping to document control and knowledge of “darkest Africa.” French possessions in Africa enlarged France’s presence on world maps. But for France the large, empty expanses of desert and savannah comprising much of Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa) were far from truly French. The new borders created in 1895 did not reflect tribal partitions, but convenient political divisions. Most of
French West African territories were poor, and many were landlocked. Creations such as le Soudan français, le Niger, and la Haute Volta better served the needs of French bureaucracy than those of the “natives” (Conklin 23). The great, primarily empty, territorial claims made total control nearly impossible. However impractical, complete authority was easy to map. As France created its colonial bureaucracy, it appeared more worried about establishing its civilizing hegemony than about accurate territorial surveys (Conklin 2). Britain, on the other hand, mapped many of its colonies before neighborhoods in East London, demonstrating a desire to know its empire before its capital (Driver 170-71). Did the French eventually follow the British example and document extensive knowledge of their colonies, or did they continue to take little interest in the empty interior spaces, concentrating instead on promoting their “civilizing” ideals in the more populated, and economically vibrant, coastal areas of West Africa?

The rivalry between France and fellow European countries, especially Britain and Germany, intensified during the first decades of the Third Republic. The colonial “race” for Africa and Asia peaked in 1884 with the Berlin Conference, and each European power had different goals in respect to its newly-created colonial empires. As each nation treated its colonies differently, its mapped representations reflected these distinctions. What comparisons could be made between the largest and most powerful colonial powers of the time, France and England, and those between France and her enemy, Germany?

Cartographic differences would demonstrate not only how European countries viewed their own colonized populations but also how they judged other nations and cultures. King

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For a description of France’s policies of administering its African colonies from 1895 to 1930, see Alice Conklin A Mission to Civilize. Conklin discusses not only the idea of France’s “civilizing mission,” but also public works, health, schools, and courts in Afrique Orientale Française.
Leopold II of Belgium, for example, looked not to settle the Congo Free State (later the Belgian Congo) but to empty it of all its natural resources and reap the profits as if it were his own personal property. Would the entirely commercial nature of Belgium’s colony differ from France’s civilizing mission in maps?  

In order to attract residents to administer and develop their colonies and protectorates, the French needed to portray their possessions as stable, calm, and even welcoming, just as the they had done for certain Parisian neighborhoods. Between 1830 and 1962, millions of French crossed the Mediterranean and settled in coastal North Africa. Algeria itself, a French possession since 1830, was divided up into three départements, making it a de facto extension of the French mainland. As the Third Republic promoted France outre-mer, it enticed new residents to settle there. The governments also needed to assure colonists of order and infrastructure upon arrival. Yet much of the local indigenous population was against both French occupation and administration. Since this opposition contrasted with the government’s message, it was not transmitted in maps. Paul Joanne’s 1908 Géographie de l’Algérie showed no hint of trouble in or around the departments of Alger, Oran, or Constantine. Joanne’s Algeria is safe, and the author innocently lists facts about the colony, such as land area, rainfall, and various curiosités naturelles. Any indication of local discontent is ignored. Joanne’s only mention of resistance can be found in his history of the colony, which states that “[l]a lutte fut courte” in 1830 when the French originally arrived (33). Later, “[e]n 1845, il parut au gouvernement que la domination française était  

112 When compared to parts of central Africa or Southeast Asia, much of France’s western African colonial possessions, while territorially large, were sparsely populated, with a significant percentage of their land covered by desert.  
113 Over one million French alone began leaving Algeria upon independence in 1962 (Horne 394).
suffisamment établie et que le moment était venu d’organiser le pays au double point de vue administratif et politique en tenant compte, tout à la fois, des divisions géographiques, des moeurs et des besoins des habitants Européens et indigènes” (54). The French had every reason to believe that Algeria, too, had been subdued, with Europeans and Algerians living together side by side. Joanne’s large map of the three departments plus Tunisia found at the back of the book is brightly colored. Furthermore, the colony’s roads and rail routes are clearly labeled, ready to take French visitors everywhere.

Regardless of what the maps showed, Third Republic governments needed to control their colonial possessions for them to be successful, just as they had for Paris at the end of the nineteenth century. In regards to Algeria, France and its colonies were conceived as a united country ruled under the same flag, with one language, despite the different origins of its disparate peoples (Morton 359). The French had been “introduced” to France through official and tourist maps in the previous century and many became familiar with French colonies in the same manner. Adolphe and Paul Joanne published many titles dealing with Algeria and other French colonies, including the 1850 *Voyage en Afrique*, the 1872 *Dictionnaire géographique, administratif, postal, statistique, archéologique, etc. de la France, de l’Algérie et des colonies*, and the 1893 *Géographie de l’Algérie avec une carte de l’Algérie et 23 gravures*. All of these works took advantage of the nation’s expanding colonial presence in North Africa, and, through maps and engravings, allowed the French to visit the colonies without leaving home.

Even with maps, the large physical and mental distance between continental France and its colonial possessions diminished somewhat with the ability of the French to “experience” colonial life beyond various Expositions Universelles. Yet did this distance
lessen the need for Third Republic governments to convince the French of the colonies’ worth? After a century of portraying their capital as “modern,” with an industrial infrastructure, were French colonial administrative cities promoted in the same manner? If so, was the same map discourse used? French colonial cities such as Dakar, Algiers, Oran, Tunis, Saigon, and Hanoi all experienced growth under the French administration. Far from concentrating exclusively on “civilizing” the native population, the French used a combination of building and road construction to export natural resources and manpower. Placing schools and churches on maps gave the impression that the French government was enthusiastically meeting one of its original colonial goals: improving the daily lives of the native population. In reality, Africans and Asians were often barred from many educational opportunities, further dividing the colonizers from the colonized which made the improved infrastructure a hollow gesture.\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{New Ways of Reading Maps}

\textit{La mission civilisatrice} was an extension of the universal principles of 1789 (Conklin 2). The nineteenth-century French emphasis on philosophy, a result of the enlightenment, limited the development of scientific and mathematical thought (Weber, "L'\textit{Hexagone}" 1182-83). However, the fact that France today is often referred to and recognized as \textit{l'hexagone} attests to a shift in the ability to think more spatially. Within only a short time, \textit{La mission civilisatrice} was an extension of the universal principles of 1789 (Conklin 2). The nineteenth-century French emphasis on philosophy, a result of the enlightenment, limited the development of scientific and mathematical thought (Weber, "L'\textit{Hexagone}"

\textsuperscript{114} Third Republic politician Auguste Burdeau summed up his opinion of the education of Algerians: “That they know how to follow a simple conversation in French, write a letter, make a sum, have some idea of the forces France has at its disposal and the good intentions that France has toward the Algerian races.” He continued by claiming: “that is all that at the present time we can do for our \textit{indigène} students” (qtd. in Lehning 142).
most French went from identifying (if at all) with the concepts of villages, departments, or possibly regions, to a better understanding of the idea of a nation. Under the Republic and its policies, the French soon were able to visualize France, even with limited travel. Vidal de la Blache helped train teachers in geography, and the French became much more familiar with maps of France throughout the nineteenth century. Maps were no longer mysterious, but commonplace in classrooms as well as in travel guidebooks, representing cities, regions, countries, and continents.

As people saw maps more often, cartographers became more sophisticated in their map discourse, and map-inserts adjusted accordingly. In 1870 Joanne’s inserts, primarily artificially colored tourist zones, evolved into more authentically colored, themed-based ones. By 1900, the map-inserts and main maps had, in effect, exchanged positions. The only full city map was found in an insert and the main maps, the four coupures show only quadrants, documenting the change in the understanding of city space. This metamorphosis worked only when the French had grown comfortable using multiple maps.

Technology followed map reader sophistication. Color use, another principal component of map discourse, changed dramatically in the first thirty years of the Third Republic. In 1870, the tendency to rely on artificial or man-made colored representations (as seen in both Joanne’s Paris Illustré and the city’s Plan général) was replaced with a more natural mapped product, creating a more authentic final copy, one easier to accept by a discerning reader.

Although in 1870 color had been used to contrast parks with city development, it highlighted improvements to bourgeois Paris, the primary map audience. Eleven years later, in 1889, Alphand contested this cartographic trend upon the publication of his Atlas des
travaux de Paris. His color use drew the map reader’s eye away from green spaces and traditional bourgeois centers of power to the often previously ignored, “silenced” outer arrondissements. The great amount of street expansion demonstrated the government’s desire to ameliorate these outer neighborhoods, thus enhancing them for the working-class population. With the Third Republic improving problematic areas of the capital, could it continue declaring them dangerous? How great was the desire to promote the status quo if the republic was constantly ameliorating the city?

Even with a better educated audience, cartographers were still able to influence their readers. Paris maps may have appeared more “objective” and accurate, but the map discourse had changed. After Alphand’s emphasis on the outer districts, symbols, colors, and shapes on nineteenth-century maps still focused on modern, mainly central Paris. Only the massive historic Louvre countered this trend, dwarfing much of the city’s large, modern construction (rail stations and yards, abattoirs, and wide boulevards). This left many of Paris’s smaller “traditional” monuments (Arc de Triomphe, statues, and fountains) often overlooked to the untrained eye.

Today’s Guide Michelin, regarded by many as the standard-bearer of French travel guides, is divided into two editions. The Guide Vert (Green Guide) uses simple, colorful maps to guide visitors to monuments and cultural sites, while the Guide Rouge concentrates on hotels and restaurants. The latter’s maps serve not to help-out a lost traveler, but to direct a consumer to highly-recommended establishments.115 The Guide Vert publishes titles for both large cities and geographical areas. It ranks all sites from “vaut le voyage” and “mérite

115 In 1926, the Guide Rouge began the selection and promotion of restaurants. That same year, various Guides Régionales appeared. These were the precursor to today’s Guide Vert. In 1931, Michelin’s famous three-star rating first appeared (Francon 11).
un detour” to “intéressant” (three, two, and one star, sun, snowflake, or fountain for curiosité[s], station[s] balnéaire[s], station[s] de sports d’hiver, and station[s] thermale[s] respectively).

Its clear legend uses symbols and shapes to help the visitor understand what he or she will see. The Guide Rouge (Red Guide), on the contrary, has kept the premise of the original 1900 guide. With the exception of the Paris and New York City titles, there is only one volume for each country.

Ranking sites rivals labeling in power and influence on maps. By cataloging streets in many areas of the city as “republican,” governments were able to document authority. Third Republic maps silenced problematic neighborhoods, effectively ignoring their existence and removing them from the reader’s gaze. Can today’s map readers still be misled? Does map silence still exist? One “discourse” taken for granted throughout this study, for example, is that of “straight” Paris. I ask how was gay Paris, a marginalized community, mapped in the twentieth century? The Marais, France’s only “gay ghetto,” came into being largely inadvertently through both gentrification and government support of the neighborhood’s transformation throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Yet gay Paris has existed much longer than that. It moved across the city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, usually situated at its margins, either literally (on its physical periphery) or figuratively (in poorer and seamier districts), ironically often in the same parks championed by Third Republic Paris: the Bois de Boulogne, the Bois de Vincennes, and the Tuileries.

Michael Sibalis considers the 1962 Malraux Law one of the most important and influential pieces of European conservation legislation. With the goal no longer to preserve individual buildings but entire urban sites, the City of Paris designated 126 hectares of the Marais a “safeguarded sector” for preservation and renovation” in 1965. Gentrification began soon afterwards (1743).
Beginning in the 1880s, however, commercial venues catering to homosexuals began to cluster in the Montmartre quarter of northern Paris (Sibalis 1744). Not surprisingly, this information was non-existent, “silenced,” in both the Third Republic tourist and official maps examined in this study. Today, the Marais epitomizes gay Paris. Many travel guides specialize in gay travel, including maps of gay-friendly neighborhoods. Yet, when describing “les gens” of the Marais, the *Guide Vert* indicates that “le quartier du Marais est, depuis sa rénovation lancée par André Malraux, le quartier de toutes les cultures et sensibilités: étudiants, artistes, commerçants, grands bourgeois et petit peuple parisien” (287). There is no mention of the area’s visible gay population. If gay Paris remains silenced today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, what other discourses are as well? Have the recent riots encouraged cartographer and tourism writers to reassess suburban neighborhoods and remove them from maps?

Even today, most map readers seem reluctant to recognize the power of maps. As contemporary society continues to move towards a more visual culture, one increasingly based on trademarks, logos, and mascots vying for the reader’s (or viewer’s) attention, we are eager to accept the ease that maps offer. Cartography and mapmakers continue to adapt. Simplicity remains crucial, as map readers want to believe that map reading is easy. Internet sites, such as Mapquest, can furnish personalized directions down to the last one-tenth of a mile, but take a wrong turn or miss an exit, and they become worthless. In *The New Nature of Maps*, Harley asks the question, “What is a map?” To this question he lists two commonly provided answers: first, a map is “a social construction of the world expressed through the medium of cartography” (35). Second, a map is a “graphic language to be decoded, a construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences” (36). To these
responses I would include one additional, albeit simple, definition: a map is a tool. And just
as people use tools to construct buildings, maps can build and define a society, portraying
not only what populations or governments consider significant, but also what they wish to
remove from the reader’s gaze. By examining historical map discourse, researchers are
confronted not only with “images,” “language,” or “social constructions,” but also reminded
of the power involved in map production.
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