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PARIS IN THE FRENCH, CZECH AND AMERICAN TOURIST GUIDEBOOKS (1918-1939)
Master's Thesis

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Abstract in English

This Master´s Thesis deals with guidebooks about Paris published in France, Czechoslovakia and the United States of America between the years 1918-1939. It analyses how the French capital city is presented in the guidebooks and how far the representation differs according to the country of publishing. The first two chapters deal with the modern history of tourism up until the interwar period and with the formation of major collections of guidebooks. The following chapters use a comparative perspective to analyse three major aspects of tourist guidebooks about Paris: itineraries; recommended places and monuments (the so-called "must-sees"); and global images of Paris. The analysis reveals that the country of publishing had only a limited impact on the content of the guidebooks; rather, the books largely respected established rules and patterns within the genre.

Key words: tourism, guidebook, Paris, interwar period, representation, image of the city

Résumé en français

Ce mémoire de master analyse des guides touristiques de Paris publiés en France, en Tchécoslovaquie et aux États-Unis entre 1918 et 1939. Le mémoire étudie de quelle façon la capitale de la France était présentée dans les guides et quelles étaient les différences de cette représentation en fonction du pays d'origine publiant les guides. Les deux premiers chapitres sont consacrés à l'histoire moderne du tourisme avant 1918 et à la création des premières collections des guides touristiques. La partie analytique étudie comparativement trois aspects généraux présents dans les guides touristiques : les itinéraires, les endroits touristiques vivement recommandés et l'image complexe de Paris. L'analyse montre que le pays de publication avait une influence très limitée sur le contenu des guides. Elle révèle davantage une fixation des règles d´écriture et de présentation de ce type de publication.

Mots clés : tourisme, guides touristiques, Paris, entre-deux-guerres, représentation, image de la cité

Abstrakt v českém jazyce

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá turistickými průvodci o Paříži vydanými ve Francii, Československu a Spojených státech amerických mezi lety 1918-1939. Zkoumá, jak bylo francouzské hlavní město prezentováno a do jaké míry se tato reprezentace lišila v závislosti na zemi, kde byl průvodce vydán. První dvě kapitoly se zabývají moderní historií turismu do doby mezi dvěma světovými válkami a utvářením nejdůležitějších kolekcí turistických průvodců. Analytická část zkoumá za použití komparativní perspektivy tři hlavní aspekty: itineráře zahrnuté v průvodcích, doporučená turisticky neopomenutelná místa a ucelené obrazy Paříže. Výzkum ukázal, že země vydání měla pouze omezený vliv na obsah průvodců; ty spíše respektovaly již ustálená pravidla daného žánru.

Klíčová slova: turismus, turistický průvodce, Paříž, meziválečné období, reprezentace, obraz města

Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

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Prague, 15 May 2016   Lenka Rudová

Contents

1. Introduction

This master´s thesis deals with the topic of guidebooks about Paris published in France, the United States of America and Czechoslovakia between the years 1918 and 1939. We seek to discover how the French capital was presented in these guidebooks and also whether and to what extent the representations differ according to the country of publication. This thesis begins with an overview of the origins of tourism and then goes on to study the content of the aforementioned guidebooks using a comparative perspective.

Travelling is one of the great pleasures which the modern world offers. Nowadays, it is very often the choice of the individual whether and where he or she wants to travel. However, the situation in the past was rather different. Over the past few centuries, travelling has developed from an unpleasant and dangerous necessity to a leisure activity which almost everyone can enjoy. From the very beginning of the 19th century, when the words 'tourism' and 'tourist' first appeared, travelling came to be perceived in a different way. The newly formed middle classes, rich enough to be able to afford not to work for a couple of weeks or months a year, were the drivers of this development and tourism was born.

Travelling is connected to the natural inclination of human beings to discover the unknown. At the same time there are other forces at work in the human mind, those of; fear and a desire for safety. Kevin Lynch states that "the very word 'lost' in our language means much more than simple geographical uncertainty; it carries overtones of utter disaster"[1]. It was precisely for those who wanted to travel and discover, and yet be guided and feel secure, that the tourist guide was invented.

The term "tourist guide" can have a lot of meanings. For example, it can be "… a man who very often originally comes from the region and who can shepherd the travellers through different places"[2]. For this research another definition of 'tourist guide' is important; that of a guide in written form. However, when we talk about the written guides, it does not necessarily mean only "text". The guidebook may consist, among other things, of tables, charts, photographs, illustrations, and maps. This complexity is a typical attribute of tourist guidebooks.

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[1] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, The MIT Press, 1960, p. 4.

[2] "humain, souvent originaire de la région qui conduit les voyageurs vers tel ou tel lieu" in: N. Verdier, *Les Formes Du Voyage : Cartes et Espaces Des Guides de Voyage*, in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (June 29, 2011). DOI:10.4000/insitu.573, par. 26.

The fact that tourist guidebooks are complex and hard to study is argued by Paul-Laurent Assoun, according to whom "[t]o study the guide, it means to explore the written and the real, the known and the discovered…"[3]. Despite the complexity, all of the aspects can be analysed by studying the guidebooks and we can learn a lot about the places described, about the authors of the texts and even about the readers themselves. Due to pragmatic reasons, however, we had to limit our analysis to certain aspects and we decided to narrow down our focus to the text. Thus we left out aspects such as maps that are sometimes included in the guidebooks in the form of removable attachments. The other reason consisted of the fact that the maps that were originally included, are often not annexed any more now.

For this paper idea of the representation of the city is crucial. This concept is closely linked to perception. The topic of spatial receptivity was studied, among others, by Peter Burke[4]. He elucidates many ways in which cities are perceived in his writings on representations and images However, the perception of the city is not our area of study in this paper. If it were, we would focus on diaries of travellers, etc. Rather, we study how Paris was presented through guidebooks and the methods of representation they use.

The author of a guidebook can influence the perception of a city for the tourist. For a person who has never been to a place, the guidebook represents the known, the trusted, the safe. A guidebook recommends what is important while concealing what, according to the author(s)' opinion, is irrelevant. A guidebook partly reflects what may be interesting for the readers because its aim is to be bought and read. Therefore, by studying tourist guidebooks, one can not only find what was deemed significant by the author, but also what could be important for the tourist, too.

This thesis deals with guidebooks about Paris. Paris is a unique city. The capital of France has been in the focus of travellers from the Middle Ages when scholars wanted to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the famous Parisian university. As such, in many ways, the first guidebook about Paris can be considered to be *La Fleur des Antiquitez de Paris* which was published in 1531[5]. Paris remained a favourite destination for travellers

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[3] "Faire l'archéologie du guide, c'est explorer l'entre-deux d'un texte et d'un réel, d'un savoir et d'une découverte …" in: P.-L. Assoun, L'Effet Baedeker' *: Note Psychanalytique Sur La Catégorie de Guide de Tourisme* in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (June 2011), DOI:10.4000/insitu.582, par. 28.

[4] Burke P., *Culture: Representations*, in: Clarke P. (ed.), "The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History", Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 438.

[5] V. Milliot, *L'espace parisien dans les imprimés de large circulation (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles) : une archéologie de la lecture des guides urbains?* in: G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Perez (eds.), Les guides

during the medieval period, and at the end of the 17th century "Paris was an essential stop in the Grand Tours of British gentlemen, and was beginning to attract the new middle class of Britons and Americans in large numbers"[6]. During the 19th century, the French capital gained a worldwide reputation for being a city of pleasures, and French people who were not living in Paris developed a desire to visit their capital. For Americans, Paris was a fascinating destination as well. They were enticed by the historical and cultural qualities of the French metropolis. Moreover, during World War I many Americans came to Europe to fight and after the conflict, they often came to France to visit the battlefields or to take their families or friends to the places where they had been stationed. Already being in France, they very often visited Paris, too. It is not surprising then, that Paris "… had a fully elaborated touristic complex…"[7], because it had been target for visitors for centuries.

This text focuses on a period of twenty years, framed by the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II. This era was special in many ways. First of all, the First World War had caused a massive decline in tourism and travelling, as all human activity became subservient to the conflict. With the end the great conflict came a wish to enjoy life again and therefore, to visit new places. However, tourist activity was influenced by a number of factors during the interwar period, too. Firstly, the Great Depression caused a decrease in tourism, as the American dollar and other currencies collapsed. Secondly, in the years 1918-1939 the growing use of the motor car brought new possibilities and freed travellers from the timetables of the railways.

There exist many works about the beginnings of tourism, especially about Grand Tours and the spread of this leisure activity in the 19th century. Many scholars are also interested in the rise of mass tourism, which has roots before World War II and spread quickly after the conflict. Therefore, it can be said that within academic scholarship on tourism in the interwar period is an under-researched era. However, precisely for the reasons mentioned above, it is a highly fascinating time period to study.

For our research we decided to examine eight guidebooks. Three of them were published in the United States of America, three in France and two in Czechoslovakia. There is a wide range of guidebooks which are focused on Paris and published in the interwar period. However, we looked for those that were not specialised around a topic, such as if

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imprimés du XVIe au XXe siècle: Villes, paysages, voyages, Paris 2000, p. 59.

[6] D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, University of California Press, London 1999, p. 59.

[7] Ibid., p. 60.

they were oriented around Parisian cuisine, history, etc. We consciously chose guidebooks that were written for tourists who wanted to get to know the city without a specific interest in any particular aspect of Paris. Although the eight books do not represent an exhaustive list of guidebooks of that era about Paris, we still believe that, by focusing on them, this research can illuminate trends that were typical of the guidebooks of this time period.

The guidebooks we studied were found in the Parisian library *Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris*, the *Municipal Library of Prague* and online in the digital library *HathiTrust*. The number of guidebooks published differ in each country we focused on. There are only two Czech guidebooks that meet the required criteria, but there were much more that fit the criteria that were published in France. Nevertheless, great numbers of these French guidebooks were characterized by specialization and as such they were not of interest to us. Also, we wanted to study a similar number of guidebooks from each country and consequently, we decided to study three from France. As for the American guidebooks, three were analysed, of which we included one guidebook that was co-published in Great Britain so we could examine the extent to which it differs from those published only in the US.

We seek to discover in this paper whether certain aspects of the Parisian urban space are accentuated in the guidebooks, how these aspects are depicted and to what extent this influences the representation of the city. Our main questions are as follows: How is Paris presented in the guidebooks published in the interwar period in France, United States of America and Czechoslovakia? How do the interpretations of the French capital and the content of these guidebooks differ? Our hypothesis is that each country of publishing offered different representations of Paris because of the different cultural roots of the potential readers as well as their ideas and expectations about the French metropolis. We based this hypothesis on the fact that "the experience of foreign travel has always been filtered through the lenses of our expectations, stereotypes, and past experiences-in short, our own cultureboundness"[8]. Similarly, Deborah Stevenson, in her book about the development of studies about urban spaces states that "…different groups may use, experience and relate to the same urban spaces in a range of ways…"[9]. We presume that the guidebooks reflect this tendency, through their role as a mediator between the visitor and the city.

This paper aims to consider Paris from a fresh point of view. Although many texts deal with the French metropolis, our thesis will add a novel perspective and provide new

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[8] H. Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age*, University of Chicago Press, 2000, Preface.

[9] D. Stevenson, *Cities and Urban Cultures*, Open University Press, Maidenhead, 2003, p. 41.

answers to the question of how the city has been represented. Moreover, this thesis could be a catalyst for study for further studies about tourism as social phenomenon and analyses of stereotypes of Paris. We believe our paper offers a new way of using the comparative method and that this master´s thesis can contribute to the discussions about the representation of urban life and cities in general.

To understand the main questions of our enquiry, it is necessary to understand what characterised the process of the development of tourist guidebooks. Hence, we present also the related points, of the way in which travelling and tourism developed, the formation of the content of the guidebooks. To fully understand the subjects of study there is a need to understand the context in which they were developed as well.

We decided to use the comparative method for our research on the three countries of publishing. The first aspect that we study are the itineraries included in the guidebooks which are recommendations by the authors for an effective way to explore the city. The topics we studied and the comparative criteria we concentrated on are their length, their number and which "must-sees" they included. We then focus on the interpretations of the "must-sees" and global images of Paris. These concepts will be further developed in following chapters.

The first chapter is a historical introduction about the tourism which traces it from its roots to the beginnings of mass tourism. The history of tourist guidebooks is closely linked to that of travelling because a traveller wants to discover new places, but also, as was mentioned above, wants to be led. This urge to be led was fulfilled by tourist guidebooks. Within this chapter, we shortly discuss the time period which preceded the spread of tourism and make mention of the phenomenon of Grand Tours which became popular in the 16th century. We then continue into the 19th century and discuss causes of the rapid growth of tourism. The final part of this chapter focuses on the establishment of paid vacations and the possibilities this created for the lower classes to travel.

In the third chapter we analyse the establishment of collections of tourist guidebooks by the three best known guidebook publishers and editors in Western Europe, Karl Baedeker, John Murray and Adolphe Joanne. They had a large influence on the content, style and format of guidebooks and partly determined the principles which came to be followed from the middle of the 19th century on by many publishing houses. This paper focuses mainly on the *Hachette* publishing house and their collection *Guide Bleus* as it is their conception of the tourist guidebook which has had the largest influence on French guidebooks.

Also, this chapter deals with the development of the content within guidebooks. The content of guidebooks (texts, pictures, maps, etc.) went through a period of standardization

during the years preceding World War I and hence, it is pertinent to elucidate this process to show how the content at the time looked. The content of guidebooks is also developed in the fourth chapter in which the basic components of most of the guidebooks of that time are stated. If a guidebook misses one of the standard components, it might either be because of the style of the editor, culture differences or the specific focus of the tourist guidebook.

The fourth chapter begins by introducing the criteria which we have used to analyse the guidebooks. We chose one of the basic aspects which modern guidebooks often include, the itineraries, which are in focus of the sixth chapter. Our hypothesis is that in the itineraries the authors present the places which are essential for a tourist to have a good experience of the city. By studying the itineraries, it is possible to understand how Paris is presented and hence, what kind of feelings towards the city tourists might take home with them. In other words, we believe that the places included in the itineraries dictate what tourists shall see and consequently the type of image of the city they will develop. Nevertheless, we do take into consideration that the itineraries presented in the tourist guidebooks are only a small part of a complex subject.

The sixth chapter is concentrated on the topic of "must-sees". We use this term to refer to recommended places or monuments worth seeing. In our case they are closely linked to the itineraries because "must-sees" are particular points on the paths the guidebooks suggest should be followed. They are an essential part of a guidebooks aim to get tourists to experience the city in the most efficient way possible. We chose six "must-sees" and analysed how the authors interpreted them and what kind of image they offered to the reader.

In the last analytical chapter we focus on global images about Paris. It allows us to study the condensed and value laden representations of the city, that is, the simplified images, such as "Paris, the city of coffee-houses". In this way we can study generalized images of the French metropolis and gain a better understanding of how Paris is presented in the guidebooks. Also, we are interested in the references to the home country of the guidebooks published in Czechoslovakia and United States of America.

As tourist guidebooks are so inexorably intertwined with the general concepts of tourism and travelling, it is important to define these concepts as well. There are many ways to interpret tourism and travelling, because, according to Daniel Nordman, there are many different definitions[10]. For many authors these words are synonymous with each other. Bosse

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[10] D. Nordman, *Les Guides-Joanne. Ancêtres des Guides Bleus*, in: P. Nora, *Lieux de mémoire II, La nation,* Gallimard, Paris 1986, p. 536.

Bergman introduces tourism as "…travelling by free will and with one's own comfort, joy, lust and experiences as the main purpose. In practice this concerns mainly space and place beyond people's home and everyday ground"[11]. Free will certainly plays a significant role in tourism because it was established at the time when more and more people were gaining the opportunity to decide how to spend their free time.

Who is the tourist then? The word came from "the tour", and is linked with the Grand Tours organised for young English noblemen. Paul-Laurent Assoun declares simply, that "the tourist is literally the one who does the tour"[12], John Urry likens the tourist to a pilgrim and says that "… the tourist moves from a familiar place to a far place and then returns to the familiar place"[13], while Marc Boyer prefers the definition of *Société des Nations* from 1937: "A tourist is any person who travels by his own volition and is away from their home for more than 24 hours and less than a year."[14]. The most widely accepted definition of who a tourist is was given by the "International Union of Official Travel Organizations" (IUOTO) in 1963. It declared that tourists are "temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: (a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport); (b) business (family mission, meeting)"[15]. The concept of 'a tourist' was largely discussed in the past, sometimes contrasted with 'a traveller'.

J. Buzard dates the first appearance of the term 'tourist' to the year 1800, whilst Marc Boyer claims that it was not mentioned before 1840[16]. Also, he declares that "tourism did not always exist; it was invented"[17]. At the same time Olivier Burgelin views tourism as inherently positive[18]. As "[t]he guidebooks do not differentiate between the uses of the words

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[11] B. Bergman, *Guides to a geography of tourism*, in: "Belgeo" [Online], (March 2012), Accessed 18 March 2013, URL : http://belgeo.revues.org/7176 [2015-04-07], par. 2.

[12] Assoun, *L' 'Effet Baedeker'* cit., par. 6.

[13] J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, London 2002, p. 11.

[14] "Touriste, toute personne qui, voyageant pour son agrément, s´éloigne pendant plus de 24 heures et moins d´un an de son domicile habituel." M. Boyer, *Histoire générale du tourisme. Du XVIᵉ au XXIᵉ siècle,* Paris 2005, L'Harmattan, p. 7.

[15] E. Cohen, *The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues, and Findings*, in: "Annual Review of Sociology", Vol. 10 (1984), p. 374.

[16] C. Hancock, « *City of business* » *contre ville de Plaisir : Londres et paris dans les guides touristiques du XIXe siècle*, in: G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Perez (eds.), "Les guides imprimés du XVIᵉ au XXᵉ siècle: Villes, paysages, voyages", Paris 2000, p. 330.
M. Boyer, *Les séries de guides imprimés portatifs, de Charles Estienne aux XIXᵉ et XXᵉ siècles*, in: G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Perez (eds.), "Les guides imprimés du XVIᵉ au XXᵉ siècle: Villes, paysages, voyages", Paris, 2000, p. 345.

[17] "Le tourisme n´a pas tojour existe; il a été inventé." Boyer, *Histoire générale du tourisme* cit., p. 9.

[18] O. Burgelin, *Le tourisme jugé*. In: "Communications" [Online], 10, 1967. pp. 65-96.

'tourist' and 'traveller'"[19] and these terms vary a lot, for the purposes of our research about guidebooks we use both interchangeably and do not distinguish between them.

As the first target of tourism was Europe and the first tourists were Europeans, it is not surprising that the first academic writing about the topic appeared from this area. The first social scientific article on tourism was published at the very end of the 19th century by Italian L. Bodio and was followed by publications by German authors. The rise in interest about tourism went hand in hand with its spread and sparked an interest in many fields such as history, geography, cultural studies, and sociology[20].

Writings about tourism in general were very important for us in this research. Particularly, we would like to mention *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*[21] by Dean MacCannel, which is a fundamental text for interpreting tourism. John Urry's text *The Tourist Gaze*[22] was also important as well as *Histoire générale du tourisme. Du XVIe au XXIe siècle* written by Marc Boyer. Both were crucial to our research as well as the work of the editor John K. Walton in his *Histoires of tourism: representation, identity, and conflict*[23], which offers a deep analysis of the phenomenon of tourism. Another very important author is Erik Cohen, a famous sociologist and expert on tourism, who wrote *The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues, and Findings*[24], which we used in this paper.

We took inspiration for our theoretical approaches from Kevin Lynch especially when analysing the perception of the space and the city. The famous study by Lynch on which the book *The Image of the City*[25] was written was particularly inspiring. Another work that influenced our theoretical approach was *The Practice of Everyday Life* by Michel de Certeau[26]. In regard to our choice of the comparative approach as the main method to be used in our analysis, we were inspired by the comparative methodology developed by

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[19] "Le guide, lui, ne distingue guère et emploie volontiers les mots de « touriste » et de « voyageur » l'un pour l'autre." in: Nordman, *Les Guides-Joanne* cit., p. 536.

[20] G. Swensen and K. Daugstad, *Travels in imaginary landscapes : An analysis of four cultural historic guidebooks*, in: "Belgeo" [Online], 3 | 2012, Accessed 18 March 2013, [2015-04-03], URL : http:// belgeo.revues.org/7219, par. 3.

[21] D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, University of California Press, London 1999.

[22] J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, London 2002.

[23] J. K. Walton, *Histories of tourism: representation, identity, and conflict*, Channel View Publications, Buffalo 2005, ISBN 18-454-1033-5.

[24] E. Cohen, *The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues, and Findings*, in: "Annual Review of Sociology", Vol. 10 (1984).

[25] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, The MIT Press, 1960.

[26] M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, University of California Press., 1984.

Miroslav Hroch[27]. The theories, methods and concepts that inspired this work will be discussed further in the respective chapters.

Besides the texts about tourism and theoretical approaches, research on tourist guidebooks also played an important role in developing our ideas. For understanding the tourists guidebook's role within tourism, we studied texts by the editors of *Les guides imprimés du XVIe au XXe sècle : Villes, paysages, voyages* and we also used this text for the chapter on the development of the collections in the 19th century. Work by Paul-Laurent Assoun (*L' 'Effet Baedeker' : Note Psychanalytique Sur La Catégorie de Guide de Tourisme*)[28], Guilven Guilcher (*Les guides européens et leurs auteurs : clefs de lecture*)[29], Helene Morlier (*Les Guides Joanne : Invention D'une Collection*)[30] and others also helped us to understand the topic of tourist guidebooks[31].

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[27] M. Hroch presented his theory for example in: M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: a Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989.

[28] P.-L. Assoun, *L' 'Effet Baedeker' : Note Psychanalytique Sur La Catégorie de Guide de Tourisme* in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (June 2011), DOI:10.4000/insitu.582.

[29] G. Guilcher, *Les guides européens et leurs auteurs : clefs de lecture*, in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (December 2011). DOI:10.4000/insitu.499.

[30] H. Morlier, *Les Guides Joanne : Invention D'une Collection*, in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], No. 15 (June 2011). DOI:10.4000/insitu.524.

[31] In this work all of the translations and tables were made by the author, the maps in cooperation and great help of Nicolas Verdier. Our aim is to present aspects found in the guidebooks so the reader can verify if our process is accurate. The same can be applied to the translation of excerpts. The originals can be found in the footnotes so Czech or French speaking lecturer can control the meaning of our version.

2. Tourism

2.1 Development of Tourism

Travelling with the purpose of travel itself had its place in the life of ancient civilizations. The trips of rich Egyptians as well as Romans and Greeks served the same purpose as today; pleasure, education and relaxing. Nevertheless, travelling in this age only involved a few and did not spread to the lower classes. In the medieval period, travelling for pleasure disappeared. Only merchants, beggars, soldiers, pilgrims and students travelled on the medieval roads. "Journeys to famous educational institutions in France (Paris, Montpellier), England (Oxford) and Italy (Bologna) became both a custom and a component of education"[32]. During this period, travelling expressed willingness for self-consciousness and to experience the world.

After the 1550s a great phenomenon of Grand Tours and Cavalier´s tours appeared. Until the late 18th century, young noblemen were sent to courts in different countries to learn how to behave. At this time, "Italy and France, but also the Netherlands, England, and Switzerland were the main focal points"[33]. They met important people of the time, such as kings, famous scholars and scientists[34]. This travel was planned for them for the period of their life between finishing their home education, and getting married and taking an official post. A young noble's return after travelling was viewed as the end of his childhood. Travelling at this time was not a pleasure at all. Transportation was uncomfortable and the roads dangerous; indeed, the traveller could be considered happy if he came back without any injuries.

The 19th century brought many changes to society. Industrialization developed new technologies and the middle-classes of white-collar workers, lawyers and officers differentiated themselves from society and started to play a significant role. The middle-classes were earning enough money and had enough free time to travel, which are "the principal commodities that make participation in leisure possible"[35]. At this time travel itself

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[32] Morlier, *Les Guides Joanne* cit., par. 7.

[33] M. Leibetseder, *Educational Journey, Grand Tour*, in: "European History Online (EGO)", Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2013, URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/leibetsederm-2013-en, URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2013102901 [2015-01-29], par. 1.

[34] Ibid., par. 10.

[35] S. Poser, *Leisure Time and Technology*, in: "European History Online (EGO)", Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2011, URL:http://www.ieg-ego.eu/posers-2010-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2011051216 [2015-01-28], par. 3.

became a goal of the trip and short stays and day trips, came to the foreground, with mountaineering groups appearing as well as associations offering possibilities to go abroad. Another phenomenon, introduced in the United Kingdom by Thomas Cook, was organized group holidays with all-inclusive prices, which reduced travelling costs[36]. The aristocracy was not pleased by this change and their displeasure led to the development of exclusive luxury spas and beach resorts. Nevertheless, an ordinary man could not travel far away from his home, as his life was closely connected to agriculture. Only prominent poets and philosophers, interested in new technological progress and innovations of industrialization, could afford to travel. This situation, named the 'early' or 'pre-phase' by Ueli Gyr, lasted until the middle of the 19th century[37].

As industrialization continued and spread to new areas, travelling was becoming cheaper, quicker and more readily available. The railways, bicycles, steamboats and – later automobiles and airplanes - transported tourists for long distances and made new destinations more accessible. From this time on it is possible to recognize the 'introductory phase' or 'infancy period' of modern tourism, as Gyr and Erkan Sezgin with Medet Yolal call it[38]. "Tourism, then, spread from the broader circles of the upper bourgeoisie, first to the civil servants, the craftsmen, and the petit bourgeoisie. There is clearly an exact correlation between the development of the labor force and the development of tourism"[39]. Tourism allowed the middle-classes to forget about their everyday life, to escape from the working and living conditions of the industrial revolution. Nevertheless, for many people leisure time represented a rare commodity. Increase in travelling for leisure was coming along slowly and took the interest of politicians of the time, indeed the "[t]he French Ministry of Labour published the *Enquête sur l'Utilisation des loisirs crées par la journée de huit heures* (Survey of the Utilisation of Leisure Time Made Available by the Eight-hour Workday) in 1920"[40]. In many countries, the right to free time spent in leisure activities emerged during the interwar period.

Most of the authors on the topic agree that tourism became a mass phenomenon after World War II. Nevertheless, some of them, for example Ellen Furlough, point out that the

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[36] Gyr, *The History of Tourism* cit., par. 20.

[37] Ibid., par. 15.

[38] E. Sezgin and M. Yolal, *Golden Age of Mass Tourism: Its History and Development, Visions for Global Tourism Industry - Creating and Sustaining Competitive Strategies*, Dr. Murat Kasimoglu (Ed.), 2012, ISBN: 978-953-51-0520-6, InTech, p. 74.

[39] Enzensberger, *A Theory of Tourism* cit., pp. 117-135.

[40] Poser, *Leisure Time and Technology* cit., par. 7.

first traces of the mass character of modern tourism were to be found in the 1930s because of the emergence of paid vacations, which is among the most important preconditions for the development of mass tourism, which also include rising standards of living, the shortening of the work year and rapid improvements in transportation[41]. Mainly the bicycle and the automobile allowed to travel to a wider range of destinations[42]. "From the 1930s onwards, the growing availability of the motor car stimulated tourism further, and during the interwar years the aircraft began to play a small role in the tourism market as an option for the wealthier classes, particularly in Europe"[43]. With the broadening of the possibilities of travelling and its slow penetration to the new social classes, the interwar period represented, according to Gyr, a 'developmental' phase for tourism[44]. At the same time, Sezgin and Yolal describe this period as 'new mobility' due to the developing possibilities in transportation[45].

While thinking about travelling and tourism within Europe, one should have in mind that travelling was not always out of personal choice. The travelling of merchants was linked to their job and something similar was true for monarchs and soldiers. Even though their stay abroad was mostly full of pleasures and delights, young noblemen were not always satisfied with the fact that they were forced to abandon their homes to travel. Tourism for education and excitement came with the possibility of choices which the spread of the bourgeoisie brought. When people were not forced to travel and they could decide by themselves where to go and when they began to find pleasure in travelling and tourism was born. Still, especially in the 19th century it was typical that travellers chose their destinations from those which were already being described in tourist guidebook. Consequently, the publishers played a significant role in the process of choosing a destination which caused "favoring tourist flows to certain sites and areas, leaving others aside"[46]. Therefore, the

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[41] E. Furlough, *Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s*, in: *"Comparative Studies in Society and History"*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (April 1998), Cambridge University Press, p. 251.
   E. Cohen, *The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches* cit., p. 376.

[42] S. T. Harp, *Time and tourism: taylorism in guides to the french regions*, in*: "Entreprises et histoire",* (February 2007), No. 47, DOI: 10.3917/eh.047.0061, p. 63.

[43] Sezgin and Yolal, *Golden Age of Mass Tourism* cit., p. 73.

[44] Gyr, *The History of Tourism* cit., par. 24.

[45] Although during the interwar period the free time of workers and therefore the possibility of travelling increased in compliance with newly established laws and paid holidays, after the Second World War came the phase of consolidation and practice, influenced by new travelling styles and using a car or caravan gave an impetus to the tourism by the facilitation on the travel.

[46] Bergman, *Guides to a geography of tourism* cit., par. 7.

development of the practices of tourism went hand in hand with the development of tourist guidebooks.

2.2 American, Czech and French Tourism

2.2.1 American Tourism

There were barely a few published American writings on tourism before the 1820s. Although the first predecessors of guidebooks appeared with the establishment of the first settlements in America, travelling had to wait until the 19th century for its literature, as the tourist market was not developed until then. As Richard Gassan points out, "[t]he sudden appearance of the tourist guidebook in America came as a result of three major factors: the creation of a tourist industry, the appearance of relatively large numbers of tourists willing to buy these transitory products, and the arrival of a writing culture that fired a set of new young authors. The process was sped up by changes in the manufacture and culture of print that allowed for the creation of this new genre of inexpensive, disposable books"[47]. John Sears makes a similar claim; according to him "[t]ourism requires a population with the money and the leisure to travel, an adequate means of transportation, and conditions of reasonable safety and comfort at the places people go to visit. It also demands a body of images and descriptions of those places-a mythology of unusual things to see-to excite people´s imagination and induce them to travel[48]". Apparently, the American population did not meet these requirement until the 1820s.

By 1820s the situation had slowly started to change and the first tourist circuit was developed in 1822. Its aim was to direct interested travellers to Saratoga Springs and Niagara Falls. Other attractive places on the circuit were the Hudson River, the Catskills, Lake George, Erie Canal, the White Mountain, and the Connecticut Valley[49]. Tourism became much more popular thanks to its more frequent appearance in the printed materials. As Harvey Levenstein noted, "[i]n the early 1830s new printing techniques led to a boom in magazine publishing, opening the floodgates for travel articles"[50]. Therefore, the need appeared for a guidebook that could lead the tourists to interesting and attractive sites.

The name of the first American guidebook was *The Fashionable Tour: or, A trip to the Springs, Niagara, Quebeck, and Boston, in the Summer of 1821*. Although the main American publishing houses were already established in Boston, New York and

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[47] R. Gassan, *The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s*, in: "Book History", Volume 8, 2005, p. 52.

[48] J. F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998, p. 3.

[49] Ibid., p. 4.

[50] Levenstein, *Seductive journey* cit., ch. 3.

Philadelphia, the guidebook was published, in Saratoga Springs, which, was, at the time, the centre of American tourism[51]. Its author was Gideon Minor Davison, whose aim was to increase the visibility of Saratoga and publishing a guidebook was part of his promotional efforts. His book's format was based on the early guidebooks written for the Grand Tours of young and wealthy European gentlemen. He decided to follow the routes that were used by visitors in previous years and to print his work at a low of a cost as possible as he presumed that the reader would only use it for one or two seasons. Despite the fact that the book did not contain any maps or illustrations and the content was in a narrative form, Davison expected the reader to follow a pre-set path and he gave the readers an itinerary to pursue. The guidebook promised to show the reader a 'fashionable' route, suggesting that tourism at the time was a must for people who wanted to be 'a la mode'[52].

No other American guidebooks appeared during the years that immediately followed the publication of *The Fashionable Tour*, but in in 1825 two new travel guides were published by Theodore Dwight and Henry Dilworth Gilpin. They had decided to write books about travelling to start their literary careers, a fact which suggests that tourism had become fashionable by this time. Their books, *Northern Traveller* and *The Northern Tour: Being a Guide to Saratoga, Lake George, Niagara, Canada, Boston, &c. &c.* tried to entice different groups of tourists. The latter was written for privileged and educated artists; with Gilpin declaring travel as an act of nationalism and patriotism[53]. He stated that 'Europe is rotten' and "[i]n this, Gilpin was a part of a cutting edge of culture, a movement that championed American paintings, promoted the books of American writers, and believed that American virtue deserved to triumph over European (particularly British) decadence"[54]. Americans at the time followed and took on much of Gilpin's thinking[55]. Consequently, they believed it was necessary to get to know their homeland and tourism became the tool to do so. In the 1820s tourism increased massively in America and became a tangible phenomenon for the first time. The tourist guidebook became a fixture within American literary genres at this time.

This trend continued during the following years aided by the fact that "…the emerging tourism industry in the United States actively promoted tourism as a ritual of

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[51] Gassan, *The First American Tourist Guidebooks* cit., p. 52.

[52] Ibid., p. 54, 55.

[53] Ibid., p. 56, 60, 63.

[54] Ibid., p. 64.

[55] Sears, *Sacred Places* cit, p. 4.

American citizenship" and because "the tourist industry insisted that by seeing the sights and scenes that embodied the essence of America, by consuming the nation through touring, tourists would become better Americans"[56]. However, little by little Americans found out that they could learn from Europeans, even though American feeling towards Europeans was rather ambivalent, indeed "[e]ducated Americans desperately wished to meet European standards of culture and, at the same time, to develop a distinct national image"[57]. Because of France's reputation as "the Western world´s foremost arbiter of taste and culture"[58], Paris soon became a "favorite European destination for American tourists"[59]. Indeed a trip to France was considered a matter of course for members of the American upper-classes at the time.

Despite this enthusiasm for Paris, the first handbooks aimed at Americans travelling to Europe were not published in America. The most successful ones before 1894 were printed by an English-language bookstore in Paris and shipped to the US[60]. As Harvey Levenstein points out, Americans could also read early John Murray´s guidebooks and translations of Baedeker´s, and they remained the most used for a long time[61]. Thanks to these guidebooks, interested travellers were becoming much more acquainted with Paris and France seemed closer than ever. In fact, because of the improvements in transportation from the second half of the 19th century, in terms of time, it really was closer than ever before. Steam boats reduced the time needed for crossing the ocean to six days. The transatlantic trip was not only faster, but also cheaper and more affordable for upper and middle classes.

By 1870 over seventy thousand American and British tourists had visited Paris[62]. A significant number of them were clients of the British company established by Thomas Cook, which organized trips to Europe. Cook had sent his son to America in 1865 to promote trips across the Atlantic and especially to France. In 1880, there were no more than 50,000 Americans visiting Europe. By twenty years later this number had more than doubled. A peak was reached in 1913 when close to 250,000 people travelled by first or second-class

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[56] M. Schaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, Washington, D. C., 2013, Introduction.
[57] Sears, *Sacred Places* cit, p. 4.
[58] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., p. 90.
[59] Ibid., p. 275.
[60] Ibid., ch. 3.
[61] Ibid., ch. 9., ch. 13.
[62] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 8.

passage to Europe from America"[63]. And as Paris was a favourite European destination for US citizens, it can be assumed that most of them also visited the French capital.

Then The Great War broke out. It began at the very peak of the tourist season and visitors, among them many Americans, did not know what to do. Most of them left Paris immediately but some waited until the autumn. Three years later a new wave Americans arrived, though they were not in France to enjoy its nature, cities or culture, but to fight as members of the US army. However, although their first stay in France was not for tourism, when the conflict was over, many of them eventually came to visit the country and to show their families the battlefields. Some of them even decided to settle in Paris, either for a short time or for a longer period. American bohemians and artists especially came to Paris due to its artistic reputation and a wish to escape American puritanism. The Left Bank became the home of these men and women, which was the complete opposite side of Paris to where the wealthy upper-class Americans were visiting before the Great War.

During the 1920s, the demographics of the American tourists became less homogenous. In the past, when it took a long time to cross the Atlantic ocean it was seen as pointless to travel to Europe for a trip of less than few months and so visits tended to at least a year. Only the wealthiest members of the upper-classes could afford to spend so much money on travelling abroad. However, as time went by and travel became much less expensive, members of the middle class started to have the opportunity to experiencing what previously seemed impossible for them. "In 1925, a French government agency estimated that a mere 2 percent of American visitors to France were 'millionaires'. Eighteen percent were only wealthy, while the large majority of the rest were middle-class businessmen, their wives, and students"[64]. After the war even the young college graduates who "lived on bread, cheese and paté" could come to Paris and enjoy it[65]. Paris was no longer reserved for the richest members of American society.

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[63] Ibid., p. 129.

[64] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 16.

[65] Ibid., ch. 19

2.2.2 Czech Tourism

Tourism spread in countries under the Czech crown during the second half of the 19th century. During this time, the region was under the dominion of the Habsburg monarchy, a state of affairs the Czech people were disillusioned with. Czech tourism thus became a tool for expressing disappointment with the political situation. The tourists' first aim was to discover their own land and to disseminate its beauty to the nation[66]. Tourism during this period was characterised by sentiments of national awakening and cultural revival.

It is not an accident that from the beginning of the second half of the 19th century the first tourist clubs were established. Their aim was not only to romantically admire nature but also to truly experience it[67]. The first tourist clubs in the Czech lands were the German ones, more precisely offshoots of already established clubs in German countries. They were followed by clubs also interested in tourism established from the 1860s onwards, which very often took inspiration from their precursors. One of the early associations promoting tourism was *Sokol*, an established and well known organization which focused mainly on physical training. Besides organising trips around the Czech lands, it coordinated tours abroad as well. As well as *Sokol*, the club *Podhorská jednota Radhošť* was also focused on increasing Czech tourism.

The most important club, with the core of its activities in tourism, came four years after. On 11th June 1888 *Klub českých turistů* (Czech Tourist Club) was founded with the aim of bringing together all Czech tourism enthusiasts[68]. The club organised trips and lectures and was also concerned with the education of young people. At that time tourism became not only an individual activity but a social one too. To be a part of the Czech Tourist Club meant to be a good Czech patriot. As Štemberk says: "Travelling became a very modern phenomenon and experiences from visiting places and next plans for travelling were a favourite topic of conversation at various social meetings"[69]. It is therefore not surprising that many renowned figures in Czech society became heads of the *Klub českých turistů*,

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[66] However, the interest in the city also existed as proves the guidebook *Průvodce po královském městu Praze*, published around year 1935.

[67] L. Kašpar, *Vznik a vývoj turistiky v českých zemích do roku 1914*, Doctoral Dissertation, Charles University, 2006, p. 37.

[68] J. Guth-Jarkovský, *Turistika: Turistický katechismus*, Nakladatelství Baset, Praha, 2003, p. 117.

[69] "Cestování se stávalo velmi moderním fenoménem a zážitky z navštívených míst a další cestovatelské plány tak byly oblíbeným tématem různých společenských setkání." in: J. Štemberk, *Fenomén cestovního ruchu: Možnosti a limity cestovního ruchu v meziválečném Československu*, Nová tiskárna Pelhřimov, Pelhřimov, 2009, p. 55.

something which is testament to the position and reputation of tourism within Czech society by the late 19th century.

After one year of existence the *Klub českých turistů*'s first journal was launched – *Časopis turistů* (The Tourist Journal). It contained many articles about visiting places, translations of foreign periodicals (for example French *La Géographie*) and also texts written by Jiří Guth Jarkovský, an important Czech patriot[70]. Apart from this journal Czech tourists could buy wide range of various guidebooks, maps, leaflets, posters and other printed materials published by the club. However, many of these guidebooks and maps were not originally Czech, but translations from German.

In the year the first Journal was published the first big trip was organized. The final destination of the trip was the Universal Exposition in Paris. There were 363 Czech participants. One third of them were not even members of the club which indicates the great interest in this celebration of technical progress which was being held in the French capital. This trip had a great impact on Czech society and immediately after the travellers returned, the leaders of the *Klub českých turistů* decided to work on *Jubilejní výstava* (Anniversary Exhibition) which was planned for 1891. The extent that they were inspired by Paris is apparent from the fact that besides the diorama of Prague conquered by Swedes and the famous mirror labyrinth a copy (scale 1:5) of the Eiffel Tower, called *Petřínská rozhledna* (Petřín Tower), was built. Furthermore, thanks to the success of the trip the Czech Tourist Club grew to 872 members and its trips to Western Europe became much more common[71].

In the era before the First World War, Czech tourists wishing to visit France were supposed to have a visa but in reality this was not needed; as Czech historian Jan Rychlík points out. Even their passports were not always controlled[72]. During the conflict the possibilities for travelling were limited. After the end of the war though, the de facto visa waiver came into force again. And during this "…period the economic and social importance of tourism was increasing little by little and state authorities took note"[73]. Active tourism,

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[70] Jiří Guth-Jarkovský, general secretary of the International Olympic Comitee (1919-1923), foundator of the Czech Olympic Comitee, president of the Czech Tourist Club (1915-1926), author of books about tourism and etiquette.

[71] Kašpar, *Vznik a vývoj turistiky* cit., p. 53.

[72] J. Rychlík, *Cestování do ciziny v habsburské monarchii a v Československu: Pasová, vízová a vystěhovalecká politika 1848-1989*, Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, Praha, 2007, p. 9, 14.

[73] "…v meziválečném období se postupně zvyšoval hospodářský a společenský význam cestovního ruchu a státní orgány si tuto skutečnost pomalu uvědomovaly." in: Štemberk J., *Prameny a literatura k dějinám cestování a cestovního ruchu v českých zemích a v Československu v první polovině 20. století*, Vysoká škola obchodní v Praze, Praha, 2008, p. 8.

which is when visitors come to a country to spend money, was economically fruitful for Czechoslovakia at the time and, the Czechoslovakian government, realising this, made it an objective to increase active tourism. At this time many Czech travel agencies were established abroad with the aim of promoting travelling to Czechoslovakia. However, they were not particularly successful, as despite an understanding that tourism was growing, the government's agenda on tourism was not centralized, which caused an unclear delineation of powers and responsibilities[74].

In the Czech lands, from the last quarter of the 19th century onwards, travel agencies started developing their activities and began providing additional services. Travel agencies offered many of them at this time, for example, making reservations for transportation and accommodation. One of the most important travel agencies was *Slovanská cestovní kacelář* (Slavic travel agency) which was owned and led by Oldřich Doležal. He was, in the years following the war, the head of *Svaz cestovních kanceláří v Československé Republice* (Association of Travel Agencies in the Czechoslovak Republic). This company and *Čedok* - the travel agency destined to become the best known for promoting Czechoslovakia abroad - established branches in Paris. The Parisian office of *Čedok* was opened on 30th July 1926 and became one of the few successful departments. Moreover, thanks to the Universal exposition in 1931 and the great number of visitors that came to see it, the income of *Čedok* grew[75].

As "travelling to foreign countries became fashionable at the beginning of 20th century"[76], Czechs became more interested in exploring not only their own country but also others too. The highest percentage of outbound tourists were state and private officers who had vacations which lasted from ten days to three weeks, and who could afford to travel abroad. They were encouraged to do so by advertisements in newspapers and on Czech radio stations, by travel agency posters in shop windows and during lectures about foreign countries organized by tourist clubs[77].

France at this time was one of the most visited states by Czechoslovaks. Travel from Prague to Paris by rail, which was the most used transport method, took 26 hours; although sometimes travel was prolonged because of political conflicts such as The Ruhr Crisis. In this case the itinerary of the Orient Express, a train which included sleeping cars from Paris

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[74] Štemberk, *Fenomén cestovního ruchu* cit., p. 23.
[75] Ibid., p. 148, 151, 160, 164.
[76] Ibid., p. 244.
[77] Ibid., p. 51, 81.

to Carlsbad, was temporarily changed and the opportunities to get from Czechoslovakia to France became limited. Apart from rail, Czechoslovak tourists heading to Paris were also, especially from the 1930s onwards, using automobiles. Airplanes represented another possibility. The trip from Prague to Paris was one of the longest direct flights from Czechoslovakia at the time, but a Czech tourist could also fly with Air France which offered a flight with stops in Nuremberg and Strasbourg[78].

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[78] Štemberk, *Fenomén cestovního ruchu* cit., p. 191, 116, 143.

2.2.3 French Tourism

The tourism was becoming more and more attractive to the French middle-classes in the years preceding the First World War. However, large numbers of them were not interested in solitary tourism and so they started to organize themselves into associations[79]. The most important of these associations were *Club Alpin Français* (C.A.F.), *Touring Club de France* (T.C.F.) and *Automobile Club de France* which joined together and created *L'Union Nationale des Associations de Tourisme* (U.N.A.T.)[80]. This organization supervised the practices of the various parts of the tourism industry, such as restaurants, hotels, etc. The most important association and the one with the most coherent vision of modern tourism was *Touring Club de France*, based on the model of *English Cyclists´ Touring Club[81]*. In 1912, after 22 years of functioning, it had around 130,000 members. The TCF to a large extent worked with local organizations to develop regional tourism. By doing so it contributed to the definition of the national patrimony[82]. Furthermore, its members were interested "in widening the appeal of tourism in France for both French and foreign tourists, and in developing France´s capacity for receiving ever-larger numbers of those tourists"[83]. However, as the TCF was mainly concerned with promoting lesser known areas and attractions, it rarely mentioned Paris which did not need any help to draw tourists´ attention. Consequently, it did not provide a coherent image of the country. Its representation was decentralised.

This lack of promotion for Paris was not a surprise as the city was traditionally visited during tourists´ journeys within France. Furthermore, as Paris became increasingly cosmopolitan during the interwar period, the regions outside of the city started being presented as much more "French" than the capital. The countryside was perceived as the place where key French traditions remained intact and could therefore be experience authentically tourists.

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[79] P. Young, *La Vieille France as Object of Bourgeois Desire: The Touring Club de France and the French Regions, 1890-1918*, in: Koshar R., "Histories of Leisure: Leisure, Consumption and culture", Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002, p. 169.

[80] E. Furlough, *Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s*, in: "Comparative Studies in Society and History", Vol. 40, No. 2 (April 1998), Cambridge University Press.

[81] Young, *La Vieille France* cit., p. 185.

[82] J. Dutour*, La conservation des monuments historiques français à la croisée des intérêt touristiques, scientifiques et sociaux (1891-1930)*, in: M.-B. Fourcade, "Patrimoine et patrimonialisation: entre le materiel et l´immatériel", Presses Université Laval, 91-115.

[83] Young, *La Vieille France* cit., p. 170.

The TCF was also concerned with improving the routes that could be used by travellers. The same was true for the railroads built in 1840s, "that radiated northward from Paris to Channel ports, southeastward to Lyon and soon, down the Rhône valley to Marseille on the Mediterranean"[84] and that were in a bad shape. Later on, even though "[t]he railroad network that developed between 1860 and 1914 allowed faster, more comfortable rolling stock to reach practically every town and village in France"[85], the situation remained inconvenient. The reason was the absence of roads that would have allowed for the spread of the new, fashionable transport choice, the automobile.

Furthermore, the club was not sure about the quality of facilities, hotels and restaurants. Apart from the *Touring Club de France*, there was the governmental *Office National du Tourisme* (ONT) which was established in 1910 and was dedicated to dealing with issues around and about tourism[86]. One of the aims of ONT was to encourage foreign tourists to come and visit France. However, the whole French tourism industry faced the problem of its low standards and many aspects had to be improved to adapt to "emerging international standards and practices"[87]. Hygiene, equipment, habits of the staff – everything had to be changed. As Czech writer Jaroslav Guth-Jarkovský states, in his book about tourism: "[T]roubles with hospitality were […] for example in France. The hotels in the countryside towns of this country [France] were so miserable, that it was hard to stay there. Especially the French Touring-Club felt it…"[88]. However, the tourist associations and organisations involved in improving standards in the tourist industry did manage to make some improvements.

Although the First World War was a disaster for France, after the conflict the situation improved significantly. Tourism became one of the French government's strategies to get out of financial difficulties. It was therefore decided to promote the country as much as possible to potential visitors. It was the ONT´s task to fulfil the government's ambition. Luckily for ONT, it was not very difficult to do, as "France as an attraction had the advantage of already being something of a known international 'product', with a reputation that already

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[84] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 8.

[85] Ibid., ch. 9.

[86] P. Young, *A place like any other?*, in: Zuelow E. G. E, "Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History", Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011, p. 127.

[87] Ibid., p. 129.

[88] "[N]esnáze s hostinstvím byli také jinde … jako na př. ve Francii. Ta, asi před třicíti lety i ve větších městech venkovských byli hotely tak bídné, že bylo trudno v nich bydliti. Cítil to především francouzský Touring-Club..." in: Guth-Jarkovský, *Turistika: Turistický katechismus* cit., p. 100.

gave it value and appeal within the international tourist marketplace"[89]. This reputation was a great advantage in its competition with other European countries to attract tourists, but the support of systematic and unified policies helped a lot, too.

The effort to increase the number of American tourists was concerted at this time. France was successful and from the 1920s the flow of travellers from the United States increased. State organisations as well as private ones tried to take advantage of the situation by encouraging potential travellers to become 'pilgrims' and visit the battlefields of the First World War. They did this by publishing new guidebooks that reflected the recent history of the area[90]. According to Patrick Young, 150,000 tourists from America visited France in 1924[91]. However, as the money from tourism was mostly coming from America, which was the country burdened the most by the Great Depression, this flow of money rapidly dried up after 1929. A similar situation can be seen with other nationalities as well: "…the number of foreign tourists visiting France declined from a peak of nearly 19 million in 1929 to just 900,000 in 1934-35…"[92]. As tourism was an expensive leisure activity, it became the first expense to be cut when people had to scale down their expenditure.

The French government also decided to focus on opportunities for its own citizens to explore their country. However, mass tourism did not appear in the 1930s without a long process of political and social change. In 1936 French socialist party Popular Front legislated to create paid vacations (*congé payé*). "From the 1930s and accelerating in the post-war period, paid vacations came to be understood as a right of citizenship bound up within a European standard of living, part of a new social contract"[93]. Travelling was no longer intended to be a privilege of the upper classes.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that everyone used their paid vacations for tourism, indeed only 5-10% of French citizens used this opportunity to travel most of them used their 15 days of vacations differently. One reason was money. People had no savings because of the economic crisis and therefore, they could not spend their salaries on the most expensive aspects of tourism, such as travelling to the destination and accommodation. After realising this obstacle, the French government decided to encourage the growth of youth hostels named *auberges de jeunesse* and the so-called "Lagranges tickets" which were aimed at

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[89] Young, *A Place Like Any Other* cit., p. 137.
[90] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 15.
[91] Young, *A Place Like Any Other* cit., p. 138.
[92] Ibid., p. 139.
[93] Furlough, *Making Mass Vacations* cit., p. 249.

answering the demand for a reduction in the prices of train tickets[94]. Still, the localism in people´s attitudes towards tourism remained. Indeed, although the French were pleased with the extra free time, it did not necessarily mean they wanted to travel. It was not only the government who were engaged in the spreading of tourism, but, also employer's organizations, the Catholic Church, and working-class organizations. But although these groups tried to encourage people to travel more by organizing various trips, tourism before World War II continued to be the domain of the French upper classes.

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[94] Furlough, *Making Mass Vacations* cit., p. 255.

2.3 Tourists in Paris

It is difficult to say which people were coming to Paris as tourists. As Levenstein points out, "[t]here are almost as many motives for traveling as there are people"[95]. However, we can find some patterns. It was shown in the previous chapter that in the 19th century Paris was a destination for the highest classes of American society. As time went on, transatlantic travel became much more affordable for lower classes. By the 20th century it was not only people belonging to upper echelons of society and art lovers who were to be seen the streets of Paris, but also young students and families with children. The fact that the Dollar was much a stronger currency than the Franc at the time helped this situation to develop. "Yet the elite had not stopped going to Europe; they were just less visible"[96]. This flow of Americans to Paris laid the foundations for the later rise of mass tourism[97].

The American image of the city was rather different from the European one. Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, was quite similar to Paris in respect to its long history and tradition. The same could be said for Vienna, another city that Czechs knew well due to its position within the former Habsburg Empire. For them, coming to Paris represented an opportunity to experience the culture of an interwar ally. "American cities offer the greatest contrast with Paris. The United States has no city as old as Paris, none with a comparable concentration of symbolic capital"[98], claimed Ferguson. Paris at times represented the whole of Europe for Americans, especially if they did not visit any other city or country on their trips. All in all it was a rather different experience for them to come to Paris than it was for Czechs.

The guidebooks do not suggest any kind of preliminary budget that could help readers prepare for the trip, so instead, we tried to compare what kind of hotels they recommend to tourists. However, this method was not very useful as only one American guidebook contains a section about practical information and another issue with this line of inquiry is that guidebooks tend to copy information from each other. In this regard, it can be said in general that every guidebook that offers the reader possibilities of where to stay in Paris, presented him with a whole range of types of accommodation. The most luxurious ones around *Place de la Concorde*, *Champs Elysées* and *Place Vendôme* were mentioned first, then hotels

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[95] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., Preface

[96] Ibid., ch. 16.

[97] Ibid., Preface.

[98] P. P. Ferguson, *Reading City Streets*, in: "The French review", Vol. 61, No. 3 (February 1988), p. 393.

which were less luxurious followed by the cheapest and smallest ones. Also, more family orientated hotels were mentioned. The authors wanted to address the widest possible audience and consequently, they had to cater to members of all social classes.

A big issue for foreign visitors to Paris is very likely to have been the language barrier. French was considered as international language in the 19th century, but the situation was changing. During the interwar period the position of French language was not "the international tongue of those Europeans who were worth talking to"[99] and most of the middle-class American tourists lacked any French language skills[100]. It was not expected, as it might have been at one time, that all visitors to the city would speak French. As one of the guidebooks states, "[t]here will be no difficulty in making [the visitor] understood, even without knowledge of French"[101]. However, at the same time as acknowledging that an understanding of French was not essential for visiting the city, the guidebooks at the same time wanted to help tourists overcome any possible language barriers by providing them with translations of the most important words and expressions. This is mostly visible in the Czech guidebooks in which helpful French vocabulary can be found, important words in the text essential are translated and signs that visitors could see in the city are given their Czech equivalents. As the author of *Průvodce po Paříži* wrote, "[k]nowledge of French language is desirable to the extent that the tourist can read French names the book and to be able to say what he desires"[102]. Overall, it was not a necessity for foreign tourists to Paris to speak French during the interwar period.

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[99] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., p. 3.

[100] Ibid., ch. 17.

[101] *Handbook to Paris and its environs. With plan of the city, map of the environs, plans of the Bois de Boulogne, Versailles, the Louvre, the English Channel, Calais, Boulogne, and a map of the battlefields*, Robert M. McBride & Company, New York 1929, p. 204.

[102] "[z]nalost jazyka francouzského je žádoucí alespoň do té míry, aby náš turista uměl přečísti správně francouzská jména v knížce uvedená, aby mohl říct srozumitelně, čeho si přeje." in: J. Novák, *Průvodce po Paříži*, Praha,1925, p. V.

3. Travel Guidebooks

3.1 Formation of the Collections: Tourist Guidebooks in Western Europe

The earliest guidebooks can be dated to the 16th century. At that time, they were aimed at either merchants or the young aristocrats who were sent to foreign courts. Already at this time the pocket-format of the book was used and the authors often declared that their aim was to help the reader as much as possible. And the similarities with the more modern guidebooks do not end there.

The journeys in these early guidebooks were divided into days and provided information about the cost of various products and services, recommendations of where to go and what to see, information about when to visit for the most important feasts and festivals, etc. The authors of these guidebooks included small and simple maps and plans because "one of the primary roles of guides at the time was to interpret the chaotic maze of the early modern city, a place without street names or numbers, through their mapping—whether cartographical or textual—of its streets, services and customs"[103].

The first guidebook about France was written by Charles Estienne, named *La Guide des Chemins de France* and published in 1553[104]. That Estienne was the son of a printer, that he learnt this trade as well and that he used the vernacular language helped a lot in his success. His description of the journey is not boring and matter of fact, but is something that the traveller could enjoy. Estienne assumed that the traveller would begin their journey in Paris, which influenced the way he organised the space in the book.

Although tourist guidebooks existed before 1800, it was not until the 19th century that the collections emerged. At the very beginning of the century, just after the Napoleonic wars, which affected almost the whole Europe and caused the decline of travelling, the French editor Hyacinthe Langlois decided to publish a collection of guidebooks, which expanded into eleven volumes[105]. Langlois largely used guidebooks written by Heinrich

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[103] E. McKellar, *Tales of Two Cities: Architecture, Print and Early Guidebooks to Paris and London*, in: *"Humanities"*, 2013, p. 338.

[104] C. Liaroutzos, *Les premiers guides français imprimés*, in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (April 13, 2011). DOI:10.4000/insitu.486, par. 1.

[105] G. Guilcher, *Naissance et dévelopement du guide de voyage imprimé: du guide unique à la série, une stratégie de conquête des lecteurs?,* in: G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Perez (eds.), "Les guides imprimés du XVIᵉ au XXᵉ siècle : Villes, paysages, voyages", Paris, 2000, p. 85.

August Ottokar Reichard, who was working since the end of the 18th century. His original books, known as *Guides Reichard* were widely translated. These were followed by *Guide classique du voyageur en Europe* by Jean-Marie-Vincent Audin in 1828[106]. At the same time, the Parisian editor Galignani was publishing guides in English and the situation was similar on the other side of the English Channel. Between the years 1818 and 1840, Samuel Leigh published eleven volumes of tourist guidebooks. Besides the above mentioned publishers and authors, we can find many short lived volumes.

All of these volumes resembled each other a lot because very often the new guidebooks came into being by translating and rewriting older ones or the authors were at least inspired by previous guidebooks. The guidebooks in the early 1800s "typically offered either simple lists of tourist destinations without any context, or overly elaborate discussions of what to see and how to feel when seeing it"[107]. Even at these days it was possible to find information about accommodation and restaurants without the authors giving precise recommendations. The reason is simple: at that time the conditions were changing a lot, so they were not included in the guidebooks as their aim was to influence long-term travel preferences. Nevertheless, the big collections, which changed the style of this literary field, emerged soon.

In 1851, Louis Hachette decided to travel to London to see the World Exposition. Inspired by the example of English publishers, he decided to establish a new collection of books for travellers. His aim was to spread the guidebooks as much as possible and so he decided to distribute them to railway stations[108]. His market position was particular thanks to the contacts that he had in the financial and business spheres. Little by little, and after signing a contract with *La compagnie du Nord*, he reached a point when his guidebooks were sold within the whole French railway system[109]. By this, Louis Hachette accomplished his objective to spread his collection broadly because at the same time he also insisted on keeping the price of the book very low and therefore affordable to the general public.

The great change for the publishing house of Louis Hachette and therefore for the world of tourist guidebooks, came in 1855. This was the year that Adolphe Joanne, the director of the department of guidebooks in the Louis Maison´s publishing house and the

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[106] Guilcher, *Les guides européens* cit.*,* par. 10.

[107] M. D. Larabee, *Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing*, in: *"*Journal of the History of Ideas*",* No. 3 (July 2010), University of Pennsylvania Press Stable, p. 458.

[108] In this regard he followed the idea of Englishman William Henry Smith.

[109] Morlier, *Les Guides Joanne* cit.*,* par. 1.

author of the successful *Itinéraire de la Suisse* from 1841, was hired[110]. This man led the publishing of the tourist guides for the next 26 years. He bought the competing publishing houses and their collections were connected with *Bibliothèque des Chemins de fer*, which was founded in 1853 by Louis Hachette. The collection widened and contained 43 books[111].

Bibliothèque des Chemins de fer consisted of two categories of guides named *Guides Cicérone* and *Guides itinéraires*. The first part of the collection – apart from the city guides – was concerned with seaside resorts, spas, regions and places connected with history and places interesting for society[112]. On the other hand, the *Guides itinéraires* were for tourists who used the railways to get to particular destinations. The *Guides itinéraires* started in Paris. The capital city was perceived as heart of France, especially from the economical point of view. The richest bourgeoisie, which could afford to travel, lived there and therefore, it is not surprising that Paris became the starting point for *Guides itinéraires.*

Four years later the collection *Guides Joanne* was established[113]. Joanne employed many *hommes des lettres*, translators, geographers, travellers, mountaineers, etc., and supervised them. Daniel Nordman states that there were three groups of contributors: researchers in books (basic information, historic notes), occasional collaborators (local scholars) and main collaborators (field workers)[114]. Adolphe Joanne focused mainly on French speakers. Therefore, *Librarie Hachette* produced dozens of guidebooks about France or about the countries where French people travelled the most. Overall it "released more than two hundred titles between 1860 and 1909"[115].

1866 brought a new development in tourist guidebooks. For the tourists who did not have enough time to fully experience everything which the *Guides Joanne* offered, the Louis Hachette´s publishing house created a collection named *Guides Diamant* which were smaller and easier to carry. It is easy to see why the books from this collection were needed when we take into consideration the fact that *Guide Joanne* books sometimes exceeded 850 pages[116]. The first book from this new collection was dedicated to Paris and the second *Exposition universelle* which had recently taken place there.

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[110] Guilcher, *Les guides européens* cit.*,* par. 14, 23.

[111] Nordman, *Les Guides-Joanne* cit., p. 533.

[112] Morlier, *Les Guides Joanne* cit.*,* par. 11-13.

[113] Ibid., par. 16.

[114] Nordman D., *Les Guides-Joanne. Ancêtres des Guides Bleus*, in: P. Nora*,* "Lieux de mémoire II, La nation"*,* Gallimard, Paris, 1986, p. 533.

[115] K. Olson, *Maps for a New Kind of Tourist: The First* Guides Michelin *France (1900–1913),* in: "Imago Mundi, No. 2 (June 2010), p. 208.

[116] Guilcher, *Les guides européens* cit.*,* par. 25.

In 1881 Adolphe Joanne died, and his position as the director of the collection of guidebooks was taken over by his son, Paul Joanne. In cooperation with his contributor and colleague Marcel Monmarché, Paul continued to develop his father´s work. Seven years before the Great War Paul Joanne introduced *Guides-Joanne illustrés*, which were dedicated to relatively small areas (i.e. cities, small regions, etc.) and were accompanied by pictures. When Joanne retired in 1919, Marcel Monmarché decided to change the name of the best known collection of *Librarie Hachette* to *Guides Bleus*. Blue was the colour for the percaline of every guidebook published by this publishing house. Monmarché believed that, as there was no Joanne leading the collection, there were no reason for keeping the name. The blue colour soon became a symbol of French travelling[117].

The situation in two competing publishing houses was rather different. Karl Baedeker and John Murray chose red and pink respectively for the percaline of their German and English tourist guidebooks, albeit Baedeker´s had a tan cover until 1856[118]. Although one could say that the colour is not important, the truth is that it is the way people differentiate them from other genres of books and even from other guidebooks. Even so, red was adopted by many publishing houses in several countries for their guidebooks.

Karl Baedeker was the first widely known publisher of guidebooks in Europe. He started producing guidebooks in the first quarter of the 19th century with *Die Rheinlande* and put the tourist guidebook, reduced in volume, into the pockets of many travellers"[119]. Baedeker followed an easy but efficient way of organizing the text so the guidebooks resembled an encyclopaedia and included precise information about history, literature and art as well as about the conditions of travel, daily routes and programs, hotels and restaurants, etc.[120]. Its standardized structure allowed tourists to know immediately everything which was necessary. It is not surprising that his personal aim was "to be useful to the traveller"[121]. Although Baedeker used a brusque style of writing, his books became popular not only with German speaking travellers, but, after being translated, with many other nationalities too[122].

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[117] More about *Guides Joanne* in: Nordman D., *Les Guides-Joanne. Ancêtres des Guides Bleus*, in: P. Nora, "Lieux de mémoire II, La nation", Gallimard, Paris, 1986.

[118] Guilcher, *Les guides européens* cit., par. 21.

[119] "Il met le guide, allégé en volume, dans la poche des voyageurs." in: Assoun, *L' 'Effet Baedeker'* cit., par. 13.

[120] J. K. Walton, *Histories of tourism: representation, identity, and conflict*, Channel View Publications, Buffalo 2005, ISBN 18-454-1033-5, p. 24.

[121] "…d'être utile au voyageur", K. Baedeker, *Die Rheinlande von der Schweizer bis zur Holländischen Grenze*. Leipzig : Verlag von Karl Baedeker, 1892, p. III-V. in: A. Rauch, *Le Voyageur et Le Touriste*, in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (June 2011), DOI:10.4000/insitu.533, par. 3.

[122] The French traslations started to be published in 1846, while English versions appeared fifteen years after.

The reason for this, was the work of two Scottish brothers, James and Findlay Muirheads who took responsibility for spreading Baedekers books between 1878 and 1887[123]. The first Baedeker guidebook about Paris was published in 1855[124].

The *Red Book* of the English publisher and author John Murray came in 1836 after years of research[125]. Its style was more romantic and picturesque than the books of Karl Baedeker, and his following publications continued with the same style. His books were titled "A handbook for travellers in…" and their layouts were always the same so travellers knew what to expect[126]. By 1870 Murray had published twenty guidebooks, especially for the Anglo-Saxon world, and Marc Boyer states that nearly 1800 Englishmen and Americans read his books every year[127].

Karl Baedeker, John Murray and Adolphe Joanne were the most important editors of tourist guidebooks of the 19th century. Their success was caused, among many other reasons, by their continued output. They led the publishing of guidebooks for many years and after retiring, their sons took over their positions. Paul Joanne, Fritz Baedeker and John Murray IV worked hard to fulfil the goals of their fathers and to improve the situation of their publishing houses. For example,

"[w]hile Baedeker relied principally on his own observations, and his British competitor John Murray assigned one author-traveller to write each guide, Baedeker's son Fritz went further by incorporating the work of specialists. Revising and expanding the book series, he employed university professors, historians, artists, Orientalists, antiquaries, and Egyptologists, among many other professionals, to enhance the technical accuracy of his product"[128].

Hence, because so many people contributed to the outcome, the individual authors were not stated in the guidebook, which increased the significance of the publishing houses.

The *Guides Joanne* were not concerned with lands far away from France. Therefore, it is not possible to find guides which could have accompanied the traveller to the Far East, North America or India. On the contrary, the Murray´s and Baedeker´s guides are not

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[123] Nevertheless, at that time, Karl Baedeker´s son Fritz was their employer.
   Boyer, Histoire générale du tourisme cit.*, p. 206.
[124] Olson, *Maps for a New Kind of Tourist* cit., p. 208.
[125] Enzensberger*, A Theory of Tourism* cit., pp. 117-135.
[126] *Boyer, Histoire générale du tourisme* cit., *p. 204.*
[127] Boyer, *Les séries de guides imprimés portatifs* cit., p. 346.
[128] Larabee, *Baedekers as Casualty* cit., p. 459.

interested in France; they respectively published only 2 and 4 guidebooks on the country[129]. As the English and German editors did not want to provide information about France to their readers, they decided to produce many books on other countries to compensate. Murray´s books were published every three or four years and include information about faraway lands, whilst Baedeker, who was producing guides much more frequently, incorporated these topics in his later volumes.

Another reason for the unprecedented success of Baedeker´s, Murray´s and Joanne´s guidebooks was the fact that they were members of elite and intellectual circles; curious travellers, geographers and – in the case of Adolphe Joanne – lawyers[130]. These highly motivated leaders became the heads of their publishing houses at exactly the right time because the second part of the 19th century represented a revolution in tourism and therefore, in the world of guidebooks used for travelling. Joanne, Murray, Baedeker and their successors were not alone, though, in the 19th century many other publishers of tourist guidebooks appeared. Black, Grieben, Conty, Meyer, Woerl, and Cook, who also organized trips for interested travellers, had their own views on how to attract travellers to buy their books and their styles of writing was adopted by publishers from many different countries[131]. However, Joanne, Murray, and Baedeker remained the most important.

After the First World War the situation changed a lot for Baedeker. As a citizen of Germany, the losing power, his books were not appreciated abroad as highly as they had been before. The Muirheads split off from Baedeker and named their company *Muirhead guide-books Limited*. They acquired the rights to the Murray guidebooks in 1915 and two years later signed a contract with the Hachette publishing house. From then to 1933 they "co-publish[ed] English and French language guidebooks as Blue Guides and Guides Bleus"[132]. During the years *Guides Joanne* and later *Guides Bleus* developed and protected their monopoly in France and by the interwar period their collections were unrivalled. There were only a few attempts to replace the most prosperous publishing house on the market, and most of time the Hachette publishing house swallowed up their smaller rivals. Only *Guides Michelin*, distributed by the fuel dealers and mechanics for free from 1900, represented a serious danger to this giant[133].

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[129] Morlier, *Les Guides Joanne* cit.*,* par. 25.

[130] S. Bonin, *Paysages et représentations dans les guides touristiques*, in: *"L'Espace géographique"*, vol. 30, (February 2001), par. 14.

[131] Bergman, *Guides to a geography of tourism* cit., par. 7.

[132] Larabee, *Baedekers as Casualty* cit, p. 476.

[133] Ibid., p. 464.

As mentioned above, Baedeker, Joanne and Murphy were the three most important publishers who influenced the world of tourist guidebooks. Although these three men interacted at the end of the 19th century and their guidebooks had a lot in common, there existed some particularities within every publishing house. Within Western Europe, they have played a significant role and many other publishing houses have been inspired by their style and form.

For further information about the topic follow: G. Guilcher, *Naissance et développement du guide de voyage imprimé : du guide à la série, une stratégie de conquête des lecteurs*, in: G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Perez (eds.), "Les guides imprimés du XVIe au XXe siècle: Villes, paysages, voyages", Paris 2000, pp. 81-93.

3.2   Content of the Guidebooks

3.2.1   How the Guidebooks Changed

The industrial revolution led to the development the railways and the use of this new way of transportation became more and more common. This new method of transportation, of course, effected the content of the tourist guides. At the very beginning of the 19th century, the guidebooks were composed mainly of a simple text, usually composed of the personal feelings of the writer. Sometimes, maps were present, but very often they were not useful for the traveller. In the second half of the century the technical revolution of the graphic and printing industry allowed for the development of all kinds of material and variations in layout, grading, textual styles, highlighting, and maps and town plans became one of the most celebrated parts of guidebooks; especially from the 1880s onwards, when printing in colour became much more common[134]. The traditional guidebooks make the reader ready very disposed to travelling, but the new ones gave them a better preparation by familiarizing them with new places through maps, plans and other illustrative materials[135].

These maps and illustrations became more and more popular and eventually became a stable part of guidebooks in the interwar period. For example, the English editor Ward Lock put 60 photos in one volume as well other maps, plans and illustrations. The *Illustrated Michelin Guides to the Battle-Fields (1914-1918)* in an edition which printed 850,000 guidebooks from mid-1919 to January 1920 included "before-and-after images of destruction"[136]. And specialized maps dedicated to hotels, entertainment venues and museums can be found in the guides for cities as well. The maps were not necessarily oriented in the South-North way because the authors started to follow the line which the railway followed. The quality of these helpful materials developed from the mid-eighteenth century onwards as well as the ability of the travellers to read and understand them, which in France was increased by the government's promotion of teaching geography in schools[137].

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[134] Bergman, *Guides to a geography of tourism* cit., par. 9, 23.

[135] Guilcher, *Les guides européens* cit., par. 27.
    McKellar, *Tales of Two Cities* cit., p. 332.

[136] Guilcher, *Les guides européens* cit., par. 102.
    Larabee, *Baedekers as Casualty* cit., p. 464.

[137] Guilcher, *Les guides européens*, par. 96.
    Morlier, *Les Guides Joanne* cit., par. 21.
    Olson, *Maps for a New Kind of Tourist* cit., p. 207.

These kinds of materials became an inseparable part of the tourist guidebook and, little by little, the text in guidebooks was reduced.

As mentioned earlier, the editors were doing their best to make the trips as simple as possible for the travellers. Hence, they offered in their books, (as well as improved attachment of maps, illustrations, etc.) recommendations about the travel, which presented a reader every pleasure they might encounter as well as every potential inconvenience that could happen too. Those could advise:

> "…the provision of the passport, the rate of currency exchange rates, distances from one place to another, the possibilities of transportation for people and their luggage (bench tanks, sedan chairs, horses and mules...). The precautions are recommended: weather forecasts, foot care ("with wool socks, one never has the blisters"), the distrust to insolent valets and greedy hoteliers. Stories, anecdotes, practical information animating the journey through reading the guide. The sights are recommended ("objects deserving the notice"): collars, chalets, glaciers are announced in tight sections. Depending on the number of days or weeks available to the reader (one month, three weeks, fourteen day, etc.), as well as the possibilities of transport he can choose, that the program guide that deserves to be seen and provides surprises which can be expected"[138].

Moreover, in 1823, the system of 'stars', offering immediate knowledge as to what is worth seeing and what is not, was invented by Heinrich Keller. It was then largely introduced to the public by John Murray at the very beginning of his career[139]. The publishers also invented "keyword sidelines, a presentation of the text in one or two columns, a strong sequencing short paragraphs and all typographical processes, for example small capitals, italics, bold (especially used from the nineteenth century), changes in the body of the text (more or less), and combinations thereof (capitals in italics and in bold, for example)" [140]

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[138] Rauch, *Le Voyageur et Le Touriste* cit., par. 2.

[139] É. Cohen, *La hiérarchie monumentale de Paris au XXe siècle. Les étoiles dans les guides de tourism consacrés à Paris*, in: G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Perez (eds.), "Les guides imprimés du XVIe au XXe siècle: Villes, paysages, voyages", Paris, 2000, p. 442.

[140] "…les mots-clés en marge, une présentation du texte sur une ou deux colonnes, un fort séquençage en paragraphes courts et tous les procédés typographiques de mise en évidence que sont les petites capitales, les italiques, les caractères gras (surtout utilisés à partir du XIXe siècle), les jeux sur le corps des lettres (plus ou moins grand), ainsi que les combinaisons de ceux-ci (capitales en italiques et en gras, par exemple)" in: A. Devanthéry, *À la défense de mal-aimés souvent bien utiles : les guides de voyage. Propositions de lecture basées sur des guides de la Suisse de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et du XIXe siècle.*, in: "Articulo" [Online], no. 4 (October 2008). DOI:10.4000/articulo.747, par. 3.

and divided the texts into parts whose length varied. Obviously, the text of the guidebook was not (and is not) an ordinary text.

It was also necessary to establish the difference between the guidebook and the 'récits de voyages'[141]. These were written retrospectively about the journey of one traveller as a narrative book, marked by strong the subjectivity of the authors. The guidebook was losing its literary aspirations and its main aim became utility; both in the sense of the format and of the style of writing[142]. The authors and editors decided to go in this direction with the content so the reader could take the book anywhere and easily find and read what they wanted.

The target group for the tourist guidebooks was not always the same. It should be stressed once more that in the 19th century only the aristocracy and the richest middle-classes could afford to travel. Therefore, their journeys very often took weeks or even months, and in the case of the Grand Tours, the traveller stayed in one place for years. At the turn of the 20th century the habit of spending only a few days travelling became much more common. The succession of guides named "London (Paris, Rome, etc.) in eight days", which offered the most efficient way of visiting places, is testament to this trend.

After the First World War, a new fashion in tourism, which can be named "the battlefield tourism industry", appeared[143]. There were many people who wished to visit the battlefields where the most fighting took place, especially Verdun[144]. Therefore, the guidebooks came to focus chapters on this topic, because it was important that "[t]he guidebook tells about the main events which has happened in the region"[145]. The authors described the environs of the battles in such detail that many of those who were interested, bought the books simply to read about these places, not to visit them. John Taylor named this phenomenon 'armchair travel'[146]. Nevertheless, visiting of important historical localities was taken by some as a question of national pride[147].

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[141] Devanthéry, *À la défense de mal-aimés* cit., par. 3.

[142] P.-Y. Saunier, *Le guide touristique, un outil pour une possible histoire de l'espace: autour des guides de Lyon 1800-1914*, in: "Géographie et cultures", L'Harmattan, 1993, no. 13, p. 35-54.

[143] More about this topic in: C. Ryan (ed.), *Battfield Tourism: history, place and interpretation. Advances in Tourism Research Series*. Elsevier, Oxford 2007.
C. Winter, *Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War*, in: "Annals of Tourism Research", Vol. 36, No. 4, October 2009, pp. 607-626.

[144] Rauch, *Le Voyageur et Le Touriste* cit., par. 12.

[145] M.-V. Ozouf-Marignier, *Des Guides Joanne Au Guide Vert Michelin : Points, Lignes, Surfaces*, in: "In Situ. Revue des patrimoines" [Online], no. 15 (June 29, 2011). DOI:10.4000/insitu.566, par. 14.

[146] J. Taylor, *A Dream of England : Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination*, Manchester, Manchester University Press 1994, pp. 6-7.

[147] Rauch, *Le Voyageur et Le Touriste* cit., par. 12.

3.2.2 Established Aspects of Guidebooks

The first and professed goal of the guidebook according to Pierre-Yves Saunier and Elizabeth McKellar is to "be helpful, answer to the questions about the information which the traveller asks and to propose him the city for visiting as well as for living"[148] and to be "pleasing to every reader"[149]. Therefore, because of its usefulness, which is stressed by the most of the authors, the guide can be considered as an authority and as a best friend for every traveller. Some writers on tourist guides, for example Paul-Laurent Assoun, continue the metaphors further and present the guidebook as the shadow of the traveller, suggesting the indissolubility and inseparability from him[150]. Moreover, Assoun declares, that "after the compass, the guide is in a sense the second important invention of tools for the orientation in the space. […] Therefore, the traveller moves with the compass in the form of book"[151]. At the same time, only those, who take their journey seriously, have the guidebook with them so they cannot miss anything important[152].

Having in mind what was mentioned in the paragraphs above, it can be said that every guidebook is first and foremost empirical. It helps the reader to orientate themselves in space so that they can fully enjoy their stay in a new place. Nevertheless, history shows that some of travellers, for example Ardern Beaman, who wrote a 1913 memoir entitled *Travels Without Baedeker,* refused to use guidebooks because he believed that through relying on them, one can lose the sense of adventure which travel brings and which should be the main goal of travelling[153]. Beaman´s text, presented as an anti-guidebook, reflects the effort of many authors to tell the tourist not only where to go, but moreover where to look and sometimes what to feel[154]. At the same time, the authors do not explain why some facts are stated and others are not; the selection criteria is not presented and therefore, the traveller trusts blindly to the writer's authority.

Although the first aim of a guidebook is to serve travellers during their journey, it can represent many other purposes. It could be the preparatory manual, thanks to which the

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[148] "…être utile, répondre à une demande d'information formulée par le voyageur et lui proposer une ville à voir et à vivre." in: Saunier, *Le guide touristique* cit., pp. 35-54.

[149] McKellar, *Tales of Two Cities* cit., p. 342.

[150] Assoun, *L' 'Effet Baedeker'* cit., par. 26.

[151] "Après la boussole, le guide est en quelque sorte la seconde grande invention d'outils d'orientation dans l'espace …. Le voyageur se déplace donc avec une boussole en forme de livret." in: Assoun, *L' 'Effet Baedeker'*, par. 3-4.

[152] Ibid., par. 3.

[153] Larabee, *Baedekers as Casualty* cit., p. 467.

[154] Saunier, *Le guide touristique* cit., pp. 35-54.

user can develop their geographical imagination while reading about places which they will visit (pre-image of the space to be visited). Also, after the end of the period of travelling, a guidebook be considered a souvenir, too. Another appreciable aspect of guidebooks is that they can be used for 'armchair travelling' by people who, as was already mentioned in the previous chapter, cannot or do not want to travel. All of these roles that a guidebook can take can please the reader in its own way.

As has been presented in the previous chapters, the development of tourist guidebooks went through standardisation during the 19th century. Therefore, it is possible to find similar aspects in almost every guidebook from the end of the 19th century onwards. The content of tourist guide books consists of textual, paratextual and pictorial information. It is necessary to point out that the content of the tourist guidebook is not meant to be used linearly (i.e. like an ordinary book – read from the beginning to the end), rather at the place in the book which one travels or is travelling to. The relationship between the guidebook and the reader is therefore different from other books, as through the reader a link is created between the space and the book. The role of the tourist is a difficult one.

> "The look of the tourist is multiple and complex: it is the look of an expert who appreciates urban scene, consumer´s look of the urban space, which ignore the geographical differences to retain only aesthetic criteria; a distant look that marks the differences and detachments, or look inquisitive of one who seeks to base this in the urban experience by the bias of the type of activity, finding and imitating the native…."[155].

Moreover, the tourist has a particular position because whilst being somewhere and using the guidebook, his role is to perceive the space well[156], he "should play an active role in perceiving the world and have a creative part in developing his image"[157] by observing the elements which are not worth noticing in his daily life, mainly named 'sights'[158].

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[155] "Le regard du touriste est multiple et complexe : regard de connoisseur qui apprécie le spectacle urbain, regard de consommateur de l´espace urbain, qui font fi des differences géographiques pour ne retenir que des critères esthétiques ; regard distant qui marque la difference et le détachement, ou encore regard inquisiteur de celui qui cherche à ce fonder dans l´expérience urbaine par les bias de l´activité type, en retrouvant et en imitant l´indigène…" in: Hancock, *City of business* cit., pp. 335-336.

[156] In this regard, Dean MacCannell point out that some tourist feel ashamed when they fail „to see everything the way it 'ougt' to be seen", in: D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1989, p. 10.

[157] Lynch, *The Image of the City* cit., p. 6.

[158] Hancock, *City of business* cit., p. 330.

Therefore, the role of the tourist is 'sight-seeing', the obligation to see what is needed to see, whereas his desire is to get emblematic experiences, to feel that he enjoys the place in its entirety; he looks for the symbols of the visited place[159]. If the tourist finds this symbol, it represents the stay for him forever.

While analysing the textual content of the guidebooks following the standardized form, it can be said that, generally, the first part of a guidebook includes an introduction of the place and practical recommendations about transport, accommodation, restaurants, etc. The second part presents the itineraries, sometimes called "promenades" or "walks" with an aim to guide the tourist to the interesting places, to the places "worth seeing". The text is accompanied by maps, illustrations and photographs, inserted to allow for better preparation for the journey and for better orientation in the space, and many kinds of paratextual systems[160]. These involve, for example: rating stars, titles, etc.[161].

To prove this standardization, we have chosen four guidebooks published after the middle of the 19th century, but before World War II, and analysed their content. First of all the criteria which I have used for choosing the sample of guidebooks should be explained. Our aim was to find guidebooks which differ a lot in the following aspects: year of publication, place of publication, the size and acquaintance of the publishing house, language, focus, number of pages and the whether the author is known or unknown. In this way we can target a large group of different types of guidebooks and analyse their content.

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[159] Boyer, *Les séries de guides imprimés portatifs* cit., p. 340.

[160] Bosse Bergman also present his own division of the structure in: Bergman, *Guides to a geography of tourism* cit., par. 5.

[161] Enzensberger, *A Theory of Tourism* cit., pp. 117-135.

	Year of publication	Publishing house	Author	Language	Focus	Number of pages
Michelin Guide to the British Islands[162]	1920	big	unknown	English	The country	823
Guide descriptive du Mont Saint-Michel[163]	1886	Middle (focusing mainly on architecture)	known	French	Historical monument	158
Nouveau guide de Venise et de ses environs[164]	1870	Small	known	French (translated form Italian)	The city	224
Le Petit Guide d´Alger[165]	1908-1909	Small	unknown	French	The city	72

Table 1: Presenting the criteria for choosing the guidebooks

As the analysed guidebooks are very different in regards to their focus, year of publication, etc., the use of additional materials beyond the text varies. Our aim was to study textual information first. Within this, two aspects can be highlighted, the itineraries, which lead the tourist through a new place, and recommendations, which include suggestions about accommodations, restaurants, transport, etc. The second aspect studied were the paratextual systems and the third one was pictorial attachments, such as maps, engravings, photos and illustrations.

The case of *Guide du Mont Michel* is particular within this analysis. This guidebook, published for those interested in architecture, does not include any recommendations regarding accommodation, transport or restaurants. This is because of the fact that the reader is concerned only with specific historical monuments, so he does not need to know any other information. Another guide deserving comment is *Le petit Guide d´Algerie*. Apart from one map, the publisher did not include any pictorial material, because of the aim to offer the reader the smallest possible size of book - the book is 12 cm high.

Although the guidebooks differ a lot, we can say that textual, paratextual and pictorial information are more or less evident and developed in each one. These are the basic components in modern tourist guidebooks and, as such, these aspects can be analysed and studied. If one of these aspects is missing from a guidebook, it is either because the focus of

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[162] The Michelin Tyre Co., Ltd., *The Michelin Guide: The Motorist´s Vade-mecum*. London: The Michelin Tyre Co., Ltd., 1920.

[163] É. Corroyer, *Guide descriptif du Mont Saint-Michel*. Paris, André, Daly Fils & CIE, 1886.

[164] H. Parenzo and (trans.) G. B. Martina, *Nouveau Guide de Venise et de ses environs*, Venice, A. Gerli, 1870.

[165] *Le Petite Guide d´Alger*, Algiers, J. Le Bourgeois, 1909.

the guidebook is very specific, the author´s writing style follows suit (editorial´s demands) or even by particular national style.

4. Research Framework

4.1 Analysed Guidebooks

For our main research, we decided to analyse three American, three French and two Czech guidebooks about Paris. Our aim was to find out the main similarities and differences between guidebooks from these three countries. The first guidebook we looked at was *Paris pour tous*[166]. Its publishing house, *J. M. Dent et fils,* did not only produce guidebooks, they also produced other types of literature. Their guidebook *Paris pour tous* belongs to the Collection Galia and contains painted maps. It informs the reader over 145 pages about the possible paths to follow when exploring Paris, whilst another 85 pages of text are dedicated to practical information. Interestingly, and unlike the rest of the guidebooks we have looked at, the section of practical information is found at the end of the book, instead of the usual position before the itineraries.

The other French guidebooks we looked at belong to *Les Guides Bleus*, a collection published by the most established guidebook focused publishing houses in France. In contrast with the *Paris pour tous guidebook*, they followed the tradition of Louis Hachette´s publishing house regarding the format (pocket size, blue percaline, golden letters) and the content (focus on details, division of the information) and therefore their books follow the established guidebook style[167]. Moreover, since they belong to the same collection, there are a number of similarities between the two, but they are not identical, nor simple reprints of the same book.

The first one to be printed was the *Paris et ses environs*, which was later was renamed more simply as *Paris* with the subtitle *Sèvres, Versailles, Saint-Germain, Saint-Denis, Chantilly, Vincennes, Fontainebleau*. (For the sake of convenience we will use the abbreviation *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* from now on.) Both of them were published under the direction of Marcel Monmarché and edited by M. M. P. Joanne and A. Dudeffand under official patronage of the *Touring club de France*, *Office national de tourisme* and *Club alpin français*. Therefore, these two guidebooks were presented at the time as the most professional and trustworthy. Furthermore, they informed their readers that their English

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[166] E. Jefferson, *Paris pour tous*, Paris 1918.

[167] *Paris et ses environs*, Hachette, Paris 1920.
  Paris, Sèvres, Versailles, Saint-Germain, Saint-Denis, Chantilly, Vincennes, Fontainebleau, Hachette, Paris 1924.

counterpart was Muirhead Guide-books Ltd., who were publishing English editions of *Les Guides Bleus* guidebooks.

Paris et ses environs, published in 1920, is longer than its later counterpart. It contains 80 pages of practical information and 536 pages of itineraries and facts about places worth seeing. *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* prepares the tourist for the trip over 95 pages of text, whilst the second part takes 466 pages. This difference is because of different paratextual arrangements as well as differences in the text itself. Although the *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* is a bit shorter than its counterpart, it is assisted by a supplementary booklet. This booklet, dedicated to the 1924 Olympic Games, informs the reader about the sport fields of Paris and where this great event was to be held.

Two American guidebooks are similar in form to those from the pre-standardized era of European publishing and they belong to the category of narrative guidebooks. They do not include any information about transport, accommodation, etc. However, a third of the American guidebooks shows a close connection to the standardized guidebook format. *Handbook to Paris* is the only American guidebook which follows the structure of the Western European tourist guidebooks[168]. For example, it makes reference to the English tradition through its title 'handbook', which was an expression Murray used for his guidebooks. It was published in New York in 1929 as the twelfth edition by Robert M. McBride & Company and in London by Ward, Lock & Co., Limited. Also, it is the only American guidebook we looked at without information about the author as well as being the only one from the United States that contains practical information. This practical information is written over 73 pages, followed by 147 pages of itineraries.

The Guidebook *Present day Paris,* was written by Somerville Story and distributed in 1920 by D. Appleton and company. It did not, unlike *Handbook to Paris*, offer tourists any suggestions of how to prepare for the trip. Its 170 pages focuses on the descriptions of recommended itineraries and were divided into chapters using global images of Paris. The reader could follow walks named *Paris of to-day, Fashionable Paris, Intellectual Paris, The Origins of Paris, Royal Paris,* etc. Similarly to *Handbook to Paris* this guidebook states that

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[168] *Handbook to Paris and its environs. With plan of the city, map of the environs, plans of the Bois de Boulogne, Versailles, the Louvre, the English Channel, Calais, Boulogne, and a map of the battlefields*, Robert M. McBride & Company, New York 1929.

its publishing house has its residency in New York and in London, but differently from *Handbook to Paris* it declares that it was printed in the United States of America[169].

The third American guidebook, *Paris* written by Moma Clark, which was possible to buy since 1936 when the book was printed in Boston by Hale, Cushman & Flint, also refers to the fact it was printed in America[170]. Similarly to *Present day Paris*, it does not contain any kind of introduction or general information about Paris. Instead, it offers 218 pages about the French capital, divided into chapters according to the areas it is describing, as well as including many black and white images. This guidebook also deviates from the standardized form of guidebooks, even though it belongs to the collection of The Travel Lovers Library.

The authors of the Czech guidebook *Průvodce Paříží* were Jindřich Štyrský and Toyen, famous avant-garde artists, and their friend Vincent Nečas, who also edited it[171]. Jindřich Štyrský and Toyen lived in Paris from 1925 to 1928, so it is not surprising that their guidebook, which was published in 1927, contains precise information about the city. This book, published by the prominent Czech publishing house Odeon (that was, at the time, focused on books about art) has 350 pages of practical information and 452 pages of text dedicated to the itineraries.

The second Czech guidebook we looked at, named *Průvodce po Paříži,* was published twice: in 1919 and in 1925[172]. It was written by Jaroslav Novák and published by the Czech travel agency of Josef Uher. The first edition consists of two parts – one about practical information and a second about opportunities to explore Paris. In the later edition these parts two were united and the reader can read 76 pages dedicated to facts about Paris and useful instructions for visiting, followed by 274 pages of itineraries. In this paper we are using the second edition, though this is not particularly important as its text does not differ very much from the version printed in 1919.

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[169] Story S., Present day Paris and the battlefields : the visitor's handbook with the chief excursions to the battlefields, D. Appleton and Company, New York 1920.

[170] M. Clarke, *Paris*, Hale, Cushman & Flint, Boston 1936.

[171] Štyrský J., Toyen, Nečas V., *Průvodce Paříží a okolím*, Praha 1927.
Jindřich Štyrský, 11 August 1899 – 21 March 1942, Czech painter, photographer, poet, member of the Czech surrealist group in Paris, founder of the Surrealistic group in the Czechoslovakia.
Toyen, proper noun Marie Čermínová, 21 September 1902 – 9 November 1980, Czech painter, avant-garde artist, most of her life spent in Paris.

[172] J. Novák, *Průvodce po Paříži*, Praha 1925.

4.2 Theoretical Background

The theoretical background of our thesis is based on the widely accepted view within urban studies that the city is a complex object; that it is both a real space and tangible space, but also an imaginary space created by various representations. Cities are constantly being intermediated by various media – including guidebooks – and as such they are perceived through this media. The images of cities created by the process of representation are always selective and therefore no representation of a city can represent it in its entirety. Rather, representations show a smaller or greater part of a city, even though a city and its representation are inseparable[173].

We also have to bear in mind that representations are influenced by background factors, such as broader social contexts. Also, the person who creates a representation of a city or cities is inevitably pursuing certain intentions, whether these are declared, hidden or unconscious. Moreover, according to Peter Burke, "[r]epresentations are no simple reflections of social reality but pass through a double filter, through individual experience and through conventions of representations. For example, they are stylized according to the conventions of literary and pictorial genres"[174]. Guidebooks and maps can be viewed as such genres.

Guidebooks and maps belong to the concept of urban texts. Deborah Stevenson states when referring to the text of Gottdiener a Lagopoulos, this concept includes, besides physical structures, various official and unofficial ways in which the city is represented[175]. As Janet Vertesi in her study on the London Underground map points out, the map is a technology of representation that mediates between the city and its users which shows where to go and how to get there[176]. Stevenson states that "…maps are always partial, they are selective representations of spaces, realities and spatial relationships and, thus, foster some interests and worldviews at the expenses of others"[177]. The guidebook plays such a role as well. It represents space in a similarly reductionist way and it is a mediator between space and user of the space. As guidebooks represent a city, they also create a particular image of that city.

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[173] L. Kennedy and M. Balshaw (eds.), *Urban Space and Representation*, Pluto Press, London, 1999, p. 3.

[174] Burke, *Culture: representations* cit., p. 439.

[175] Stevenson, *Cities and urban Culture* cit., p. 59, reffering to: M. Gottdiener and A. P. Lagopoulos, *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986.

[176] Vertesi J., *Mind the Gap: The London Underground Map and Users´ Representation of Urban Space*, in: "Social Studies of Science", Vol. 38, No. 1 (February 2008), stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25474563, Accessed 16-10-2015, p. 9.

[177] Stevenson, *Cities and urban Culture* cit., p. 133.

Representations relate to reality, but they do not reflect it exactly. One side of a city is its tangible surface and lived personal experience, the other is its imaginary form that is depicted in guidebooks[178]. As such, the images presented in guidebooks are always partial. The authors have the opportunity to modify these images by deciding which information should be included and which omitted.

The role of the guidebook as a mediator of space is ambiguous and double-edged: the guidebook takes on the role of both the servant and the master of the tourist. They help the tourist to get orientated within the space and to experience the city. Gloria Capelli states, inspired by texts of John Urry and Graham Dann, that "…guidebooks guide the tourist in his or her real or imaginary journey through 'a set of different scenes, of landscapes or townscapes which are out of ordinary'. In other words, guidebooks have a 'leading function' and contribute to build, develop and lead the 'tourist gaze' both at the pre- and on-trip stages of the tourist experience"[179]. In this process of preparing a future tourist for a trip, they create a pre-image of the place to be visited. In a city itself, they are helpful in providing orientation, reducing the fear of being lost (emotional security) and also in giving some coherent and structured image of a city as whole. Even though guidebooks create "…representation [that] provides us with an illusory – partial and provisional – framing of the city as a legible space"[180], as stated Balshaw and Kennedy, they nevertheless ease this legibility of the city. This term that was introduced by Kevin Lynch in his book *Image of the City*. Guidebooks provide the reader with information about how to move within space and highlight the main points of interest in the city. As such, guidebooks are useful for guaranteeing an efficient visit to and understanding of a city. Even in the time period that concerns us in this paper, visiting a city without a guidebook was perceived as a less effective way of travelling[181].

This efficient experiencing of a city by the tourist is in some respect the opposite of the movement of the *flâneur*. *Flâneur* walks around the city aimlessly and observes what happens around him. The *flâneur*, "…in the acts of 'wandering' and 'looking' […] reads and interprets the urban landscape"[182]. Whilst Michel de Certeau presents the walker in the city

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[178] Stevenson, *Cities and urban Culture* cit., p. 113

[179] G. Capelli, *Travelling in Space. Spatial representation in English and Italian Tourism Discourse*, in: Crisafulli L. M. (ed.), "Textus. English Studies in Italy", Vol. XXV, No. 1, (January-April 2012), referring to: Dann G., The Language of Tourism. A Sociolinguistic Perspective, CAB International, Wallingford, 1996.; Urry J., Globalising the Tourist Gaze, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, 2001; Urry J., The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies, 2nd Edition Sage, London, 2002.

[180] Kennedy and Balshaw, *Urban Space and Representation* cit., p. 4

[181] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 12.

[182] Stevenson, *Cities and urban Culture* cit., p. 61.

as a user of space, Kevin Lynch equates him with an observer. According to him, "the observer—with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes—selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees"[183], As the city can be seen as a socially produced space, following Henry Lefebvre´s concept of the production of space[184], the walker in the city can be considered a contributor to this production. Guidebooks intervene in this construction of urban space and a change user's spatial mapping and way finding practices[185]. They have the power to make the city more 'imaginable' and 'legible' for a visitor.

At the same time, this role as an aid to the visitor is joined with the role of a master. As Joanna Dybiec makes clear, "guidebooks can function as more or less tacit instruments of power […] they tend to assume the position of a mentor, of authority and, not infrequently, of (moral) superiority"[186]. A tourist following the guidebook finds themselves position of being led which does not allow them to freely experience the space. This role of a master is limiting in relation to a tourist´s possible experiences and their own creativity. Consequently, according to Peter Burke, "[t]ravellers, especially foreign travellers, see only a small portion of the city and may misunderstand what they see"[187]. Even though guidebooks tend to claim that they represent the city in its entirety, this is never truly achievable. Quite on the contrary: they can only lead the tourist to limited range of places.

All kinds of representations have specific intentions and guidebooks, being no exception, have their own aims. They try to attract the reader and potential visitor and convince them to follow its instructions and recommendations. Guidebooks describe places in superlatives to create an image to entice the reader. As Burke points out, the tendency to in guidebooks to represent the city in a positive way came from the tradition of the genre of 'city praises' which presented particular cities as an ideal destination for others to visit. By telling the reader what to think about a city and what to consider worth seeing and worthy of being seen a guidebook shapes a visitors appreciation and tastes[188]. In this regard, the concept of 'a sight' plays a significant role because it is a "primary and privileged mode of perception"[189].

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[183] Lynch, *Image of the City* cit., p. 6.

[184] Lefebvre H., *The Production of Space*, Nicholson D. (trans.), Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1991.

[185] Vertesi, *Mind the Gap* cit., p. 12.

[186] Dybiec J., *Guidebook Gazes. Poland in American and German Travel Guides (1945-2002)*, LIT Verlag, 2002, p. 17.

[187] Burke, *Culture: representations* cit., p. 439.

[188] Dybiec, *Guidebook Gazes* cit., p. 17.

[189] Ibid., p. 20.

The concept of sight is also fundamental for the "must-sees" which are included in guidebooks and recommended by them. Guidebooks fulfil their role to help the reader to determine what should be seen, which is closely linked to the concept of 'the tourist gaze' which dictates what should be seen from a range of potential sights. This term was introduced by John Urry in his book *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*[190]. Urry states that "[t]here is no tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical period"[191]. Our aim is not to study how the tourist gaze changed over years. Instead, we will build on Urry's statement that the tourist gaze is formed by the social group from which a tourist comes from. Furthermore, he points out that the tourist gaze depends upon non-tourist social practices as well, such as tourists' experiences in their everyday lives[192]. We believe that the country of origin of a tourist should be considered as an important influence on the tourists´ gaze. And as guidebooks reflect their readers, they also reflect their country of origin. On this basis we constructed our hypothesis that the content of the guidebooks we studied is influenced by the country of publishing. The hypothesis will be tested using the comparative perspective.

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[190] Urry J., *The Tourist Gaze*, London, 2002.
[191] Ibid., p. 1.
[192] Ibid., p. 1, 2.

4.3   Comparative Approach

To fully understand the way Paris is presented in guidebooks, we have decided to use the comparative method. This approach can offer a deep knowledge of the problematics, but, as it is a very complex theory, it is necessary to establish requirement which are to be followed. To this end, we have decided to use the comparative method introduced by Miroslav Hroch.

Miroslav Hroch stated his criteria for example in his book about the nationalist movement, named *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: a Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*[193]*, which became widely known after its publication in English. Although the text studies nationalism and related subjects, Hroch´s requirement for the comparative method can be used even for topics which have nothing in common with his research. They are the following:

1. The object to be compared must be defined as precisely as possible

2. The aim of the application of the comparative method must be laid down

3. The criteria for analysis for the objects of comparison should be established

4. The relation of the comparative procedure to the temporal axis (i.e. to the historical chronology in an absolute sense) must be clarified[194]

For us the studied objects are guidebooks, more precisely, only those that involve itineraries. By this, we fulfil one of the necessities introduced by Hroch, to "compare qualities applicable to each of the objects of comparison"[195]. Moreover, although there exist guidebooks that are not interested in the city in its whole entirety, but those, which thematise only some aspects of the city, written for tourists who follow the information about Parisian history, cuisine, places which appeared in the books or important persons, etc. We are not concerned with these kind of guidebooks. Our aim is to analyse the guidebooks for the

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[193] M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: a Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989.
[194] Ibid., p. 18.
[195] Ibid., p. 19.

tourists who had the goal of visiting the city as such, feel the atmosphere and learn about the most important places.

To state the relation between the studied objects and the temporal axis, it is necessary to stress that the comparison used in this text is 'synchronic', due to the fact that our aim is to analyse phenomenon occurring at the same time, whilst the other one, introduced by Hroch, suggests dealing with using a diachronic approach. However, all of the guidebooks compared by this thesis were published in the interwar period[196]. Even if they were begun during World War I or before, the year of publication is the determining factor. We also deal with the symmetric way of comparison, which means that we pay the same attention and in the same extent to all of the chosen guidebooks.

By analysing these objects we will be able to understand how Paris was presented to tourists. However, we believe this comparison can show if there exist tendencies and patterns that report groups of guidebooks published in the same country. For this, we have chosen one of the basic aspects, which generally takes the most pages within the guidebooks, the itineraries. Also, this part of the guidebook concern tourists the most. As they either do not know the city at all or they do not know it very well (otherwise they would not need the guidebook). They want to want to explore they city and the itineraries play a crucial role in leading they around. By using the itineraries of guidebook, the author shows, the tourist which places are important to visit and where the tourist should go, according to him. Within the itineraries, five factors interest us: the structure, the number, the length of the itineraries, the amount of "must-sees" and the most visited areas. In the following chapters we focus on particular "must-sees" and global images of the city. These concepts will be further developed in respective chapters.

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[196] The interwar period is stated by the end of the World War I (11 November 1918) and the beginning of the World War II (1 September 1939).

5. Itineraries

5.1 History of the Itineraries

As was mentioned above, the itineraries are one of the basic aspects of guidebooks; however they do not always bear the same name. Nevertheless, the fact that the word 'itinerary' is not stated in the guidebook does not necessarily mean that it is missing[197]. One can find 'walks', 'promenades'[198], or the author(s) referring to them by the character of the area[199] or they are simply named by using numbers[200].

The word 'itinerary' comes from Latin 'iter' and means 'the travel', 'the road' and is used to refer to 'the way to be followed'[201] while serving as the link between what is read and the path itself. According to Ariane Devanthéry, "the route is an uncoded displacement, while the itinerary is a particular path, provided with the guidance"[202] which "confronts objects (books, maps) and concepts (paths), physical movement and range much more internal, intimate or spiritual"[203] and which is specially selected for specific purposes.

The list of possible places to visit was also used, but the leading role was taken by the itineraries; from 1889 onwards every guidebook from the collection *Guide Joanne* included an itinerary[204]. The first itineraries which appeared described the journey in a circular way; the traveller returns after some time to the point of departure or to a place nearby. In the 19th century itineraries began to take into consideration the time which the travellers intended to spend travelling; the authors decided to propose how many months or weeks would an interested person spend by visiting a particular place and what can they manage to see and experience during that time. This ideal situation was accompanied by cases in which the traveller would not have enough time to include everything or when they

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[197] For example *Guide de Venise*, although his content create 207 pages of itineraries, the author call them *Promenades*.

[198] *Paris et ses environs*, Hachette, Paris 1920.
Paris, Sèvres, Versailles, Saint-Germain, Saint-Denis, Chantilly, Vincennes, Fontainebleau, Hachette, Paris 1924.

[199] Story S., *Present Day Paris and the Battlefields*, D. Appleton and Company, New York 1920.

[200] Clarke M., *Paris*, Hale, Cushman & Flint, Boston 1936.

[201] ".... un chemin à suivre" in: Devanthéry, *À la défense de mal-aimés* cit., par. 2.

[202] "…le trajet est un déplacement non codifié, tandis que l'itinéraire est un trajet particulier et pourvu de sens" in: Devanthéry, *À la défense de mal-aimés* cit., par. 7.

[203] "confronte des objets (livres, cartes) et des concepts (cheminements), des déplacements physiques et des parcours beaucoup plus intérieurs, intimes ou spirituels" in: Devanthéry, *À la défense de mal-aimés* cit., par. 2.

[204] Cohen, *La hiérarchie monumentale* cit, p. 441.

wanted only small amounts of information about a place. And, whereas around the 1780s the use of itineraries was not so common, due to the great development of guidebook publishing during the 19th century, one hundred years later this feature symbolized the basic pillar of the representation of space[205]. During the interwar period the guidebooks dealing with cities did not use graphic itineraries very much and instead included textual itineraries and maps.

The itinerary chosen and described by the author assumes that the reader (the tourist) follows his recommendation. This travelling within and through space can be viewed as a way to discover new places. According to Kevin Lynch, "in the process of way-finding, the strategic link is the environmental image, the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual"[206]. Although Lynch describes way-finding without any guide which can recommend the best way of how to get somewhere, we can say that a tourist following a guidebook also creates some kind of mental picture of the space. And as they are guided by their guidebook, its recommendations co-create the mental image of the place and they influence the representation of the city.

If we accept the premise that a tourist has confidence in the guidebook which he takes with him, the book also tells him what is the most important to see. The following chapters study the number of the itineraries, their length (meaning how far the tourist can get by following the guidebook) and the "must-sees" recommended by the author. To analyse them, we have decided to create maps which show the paths chosen by the authors, as well as the main points, the "must-sees" presented in the guidebooks. Every walk is numbered, so their sequence can be recognized. The background of the maps is the map from 1944. We have decided to use this map because it shows Paris after the time period which concerns us. During the interwar period the city was changing and as our guidebooks were published in different years within this time period, it would be very hard to find an appropriate map for every itinerary. The "must-sees" are marked as points, the walks as lines and the movement recommended to be done by any kind of transport by a dash line.

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[205] Verdier, *Les Formes Du Voyage* cit., par. 9.
    Saunier, *Le guide touristique* cit., p. 35-54.
[206] Lynch, *The Image of the City* cit., p. 4.
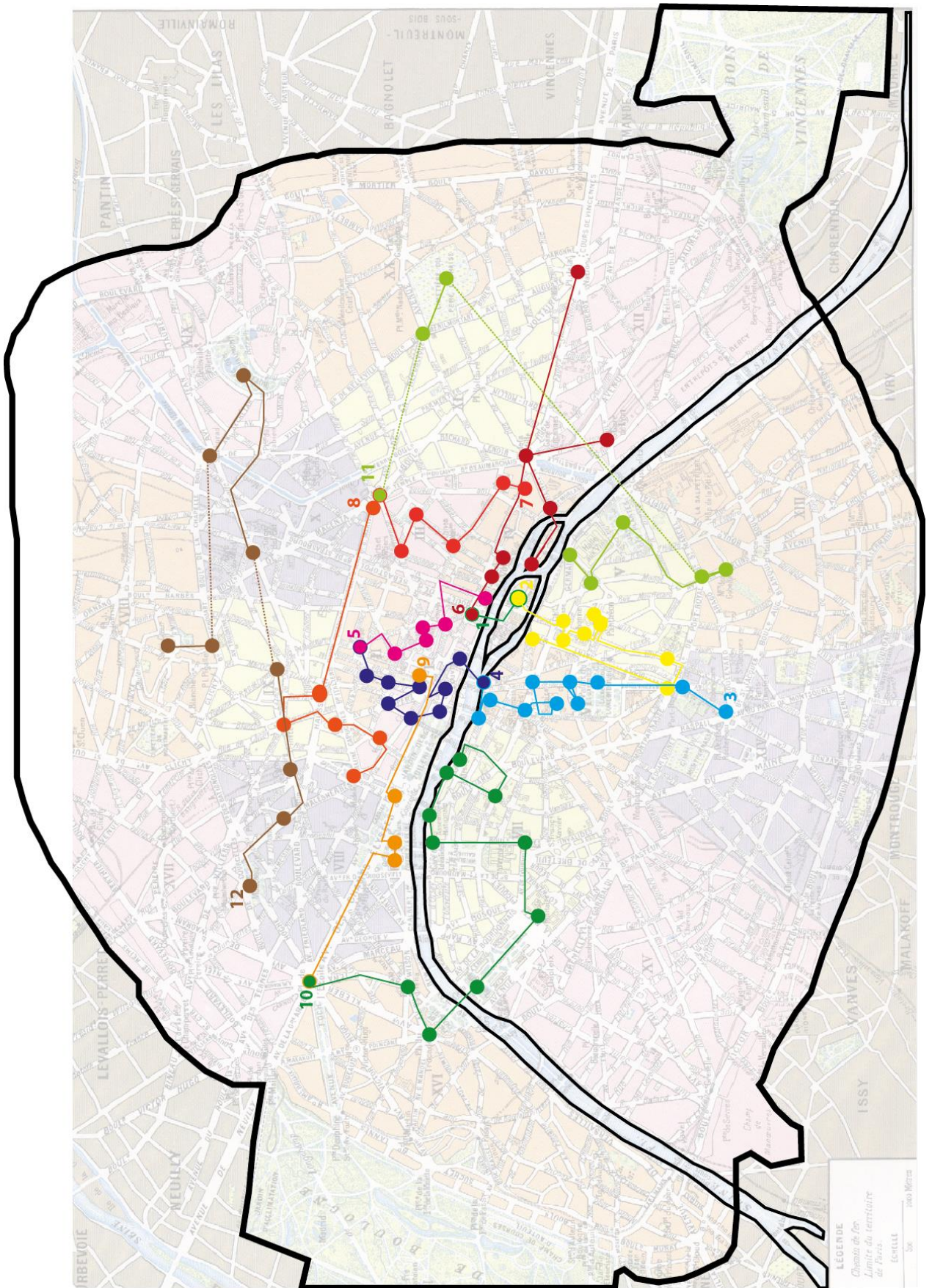
Map 1: Itineraries - guidebook Paris pour tous, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015
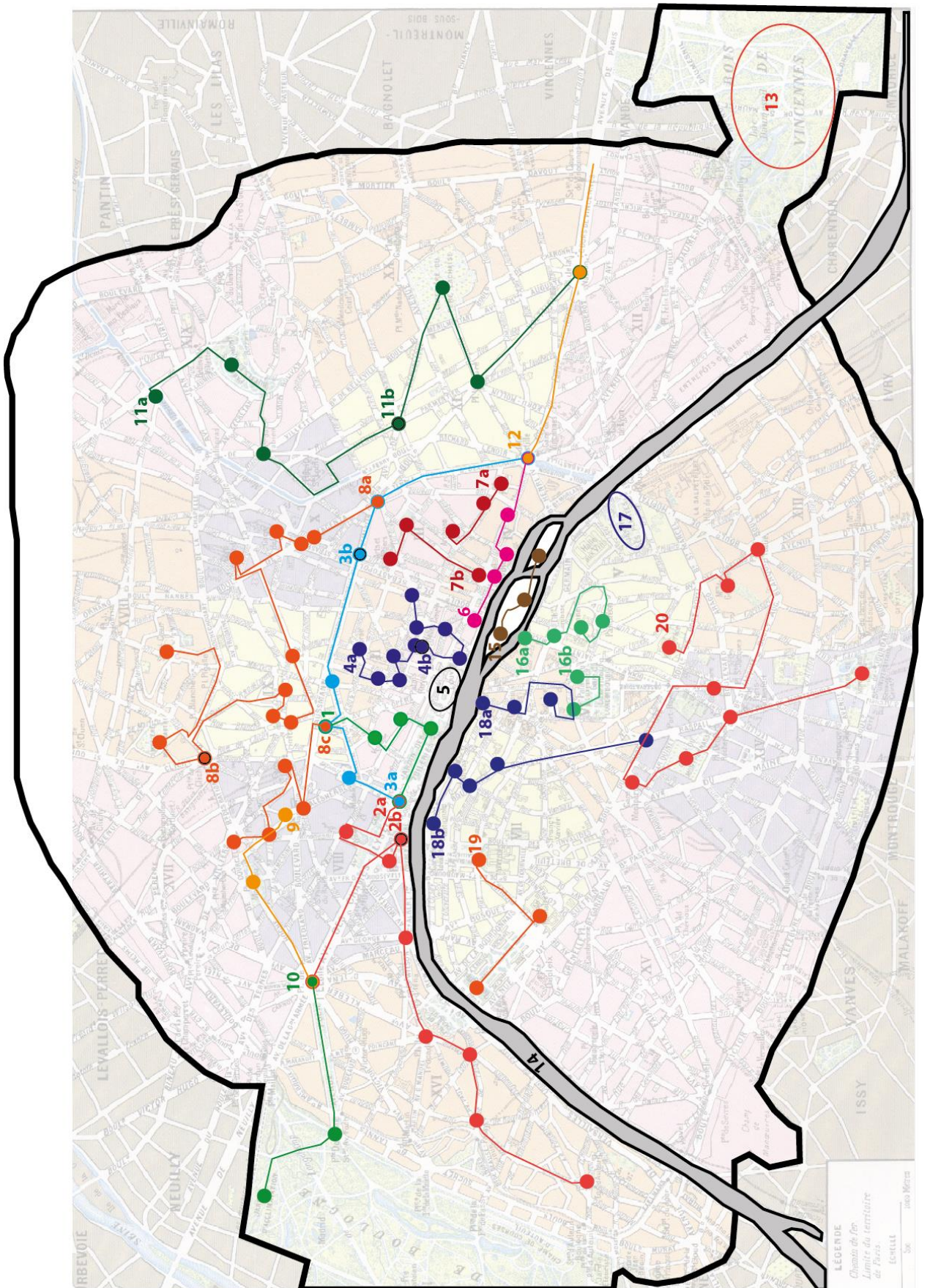
Map 2: Itineraries - guidebook Paris et ses environs, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

Map 3: Itineraries – guidebook Paris, Sèvres, Versailles, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

Map 4: Itineraries - guidebook Present days Paris, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

Map 5: Itineraries - guidebook Paris, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

Map 6: Itineraries - guidebook Handbook to Paris, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

Map 7: Itineraries - guidebook Průvodce Paříží, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

Map 8: Itineraries - guidebook Průvodce po Paříži, Nicolas Verdier and Lenka Rudová, 30 May 2015

5.2 Modification of the Itineraries

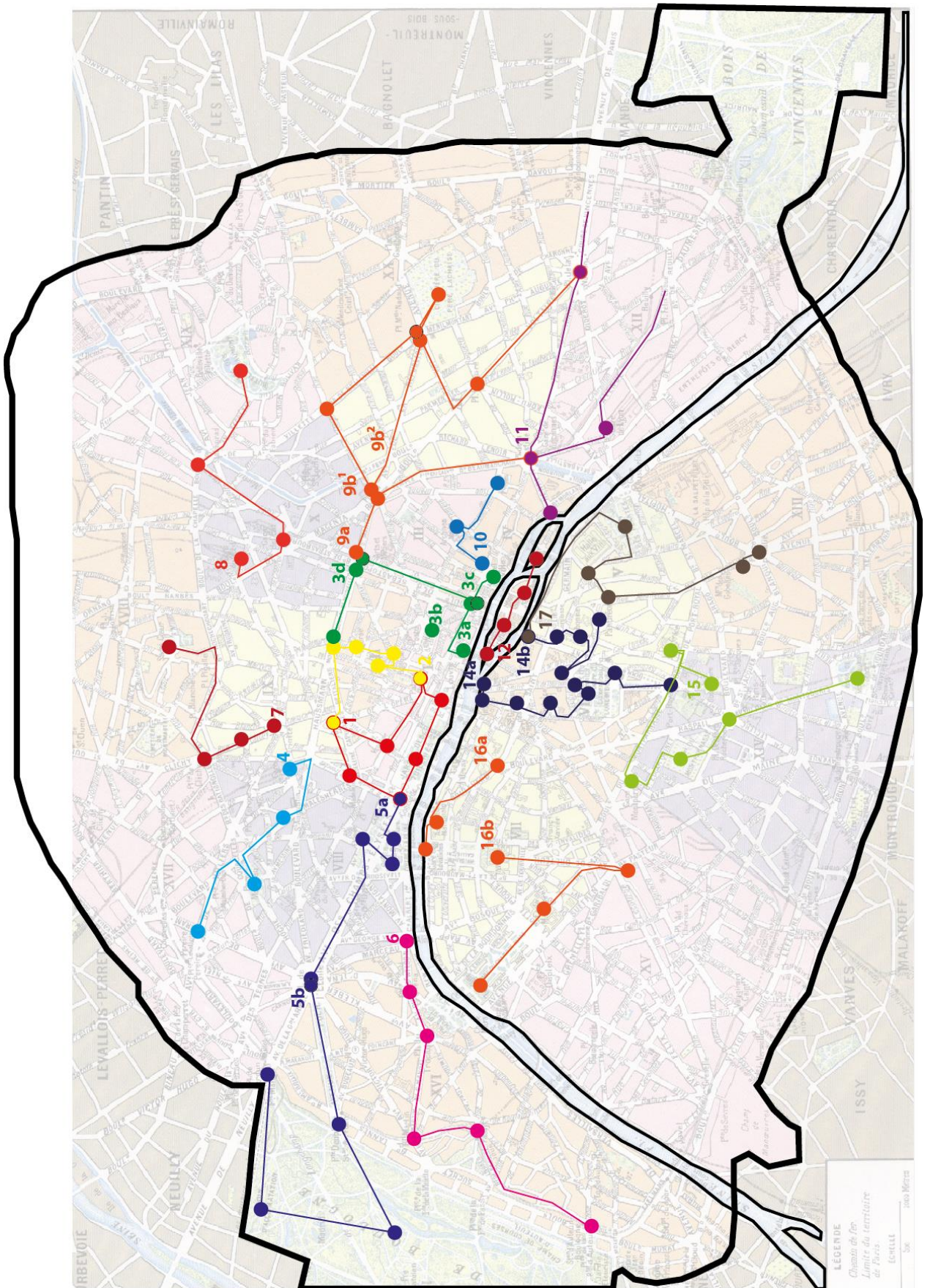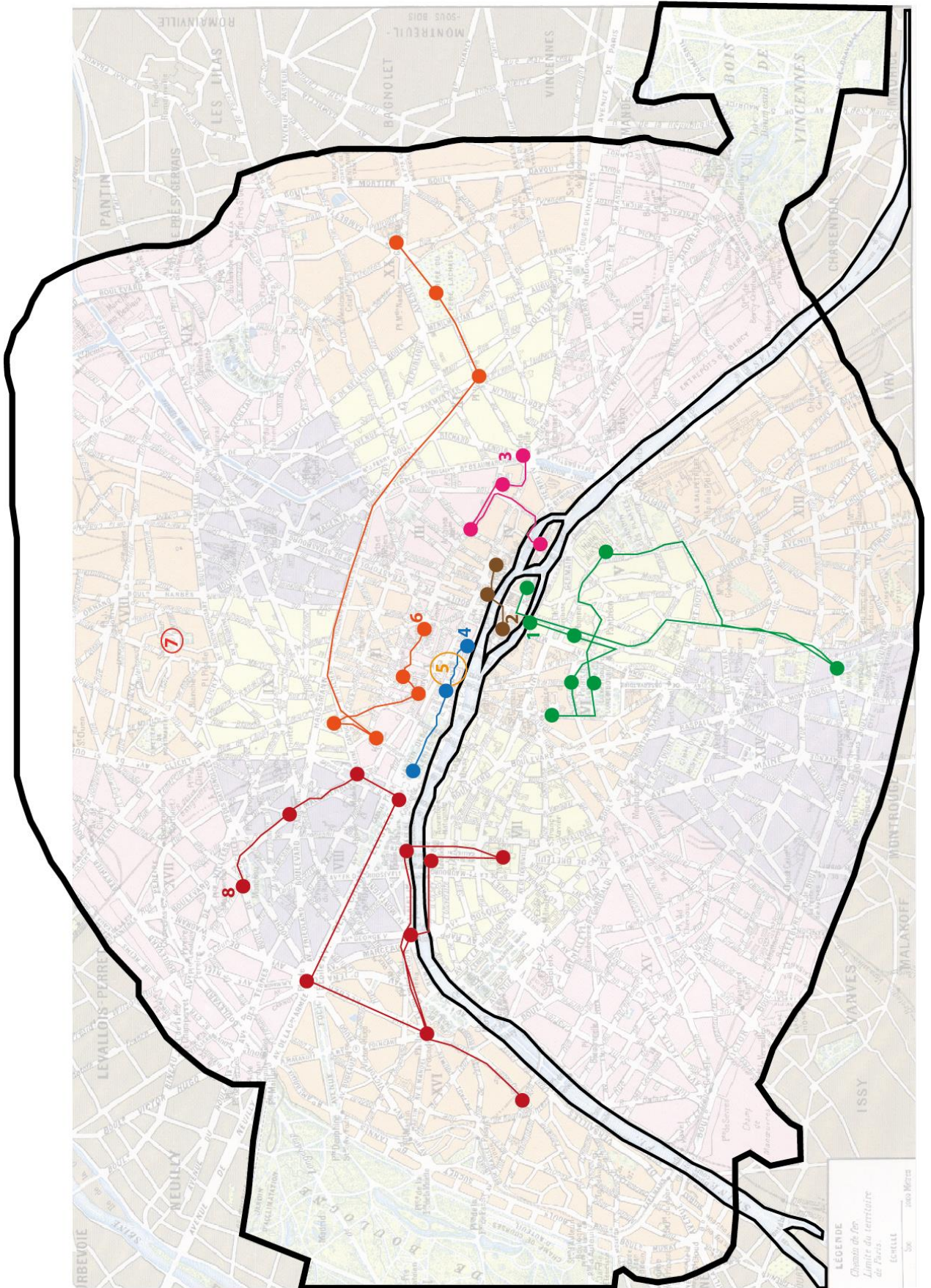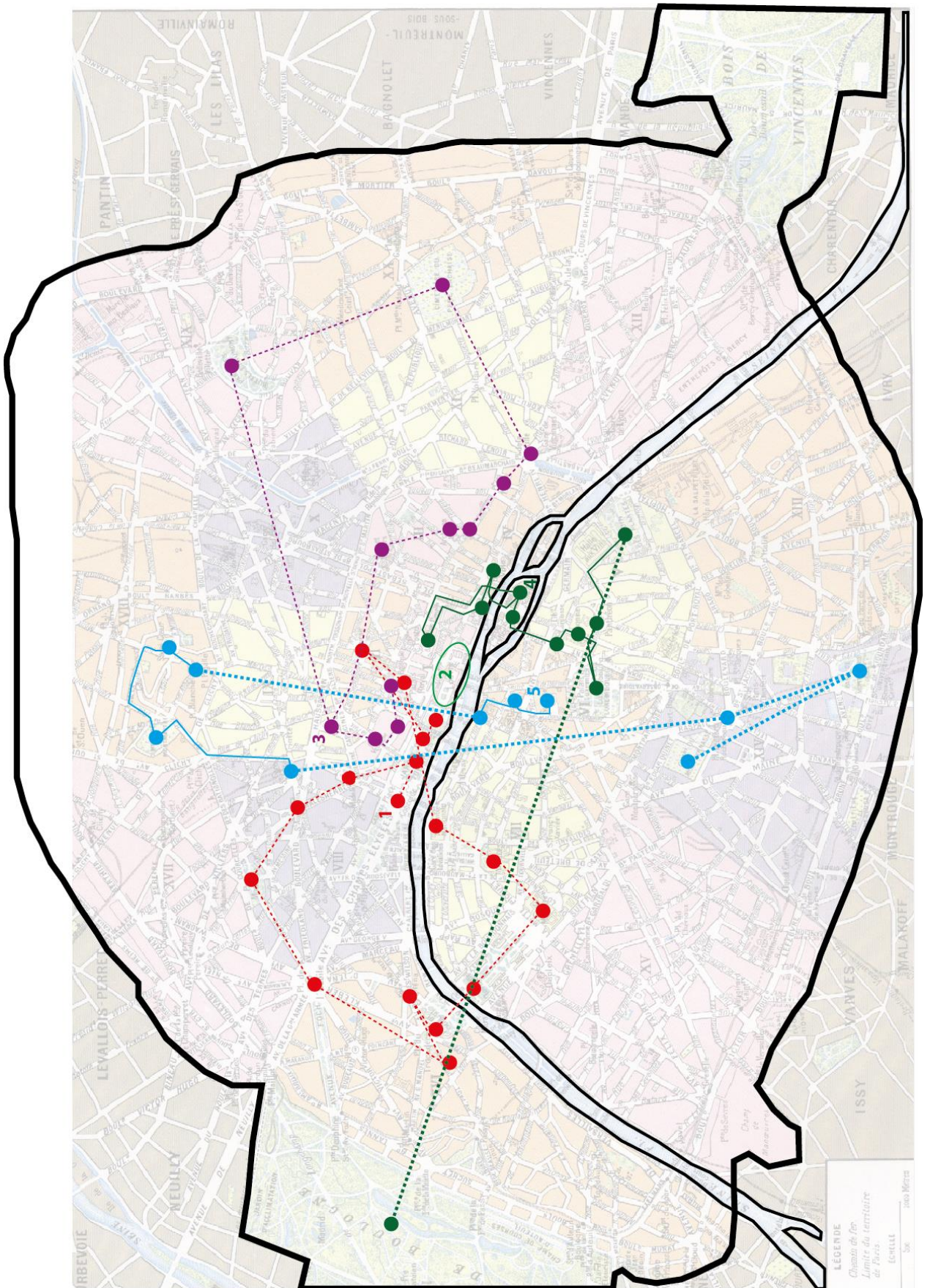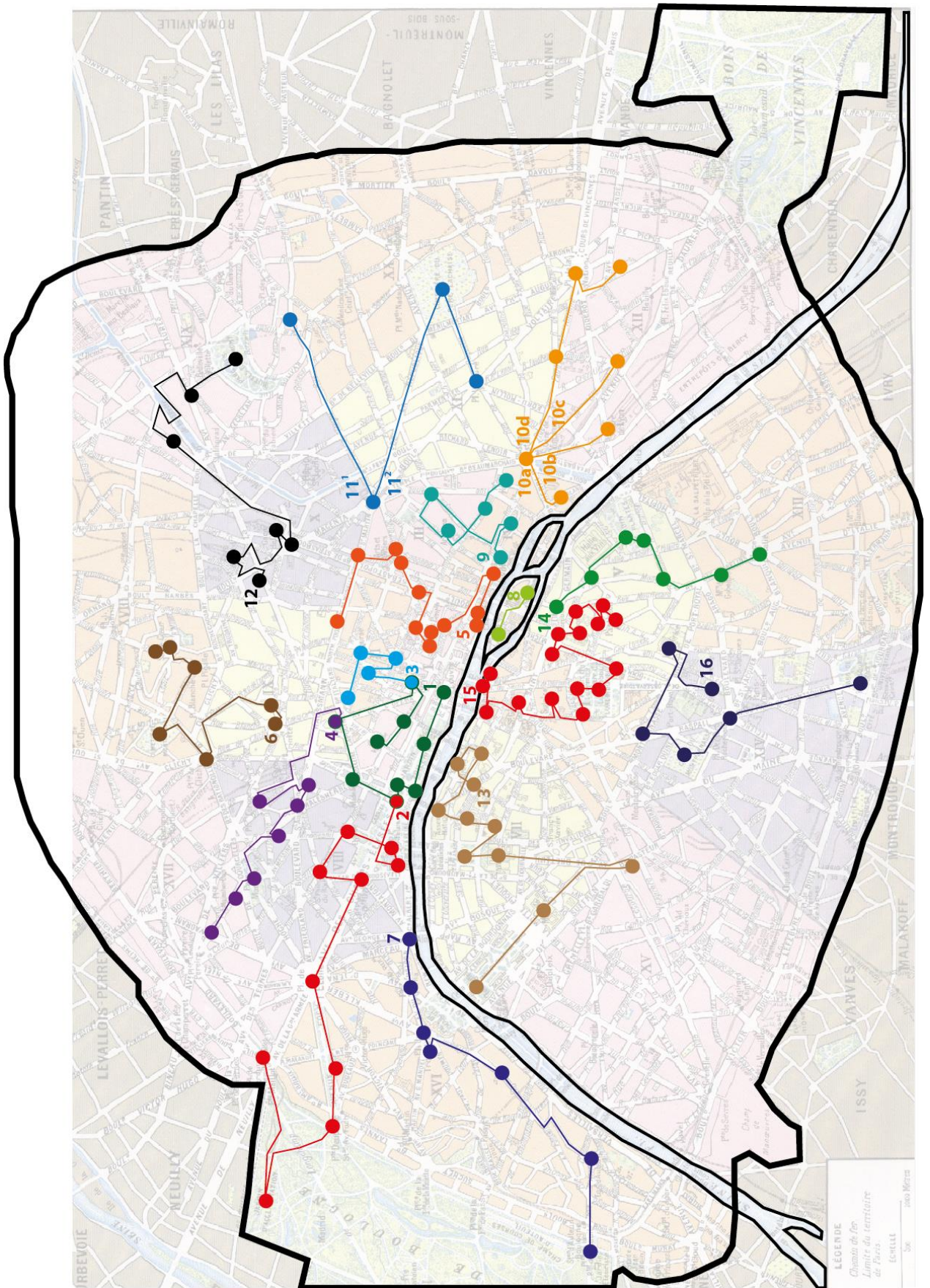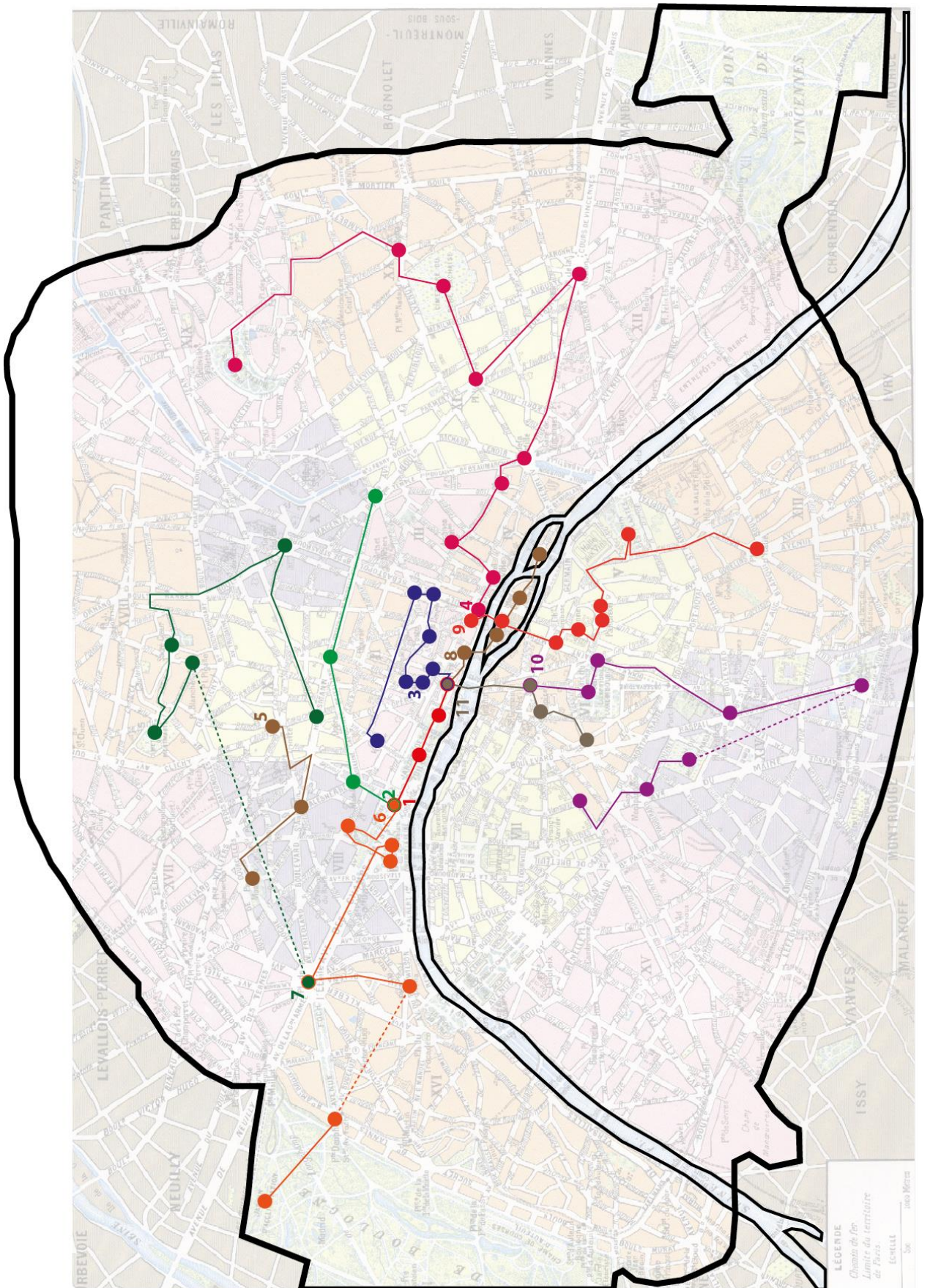When we want to study the number of itineraries, it is necessary to mention that some guidebooks offer within one walk more possibilities where to go and how to get somewhere. These kinds of extensions prolongs the time which the tourist following the guidebook, spends on his route around the city. These extensions are named by alphabetic order (a, b, c, d) and/or by numbers (1, 2, 3). Nevertheless, the authors do not explain why they chose this way of dividing the space. This fact is even more incomprehensible if we take into consideration that if we were to add up the length of the divided parts of one walk, the length would not be any longer than another, not divided, one. It means that the determining factor as to whether the walk will be or will not be divided into smaller parts does not depend on the total length.

As was said, within one itinerary more walks can exist. In general, there are three possibilities of how the authors proceed with them. The first option offers the itineraries where the second continues from the same place where the first ended. This can be considered as the easiest to follow, but at the same time it is not clear why the authors use a number of walks and not just one. The second option presents one particular point from which more than one walk starts. Therefore, if the tourist wants to follow every path that the guidebook proposes, he has to come back to the starting point. The third option divides one walk into many and is the most difficult to follow because the beginning of the second walk is not necessarily near the end of the first. The question arises then as to why the author does not present a second walk, whose beginning is distant from the beginning of the first one, as a new one? It seems that he does this because this organisation of the walk makes sense to him. The walks included in one itinerary should have something more in common than simply the close proximity of described areas, but, the author does not reveal what the reasons are for their decision.

Maybe it seemed to him that the walk is too exhausting to complete at one time, but in comparing with other routes, we can see that it is not always like this. We can find longer walks with more "must-sees", with a deeper description of the places, which are not divided into smaller parts. Nevertheless, we can say that in general, within those itineraries which include the prolongations, i. e. two French guidebooks and one Czech, the divisions are made for the Eastern part of the city, around *place de la Bastille*, *cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, *place Voltaire* and *place Nation*, where the walks are long (but still, we can find longer ones, not

divided). Within the French guidebooks, the prolongation of the itineraries is made in the very centre of the city, where many "must-sees" can hinder the tourist.

As was already mentioned, this kind of division of space is mainly seen in the French guidebooks from the *Guide Bleus* collection. The guidebook *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* presents 16 walks and 6 of them are divided into smaller walks. And within 20 walks of *Paris et ses environs*, 7 of them are represented with more than one path to be followed. It could seem that French guidebooks have tendency to cut up the space a lot. Nevertheless, it is only guidebooks from the *Guide Bleus* collection which do so. On the other hand *Paris pour tous* does not offer any walk which is divided into smaller parts.

When we analyse the American guidebooks we can see that the cutting up of the walks is not present. Only one chapter in *Handbook to Paris* named *Supplementary day´s excursion* presents few possible itineraries which can be experienced if the tourist has more time to spend in Paris. In the case of Czech guidebooks, only *Průvodce Paříží* offers walks divided into smaller parts. Both of them has the form of one point from which more than one come out. Therefore, it can be said that it is mainly the French guidebooks from the Guide Bleu collection that divide the walks into smaller parts.

At this point, it is necessary to ask if this division of the space is useful and comfortable for the tourist. The tourist without knowledge of the city requires a simple way of being presented with the space. As he is not used to moving within Paris, the division of one walk when one part finishes at a place which is far from the place where the second part begins is not easily understandable. Also, within the case of *Guide Bleus´* guidebooks the inclusion of these divisions leads to a large increase in the number of walks and consequently, *Paris et ses environs* offers 28 walks and *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* includes 26 walks. Does it mean that the guidebooks give the tourists more freedom as they can choose which path to follow? Is the number of walks suitable for someone who has never been to Paris? In this regard, it is necessary to mention the length and the number of the walks included in the itineraries.

5.3   Length of the Itineraries

The following table presents how the authors decided to divide the city for the tourists. The city offers a plethora of possibilities of what to include and how to link the chosen points into walks. Therefore, the author must define the route a particular walk takes.

In measuring the length of the walks, we have not considered the cases in which the author prompts the reader to explore one place after entering it. It means that we do not count how many meters or kilometres it takes to go through Louvre, to visit and explore various parks and cemeteries, etc. In our analyses we presume that the tourist enters the place (building, garden, cemetery, etc.) but we do not trace his movements within this space. Therefore, we look only at how far is it from one particular place to another. Hence, we do not deal with itineraries which include only one place in our count; this mainly involves the case of the Louvre. The result can be changed a bit by this consideration, but as we apply these criteria to every guidebook, the change does not influence the validity of the final outcome. In the following table the average length of all the itineraries in one guidebook is presented.

Name of the guidebook	Average length of the itineraries
Present day Paris	4.9 km
Paris	6.6 km
Handbook to Paris	7.4 km
Paris, Sèvres, Versailles	2.7 km
Paris et ses environs	2.7 km
Paris pour tous	4.5 km
Průvodce Paříží	4.0 km
Průvodce po Paříži	4.6 km

Table 3: Average length of the itineraries

As we can see from this table, in general the walks proposed by the French guidebooks belonging to *Guide Bleus* collection are the shortest, while those in the American guidebooks are the longest. The Czech guidebooks are in-between. Although it could be assumed that American guidebooks cover the largest area within the city, it is not so. We have to take into consideration the number of the walks and compare the length of all itineraries within one guidebook.

Name of the guidebook	Length of all itineraries within one guidebook
Present day Paris	44.8 km
Paris	46.1 km
Handbook to Paris	66.7 km
Paris, Sèvres, Versailles	63.5 km
Paris et ses environs	69.8 km
Paris pour tous	54.2 km
Průvodce Paříží	80.1 km
Průvodce po Paříži	59.6 km

Table 4: Length of all itineraries within one guidebook

French guidebooks from Guide Bleus collection contain the highest number of itineraries but as they are very short, the total length is not the longest. The American guidebooks include a few walks, but even if they are relatively long, the area included is not very large. This is not the case for the *Handbook to Paris*, whose walks are divided thematically. On the other hand, it seems that *Průvodce Paříží* connects a relatively large number of walks (20) with their average length of 4.0km. This table indicates that the average length of a particular itinerary does not necessarily mean that the tourist will see a lot of the city.

5.4   Method of Transport

When we think about the length, it is also necessary to mention the method of travelling within the space presented in the guidebooks. It seems that the longer one walk is, the probability of using various modes of transport rises. The itineraries presented in the American guidebooks are the longest from all examined objects, and they also use public transport and taxis to the largest extent. Nevertheless, it is hard to say if the length of the itineraries was linked to the custom of Americans to use the taxi or public transport in their own country or simply that the American guidebooks suggest the tourists to use taxis or public transport because the itineraries are so long.

Our hypothesis is, that one part the answer can be found in taking into consideration the fact that the Americans did not spend a lot of time in the city. For example, although the Czech guidebook declares that "[w]ho wants to explore Paris, her monuments, museums and life deeply, he needs at least 14 days or three weeks to not to be so jaded by many impressions"[207], the American guidebook *Present day Paris* assumes that the tourist will spend in Paris only few days and takes it as given that this is a usual amount of time spent visiting one city. Hence, the authors of the American guides include only a few walks to offer the tourist the possibility of visiting the best known places and to manage such long and extensive walks, it was necessary to use the public transport or taxis.

On the other hand, the French guidebooks followed the "old" way of exploring the space; by walking. Michel de Certeau states that "the act of walking is to the urban system what speech is to language or to the statements uttered"[208]. This way of experiencing the city is best also according to Georges Monmarché who writes in his guidebook *Paris*, "… the best way how to get to know the city well is to get through it, if it is possible, by walking"[209]. Instead of using other transport options needed for long distances, French guidebooks prefer many short walks.

The Czech guidebooks offered the middle way. As the length of the itineraries vary from 600 m to 8.3 km for *Průvodce Paříží* and from 1.1 km to 9.8 km for *Průvodce po*

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[207] "Kdo chce Paříž, její památky, musea a život poznati trochu jen důkladněji, potřebuje k tomu nejméně 14 dní až tři neděle, aby se příliš neunavil spoustou dojmů." in: Novák, *Průvodce po Paříži* cit., p. 75.

[208] de Certeau, *The practice of Everyday Life* cit., 97.

[209] "…la meilleur façon de bien connaître une ville est de la parcourir, le plus possible, à pied." in: G. Monmarché, *Paris*, Paris 1937.

Paříži. Indeed for the longest walks the guidebooks suggest using public transport. However, using taxis is never recommended.

Does the fact that taxis were recommended mainly to Americans mean, that they could afford to take it whilst French and Czech could not? Maybe, because of the distance of Paris from United States only the richest class of the society could afford to travel to France, whereas Czechs from lower strata of society could travel there thanks to the closer proximity and consequently the lower costs. Therefore, it seems likely that they did not use taxis because walking or using the public transport was much cheaper. Alternatively, as United States was bigger and more developed country than Czechoslovakia at the time and even more so than Austria-Hungary, which Czechs had recently been part of , they could be more used to using taxis. Or is the fact that American guidebooks recommend using taxis a consequence of their short stay and desire to save time? We think that once they have travelled to Europe, they wanted to visit other cities as well and therefore, they had limited time in Paris. But it could also be argued that their short stays was caused by the fact that Americans were not interested in getting to know city on a deep level.

5.5   Sight-seeing

Up until this point we have only considered the length of particular itineraries and their number. Nevertheless, when we talk about the desire to get a deep knowledge of the city, it is more important to consider the places which are included in the itineraries. The fact that a walk goes through an area does not necessarily mean that the points on this path are mentioned in the guidebook. Therefore, we have decided to analyse the number of points and the way in which they are pointed out.

As mentioned above, the itineraries can include many kinds of paratextual methods which can help the reader with better orientation within the guidebook and therefore, within the space. In this regard, the titles and highlights are important. They allow the reader to better understand what is important to see and what is not. When we look at the American guidebooks, *Paris* by Moma Clark and *Present day Paris*, which have the form of narration, they do not use this kind of highlighting. The reader has to find the information in the text themselves. Furthermore these guidebooks do not include – in contrast to the French ones, for example – many points referencing the interesting monuments, museums, parks, cemeteries, etc. The main places are included, but there is not much additional information.

The other extreme is the French guidebooks which offer almost a complete list of places that tourists need to see and visit. However, might so many details cause fragmentation in the perception of the city? Might it confuse the reader? The problem is, that the tourist can become lost in the amount of information because the important points are not well indicated. Moreover, when we take into consideration the number of walks and overcutting of the city space, it seems to us, that the guidebooks from the *Guide Bleus* collection follow the tradition of 19th century publishing and are not very friendly to the user.

The Czech guidebooks include paratextual help. The important places are identified by titles and less important information still deserving of a mention are highlighted. It seems that these guidebooks include enough walks to experience the city, with sufficient amounts of information, which is presented well to the user. In this regard American *Handbook to Paris* and French *Paris pour tous* are similar.

In general, we can say that French guidebooks are focused on details, Czech ones less so and American authors offered to their reader only a brief view of the city. Why is this the case? The French guidebooks, written in French were aimed at the French speaking public only. We think this because we assume that if there exists a guidebook in the native language of a tourist, he is more likely to buy this one than one in another language.

Therefore, the French guidebooks, all published in Paris, were aimed mainly at the French and they could also be aimed at the French speaking parts of Switzerland and Belgium as well as to lands under the dominion of France. We suppose, that even the tourist from another part of France who has never been to the capital, knows at least something about the capital city. Therefore, he would not be satisfied with just ordinary information about the city; he would want deeper knowledge.

The Czech tourist guidebooks contain less information, but still enough to fully experience the city. The number of walks presupposes longer stays and therefore it can be said that they want to offer a real knowledge of Paris. Nevertheless, the Czech guidebooks did not want to present an exhaustive list of facts. On the other hand, American authors presented the city to the tourist in a hurry because when visiting Europe they wanted to see more than one city. It seems that the closer the location of publishing is to Paris, the more details the guidebooks include. Nevertheless, within the American guidebooks we can find some differences. *Handbook to Paris*, printed in Great Britain resemble to Czech guidebooks in their itinerary contents which confirm our theory about the distance of the location where the guidebook was printed to Paris.

5.6 "Must-sees" Visited the Most

The most visited places are in the very centre of the city; 90% of the most recommended places are within first ten arrondissements (Paris has 20 of them). The more we approach the furthest extent of Paris, the less places are worth visiting according to the studied guidebooks. For example, the 15 Arrondissement is not described at all, except *Institut Louis Pasteur*, which was mentioned in *Průvodce Paříží*. Nevertheless, even if there are not so many "must-sees", their importance compensates this fact; within the arrondissements outside of the city centre we can find the most visited places: *Montmartre* with *Sacré Coeur*, *Trocadéro* and *Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*.

The American guidebooks ignore some parts of Paris completely. For example, in *Paris* by Moma Clark, there is no mention of the north of Paris (except one walk on *Montmarte*). Also, they do not mention the southeast of the city. As the American guidebooks included only the most important places, we can deduct from this fact that within these parts of the city there are no famous "must-sees".

The highest concentration of interesting places is located on The Right Bank of the Seine. There we can find many historical buildings and perhaps most notably, the Louvre, the most important of the "must-sees", according to all the guidebooks. The Louvre is part of the first walk within three of the guidebooks and the three authors had all decided that Louvre is worthy enough to dedicate one whole walk to. Another important place is *Place de la Concorde*; within eight studied guidebooks, nine walks begin here. The second place with the most starting points in itineraries is *Place du Châtelet* (*Tour Saint Jacques*), where eight walks begin. The third most important "must-see" is *Opéra*, which is the first monument that the tourists see following if they follow the guidebooks we have studied. The Right Bank, thus offers three clearly defined centres.

On the other hand, the Left Bank does not have such centres from which walks start. Also, in general, much less walks can be followed through this area and indeed in most cases the first described part of the city in the guidebooks is on the Right Bank. This indicates that Left Bank was less interesting for all the tourists, without a distinction between the nationalities.
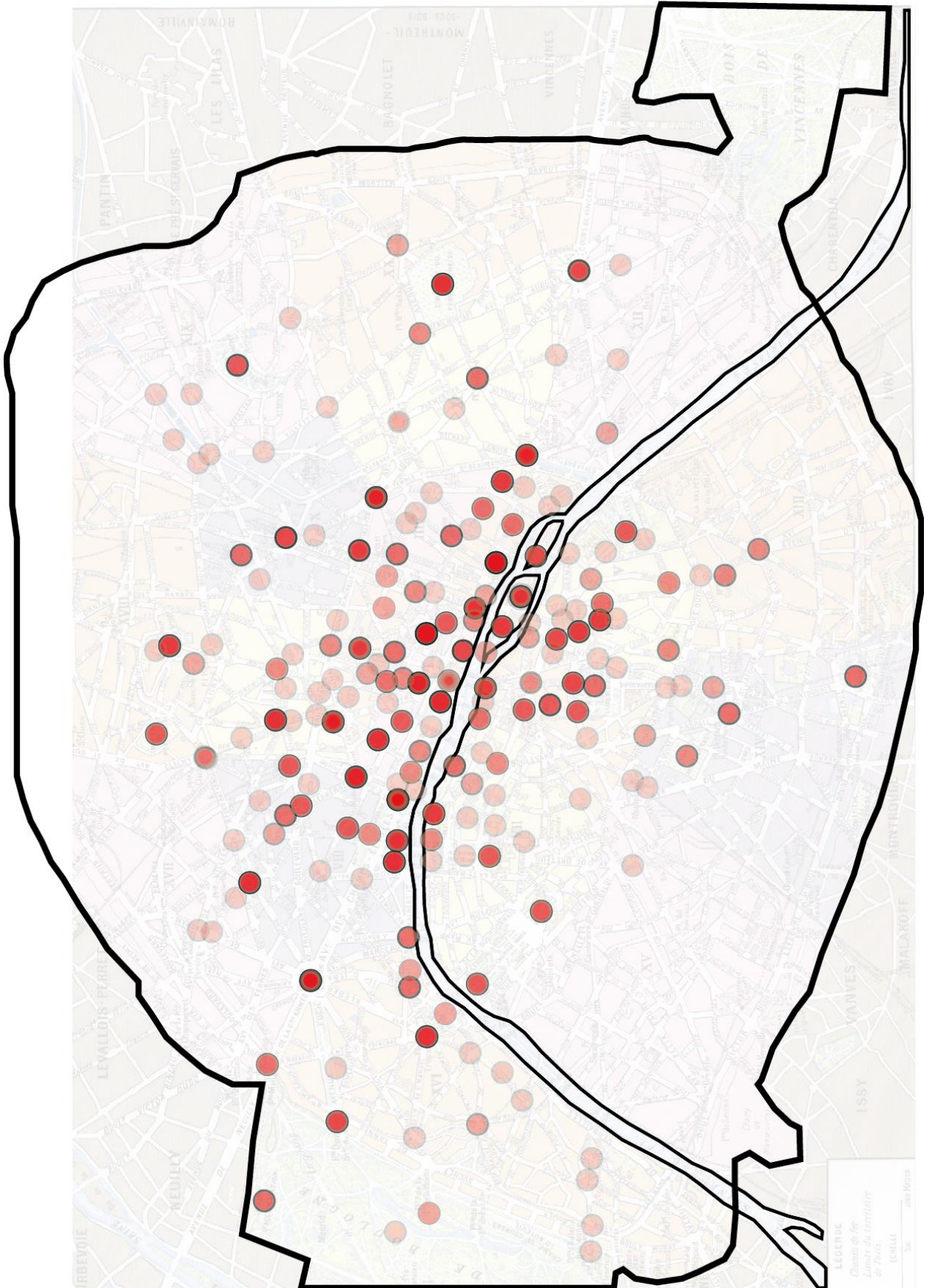
Map 9: The "must-sees", Nicolas Verdier, 5 June 2015

6. Representation of the "Must-sees"

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how six "must-sees" are presented in the chosen guidebooks. We aim to discover any significant similarities and differences between their interpretations and if the guidebooks published in the same countries tend to be more similar than their counterparts from the other two countries. We predict that each country attributed different meanings to the "must-sees" because they had a particular cultural relation to them. For example, we predict that the fact that Paris is the capital city of France influenced the description of the "must-sees" in the French guidebooks as they were intended to be read mostly by French tourists.

We looked for "must-sees" that are included in all guidebooks that we analysed. We also sought for those "must-sees" that are likely to be interpreted differently. This has meant that we have focused on the places where important historical events took place and that could therefore be a topic with different opinions from the authors. Places where the governmental or municipal power was based were interesting for us as well and places that had ambiguous connotations were of interest too. Consequently, we have decided not to mention "must-sees" such as Notre Dame or Louvre because they do not report any elements that could be viewed diversely.

Place de la Bastille

Place de la Bastille is one of the most important squares in Paris, not only because of its importance in French history, but also because it is a main node of the Right Bank. These two aspects are mentioned the most in the guidebooks we analysed. The authors of the guidebooks considered that the history of this square was very well-known to potential tourists. As *Paris pour tous* states, "[e]veryone knows the story linked to the Bastille"[210]. This history of the square seems to be the most significant aspect for all of the guidebooks as they devote plenty of space to it and their narration resemble each other in some ways. However, it is possible to find some differences between the guidebooks in how they deal with the history of the square. For example, *Handbook to Paris* tells the story of the mysterious "Man with the Iron Mask" whereas the others do not. The most famous story which was connected to the square is that of the attack on the fortress Bastille in 1789. Surprisingly, not all the guidebooks mention this important event. Although *Paris* by Moma

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[210] "[t]out le monde connait l´histoire de la Bastille." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 107.

Clarke and *Paris pour tous* (American and French guidebooks) include the history of *Place de la Bastille,* they describe this incident rather vaguely. On the other hand, *Paris pour tous* points out that it is possible to trace the white line indicating where the fortress once stood and this same information is presnted in five of the other guidebooks. However, *Paris* written Moma Clarke does not mention this and neither does the Czech guidebook *Průvodce po Paříži* . The *Collonne de Juillet* (Column of July), however, is presented by all of the authors. They describe the reasons for its erection, artistic details of the column and all but *Paris* inform the readers about the fact that its marble pedestal contains the remains of the victims of the uprisings of 1830 and 1848.

As mentioned above, *Place de la Bastille* was considered to be a node for the city. It had become so important because "[o]riginally the Bastille was one of several fortified city gateways"[211]. For many guidebooks *Place de la Bastille* is used as a starting point for walks, suggesting various paths to be followed from the square. According to *Handbook to Paris*, *Place de la Bastille* works as a junction because it is "[s]ituated at the point of intersection of several important thoroughfares"[212]. However, this was not always considered an advantage in the interwar period as the guidebook *Paris* states: "It is now a busy thoroughfare, crowded with trams, buses and taxis, dangerous to cross on foot and of no beauty whatsoever"[213]. All in all, the guidebooks were aware of the important cultural and historical role that *Place de la Bastille* played for Paris at the time and therefore present the square accordingly.

Place de l´Hôtel de Ville

Place de l´Hôtel de Ville has a particular importance for Parisians because of the building that stands there. *Hôtel de Ville* the Town Hall, "is the headquarters of the Paris municipality"[214], and represents the political power that affects all the inhabitants of the French metropolis. The history of the *Hôtel de Ville* is more or less developed in five guidebooks.

However, in all the tourist guidebooks, the first piece of information that is given about this place to the readers is about the executions that took place there. Most of them even went into details about some of the most important victims. Nevertheless, the

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[211] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 90.
[212] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 128.
[213] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 93.
[214] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 73.

guidebooks mainly explain the historical and architectural context of the *Hôtel de Ville*. When focusing on the architectural aspects of the building six of the guidebooks mention the great fire in the surrounding Commune in 1871 after which the building had to be renovated. It was decided to do it in the style of the French Renaissance. Another six guide books, point to the presence of interesting sculptures, especially that of Étienne Marcel, "… provost of the Merchants de Paris, champion of civic and popular rights in the fourteenth century"[215]. However, only half of the guidebooks inform the reader about the possibility of entering the *Hôtel de Ville* and exploring its inner beauty. In three of them (one French and two Czech guidebooks) there is a general introduction about the building followed by an extensive narration on the interior of *Hôtel de Ville* which is almost as long as the general overview.

Interestingly, only *Paris pour tous* and *Průvodce po Paříži* reveal why the square was named *Place de Grève* before being renamed *Place de l'Hôtel de Ville*. 'Grève' means 'the bank' in French and the name was based on the fact that at the time the square was sloping towards the river. Later workers without a job would gather there together, and from this originated the phrase 'se mettre en grève', meaning 'to go on strike'. However, most of the guidebooks omit this interesting fact from their sections on the square.

Les Halles

Les Halles, according to *Paris* by Moma Clarke, "form a little world alone"[216]. These markets played a particular role in the city because almost every piece of food eaten by Parisians had to pass through here. Subsequently, it was a crowded place. It was not only crowded during the morning though, but also during the night. *Les Halles* were famous for their connection to entertainment of all kinds, but also to criminality.

Those who wanted to see 'le ventre de Paris', as half guidebooks describe the area, had to visit very early in the morning. The authors generally agree that the best time to visit is from 5:30 a.m. to 8 a.m, but *Průvodce po Paříži* goes further and recommends visiting at 4 a.m. Only at this time of day was it possible to experience the true atmosphere of markets, as this was when the food was sent all around the city. After 8 a.m. *Les Halles* possessed little interest for visitors, with, as the guidebooks remark, nothing but housewives coming to do their shopping afterwards.

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[215] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 139.
[216] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 151.

Most of examined guidebooks offer an architectural and technical overview of the buildings that make up *Les Halles*. The authors aimed to amaze their readers by describing how many acres of ground the markets occupy, how many storage cellars were underground, how many pavilions there were, etc. The most descriptive narrative for this area in the guidebooks is to be found in the *Guide Bleu* collection and in one of the Czech guidebooks, where tourists could read about the precise amounts of food coming through *Les Halles* every year. *Paris* by Moma Clarke, *Paris pour tous* and *Present day Paris* continue to inform the reader about opportunities for eating and recommend various restaurants around *Les Halles* where to eat the freshest food in the city thanks to their proximity to the markets. Two American guidebooks show interest in the workers of *Les Halles* and describe the toughness of their life in the markets

Half of the guidebooks mention the darker side of *Les Halles*. They point out that the area was full of thieves, beggars and prostitutes; how there were placed in the cabarets surrounding the area where clients were allowed to sleep on the tables and benches for 10 to 30 centimes per night[217]. As Levenstein states, it was seen at that time as "the true hell of Paris"[218]. It appears that the guidebooks that omit this aspect of *Les Halles* followed the tradition of presenting the city in its brightest form.

Montmartre

Montmartre is a distinctive quarter of Paris. It encapsulates the bohemianism of the Belle Époque, however, on the other hand, its history is strongly connected with religion and military activity. Moma Clarke reflected this writing, "Montmartre is associated with a variety of contradictory elements by visitors to Paris. To some it means the great new church and a wonderful view over the city from the hill; little more. To others it is a place in which to seek carnival adventures among night clubs and music halls. But there are still other Montmartres than these; the Montmartre of the painter, the musician, the writer, the working man and his family"[219]. The interpretations of *Montmartre* are the most varied of the analysed "must-sees".

Despite the fact that two authors told their readers about the picturesque atmosphere of this district, some of the guidebooks inform their readers that the atmosphere of the area

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[217] Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 152, 153.
   Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 153.
[218] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 13.
[219] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 171.

has changed and show awareness of the fact that "[t]o the casual visitor Montmartre stands for night cafés and certain kind of nocturnal gayety divested of decorum, besides certain rather silly show places to which tourists go because it is the fashion to go to them when in Paris. But these places are not what have made Montmartre popular among the Parisians"[220]. *Paris et ses environs*, as well as *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles*, present only the religious and military aspects of *Montmartre* and spend time outlining the reasons why *Montmartre* is called as it is and on the technical specifications of the hill. *Paris pour tous* simple kept its narration to one sentence, which is about the religious importance of the area. Therefore, it can be said that French guidebooks omit arts completely from their descriptions of *Montmartre*.

On the other hand, the American guidebooks describe the cultural aspects of *Montmartre* in depth. *Present day Paris* even describes the types of people you could meet at different cabarets, clubs and bars in the area. However they do not leave it there. The American guidebooks also mention the other aspects of this northern quarter; one stresses the religious importance and another the military heritage. Four of the guidebooks (two French, one Czech and one American) mention the strategic position of the hill which had meant that it had been used as a place from which to bombard the city during wars.

Overall it can be said that there is not a clear trend between the guidebooks in their interpretations of *Montmartre*. While French guidebooks stress the importance of the area 'thanks to its religious and military role', the American authors put much more emphasis on its cultural and artistic significance. It seems that *Montmartre* offered so many different histories and attractions that over all its image in the guidebooks is varied and ambiguous.

Place de la Concorde

Place de la Concorde is a square in the heart of Paris, famous for its location between *the Jardin des Tuileries* and *Champs Elysées* and for its connection to French history as well. The square has significant architectural beauties *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* describes *Place de la Concorde* as "one of the largest and most beautiful squares in the world"[221] and *Paris* by Moma Clarke says something similar: "Under whatever conditions the Place de la Concorde is seen it is impressive. With sparkling fountains in full play, in the sunshine, with icicles hanging like silver strand from the heads of the bronze water maidens, with the moon riding

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[220] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 87.
[221] "une des plus vastes et des plus belles places du monde" in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. 3.

high in the sky and the lamps alight below, like a vast company of fallen stars"[222]. Slightly differently, *Present day Paris* extols the squares qualities by making mention of its historical importance too: "The Place de la Concorde is perhaps the most beautiful square in Europe and certainly one of the most historical"[223]. In all the guidebooks the square is presented as extraordinary.

The mention of the historical importance of *Place de la Concorde* for French history is justified. Firstly, the authors of the guidebooks were aware of the fact that this square was the place where the guillotine stood during the French revolution, which all the books make mention of. In this way its utility is pointed out because it was the place where executions, "…a public ritual deliberately performed in the centre of the city to be seen by masses of spectators[224]". Furthermore, only one guidebook does not mention the most significant beheadings which took places there. Consequently, it is not very surprising that even if it was given a different name in the books such as 'place de la Révolution' "or 'place Louis XV' or 'place de la Concorde', it was always fixed in tourists´ minds as the place where the Revolutionary guillotine stood"[225]. Information about these name changes are presented in five of the guidebooks with all of the French guidebooks containing this information.

Present day Paris mocks this constant name changing, stating that, "… the Parisians have a habit of changing the names of their thoroughfares according to their political humors; they have not got over it yet"[226]. *Place de la Concorde* is one of the most important squares in Paris when we take into consideration its position and history. As such it plays great role of particular public space. According to Lubomír Lipták, a Slovakian historian, the square is considered as one of the most traditional in Paris. He asserts that "the names of the streets outwardly demonstrated the identification of the groups controlling the town with their state, ethnic group or politic orientation"[227]. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson concurs, remarking that renaming offers "opportunity to affirm, or to contest, control of the city"[228]. She continues by arguing that "[t]he more trenchant the political discussion in a society, the more likely municipal authorities will strive to make public space consonant with ideological

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[222] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 193.

[223] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 11.

[224] Burke, *Culture: Representations* cit., p. 441.

[225] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 5.

[226] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 51.

[227] L. Liptak, *Collective identity and public spaces*, in: Csáky M., Mannova E. (eds.), "Collective identities in Central Europe in modern times", Bratislava, 1999, p. 122.

[228] Ferguson, *Reading City Streets* cit., p. 386.

principles"[229]. As *Place de la Concorde* is a square of great political importance which played host to important demonstrations of political power, it is not very surprising that it was renamed so many times. The powers at each time wanted to give the square a significant meaning, however, spatial meanings are not fixed or stable[230]. By its constant renaming *Place de la Concorde* represents the tendency of power to appropriate the public space and the guidebooks readily took the opportunity to mention this.

However, the guidebooks are mostly interested in the artistic aspects of the square. It is not very surprising that this is the case as the arrangement of the square is extraordinary and the powers in the city did their best to make it as beautiful as possible. As Peter Burke states: "To make them more impressive, squares were often embellished with fountains, statues, and other furniture"[231]. All of the guidebooks inform their readers about the fountains in the middle of the square and the Obelisk of Luxor. This central monument of *Place de la Concorde* and its story are described in depth in seven guidebooks. The authors also decided to spend time explaining the statues. The most important statue in the square is one that symbolizes Strasbourg. It is one of many sculptures inspired by other French cities. From 1871 to the end of the First World War this statue was wreathed with flowers and patriotic events were held here to commemorate the loss of Alsace and Lorraine during the war against the Prussians, something which six guidebooks mention. Nevertheless, more recent times were not forgotten in the *Handbook to Paris* which describes how "This and the companion figure representing Lille now bear appropriate emblems of the Allies´ great victory"[232]. Further emphasising the link between America and Paris, *Present day Paris* points out the importance of *Place de la Concorde* for Americans, and therefore, for American tourists as well:

"During the recent war the Place and the Avenue des Champs Elysées were the scenes of numerous martial and patriotic processions and manifestations, in which the troops of all the Allies took part. The first contingent of American troops who came to France under General Pershing received an uproarious welcome, as they accompanied the 'Star-Spangled banner' across this historic square. But the most stirring of all the sights witnessed here was the march of the Fourteenth of July, 1919 – the first of the

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[229] Ibid., p. 391.
[230] Stevenson, *Cities and urban cultures* cit., p. 70.
[231] Burke, *Culture: Representations* cit., p. 441.
[232] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 81.

new peace and victory, when all the Allies and their Generals marched through serried, roaring ranks of Parisians."[233]

The author also mentions that one of the buildings on the square "…is now the Hotel Crillon, and during the latter part of the war and the peace negotiations was an American headquarters"[234]. Although six authors wrote about the presence of the Hotel Crillon (and the building standing just next to it, *Ministère de la Marine* (Ministry of Maritime Affairs) at the *Place de la Concorde*, not even the other American ones mention this fact. Apart from the descriptions of the decoration of the statue of Strasbourg, this comment in *Present day Paris* is the only one in all the guidebooks about *Place de la Concorde* which references the years directly preceding their publications.

Tour Eiffel

The way in which *Tour Eiffel* is represented in the tourist guidebooks was affected by the fact that it was hated by many people at that time. *Průvodce Paříží* states that "[f]or a long time this construction was regarded with disdain and after being finished Eiffel himself had to be the first to climb the tower"[235]. *Tour Eiffel* is often part of the later walks in the guidebooks, suggesting that this monument was not seen as one of the most important "must-sees" in the city.

Some of the guidebooks do suggest that the negative feelings towards the tower changed during the First World War, pointing to the fact that during the conflict *Tour Eiffel* came to symbolise the French cause. As *Paris pour tous* says: "…many people criticized and wanted to demolish [*Tour Eiffel*] before 1914. However, during the war, Parisian attitudes changed and they became proud of the tower despite its skeletal appearance, as it provided a range of services thanks to its wireless station"[236]. Nevertheless, even though the years arguably reduced the peoples' negative opinion of the tower thanks to its usefulness, the negative view of its visual presence remained, as *Present Day Paris* states,"[m]ost people are puzzled when they first come to Paris to decide to their own satisfaction whether or not

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[233] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 13.

[234] Ibid., p. 12.

[235] "Dlouho hledělo se na tuto stavbu s nedůvěrou a při ukončení stavby musil Eiffel první vystoupiti na věž." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 608.

[236] "...cette fameuse tour que certains ont tellement critiqué et voulaient faire abattre, du moins avant 1914, car pendant la guerre la Tour Eiffel, dont au fond les parisiens sont fiers malgré sa structure squelettique, a rendu d´immenses services, grâce à sa puissante station de télégraphie sans fil." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 126.

they like the Tour Eiffel..."[237]. Ultimately, *Tour Eiffel* remained a controversial building during the interwar period.

Half of guidebooks point out that *Tour Eiffel* was the highest building in the world and three of them compare the tower with other buildings and structures such as the Woolworth Building in New York, the obelisk in Washington and the Great Pyramid in Egypt. The American *Handbook to Paris*, published in London as well, states that *Tour Eiffel* is "completely dwarfing the 365 feet of St. Paul´s Cathedral"[238]. The possible ways of going up the tower and enjoying magnificent view from the top are included in six guidebooks, however, only one guidebook from each country mentions the price that the visitor has to pay to enter the tower. Six guidebooks go into depth about the technical aspects of the tower. Six guidebooks also mention the fact that the Tower was being used as a telegraph station, but only half of these guidebooks, two American and two French, stress the important role this played during the First World War.

Tour Eiffel was offering cultural attractions at the time as well, such as a theatre and the opportunity to purchase souvenirs. However, only Czech guidebooks mention these attractions. Readers of *Průvodce Paříží* could also read about the opinions that well-known poets and painters held on the *Tour Eiffel*, whereas the author of *Průvodce po Paříži* decided to write about more recent topics. Furthermore, Novák informs tourists that *Tour Eiffel* is sometimes used for advertising purposes; such as when the automobile company Citroen put their logo on the tower in 1926.

Apart from this similarity between the Czech guidebooks, no general patterns can be found between guidebooks that were published in the same country. It seems that the representation of *Tour Eiffel* in the tourist guidebooks mainly focused on its technical details. And even though it played an important role during the First World War, a surprisingly small number of the guidebooks mention this fact.

Conclusion

Place de la Bastille is presented similarly by all the guidebooks. The authors focused on its historical importance, presenting facts about the attack on *La Bastille* in 1789 and details of the monuments that stood there. Indeed they agree that *Place de la Bastille* played an important role in city in the past and in the present. It seems that they were mostly

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[237] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 64.
[238] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 89.

interested in the square's historical and practical aspects. History was an important topic for the authors when writing about *Place de l′Hôtel de Ville*, too. They all also focused on the architecture of the building that stood on this square. This general trend is not only followed by the two guidebooks that stress the aspect of style as well. *Les Halles* are described with a focus on their practical role in the city and by their technical attributes; any other sides to the Parisian markets were largely omitted.

It is possible to find even greater differences between the guidebooks' descriptions of *Montmartre*. The authors did not agree on which aspects of the quarter are the most important. While the French guidebooks stress the style of the area and technical aspects, the American ones are mainly interested in the cultural life of *Montmartre*. Both their authors did not forget to mention the strategic importance of *Montmartre* for military purposes and its religious importance. In all the guidebooks, *Place de la Concorde* is first and foremost presented with a focus on its visual qualities and its historical importance. Following this the guidebooks go on to describe the artistic value of the square and, in only one 'must-see' section we analysed is recent history of the city mentioned The guidebooks agree that *Tour Eiffel* is a controversial monument. Most of them stress its technical qualities but do not mention what it is and has been used for. Only the Czech guidebooks discuss the cultural and commercial potential of *Tour Eiffel*.

We predicted that there would be significant differences between the guidebooks from different countries in their descriptions of the chosen "must-sees". For example, that the information about how the Bastille was stormed by the revolutionaries would differ according to the country where the guidebook was published because of the cultural background of the authors. It seems however that the interpretations of "must-sees" do not differ that much and that the authors present them in a similar way. We believe that the authors possibly did not want to make the descriptions of the 'must-sees' political by adhering to one-sided and culturally biased interpretations. Indeed we should bear in mind that one of the main aims of the authors was to make their guidebooks marketable and if they were too one-sided, readers could feel alienated and might not recommend the guidebooks to other tourists.

Instead of expressing their opinions on historical events, the authors tend to present 'matter of fact' information about these places. Therefore the content of the texts relating to the "must-sees" are not influenced by the nationality of the author. Indeed the content of every guidebook is to some extent characterised by a desire to offer tourists a general and unbiased view of the city. This similarity in approach meant that tourists are likely to have

an experience of the city that every reader of the same guidebook would have. This refers to a common way of writing the guidebooks. When different interpretations are present it seems due to the decision of individual authors and is not particularly related to the country it was published in.

Instead of differences relating to the content, it is possible to find differences linked to the style of the text, such as the variation between the extent to which the authors inform the readers about facts and how deep the authors go in their descriptions. For example, whilst some guidebooks present some aspects in an informative style, others do so in a more narrative way. Despite the fact that Paris is the capital of France, the only thing which distinguishes the French guidebooks from the Czech and American ones is a more detailed and fact focused description of the "must-sees". We can call this French style, the "technical detailed style". The American guidebooks on the other hand were written in a much more narrative style, which we can call the „historical narrative style". The Czech guidebooks occupy a position inbetween the two styles, although they adhere more to the technical detailed style of the French guidebooks. This technical style is generally more typical of the standardized collections of the 19th century and was largely followed by Western European authors, who the Czech authors took inspiration from.

7. Global Images of Paris

In this chapter we decided to focus on the global images of Paris. Our aim is to trace and analyse these condensed representations of the city which offered a generalized image of Paris based on particular outstanding features. These global images, ranging from simple slogans to more elaborate characterizations, often symbolized the city based on a particular attribute. Of these representations, we looked for ones that depicted values with either positive or negative connotations. Unlike the previous chapters, in which we explored representations of Paris indirectly through the analysis of itineraries and "must-sees", in this part we examine the explicit depictions of the city as a whole. We collected images which appeared several times in the guidebooks we selected. We sorted them according to their similarities in order to find trends and common themes in the ways the guidebooks describe the city. We made a typology out of it and arrived at eight types of image.

Paris, city of culture and history

Unsurprisingly, the global image used the most for describing Paris was one highlighting its culture and history. After finishing all its itineraries, *Handbook to Paris* lamented that "…it must not be supposed that in recommending these excursions we have done so because the list of sights worth seeing in Paris is exhausted. On the contrary, only the chief monuments have been mentioned…"[239] In fact, as the guidebook states in the introduction, "[t]he visitor in Paris finds himself surrounded on all sides with objects of historical, antiquarian and artistic interest; so much so, that the difficulty in his mind arises generally from the great number of things to be seen in the short time at his disposal"[240]. This historical aspect of the city was highlighted by *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* as well: "[i]n this miraculous city where so many passions clashed, where every house played a significant role, where every room represented a scenery for at least one drama and numerous comedies"[241]. Paris was presented as a city tightly interconnected with its history and art.

Theatre was the art form which was emphasized the most. The guidebooks all agreed that "[t]here is no city or country where the theatre plays so great a part in the life of the

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[239] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 158.

[240] Ibid., p. 9.

[241] "[d]ans cette Ville prodigieuse où tant et tant de passions se sont heurtées, chaque maison a joué son bout de rôle, chaque chambre a servi de décor à un drame au moins et à un nombre incalculable de comedies." in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. XVIII.

people"[242] and that "the Parisians are justly proud of their theatres..."[243]. The French guidebook *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* stated that "[t]heatre is one of the greatest distraction in Paris"[244]. This is not so very surprising since according to Harvey Levenstein "[t]he French theatre was regarded as the best in the world"[245]. Indeed, going to the theatre was a social obligation at that time.

However, as *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* indicates, there were other reasons why interwar Paris was perceived as "a city of gaiety"[246]. The guidebooks stress out its importance for the fine arts and music as well. For example, the Czech guidebook *Průvodce Paříží* stated that "Paris became luckily the capital of painting for other countries"[247]. The author goes on to explain the reason for Paris' artistic prominence:

"What makes Paris the artistic capital of the world are not the museums, because abroad, in London, Madrid, Berlin, Dresden, New. York are art collections that in many ways exceed Louvre, not even the private art collections because they are not of the same character as those in London or New York … What makes Paris the artistic center, as Florence was in quattrocento or as Rome of Julius II and Michelangelo, is the atmosphere of the art market, street art exhibitions, private ateliers and Salons"[248].

Moreover, for "[a]bout 40 years was Paris an active center for music. From that point in time it triumphed over foreign competitors in music production, literature and other arts"[249]. There was no art form omitted in the list of possibilities of how to enjoy Parisian culture life.

There even appeared a characterisation of Paris as a city of sport, although the, historical, cultural and artistic value of Paris was highlighted much more than this

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[242] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 6.

[243] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 60.

[244] „Le théâtre est une de plus grandes distractions de Paris." in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. LXXI.

[245] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 5.

[246] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 60.

[247] "Paříž stala se šťastně hlavním městem malířství pro ostatní země." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 245.

[248] "To, co dělá Paříž uměleckým centrem světa, nejsou přímo musea, neboť v cizině, Londýně, Madridu, Berlíně, Drážďanech, New. Yorku jsou umělecké kolekce, jež v mnohém předstihují Louvre, ani soukromé kolekce, neboť nejsou takového rázu jako v Londýně nebo New Jorku … Co dělá Paříž uměleckým centrem, jako byla Florenci v quattrocentu, nebo Řím za Julia II. a Michelangela, to je atmosféra uměleck. trhu přes pouliční malířské výstavy, soukromé ateliery k Salonům." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 249.

[249] "[o]d 40 roků je Paříž aktivním centrem hudebního života. Od této doby triumfuje nad cizí hudební produkcí, vedle plastických umění a literatury." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 308.

connection. Indeed when the importance of Paris as a centre for physical activities is mentioned, it has ironic connotations. *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* suggested that "Paris is a very important sport center because of the quantity of practiced sports much more than because of the level of elaboration of the organization"[250]. *Handbook to Paris* pointed out that it was not because of the French that sport had become part of Parisian life: "One of the effects of the Wartime presence of thousands of British and American troops in France is an increased enthusiasm among the French for games"[251]. And also when sport is presented as an important feature, its connection with other cultural spheres is mentioned as *Průvodce Paříží* states: "Paris has always been a city of sport, as argued by Jean Richepin of the French Academy who is famous for adding physical culture to the antique culture of psyché"[252]. Even though the guidebook *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* stated that Paris was the centre of sport, this attribute was not the only one Paris was associated with.

Thanks to the wide range of cultural possibilities in Paris, the guidebooks assured their readers that everybody could find something in the city that would please them:

> "…choice is immense. We feel giddy when we think about everyday program, about crowds of scholars, artists, men of letters and actors who try to entertain Paris on a daily basis. There are theaters, concerts, lecture halls of Collège de France, Sorbonne, museums and faculties. Equally, there are exhibitions, libraries, music halls, conferences, museums, circuses, newspapers and performances of all genres, qualities and price categories. Everywhere in this city exists continual and uninterrupted effort to find something new, in this city par excellence which is the space of novelty, the city that emotionally moves very easily and that is so easily comprehensible."[253]

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[250] "Paris est une centre sportif d´une très grande importance, tant par le nombre des sports pratiqués que par la perfection de l´organisation." in : *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. LXXXI.

[251] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 67.

[252] "Paříž byla odedávna sportovním městem, jak dokazuje např. z francouzské akademie Jean Richepin, jenž k antické kultuře ducha přidává tělesně fysickou kulturu…" in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 217.

[253] "Et le choix en est immense : on est pris d'une sorte de vertige si l'on songe à ce qu'est le programme de chaque jour, à la foule de savants, d'artistes, de littérateurs, de comédiens, d'artisans qui s'emploient quotidiennement à récréer Paris : théâtres, concerts, amphithéâtres du Collège de France, de la Sorbonne, du Muséum, des Facultés, expositions, librairies, music-halls, conférences, musée centre sportifs, cirques, journaux, cinématographes, spectacles de tous genres, de toute valeur, à tout prix : partout l'effort est ininterrompu, incessante la recherche de l'inédit, en cette Ville qui est par excellence le pays de la nouveauté et qui est si facile à émouvoir, si rapide à comprendre…" in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. XIX.

Paris was presented in *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* as a city of opportunities. The author stressed the features that created a high potential for the enjoyment of everything modern urban society could offer. As the expression "city par excellence" reveals, Paris was, according to the author, undoubtedly a city in the fullest sense of the word.

Paris, city of modernity

Given the fact that Paris was often seen as the embodiment of modernity, as famously formulated by Walter Benjamin's in "Paris, capital of the 19th century"[254], one may wonder whether Paris was presented as such in the guidebooks we have analysed. Even though *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* stated that Paris is such city, only *Present day Paris* shared this opinion. This guidebook tried to convince its readers of Paris embodiment of modernity by declaring that "[a]nother thing that will strike you when you know the French capital a little better is that it is the most modern of cities. Though its origin dates from remote antiquity, and though it loves its picturesque past, Paris is intensely up-to-date and of to-day"[255]. However, this sentiment is quite a solitary amongst the guidebooks we studied which suggests that Paris was presented much more as a city of the past than a city of the future.

This is in accordance with the previous chapter on itineraries which showed that guidebooks mostly led tourists to areas connected with history, so that they would primarily see and visit historical monuments. For example, the *Tour Eiffel* was included in the later walks, whilst the *Louvre* and the *Place de la Concorde* were recommended for the first promenades. Guidebooks neither proposed that the reader visit the industrial areas of the city or the newly emerging districts. Paris was famous with tourists for its history and the guidebooks met their expectations.

Paris, the centre

Paris was presented as the centre of France in a way that other capitals were not presented as the centre of their countries. As *Present days Paris* stated, "…Paris is France in a far greater degree than you can say that London is England, or Rome is Italy, or Berlin, Germany, or New York or Chicago or any other city is the United States. Paris is the heart and the brains of the country…"[256]. In general, guidebooks often described the French capital

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[254] For example in: W. Benjamin, *Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,* in: "The Arcades Project", trans. Howard Eiland et Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.

[255] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 3.

[256] Ibid.

using metaphors inspired by the body organs, describing Paris as the heart or the brain of the whole country.

As mentioned above, the city possessed a special significance in culture and history, however, other aspects of life that Paris dominated were political power, art, music, crafts, business, and railroads. As such "…Paris occupies a privileged situation…"[257] and represented an important headquarters for the whole country. Paris always played this role and sometimes it was seen as the centre of Western Europe as well. Yet, arguments for its centrality for Western or indeed the whole of Europe did not appear in the guidebooks, indeed they preferred to present Paris as the French capital, not a European one.

Paris, city of great cuisine and cafés

When speaking about the importance of Paris, we have to mention that Paris was presented as a city of great cuisine. Almost all of the analysed guidebooks make reference to this aspect of Parisian culutre. For example, *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* and *Průvodce Paříží* agreed "Parisian restaurants are justly appreciated for their culinary art"[258] and "French cuisine and especially the Parisian one is famous worldwide"[259], while *Handbook to Paris* states that "[e]xcellent establishments abound in every part of the city"[260]. Thus, not only the quality but also the quantity of Parisian restaurants was stressed. The same things were said about the number of cafés in the city, that "are found in almost every street in Paris"[261]. *Present day Paris* suggested tourists to "[l]ook at the crowds in the cafés"[262] to fully understand how important they are to Paris. Cafés were everywhere and everyone had to visit them.

Paris, resilient city

The popularity of the cafés was created a stimulating atmosphere in the French capital which sadly declined during the Great War. Paris deeply affected by the conflict and many guidebooks admitted that even after a few years of the peace some public buildings were still closed and the transport network had not been restored: "After the armistice Paris has

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[257] "…Paris occupe une situation privilégiée…" in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 145.

[258] "Les restaurants parisiens sont, dans l´ensemble, justament réputés pour leur cuisine" in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. XLIII.

[259] "Francouzská kuchyně a zvláště pařížská je světoznámá." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 25.

[260] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 45.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 2.

not come back to its normal life…"[263]. Whilst some guidebooks admitted that the French capital was not in its best condition, the others had a different opinion

As one of the guidebooks assured its readers, Paris "came out with glory and prestige from the war, which makes it one of the greatest and most attractive centers in the world more than ever before"[264]. Moreover, "… every day brings a great number of novelties and changes"[265]. Reflections on the situation after the war were to be found in all of the French guidebooks. It seems that most of their authors wanted to persuade tourists that Paris was strong again and in the best condition it could be. Only *Průvodce po Paříži*, the Czech guidebook, showed a need to discuss this topic as well, stating that "Paris with its traditional resilience begins a new era of its progress"[266]. Even though the First World War represented a disaster for France, the culture life and atmosphere of the capital easily recovered, or, at least, the guidebooks presented it as so.

Paris, an elusive city

Whatever way the guidebooks presented Paris, they all agreed on the fact that it was a broad and complex topic. *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* warned the reader that "…it seems daring to be so arrogant to lead the tourist through the clumps of people, monuments, relics of the brightest past, through 2000 years of history, glorious memories and of unselfish efforts at the same time that the world finds it as a patrimony of single civilisation"[267]. Due to this complexity, it was difficult to present Paris in its entirety and it seemed almost absurd for toursists to try to get to know the French metropolis with only a limited time to spend there. *Handbook to Paris* admitted that "[i]t is of course impossible in one day to obtain more than a bird´s –eye view of Paris"[268]. Generally, Paris was presented as extremely demanding to fully describe.

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[263] "Paris n´ayant pas encore repris sa vie normale depuis la cessation des hostilités." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. VI.

[264] "[de la guerre] sort, dans le rayonnement de la victoire, avec une surcroît de gloire et de prestige qui en feront plus que jamais un des grands centres les plus attractives du monde." in: *Paris et ses environs* cit., Préface.

[265] "…chacque jour qui passe apportera fatalement des modifications et des nouveautés." in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., Préface.

[266] "Paříž s tradiční francouzskou houževnatostí zahajuje novou éru svého vývoje." in: Novák, *Průvodce po Paříži* cit., p. 75.

[267] "…sembler téméraire la prétention de guider le touriste à travers une si formidable accumulation d'êtres, de monuments, de vestiges du plus éclatant passé, d'histoire vingt fois centenaire, de souvenirs si glorieux et d'efforts si désintéressés que le monde en considère unanimement l'ensemble comme le patrimoine même de la civilisation." in : *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., Avant de visiter Paris.

[268] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 204.

Paris, an exceptional city

The guidebooks all agree that Paris was an exceptional city. They state that French metropolis was "[a] city of long vistas, wide skies and tall white buildings"[269], "one of the most beautiful places on earth"[270] and "surely the most human of cities"[271]. Moreover, the writers felt the need to use expressions of deep emotion to describe the city. Thus, one of the French guidebooks claimed that "[o]ther cities have their enthusiasts and admirers. Only Paris has enamoured of this city that loves it with passion"[272]. In a similar vein, the American guidebooks asserted that "…Paris likes to be admired and made much of by those who approach her. She is laid out to attract"[273] and "to be loved and hated in a breath and always to be loved again"[274]. The guidebooks presented the city as full of emotion which the visiting tourists can feel and enjoy.

Interestingly, there were two guidebooks comparing Paris with Rome and Athens, which state that "[n]o other city, not even Athens or Rome […] was for a long time such powerful attraction…"[275] and "[w]ith the exceptions of Athens and Rome, no city in the world has made so much history…"[276]. Moreover, when the comparisons with other famous cities was not enough, guidebooks gave Paris many names such as "la Ville Lumière"[277] (The City of Lights) and "the Queen of cities"[278]. Paris was the antithesis of a dull and uninteresting city according to the guidebooks, though perhaps it should be remembered that the main aim of this literary genre is to attract the reader and encourage him to travel to the destination described in its pages.

Paris, city of heterogeneity

Paris was not a homogenous city with the same features in all its parts. The city possessed areas that varied significantly as the guidebooks described, "[a]lmost every part

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[269] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 9.

[270] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 1.

[271] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 218.

[272] "D'autres villes possèdent des fervents et dos admirateurs; Paris seul a des « amoureux », qui le chérissent avec passion." in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. XIX.

[273] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 4.

[274] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 218.

[275] "[n]ulle autre ville, fût-ce Athènes, fût-ce Rome elle-même, n'a exe… de façon plus continue une attraction aussi puissante …" in: *Paris, Sèvres, Versailles* cit., p. XVI.

[276] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 197.

[277] Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., for example p. 49; Story, *Present day Paris* cit., for example p. 84.

[278] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 1.

of the city keeps its characteristic physiognomy, industry or pecularity which is particular for it"[279]. Without a doubt, the most recommended and luxurious district of the city was the one surrounding the *Place de la Concorde*, the *Champs Elysées* and *Opéra* which was perceived as "the aristocratic residential quarter"[280]. This area was also what "…we can consider cosmopolite. Here is possible to find the most luxurious shops (for example with bijouterie, shops with objects of art, shops with lingerie, parfumeries, etc.)"[281]. Not very surprisingly perhaps, is that this district was where the rich visitors of the city found accommodation.

Around the *Grands Boulevards*, tourists could find, according to the guidebooks, 'the district of intelligence', especially that of journalism. Then further on from the *Grands Boulevards* was an area that the guidebooks presented as being occupied by the working classes:

"The Grands Boulevards are international, the lesser boulevards and the boulevards exterior are French. The people who live and work on them and in their neighbourhood are shopkeepers, artisans, men and women of the people. They are not poor, they work hard, save hard, and some of them play hard. They are the *petit bourgeois* of Paris, well instructed, not educated in taste of manners, very well pleased to be what they are and where they are, so long as trade is good and work regular"[282].

As *Paris pour tous* pointed out, "[i]n general, the northwest of Paris is rich area, whilst the northeast is the very opposite when we take into consideration its position and structure that is extremely poor and hardworking. When we pass from one area to the other, we cross the middle part of Paris which is one of the liveliest localities in the city"[283]. Some guidebooks even mention that the Right bank could be home to both the richest classes as well as the poorest ones, as well as being an area where buildings of significant governmental importance stood.

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[279] "[p]resque chaque quartier conserve une physionomie qui lui est bien sienn, une industrie ou une spécialité qui lui est propre." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 153.

[280] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 81.

[281] "ce qu´on pourrait appeler le quartier cosmopolite. C´est là que se trouvent les boutiques les plus luxueuses (bijouterie, objects d´art, lingerie, parfumeri, etc.)." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 154.

[282] Clarke, *Paris* cit., pp. 164-166.

[283] "[d]ans son ensemble, le nord-ouest de Paris est un quartier riche tandis que le nord-est lui est son opposé aussi bien par sa situation que par sa population pauvre et laborieuse. Passons de l´un à l´autre en traversant la partie médiane, l´une des plus actives de la capitale." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 135.

There was also to be found very special districts not similar to any others in the city. The district of *Le Marais* was described as ancient, with old houses and unique shops. Its counterpart on the *Rive Gauche* was the *Latin Quartier*, one of the oldest parts of the city[284]. It was destined to be a home for students which is mentioned by *Handbook to Paris* when it is talking about the accommodation possibilities: "Students will choose the Latin Quarter, now better known as the Quartier des Écoles (the Schools quarter)"[285]. There were many different areas of the Right Bank described in the guidebooks. Whilst the *Latin Quartier* was destined to be full of inhabitants trying to limit their expenses, the area around the *Faubourg St. Germain* was full of aristocratic apartments[286]. Somewhere in between lay, according to *Paris pour tous,* "the district of antique sellers and bouquinistes"[287].

The city was presented by guidebooks as divided into two parts by the river. *Paris* by Moma Clarke described this as follows: "The Right bank of the Seine offers a strong contrast to the left, with its old monuments, its narrow streets, its educational quarters, and that strange, persistent, old fashioned French flavor which neither mechanical progress, nor cosmopolitan invasions can dissipate"[288]. The Right bank was "… the world of business and finances, high society and elegant demimonde, world that entertains, Paris of to-day"[289] and as such it was as represented in the guidebooks as a much more attractive and interesting bank of the river for tourists[290]. Maybe because of this "Paris is divided into two parts by Seine. Many of its inhabitants are convinced they would feel expatriated in case of relocation to the other side of the river"[291]. The more tourists moved towards the edge of Paris, the more likely they were to meet the lower classes because "[a]ll the southern suburbs of Paris are given over to the working classes"[292]. Guidebooks depicted Paris as a city of diversity, either divided by the river or by the different social classes that lived in particular areas.

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[284] Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 543.

[285] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 10.

[286] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 91.

[287] "le quartier des marchands d´antiquités et des vieux livres" in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 84.

[288] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 186.

[289] "… světem obchodním a finančním, vysokou společností a elegantním polosvětem, svět, který se baví, dnešní vlastní Paříž." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 766.

[290] Levenstein, *Seductive Journey* cit., ch. 13.

[291] "[p]artagés par la Seine en deux groupes principaux, nombre de ses habitants sont persuadés qu´ils se sentiraient tout dépaysés s´ils devaient aller vivre sur la rive opposée à leur." in: Jefferson, *Paris pour tous* cit., p. 153.

[292] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 64.

Conclusion

Paris was mainly represented in the guidebooks as a city of culture and history. This was feature which was most frequently referenced in the books. Its reputation as a city of art penetrated the world of guidebooks, which met the readers´ expectations in this regard and even further enhanced its fame in this area. Furthermore, the Parisian lifestyle was, according to the guidebooks, connected to the cafés and high style cuisine that allowed tourists to feel the atmosphere of its long term historical development. Even though the First World War damaged its way of life, Paris is presented as strong enough to rise again to its former glories. In general, the city is often described with expressions linked to life, organic behaviour and emotions. Furthermore, regardless of the different ways the authors presented the city, they all agreed on the exceptionality of Paris. Moreover, sometimes it is possible to find Paris being compared with other cities, however, and perhaps not surprisingly, the French capital comes out "victorious" from these "contests". Guidebooks about Paris were not very objective, but did they intend to be.

They also agreed that the French metropolis was an extremely complex subject and difficult to fully represent in a guidebook. The image of Paris was of a space of contradictions, composed of various and differing attributes. Rather than something negative though, this meant that everyone could find what pleased them most in the city, regardless of their nationality, gender or social affiliation. That was what made the city special and exceptional. Also, thanks to this, Paris was in a unique and privileged position. It was the centre of culture, history of France as well as the administrative and business capital of the country.

Global images described above can be divided into two groups. The first one includes representations that depict the city with a focus on particular, rather substantial, factual and accurate aspects. In this sense, Paris could be seen as a city of cafés, theatres, restaurants, etc. Other global images were less specific and made reference to more vague characteristics, depicting Paris as a city of culture in its widest sense, a city of contradictions, and of resilience and uniqueness. It should also be stressed that these global images intermingled and no guidebook reduced Paris to one singular global image, or, to put it another way, no guidebook developed its representation of the city on the basis of one attribute. Overall representations of Paris were composed of various global images but ultimately created a coherent mosaic of the city.

8. References to the Home Country

Guidebooks, by defining what was special about Paris also reflected on what was common with the city and their home countries. As Ian Ousby points out in his book *The Englishman′s England*, "[t]ravel […] forces us to measure the unfamiliar by reference to the familiar. To define the experience of being abroad, we need a concept of home"[293]. Following this vein, we can say that guidebooks created representations on the basis of comparing what the visitor was going to see and experience in Paris with what they expected the tourist to know about their home country. Moreover, the guidebooks to some extent reflect its readers and their practices and way of life by warning them about possible inconveniences in the foreign city.

If we look back to the chapter on "must-sees", there is an example of the French tendency to rename public spaces after political events. An American guidebook stated that "…the Parisians have a habit of changing the names of their thoroughfares according to their political humors; they have not got over it yet"[294]. It could be argued that for an American this custom was something worth mentioning and would be subject of astonishment for readers, as the naming of their streets are not "…prompted by ideological considerations but came as a result of rationalization…"[295]. American cities were and are different, with different urban codes and use of space[296]. For this reason the American and French image of Paris contrasted.

In the American guidebooks, references to origin of its readers are found within the text. Indeed Americans had to be warned as to what to expect in foreign countries. .For example, we can find recommendations about what kind of people to expect in Paris ("It will be found, too, that Paris shopkeepers are [...] willing to oblige their customs"[297], "… one of the drawbacks to visiting monuments in and around Paris is the irritating presence of guardians…"[298]), how to behave in France ("British and American tourists are apt to overlook that officials have power to require every piece of luggage to be entirely emptied for examination and repacked by the owner, and even to search the person"[299]), what to wear

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[293] I. Ousby, *The Englishman′s England: Taste, travel, and the rise of tourism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 2.

[294] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 51.

[295] Ferguson, *Reading city streets* cit., p. 394.

[296] Ibid., p. 393.

[297] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 71.

[298] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 98.

[299] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 21.

and that it is not so necessary to speak French ("There will be no difficulty in making [the visitor] understood, even without knowledge of French"[300]).

Furthermore, the guidebooks pointed out the opportunites to see art made by Americans artists, such as paintings in the gallery *Jeu de Paume*. In the guidebook *Handbook to Paris*, which was published in London as well America, there are more mentions of the United Kingdom which are sometimes accompanied by comparisons with the United States. For example, "[t]his Shakespeare is the only statue in the city to an Englishman, but […] there are several statues to Americans"[301]. This guidebook comments not only on cultural aspects, but also on the religious ones as well, and offered a possibility for visitors to see something which could remind them of home: "Of those who go to church in the morning, many will attend the service at one of the English and American churches or chapels..."[302]. This was not mentioned by accident; according to Harvey Levenstein, it was extremely important for Americans to meet their countrymen and to maintain social networks developed in their home country. In the case of religion, church was an important social event.

However, even though visiting Paris during the interwar period became much more affordable for the lower classes of American society, guidebooks contained information that was mainly connected to wealthy American who had the ability to spend a lot of money: "American millionaires, who are buying property in all the old quarters of the city, have a particular love for the island houses. They alone can afford to restore them and furnish them with the furniture of the period, and so the old order changes, giving place to the new"[303]. Moreover,"[n]othing is ever wasted [in France]; and as a wise lady put it to me in a conversation once, the waste of one average American family (in the pre-war times) would often keep a dozen modest French families"[304]. Money was a common topic for American guidebooks.

As mentioned above, American guidebooks informed the reader about the opportunities to experience the influence of American culture in the city. They also took the opportunity to tell the reader of other contributions to the wider French culture as well. In *Present day Paris* it says "[a]t the corner of the Rue du Faubourg Poissonière is the office of

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[300] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 204.

[301] Ibid., p. 85.

[302] Ibid., p. 191.

[303] Clarke, *Paris* cit., p. 107-108.

[304] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 5.

the *Matin* newspaper, the first of the Paris journals to copy Anglo-American methods of journalism; indeed, it is an offshoot of an Anglo-American newspaper, *The Paris Morning News*, which existed some twenty-five to thirty years ago"[305]. It was mentioned that Americans contributed to the change of Parisian eating habits and social norms such as the typical Parisian cafés. The English speaking world was able to infiltrate the cultural life through tearooms: "[e]stablishments for afternoon tea, mostly with English or American names, existed before the war, but they have increased a hundredfold of recent years, and to be fashionable one must appear at one or the other"[306]. All in all it can be said that American guidebooks did not miss the opportunity to highlight its country's influence on the French capital.

However, the most aspect which was emphasised the most was the importance of the American representatives and soldiers during the Great War. "People began to leave Paris in hundreds of thousands, passing days in the train, or in any conveyance they could find – or even on foot – pouring to the south, the southwest, or to England or America. […] Ambassador Herrick, who had turned his home in the Rue François-Premier into a depot of the American Clearing House, was a very pillar of strength and comfort for his fellow countrymen and women"[307]. In its chapter on First World War battlefields, *Present day Paris,* described the valiant engagement of the American fighters and mentioned a few cemeteries where some of them were buried[308]. The same guidebook had one chapter about the lasting impacts some famous Americans had in France. The chapter titled, *The Paris homes of famous Americans,* contained information about Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Howard Payne, Woodrow Wilson and his wife, and general Pershing.

American guidebooks show tendencies to refer to their home country. However, there are great differences in the extent to which they did this. *Present day Paris* dedicated one whole chapter to the topic of important countrymen and demonstrated great will to focus on the American role in the recent war. United States soldiers were mentioned not only in the chapter about battlefields, but, for example, in the section on the beauties of the *Place de la Concorde* as well. Unlike *Present Day Paris*, the other American guidebooks do not have such developed references to their home country. Overall it can be argued that guidebooks

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[305] *Handbook to Paris* cit., p. 28.
[306] Ibid., p. 54
[307] Story, *Present day Paris* cit., p. 120.
[308] Ibid., p. 143, 163.

published in the United States expressed a desire to personalize the narration and adapt it to the supposed interests of readers.

Contrary to the American guidebooks, the Czech guidebooks included their references to the home country and to Czechs mainly in the introductions. They presented the reader with practical information which was interesting not only for travellers but for expats as well. The character of connections with the home country was different to the American guidebooks; its aim was to promote Czech national consciousness. Therefore, we can find in the guidebooks information about what kind of Czech associations and clubs were in Paris, what was their aim, what activities did they offer, etc. Their "…main task [was to] contribute with an advice or help to the new fellow countrymen and to keep and strengthen the national consciousness"[309]. Furthermore, precise addresses of the Czech associations were stated as well as opening hours. Practical information continued with recommendations where to get Czech newspapers, how much does it cost to send mail or telegraph home, to phone there, etc. In the sections about consulates and banks of Paris, the Czech ones came first.

The sections dedicated to the restaurants and related topics played an important role in the Czech guidebooks. *Průvodce po Paříži* named 12 addresses where it was possible to eat Czech meals and continued with information highly valued by Czechs: "Most of the restaurants and cafés serve tap beer. Besides of the French beers it is possible to get somewhere Pilsner beer (Bière de Pilsen), English and Bavarian beer"[310]. However, even if the readers were pleased by the assurance about the possibility of drinking Czech beer in France, those who were used to the Czech-style wine bars were often upset by the fact that "[o]ur style wine bars are not in Paris"[311]. The guidebook *Průvodce Paříží* prepared the tourist for an unpleasant surprise caused by different habits of the Parisians: "What is characteristic for the French cafés is that people sit there with a hat on their head, coats are left at the chairs because French cafés do not possess the cloak rooms"[312]. Even though Czechoslovakia was much closer to Paris than the United States, guidebooks published there also had to prepare the reader for the local habits and customs.

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[309] "…hlavní úkol přispěti radou i pomocí nově přibylým krajanům a udržovati a síliti národní vědomí." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 44.

[310] "Většina restaurací a kaváren čepuje také pivo. Vedle francouzských piv možno někde dostat také pivo plzeňské (Bière de Pilsen), piva anglická i bavorská." in: Novák, *Průvodce po Paříži* cit., p. 44.

[311] "Vinárny po našem způsobu Paříž nemá." in: Novák, *Průvodce po Paříži* cit., p. 46.

[312] "Charakteristické je také pro francouzské kavárny to, že sedá se v nich s kloboukem na hlavě, kabáty odkládají se přes židle, poněvadž francouzské kavárny nemají šaten." in: Štyrský, Toyen, Nečas, *Průvodce Paříží* cit., p. 47.

References to the home country differed significantly in the Czech guidebooks from the American ones, albeit it is possible to find similarities. For example, preparing the reader for potential inconveniences by warning him about the different habits in the foreign country was common for both groups of guidebooks published. However, Czech authors included most of their recommendations within the practical information which preceded the narrative about Paris. American guidebooks on the other hand made references to their homeland in their itineraries. Another difference is that the American guidebooks liked to emphasis the connection with the First World War and America, whereas the Czech guidebooks were mainly concerned with advice on where to find traces of Czech culture, such as where to find their fellow Czechs, where they can eat Czech food and where they can buy Czech newspapers.

9. Conclusion

For the analyses of the tourist guidebooks it was necessary to contextualize this topic. We found out that although travelling had been part of people´s lives for centuries, it did not become a leisure activity until the 1880s, when the middle classes began travelling for reasons other than necessity. One of the reasons why tourism became so popular at this time was the new opportunity of travelling by train. Travelling became a way for a person to show their membership of a particular social class. At this time the tourist guidebook developed. From beginning as simply narrative about someone else´s experiences of a journey, guidebooks came to contain highly coherent and developed advice and information with the goal of being as useful to the reader as possible.

The three most influential men in the development of a standardised format for guidebooks were Adolphe Joanne, Karl Baedeker and John Murray. The standardized form of the guidebook offers many benefits to tourists. The paratextual systems help with orientating oneself within the book and consequently in the place it is desribing as well. The straightforward style of the text means that you do not get lost in tedious narrative and it allows for easy access to recommendations and practical information on how to prepare for the visit. The standardised form of the guidebooks also tend to include maps and many kinds of pictorial pull outs. All of these 'rules' of the standardised form influenced the guidebooks which were published during the interwar period and the guidebooks which are studied in this paper largely follow this form.

We presumed that it was not only the style of the author or the demands of the editor that influenced the final form of the guidebook, but also the national style. A guidebook is not an independent object, it is a mediator between the author, the tourist (the reader) and the place being described. Therefore, guidebooks reflect all of these aspects. Although the author and the editor determine the content of a guidebook, they also reveal what the readers are interested in, what they want to know. Our aim in carrying out this research was to discover if there is a fourth influencing factor, that of the area of publishing. We presumed that it is likely that there is a link between the country of publishing and the tendency of the guidebooks to show the city in a particular way. Precisely because of the fact that the guidebooks´ contents are the result of a number of influences, it was necessary to not only focus on the influence of the country of publishing.

In the comparative analysis section of the paper, we wanted to answer two main questions: how is Paris presented in the guidebooks for French, Czech and American tourists

that were published between 1918 and 1939? Whether and in what respect do these guidebooks differ? It turned out that the largest difference between the guidebooks was in relation to whether the guidebooks followed the standardized form or not. Two of the American guidebooks do not follow this standard form. Paris written by Moma Clarke and Present day Paris instead follow the tradition of narrative stories about places in which the reader is guided through the city. Also, they do not follow the standard form in offering practical information that would prepare the reader for the trip.

It may be the case that readers who bought these guidebooks were not interested in practical information, as they, for instance, might have had their friends or families in Paris to help them. Unfortunately we have no indication from the guidebooks themselves about who their readers were, as there are no mentions about the intended readership or any information that would at indirectly indicate such information. We also have to bear in mind that Americans were, as Levenstein states, used to buying guidebooks from English collections as there was no language barrier to be overcome. These two American guidebooks without any practical information can be considered as merely supportive (complementary) guidebooks. The other guidebooks which contain practical information, guide the tourist much better, for after reading the practical information a visitor or future visitor could learn much about how to prepare well for the trip. Consequently, he or she would feel much more comfortable in the new space and would be able to adapt quickly and easily to the unknown surroundings. The tourist, overall, would be much better prepared.

Guidebooks are part of the preparation for the trip and create a pre-image of the city that the tourist is going to visit. They mediate the interaction between the city and the reader even before they actually meet. Moreover it is not only the guidebook that mediate the relation between the city and the tourist, but also the tourist´s experience of other cities. Indeed, the pre-images of the city is also formed by common touristic experiences because great numbers of tourists would have already visited other cities before coming to Paris. Also, the common habit of guidebooks to copy the form, information and style from of others meant that they present often a unified set of instructions and experiences.

The guidebooks published for various nationalities differ in regard to their itineraries. French guidebooks present large numbers of short walks with many details, whereas American ones include few long walks and are not focused on details. Czech authors took a middle road between the style of American and French guidebooks and included their recommendations about the best way to explore Paris. It can be concluded therefore that visitors who followed American guidebooks received the weakest image of Paris. Their

books offered tourists itineraries with only the most important places highlighted. Furthermore, as they support that it is possible to get to know the French capital with only a few itineraries, they present the city as a space that can be experienced in a short time. On top of that, they recommended their readers to use means of transport, which was not the best way to get to know the city intimately. The French guidebooks, on the other hand, and especially those published in the *Guide Bleu* collection, are much more descriptive and detailed. They provide the reader with information about almost everything about Paris. The Czech guidebooks take a lot of inspiration from the French ones, especially from those books belonging to the collection of *Guide Bleu*. However, efforts can be found of the authors' attempts to simplify the content. The exploration of Paris, as presented by American guidebooks, was not to be an exhausting activity, as it was in the French ones, but rather a more leisurely and pleasurable one. In this respect, the Czech guidebooks represent a middle ground between the American and French.

The analysis of the "must-sees" showed that the guidebooks presented these places and monuments largely in a similar way. Differences that appeared were not significant, nor could they be correlated with the groups of guidebooks according to the countries of publishing. We can conclude, therefore, that regardless of their origin, the guidebooks offered a convergent representation of the "must-sees", and provided fairly uniform information about them to the readers. This finding was reinforced by the analysis of global representations of Paris, which demonstrated that Paris was mainly depicted as a city of culture and history, as a very complex object to be studied, as divided into two differing areas by Seine, and with specific characteristics in each district.

References to the home country in Czech and American guidebooks indicate that they partly tailored the texts to their specific readerships, doing this in order to make their books more familiar to the readers. It can be deduced from this that what the authors considered to be important and interesting for the tourist. American and Czech guidebooks contain information about what to expect and how to behave in France in general as well as Paris. Additionally, the American books highlighted the American role in the First World War and highlighted the traces it had left in the French capital. Furthermore the Czech guidebooks dedicated significant parts of the text to practical information concerning Czech clubs and associations in Paris.

Guidebooks about Paris published in the interwar period in France, United States of America and Czechoslovakia reflected their country of origin to much lesser degree than it was expected. Rather, as it was common at the time to copy style, format and information,

they resembled to each other. However, the extent to which this was to be found differs. The guidebooks that took an inspiration from their standardized counterparts were very similar and consequently, the image of Paris they offered to the reader was analogous. If there were any differences, they appeared due to the specific style of the author and/or editor, not because of the tendencies of citizens of the country of publishing to depict Paris in a particular way. Guidebooks in the interwar period corresponded in how to represent Paris.

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