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Paris in Revolt: Boulevards, Barricades, and the Making of Modern France

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Introduction

Paris is a city where political dreams have repeatedly taken to the streets. From the first cries of 1789 to the chants that fill today's plazas, public space in the French capital has served as a stage on which competing visions of the nation have contended. This book traces how boulevards and barricades—two opposed but intertwined architectures—helped to make modern France. The boulevard promises openness, circulation, light, and spectacle; the barricade asserts interruption, assembly, and claim. Together they form a dialogue about who belongs, who decides, and how power moves through a city.

The story begins with revolution, when Parisians discovered the political potency of streets, squares, and bridges. In the neighborhoods of 1789, the city was not merely a backdrop to history; it was an instrument of it. Clubs, sections, markets, and cafés turned urban life into political life. Subsequent upheavals in 1830 and 1848 refined the repertoire of dissent, perfecting the barricade both as a tactic and as a symbol: a temporary work of wood and stone that could re-script sovereignty for a day, and reshape memory for generations.

No figure shaped the physical environment of Paris more decisively than Baron Haussmann, whose nineteenth-century renovation cut new arteries through dense neighborhoods. His boulevards promised hygiene, speed, and grandeur—and enabled state oversight and military mobility. Demolition and displacement remapped social life, fueling new forms of consumption and sociability in department stores, arcades, and cafés while scattering older solidarities. What looked like neutral geometry was in fact a political design, a street plan that regulated movement and visibility while staging modernity itself.

Culture threaded through these transformations. Writers and artists—Baudelaire's flâneur, Hugo's indignant prophet, Zola's social anatomist—helped Parisians read their city, turning sidewalks and shop windows into texts. Activists and witnesses—from Louise Michel of the Commune to student organizers in 1968—left biographies inscribed on buildings and squares. The city becomes legible when we see how lives and layouts meet: how a poet's gaze reframes a boulevard, how a prefect's decree redraws a neighborhood, how a crowd's chant renames a plaza.

Across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Paris kept reinventing its edges and centers: grands ensembles at the periphery, the Périphérique ring road, presidential "grands projets," and, more recently, pedestrianization, bike lanes, and climate-conscious planning. Postcolonial migrations remade cultural life and political vocabularies, while new movements—from Nuit Debout to the Gilets Jaunes—tested

the choreography of protest in an era of surveillance and securitized space. Each redesign and demonstration renegotiates the social contract between city and citizen.

This book blends political history, architectural analysis, and cultural biography to show how form shapes feeling and how streets structure power. It draws on maps and memoirs, plans and posters, court records and café conversations to illuminate a central claim: public space in Paris has been both the means and the message of French modernity. By attending to curbs and corners as carefully as constitutions and cabinets, we can see how the city's material fabric authorizes some movements and forecloses others.

Paris in Revolt is written for general readers and students of European history. It offers a guided walk through more than two centuries of transformation, asking at each turn how space becomes political and how politics leaves marks on space. The chapters that follow move chronologically yet remain attuned to themes—authority and resistance, spectacle and surveillance, circulation and stoppage. Along the way, we will encounter engineers and insurgents, prefects and poets, planners and protesters whose choices, collisions, and creations made a city—and, in no small measure, a nation.

CHAPTER ONE: The City Takes the Stage: 1789 and the Invention of Political Space

In the summer of 1789, the streets of Paris were not merely thoroughfares; they were battlegrounds, forums, and stages where the fate of a monarchy teetered and a republic began to emerge. The French capital had long been a city of contrasts—narrow medieval lanes winding around grand Renaissance palaces, bustling markets spilling onto cobblestones beside silent cathedrals. Yet beneath this patchwork of architectural styles lay a deeper tension: a population brimming with grievances, crammed into overcrowded neighborhoods where the scent of bread shortages mingled with revolutionary whispers. When the Estates-General convened in May at Versailles, few anticipated that the king would soon lose control of the very urban landscape he had shaped through centuries of royal absolutism.

The Estates-General itself had been summoned in desperation, as Louis XVI sought solutions to France's financial crisis. The Third Estate, representing commoners, arrived with petitions and hopes. But when its delegates were excluded from meaningful participation, they declared themselves the National Assembly on June 17, 1789. Three days later, they took the Tennis Court Oath, vowing not to disband until they had given France a constitution. Their act was not just political—it was spatial. By transforming a royal tennis court into a makeshift legislature, they redefined the geography of power itself, turning a recreational space into a revolutionary one. The king's attempts to suppress this defiance only accelerated the shift of authority toward the streets of Paris.

On July 5, the dismissal of the reformist minister Jacques Necker sparked panic in the capital. Crowds gathered in the Palais-Royal, where the duc d'Orléans had cultivated a salon culture that catered to revolutionary sympathies. From there, protesters surged forward, demanding bread and arms. Four days later, the storming of the Bastille fortress marked a turning point. The fortress, originally built in the 14th century to protect the city, had become a symbol of royal despotism. Its fall was less about its strategic value—its defenses were outdated—and more about its psychological significance. The crowd that breached its walls included not just workers and artisans, but also bakers, shopkeepers, and even some soldiers who defected. For the first time, the people of Paris seized control of a key urban site, reimagining it as a monument to their collective will.

The monarchy's weakness became undeniable as the National Guard, led by the Marquis de La Fayette, took charge of the city. Lafayette, a liberal aristocrat, tried to mediate between the king and the revolutionaries, but the momentum lay with the

latter. The Great Fear—a rural panic over aristocratic plots—reached Paris by late July, stoking fears of foreign invasion and internal subversion. These anxieties were not unfounded; émigré nobles were indeed gathering armies abroad. Yet they also revealed how the revolution's energy was seeping into the very foundations of the city. Parisians began to see their streets not just as places of commerce or residence, but as zones of resistance and transformation.

The revolutionary government's efforts to modernize the city reflected this new ethos. Traditional guilds were abolished in August 1789, replaced by elected sections that divided the capital into administrative units. Each section—from the aristocratic Faubourg Saint-Germain to the working-class faubourgs beyond the city walls—became a node of political activism. Meetings in cafés, workshops, and market squares drew participants from all walks of life, while committees distributed arms and organized supply chains. The Hôtel de Ville, Paris's city hall, was repurposed as a hub of revolutionary activity, its Gothic facade overshadowed by the urgency of the moment. Here, symbols of civic life were redefined; banners bearing the tricolor cockade fluttered beside makeshift altars dedicated to liberty.

Public ceremonies soon became a tool of revolutionary education. The Festival of Federation on July 14, 1790, celebrated the anniversary of the Bastille's fall with a massive procession across the city. Participants carried effigies of obsolete institutions—gallows marked "Aristocracy," a guillotine labeled "Despotism." The Champ de Mars, where the march ended, hosted a ceremony in which citizens swore allegiance to the nation. These events were carefully choreographed, transforming the city into a theater where the revolution's ideals were performed daily. Architecture played a role: triumphal arches were erected to honor revolutionary victories, while churches were repurposed as "temples of reason" that secularized religious spaces.

The revolution also redefined the city's monuments and street names. The Place de Grève, where executions had once been held, became a site for public gatherings and speeches. The Place de la Concorde, renamed Place de la Révolution, hosted the guillotine's blade in the years to come. Statues of saints were toppled, and alleys renamed after philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau. These changes were part of a broader project to erase the old regime's legacies, making way for spaces that reflected Enlightenment ideals. Even the Louvre, which had been a royal palace, was opened as a museum, its art collections presented as spoils of liberation rather than symbols of monarchical privilege.

Yet the revolution's urban reshaping was not without conflict. The sections' radicalism alarmed moderates in the Legislative Assembly, who feared that Paris's energy might destabilize France. The Cordeliers, a radical club based in the rue Saint-Jacques, agitated for more sweeping reforms, while the Jacobins, meeting in the convent of the Cordeliers, advocated for a republic. Their debates spilled into cafés like the Café de Foy and the Café Procope, where intellectuals and activists clashed over the

revolution's direction. These venues became laboratories of political thought, their tables bearing witness to arguments that would reshape Europe.

Women played an underrecognized role in this period, though chapters on later eras will elaborate further. On October 5–6, 1789, a crowd of women—mostly market women—marched from the faubourgs to Versailles demanding bread. They invaded the royal apartments, coercing Louis XVI into moving to Paris. This “Women’s March” underscored how the revolution’s urban geography was not just about architecture, but about who could claim ownership of space. In the months that followed, women’s societies formed in Paris, pressing for political rights and economic relief. Their petitions and protests were dismissed by male leaders, but their presence in public life challenged traditional gender roles and expanded the revolution’s scope.

Food scarcity and social tensions were ever-present. Bread riots became routine, with vendors accused of hoarding and selling at inflated prices. The distribution of grain was managed through revolutionary committees, drawing on the city’s pre-existing networks of guilds and neighborhoods. Yet these systems often failed, leaving Parisians vulnerable to the whims of war and weather. The suburbs, where many workers lived, became hotbeds of resentment. When the royal family attempted to flee Paris in June 1791 during the “Flight to Varennes,” their capture highlighted the king’s loss of legitimacy. The event was celebrated in Paris as a victory for popular sovereignty, with crowds gathering along the Seine to mock the failed escape.

By 1792, the revolution had entered its most tumultuous phase. The monarchy was suspended, and the Legislative Assembly voted for France’s first attempt at a republic. The city’s spaces reflected this upheaval. The Tuileries Palace, where Louis XVI had resided, was surrounded by National Guardsmen loyal to the Legislative Assembly. Yet its ornate gardens and classical facades now seemed out of place, relics of a bygone order. The revolution’s leaders, including Georges Danton and Maximilien Robespierre, operated from townhouses in the Marais and Saint-Germain districts, plotting policies that would soon justify extreme measures in the name of defending the republic.

The rise of the Paris Commune—distinct from the later Communes of 1871 and 1968—marked the revolution’s anarchic edge. This municipal government, dominated by radicals, demanded price controls and direct democracy. Its leaders, such as Pache and Hébert, championed the cause of the sans-culottes, the militant working class. Their influence peaked in 1792, when the king was imprisoned and the revolution’s fate hung in the balance. Yet their rhetoric also sowed divisions, pitting pragmatists against idealists in a struggle that would culminate in the Terror discussed in subsequent chapters.

The physical reconfiguration of Paris in 1789-1792 set precedents for future upheavals. When barricades rose in later revolts, they echoed the improvisational tactics of this early period. The idea that public space could be claimed, redefined, and

transformed into a platform for political expression became a recurring theme. Even as the revolution evolved—ushering in the Terror, then the Directory, and finally Napoleon’s rule—the foundational shift of 1789 endured: Paris had become a city where authority was negotiable, where stones and mortar could be repurposed to serve new masters. This legacy would be both celebrated and contested in the chapters to follow, as France grappled with the question of who truly owned its streets.

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