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In the Marne's Shadow: Everyday Life in Paris on the Brink of the Great War in the Light of Popular Parisian Press

W cieniu Marny: Życie codzienne Paryża u progu Wielkiej Wojny w świetle popularnej prasy paryskiej

ABSTRACT

Along with the approaching war, the organization and character of the Parisian daily life changed at the turn of July and August 1914. The mobility of people, principles and opening hours of shops, and public transport came under new regulations, together with the function of public institutions, entertainment venues, and cafes. Additionally, problems closely related to war appeared, which left their mark on the city's life, i.e.: taking care of the wounded, problem of refugees and of living conditions of families of the enlisted soldiers, and those related to preparations for the city's defense in the face of the defeat at the border. Over the course of a few weeks, Paris undergoes a change from „la ville de lumière” to „la ville de guerre”, while the daily press records the aforementioned changes on the ongoing basis, at the same time reporting on the public mood and drawing attention to problems that were the most crucial from the Parisians' point

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of view. The press also becomes one of the instruments for boosting people's morale by the articles' overtones and topics.

Key words: Paris, August 1914, everyday life in Paris, French daily press

STRESZCZENIE

Na przełomie lipca i sierpnia 1914 r., wraz ze zbliżającą się wojną, zmieniła się organizacja i charakter życia codziennego Paryżan. Przemieszczanie się, zasady i godziny funkcjonowania sklepów, instytucji publicznych, lokali rozrywkowych, kafejek, komunikacji miejskiej podlegają nowym regulacjom. Ponadto pojawiają się problemy ściśle związane z wojną, które wyciskają swoje piętno na życiu miasta: opieka nad rannymi, problem uchodźców, warunków życia rodzin zmobilizowanych żołnierzy, przygotowania do obrony miasta w obliczu klęski wojny granicznej. W ciągu kilku tygodni Paryż z „la ville lumière” zamienia się w „la ville de guerre”, a prasa codzienna rejestruje na bieżąco owe zmiany wskazując przy tym na problemy najważniejsze z punktu widzenia Paryżan, nastroje ulicy, staje się też, poprzez wymowę i tematykę artykułów, jednym z narzędzi budowania morale.

Słowa kluczowe: Paryż, sierpień 1914, życie codzienne Paryża, francuska prasa codzienna

Towards the end of July 1914 nearly no one believed that it was possible to avoid the European conflict, but almost everyone was deeply convinced that the war would go swiftly and the victory would be spectacular. When at the turn of July and August a total mobilization and the Europe-wide war became a fact, the western front emerged as its most important theater where the German army launched a great offensive with the intention of crossing in no time the northern borders of France, conquering Paris, and bringing the French to their knees just like in 1871.

Quite unexpectedly, the capital of France found itself in the middle of the war, the immediate threat of which the French party did not anticipate when the line of defense had been established far towards the east and where preparations had been made for the offensive through Alsace and into the Reich. Throughout a few days of August and September Paris was transformed into a war city, and not only into the capital of the country carrying out war, situated almost on the front line, temporarily under siege, with a completely new life rhythm, atmosphere, problems of daily life, priorities of the city's authorities and residents. Traces of this transformation can be found in many sources, archival materials, eye-witnesses records, private letters¹, but also in the popular daily newspapers which have so far been used only to a small extent. The press meticulously recorded all these events, moods, new rules and

¹ I.e. B. Cabanes, *Août 14: La France entre en guerre*, Paris 2014; P. Darmon, *Vivre à Paris pendant la Grande Guerre*, Paris 2002.

regulations, issues of everyday life, anxieties and hopes of the residents; it presented the events' dynamics, allowed to observe the process of Paris entering the war reality from the perspective of an average Parisian and his/her daily life.

This study is based on eight newspapers distributed among a very wide audience, with the total circulation of more than 4.2 million issues in August 1914². Four of them belonged to the so-called grand four – the most popular French newspapers: „Le Petit Parisien“, „Le Petit Journal“, „Le Journal“, „Le Matin“, and also: „Paris-Midi“, „L'Écho de Paris“, „Excelsior“, and „Le Figaro“. Published in Paris, they shared the most important, political information, reported national and international events, but they also devoted a lot of space to the local Parisian issues and dramas³. They were important not only for the residents of Paris, but also for the provincial readers⁴, and even though the war events of August 1914, which affected the reading audience, broke into the first pages, the following pages included everything that referred to the local affairs⁵.

There were several problems, the presence of which introduced the newspaper's reader to the life on the brink of war, but also indicated its rhythm and speed of its transformation. The most important of them are the atmosphere and residents' mood, matters of supply and transport, administration and police regulations, limitations associated with war (i.e. the Parisians' outrage at the decision of closing cafes and restaurants earlier), regulations regarding traffic, issues which could generally be referred to as military, i.e. matters of fortifications around the city, bombardments, and spies, very widely discussed issues of charity, refugees, unemployed, families of the enlisted soldiers.

The atmosphere of war entered Paris gradually. On the 1st of August the readers' attention was still drawn to great headlines on the death of Jean Jaurès and the following pages were filled with information on

² *Histoire générale de la presse française*, t. 3, red. C. Bellanger et al., Paris 1972, s. 428; Ch. Delporte, C. Blandin, F. Robinet, *Histoire de la presse en France. XX^e-XXI^e siècles*, Paris 2016, s. 16–18.

³ This i.a. distinguished popular journals form opinion-forming newspapers: local news, crimes, accidents, reportages, news from theaters, arenas, and races. Editorial departments had special „field“ teams which gathered the most important events „from the city“. *Ibidem*, s. 10–32, 44–46, 48.

⁴ Around 2/3 of the largest journals' circulation was distributed in the province. *Ibidem*, s. 31

⁵ They were also not used by the author of the monograph *Vivre à Paris* P. Darmon, s. 440 (apart from „Le Matin“, which he appreciated for numbers and statistic data). This seems to be unjustified considering how different and full of details – often lost – is the image of the city that can be captured through the prism of popular daily journals.

theaters' and cinemas' repertoire, sales in the „Louvre” department store scheduled for the 3rd of August, preparations for the Gordon-Benett's cup which was planned for the second half of September, the show of an exclusive and awe-inspiring Alda car which one could view in Champs-Élysées, advertisements, a menu sample, and recommendations of the most interesting hotels in the French resorts. Despite disturbing, war reports, Paris still lived for a while with its own issues⁶, although the announcement of a full-scale mobilization brought about three consequences visible in the city's tissue: very emotional awakening of patriotic feelings, taking over train stations and other means of transport by the enlisted men who were going to their military units, and an almost complete initial closure of shops, factories, craft businesses, various institutions, and entertainment centers.

Two extreme phenomena appeared simultaneously in the streets of Paris: a previously unknown emptiness and silence in some of its parts or at specific times, and an exceptional crowd and chaos in other parts⁷. As soon as the announcement of the enlistment scheduled for the 2nd of August became known, crowds – unseen on a daily basis – poured onto the streets and boulevards; agitation could be felt, the atmosphere was both serious and very emotional. Three-colored flags mixed with the British and Russian flags were seen in the streets and cafes, the Marseillaise and shouts „vive la France”, as well as „on Berlin!”, could be heard in front of the mayoralities. One of the demonstrations that gathered a few hundred people took place in a significant site, i.e. by the Strasbourg monument at Place de la Concorde. However, the newspaper reports emphasized calmness despite some nervous energy and enthusiasm which swept over people⁸. Alongside the outbursts of enthusiasm, it was also possible to notice rather modest, but still visible anti-war demonstrations⁹.

⁶ M.S. Neiberg, *Taniec furii. Wybuch pierwszej wojny światowej oczami Europejczyków*, Kraków 2013, s. 144–147.

⁷ An almost poetic description of Paris in the first days of war can be found in: B.W. Tuchman, *Sierpniowe salwy*, Warszawa 1995, s. 450.

⁸ *Paris manifeste son patriotisme*, „Paris-Midi” [dalej: „PM”] 2 VIII 1914; *La physionomie de Paris*, „Le Matin” [dalej: „M”] 2 VIII 1914; *Sur les boulevards*, „Le Journal” [dalej: „J”] 1 VIII 1914; *Les départs à la Gare de l'Est*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *Ce qui passe à Paris*, „Le Petit Parisien” [dalej: „PP”] 1 VIII 1914; *A travers Paris*, „L'Écho de Paris” [dalej: „E”] 2 VIII 1914; *Paris attend la guerre*, „Le Figaro” [dalej: „F”] 2 VIII 1914; *La soirée à Paris*, „Excelsior” [dalej: „Ex”] 2 VIII 1914; *Paris en état de siège reste digne et enthousiaste*, „Ex” 4 VIII 1914; *Wspomnienie R. Poustisa*, w: *Świadkowie. Zapomniane głosy. Pierwsza wojna światowa*, oprac. i kom. M. Arthur, wstęp M. Gilbert, Warszawa 2013, s. 6; M.S. Neiberg, *op. cit.*, s. 159–163.

⁹ *Chronique des tribunaux*, „J” 1 VIII 1914; *Le départs à la Gare de l'Est*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *La soirée à Paris*, „E” 30 VII 1914; *Chronique des tribunaux*, „E” 30 VII 1914; *La soirée à Paris*.

One of them took place in Bd Ornano (c. 400 people) and another one in Bd des Italiens (c. 300 people took part in it which resulted in closing down some of the cafes in this region); one day earlier, around 30 anti-war demonstrators – detained on the 29th of July in Place d'Etoile – were sentenced to 1 to 30 days of arrest.

A crowd growing with every minute – of those who were enlisted, who were leaving, and those who were saying their goodbyes to those departing, as well as foreigners surprised by the events and residents of the province who were leaving Paris in haste despite the fact that the train schedule did not function normally and the trains going towards Germany reached only the cities near the border – swarmed around Gare de Montparnasse, Gare du Quai d'Orsay, Gare St.-Lazare, Gare du Nord, and Gare de l'Est¹⁰. There was an indescribable crowd and uproar.

On the other hand, the majority of the Parisian streets fell silent. Industrial districts became depopulated, the cars almost disappeared from the streets due to confiscations; there were not many carriages and droshkies; after the first outburst of enthusiasm, the boulevards became empty in the following days, the hours of access to public transport, shops, and cafes were limited (some transport lines did not function at all), theaters, museums, and public institutions closed their doors. Exceptionally early time of closing cafes, restaurants, and lemonade stands (8 pm from the 4th of August and then 9 pm and 9.30 pm) and the shops that were still open contributed to the waning of Paris' nightlife and plunged the city into silence and darkness¹¹. Some Parisians were particularly strongly affected by the ban on the sale and consumption of absinthe, introduced by the police prefect a few days later, although opinions that it was a right step for the sake of the public health started to appear more

Regrettables incidents, „E” 3 VIII. It was rather the large cities that idealised the war and expressed enthusiasm after it had broken out; rural areas were far from it; the pacifist movement embodied by the murdered Jaurès was also active. *Ibidem*, s. 164–165; Ch. Clark, *Lunatycy. Jak Europa poszła na wojnę w roku 1914*, Warszawa 2017, s. 587–588; J.-B. Duroselle, *Wielka Wojna Francuzów*, Warszawa 2006, s. 53; I. Kershaw, *Do piekła i z powrotem. Europa 1914–1918*, Kraków 2016, s. 66–67; also: B. Cabanes, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ *Paris manifeste son patriotisme*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *A travers Paris*, „E” 2 VIII 1914; *A la Gare de l'Est*, „PP” 1 VIII 1914; *Le départ des mobilisés*, „PP” 2 VIII 1914; *Dans les gares*, „F” 1 VIII 1914.

¹¹ *Dans la rue de Paris*, „E” 3 VIII 1914; *La journée d'hier*, „E” 4 VIII 1914; *Les moyens de circulation*, „E” 4 VIII 1914; *La fermeture des restaurants et des débits de boissons*, „E” 24 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 26 VIII 1914; *L'État de siège*, „PJ” 4 VIII 1914; *Ce qui se passe à Paris*, „PP” 1 VIII 1914; *La soirée à Paris*, „PP” 2 VIII 1914; *Paris*, „PP” 3 VIII 1914; *L'État de siège*, „PP” 4 VIII 1914; *Pour le public et le commerce parisien*, „PP” 18 VIII 1914; *Le couvre feu à 8h*, „J” 4 VIII 1914; *Les débits et les cafés*, „J” 25 VIII 1914; P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 24–25.

often; a ban on using gambling machines, machines à sous, present in cafes and restaurants was also introduced to keep order¹².

On the 1st of August at 6 pm the local buses were given at the disposal of the military authorities¹³, followed by the metro which – although to a limited extent – was still driving the passengers, similarly to trams which ran less frequently and without following the timetable due to a significant shortage of staff after the enlistment of workers¹⁴. The problem of the class of workers was slowly becoming visible and only in the next few days it significantly hindered a normal functioning of the city not only in the sphere of transport. It is worth emphasizing that in order to solve this issue a campaign was launched to employ women as tram drivers, who quickly managed to fill the gaps¹⁵. A regular operation of public transport was restored in the following days, but only to a limited extent: the routes of some of the tram lines were changed, some of the metro stations were excluded from use and the metro schedule was also shortened. Those timetables were changing pretty frequently and information regarding these matters appeared regularly in these few first days: from the 3rd of August the metro run from 7.30 am to 7.30 pm, on the 4th of August the hours were extended to 8 pm, and then to 9 pm¹⁶.

Rules on entering and exiting Paris and the traffic of private vehicles in the city were also regulated. From the 4th of Augusts the Paris gates were closed to cars between 6pm and 6am. In order to leave the city one required a special pass issued by the police; traffic of pedestrians, bicycles, and vehicles other than cars was not subjected to restrictions. People going away from Paris and its banlieue by trams or trains also had to have the passes. This caused some problems to workers going home outside of Paris' suburbs or provisions entering the city, but the

¹² *Échos*, „E” 18 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 20 VIII 1914; *La vent de l'absinthe interdite à Paris*, „M” 16 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „M” 16 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 18 VIII 1914; *La vent de l'absinthe*, „PM” 18 VIII 1914.

¹³ As reported on 5 August in „Le Petit Parisien”, 1040 busses of one of the Parisian company were taken over by the army (*Les autobus parisiens*).

¹⁴ *Paris manifeste son patriotisme*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *A Paris*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Les moyens de circulation*, „E” 4 VIII 1914; Around 60% employees of public transport were enlisted, P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 25.

¹⁵ *Les femmes utilisées par la compagnie des tramways*, „J” 6 VIII 1914; *On organise les services de transport en commun*, „J” 9 VIII 1914.

¹⁶ Timetable of the local trains was also changed, but simultaneously, despite the war, the tram lines no. 12 and 16 were ultimately electrified, thus ending the era of steam vehicles in the Parisian Omnibus Company. *La transformation des tramways*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens* „PM” 3 VIII 1914; *La transformation des tramways*, „E” 1 VIII 1914; *L'État de siège*, „Le Petit Journal” [dalej: „PJ”] 4 VIII 1914; *Nouvelles diverses*, „J” 1 VII 1914.

control of car traffic – though in various forms and hours in later period – became a marker of wartime Paris¹⁷. In spite of these limitations, the city authorities and military authorities assured that there would be no shortages of gas, there would be no problems with electricity or heating, even though this situation could be bound to change due to the lack of staff and problems with coal supplies. The supply of drinking water to Paris was also regarded as unthreatened, the water tanks situated at the Montmartre hill, in the Montsouris Park or at Ménilmontant were also protected by additional guards¹⁸.

On the other hand, the immediate food price speculation was bitter for the city's residents. It did not concern the entire Paris market and it was placed under the authorities' supervision in the following days, but it made customers furious, provoking them to numerous attacks on shops which immediately turned the change in the political situation into new prices of articles, mainly of groceries. Shop windows were destroyed, shops were looted, speculators were called to order by popular street justice. In the first few days of August the police arrested a few hundred people disturbing peace, here and there owners of shops created a kind of civic guard defending themselves against intruders, they personally administered justice to their not very honest colleagues as it happened in the XX^e arrondissement, in the Ménilmontant Street¹⁹. The sudden, although temporary, increase in prices was on the one hand a result of concerns about the stability of provisions, and therefore the increased demand, and on the other hand – the most ordinary speculation.

Within a few days both prices as well as the street's reactions were overcome by the introduced controls and regulations of prices of the basic groceries (i.e. bread and potatoes), the establishment of cells dedicated to the supervision of retail sales and food supplies in every mayoralty, and in the police prefecture – a special section handling the prices as well as tickets which were handed out frequently²⁰. As reported by the

¹⁷ *L'entrée et la sortie de Paris*, „J” 4 VIII 1914; *Pour circuler dans Paris*, „J” 10 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 4 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 9 VIII 1914; *La circulation*, „PP” 4 VIII 1914; *L'État de siège*, „PJ” 4 VIII 1914; *Paris en état de siège*, „M” 4 VIII 1914.

¹⁸ *Comment vivra Paris*, „M” 1 VIII 1914; *L'État de siège*, „PJ” 4 VIII 1914; *A Paris*, „PJ” 6 VIII 1914; *Les services public municipaux de Paris*, „E” 2 VIII 1914; *Le Gaz est assuré*, „E” 4 VIII 1914; *Les réservoirs parisiens*, „PP” 1 VIII 1914; *Le fonctionnement à Paris des grands services publics*, „J” 4 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 4 VIII 1914.

¹⁹ *Une épicerie saccagée*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *Les pillards*, „J” 6 VIII 1914; *Ce qui se passe à Paris*, „PP” 1 VIII 1914; *Paris attend la guerre*, „F” 2 VIII 1914.

²⁰ *La vente des denrées alimentaires*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *L'alimentation de Paris*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 11 VIII 1914; *L'approvisionnement et la taxation des denrées*, „J” 11 VIII 1914; *Les services publics municipaux de Paris*, „E” 1 VIII 1914.

press, the increase in some of the grocery prices was quite spectacular. For example, the price of potatoes in Les Halles sky rocketed even up to 42 francs for 100 kilograms (from approx. 13–16 francs a few days earlier), carrots from 15 to 50 centimes, lettuce from 8 to 15 francs for 100 pieces; the prices of meat increased although less; green beans became more expensive (from approx. 60 centimes to approx. 80–1.2 francs depending on quality)²¹. Importantly, a similar and temporary price increase – but concerning only some sellers – took place at the beginning of September when due to the German offensive and preparations for Paris defense problem with the food transport appeared²².

The very first unrests and unpleasant incidents also took place. On the 31st of July the crowd gathered in front of the Bank of France, people were withdrawing their money agitated by i.e. the information that 5 and 20 francs notes entered into circulation, which did not inspired as much confidence as coins; the shortage of small change in the first moment of mobilization was also felt, causing issues for retailers and triggering buyers' anxiety²³. The police had its hands full trying to keep in check the emotions of the city overwhelmed with the fever of the war's outbreak (i.e. 450 people were arrested on the 3rd of August), particularly since the patriotic enthusiasm – which could easily turn into riots and unrest – required some control. This is exemplified by the impulsive and aggressive attacks on people, shops, and German institutions, or suspected of being German such as i.e. „Maggie” company which in reality was to a great extent Swiss, but was incorrectly identified as German and plundered by the crowd driven by a patriotic elation or simply by ordinary looters looking for a good opportunity to steal²⁴.

²¹ *L'alimentation de Paris*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Cour des Halles ce matin*, „PM” 4 VIII 1914; *Pour se nourrir bien*, „J” 5 VIII 1914; *L'approvisionnement et la taxation de Denrées*, „J” 11 VIII 1914; *Paris en état de siège*, „M” 4 VIII 1914.

²² *Contre les spéculateurs*, „M” 6 IX 1914.

²³ *Ce qui se passe à Paris*, „PP” 1 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 1 VIII 1914; *La tournée à Paris*, „J” 1 VIII 1914.

²⁴ *La soirée à Paris*, „E” 3 VIII 1914; *La manifestation contre la hausse du prix*, „PJ” 2 VIII 1914; *La soirée à Paris*, „PJ” 2 VIII 1914; *A Paris*, „PJ” 3 VIII 1914; *L'État de siège*, „PJ” 4 VIII 1914; *Les pillleurs de magasins*, „PJ” 7 VIII 1914; *Les pillleurs de magasins*, „PJ” 8 VIII 1914; *Un appel du préfet de Police aux commerçants et aux acheteurs*, „PJ” 7 VIII 1914; *Les incidents de la tournée*, „J” 3 VIII 1914; *Paris a mis hier plusieurs magasins au pilage*, „J” 3 VIII 1914; *Une épicerie saccagée*, „J” 4 VIII 1914; *L'alimentation de Paris*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Paris*, „PP” 3 VIII 1914; *Paris*, „PP” 4 VIII 1914; J.-B. Duroselle, *op. cit.*, s. 54. Excellent photographs documenting these incidents: S. Couriaud, *Paris. Première guerre mondiale (mémoire en images)*, Paris 2015, s. 15; M. Pignot, *1914–18. Paris dans la guerre*, Paris 2014, s. 17–21.

Since the beginning of the war the Parisians were also persistently tracking spies around them. There were reports about odd, foreign people seen here and there, foreigners were under surveillance by definition, Germans and Austrians living in Paris, because suspected, police reported on arresting pole who were improperly equipped with maps, trying to leave France illegally, examining train tracks around Paris and even – horror of horrors! – equipped with plans of the Eiffel Tower²⁵. Interestingly, this problem did not appear in the press too frequently. Perhaps it was due to cautious measures, additionally controlled by censorship in order not to trigger anxiety among the readers. On the other hand, the following reports also appeared: Mr. Alexander Briggmann jumped from the window after receiving notification on enlistment to the German army. He lived in France for many years and he did not want to fight against the country, and so he had chosen this desperate step similarly to a 42-year-old German rentier, Karl Trier (he threw himself under a tram no. 26), or a 56-year-old, Anna Catherine Schroeder, who jumped from the fifth floor not wanting to leave Paris²⁶.

Patriotic gestures were of various forms, i.e. initiatives (of residents of city council) to change the names of streets that had negative connotation. It was postulated i.e. to change rue de Berlin to rue de Liège, Allemagne Street to Jean Jaurès Street, similarly to Allemagne (line no. 2) metro station. Attempts were also made to pay tribute to Belgians – who defended themselves bravely – when the chairman of the civil council suggested that one of the boulevards should be given their name; the matter was ultimately not successful²⁷.

Around the 6th–7th of August, the first stage of Paris' adaptation to the war conditions was over²⁸. There were not easy days, the constant change of rules for the city's functioning presented the dynamics of the situation, but also the fact of the lack of previously prepared and calculated plan of action for a possible war time, the course of action for municipal services, emergency services, and military authorities of Paris. This is particularly clear if one remembers that in the first days of August no one took under

²⁵ *Un conseil de guerre de Paris*, „PJ” 16 VIII 1914; *On a arrêté à Paris un lieutenant autrichien*, „PJ” 20 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 7 VIII 1914; *Paris et le contre-espionnage*, „E” 10 VIII 1914; *On arrête des espions*, „J” 3 VIII 1914; *Les suspects*, „J” 5 VIII 1914; *Une alerte aux Champs-Élysées*, „J” 22 VIII 1914; *On arrête à Belleville un espion*, „J” 6 IX 1914; *La sécurité de Paris et la répression de l'espionnage*, „PP” 10 VIII 1914; *Encore un espion allemand*, „F” 7 IX 1914.

²⁶ *Un allemand*, „J” 4 VIII 1914; *Une allemande a préféré mourir que quitter Paris*, „J” 6 VIII 1914; *Deux allemands se tuent pour ne quitter pas la France*, „J” 9 VIII 1914.

²⁷ *La rue de Liège*, „PM” 13 IX 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „E” 6 IX 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „PP” 7 VIII 1914.

²⁸ *Paris reprend peu à peu ses habitudes*, „M” 7 VIII 1914.

consideration the possibility of the actual siege of the city, direct fights for it, or the march of the German army getting so deeply into the territory of France. Therefore, it seems that the authorities' activities should have been of a calmer, more coordinated, and less chaotic nature.

The rules of functioning and cooperation between the individual public authorities were established in the first few days. The city's collegiate bodies were suspended (i.a. due to the enlistment of a significant part of their members) and the decisions – in consultation with the prefect of the Seine department, police prefect, and military authorities – remained in the hands of the civil council's chairman, a poet and essayist, Adrien Mithourand, and Louis Dausset who was responsible for the budget²⁹. However, it is worth noticing that the non-enlisted members of the city authorities decided, somewhat voluntarily, to help and do all the necessary works for the city's benefit even though the city council did not operate³⁰. The residents of Paris were assured that both all the non-enlisted officials as well as the police would remain at their posts, and in the case of noticeable shortages of staff, it would be supplemented by retirees and women³¹. Other serious changes in the city management were made only towards the end of August when on the 26th the military command over Paris was taken over by Gen. Joseph Gallieni who escalated preparations for the city's defense.

Some of the challenges facing all kinds of public and management authorities of Paris remained unchanged. It was a challenge to provide food for the city, organize charity aid, take care of soldiers' families and unemployed, and manage transport. From the beginning of August these problems became a very clear determinant in the city's state of war, and they were also under a special supervision of the authorities similarly to the issues of order and security.

In accordance with the new regulatory rules, it was necessary to carry around papers presented at every request of the police. This concerned men in particular, who were required to document their military status. The lack of papers often resulted in arrests and detention at the police station. This triggered many controversies because the lack of documents not always resulted from the negligence of the detainees; some people fell victim to the administration's tardiness, but they were treated very badly during the arrests³². In order to make the residents' lives easier,

²⁹ *Les services publics municipaux de Paris*, „E” 2 VIII 1914.

³⁰ *A l'Hôtel de ville*, „E” 4 VIII 1914; *Le conseil municipal et la vie de Paris*, „J” 5 VIII 1914.

³¹ *Les services publics municipaux de Paris*, „E” 2 VIII 1914.

³² *Avis à la population*, „E” 15 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 18 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 22 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 25 VIII 1914; *A travers Paris*, „M” 27 VIII 1914; *Au Bois de Boulogne*, „PM” 26 VIII 1914; S. Couriaud, *op. cit.*, s. 13.

a decision was made to create a „carte de résidence à Paris“, which was to help during i.e. identification and swift examination of a person's status³³.

The city streets patrols were also intensified by using i.e. public transport or bicycles, particularly in the evenings and at night, and the proof of controlling the anxiety at the beginning of war was i.e. the decreasing number of arrests: in the second half of August it reduced from around 700 to the level from before the war, i.e. around 150 per day³⁴. Preventive measures were also taken, particularly regarding young people, i.e. professional corporations created special school-occupational courses with classes taking place every day apart from Thursdays and Sundays, providing both tasks and practical skills, and at the same time distracting young people from streets and inactivity³⁵.

The initial chaos in transport connected with the enlistment and car requisitions, limitations of traffic, partial closure of city outskirts was relatively quickly contained enough to be able to move around and go outside of Paris quite freely.

The hours of public transport access were successively extended, with the pre-war frequency restored at least partially, and new tram lines were opened around Paris and between Paris and banlieue (i.a. a tram line between Porte de Bagnolet and Place de la Bastille, or between Romainville and Montparnasse). In the middle of the month the city had at its disposal 450 vehicles daily, towards the end of it the trams run every 5 to 7 minutes, and from the beginning of September the metro was expected to run from 6 to 2 am³⁶. Casual initiatives that were to improve the commuting around the city were also established, i.e. the „Express-car“ company which used vehicles previously used for the transport of tourists, or transport organized by some professional corporations³⁷.

³³ *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „J“ 22 VIII 1914; *Une carte de résidence à Paris*, „PJ“ 22 VIII 1914.

³⁴ *Échos*, „E“ 7 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 30 VIII 1914; *Paris et le contre-espionnage*, „E“ 10 VIII 1914; *L'hygiène et sécurité de Paris*, „E“ 21 VIII 1914; *Contre les malfaiteurs*, „M“ 10 VIII 1914; *A travers Paris*, „M“ 27 VIII 1914; *A travers Paris*, „M“ 28 VIII 1914.

³⁵ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 15 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 9 IX 1914.

³⁶ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 12 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 17 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 18 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 21 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 26 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 12 VIII 1914; *Le service des tramways*, „E“ 18 VIII 1914; *Omnibus, tramways, métro*, „E“ 31 VIII 1914; *Les transports à Paris*, „PJ“ 14 VIII 1914; *Les transports en commun*, „M“ 14 VIII 1914; *Les tramways*, „M“ 21 VIII 1914; *Les transports*, „M“ 21 VIII 1914; *La réorganisation des transports en commun*, „J“ 6 VIII 1914; *La réorganisation des transports en commun*, „J“ 9 VIII 1914; *Ce soir métro et tramways marcheront jusqu'à 9 h*, „J“ 12 VIII 1914; *Les transports commerciaux*, „J“ 14 VIII 1914; *Les services du métro prolonge d'heure*, „J“ 17 VIII 1914; *Les tramways vont circuler jusqu'à 11 h du soir*, „J“ 18 VIII 1914.

³⁷ *Échos*, „E“ 14 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 17 VIII 1914; *Sur les boulevards*, „F“ 5 VIII 1914.

Traffic of private care was also subjected to regulations even though there were not many civilian drivers since the majority of cars had been confiscated right after the enlistment announcement³⁸. Those who kept their cars had a restricted possibility for leaving outside the outskirts of Paris (permissions), there was a ban in the Seine department (but not in Paris) on driving cars between 8pm and 6am, and then 4am, the traffic of civilians' cars around the city was limited to an absolute minimum (permissions were also required) while maintaining a complete priority for military vehicles³⁹. It should be noted as a curiosity that the police appealed to drivers, both military and civilian, for not being tempted to drive fast on the empty streets of Paris and for staying sensible and following speed limits⁴⁰.

Issue of the train connections' functioning was a separate problem. From the first day of the enlistment, the train stations became special zones, through which thousands of people came: those who, as usually, commuted using the local connections to get to work in Paris, enlisted men who traveled to their units, the Parisians who, if they could, traveled in relatively large crowds to other regions of the country, and finally Belgian and French refugees from the north of the country, for whom Paris was a stop on their way south or a temporary destination⁴¹. Train connections were to a large extent dependent on the army's needs; in the first days of August they were to a large extent suspended or reduced, local connections were greatly limited in terms of numbers, they were also subjected to similar restrictions as the public transport (i.e. limited work hours), and only towards the middle of the month the pre-war regularity and frequency was partly restored, which was recorded in the press in great details⁴². Military transports also had priority over connections for civilians.

³⁸ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 8 VIII 1914; *Réquisition d'automobiles*, „PM” 10 VIII 1914; *Le conseil municipal et la vie de Paris*, „J” 5 VIII 1914; *Un parc d'automobiles*, „F” 5 VIII 1914.

³⁹ *Échos*, „E” 31 VIII 1914; *La circulation des voitures dans Paris*, „E” 6 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 26 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 31 VIII 1914; *Pour circuler en automobile*, „J” 14 VIII 1914; *On pourra sortir de Paris*, „PJ” 9 VIII 1914.

⁴⁰ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 9 VIII 1914; *Pour les automobilistes*, „J” 13 VIII 1914; *La vitesse des automobile*, „PP” 13 VIII 1914; *Avis aux automobilistes*, „PP” 15 VIII 1914; M. Eksteins, *Święto wiosny. Wielka wojna i narodziny nowego wieku*, Poznań 2014, s. 90.

⁴¹ *Les allocations des réfugiés*, „J” 10 IX 1914; *Actes de solidarité française*, „PP” 7 VIII 1914; *Les réfugiée de belgique et du nord*, „PP” 27 VIII 1914; *Dans les gares*, „PP” 30 VIII 1914.

⁴² *Chemin de fer du Nord*, „E” 11 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 17 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 27 VIII 1914; *A Paris*, „PM” 1 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 17 VIII 1914; *A la gare de l'Est*, „PP” 1 VIII 1914; *La circulation des trains*, „PP” 11 VIII 1914; *La circulation des trains*, „PP” 26 VIII 1914.

Those who wanted to leave Paris could rely on many adjustments from the authorities (i.e. a possibility of free transport for people in an emergency, without means of subsistence, women, men over 60, people from central and southern regions⁴³), even though, generally speaking, civilians' travels were strictly controlled. The departing person had to have all the required documents and a travel permit, in the case of men – they had to have their enlistment's matters regulated, a special certificate if he was considered important from the security perspective, but if he was the only breadwinner in the family he could travel practically without any restrictions around France. A maximum of 30 kilograms of registered luggage was allowed for the journey and, interestingly enough, a dog could travel with his owner only in a cage as a registered luggage⁴⁴.

It was a great logistic challenge to provide the metropolis with food. Tons of food were brought every day to the Parisian Les Halles from Arpajon⁴⁵, the sea sides, from where fish and seafood reached the Parisian marches, from farms all over France, from where dairy products and various meats arrived. Maintaining the continuation in supplies became a challenge in the war reality, but also a necessity if the authorities wanted to avoid hunger and unrest in the city. Therefore, from the first day of mobilization, transport of food and prices on the wholesale markets and retail stores – of which there were 4342 in Paris alone – was under a special surveillance⁴⁶.

Organization of supplies was run by the city authorities and the Seine's department, Les Halles were the heart of provisioning, which were open 24 hours a day from the 3rd of August, and their atmosphere together with prices in force were an important determinant of the situation and the Parisians' mood⁴⁷.

As Maurice Barrès' wrote: the pulse of Paris beats in Les Halles⁴⁸. And in accordance with the press' reports, they did not doubt for a second the final victory and the safety of Paris, despite a few difficult moments. Apart

⁴³ *Le retour au pays*, „PP” 14 VIII 1914.

⁴⁴ *Ceux qui veut quitter Paris*, „E” 16 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 18 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 23 VIII 1914.

⁴⁵ A town situated less than 30 km south of Paris, together with the surrounding villages, supplied the Parisian les Halles in the large number of vegetables and fruits in the first half of the 20th c.

⁴⁶ *Les services publics municipaux de Paris*, „E” 2 VIII 1914; *L'Hôtel de ville l'approvisionnement de Paris*, „E” 5 VIII 1914; *L'alimentation de Paris*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *L'approvisionnement de Paris*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *Le préfet de la Seine organise l'approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 7 VIII 1914; *Le ravitaillement de la population*, „PP” 8 VIII 1914.

⁴⁷ *Les Halles resteront ouvertes jour et nuit*, „PJ” 3 VIII 1914.

⁴⁸ M. Barrès, *La confiance de Paris*, „E” 8 IX 1914.

from problems with food deliveries⁴⁹, another serious problem in many industries was the lack of people for labor due to the enlistment – in times of peace Les Halles employed 1273 sellers, 690 people provided transport of goods, around 500 people held various supporting functions. After the enlistment only around 400 sellers and around 200 assistants were left⁵⁰.

Meat, vegetables, eggs, milk, and flour found their way to the „front line” of Paris’ supplies, and the authorities – both through police’s activity and legal regulations, as well as through proclamations and information – tried very hard to assure the Parisians that the city’s food supply was not threatened⁵¹. This was also confirmed in a special interview by the head of Paris’ supply committee, which was established by the Seine prefect⁵², and the newspapers informed almost every day about stability of prices and more than sufficient supply of Les Halles with all the necessary products, about the tons of imported goods, and the dozens of railway cars that were bound for Paris on a daily basis⁵³, and information on temporary shortages was very few⁵⁴. With one exception. Milk – together with meat – was a strategic product, the regular supplies of which caused problems.

The problem of regular supplies of meat was solved by creating places in parks and recreational areas for walks in the outskirts of Paris where

⁴⁹ The army offered its help here in the case of necessity. *A l’Hôtel de Ville*, „E” 5 VIII 1914.

⁵⁰ *La négoce parisien et la mobilisation générale*, „PP” 24 VIII 1914.

⁵¹ *Le ravitaillement de la capitale*, „PP” 4 VIII 1914; *Le ravitaillement de Paris*, „PJ” 5 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „M” 2 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „M” 6 VIII 1914.

⁵² *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „E” 7 VIII 1914; interview with Louis Dausset responsible for Paris’ budget: *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „E” 18 VIII 1914.

⁵³ I.e. 13 VIII – 44.645 tons of vegetables and fruits were delivered to Les Halles, 16 VIII – 63.250.45 tons of meat, including 131 sides of beef, 16.639 kg of poultry and 18 tons of fish, 9 VIII – 91.265 vegetables and fruits, 27.688 chickens, 7 IX – 70 tons of butter and 30.000 kg of cheese. *Échos*, „E” 1 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 14 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 17 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 20 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 26 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 29 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *Échos*, „E” 7 IX 1914; *Échos*, „E” 10 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 10 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 12 VIII 1914; *Bois de Boulogne*, „PM” 30 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 5 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 6 VIII 1914; *Aux Halles centrales*, „PP” 8 VIII 1914; *La vie normale de Paris se reconstitue de jour en jour*, „PP” 19 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 18 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 23 VIII 1914; *Aux Halles centrales*, „PP” 12 VIII 1914; *Aux Halles centrales*, „PP” 26 VIII 1914.

⁵⁴ I.a. the lack of butter, rice, salt, fresh fruit was felt; periodically, there were no fish, the supply of horsemeat dropped, but coffee was not lacking. *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 9 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 10 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 18 VIII 1914; *L’approvisionnement de Paris*, „PP” 27 VIII 1914; *La situation aux Halle*, „PP” 4 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 30 VIII 1914; *Paris qui mange*, „M” 22 VIII 1914.

livestock was kept and then sent to butcheries. These unusual food „depots“, in which tens of thousands of cattle, sheep, and goats were guarded by the members of l'amée territoriale, allowed – more of less – to deal with disruptions in daily supplies⁵⁵. They also triggered a great interest in the Parisians who were going en masse to the Bois de Boulogne, Bois de Vincennes, Park in St. Cloud, or the Longchamp racetracks in order to admire these unusual views⁵⁶. Moreover, the city's strategic meat provisions were partially supplemented with the frozen meat supplies – mainly of rabbits and hares – from Australia, New Zealand, South America, or poultry from Russia⁵⁷.

Unfortunately, the milk supplies could not be regulated in the same way (even though some cattle was kept in the outskirts of Paris, it was dairy cattle). Due to a short date of consumption and inconveniences of its prolonged storage, the deliveries should take place on daily basis in order to regularly meet demand. This was impossible due to communication chaos and taking over the majority of the means of transport for the army's needs, and thus the problems of milk supplies soon started to escalate into one of the most pressing. Efforts were made to ensure their regularity and to make sure that mothers of small children had access to milk in case of its shortages in shops⁵⁸. This was important not only for practical, but also image reasons because crowds of mothers of small children queuing in front of shops – or desperately trying to reach mayoralties as it happened i.e. in the XX^e arrondissement⁵⁹ – were not conducive to creating the image of peace and the authorities having control over supplies in Paris. „Strategic“ significance of children and newborns for the demographic situation of France was also taken into consideration⁶⁰.

⁵⁵ *Le bétail et la viande abattue*, „PJ“ 2 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 13 VIII 1914; *Echos*, „E“ 18 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 22 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 31 VIII 1914; *Au Bois de Boulogne*, „E“ 8 IX 1914; *Marché aux bestiaux de la Villette*, „PP“ 4 IX 1914.

⁵⁶ *Échos*, „E“ 31 VIII 1914; *Au Bois de Boulogne*, „E“ 8 IX 1914; *Marché aux bestiaux de la Villette*, „PP“ 4 IX 1914.

⁵⁷ *Échos*, „E“ 14 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 26 VIII 1914; *Le ravitaillement de Paris*, „E“ 23 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 8 IX 1914; *On pourra manger du gibier à Paris*, „J“ 28 VIII 1914.

⁵⁸ *Une réunion de conseillers municipaux*, „PP“ 4 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E“ 19 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E“ 4 IX 1914; *La goutte de lait*, „E“ 20 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 7 IX 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 8 IX 1914; *La question du lait*, „J“ 22 VIII 1914; *Pendant la mobilisation*, „PM“ 2 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 11 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 19 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 26 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 7 IX 1914. In the period between 1 August to 4 September the supply of milk dropped from 470.000 to 285.000 litres, P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 235.

⁵⁹ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM“ 5 VIII 1914.

⁶⁰ P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 237.

The city's authorities, in agreement with the Seine prefecture, started to organize milk deliveries for children, the sick and elderly people, each mayoralty issued vouchers, on the basis of which it was possible to receive milk in designated places for a fee: one liter for a child under 15 months, half a liter for others⁶¹. Regardless of these efforts, the access to milk was limited and the authorities appealed to have it boiled before giving it to children since the milk often reached buyers not entirely fresh⁶².

Efforts were also made to have the bread deliveries undisturbed. All bakers who were subject to enlistment had their conscription deferred for 45 days⁶³, the decree of the Seine prefect also simplified the typed of baked bread to 2 types of plain bread: pain boulot et demi-fendu court, which did not triggered the Parisians' enthusiasm who complained about the lack of move fancy and varied pastries⁶⁴.

Even before Paris became the background of the war front, the outbreak of war had set special requirements for the system which – to simplify today's nomenclature – could be referred to as a social warfare, the institutional, private, and civic, but also the one created ad hoc, which was emerging as current problems appeared. Challenges that faced the charity included, first and foremost: nursing the injured in the emergency departments, that were hastily established, or small temporary hospitals, caring for women and children who remained with no or almost no livelihood due to the head of the family's enlistment (helping this group in need was of particular interest to the authorities), providing meals to those in greatest need, money benefits to those deprived of income, helping in finding a job, help with housing costs, extending the scope of shelters' and dosshouses' functioning, collecting donations and money, taking care of children, not only orphans, helping mothers with no livelihood, or tens of thousands of unemployed who suddenly appeared on the city street due to the shift in the economic life towards warfare. As one can see – the list is very long. Various forms of help often overlapped, similarly to specific target groups, at which the help was directed, the

⁶¹ *Le lait des enfants et des malades*, „PP” 4 VIII 1914; *La Question du lait*, „PP” 7 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 5 VIII 1914.

⁶² *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 13 VIII 1914.

⁶³ *Les boulangers mobilises à Paris*, „PP” 2 VIII 1914; *Les ouvriers boulangers de Paris ont un sursis*, „PJ” 2 VIII 1914; *Les ouvriers boulangers*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *Les ouvriers boulangers*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914. This concerned men who were subject to enlistment to the Armée territoriale française, a type of auxiliary forces that consisted of men aged between 34 and 49, who had gone through a military training, but who – for various reasons – did not qualify to the regular enlistment and reserves.

⁶⁴ *Échos*, „E” 18 VIII 1914.

efforts of the city and private people, as well as associations, intersected, but generally one can distinguish a few important areas of these efforts⁶⁵.

Helping the unemployed people became a great challenge since the first days of war⁶⁶. The first weeks of war significantly shook the job market. Enlisted men left vacant positions in their places of employment (i.e. as was the case of the city tram drivers), and at the same time thousands of people were losing their jobs because companies, factories, and service providers were closing down due to the lack of demand, disrupted deliveries of raw materials and the lack of staff caused by the enlistment (and those who stayed quickly ended on the street as they were unable to replace the absentees). The throng of unemployed was also joined by more or less qualified house servants⁶⁷. This created two opposing phenomena: a huge deficit of workers in some industries and, simultaneously, the emergence of thousands of unemployed, which was perfectly reflected by the advertisement of people searching for a job.

Help directed to the unemployed was an emergency aid, consisting – first and foremost – of free and cheap meals, and help with finding a job. As quickly as it was possible, Paris' authorities resumed all construction works and city works that provided employment, negotiated with entrepreneurs the conditions for re-opening their businesses in order to increase employment; charity organizations, industry associations, and trade unions became free go-betweens in job hunting, sometimes they also offered a temporary employment⁶⁸. Paris newspapers also join this movement decreasing the cost of advertising for those seeking for a job or searching for employees⁶⁹. There were also ideas to send the unemployed from Paris to rural areas where the lack of people for work due to the enlistment was felt in a critical harvest season⁷⁰. It was estimated

⁶⁵ *Les œuvres d'assistance*, „E” 4 IX 1914.

⁶⁶ *Les travaux dans Paris*, „E” 16 VIII 1914.

⁶⁷ This is clearly seen in the content of notices by people searching for jobs; in large part these were advertisements of people who worked as broadly understood house servants and people providing services associated with running households, educating and teaching children, etc.

⁶⁸ *L'Hôtel de Ville*, „E” 17 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 17 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 22 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 18 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 26 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „PM” 15 VIII 1914; *On va ouvrir des chantiers municipaux*, „PM” 16 VIII 1914; *La reprise du travail*, „PM” 17 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 18 VIII 1914; *Les députés de Paris s'occupent des chômeurs*, „M” 18 VIII 1914; *Pour la reprise de l'activité*, „J” 18 VIII 1914.

⁶⁹ I.e. “L'Écho de Paris” from 2.5 francs for the first verse to 0.5, for 2 and the following – 0.25 centimes. *Petits annonces*, „E” 17 VIII 1914.

⁷⁰ *Pour décongestionner Paris*, „J” 13 VIII 1914.

that more than 300.000 people remained jobless in Paris⁷¹. Already on the 1st of August the authorities of Paris allocated a benefit of 1.25 francs per day, plus 0.5 franc per a dependent child under the age of 16 for families left with no livelihood⁷².

The opening of hundreds of places where free or cheap meals were distributed was one of the most important forms of aid, both for the unemployed as well as others in need, the number of which was estimated at around 150 thousands daily⁷³. The Parisians' involvement in creating these places was so great⁷⁴ that the prefect of the Seine's department required registrations of these kind of initiatives in the mayoralties in order to avoid chaos and their overlapping⁷⁵. Private canteens created by wealthy citizens were opened; long-established organizations such as La Soupe Populaire, which stated distributing food on the 1st of September instead of the 1st of December as every year, started to work at a completely different scale⁷⁶. There were also places aimed at a very specific group of people, i.e. mothers and children⁷⁷. Meals were offered throughout the day or only lunch was served, completely free or at a symbolic fee, sometimes they were distributed on the basis of food stamps which one could get at mayoralties, professional syndicates, regional associations, or charity institutions, sometimes food was offered for a few hours of work⁷⁸. La Soupe Populaire distributed 3800 meals in 4 days in only one district, Goutte d'Or⁷⁹. Les repas populaires served 25 thousand meals daily for 25 centimes (paid in cash or food vouchers) in 31 places in Paris and in 17 places on the outskirts⁸⁰. „Paris-Midi” published a guide for lunch with recipes for several inexpensive but filling dishes in proportions for several people⁸¹. For example, a filling

⁷¹ *La reprise du travail*, „PM” 17 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de ville*, „M” 19 VIII 1914.

⁷² *L'Hôtel de Ville*, „E” 17 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 16 VIII 1914; *Allocation municipale*, „M” 15 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de ville*, „PP” 2 VIII 1914.

⁷³ *La solidarité de la population parisienne*, „M” 13 VIII 1914.

⁷⁴ Numerous initiatives such as the one undertaken by the Laffayette Gallery, which organized distribution of meals for 300 people in its district, *L'approvisionnement de Paris*, „E” 30 VIII 1914; *La solidarité de la population parisienne*, „M” 13 VIII 1914; *Les œuvres d'assistance*, „E” 4 IX 1914.

⁷⁵ *Les soupes populaires*, „E” 24 VIII 1914.

⁷⁶ *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 18 VIII 1914.

⁷⁷ *Échos*, „E” 15 VIII 1914.

⁷⁸ I.e. lunch for 0.35 francs in exchange for 4 hours of work. *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 29 VIII 1914.

⁷⁹ *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 29 VIII 1914.

⁸⁰ *Les repas populaires*, „E” 2 IX 1914.

⁸¹ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 15 VIII 1914.

soup – although not meeting today's nutritional standards – with bacon and cabbage was suggested (1 kg of lard, cabbage in any amount, onion or leek, 1 kg of potatoes, 6 liters of water, apples, bacon added separately in any available amount, recipe for 14 portions), onion and leek soup (the main ingredients were also onion, leek, lard and potatoes), bacon cooked with vegetables, recipe for 20 portions, 10 portions of rice with bacon, 15 portions of noodles with beer or lard.

Special care was provided for families, women and children – but not only – who were left behind by the enlisted men⁸². The first group was granted a special benefit introduced through the government's decree from the 5th of August of 1.5 francs per day, plus 50 centimes per every child⁸³. Women who did not qualify to this kind of help were supported by various associations and organizations, i.e. the French League of Women's Rights or associations of female cashiers, accountants, and trade workers; women who were pregnant or in childbirth were supported, help with taking care of children throughout the day was organized, some workplaces started to run something similar to nurseries and kindergartens in the factories in order to allow women to work, special places with care were founded for children who were without care or family due to the father's enlistment⁸⁴. There was a long-term plan to send them to the countryside, but in the short-term – temporary boarding houses, places of civic care, as well as those in private houses were run⁸⁵.

Establishment of dozens of places with medical, ambulatory, and hospital help, as well as help provided to refugees, was closely related to the reality of war⁸⁶. Medical aid places were established by the city's authorities, but they were also founded at the initiative of more or less

⁸² *Pour les femmes des combattants*, „E” 19 VIII 1914; *Gardiens d'enfants*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Echos*, „E” 22 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 26 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 28 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 8 VIII 1914; *Les secours organisés*, „PM” 15 VIII 1914; *Les allocations comme soutien de famille*, „M” 10 VIII 1914; *Les allocations aux familles des hommes sous les drapeaux*, „PP” 11 VIII 1914; *Les secours aux familles*, „PP” 12 VIII 1914.

⁸³ *L'approvisionnement de Paris*, „E” 18 VIII 1914; *Les allocations aux mobilisés et leurs familles*, „M” 25 VIII 1914.

⁸⁴ *Les garderies d'enfants*, „PM” 3 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 8 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 11 VIII 1914; *Les secours organisés*, „PM” 15 VIII 1914; *L'approvisionnement de Paris*, „E” 18 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „PP” 2 VIII 1914; *Le réouverture des écoles parisiennes*, „J” 5 VIII 1914.

⁸⁵ *L'Hôtel de Ville*, „E” 5 VIII 1914; *Echos*, „E” 15 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 17 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 21 VIII 1914.

⁸⁶ *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 29 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 30 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 4 VIII 1914; *Dans les gares*, „PP” 31 VIII 1914; *Récits de blessés*, „PP” 1 IX 1914.

famous private people, i.e. Isadora Duncan⁸⁷. On the other hand, refugees were a completely new element in Paris' landscape, proving that the war was really taking place. The Parisian train stations were the first eye-witnesses of their drama, but for the city's authorities their presence in Paris had a very practical dimension: those who traveled further down south, had to have their travel and temporary help in the city secured, and those who decided to remain in Paris – to secure their accommodation and food. Towards the end of August hundreds of exhausted French and Belgian families arrived in Paris together with the material remains of their previous lives, and they were settled in Cirque de Paris, military barracks, schools, and hotels⁸⁸.

The war chaos and people's displacement was also the problem of those foreigners who lived in Paris, both those whose status was regulated as well as those who neglected to complete all the formalities, Germans and Austrians, as well as all other nationalities, those who were driven to Paris by the war and those who often lived in the city for many years, but not always had their stay in France legalized. Directly after the enlistment and the war's outbreak, the offices and the prefecture were under a siege for this reason; there were recorded 1300 people whose status was not entirely regulated, around 5 thousand people who lodged an application to relocate to France, or requests for naturalization. Special procedure were also created for those foreigners who wanted to leave Paris in the first days of the enlistment. Nevertheless, more than 4 thousand people were in Paris in order to regulate their status under a special supervision of the authorities towards the end of the month (i.a. in the Depot prison, or in the Condorceta high school)⁸⁹.

In addition to problems with jobs and finding means for life, many families started to struggle with accommodation issues due to problems with paying for the rent, which resulted from their difficult living situation⁹⁰. The problem became visible already in the second half of August; the city authorities, charity organizations, and the press appealed to apartments' owners to be flexible and understanding, but the problem was so wide-spread that appeals alone were not enough. The decree from the 14th of August banned the cancellation of the lease only due to the lack of rent payments. This moratorium was to be in force for 90 days from

⁸⁷ *Le pavillon de Mm I. Duncan*, „PP” 7 VIII 1914.

⁸⁸ *Échos*, „E” 27 VIII 1914; *Réfugies belges*, „J” 27 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „J” 28 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „PJ” 26 VIII 1914; *Réfugies belges et français*, „PP” 29 VIII 1914.

⁸⁹ *Les étrangers résidant à Paris*, „PJ” 26 VIII 1914; *La tournée à Paris*, „J” 1 VIII 1914; *Disposition concernant les étrangers*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *A l'Hôtel de Ville*, „PP” 7 VIII 1914; *Paris attend la guerre*, „F” 2 VIII 1914; *Les étrangers régularisent leur situation*, „Ex” 1 VIII 1914.

⁹⁰ *Échos*, „E” 27 VIII 1914.

the date of the decree even though it did not always bring the expected results, i.e. protection of the soldiers' families⁹¹; it also caused a protest of the tenement houses' owners who complained that their own livelihood was being taken away from them⁹².

What is interesting and telling a lot about the residents of Paris, one of the most frequently reappearing problem in the context of humanitarian aid was the fate of artists and theaters' employees. Life of theaters basically ceased to exist on the very first day of the enlistment even though some theaters, i.e. Comédie Française, tries to uphold its activities⁹³. Actors and theater employees who were not enlisted ended up without any means for living, and many initiatives, ideas, and appeals for help appeared in the public space⁹⁴. For example, the minister of culture, Albert Sarraut, agreed for the annual subsidy (800.000 francs) given to the Paris Opera was allocated to needs of staff, technicians, etc.⁹⁵; eateries with cheap or free food were created, as well as places inter-mediating in finding a temporary job; efforts were made to bring the world of the theater back to life at least to a small extent. On the basis of the press records, one could state that there were three special groups requiring help: unemployed, wives, and children of the enlisted soldiers, and artist together with theater employees.

It was an important issue for the life of Paris to maintain a proper condition of hygiene, health, and cleanliness. The press records present an optimistic image on this matter⁹⁶. There were detailed guidelines and appeals by i.e. the Seine's prefect on the matter of keeping clean (i.e. how often one should clean and wash sensitive rooms in houses)⁹⁷, and the initial fears of the residents, particularly about the condition of drinking water, were quickly silenced. The only matter that – according to the city

⁹¹ *Question des Loyers*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Une circulaire pour les logeurs*, „E” 30 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 25 VIII 1914.

⁹² *Pour les propriétaires*, „M” 27 VIII 1914.

⁹³ *Courrier des théâtres*, „PJ” 1 VIII 1914.

⁹⁴ *Dans les théâtres*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Courrier des théâtres*, „PM” 2 VIII 1914; *Organisation des secours*, „PM” 11 VIII 1914; *Les secours organisées*, „PM” 26 VIII 1914; *Les secours organisées*, „PM” 28 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 29 VIII 1914; *Pour les gens de théâtre les repas du jardin de Paris*, „PM” 1 IX 1914; *Comédie Français*, „E” 7 VIII 1914; *Echos*, „E” 25 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 30 VIII 1914; *Pour l'œuvre des artistes*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *La soirée d'hier*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *Pour les artistes*, „J” 22 VIII 1914.

⁹⁵ *Dans les théâtres*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 9 IX 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 10 IX 1914; *Paris et la guerre*, „J” 11 IX 1914.

⁹⁶ *L'hygiène et la sécurité de Paris*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Paris se porte bien*, „M” 11 VIII 1914; *La situation à Paris est satisfaisant*, „PJ” 20 VIII 1914; *La situation à Paris*, „PP” 20 VIII 1914.

⁹⁷ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 10 IX 1914.

authorities and military authorities of Paris – required a special attention was the issue of vaccinations. Appeals were made from the beginning of war – through official announcements, press information, private people's and institutions' advertisements – about the necessity to vaccinate and places where this could be done for free⁹⁸. And there were many such places in Paris. Apart from medical institutions, these option was offered i.e. by individual physicians who vaccinated people in designated places for a few hours a week, various associations and organization such as the editorial office of „L'Auto”, or the Grande Loge de France⁹⁹. These types of announcements could be found in the newspapers a few times a week. Appeals were made to get vaccinated first and foremost against typhus and smallpox with the hope of avoiding the epidemic which could have been catastrophic for the city. It seems that an important role was played here by the memory of 1870–1871 when around 200.000 people died because of the typhus and smallpox epidemic¹⁰⁰.

For this reason the issue of garbage collection and order in the enclaves of the poor – affected by unemployment and homelessness – was under a special supervision of the city authorities¹⁰¹. From the times of Eugène Poubelle (1883–1896), a prefect of the Seine's department, Paris had a well-functioning system of collection, disposal, and even division of garbage¹⁰², which became strongly disturbed by the war due to difficulties with emptying the containers. Therefore, in order to avoid rotting of the wastes, stench, and possible illnesses, the city authorities appealed to burn all garbage apart from those that could not be burnt, i.e. ceramics or ash¹⁰³. Removal of bodies of dead animals from public space – by organizing a special civic service for this purpose – was also placed under

⁹⁸ *L'hygiène et la sécurité de Paris*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Echos*, „E” 19 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 22 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 22 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 1 IX 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 13 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 11 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 22 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 28 VIII 1914; *Vaccination gratuites*, „J” 3 IX 1914; *Pour éviter les épidémies*, „PJ” 10 VIII 1914; *Faites-vous vacciner*, „M” 10 VIII 1914; *Les vaccinations*, „PP” 10 VIII 1914; *Vaccination antiovariologique*, „PP” 13 VIII 1914.

⁹⁹ *Échos*, „E” 19 VIII 1914; *Vaccination*, „PM” 2 IX 1914.

¹⁰⁰ P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 235.

¹⁰¹ *Échos*, „E” 22 VIII 1914; *Echos*, „E” 30 VIII 1914.

¹⁰² For fascinating details of this garbage revolution, but also of Paris' modernisation, see: J.-H. Jugie, *Poubelle – Paris (1883–1896): La collecte des ordures ménagères à la fin du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1993. The name of the prefect-reformer entered everyday language and now „poubelle” in French language simply means a bit, container for garbage; P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 235–237.

¹⁰³ *L'hygiène publique*, „J” 2 VIII 1914.

supervision¹⁰⁴. As has been already stated, the access to drinking water was secured and the Parisians' anxieties expressed at the beginning of September that the fighting taking place on the Marne and Ourcq Channel¹⁰⁵ could have had influenced its condition were quickly calmed down with the authorities' announcements¹⁰⁶.

However, the commissions for unemployment and hygiene in the city council drew attention to the fact that without a special supervision and help the problem of impurities, homelessness, and unemployment could shake Paris' system of hygiene and lead to dramatic consequences. The city actively tried to fight unemployment viewed as a source of various, not only economic, troubles; it created new accommodations co-operating with private institutions with long history, as well as with spontaneously created temporary shelters for i.e. orphans or children without parental care¹⁰⁷. However, the city sometimes also fell victim to criticism when i.e. the town hall was reproached for dirt and chaos in Les Halles¹⁰⁸.

However, the statistics were on Paris' side, indicating that the major hygienic threats were avoided thus far. The number of deceased people in the 33rd week of the year (10–16 August) was 657 in comparison to 854 one week earlier and 775 on average for the season. This included 5 people of died of typhus (29 new cases), 1 of smallpox and 10 of measles with 103 new cases, and 1 of pertussis (56 new cases), diphtheria 2/28. 8 people were murdered and there were 6 suicides. The next week, the 34th week (17–23 August), 777 people died, but deaths due to diseases which were dangerous for the city were few again: 9 people died of typhus, 1 of measles, 1 of scarlet fever, 4 of pertussis, there were also 13 victims of violence and 7 suicides¹⁰⁹.

The first weeks of the war did not affect negatively the number of weddings or childbirths, but the overall number of people changed decisively, just as the city's structure regarding residents' sex and age. In the already mentioned 34th week, 642 weddings took place, 823 childbirths were registered (413 boys and 410 girls), including 692 legitimate children and 131 children out of wedlock, in comparison to 624 weddings and 736 childbirths a week earlier, which was statistically close to the

¹⁰⁴ *L'Enlèvement des animaux morts*, „E” 13 IX 1914; *Dans Paris*, „PP” 12 IX 1914.

¹⁰⁵ Around a 100 km-long canal which was a part of the network giving Paris access to water was initially providing drinking water, but in 1914 only water for industrial needs was available.

¹⁰⁶ *Échos*, „E” 9 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 8 IX 1914; *L'eau à Paris*, „M” 8 IX 1914.

¹⁰⁷ *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 21 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E” 22 VIII 1914.

¹⁰⁸ *Échos*, „E” 9 IX 1914.

¹⁰⁹ *L'État sanitaire de Paris*, „J” 27 VIII 1914; *L'État sanitaire de Paris*, „E” 4 IX 1914.

period from before the war¹¹⁰. According to the data from the mayoralities, in the first days of enlistment they experienced a real siege and the number of marriages grew suddenly (on the 2–6 of August 959 marriages took place), in some districts or villages near Paris the number increased almost twice¹¹¹. At the same time, the census conducted at the beginning of September in Paris and its surrounding areas showed clearly how much – around 30% – the number of population had decreased: there were 2 006 786 of people living in 887 267 households in comparison to 2 833 351 and 1 123 634 from the census of 1911¹¹². This was related not only to the enlistment, but also with around half a million of Parisians leaving the city because of the war¹¹³.

Trying to recover the city's life to the greatest extent and as quickly as it was possible, schools were opened, exams were resumed at the Paris Academy associating all the universities of Paris; academic associations and French Academy – taking it as a point of their honor to maintain their activities regardless of difficulties – were running¹¹⁴. The residents did not resign from their normal meetings and walks, and due to restriction in the cafes' and restaurants' opening hours, the role of a lounge place was taken over by Les Champs-Élysées, where the Parisians craving social life could be met until late hours¹¹⁵. Trips to places where animals – which were the base for Paris' supplies in meat and milk (i.a. Longchamp, Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes) – were kept became an attraction; the ramparts around the city triggered a great interest and were a fashionable goal of Sunday excursions and children's play, and the press appealed to not close the parks which were regularly visited by mothers with their children (such fate threatened the Monceau Park) and for the war to not

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 8 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 9 IX 1914; *L'État sanitaire de Paris*, „J” 27 VIII 1914.

¹¹¹ *Le mariage avant la bataille*, „J” 8 VIII 1914.

¹¹² *Le recensement du camp retranché de Paris*, „E” 9 IX 1914; *Le recensement de Paris*, „PP” 1 IX 1914; *Dans Paris*, „PP” 9 IX 1914; *Les recensements parisiens*, „J” 7 IX 1914; *Les premiers résultats du recensement parisien*, „J” 8 IX 1914.

¹¹³ J.-B. Duroselle, *op. cit.*, s. 55; M. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, s. 89; M. Ambroise-Rendu, *Paris en guerre 1914–1919. Comment la capitale a géré le conflit et la Victoire*, Paris 2020, s. 24.

¹¹⁴ *La vie intellectuelle à Paris*, „PJ” 12 IX 1914; *Les examens à l'académie de Paris*, „PJ” 13 IX 1914; *Réouverture des écoles parisiennes*, „PP” 5 VIII 1914; *Réouvertures des écoles*, „J” 7 VIII 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 31 VIII 1914; *A l'Académie Française*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *L'Université de Paris rouvrira en octobre*, „E” 9 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 9 IX 1914.

¹¹⁵ *Échos*, „E” 26 VIII 1914.

take over more public space than necessary¹¹⁶. For war was war, but Paris was supposed to remain Paris, even if in a slightly different garment.

The war also introduced a phenomenon which in itself became a certain entertainment for the Parisians – i.e. the bomb attacks of the zeppelins and aircrafts known as Taubes, i.e. pigeons¹¹⁷. They appeared over Paris on the 30th of August, but neither the aircrafts, nor rather humble bombardments (there were i.e. 3–4 bombs thrown during this kind of action) triggered the Parisians' terror, but rather – curiosity. Perhaps this was due to the fact that there were more leaflets than bombs thrown over Paris, and perhaps because – as suggested by B. W. Tuchman – they replaced the sinful entertainment of drinking absinthe; nevertheless, the preserved photographs present rather serious damages and they deny the statement that they were a mere curiosity and entertainment¹¹⁸. The flights became added to a certain calendar of each day as they were taking place quite regularly around 4–5 pm and were observed with interest. Some people would even leave their companions informing rather jokingly that they had to return home because they were waiting for the visit of „their“ zeppelin¹¹⁹. At the same time, the Parisians were calmed down, stating that the city was safe, guarded by the French airmen, and the wreck of a zeppelin shot in Belgium and brought to Paris, and ceremoniously driven around the city, was to prove that the aircrafts could

¹¹⁶ *Échos*, „E“ 17 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 20 VIII 1914; *L'Âme de Paris*, „PJ“ 8 VIII 1914; *Au Bois de Boulogne*, „PM“ 26 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 26 VIII 1914; *Au Bois de Boulogne*, „E“ 8 IX 1914; *Dans la rue*, „M“ 13 VIII 1914; *Promenade parisiens*, „PP“ 7 IX 1914; *Un dimanche à Paris pendant la guerre*, „Ex“ 6 IX 1914; Ph. Mellot, *Paris en guerre, 1914–1918. Le quotidien des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards, des «embusqués» et des profiteurs*, Paris 2014, s. 41.

¹¹⁷ *La „Physionomie“ des avions allemands*, „PP“ 6 IX 1914; *Le „taube“ n'est pas venu*, „M“ 4 IX 1914; *Un aéroplane allemand lance des bombes sur Paris*, „J“ 31 VIII 1914; *Les taubes de cinq heures*, „J“ 3 IX 1914; *Un aéroplane allemand*, „E“ 31 VIII 1914; *Aéroplanes allemands au dessus de Paris*, „E“ 2 IX 1914; *Les avions allemands*, „E“ 5 IX 1914; *A Paris*, „PM“ 2 VIII 1914; *Les visites des avions allemands*, „PM“ 2 IX 1914; *Un aéroplane allemand a jeté hier des bombes*, „PJ“ 31 VIII 1914; *Échos*, „E“ 10 IX 1914; *Les avions allemands*, „E“ 4 IX 1914; *Les visites quotidien des avions à Paris*, „E“ 3 IX 1914; *A propos des bombes*, „PM“ 1 IX 1914; *Un autre avion allemand est passé sur Paris*, „J“ 1 IX 1914; *Nouvelles visites d'avions allemands*, „J“ 2 IX 1914; *Un aéroplan allemand lance trois bombes sur Paris*, „Ex“ 31 VIII 1914; *Un avion allemand sur Paris*, „F“ 31 VIII 1914; *Un autre aéroplane*, „F“ 1 IX 1914; *La guerre aérienne au dessus de Paris*, „F“ 4 IX 1914; B.W. Tuchman, *op. cit.*, s. 463–464; M. Ambroise-Rendu, *op. cit.*, s. 82–83; Ph. Mellot, *op. cit.*, s. 89–90.

¹¹⁸ B.W. Tuchman, *op. cit.*, s. 463; P. Darmon, *op. cit.*, s. 22, 339; M. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, s. 89; M. Ambroise-Rendu, *op. cit.*, s. 82–83; S. Couriaud, *op. cit.*, s. 32–33; Ph. Mellot, *op. cit.*, s. 89–90; <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=9ccc3c23516f491f93867232f2e9bac3> [dostęp: 25 XI 2020].

¹¹⁹ *Paris en l'air*, „J“ 4 VIII 1914.

be defeated¹²⁰. These kinds of street ceremonies which were supposed to support good mood, calmness, and patriotism were even more, and the most spectacular of those were the parades with standards won against the hostile army. They were ceremoniously brought to Paris, presented in the Élysée Palace, and then taken to the Les Invalides where they were to be hanged among other war trophies of France¹²¹.

More frequent bombardments at the beginning of September as well as an increasing number of Belgian and French refugees arriving in the city were a sign of the approaching frontline¹²². Hectic preparations for a direct battle for Paris were clearly seen towards the end of August. The presence of war made itself felt clearly and in many ways. First of all, a direct control of the city was taken over by Gen. J. Gallieni who worked closely with the prefect of the Seine's department, Marcel Delanney, the police prefect, Émile Marie Laurente, and the head of Paris' city council, Adrien Mithouard; the press presented a large number of declarations, announcements, but also texts and proclamations, which purpose was to mobilize the residents, but also to calm them down, imparting encouragement and faith in the final victory¹²³. This was particularly important in the fact that the central government had left Paris and had moved to Bordeaux, which inevitably undermined the residents' optimism.

In order not to draw the Parisians' attention to potentially unhappy news, it was forbidden to shout out the titles of articles, and the newsboys were only allowed to shout the titles of newspapers, which broke the long-standing tradition of the Parisian street¹²⁴.

The stock exchange and schools were closed as they were meant to become the potential field hospitals¹²⁵. Very strict rules on moving

¹²⁰ *Un zeppelin vent à Paris*, „M” 30 VIII 1914.

¹²¹ *Le drapeau*, „PP” 18 VIII 1914; *Un drapeau*, „J” 18 VIII 1914; *Un drapeau*, „J” 19 VIII 1914; *Drapeaux allemands*, „J” 10 IX 1914; *Le sixième drapeaux*, „J” 11 IX 1914; *Le drapeau*, „PM” 18 VIII 1914; *Encore un triomphe*, „M” 11 VIII 1914; *Le drapeau allemand a été apporté à Paris hier*, „M” 17 VIII 1914; *Comment fut pris le drapeau*, „PP” 20 VIII 1914; *Le drapeau*, „PJ” 18 VIII 1914; *Le drapeau*, „PJ” 19 VIII 1914.

¹²² S. Couriaud, *op. cit.*, s. 52; M. Pignot, *op. cit.*, s. 34–37; Ph. Mellot, *op. cit.*, s. 77–83.

¹²³ M. Barres, *Le rôle de Paris*, „E” 3 IX 1914; *Bulletin*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *La défense de Paris*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *Unanimes, unis par le cœur*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *Sans trouble*, „PP” 3 IX 1914; *La sécurité de Paris*, „PP” 4 IX 1914; *La forteresse de Paris est une des plus fortes du monde*, „PP” 4 IX 1914; *Attaque? Peut être pris?*, „PP” 5 IX 1914; *La défense de Paris*, „J” 4 IX 1914; *Paris s'apprête à combattre*, „M” 4 IX 1914; *Ce qu'on voit dans Paris*, „PJ” 2 IX 1914; *Les mesures de protection à Paris*, „PM” 30 VIII 1914.

¹²⁴ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 1 IX 1914; *Dans la rue*, „PP” 2 IX 1914.

¹²⁵ *Fermeture des écoles*, „PP” 5 IX 1914; *La bourse des valeurs est fermée*, „J” 4 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 4 IX 1914; *Les écoles sont fermées*, „PM” 5 IX 1914.

around the city and leaving it once again appeared, and one of the first was the ban on leaving Paris by private cars from the 3rd of September from 7.30 pm¹²⁶. Obviously, every car leaving Paris had to have a special permit issued by the police prefecture. There were also restrictions in the hours when Paris' outskirts were open, some of them were completely closed and some others (Bercy, Vincennes, Lilas, Pantin, la Villette, la Chapelle, St.-Denis, St.-Ouen, Clichy, Porte-Maillot, St.-Cloud, Versailles, Orléans, Italie, la Gare, Asnières) were closed from 8 pm to 5 am for all traffic apart from mail, supplies, matters regarding the army, and vehicles moving with special permits. Pedestrians could move freely¹²⁷.

According to the press news, the city was generally quiet, there was no panic, but an increased traffic at strain stations, combined with facilitating evacuation, reminded of the approaching frontline. Mainly women and children were leaving the city, and trains were far from the pre-war comfort: journey to Lyon lasted 25 hours and to Marseille – 36 hours¹²⁸. There was also an announcement of a partly voluntary and partly compulsory (for the residents of the part of the defense zone that was most distant from Paris) evacuation in the military zone around the city, between its borders and the line of ramparts and defense, i.e. „camp de retranché”. This was done thanks to free trains provided by the authorities, which were designed for a few thousand people and which run between the 5th and 10th of September (two to four daily), i.a. from Yvry or Courcelle¹²⁹.

The defense was to rely on a line of fortifications from the 1840s, which did not turn out to be successful in 1870–1871, but were extended and expanded from 1878 in a strip of around 12 km from the city perimeters and became the core of Paris' defense. They formed an oval

¹²⁶ *La sortie des automobiles de Paris*, „E” 3 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 1 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 2 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 3 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 4 IX 1914; *Interdiction aux automobiles de sortir de Paris*, „PP” 2 IX 1914; *Ce qu'on voit dans Paris*, „PJ” 2 IX 1914; *Defense aux automobiles civiles de sortir de Paris*, „Ex” 2 IX 1914.

¹²⁷ *Les portes des Paris*, „E” 4 IX 1914; *Autour de la guerre*, „F” 3 IX 1914; *L'entrée et la sortie de Paris*, „J” 4 IX 1914; *Pour sortir de Paris*, „M” 4 IX 1914; *Le passage aux portes de Paris*, „PJ” 4 IX 1914.

¹²⁸ *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 30 VIII 1914; *Quelques aspects de Paris*, „PM” 5 IX 1914; *Sans trouble*, „PP” 3 IX 1914; *Avis aux zoniers des fortifications de Paris*, „PP” 5 IX 1914; *L'affluence dans les gares*, „J” 2 IX 1914; *La défense de Paris*, „M” 30 VIII 1914; *Pour ceux qui veulent quitter Paris*, „M” 1 IX 1914; *Trains gratuits*, „M” 5 IX 1914; *Paris sans Parisiens*, „M” 6 IX 1914.

¹²⁹ *La Défense de Paris. Pour dégager la zone militaire*, „E” 5 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 2 IX 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 5 IX 1914; *Le Camp retranché de Paris*, „PJ” 28 VIII 1914; *Évacuation de la zone militaire de Paris*, „PJ” 30 VIII 1914; *Avis à la population résidant dans la zone des fortifications*, „PJ” 5 IX 1914; *Évacuation de la zone militaire*, „Ex” 30 VIII 1914; *Autour de la guerre*, „F” 3 IX 1914.

measuring around 35 km from north to south, and 45 km from west to east, and around 145 km in circumference. In August 1914, a great amount of intense work was put into strengthening the fortifications, employing i.a. more than 800 engineers, architects, and technical directors¹³⁰; the works also mobilized numerous volunteers, i.a. veterans, members of local and technical associations, owners of any available vehicles (motor-bikes, bicycles, cars, and horses), all those who were not enlisted, but had a military training, or those with technical-engineer degrees¹³¹. An intensive information campaign on how to behave in the case of fire, on the location of fire hydrants, etc., on emergency numbers for emergency services was also conducted¹³². In other words – the image emerging from the press reports is Paris that was intensively getting ready for the fight, but also calm, hopeful, and trying to live its normal life, not losing its character and spirit.

The live memory of siege from 1870–1871 was important in this atmosphere. The associations were self-evident and almost every report, commentary, report on the situation in Paris and preparations for the defense had references to those events. Not only were there people who were alive and who remembered them, but the French collective consciousness was extremely strongly shaped by that war. It cast its shadow over the life of the entire generation, it influences the shape of foreign affairs and strategic plans in case of war, and even the state's demographic politics remained overshadowed by the fear that the Second Reich had a considerably higher birth rate. It also left in the Parisians' memory the horror of bombardments, raging sicknesses, hunger, mass mortality of infants, destruction in the city, the symbol of which was the Tuileries Palace in flames¹³³. Therefore, this time assurances were made with great emphasis that Paris was to face the German army in readiness that the city had not known during the previous war. References and memories

¹³⁰ http://www1.onf.fr/forets-grande-guerre/sommaire/forets_remarquables/forets-franciliennes/20140606-102914-943627/@@index.html [dostęp: 25 XI 2020]. Le Camp retranché de Paris: <http://archives.valdoise.fr/n/parcours-croise-vivre-entre-le-front-et-paris-la-guerre/n:132> [dostęp: 25 XI 2020]; *Les lignes de défense de Paris*, „PP” 4 IX 1914; *Les belges et la défense de Paris*, „J” 4 IX 1914; *Le recrutement pour la défense*, „J” 6 IX 1914; *Si Paris était attaqué*, „M” 3 IX 1914; J. Doise, M. Väisse, *Politique étrangère de la France. Diplomatie et outil militaire 1871–1991*, Paris 1992, s. 260–265; Ph. Mellot, *op. cit.*, s. 55–59; M. Ambroise-Randu, *op. cit.*, s. 44–46.

¹³¹ *Les mesures de protection à Paris*, „PM” 30 VIII 1914; *Pour les Parisiens*, „PM” 31 IX 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 5 IX 1914; *Renseignements Divers*, „E” 6 IX 1914; *Échos*, „E” 7 IX 1914; *Echos*, „E” 8 IX 1914.

¹³² *Consigne en cas d'incendie*, „E” 5 IX 1914.

¹³³ In this case the communards were to be blamed.

that appeared spoke about it in every published verse¹³⁴. They referred to heroism, but they were also meant to strengthen determination and make sure that Paris would be neither defeated nor conquered the second time. As Maurice Barrès wrote – the hordes of barbarians will circle around Paris, but it will remain unshakable¹³⁵.

The battle of the Marne (6–9 September), so important for the fate of the war, ended the period of Paris entering into a new everyday life. As the only capital of one of the greatest powers, the city was directly out the back of the war frontline, within 50 km from the ongoing fights, and for this reason the war quicker and stronger entered its streets, left its mark on the city's everyday life. Those almost six weeks of August and September changed the structure of Paris population, its daily rhythm, residents' duties, and leisure activities, management of the city and its finances, the streets' appearances¹³⁶. The center of gravity in the city's life was shifted to the issues of security, food supplies, taking care of those who were directly or indirectly affected by war (hence, a large number of places where every form of help was provided, from taking care of children to places with free vaccinations and meals). The war was taking place in the background and the Parisians, similarly to all the French, were slowly realizing that the pre-war self-confidence about the victory – strongly enhanced by the official propaganda – fell into ruin in the first several days of the war¹³⁷; however, reading the press gives an impression that the essence of the Parisians' life remained unthreatened, that the war did not cast a shadow over all the elements of daily life even if the cafes were closed earlier, the possibilities of moving around the city were limited, the job market did not function normally, and the charity canteens replaced the restaurants. However, oysters arrived to Les Halles at the beginning of September and the Parisian women did not forget about fashion even in the war circumstances¹³⁸.

The press reports clearly minimized inconveniences and the war misfortunes, looking at them through the perspective of the Parisians' character, spirit, and heroism. If they referred to the injured and refugees it was done only through the prism of the Parisians' dedication,

¹³⁴ *Paris se porte bien*, „M” 11 VIII 1914; *La belle attitude du peuples de Paris*, „PP” 13 VIII 1914; *Attaque? Paris être pris*, „PP” 5 IX 1914; *Les mesures de protection à Paris*, „PM” 30 VIII 1914; *A propos de bombes*, „PM” 1 IX 1914; *A Paris*, „J” 2 VIII 1914; *Divers*, „J” 13 IX 1914; *Le calme de Paris*, „PP” 12 VIII 1914; *La vie normale de Paris*, „PP” 19 VIII 1914; Ph. Mellot, s. 65; M. Ambroise-Randu, *op. cit.*, s. 44–45.

¹³⁵ M. Barrès, *Sur les Tours de la Ville*, „E” 5 IX 1914.

¹³⁶ *Échos*, „E” 6 IX 1914.

¹³⁷ J.-B. Duroselle, *op. cit.*, s. 59–60.

¹³⁸ *Les premières huitres*, „F” 6 IX 1914; *Échos*, „E” 6 IX 1914.

generosity, and an excellent organization of aid, both private, civil, and public. If cars were requisitioned – information appeared on their fantastic display in Les Champs-Élysées. If bombardments took place – they were a harmless, curiosity-driven entertainment, similar to woodlands, parks, and race tracks turned into temporary pastures for cattle. However, it is possible to extract from these reports a set of problems and issues which became a center of new, war-like Paris, indicating a transformation for the next 4 years from the city of lights to the city of war.

(translated by Anna Miączewska)

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