

CONSTRUCTING A SPATIAL IMAGINARY: THE FORMATION AND RE-
PRESENTATION OF MONTE CARLO AS A VACATION-LEISURE PARADISE, 1854-1950

BY

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CONSTRUCTING A SPATIAL IMAGINARY: THE FORMATION AND RE-
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Abstract

In 1854, Monaco faced an uncertain future. The principality subsisted on a struggling agro-economy, encountered serious challenges to maintaining its sovereignty, and contained a disgruntled populace overburdened with taxes and state monopolies. European contemporaries perceived the small state as a premodern, peripheral backwater and as a minor stop on the Grand Tour. Within a few short decades, perceptions of Monaco and its newly-founded city, Monte Carlo, changed so radically that the place became the premier vacation-leisure destination for European and American elites and a byword for luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. Monte Carlo maintained its reputation as a vacation-leisure paradise and as a playground for the wealthy and sophisticated for 150 years. This dissertation examines how, despite seemingly insurmountable disadvantages, Monaco established and maintained a thriving tourist economy from its early unsuccessful attempts to found a tourism industry in 1854 until its irrefutable operation as a site of mass tourism by 1950. It contextualizes how construction of a spatial imaginary, built through a consistent projection of the city's image, meticulously-crafted through representational space, and mediated, re-mediated, and disseminated by visitors' accounts, became crucial to Monte Carlo's lasting success as a remunerative resort-tourism destination. Contrary to previous histories of Monte Carlo's tourism economy that have emphasized the roles of the state's liberal gaming laws and the construction of the railroad for its success, this study contends that the construction of the city's spatial imaginary was the key factor. This dissertation further examines how Monte Carlo's casino resort functioned as a forum of class anxieties and social distinction as middle-class vacationers began to encroach on the once-exclusive leisure practices of the social elite. An emphasis on spectacle and Monte Carlo's

spatial imaginary allowed casino promoters to navigate the tenuous balance between marketing the resort as an exclusive space and simultaneously operating as a destination of mass tourism. Monte Carlo's story of success stands as an example of how a consistent spatial imaginary can serve as an economic boon, particularly for tourism-based economies. This is a lesson that cities such as Orlando, Las Vegas, and Macau have learned well as they have capitalized on Monte Carlo's image, followed the city's model of remunerative resort tourism, and have developed their own spatial imaginaries to the benefit of their tourism industries.

Dedication

To Robert H. Miller, Diane Mitchell, and Jaclyn J. S. Miller for walking down this long road
with me.

Acknowledgments

At its core, history is about people and their stories. A historian's job is to dig deep into records and archives, to peel back layers of obscurity, and present as accurate an account as possible.

The reality is nearly always more complex than we realize and the agents of change more numerous than we can identify. So often, people crucial to a story do not get the credit that they deserve. Such is the case with this dissertation. This project would not have been possible without the incredible contributions of my family, friends, colleagues, and educators, who have encouraged me, challenged me, shaped my scholarly interests, and devoted so much of their time and energy on my behalf. Any attempt to accurately record their influence on me and their generous support would be inadequate, but I will do my best to show my thanks. They deserve it; the credit is theirs.

I owe a great deal of my desire to pursue a life in academia and my passion for teaching to my own early educators. Growing up in rural Appalachia, an area better known for poverty and poor education than for exceptional teachers, my path in life could have been remarkably different if not for these passionate people. I was blessed to be surrounded by intelligent and dedicated teachers who pushed me to be the best version of myself. Rhonda Watson and Joyce Phillips inspired in me a love of learning. Gwen Pendergraft and Pam Bishop taught me to appreciate a good story and to tell one well. Tim McCarty instilled me with a strong work ethic, motivated me to persevere through challenging circumstances, and eventually convinced me that it was possible to write a five-page paper complete with citations and a bibliography. Lt. Col. Rick McClure showed me that there was more to the world than my own little corner of it, demonstrated the values of studying other cultures and other times, and sparked my interest in this project by organizing a trip to the French Riviera and Monaco.

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Introduction. “Presenting the Dream”

Many places evoke certain images in the popular imagination. Real or imagined, these conceptions of place affect how people behave and interact with and in a given space. Monte Carlo arouses a very particular picture in the Western cultural imagination. The city’s name alone conjures up images of a yacht-lined harbor and the lapping blue waves of the Mediterranean sea, of tuxedo-clad men and women in elegant evening gowns placing chips on the roulette table, of Formula One cars racing through the curvy streets of Monaco and a delighted crowd of spectators eager to catch sight of the technological marvels. For some, it may evoke the spirits of grand artists like Sergei Diaghilev and Sarah Bernhardt or the elegance of Princess Grace; for others, it may arouse the picture of the cacti in the Exotic Garden or the imposing Genoese architecture of the Prince’s Palace; still others may imagine the warm breezes and temperate climate of the principality, nestled between the Maritime-Alps and the sea, the extravagant displays of wealth in the Garnier Opera House, Hôtel de Paris Monte-Carlo, or the Casino de Monte-Carlo, or the promise of pleasure and excitement in the city’s myriad shops and cafés. “Monte Carlo” itself has become synonymous with luxury and leisure. Chevrolet sought to capitalize on this reputation by naming a luxury coupe after the city, while casino-resort towns such as Havana, Las Vegas, and Macau have utilized the name Monte Carlo in order to lend an aura of luxury and respectability to their casinos, nightclubs, and pleasure resorts from the 1930s to the present.

To the modern observer, Monte Carlo appears to have been exceptionally well-positioned as a center for resort-tourism. The yearlong temperate climate, the palm tree-lined avenues, the calm harbor, the alluring shops and villas throughout the Principality of Monaco, and the

charming views of both the Maritime-Alps and the Mediterranean Sea belie Monaco's difficult path to creating a viable tourism industry. Prior to the 1850s, few could have imagined Monaco functioning as the site of even a modest tourism industry, much less as an internationally-recognized casino-resort which is now a byword for luxury and leisure. On the contrary, Monaco was beset with serious obstacles to creating a lasting tourism industry. The principality was a rocky and inaccessible land on the European periphery, facing political crises, secessionist movements, economic adversity, and an uncertain future. Monte Carlo, in fact, did not exist. In its place was Les Spélugues, an unsightly and infertile location with a seedy reputation and an unseemly name. The principality's one advantage toward building a tourist economy, its temperate climate, was hardly unique, and travel authors and guides for the Grand Tour steered vacationers toward Nice and Cannes, neighboring towns with the same climatic advantage and better accommodations. A Monégasque quatrain of medieval origins, which had regained popularity in the principality during the first half of the nineteenth century, underscored the bleakness of the country's situation. "I am Monaco on a rock, I do not sow or harvest, I do not encroach on others and despite all, I want to live."¹ The desperateness and helplessness of the quatrain provided an apt tone for the principality's dubious prospects for launching a tourist economy. By mid-century, founding a remunerative resort tourism industry seemed a longshot indeed.

Questions to Consider

One of the major questions this project seeks to answer is: how did Monaco found a thriving and lasting casino-resort industry in this less-than-ideal situation? The nineteenth and twentieth

1. Louis Notrai, *Quelques Notes Sur Les Traditions De Monaco* (1918; repr., Monaco: Imprimerie National de Monaco, S.A., 1958), 12, Bibliothèque Louis Notari, Monaco.

centuries saw a rapid growth in tourist economies across the world. Indeed, new forms of transportation, shifts in labor and leisure practices, a rising middle class, and a cultural melding of pleasure and travel helped to augment the industry's ascent, especially in Europe and North America.² By the mid-nineteenth century, mass tourism practices and a socially-diverse range of travelers usurped the edifying travel traditions typified by the European Grand Tour – a tourism activity available to only a select and wealthy group of men that had originated in the seventeenth century.³ By the end of the twentieth century, tourism accounted for more than \$1 trillion of the world's economy. With this measure of success, the rapid foundation of a profitable tourism center, even in challenging locales, may seem inconsequential. Havana, Las Vegas, Dubai, Bangkok, and Macau have each developed a thriving resort-based tourism

2. For general changes to tourism and leisure practice in Europe and the Americas see Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Rudy Koshar, ed., *Histories of Leisure, Leisure, Consumption & Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures, Leisure, Consumption & Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Susan C. Anderson and Bruce H. Tabb, eds., *Water, Leisure & Culture: European Historical Perspectives*, *Water, Leisure & Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Marc Boyer, *L'invention du tourisme*, *Découvertes Gallimard* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996); David Clay Large, *The Grand Spas of Central Europe: A History of Intrigue, Politics, Art, and Healing* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Andrew Denning, *Skiing into Modernity: A Cultural and Environmental History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015); R. W. Frantz, *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1934); Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (Scarborough, ON: The MacMillan Company, 1899); Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (London: Penguin Books, 1999); Peter Buse et al., *Benjamin's Arcades: An Unguided Tour*, *Encounters: Cultural History* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005); Marc Augé, *L'impossible voyage: le tourisme et ses images* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 1997); Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism & Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *The Havana Habit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *The Quest for Excitement* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

3. Concerning shifts in leisure tastes and practices in French and Francophone societies see Douglas Peter Mackaman, *Leisure Settings: Bourgeois Culture, Medicine, and the Spa in Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment & Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France 1885 to World War I: Alfred Jarry, Henri Rousseau, Erik Satie, Guillaume Apollinaire*, revised edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1968); Marc Boyer, *Histoire du tourisme de masse* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999); Julian Hale, *The French Riviera: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Eugen Weber, *France Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986); T. J. Clark, "The View from Notre-Dame," in *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); and Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

industry at varying points in the twentieth century, seemingly *ex nihilo*. However, each of these cities held considerable benefits not afforded to Monte Carlo: existing infrastructure, management of a much larger state, sizeable pools of labor, supportive horizontal industries, greater accessibility, larger and more populous metropolitan areas, and proximity to other attractions or points of interest. Unlike other contemporary elite tourist destinations, Monte Carlo was constructed in a mere three years, developed exclusively through foreign investment, built upon sparsely occupied land, and situated in an isolated country that was itself no larger than a small city. By contrast, Havana's meteoric rise as a pleasure center over the course of the first three decades of the twentieth century or the proliferation of casinos in Las Vegas during the 1940s and 1950s seem less exceptional when one considers that no hotel or restaurant existed in the principality to accommodate potential guests in the year before the inauguration of Monaco's first casino. Even the one seemingly important advantage Monaco held over many other tourist economies – its relative monopoly on gambling – cannot wholly explain the resort-town's eventual successes; the first casino in Monaco failed spectacularly and ownership of the casino bounced through the hands of six concessionaires before it was profitably managed.⁴ How Monaco changed its image and perception from an inconsequential European backwater to a fashionable, cosmopolitan pleasure center in order to found a booming tourism-based economy and to become a byword for luxury is a central concern of this dissertation.

Another central question of this project considers Monte Carlo's longevity as a successful casino-resort town. This year, 2016, Monaco will celebrate the city's sesquicentennial. The

4. For information regarding the role of gambling and tourism in Europe see Joseph Kelly and William R. Eadington, "The Regulation of Casino Gaming in Europe: A Comparative Analysis," Paper No. 86-8, September, 1986, The William Thompson Collection 87-063, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 3; David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (New York: Gotham Books, 2006); Jan McMillen, ed., *Gambling Cultures: Studies in History and Interpretation*, Culture: Policies and Politics, series edited by Tony Bennett et al. (London: Routledge, 1996); and John Dombink and William N. Thompson, *The Last Resort: Success and Failure in Campaigns for Casinos* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990).

watershed moment of François Blanc's purchase of the casino came even earlier, three years prior to the city's foundation, and the first, and less-successful, forays into tourism ventures date back to 1856. Founding a profitable tourism industry and a city, seemingly from thin air, are impressive feats; however, maintaining the city as a premier site of vacation-leisure over the course of 150 years is astounding and warrants further analysis. From its very inauguration, casino-promoters billed Monte Carlo as a unique place: a pleasure paradise of luxury, leisure, and sophistication. Yet, even these concepts changed dramatically over the course of more than a century. Under the direction of the *Société des Bains de Mer et du Cercle des Étrangers à Monaco* (SBM), Monte Carlo's casino-resort avoided complacency and managed to maintain an international level of relevancy since the mid-nineteenth century. Adapting to contemporary notions of pleasure, luxury, and cosmopolitanism enabled Monte Carlo's tourism economy to avert obstacles to its success, continue to grow, and maintain its carefully-constructed reputation.

Further I will explore how the action of visiting Monte Carlo developed into a socially-distinctive practice and remained so throughout the period of this study. *Hivernants*, an exclusive core of seasonal vacationers who spent their winter months in Monte Carlo, comprised a great deal of the resort's clientele during much of the nineteenth century and molded the city's reputation as a rendezvous for the world's elite.⁵ As the temporal dimensions of vacationing in the principality changed around 1900, these elite, proto-jet setters continued to cling to the idea that visiting Monte Carlo represented a socially-distinguishing practice. From the 1880s throughout the 1950s, the city also steadily gained traction as a destination for mass tourism (the

5. See Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Époque*, 158-159; Victor Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play* (London: William Heinemann, 1910), preface, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada; Stéphen Liégeois, *La Côte d'Azur* (Paris: Quantin, 1887), 256, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8- L17- 35 (A); and Jules Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo* (Nice: 1874), 8, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15188, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

city attracted half a million unique visitors by 1889 and tripled that number in less than twenty years).⁶ As package-tour budgeteers mingled with wealthy elites at the casino-resort, they blurred the aura of exclusivity; by the latter decades of the nineteenth century, simply visiting Monte Carlo, in and of itself, could no longer serve as exclusive social capital. This project will examine the ways in which elite vacationers sought to distinguish themselves from middle class tourists in this age of mass tourism, and in contrast how aspirant-class visitors sought to emulate elite practices for their own social gain. Finally, this dissertation will analyze the methods by which SBM officials, state actors, and casino-promoters managed the tenuous balance between promoting Monte Carlo as an elite and exclusive site of luxury and leisure while effectively operating as a mass tourism destination.

Constructing Monte Carlo's Spatial Imaginary

“Here we must present the dream.”⁷ François Blanc's (b. 1806-1877) succinct statement to SBM shareholders set Monte Carlo's tourism industry on the path for success and defined the corporation's strategy for managing its casino-resort for more than a century and a half. The casino concessionaire envisioned Monte Carlo as a potentially unique construct, and realized that for the city to thrive as a resort center it must be presented as an exceptional break from reality – a paradise of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. Blanc's vision for Monte Carlo as a dreamlike paradise embarked the SBM on a strategic course to redefine, and re-present, space in Monaco. He realized that the construction of a city in Monaco and the foundation of Monte

6. For greater elucidation on the growth of mass tourism in Monte Carlo and the anxieties it inspired, see Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir : Le Passe et le Présent Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice: Éditions de la Ste de Publicité des Pays D'azur, 1903), 215-216, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8- K-3694; and Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), 324, 373-375.

7. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, 1863. Exhibition presented during the 150th anniversary of SBM in Monte Carlo, Monaco on July 5, 2013. <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-sbm-celebrates-its-150th-anniversary/> (accessed on November 18, 2013).

Carlo represented an exceptional opportunity to transform the bleak and barren land of Les Spélugues into a fantastic resort-city. He also realized that such a transformation required never before seen cooperation between state and corporate actors. His strategic concept for Monte Carlo required remarkable changes to the existing land, culture, and structures. For Blanc, building “the dream” was not a process that could be accomplished piecemeal; in order for his fantastic vision to become a reality the SBM and Monaco had to build “everything, immediately, in one place.”⁸

The complexities of François Blanc’s strategic plan for Monte Carlo necessitated the construction and maintenance of a specific spatial imaginary, by which I mean the conception of a place, laden with symbols and infused with meaning designed to evoke certain feelings or experiences that is also mediated and re-mediated through the imagination. Blanc and casino-resort promoters, both from the SBM and the state, carefully constructed Monte Carlo’s spatial imaginary and presented the city as a paradisiacal site of extravagant luxury and leisure, decadent pleasure, and cosmopolitan sophistication. The city provided astounding spectacles, palatable exhibitions of exoticism, world-class contemporary entertainment and high culture, and the technological marvels of the day. Displays of nationalism and local culture were stifled, while changes to the landscape, flora, architecture, and décor in and around the resort-town emphasized a multiplicity of localities. The casino-resort delivered nearly all of the attractions of major world’s fairs or expositions, but permanently located in one place.⁹ This aspect of Monte Carlo’s spatial imaginary attracted foreign tourists (in fact, locals were barred from even

8. Ibid.

9. For comparisons to world’s fairs and expositions, and European tastes for these events, see Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2008); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics, Culture: Policies and Politics*, series edited by Tony Bennet et al. (London: Routledge, 1995); and Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

entering the casino), allowed for a proliferation of international competitions and exhibitions, and underscored the cosmopolite qualities of the city's visitors. Importantly, casino-promoters remained steadfast in the ways in which they cultivated Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, always emphasizing luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism.

In what follows I argue that Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, more than any other factor, accounts for the longstanding success of Monaco's tourist economy. It catalyzed the city's development as the first modern iteration of an all-encompassing pleasure resort and made it the model for remunerative resort tourism. Further, I argue that the city's spatial imaginary appealed to elite and middle-class vacationers alike, creating a paradoxical practice of exclusive leisure and mass tourism at the casino-resort. Aspirant-class vacationers sought to emulate, not replace, elite visitors; however, Monte Carlo nonetheless served as a forum for class anxieties and social differentiation.¹⁰ An elaborate emphasis on spectacle and sport provided avenues for social distinction among Monte Carlo's guests and allowed SBM and civic officials to navigate the precarious balance between presenting the city as a site of exclusive leisure while simultaneously operating as a mass tourism destination. Casino-resort promoters consistently framed Monte Carlo in the same way: as a paradise of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary was dynamic and far from a stationary concept. This project considers the city's spatial imaginary from three levels. First, it looks at how SBM and state officials formally promoted and marketed the city, second it examines the ways in which casino-promoters maintained Monte Carlo's projected image as contemporary notions of luxury and

10. For more information on the impact of nineteenth century social and political changes on the lives, tastes, and leisure pursuits of the social elite, please see Elizabeth C. Macknight, *Aristocratic Families in Republican France, 1870-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Natalie Petiteau, *Elites et mobilités: la noblesse d'Empire au XIXe siècle (1808-1914)* (Paris: La Boutique de l'histoire éditions, 1997); David Higgs, *Nobles in Nineteenth-Century France: The Practice of Inegalitarianism*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 105th ser., 1 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); and Arno J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

leisure tastes changed, and finally it analyzes the ways in which visitors and producers of popular culture conceived the city and reshaped and re-presented its spatial imaginary through their own writing, discourse, and cultural productions.

In a departure from other scholarship on the topic, my argument shifts the analytical focus of Monte Carlo's tourism economy in a new direction. Early histories emphasized the importance of the principality's connection to the Paris-Nice railway, and almost mono-causally attributed the success of the city's casino-resort to greater access to European metropolitan centers.¹¹ Most recognized François Blanc's business savvy, but failed to fully explore the ways in which the SBM and the state formed and manipulated the city's projected image.¹² For these

11. General travel guides and narrative histories of Monte Carlo which fit this trend include Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935); Charles Graves, *The Big Gamble: The Story of Monte Carlo* (London: Hutchinson, 1951); Charles Graves, *Royal Riviera* (London: Heinemann, 1957); General Pierre Polovstoff, *Monte Carlo Casino* (New York: Hillman-Curl, 1937); Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*; Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*; Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play*; Paulin Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles, avec des notices sur Monte-Carlo, Aix-les-Bains, par Paulin Blanc*, (Chalon-sur-Saône, FR: 1885), 132, 140, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V-20761, D3 L 3.33-A; Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*; Paul Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale: Journal de Route*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Passage Choiseul, 1894); Wolfgang Vennemann, *Monte Carlo – 1936*, (Cannes: l'imprimerie Robaudy, 1936), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, L 1.4-M3-6261, D1-551 L 1.4-M3-6261; Jim Ring, *Riviera: The Rise and Rise of the Cote d'Azur* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2004); William Hope Devereux, R.N., F.R.G.S., *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo: Comprising a Tour Through North and South Italy and Sicily with a Short Account of Malta* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1884); Valentine Vattier d'Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1889), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-12148, 4- L17- 26; Adrien de Baroncelli, *La Provence: stations hivernales et plages de la Méditerranée, vallée du Var et gorges du Verdon* (Paris: Chez tous les Libraires, 1905), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, LK2-5164; Raymond-Lucien Boireau, *Guide pratique de Nice et des Alpes-Maritimes, Antibes, Cannes, Monte-Carlo, Menton, Grasse*, 7th ed. (1955), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 16-LK4-3781 (F); Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster, *The Maritime Alps and their seaboard* (London: Longmans, 1885); O. Plucky, B. Careful & C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette : Interesting to Players and Non-players, on Sale at all Libraries, Kiosks, Railway Stations* (London: Edmund Seale, 1913); Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations by George A. Stevens* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada; and Notrai, *Quelques Notes Sur Les Traditions De Monaco*.

12. This study also considers histories of Monaco and Monte Carlo which predate the principality's connection to the railroad. For works concerning Monaco's distinct disadvantages for founding a viable tourism industry and the struggles to do so, see Tobias George Smollet, *Travels through France and Italy. Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities: With a particular description of the town, territory, and climate of Nice: to which is added, a register of the weather, kept during a residence of eighteen months in that city* (Dublin: J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, J. Potts, W. Sleater, E. Lynch, et al, 1772), 14:1 and Achard d'Entraigues, *Causeries de la plage. Bains de mer de Monaco. Description et climatologie de la plage, indications spéciales et avantages de ce climat pour la guérison des malades*, (Nice: Société Typographique, Imprimerie, Librairie et Lithographie A. Gilletta, 1867). For sources crediting the

authors, the end of Monaco's relative isolation from the rest of Europe, greater mobility, and liberal gaming laws adequately explained Monte Carlo's rise as a premier luxury destination and an internationally-recognized icon of sophisticated leisure. In some cases, the authors' conclusions are further complicated by the historians' financial or social connections to casino-investors and the SBM.¹³ Aside from these, mostly narrative-based, early twentieth-century histories, Monte Carlo's casino-resort has only recently garnered scholarly attention.¹⁴ Recent scholarship provides a more nuanced approach toward the construction of Monte Carlo's tourist economy; yet, most authors still largely attribute the industry's growth to the railway and gambling monopoly.¹⁵

While these factors proved essential to the creation of a vibrant tourist-based economy and Monte Carlo's role as a destination of mass tourism, they cannot explain the SBM's unparalleled growth during the last half of the nineteenth century. Nearby Mediterranean towns with burgeoning tourist economies, such as Cannes, Antibes, and Hyères, and even cities with established tourism industries like Nice and Genoa, also benefitted from access to the same railroad but never approached the level of growth Monte Carlo experienced during this period. The impact of Monaco's liberal gaming laws has similarly been exaggerated. From 1880-1910,

construction of Monte Carlo, ideal climate, and legalized gambling for the rise in tourism in Monaco see Henri Métivier, *Monaco et ses Princes*, 2eme ed. (La Flèche, FR: Jourdain, 1865); Bénédict Henry Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*, 2eme ed (Paris: E. Dentu, 1878); William Miller, *Wintering in the Riviera: with Notes of Travel in Italy and France and Practical Hints to Travellers* (London: Longmans, 1879); and Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo*.

13. For further details on the connections between early historians and casino-promoters, see chapter 4.

14. Several notable exceptions to this relative dearth in twentieth-century historical scholarship include Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (Briarcliff Manor, NY: Stein and Day, 1975); Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo Casino* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); and Phillipe Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo* (Évreux, France: L'Imprimerie Hérissey, 1981).

15. For this trend see Mark Braude, introduction to "Spinning Wheels: Cosmopolitanism, Mobility, and Media in Monaco, 1855-1956," PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013; Mark Braude, *Making Monte Carlo: A History of Speculation and Spectacle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016); Hale, *The French Riviera*; Mary Blume, *Côte d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994); Didier Laurens, *Monaco: un pays ensoleillé dirigé par un prince magnifique* (Paris: Hachette Littérature, 2007); Kenneth E. Silver, *Making Paradise: Art, Modernity, and the Myth of the French Riviera* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001); and Marc Boyer, *L'Invention de la Côte d'Azur: l'Hiver dans le Midi* (Paris: Éditions de l'Aube, 2002).

the years which saw the largest rise in the number of vacationers in Monte Carlo, only roughly 10% found their way into the gaming rooms.¹⁶ Likewise, the scope of Monaco's monopoly on European gambling has been overstated. After all, despite being generally illegal, gambling took place in private clubs across Europe. More than 400 French spa towns successfully applied for waivers as *villes d'eaux* in order to open casinos and thus skirt the spirit of the law banning public gaming. Rhineland and Belgian spa towns were at various times granted exceptions to gambling prohibition, large-scale casino operations were tacitly tolerated in tourism centers in Germany and France, and gambling was finally legalized, to some degree, throughout much of Western Europe during the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁷ These details suggest that a more nuanced understanding of the development of Monte Carlo's casino-resort industry is needed.

In recent decades, the Côte d'Azur has received increased scholarly attention. Historians have applied regional and transnational lenses to the study of the rise of the Riviera. Marc Boyer, Kenneth Silver, and Julian Hale, in particular, have argued that the region has been constructed and promoted as an idealized playground for Western tourists and have stressed the Anglo-American influence on the coastal region. These studies are welcome additions to the historiographies of the region and of European tourism. However, they do little to emphasize Monte Carlo's unique situation in the Côte d'Azur, its role in the revolution of resort tourism, or its significant contributions to shaping and reshaping the region's own imaginary. More focused studies on Monaco itself have stressed the spectacular construction of Monte Carlo's image, but

16. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 98.

17. For information about the laxity of gambling prohibition in Europe see Kelly and Eadington, "The Regulation of Casino Gaming in Europe"; William R. Eadington, personal notes, The William Thompson Collection 87-063, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 3; *La suppression des Jeux de Monte-Carlo-Monaco. Mémoire a l'appui de la pétition présentée aux Chambres françaises – 1881* (Nice: Imprimerie et Lithographie Anglo-Francaise Malvano-Mignon, 1881) Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8 V Piece 3355, D3-803 L 3.34-A; and Large, *The Grand Spas of Central Europe*, 300, 327.

have placed a greater concentration on the political and economic impact on the less than 40,000 Monégasque citizens and European expatriates in the country than they have on analyzing the city's impact as a tourism center and icon of luxury. Didier Laurens's monograph questions the limitations of Monégasque sovereignty and limits to free speech in order to maintain Monte Carlo's peerless reputation as a premier leisure destination.¹⁸ Mark Braude's recent studies demonstrate casino-promoters' skillful use of spectacle in order to attract vacationers and build the city's international reputation and further explain how leisure practices which emphasized mobility in the principality responded to contemporary conceptions of modernity. His recently published public-facing history, *Making Monte Carlo: A History of Speculation and Spectacle*, offers an updated examination of Monte Carlo and the SBM from a biographical perspective. Braude offers insight into the considerable agency that a few individuals exercised on the making of Monte Carlo, but further exploration of how vacationers impacted the resort city is needed. The framework for his studies considers Monte Carlo from the standpoint of a tax haven and a site where locals' cosmopolitan identities lead to diminished ideological connections to the state. This lens, however, largely ignores the social and cultural impact that Monte Carlo has on millions of vacationers per year. This dissertation moves the recent scholarly focus from the limited number of local Monégasques and expatriates to Monte Carlo's hordes of vacationers, both elites and mass tourists. Further, I shift the analysis from a regional or transnational study of the Côte d'Azur, or from a more focused examination of Monte Carlo as a tax shelter, to an investigation of the construction of the city's unique spatial imaginary and the resulting commercial and cultural impact of that imaginary.

Monte Carlo's careful construction of its spatial imaginary and its intense presentation of a particular projected image allowed a vibrant tourism economy to form in a place with decided

18. Laurens, *Monaco*.

disadvantages to attracting vacationers. The ways in which SBM officials marketed Monte Carlo as an ideal, and the construction and perpetuation of the town's spatial imaginary has had a clear impact on a number of resort-based cities, from Havana and Las Vegas to Macau. Havana's now-defunct casino-resort tourism industry thrived from the 1920s through the 1950s. The city not only capitalized on Monte Carlo's existing reputation by naming casinos, nightclubs, and restaurants after the famous European playground, but more importantly, it evoked the city's strategy of developing a consistent spatial imaginary as an island of exotic and erotic pleasure, touting itself as "the Naughty Paris of the Western Hemisphere," or the "Riviera of the West."¹⁹ Las Vegas similarly fashioned a casino-resort town in the remote and seemingly desolate Nevada desert by following Monte Carlo's marketing model. Liberal gaming laws were not enough to launch America's gambling metropolis; it took a shift from its projection as "The Old West in Modern Comfort" to a new campaign that delivered sumptuous spectacles, emphasized stereotypical displays of localities such as enchanted Arabia, the carefree tropics, or sophisticated Paris, and unswervingly stressed "Sin City's" hedonistic break from reality.²⁰ Macau stands as the modern iteration of Monte Carlo during its heyday as a socially-distinctive and exclusive pleasure center during the late nineteenth century. Much like Monte Carlo, the Asian casino-resort city is a small, semi-autonomous special district with liberal gaming laws, rapid growth, and a pool of patrons drawn from the Asian Pacific's emerging middle- and upper-classes eager for relatively-rare and socially-defining leisure practices. Currently the world's largest gambling

19. Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island*, 15. For examples of the use of spectacle and connections to Monte Carlo, see Cuban Postcard Collection, University of Miami Libraries, Cuban Heritage Collection, CHC0337, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL.

20. See The Dennis McBride Collection 0263, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada; Monroe Manning, film script for "Frontier Playground," 1947, Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce Records MS 96-07, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 11, Folder 1; and The Dunes Hotel Collection 93-98, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 11.

economy and distancing itself from its competitors, Macau has cleverly drawn associations to Monte Carlo (as well as Las Vegas) and is developing a spatial imaginary which appeals to both elites seeking social-distinction and masses of tourists pursuing pleasure.

It is perhaps the Disney Corporation, however, that has most effectively profited from Monte Carlo's model of resort tourism and mirrored the town's schemes for constructing and projecting a particular image to the public. Scholars have stressed Disneyland's creation as a unique, non-national and international entity.²¹ Spaces and exhibitions which provided stereotypical presentations of geographical localities (from Kon-Tiki and China to Paris and Rome) were specifically designed to stoke visitors' imaginations. The park itself represented a condensation of space – with guests able to take in the spectacle of a parade in Main Street, USA, walk to the Chinese pavilion and dine on chow mein, and pick up cannoli for dessert while browsing through miniature souvenirs of the Eiffel Tower. Disneyland's presentation as a site of surreal fantasy, "the Most Magical Place on Earth," created the neutral, non-national space which allowed this forced form of condensed cosmopolitanism to flourish. The model, like Monte Carlo's, has proven remarkably successful in attracting a diverse range of foreign tourists. Disney's second American park, Disneyworld, conforms even better to Monte Carlo's model. Much like the isolated European principality, Disneyworld was born in the secluded swamps of Central Florida, devoid of the existing infrastructure to support a tourist economy afforded to its predecessor situated in the midst of a Californian megalopolis. Park-promoters utilized Disneyworld's imaginary as "The Most Magical Place on Earth" and the promise of providing

21. For examples of how Disney's parks have formulated a spatial imaginary in a similar manner as Monte Carlo, see Stephen F. Mills, "Disney and the Promotions of Synthetic Worlds," Special Issue on the Impact of US Culture Abroad, *American Studies International* 28, no. 2 (October 1990): 66-79; Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386; Josef Chytry, "Disney's Design: Imagineering Main Street," *Boom: A Journal of California* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 33-44; Gary Cross, "Crowds and Leisure: Thinking Comparatively across the 20th Century," Special Issue on the Future of Social History, *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (Spring 2006): 631-650; and Karal Ann Marling, ed., *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance* (Montreal: Flammarion, 1997).

family fun and whimsy in an enchanting fairyland in order to attract vacationing families to the park and launch Orlando's tourism industry. The ability for a spatial imaginary to be constructed and imposed on a land before many (or any) tourist-economy accommodations or infrastructure were in place, and to successfully launch these industries in relatively remote locations, underscores the important commercial impact of such imaginaries.

Picturing and Portraying Paradise

Since François Blanc founded Monaco's casino and incorporated the SBM in 1863, the casino-resort town concentrated on providing patrons with spectacular displays, a practice which has continued to the modern day. Architecture, décor, landscaping, events, and entertainments were all designed to inspire awe and produce the greatest visual effect. Visualizing Monte Carlo became an important part of the vacationing process at the casino-resort, and correctly "seeing" the city served a distinguishing function. Further, photographs and photographic postcards proved popular souvenirs as the city, served as tangible evidence of social capital, and essentially disseminated images of the city to guests' family, friends, and acquaintances. Historians such as Xan Fielding, Stanley Jackson, Julian Hale, and Mark Braude have noted the importance of spectacle in Monte Carlo, but have not dwelled on the primacy of sight in Monte Carlo nor the socially-distinctive process of the tourists' gaze. Photographs and postcards have largely escaped scholarly attention as sources of analysis for Monte Carlo. To support its overall argument, this study will consider visual sources as essential pieces of evidence in the construction, perpetuation, and re-presentation of the city's projected image.²² SBM marketing

22. For guidance in the use of visual sources, this study has considered Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October, 2005): 1015-1045; Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. Hal Foster (San Francisco: Bay Press, 1988); Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, eds. *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009); Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John Barrell, "Visualizing the Division of Labour: William Pyne's

campaigns and photographic series depicted the principality in certain ways, framed representations of the city, and excised elements which did not emphasize Monte Carlo's luxurious situation. Even unofficial photographs tended to conform to the SBM's marketing schema of the day. Visual souvenirs also offer an avenue for analysis into vacationers' consumer tastes and choices, and suggest what aspects of Monaco's projected image appealed to them. Further, photographs offer details which have escaped mention in visitor accounts, guidebooks, and textual promotional materials; this photographic evidence has at times demonstrated class segregation at the casino-resort, allodoxical²³ practices and cultural misapprehension among guests, and the ways in which certain spectacles were staged specifically to create an appealing photograph for posterity. This dissertation explores these valuable sources which have been largely overlooked in previous historical analysis.

Travel guides, travelogues, and personal accounts also make up a significant portion of the sources for my analysis. Whereas scholars have examined many of these traditional sources, this study examines the ways in which these texts helped to reshape and re-present the ways in which SBM officials sought to promote Monte Carlo's projected image. In this way, visitors and travel authors helped to disseminate the city's carefully constructed spatial imaginary, and alter it in significant ways. This study demonstrates that texts which regarded Monte Carlo's casino-resort favorably and those which fundamentally opposed the gambling institution with vitriolic

Microcosim" in *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1992); Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); and Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage, 2012).

23. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 323-326. Bourdieu considers cultural allodoxia "the mistaken identifications and false recognitions which betray the gap between acknowledgement and knowledge. Allodoxia, the heterodoxy experienced as if it were orthodoxy that is engendered by this undifferentiated reverence." This set of misapprehensions and misappropriations served to distinguish the middle class from social elites. Allodoxical practices such as imitating elite descriptions of the picturesque but categorizing it differently than the dominant classes identified the vacationers as an imitator of the elite lacking the cultural legitimacy of the upper class. This unconscious and imitative bluff inimitably identified the middle class, who could identify the tastes they aspired to but who lacked the social and cultural capital of correctly appropriating those tastes.

fervor both adopted the same patterns of language to describe the city. I argue that the SBM and the state's marketing scheme so fully defined the ways in which the public imagined Monte Carlo that even the casino-resort's harshest critics wrote of the city as an alluring pleasure paradise, a site of unending possibilities, and place of reward or ruin. I also examine works of popular fiction, songs, films, and cultural portrayals of Monte Carlo – which proliferated rapidly from the 1880s into the 1950s and emphasized the casino-resort as a site of romance, intrigue, and exotic fantasy. Popular culture depictions of the city also mirrored the patterns of discourse exhibited by visitors' writing, and have been under-analyzed by the existing scholarship.

Theory, Organization, and Chapter Outline

The project is organized into two distinct but interrelated sections. The first considers the process by which Monte Carlo developed its spatial imaginary. My conception of the spatial imaginary is informed by Henri Lefebvre's model for the production of space (representations of space, representational space, and spatial practice), and particularly Laura Podalsky's helpful revisions to Lefebvre's model.²⁴ In her considerations of the transformation of space in Buenos Aires, Podalsky argues for the tandem analysis of material space (both structures and practice) and discursive space (both discourse of place and conceptualized space). Her updated model concerns "three interrelated spatial registers: built environment, lived practices, and discursive representations."²⁵ I argue that Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary formed along these lines.

24. My conception of a spatial imaginary is particularly indebted to the following works that consider urban spatial theory, modalities of materiality, spatial discourse, and the representational aspect of space. Laura Podalsky, *Specular City: Transforming Culture, Consumption, and Space in Buenos Aires, 1955-1973* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 10-13. See also Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London: Verso Press, 1990); David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity," in *Mapping the Future: Local Cultures, Global Changes*, ed. Jon Bird et al., 3-29, (London: Routledge, 1993); Henri Lefebvre, *La Production de l'espace*, 4th ed. (Paris: Editions Anthropos / Editions Economica, 1999); and Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

25. Podalsky, *Specular City*, 13.

Casino-promoters and state officials presented Monte Carlo's image (a mix of built environments and representations), vacationers processed and conceived the representational space (lived practices), and visitors and popular culture representations of the city disseminated, reconstituted, and re-presented Monte Carlo's image (discursive representations), thus reproducing the spatial imaginary. Social and cultural geographers, such as David Harvey and Derek Gregory, also underpin this project's consideration of the spatial imaginary. Harvey's examinations of space, capital, and behavior, and his insistence that spatial production depends on the interrelation of materiality, representation, and imagination, help explain how Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary so powerfully affected its tourism industry. Similarly, Gregory's analysis on the intersectionality of space, commerce, culture, and representation has proven helpful in considering how shifting presentations of space affects the (cultural and commercial) behavior in that space.²⁶

Using Podalsky's tri-partite rendering of Lefebvre's production of space as a framework for analysis, these chapters examine the presentation of Monte Carlo's image, the conception of space by visitors and authors, and the ways in which the city's image was reshaped, reimagined, and re-presented by its patrons. Taken together, the chapters provide a comprehensive understanding of how Monte Carlo developed such an impactful, consistent, and lasting spatial imaginary based on luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. I argue that this potent marketing scheme, and not just the temperate climate, liberal gaming laws, and access to avenues of transportation espoused by previous scholarship, provides a powerful explanation for the lasting

26. See Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again"; David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 1-2, 14, 233; Derek Gregory, "City/commodity/culture: spatiality and the politics of representation," in *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 209-256; Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6-7; and John Rennie Short, *Urban Theory: A Cultural Assessment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 223.

success of Monte Carlo's tourism economy and its rise as an international icon. Scholars of the region have noted that casino concessionaires and state officials developed a projected image for Monte Carlo, but none have stressed, as this study does, the agency visitors exercised at the casino-resort as they disseminated, reshaped, and reconfigured how the public viewed the city. Further, this section seeks to demonstrate that the comprehensive formation of a spatial imaginary powerfully impacts a locality and can refigure a place's cultural landscape and economic trajectory.

The second section of this dissertation considers how the SBM and state officials managed the tenuous balance between presenting the casino-resort as an exclusive site of luxury and effectively operating as a destination for mass tourism. It also charts changes in leisure tastes and the nature of tourism in Monte Carlo and Europe from the latter decades of the nineteenth century until 1950. Finally this section demonstrates that vacationing became a forum in which class tensions and anxieties played out. As pleasure-seeking tourism became increasingly democratized over the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, socially-elite vacationers strove to distinguish themselves from the *nouveau riche*, the aspirant middle classes, and eventually working class tourists. This section (and much of this project in general) is indebted to Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Bourdieu considered taste in cultural goods and practices, particularly leisure goods and practices which did not constitute necessary choices, essential in defining one's place in social space. Taste carried the dual logic of certain classes gravitating toward certain cultural pursuits and goods, and those same pursuits and goods worked to mark one's place in a social hierarchy. His work was also predicated on a fluid, but contested, exchange of variations of capital (economic, educational, cultural, and social). In this way, tastes and leisure

pursuits, such as those accessible through vacationing in Monte Carlo, provided a conspicuous practice of class and the possibility of converting cultural capital into social capital and improving one's place in social space. For European social elites, social distinction depended on the relative rarity of their leisure goods and practices – a principle which proved problematic for Monte Carlo's projected image of luxury once it became a site of mass tourism. Bourdieu explained that:

Because the distinctive power of cultural possessions or practices – an artifact, a qualification, a film culture – tends to decline with the growth in the absolute number of people able to appropriate them, the profits of distinction would wither away if the field of production of cultural goods, itself governed by the dialectic of pretension and distinction, did not endlessly supply new goods or new ways of using the same goods.²⁷

Leora Auslander has complicated Bourdieu's work and demonstrated that not all cultural tastes were motivated by a desire to ascend one's place in social space (or maintain one's position). She argues, however, that whether or not one is aware of the reasons motivating their preferences, cultural tastes are intrinsically linked to social judgment, distinction, and a range of identities.²⁸ Bourdieu has demonstrated that the potential loss of relative rare practices sparks class anxieties, a situation which arose in Monte Carlo during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Yet historian Arno Mayer has suggested that such class anxieties failed to reach the level of serious class conflict or violence during the period under consideration here. Instead, Mayer suggested that “the bourgeois aspirants steadfastly courted and invested in this assimilation, as they sedulously emulated and cultivated those they considered their superiors . . .

27. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 230.

28. Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 1-3, 11-15.

his supreme ambition was not to besiege or overturn the seigniorial establishment but to break into it.”²⁹

Guided by Bourdieu’s work on taste and social distinction and Mayer’s study of European class relations, I argue that Monte Carlo became a crucible for class contestations in an era of vastly changing leisure pursuits. The intermingling of aristocratic, wealthy, and socially-elite vacationers and waves of middle class tourists and Thomas Cook tour budgeteers indeed stoked elite class anxieties; however, I argue that aspirant classes sought to imitate and emulate elites and their leisure practices (rather than replace them) and that the upper tiers of European vacationers adopted new methods of social distinction at Monte Carlo. For both sides, vacationing at Monte Carlo (and writing about the experience or acquiring material souvenirs) served as distinctive social capital and a defining practice of class.

Chapter one charts the rise of the casino-resort industry in Monaco from initial forays into the gambling business in the 1850s through the creation of the city of Monte Carlo in 1866 and the transition of the principality’s economy from struggling agrarianism to the viable, gambling-centered tourism economy launched by François Blanc and the SBM. It examines how political instability, a stagnant economy, secession movements, and a taxation crisis necessitated changes in Monaco’s national economy and forced the hands of the ruling Grimaldi family to legalize gambling and pursue a casino-based tourist industry as a solution to the crises. Drawing on Harvey and Gregory’s works that explore the connections between the geographical imagination and commercial activity, I argue that liberal gaming laws were not solely capable of

29. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime*, 84. Dominic Lieven also argues that European aristocratic elites did not face a complete decline in power until the twentieth century. He extends Mayer’s argument to include a number of strategies that aristocrats employed to retain their place in the social hierarchy. Ultimately, Lieven confirms Mayer’s claims, but suggests that emulation and adaptation worked both ways, with aristocratic elites sometimes adopting bourgeois culture in order to preserve their status in changing societies. See Dominic Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1993).

fostering a successful tourism-based industry in the principality. Lack of accommodations, poor management, and the disastrous reputation of Les Spélugues, the site of the first casino-resort in Monaco, repelled potential customers and suggested that the principality's tourism economy would be a short-lived and unprofitable failure. François Blanc salvaged Monaco's casino-resort industry by "present[ing] the dream." The wealthy and experienced casino manager understood that the disreputable image of Les Spélugues, and the perception held by many Europeans that Monaco was an unexciting and peripheral backwater, had to be excised before the principality's casino-resort could succeed. Blanc worked with the SBM and state actors to reconstruct Monaco's spatial imaginary by re-christening Les Spélugues as "Monte Carlo," investing heavily in extravagant and lavish restaurants, cafés, shops, and hotels, shifting promotional campaigns away from the morally-ambiguous subject of public gambling, and eschewing any scandalous presentation of the casino-resort. The first step in securing the long-term success of Monaco's tourism economy and shaping the public perception of the newly-formed city, Monte Carlo, involved shedding the space's shady and seedy reputation. The promise of Monte Carlo's future lay in Blanc's ability to discard Les Spélugues.

The second chapter tracks how SBM Monégasque state officials worked to build Blanc's "dream" of turning Monte Carlo into a vacation-leisure paradise founded on contemporary conceptions of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. Their efforts to provide guests with the most extravagant accommodations and diversions signaled a change in European resort-vacationing, proving more all-encompassing and complex than the Rhineland casinos, French *villes d'eaux*, and spa-resorts of the time. I argue that this emphasis, and consistent representations of space in Monte Carlo as extravagantly luxurious and cosmopolitan, formed the city's spatial imaginary. The very act of renaming the space not only helped to sweep away the

problematic image of Les Spélugues, it afforded Blanc and the SBM an exceptional opportunity to reestablish and redefine Monte Carlo's projected image as a boon for the tourism industry: a site of exclusive leisure, pleasure, and sophistication. I chart the ways in which François Blanc, his wife, Marie Blanc (b. 1833-1881), and son, Camille Blanc (b. 1847-1927), worked to build the dream and create Europe's first all-encompassing resort. François Blanc's friend and confidant, the architect of Paris's massive urban renovation projects, Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann (b. 1809-1891) advised the casino-concessionaire that turning Monte Carlo into an international benchmark required an extraordinary investment in luxury hotels, restaurants, and cultural entertainments and an exceptional control of the ways in which he marketed the city.

This chapter also demonstrates that Blanc faithfully followed his friend's advice and engaged world-renowned architects and landscape artists to shape the new city. Marie Blanc, who has received remarkably little credit from historians for her contributions to Monte Carlo's most intense phase of construction and renovation, took up her husband's mantle and worked with Charles Garnier (b. 1825-1898), architect of the recently-constructed Opéra Garnier, to build and design Monte Carlo's new casino and opera house, and to develop the city's reputation as a hub of high culture. Building Monte Carlo as an internationally recognized site of luxury and leisure and a devotion to the carefully constructed representations of space in the principality was not enough to maintain the city's spatial imaginary. These representations had to be frequently tweaked and amended to respond to contemporary leisure tastes and conceptions of luxury and sophistication. The nearly-constant renovation projects in the city during the 1880s throughout the 1900s, and substantial investitures in order to respond to the changing tastes of their clients demonstrated that the SBM ardently avoided complacency. The efforts to control representations of space in Monte Carlo also fundamentally changed Monaco's physical and

cultural landscapes. Landscaping efforts, the construction of surrounding gardens, and the largest shift in the principality's physical environment, the creation of *Le Jardin Exotique de Monaco*, permanently changed how visitors viewed the land and heralded Monte Carlo as a new space, unrecognizable from what had been there just a few years before. While the modifications to Monégasque land provided a boost to the nation's tourism industry, it pushed local culture, traditions, industries, and scenery to the periphery; locals interested in preserving Monégasque traditions, such as Louis Notari, lamented that the same industry which alleviated the country's economic burden threatened to destroy its heritage and sought strategies to avoid the extirpation of local culture. Lastly, the chapter explores how restaurants and hotels deliberately evoked international locales and how patronizing particular establishments served a distinctive function; as a greater number of middle class vacationers gravitated to the casino-resort, budget hotels and restaurants manufactured international origins for their fare and in their marketing techniques in order to emulate the aura of cosmopolitanism espoused by the city's more-celebrated establishments.

Chapter three considers the ways in which vacationers processed the representations of space in Monte Carlo, experienced and imagined the city, and disseminated its spatial imaginary through their own writing and descriptions. Visitors both consumed and reproduced Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, as they negotiated with symbolic representations of space, formulated conceptions of space, and re-presented their own impression of the city. Sometimes travelers' conceptions of the city corresponded neatly with the SBM's marketing schemes, but in other instances visitors re-presented Monte Carlo in ways in which François Blanc and his successors could never have imagined. In both cases, vacationers exercised their own agency on Monte Carlo's projected image. I argue that three elements were central to conceptions of space in

Monte Carlo and ultimately in how the public collectively imagined the city: an emphasis on visualization, portrayals of the city in popular culture, and a pattern of discourse which consistently depicted Monte Carlo and the casino-resort in both negative and positive ways.

The chapter emphasizes the primacy of sight in Monte Carlo, and explains how “correctly” visualizing the city served to distinguish elite vacationers from perceived lesser breeds. For nineteenth-century aristocrats and wealthy elites, the picturesque was the preferred aesthetic in terms of properly viewing the city. However, notions of the picturesque shifted from a Romanticist idyll during the late-nineteenth century to an early-twentieth century focus on lavish constructions, lighting and spectacle, and symbols of modernity. Visual souvenirs, photographs and postcards, captured current notions of the picturesque in the principality and served as tangible forms of social capital for many of the resort’s visitors; allodoxical descriptions of the picturesque and visitors’ misapprehension and misappropriation of the term suggested that new waves of middle class vacationers sought to engage in similar spectating experiences as the social elites who visited the casino-resort, but were willing to conflate symbols of modernity and civility with the Romanticism it previously evoked.

The chapter also examines how visitor accounts and popular culture representations of the city established consistent patterns of discourse about Monte Carlo. I argue that visitors and authors, both those who fervently supported the casino-resort and those who feverishly opposed it, discussed the city in such consistent terms that these patterns of discourse fundamentally shaped the public’s collective imagination. The first and most pervasive of these trends equated Monte Carlo with a paradise, a term with a range of meanings including: a pleasurable sojourn, a pristine Eden, stereotypical connotations of an Islamic paradise and an exotic locale, paradisiacal beauty, a corrupt Paradise “after the Fall,” and a seductive and illusory temptation. Gambling

critics and opponents of the casino-resort often stressed the paradisiacal allures of Monte Carlo far more intensely and efficiently than did the SBM's marketing experts.

Both groups also wrote of the city as a site of risk. Favorable accounts noted the pleasurable rush from entering the gaming rooms and break from the familiar and the routine that came with engaging in measured risks. Critics eagerly conceded that Monte Carlo offered a taste of risk, but argued that the heightened emotionality of that risk led to excess, disreputable behavior, and eventual ruin; instead of a pleasurable rush they reasoned that visitors were truly victims infected, intoxicated, and turned bestial by the risk. Proponents and opponents alike also viewed Monte Carlo as a site where anything could happen, where anything was possible. The positive take suggested that one could strike it rich beyond all odds or rub shoulders with kings, queens, and celebrities; the inverse warned that the city altered a person's limits for normal behavior, that it offered decadence and degeneracy, and bewitched otherwise respectable people. The chapter concludes with an analysis of Daphne du Maurier's novel, *Rebecca*, and the book's acerbic criticism of Monte Carlo and its clientele. Written in 1938, *Rebecca* amplified the growing sense of disapproval many authors expressed regarding the extravagant leisure afforded to the principality's visitors during an international economic depression. Du Maurier inverted the SBM's carefully-constructed spatial imaginary of a pleasure-paradise of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism by painting Monte Carlo as a garish and gaudy anachronism and its clientele as gluttonous snobs, hopelessly out of touch with the reality of the modern world.

Using Vanessa Schwartz's book, *Spectacular Realities*, as a model, the fourth chapter argues that from the fin de siècle throughout the 1940s, casino-promoters provided elaborate visual displays and exhibitions which stressed the spectacular unrealities of vacation life in Monte Carlo in order to foster a sense of shared experience among its increasingly-diverse

guests, to react to tremendous shifts in European leisure tastes and practices, and to negotiate the problematic paradox of promoting the city as an exclusive site of luxury while functioning as a mass tourism destination.³⁰ The chapter traces the transition of Monte Carlo's casino-concession and ownership of the SBM from Camille Blanc to Basil Zaharoff (b. 1849-1936) and rejects the consensus of early historians that Camille Blanc's gross mismanagement of the casino-resort explained the slow growth of Monaco's tourism industry during the early decades of the twentieth century. Instead, I contend that Zaharoff's deft maneuvering to take control of the SBM and a falling out with the ruling Grimaldi family largely accounts for Camille Blanc's position as scapegoat, and that this facile explanation for Monte Carlo's turn-of-the-century stagnant growth has obscured very serious threats to its tourism-based economy's continued success. From the 1900s to the 1920s, the industry faced a severe crisis from general shifts in the European leisure tastes and practices, changes in the temporal dimensions of vacationing, the loss of many of the principality's unique advantages (including its relative monopoly on legalized gambling), increased competition from other tourism destinations, and a dramatic demographic shift in the city's clientele.

I further contend that the SBM turned to a nearly-constant presentation of an array of spectacles in order to meet these challenges. High cultural spectacles, such as art displays and operas, increased the city's reputation as an artistic and cosmopolitan center rivaling Paris, London, and Berlin. Spectacular novelties helped to create a sense of shared experience in the

30. While Vanessa Schwartz argued that spectacular presentations of everyday life mollified the Parisian mob and curtailed collective violence by offering evidence of a shared experience, I argue that a similar process occurred in Monte Carlo to millions of travelers. Mob violence has rarely been a concern in modern Monaco; however, covert class anxieties and the threat of mass tourists supplanting socially-elite vacationers caused SBM and state officials serious trepidation. Spectacular presentations of the unreality and the surreal circumstance of vacation life created a confidence in the commonality of experience for many guests, alleviating these concerns. While Schwartz argued that the modern urban crowd overtook the violent mob, I similarly contend that at Monte Carlo a (mostly) unified audience replaced the heterogeneous crowd of vacationers. See Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*.

principality, cultivated a connection between the city and modern technological advances, and eventually led to one of Monte Carlo's largest tourism draws and a dominant aspect of its place in the collective imagination – the Monaco Grand Prix. The city's intense presentation of exotic spectacle in the 1910s and 1920s, best exemplified by Sergei Diaghilev's (b. 1872-1929) Ballets Russes, helped casino-promoters respond to the pressures of simultaneously serving a socially-elite clientele desirous of exclusivity and masses of middle class tourists and vacationers. Presentations of the exotic provided elites with new and exclusive cultural territory, offered all vacationers a palatable taste of a mythologized orient, and became a site of ordering and othering – where Monte Carlo's visitors emphasized their 'Europeanness' through their relation to an exotic other.³¹ Spectacle became central to Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, replacing the excitement and sociability of the gaming rooms in the popular imagination, just as the audience replaced the select crowd of seasonal vacationers at the casino-resort. In short time, Monaco was as well-known for its Grand Prix as for its fabled gambling casino or for its position as the gathering site for the world's rich and famous.

The final chapter traces the evolution and meaning of sporting practice in Monte Carlo from the 1870s to the 1950s and demonstrates how the varying sporting practices, spectacles, and clubs reproduced and re-presented the city's image as an international space. Using Bourdieu's *Distinction* and Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning's *Quest for Excitement* as a theoretical framework, it also details how, for several decades, sports became the primary medium in which class anxieties played out and through which visitors could distinguish themselves from one

31. For examples of consideration of self and other see Ricardo D. Salvatore, "North American Travel Narratives and the Ordering / Othering of South America (c. 1810-1860)," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 9, no. 1 (March 1996): 86; Angela C. Pao, *The Orient of the Boulevards: Exoticism, Empire, and Nineteenth-Century French Theater*, *New Cultural Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 3, 85; Alice L. Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 6-8 and 102-107; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, First Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); and Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

another.³² Pigeon shooting developed as the first major sporting practice in the principality – associated with the notion of a noble *cynégétique* (an imitative practice referencing the warrior aristocracy) – pigeon hunting became intimately linked with aristocratic travelers and emphasized an international sociability among elite guests. The SBM’s construction of an extraordinarily expensive shooting range in 1871 (just five years after the birth of Monte Carlo) failed to turn a profit directly, but demonstrated elite vacationers’ desires for sporting leisure at the casino-resort and the corporation’s commitment to accommodating elite leisure tastes. The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw an incredible expansion in the number of sports, sporting practitioners, and international competitions in the principality; this came alongside a quantifiable drop in the percentage of titled nobility participating in sports at Monte Carlo and a rise of sporting clubs as pockets of exclusion. These clubs also fostered sociability among wealthy elites of different national origins. Throughout the turn of the century, sporting practices revealed class anxieties at Monte Carlo, evidenced by segregated shooting ranges and resort areas restricted to all but those with membership to exclusive international clubs. I also argue that efforts in the principality to discourage bicycling, a remarkably popular sport among the middle and lower-middle classes, signified that the democratization of sports had its limits in Monaco. Sporting practice as a socially-distinctive and relatively rare practice declined during

32. Pierre Bourdieu argued that relative rarity is an essential component of the cultural and leisure tastes of the dominant class and the production of a social order. Class struggles and anxieties result when groups lower on the social hierarchy seek to gain access to dominant tastes, and when the dominant classes seek to preserve the relative rarity of their social practice. In Monte Carlo, this struggle played out through sports such as pigeon shooting, tennis, fencing, and golf. Once these sports ceased to be the exclusive domain of the social elite, the dominant classes used ‘correct’ forms of sporting practice to distinguish themselves from aspirant classes: emotional reserve, a disinterested aloofness, dignified bodily movement, appropriate equipment usage, and proper form. As the sports became increasingly democratized they emphasized their membership in exclusive sporting clubs in order to display their class. Conversely, aspirant classes gravitated toward the dominant tastes and sought to emulate these once-exclusive social practices for their own gain. See Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 163, 215-221. Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning explored the connections between sport, class, violence, and emotionality. They argued that modern sporting practice provides a necessary avenue for emotional release and a break of tension in a socially-acceptable way. They described the intense emotionality and sense of community from sporting practice and spectatorship as an example of *leisure-gemeinschaften*, a process which helps to explain the interrelation of sports and sociability in Monte Carlo. See Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*.

the first two decades of the twentieth century. Golf and tennis, in particular, proved to be popular sporting practices with mass tourists and were ultimately lampooned and caricatured in society magazines and social revues. Finally, the chapter describes how spectator sports during the twentieth century became the dominant form of sport in Monte Carlo and highlighted the complex, and often contradictory, ways in which apprehension regarding status and social jockeying played out at the casino-resort. Ultimately, spectator sports became a defining aspect of Monte Carlo's constructed image and stressed the city's international character in the public imagination.

Taken together, these chapters seek to demonstrate that the construction of a spatial imaginary predicated on luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism was the principal factor in the creation of Monte Carlo's casino-resort industry and its lasting success. This carefully constructed and powerful image allowed Monaco to overcome significant obstacles to the formation of a vibrant tourism industry, and helped the SBM respond to challenges and changes in leisure tastes for over 150 years. Monte Carlo's reputation as the exclusive playground of the wealthy and socially-elite outlasted its reality in practice, and casino-promoters were forced to contend with the paradox of success. Creating shared experiences through elaborate spectacles and providing avenues for social distinction through sporting practice and spectatorship allowed the SBM to deftly balance the city's position as a select site of upper class luxury and while attracting millions of middle class vacationers. This study also examines the intersectionality of social-class and leisure culture. Pleasure was an essential component drawing vacationers to Monte Carlo, but it often was not the sole motivation for travel. Vacationing in the city served as social capital in a variety of forms. Some visitors deliberately exploited the socially-impactful implications of vacationing in Monte Carlo by joining a cosmopolitan network of European and

American seasonal vacationers, pursuing leisure-practices aligned with the tastes of the dominant classes, and conspicuously distinguishing themselves from mass tourists; others latently converted their vacation into social capital. The intermingling of social elites and mass tourists sparked class tensions and anxieties, but fundamentally, the actions of Monte Carlo's visitors reinforces Arno Mayer's conclusions that Europe's ascendant middle classes sought to imitate and join the social elite rather than replace them. Monte Carlo's all-encompassing resort, marketed as a pleasure paradise, served as a successful model for twentieth-century tourist economies. Blanc's "dream" awakened a lucrative industry in the once-impooverished and infertile principality, powerfully impacted European vacation-leisure practices, and influenced the trajectory of other profitable resort-towns.

Part I

Chapter One. Discarding Les Spélugues: Reimagining Monégasque Space and the Introduction of the Gaming Industry in Monaco

By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the barren and rocky plot of land in Monaco known as Les Spélugues had largely been forgotten. Extirpated from the principality's collective memory and likely unknown to most of the ever-growing number of visitors, the area that had once occupied a prominent place in Monaco's geographical landscape was renamed, reimagined, and made utterly unrecognizable. After all, Les Spélugues had done little to evoke the confidence of tourists, investors, or casino concessionaires: with a Latin root denoting a cave, the word could hardly evoke dreams of comfort or luxury. To make matters worse, its French, German, and Italian equivalents "means not merely a cave, but also a low, disreputable haunt, a den of thieves, etc."¹ Vacationers and professional travel writers alike marveled at the suddenness and extensiveness of Les Spélugues's eradication. Most credited François Blanc (b. 1806-1877) with destroying the memory of Les Spélugues while also successfully reshaping and rechristening the space. In 1924 a British travel handbook remarked that:

Only 60 years ago Monte Carlo was a fishing village full of barren rocks and caverns, where, it is said, prehistoric remains were discovered.

Monsieur François Blanc, the founder of Monte Carlo, unabashed by the lack of success of his predecessor, transformed the barren rocks and 'uncultured corners' of the Spelugues, into one of the marvels of Europe; into a site for building a Casino, Theatre and Opera House, the home of comedy and song, with magnificent surroundings, bright with flowers, and overhung by rare and tropical trees brought from across the seas to transform the once arid plains and rocks into handsome and, one might even say, marvelous gardens, unequalled on the Rivas.²

1. General Pierre Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino* (New York: Hillman-Curl, 1937), 106.

2. Hyam's *Hotel Guide to the Rivas (Marseilles to Viareggio): A Practical Handbook for Travellers - 1924* (1924), 73-74, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-g-11335, D1-503 L 3.5-A.

After the creation of Monte Carlo, no longer were a harsh and desolate landscape, an austere and unproductive economy, and a desolate haunt and den of thieves axiomatic for the space's conceptual image. On the contrary, Monte Carlo became the embodiment of exclusive leisure, pleasure, luxury, and cosmopolitanism. The city adopted a spatial imaginary, necessary for its role as an epicenter of elite tourism, which served as the antithesis of the one that had surrounded Les Spélugues. Rather than a rocky area mainly frequented by locals, casino-promoters and civic leaders advertised the resort-city as an international space, a place which emphasized perceived notions of the modern cosmopolitan culture of Europe and America as well as the alluring exoticism of Africa and the Far East, while simultaneously de-emphasizing local Monégasque culture. In order to construct the positive image necessary for Monte Carlo and its casino-resort's economic success, however, François Blanc, La Société Anonyme des Bains de Mer et du Cercle des Étrangers à Monaco (SBM), and civic planners had to first tear down the negative imaginary surrounding Les Spélugues.

This chapter will chart Monaco's path to adopting casino-resort tourism as a solution for its severe economic and political crises of the mid-nineteenth century. It will also demonstrate that replacing Les Spélugues, a site imbued with a number of problematic associations, proved a necessary first step in the SBM's efforts to establish a productive spatial imaginary for its tourism resort. First, this chapter will trace Monaco's financial and political climate during the first half of the nineteenth century, a climate that saw the small principality struggling to maintain its sovereignty and to avoid outright bankruptcy. A stagnant agro-economy, a policy of heavy taxation, and government monopolies culminated with secession movements that left the state with only one-fifth of its original territory. Next, the chapter will explain how, after a series of unprofitable economic ventures, the ruling Grimaldi family sought to establish a tourist

economy in the state, patterned after the burgeoning industry in neighboring Nice. The state only reluctantly turned toward a gambling-centered tourism industry, and, despite possessing a regional monopoly on gaming, the first casino projects failed to attract a large number of vacationers. The casino-resort industry only began to thrive under the management of François Blanc, a visionary entrepreneur who understood the importance of addressing Monaco's reputation and projected image. This chapter will then examine how the negative connotations embodied by Les Spélugues and the actions of early casino concessionaires proved to be serious obstacles to the gaming industry's success. European perceptions of Monaco as a bleak, unnoteworthy, and premodern place and the reputation the principality had garnered as a site of salacious scandal during the early days of casino gaming had to be overcome in order for the tourism industry to become profitable. Finally, it will turn to Blanc's incredible investments into guest accommodations and infrastructural improvements in Monaco. These efforts effectively erased the principality's undesirable reputation and the adverse associations surrounding Les Spélugues. Blanc's developed his resort area (then called the Golden Square) with the intention that the built environment would so strongly arouse connotations of modern luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism that establishments like the Hôtel de Paris would themselves become potent marketing mediums. The Golden Square only temporarily served as Les Spélugues' replacement; the fantastic vacation-leisure paradise, Monte Carlo, could only exist once the problematic connotations of the place had largely been forgotten.

In order to analyze the creation of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, it is necessary to examine theoretical studies of space. Scholars have long theorized that space is infused with meaning, whether real or imagined. That meaning importantly shapes behavior and commercial activity in spaces such as Monte Carlo. Much of the scholarship on the meaning of space has

focused on planning, or the rationalization of modern cities and the processes of power and control which urban planners attempted to exert on the space. Georg Simmel and Henri Lefebvre, European sociologists and urban theorists, propagated the argument that the ideal space conceptualized by civic authorities and the space perceived by individuals were different, but the interrelation between the two produced and re-produced space. Lefebvre argued that space is experienced, and thus imagined. Summarizing his philosophy, James Donald noted that people “*conceive* space as well as perceive space. We map space, we calculate it, we control it, we exploit it – or at least the [scientists and urban planners] . . . among us do.”³ Such arguments have emphasized authority figures’ exertion of power on space, attempts to rationalize urban areas, and the relationship between dominated space and consumption. The strength of Lefebvre’s and Simmel’s considerations of space and its relationship to human behavior is the focus on the dual process of conception (representations of space) and perception of space (representational space). The theorists reasoned that certain spaces are regarded in certain ways; physical geography, culture, the use of space, and even the very name of a particular place combine to influence its spatial perceptions. But they also note that authorities can shape and shift the perception of space through the rational conception of space.

Laura Podalsky’s rendering of Lefebvre’s theories on the production of space is especially illuminative. She argues that the interrelated registers of built environments, lived practices, and representations combine to affect how people construct, conceive of, and behave in space. François Blanc could manipulate the material aspect of spatial production in Monaco by guiding the built environment and lived practices in order to connote a carefully constructed image that fundamentally differed from the negative associations produced by Les Spélugues.

3. James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 13. Emphasis original.

However, the representational space produced by Blanc's efforts had to be processed and mediated by visitor's experiences. Consequently, the physical conception of space and cities, and the more imagined perception of space, are irrevocably intertwined. Donald explained that:

a process of abstraction and conceptualization [produces] 'representations of space'. This is in turn different from the 'representational space' in which we actually live. Representational space is 'the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects.'⁴

Certainly, civic planners and urban authorities play significant roles in the ways in which perceptions and imaginaries form around cities and urban spaces; this chapter argues that this is the case with François Blanc. His wide-ranging construction projects and the transformation of Les Spélugues into Monte Carlo produced both conceptions of space and representational space, laden with symbols, infused with meaning, and designed to evoke certain feelings or experiences that also had to be processed in the imagination.

Theorists Michel de Certeau and Slavoj Žižek have, in their glosses on Lefebvre, demonstrated the importance of the imagination for the conception of space. De Certeau has noted, in his famous analogy of the *dieu voyeur* on top of the World Trade Center, that from above one can see the way in which the city has been rationally and strategically planned as a hygienically purified mechanism of surveillance and power, in his words "*un espace propre*."⁵ The street-level of the city, however, proves more chaotic, unknowable, and labyrinthine for de Certeau. The imaginary evoked by city-dwellers (and visitors) rarely matches the rational *espace propre* presented by urban planners; instead, "in the recesses and margins of the city, people invest places with [their own] meaning, memory, and desire."⁶ Similarly, Žižek has examined

4. Ibid.

5. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 93-95.

6. Donald, *Imagining the Modern City*, 14.

how spatial reality makes its presence felt in the imaginary, and has even questioned objectively real, or unmediated, space. While he did not conclude that spatial perception occurs wholly in the imagination, Žižek stressed the socially and textually constructed presentations of space as reality.⁷ James Donald weighed in on these arguments and added that with such spatial appropriations “there is no possibility of defining clear-cut boundaries between reality and imagination. . . . I have argued that we never experience the space of the city unmediated. The city we do experience – the city as state of mind – is always already symbolized and metaphorised.”⁸ For these theorists the appropriation of spatial meaning is not intrinsic to place, but rather formulated by exertions of power over space, shaped by the imagination.

Several prominent geographers, including Derek Gregory and David Harvey, have also offered helpful studies of spatial abstraction and perception. Both geographers insist that the perception of space, the way in which it is imagined, plays a central role in its use, function, and commoditization. Harvey contends that visualization and the “seeing eye,” while laden with biases, associations, and assumptions, are essential to establishing power over place; the voyeuristic picturing of place allows one to “possess the city in imagination instead of being possessed by it.”⁹ Harvey further explains that experiencing the city, even through a process of visualization, is intimately tied to a perceived imaginary. Harvey finds “the idea that there is something called ‘experience’ unmediated by imagination as unacceptable [and] misguided.”¹⁰ He concludes that such spatial imaginaries are generally informed by capitalist systems of consumption and “can also be marketed as commodities.”¹¹

7. Slavoj Žižek, *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso Press, 1994), 20-21.

8. Donald, *Imagining the Modern City*, 17.

9. David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 1-2.

10. *Ibid.*, 14.

11. *Ibid.*, 233.

In a similar vein, Gregory has emphasized the interconnected process of visualizing space and imagining it, and has presented imagined space in the modern world through the analogy of a world's fair, or the world-as-exhibition itself. Gregory stressed the 'visualization as power' aspect of the world-as-exhibition theory, and the two worlds (Occidental and Oriental) which are reinforced through this visualization process. This, mostly European, analogy was especially apt during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the formative decades of Monte Carlo's construction.¹² Gregory notes that a process of enframing occurs with this sort of spatial imagining. He claims that:

'[T]he fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture.' For it is through the process of enframing that 'man contends for the position in which he can be that particular being who gives the measure and draws up the guidelines for everything that is.' Within this modern optic, the 'certainty of truth' is made to turn on the need to establish a distance between observer and observed. From that position (from that perspective) order may be re-discovered and re-presented.¹³

For Gregory, visualization and picturing are intimately linked to the ways in which people imagine space and the lived practice of space. Othering and providing (usually visual) experiences outside the realm of everyday life are key aspects of the spatial imaginary for Gregory. He goes on to note that "the central [pinion] of the world-as-exhibition was a conception of order that was produced by – and resided in – a structure that was supposed to be

12. Gregory's and Timothy Mitchell's world-as-exhibition analogy, the importance of visualization, and the primacy of sight help explain the construction of part of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary. By using displays of difference (most often through spectacle and visual evidence) to define Monte Carlo as modern, cultured, and sophisticated, civic authorities and casino-promoters pitted other, 'exotic' spaces against the 'Euro-centric' and modern city. This was especially the case during the brief but intense fascination with exotic locales and cultures experienced in the city during the 1880s and 1920s. These periods heightened the sense of shared experience and 'Europeanness' among the vacationers and delivered palatable and alluring displays of the exotic other. See Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 217-236.

13. Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 36-37. Gregory examines Mitchell's world-as-exhibition analogy in this quotation.

somehow separate from what it structured: A framework that seemed to precede and exist apart from the objects it enframed.”¹⁴

Gregory also elaborates on Lefebvre’s contention that imagined or abstract spaces are de-historicized. Gregory argues that such spaces:

in which **dissident constructs that might be subversive of modernity are suppressed or swallowed up** by the hegemonic representations of abstract space . . . it is supposed to be **a space from which previous histories have been erased** and in which, in consequence, what Lefebvre calls ‘the time needed for living’ – a sense of historicity . . . ‘eludes the logic of visualization and spatialization.’¹⁵

These two concepts, the visual framing of the other and the de-historicization of space (the attempted erasure of the past, no less), are key elements of imagined space in Monaco during the latter half of the nineteenth century. While Les Spélugues hardly fit Gregory’s model of the world-as-exhibition, I will argue in later chapters that its successor, Monte Carlo, was deliberately constructed along these lines. François Blanc’s conception of space in Monaco certainly diverged considerably from that of Les Spélugues; he sought to create a visually stunning city, highly controlled, regulated, and purged of unpleasant elements. His first step toward creating a new, imagined space in Monaco, conducive to a successful tourism and gaming industry, was to erase the negative palimpsest associated with the place. This Blanc achieved by discarding Les Spélugues.

Economic Crisis and Ineffectual Solutions

Decades after Les Spélugues had been transformed, Monte Carlo’s reputation as an elite tourism destination had been firmly established. That reputation attracted many of the European and American *nouveau riche* and members of the ascendant middle classes to the city who attempted to emulate the dominant class’s leisure tastes. In short order, the city became a site of mass

14. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 53.

15. *Ibid.*, 366. Emphases are my own.

tourism. By the time Monte Carlo had planned a huge fête for the centennial of the French Revolution in 1889, the number of annual visitors to the principality had reached half a million. The number exceeded one million in 1902 and by 1909 the principality attracted over 1.5 million tourists every year.¹⁶ The SBM had grown into such a successful enterprise and the casino generated so much revenue that the state replenished its royal coffers and abolished all taxation on Monégasque subjects.¹⁷

Nearly all travel guides and visitors' letters praised the lavishness and luxury of the resort-city, but most expressed shock at the swiftness of the construction of Monte Carlo as an elite tourist destination. In 1903, Philippe Casimir, a journalist, author, and politician from Provence, proclaimed:

Monte Carlo! This name is recognized throughout the world. Its fame equal to the biggest, most illustrious cities. This coastal Mediterranean locality, only a kilometer long and 700 meters wide, has created in 40 years what other celebrated capitals have done in centuries of history . . . this small corner of the earth is so attractive that those that come from other countries simply stay.¹⁸

Casimir fundamentally credited Monte Carlo's reputation and fame for its success. He also conceded that this reputation formed quickly and intensely – a startling change over a short period of time. Henry Auxouteaux de Conty succinctly noted this metamorphosis in his guidebook in 1897, when he remarked:

next to the old city of Monaco, these magnificent villas, these enchanted gardens, this marvelous Casino, could you believe these were accumulated in less than twenty years? They all were to be created on this arid boulder and desert, baptized with the sonorous name Monte Carlo by François Blanc, the old

16. Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), 324.

17. In addition to paying a flat annual fee as part of the casino-concession, the SBM also paid a varying percentage of the casino's profits to the state. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century this amounted to a considerable sum and essentially solved the state's financial crisis.

18. Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir : Le Passé et le Présent Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice: Éditions de la Ste de Publicité des Pays D'azur, 1903), 159, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-K-3694.

concessionaire of the Hombourg Casino . . . has brought this country from the dregs to elite heights.¹⁹

Authors such as Casimir and Conty lauded Monte Carlo for its magnificence, beauty, and splendor, but above all stressed the rapidity and extensiveness of the city's transformation. These flattering portrayals of Monte Carlo belie the precariousness of the early years of Monaco's tourism industry and the tenuous solvency of the state. Both politically and economically, Monaco faced a very uncertain future in the years leading up to the creation of Monte Carlo. The Grimaldi family faced financial ruin, considered tourism and gaming dubious options to improve the principality's finances, struggled to maintain political independence, and fought to stave off popular discontent from their overtaxed and economically-burdened subjects. While relatively rapid, the transition from Les Spélugues to Monte Carlo was far from seamless and was laden with many initial failures.

Monaco experienced a severe financial crisis throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Once extremely wealthy, the royal Grimaldi family was nearly ruined by the results of the French Revolution and the subsequent European wars. The royal family had been deposed during the Revolution, and their exile had taken a toll on their personal wealth, as well as on the principality's economy. Royal property had been confiscated and squandered. This desperate situation forced several Grimaldis to work as laborers. In the most dramatic example, Prince Florestan (r 1841-1856) toiled as an actor just to survive.²⁰ When Prince Honoré V (r 1819-1841) returned to Monaco as sovereign in 1815, he found his wealth greatly diminished, the economy in shambles, and the people discontented.

19. Henry Auxouteaux de Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty: Paris à Nice Monaco-Menton*, (Paris: 4 Boulevard des Italiens, 1897), 279, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 16-L27-245, D1-552 L 2.3-A. By "the old city of Monaco" Conty means the "Rock of Monaco" or the Genoese-styled medieval fortress which houses the royal palace, among other buildings.

20. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 125.

The country's miniscule geographical area and relative lack of natural resources compounded the dire straits in which the principality found itself. Much of the land was rocky or full of steep hills, while the soil was only useful for orchards or small fields of flowers. A scheme to manufacture tobacco proved unprofitable, and Honoré V ultimately opted to abolish the industry. The natural harbor did provide abundant fishing opportunities, but for a nearly-bankrupt country dependent entirely on agriculture and fishing, the future appeared bleak. Simply put, "[t]he land had few resources. Except for fishing and the growing of flowers and oranges, it provided but small means of earning a livelihood."²¹ Honoré V conceded that he could not pull his country out of debt simply through the duties paid from these meager floral and maritime exports, so he sought to raise revenue the traditional way – by raising taxes.

The hefty policy of taxation that Honoré V employed not only failed to recover the wealth the Grimaldi family lost during the Revolution, but it also worsened the economic situation of Monaco's approximately 20,000 residents. As taxation rates progressively rose throughout the 1820s and 1830s, the Prince also sought to increase revenue through unpopular state monopolies on basic commodities. According to one commentator, among these was a flour monopoly which produced "very bad and very dear bread."²² The introduction of monopolistic taxes was a disastrous move for Honoré V and the rest of Monaco. In fact, these "oppressive taxes introduced by the Prince . . . were bitterly resented by his subjects, especially in Mentone and Roquebrune, where a secessionist movement was set on foot with the object of union with Sardinia."²³ Riotous protests greeted the sovereign throughout his reign, and he eventually became known as one of the most despotic rulers in the history of Monaco, in large part due to his excessive taxation policy.

21. Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935), 135.

22. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 104.

23. *Ibid.*, 134.

Furthermore, these tax hikes worsened the economic situation of the Monégasques. The poverty-stricken people were expected to pay exorbitant taxes, and monopolies on flour, olive oil, lemons, and other items made it difficult to purchase daily staples. It became clear to Honoré V, and much more so to his successor, that the monopolies could not function as a long term solution to Monaco's economic strain. However, with no alternative in sight, the troublesome taxes had to stand as the principality's sole source of revenue. A popular poem, anonymously revised from a medieval anecdote sometime in the 1830s, summed up the sorrowful plight and dissatisfaction of the people. The poem woefully claimed, "I am Monaco, a stray rock / I do not produce anything, / I do not plunder the good of others, / And yet I intend to live."²⁴

Appropriately descriptive, the quatrain identified key elements of Monaco's economic woes. Monaco's environment indeed resembled a stray rock, geographically and geologically unfit for much cultivation and extremely isolated from much of Europe. Resultantly, production was minimal, especially with four-fifths of the principality's land mass threatening to secede. Yet if the country intended on living, it had to come up with an alternative to the heavy taxation and monopolies that were tearing the principality apart and leading the country down the road of financial ruin.

Monaco also faced a diplomatic crisis which threatened to exacerbate the financial situation. The Kingdom of Sardinia had been making a power play for portions of Monaco since the early nineteenth century, and the financial insecurity of the 1830s and 1840s provided an excuse to grow more aggressive in its efforts. Sardinia's protector status contributed to Monaco's economic crisis. Since 1816, Monaco "was occupied by a force of Sardinian troops. Economically, this led to the gradual impoverishment of Monaco, for there was no longer free

24. Anonymous Poem, quoted in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 115. Translation by Adolphe Smith.

trade with France, and the Sardinian Government squeezed all it could out of its new protectorate.”²⁵ Although the protectorate troops were almost universally despised, some Monégasques sided with Sardinia; the combination of Honoré V’s monopolies and the possibility of a brighter future with Sardinia made secession an appealing option. Furthermore, the revolutionary fervor of 1848 reached Monaco, and Mentone and Roquebrune voted to secede from Monaco and be annexed by Sardinia. France refused to allow the annexation, but nonetheless, Mentone and Roquebrune remained separate from Monaco as independent city-states.²⁶

The secessions were nothing short of a disaster for Monaco. They substantially reduced the size and population of the country and the areas lost (Mentone and Roquebrune) had comprised the small principality’s richest agricultural regions. These two provinces contained the overwhelming majority of the profitable lemon and olive groves which had once been located in Monaco, and what was already the smallest state in the world was reduced to one-fifth its former size.²⁷ Prince Florestan, reeling from the taxation crisis created by his brother and dealing with the loss of the most profitable areas of his state, sought new and unique approaches to deal with the revenue crisis his country faced.

The prospects of attracting foreign tourists as a source of revenue had first been raised to Honoré V, but the sovereign bristled at the prospect of relying on foreigners for a source of income. As early as 1833 the prince’s advisors had discussed this possibility, with one counselor responding in an official report that:

25. Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino*, 70. For a more comprehensive analysis of the Monégasque loss of Mentone and Roquebrune and the economic detriment to the Grimaldi family see Charles Graves, *The Big Gamble: The Story of Monte Carlo* (London: Hutchinson, 1956).

26. Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino*, 71.

27. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 115.

[T]hanks to its splendid situation and wonderful climate, the Principality of Monaco should attract numerous visitors. It would become the refuge of large numbers of invalids, if only they could find there comfortable accommodations and good cooking, with some of those distractions which the foreigner expects to find when he takes a holiday abroad. Such an establishment would indubitably be as profitable to its founders as to the country in general.²⁸

While Honoré V found tourism a dubious source of revenue, his brother, Prince Florestan and Princess Consort Marie Louise were open to the option if it would drag Monaco out of its desperate financial situation. The royal couple faced a very serious problem. They wanted to “lighten the burden of taxation that weighed on the people without disorganizing the whole revenue of the State. How could the monopolies be abolished when there was [*sic*] no other sources of revenue to take their place?”²⁹

Promoting the construction of the tourism industry in Monaco was not the first option Florestan and Marie Louise pursued, however, and granting a gaming concession was also far from their minds. The Grimaldi family had serious moral reservations concerning gambling, and the two countries that served as protectorate states for Monaco (France and Sardinia) had outlawed most forms of gambling since the eighteenth century.³⁰ Naturally, Prince Florestan explored other options before pursuing gaming or tourism as a source of national revenue.

Florestan and Marie Louise’s first attempts to raise revenue:

consisted in the distillation of alcohol from the roots of a plant which grew extensively in Monaco; next flower-growing, lace-making and the manufacture of

28. *Untitled Report to Prince Honoré V on Projects for the Assistance of Monaco*, June 1833, quoted in Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935), 137.

29. Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo*, 135.

30. European gaming laws were dynamic, inconsistently enforced, and generally provided exceptions for spas and *villes d’eaux*. For general information on the state of gambling in Europe throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see *La suppression des Jeux de Monte-Carlo-Monaco. Mémoire a l’appui de la pétition présentée aux Chambres françaises – 1881* (Nice: Imprimerie et Lithographie Anglo-Française Malvano-Mignon, 1881), 5-7, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8 V Piece 3355, D3-803 L 3.34-A; Joseph Kelly and William R. Eadington, “The Regulation of Casino Gaming in Europe: A Comparative Analysis,” Paper No. 86-8, September, 1986, The William Thompson Collection 87-063, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 3; and David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (New York: Gotham Books, 2006).

perfumes were attempted. But unfortunately none of these efforts met with much success, and the economic situation of the Monegasques . . . was not greatly improved.³¹

Each industry failed to match the money raised through the government monopolies, and the state either abandoned or neglected them as serious ventures. By the 1850s, the desperate prince looked to the successes of his neighbors to the West, Nice and Cannes, and the nascent tourism industry that blossomed in these once-peripheral farming and fishing villages.

As early as the eighteenth century, foreign tourists had frequented Cannes and especially Nice. Much of the attraction of the Riviera as a site of tourism and vacationing can be attributed to Tobias Smollet and his widely read *Travels through France and Italy* (1792). Published for a British audience, Smollet's book depicted the Riviera as an unspoiled (albeit uncultured) Eden whose climate held tremendous benefits for one's health.³² Smollet's recommendation, coupled with the well-publicized sojourns of high profile members of British society such as M.P. Henry Brougham, led to a rather organic birth of the foreign tourism industry on the Riviera. Waves of British invalids traveled to Nice and surrounding villages for their winters. Whether Nice desired them or not, British tourists had arrived to breathe the warm air, bathe on the banks of the Mediterranean, and of course, spend money. The genesis of tourism in Nice proved to be an externally rather than domestically motivated development.

The influx of foreign visitors resulted in a lucrative tourism economy, but created burdens for civic governments which were ill-prepared to accommodate such a large group of foreigners. The nascent tourism industry in Southern France was an imported, largely British construction, and the demand for tourist accommodations arrived before places like Nice could

31. Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo*, 137-138.

32. Tobias George Smollet, *Travels through France and Italy. Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities: With a particular description of the town, territory, and climate of Nice: to which is added, a register of the weather, kept during a residence of eighteen months in that city* (Dublin: J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, J. Potts, W. Sleater, E. Lynch, et al, 1772), 14: 1.

accommodate them. This provided Nice with an opportunity for an entirely new industry and source of income; yet few accommodations and options for amusement existed to take advantage of the recent influx of tourists. As Smollet ruded in his account, “[u]nless . . . you hire a whole house for a length of time, you will find no ready-furnished lodgings at Nice.”³³

Domestically, civic authorities and potential entrepreneurs made very few improvements to accommodate the British invalids throughout the rest of the eighteenth century. Natural obstacles to widespread tourism existed and the local population contributed little to improvements that would have catalyzed the growth of the industry. The beaches at Nice, while warm and mild, were rocky and visually unappealing. Smollet and other visitors vocalized their complaints about the roads leading to Nice and the basic infrastructure and sanitation of the town. It was the British visitors, not the populace or municipal administration of Nice, who brought the first improvements that would boost the city’s tourist economy. Foreigners also first advertised the advantages of vacationing on the Riviera. For example, many British doctors recommended wintering in Nice for their patients. A late nineteenth century listing noted that thirty-nine British physicians practiced in the French Riviera, most of whom resided in Nice.³⁴ Likewise, British visitors built the first boardwalk in Nice in 1820. The walkway, used almost exclusively by British beachgoers wintering in Nice, was ambivalently known locally as the Promenade des Anglais.³⁵

The Niçois eventually began to accept the immergence of the tourism industry and started to promote the industry and adapt the city to meet the needs of its visitors. Historian of tourism

33. Ibid., 149:1.

34. Normal Douglas, *Siren Land: A Celebration of Life in Southern Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1911) quoted in John Pemble *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 87.

35. Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 164.

Orvar Löfgren has commented that for “the local city authorities this influx of tourists was a godsend but it also created new problems. Nice is one of the first examples of a city that had to organize itself to meet the needs of a powerful alien group with no wish to fit into local life.”³⁶ Thus, meeting tourists’ needs sometimes involved the repression of local culture. Mary Blume wrote that customs like *charivari* were repressed, and vulgar aspects of the municipality’s carnival were completely removed to accommodate the sensitivities of tourists.³⁷ French and British entrepreneurs began to take advantage of the tourism market, and invested in hotels and villas in the city. These buildings mostly mirrored popular British styles of the time and sought to provide a sense of domestic comfort to their visitors. Tourism-related businesses clustered in “the Croix de Marbre quarter of town – [the British tourists] nicknamed it Newborough – and soon it became ‘practically a suburb of London.’”³⁸ Not only did Nice have to deal with an influx of foreign tourists and an English quarter of the town, but the situation forced the city to cope with a rising number of migrant workers. The labor-intensive nature of the tourism industry and the shortage of cheap labor in Nice paved the way for a sudden rise in permanent immigration. Soon, the city developed an Italian quarter as well due to the large number of Italian immigrants who flocked to Nice for work.³⁹ As a result of these changes, Nice became one of the most rapidly-growing cities in nineteenth-century Europe and developed a well-established tourism industry that grew from an externally constructed sanatorium into a luxurious vacation destination for Europe’s elite. This model of tourism, to which Prince Florestan turned, was remunerative but decidedly internationally-dependent.

36. Ibid.

37. Mary Blume, *Cote d’Azur: Inventing the French Riviera* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 35, 66.

38. Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo and Its Fabled Casino* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977), 17.

39. Löfgren, *On Holiday*, 164.

Florestan first attempted to capitalize on the large number of health-conscious British invalids who traveled to the Mediterranean for its climate by attempting to find financiers for a sanatorium in Monaco. The venture quickly failed, but the prince was convinced by the research for the sanatorium that a resort in Monaco could help solve the financial crisis. By the 1850s his health was declining and he encouraged his son, Prince Charles III, and Princess Caroline to pursue the tourism industry as a means of increasing Monégasque revenue. Encouraged by the possibilities, Princess Caroline sent her close personal friend and advisor, A. Eynaud, to several Rhineland resorts to research the casino-resort industries and the particulars of the concessions granted for them. Late in 1854, Eynaud wrote to Caroline with heartening news about the successes of the resort and casino in the Grand Duchy of Baden-Baden, where the casino showed receipts of 350,000 francs per year. Eynaud wrote, “The Grand Duke considers this only one among the advantages accruing to his treasury from the existence of the casino, for more than two hundred thousand people visit the duchy annually, and spend money there like water.”⁴⁰

The royal family, and Princess Caroline in particular, at first hesitated to acquiesce to the construction of a casino. Gambling remained a morally-ambiguous and controversial issue in the principality, and Monaco’s neighbors, France and Sardinia, prohibited the practice. Less than a decade before, Nice had undergone an unsuccessful campaign to construct a casino and still suffered the financial burden of recovering from the aborted experiment. Princess Caroline herself called casinos “gambling hell.”⁴¹ Nevertheless, the royal family remained open to the option of constructing a casino if it would solve the economic crisis. Sensing that the casino would be the most profitable aspect of the enterprise, Eynaud proposed an interesting solution to the dilemma of allowing gambling. He wrote to Princess Caroline that “the bathing

40. A. Eynaud to Princess Caroline Grimaldi, December, 1854, quoted in Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1935), 139.

41. Graves, *The Big Gamble: The Story of Monte Carlo*, 38.

establishment should in a sense act as a façade for the gambling establishment. . . . It seems to me that such an enterprise would be of the greatest benefit to the general interest, as well as to that of Your Highness.”⁴² The royal family continued to hold reservations about making gambling the featured attraction of the principality’s tourist economy; however, they ultimately decided that the casino would become the centerpiece of the Monégasque tourism industry. With the last major act before his death, Prince Florestan approved a twenty-five year concession for the resort and casino on April 26, 1856. The concession called for the concessionaires to provide amusements for guests, ranging from balls, parties, and concerts to games of chance like écarté, piquet, trente-et-quarante, and the new game of roulette.⁴³ The tourism industry in Monaco was officially born, and the casino soon became the primary focus of the concessionaires.

Monaco was also uniquely situated to avoid some of the obstacles which had stymied the growth of the tourism industry in Nice. The pattern at Nice, as well as Cannes, had involved an intense effort by the British visitors to establish a sense of home at their new winter destinations. Historian Julian Hale argued that they did so with little regard for local, regional, or national custom. He remarked that:

the first instinct of the English coming to Cannes and other resorts along the Riviera was to recreate as much of familiar England as possible; not just croquet lawns, cricket pitches and tennis courts, but horse racing, gooseberries, Protestant churches, Tudor half-timbering, grocers and hygienic drains.⁴⁴

Hale also commented on the utter indifference of the British visitors toward the nationality of their vacation spot, even when places such as Nice transferred from Sardinian ownership to

42. Eynaoud to Caroline, Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo*, 140.

43. Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo*, 144.

44. Julian Hale, *The French Riviera: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 65.

French.⁴⁵ Such attitudes and actions led to strained, and at times contemptuous, relationships between vacationers and locals. From Smollet's initial assessment of the Riviera in 1772 and well into the late-nineteenth century, British visitors had criticized French and Sardinian resort towns along the Mediterranean for their relative poverty, the idleness of their inhabitants, the lack of municipal order, and their comparative dearth of modern amenities and comforts.

Conversely, many locals decried the influx of British vacationers as an unwanted invasion, clung to practices and foods abhorred by the new visitors, and only slowly and begrudgingly accepted the tourism industry in their cities. Xenophobia was rampant. As Blume and Hale have demonstrated, legislation was required to establish tourism-friendly practices along the French Riviera.⁴⁶ Towns pushed unpalatable local practices to the periphery or outlawed them entirely. Similarly, cooperation with, and concessions to, foreign investors (usually British) accounted for much of the early British-friendly establishments. In short, locals balked at abandoning their culture and customs in order to assist a growing tourism economy dependent on foreigners. At Nice, and to a somewhat lesser extent Cannes, French citizens were forced to endure waves of British tourists who invaded their public spaces, vocalized opposition to their way of life, reshaped their *villes*, and redefined their cities' main economic industries and labor patterns. Though residents of Nice and Cannes did little to invite this tourist invasion to their beaches, it profoundly changed their lives. Time, economic prosperity, and familiarity assuaged the initially-vitriolic relationship between the tourists and their reluctant hosts, but the early stages of the tourism industry in Nice and Cannes were contentious and insecure.

The situation in Monaco was quite different. Despite some moral misgivings, the government and royal family endorsed the tourism and gambling venture, while the early

45. Ibid., 63.

46. Blume, *Cote d'Azur*, 66.

entrepreneurs who invested in the casino certainly embraced the promise of foreign patrons. The local Monégasques provided less friction to the idea of an influx of foreign tourists than did their neighbors on the Riviera. This lukewarm reception, or at least the absence of intense opposition, to the budding tourism industry in the principality can be attributed to the isolation of the casino-resort in the Les Spélugues area and the prospect of tax relief, along with a tradition of cooperation with (or reliance upon) foreign powers and a relative lack of nationalist fervor in the state.

First, Monégasques tacitly understood that the intrusion upon public space that had occurred in Nice would not happen in Monaco. Unlike Nice, where British tourists and entrepreneurs had taken it upon themselves to build the Promenade des Anglais and Croix de Marbre and to fundamentally alter the seaside beach and sections of the town, the resort center in Monaco would be relegated to Les Spélugues, managed through royal concession, and subject to periodic review or revocation. Moreover, laws officially segregated locals and foreigners. Prince Charles III barred his subjects from entering the casino.⁴⁷ Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the prince and his successors also banned subjects of Monaco from working in the game rooms or serving as croupiers (although it was acceptable to work in other parts of the casino-resort). While direct economic benefits and job creation were not immediately or widely available to Monégasque subjects, they welcomed the prospect of taxation alleviation. Few could have predicted that the success of the casino-resort would lift all taxes from Monaco's subjects, but the possibility that the revenue generated from the casino could ease the burden of taxation on the Monégasque did not seem farfetched. With the hope that the new vacation-leisure industry could mean fewer taxes and a relative assurance that daily life would not be

47. *La suppression des Jeux*, 7.

largely infringed upon, there were few pockets of opposition to the construction of the casino-resort.

Second, dependence upon foreigners was hardly unfamiliar to the Monégasques by the mid-nineteenth century. Monaco's sovereignty had been rather complicated and convoluted since the French Revolution. Sovereign, but militarily dependent upon the French prior to 1789, Monaco was annexed by the French during the Revolution, failed to regain its independence during a legislative movement in 1793, and was eventually transferred as a ward of Sardinia during the Treaty of Vienna. Sardinia maintained its status as protector of Monaco until 1861 (although its influence over the state waned by mid-century) when Monaco became the protectorate state of France with the Franco-Monégasque Treaty of 1861. While Monaco by this time had regained nominal independence, the French maintained checks on Monaco's sovereignty, particularly with revisions to the 1861 treaty in 1918, 2004, and 2005.⁴⁸ Despite guarantees of sovereignty and autonomy, France continued to operate as Monaco's military safeguard, provided contingency plans for natural disaster relief, dictated rules for succession, and unofficially served as protector state even after the label was officially lifted in 1918. Continued support from foreign powers, alternating between Sardinia and France (with the prospect of German intervention in 1918) challenged notions of Monégasque sovereignty, stymied nationalist movements in Monaco, and helped create a populace more tolerant of foreign visitors (especially since a large number of the visitors were French). Furthermore, the exorbitant taxation rates, disenchantment with the royal family, waves of secessionist movements in the early nineteenth century, and the losses of Roquebrune and Mentone limited the possibility of a strong nationalist movement developing in Monaco.

48. "A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Monaco," http://history.state.gov/countries/monaco#treaties_agreements (accessed January 14, 2014).

Monaco's Nascent Tourism Industry

The royal family and its advisors had established by the mid-1850s that tourism should be the principal industry in Monaco, and that a gambling casino should be the focal point of the industry; however, they acknowledged that gambling itself could not be the sole attraction for a profitable tourist-economy. Drawing from the recent success of Nice, and from the traditional Mediterranean Grand Tour, the Grimaldi family and early casino concessionaires sought to emphasize the historical importance of Monaco and the healing climate of the Mediterranean Coast. These industry leaders did little to separate Monaco from its coastal neighbors; in fact, throughout the 1850s proponents of Monaco's tourism industry mirrored Nice's and surrounding towns' approaches to their tourist-economies as closely as possible. Visitors to Monaco were encouraged to visit historical ruins of inflated importance, travel to the sites of purported Greek and Herculean exploits, or simply stay for their health. The state and the casino investors gave little thought to providing luxurious accommodations or touting picturesque views, and even less to the notoriously poor transportation routes in and out of the principality. Monaco, half a day's ride by carriage from Nice along the perilous Corniche Road, similarly distanced from Mentone, and lacking a modern harbor, was poorly designed to attract the same British invalids as Nice. Additionally, few attractions, diversions, comforts, and accommodations existed in Monaco by the end of Prince Florestan's reign, in 1856, that would have attracted a large number of tourists. Aside from the seaside view and the pleasant climate, the principality would have to produce or import the entertainment and luxurious accommodations that drew foreign tourists.

A watercolor painting produced in the 1850s showcased the bleakness of the Monégasque landscape, the mundane appearance of the principality, and the geographically-isolating obstacles to transportation. The painting features the Prince's Palace from the perspective of Les

Spélugues, the Port of Hercules, and a winding seaside road. The palace, originally erected in the thirteenth century, appears more as a fortress than an opulent and impressive royal residence. The port displays some of its natural beauty, but the dock is small and plain, and the harbor contains only a few tiny fishing vessels. The landscape appears bleak and uninviting. Lacking are the palm trees⁴⁹ and reeds that typified a tropical paradise; in their place are the severe plants and grasses of a chaparral shrubland, surrounded by rocky cliffs and a worn dirt road. Craggy bluffs and cliffs abound, and Monaco seems sheltered by mountains and cut off by the sea. The painting also highlights the conspicuous absence of modern roads and lanes of transportation (Figure 1.1).⁵⁰ Monaco, as depicted in the watercolor, more closely resembled a seaside prison fortress than a vacation destination. Poorly named, geographically disadvantaged, and lacking the infrastructure and guest-service industries of the neighbors it mirrored, Monaco nonetheless launched its tourism industry in 1856 with the first casino, Villa Bellevue, centered in the principality's Les Spélugues region. Rather than reimagining the space and constructing even passable accommodations for vacationers, planners and concessionaires focused on emphasizing Les Spélugues and taking advantage of restrictive European gaming laws to attract visitors.

Tracts disapproving of the early tourism efforts in Monaco did not limit their complaints to the casino itself, but also criticized the bleak site of Les Spélugues, the dearth of amenities, and the flimsy pretexts for attracting visitors. Philippe Casimir described the climate and landscape of Monaco as austere, barren, and desolate before the transformations of the 1860s. Remarking on the contemporary beauty of the space between Monaco and Saint Martin, Casimir

49. The *Phoenix canariensis* palm trees acquired a widespread, symbolic association with the Côte d'Azur as early as the 1880s, and were imported by Riviera towns in order to produce the effect of a tropical paradise. Monaco was among the first and most ardent practitioners of introducing the non-native species to the local environment and of capitalizing on its symbolic effect.

50. *The Principality of Monaco in the Mid-Fifties*, ca. 1855, Royal Collection of Prince Rainier III, Hercule Gallery, Monaco, Palais Princier de Monaco, <http://www.palais.mc/monaco/x-net/internet-palais-princier/francais/accueil.1.html> (accessed November 2, 2010).



Figure 1.1. *The Principality of Monaco in the Mid-Fifties*, ca. 1855. (Source: The Royal Collection of Prince Rainier III, Hercule Gallery, Monaco, Palais Princier de Monaco)

noted that before “the construction of the first villas in 1858 and [the gardens in 1866] it must be said this was an empty, rocky space.”⁵¹ Casimir also expressed bewilderment at the early attempts to market this inhospitable space. Early proponents of tourism sought to emphasize the historical importance of Monaco as a medieval garrison, the site of a few Roman ruins, and a promontory of Grecian mythological importance. According to Casimir, “[o]ld debris were pretexts for visiting the casino. In Monaco, the casino was built on [self-proclaimed] illustrious grounds . . . where historical importance was emphasized ahead of its picturesque position.”⁵²

The model of emphasizing areas of historical importance had long been a strategy of Mediterranean towns seeking to attract tourists. Nice, Menton, and other sites along the European Grand Tour had capitalized on historical ruins in their towns and marketed them as important settings of education, edification, and culture. For most European visitors, however, Monaco’s medieval Genoese-styled architecture and ruins did not warrant the lengthy, and often

51. Casimir, *Guides des pays d’azur*, 102-103.

52. *Ibid.*, 176-177.

harrowing, journey to the isolated principality. Simply put, Monaco had nothing to offer the historically-minded tourist which Nice, Menton, or most other towns on the Riviera could offer without the disadvantages of such harsh travel conditions and austere amenities.⁵³ Casimir further remarked that Monaco projected image of Les Spélugues as a tourism destination was a drab one, and early marketing did nothing to correct this problem. He wrote that “[t]he documents we have from the Middle Ages described Les Speluges’ [*sic*] environment as arid and desert, which it stayed until 1860.”⁵⁴ The marketing schema of the early casino not only emphasized the harsh climate, landscape, and history of Monaco (an image not easily conducive to creating a luxurious destination for tourists), but it simultaneously emphasized that the transformation accompanied by Blanc’s new casino fundamentally altered Monaco’s environment.

The construction of the original casino at Monaco, and the few amenities that went along with it, was rushed, underfunded, and poorly conceived. The first concessionaires, French businessmen Napoleon Langlois and Albert Aubert, disregarded many of the articles of the concession and instead focused on constructing and opening the casino as soon as possible. Their haste came at the detriment of the casino’s success. One of the reasons that Eynaud had so fervently suggested establishing a casino industry in Monaco to the royal family had been the close proximity of tourists in neighboring states and cities, such as Cannes, Nice, Sardinia, and Italy. However, the concessionaires failed to capitalize on their neighbors’ successes, for in “the haste to set the tables going Langlois and Aubert had, in fact, completely overlooked the necessity of opening up communications between Monaco and the neighboring towns . . .

53. *Ibid.*, 166.

54. *Ibid.*, 160.

sometimes, too, for weeks on end . . . there would be no communication at all by sea between Nice and Monaco.”⁵⁵

Sparse accommodations further damaged the casino’s prospects. For the few tourists and gamblers that made their way to Monaco from Nice, or stopped by on the way to the Italian Riviera, there were no rooms for rent inside the principality proper, and only one inn that served food and drink. Furthermore, Princess Caroline had demanded that no gambling take place in Monaco itself, so Villa Bellevue was constructed in Les Spélugues, near the Port of Hercules and just outside the limits of the municipality. Langlois and Aubert put little effort into the construction of the building itself, and the establishment was in pitiable shape by the time the casino at Villa Bellevue opened in December of 1856. During the first few days of the grand opening, the villas first tourists were greeted by pools of mud and piles of garbage. Count Egon Cäsar Conte Corti, a Lombardi nobleman and early historian of Monte Carlo, lamented that Villa Bellevue was “hurriedly and scantily furnished, and in no way fitted for its purpose. In spite of all that had been promised, the immediate vicinity of the villa was in a more or less wild state; even the entrance was not yet finished.”⁵⁶

While the interior of the villa provided a less than welcoming atmosphere, the architecture of the building proved just as uninviting. A photograph of the casino, taken in the 1856, illustrated that even with interior improvements the casino hardly fit the definitive vision of luxury. The building is constructed very much in the Monégasque style, similar to the Prince’s Palace and heavily influenced by medieval Genoese architecture. The two-story edifice is very rigid, with plain, white-washed walls, small, squared windows, and a plain and unimposing doorway. The building’s proximity to the jutting cliffs and the wild, unkempt

55. Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo*, 150-151.

56. *Ibid.*, 149.

plantlife near the front entrance underscores its austere appearance (Figure 1.2).⁵⁷ This harsh site hardly fit the model for a luxury vacation destination. In terms of architecture, accommodations, travel access, and communication, the first concessionaires failed to consider the comforts of their foreign guests and the benefits of a thriving tourism industry in surrounding states.

Almost immediately, the survival of the tourism and gaming industry in Monaco was challenged. After moderate success during the grand opening, business slowed and Langlois and Aubert appealed to Prince



Figure 1.2. Detaille, “Villa Bellevue, 1856.” (Source: Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo and Its Fabled Casino*)

Charles III for loans to meet the table reserves only four months after the casino’s inauguration. Business worsened in the winter of 1857 when no more than two gamblers visited the casino for most of November and December. Between 1857 and 1858, the casino transferred from Langlois and Aubert to Froissard de Lilbonne, and was then almost immediately conceded to Pierre Auguste Daval, and from Daval to François Lefebvre. In addition to the rapid transfer of

57. Detaille, “Villa Bellevue, 1856,” in Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, photograph insert. Many early histories of Monte Carlo have incorrectly labeled the casino structure from the 1860s as Villa Bellevue or as “the first casino.” The photograph in Figure 1.2 marks one of the few times that an accurate depiction of Villa Bellevue has been included in a history of the city.

ownership, casino operations moved from Villa Bellevue to the Hôtel de Russie.⁵⁸ The casino had been steadily losing money since the spring of 1857, and the frequent turnover of management and ownership did little to provide stability to the fledgling industry. Many factors contributed to the lack of success the casino experienced in its first years, but much of the blame can be attributed to the poor efforts of concessionaires to promote the casino to foreigners and provide appealing accommodations to an international public. The owners made few efforts to establish communication and transportation with Nice, a city brimming with British, Russian, and Italian tourists. The road between Nice and Monaco, where the lone omnibus traveled daily, remained dangerous, and transportation by sea in a worn-down steamer that made a weekly trip between the municipalities (when it was not docked for repair), proved inconvenient.⁵⁹

The casino concessionaires also failed to introduce other entertainment options, such as opera houses, gardens, or sporting clubs, despite their contractual obligation to do so. They made no improvements to the Hôtel de Russie, and still no establishment existed that provided lodgings for the night in Monaco proper. Instead of focusing on constructing the foundations of the tourism industry and promoting the casino internationally, concessionaires micromanaged the table maximums and limited the casino's reserves. Charles Ranke Patrick Graves, a British journalist, gambling enthusiast, and author of several histories of Monaco and the Riviera, pointed out that:

Instead of capitalizing on the new situation and advertising in all available French newspapers that Monaco provided the only real casino in Southern Europe (which was perfectly true) Lefebvre drew in his horns and made the inexcusable blunder of introducing a second zero at roulette Nor did Lefebvre show any signs of fulfilling his obligations under the concession to build a garden city around the still undeveloped casino.⁶⁰

58. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 27-28.

59. *Ibid.*, 26.

60. Graves, *The Big Gamble*, 44-45.

The first concessionaires proved unable to promote the casino or tourism industry, redefine Monégasque space to appeal to foreigners, or improve conditions that would allow the tourism industry in Monaco to take advantage of the adjacent tourist hotspots of Nice, Cannes, and Italy. Not only did Prince Charles recognize the inefficiencies of these concessionaires, but local Monégasques “believe[d so little in] grandiose promises to turn *Les Spéluges* [*sic*] into the paradise which is now Monte Carlo, that offers of free land on the condition that the recipient would build a villa or shop on it, produced no takers at all.”⁶¹ Only when the casino concession transferred to François Blanc did state officials and casino-promoters reconfigure Monaco’s projected image and effectively promote the tourism industry that became the economic backbone of the small principality.

On March 31, 1863, François Lefebvre transferred the concession of the casino to François Blanc. The next day Blanc founded a joint corporation to fund the casino, the SBM.⁶² Blanc was perfectly suited for reviving the failing casino and ensuring the success of Monaco’s tourism industry. He differed from his predecessors in several key aspects. Most notably, he had recently operated a casino resort in the independent Germanic territory of Hesse-Homburg, where gambling was legal. All previous concessionaires had been French, where gambling had been restricted for hundreds of years, and completely abolished since 1837. Not only had Blanc visited the successful casino and spa establishments in Belgium and the Rhineland, but he had also successfully managed his own casino in Homburg. He had seen how the casinos and spas attempted to attract foreign tourists, and had taken note of how international publicity affected business. Furthermore, Blanc had more capital to invest in the casino and surrounding establishments than the previous concessionaires, and he spared few expenses in his Monégasque

61. *Ibid.*, 45.

62. Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino*, 98-99.

venture. Most importantly, he understood that the aura of failure and austerity which surrounded Les Spélugues and the first casino must be replaced in order to foster a successful resort and tourism industry. In what amounted to a call to action, he made his intentions clear in the public announcement that he had purchased the casino. In the *Journal de Monaco*, he exclaimed that “from an existence of dreaming inaction Monaco must arouse itself to one of courage and activity. A whole town remains to be built! To work, then! The rich and those with money to spend are only waiting for accommodation to come and enjoy our climate.”⁶³ Blanc had the vision and expertise to make the tourism industry in Monaco work.⁶⁴ He understood that in order to succeed, the casino and surrounding establishments had to appeal, both aesthetically and culturally, to a diverse group of foreigners. The bland and antiquated Genoese architecture, shrub-like landscape, and sparsely decorated casino had to be replaced in order for the nascent tourism industry to flourish in the small principality. He also understood that the industry on Les Spélugues depended on its connectivity to a network of towns and tourism destinations such as Nice, Cannes, Genoa, the Italian Riviera, and Monaco proper, in order to attract a large number of visitors. Reimagining Les Spélugues immediately became the primary aim in Blanc’s attempts to create a successful and thriving tourism industry.

A Bleak and Scandalous Place

Two significant obstacles stood in the way of the perception of Monaco as an exclusive space of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism that Blanc attempted to overcome. First of all, he sought to invert the drab, unproductive, and pre-modern impression of Monaco which many visitors had. In some senses, his efforts to “civilize” and gentrify Monaco differed little from

63. Announcement, *Journal de Monaco*, April 1, 1863.

64. For a fuller description of François Blanc’s acquisition of the casino concession in Monaco and his time heading the casino at Hesse-Homburg, see Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1935).

contemporary European designs on colonization and the French *Mission Civilisatrice*. Under Blanc's direction, the SBM repressed or extirpated many facets of local culture, applied rational planning to the construction of Monte Carlo, installed modern infrastructure, attempted land-reclamation ventures along the coastline, prioritized hygiene and sanitation, and imported numerous goods and services from other regions in Europe. After Blanc's acquisition of the casino concession, Monaco became renowned for its emphasis on pristine cleanliness, order, and decorum. None of these changes were wholly implemented by the state, but rather by cooperation between the principality and the SBM, and some alterations can be attributed solely to the casino corporation.⁶⁵

Second, Blanc attempted to overturn the disastrous reputation formed around Monaco's tourism industry during his predecessors' reigns. The casino had acquired a notorious reputation for scandal. Public gambling, the alleged presence of a sordid and criminal element in the principality, and gender anxieties about women in the gaming rooms sparked lasting and widespread criticisms of Monaco. While forms of gambling had long been accepted as an appropriate pastime of gentlemen, especially when conducted in a club or *cercle*, public gambling houses held no such air of respectability.⁶⁶ The Grimaldi family had only reluctantly turned to gambling as a solution to their financial woes, and restrictive gaming laws in Monaco's protector states of France, Sardinia, and eventually Italy meant that the principality's public gaming house potentially posed a political liability. By emphasizing gambling above all else in

65. Mark Braude compares this form of management and control exerted by the SBM to American company-towns. See Mark Braude, introduction to "Spinning Wheels: Cosmopolitanism, Mobility, and Media in Monaco, 1855-1956," PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013.

66. David G. Schwartz offers an excellent survey of the culture of European gambling and the moralistic concerns over public versus private gaming. See Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*, 158-215. Victor Bethell also offers an example of how contemporaries viewed gambling practices among the upper classes. See Victor Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play* (London: William Heinemann, 1910), preface 1, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Monaco's first casino-resort, the previous concessionaires had highlighted the morally-ambiguous early-nineteenth-century notion of public gambling without the mitigating respectability of private clubs, the healthcare justification of *villes d'eaux*, or the luxuriousness of other European resorts. François Blanc's actions as casino concessionaire demonstrated that he considered the erasure of these negative images a priority in order to achieve his vision of a successful casino-resort.

The imaginary of bleakness and pre-modernity which surrounded Monaco in the early 1860s was well established, and preceded the construction of the casino. Even notable travel writers of the Riviera such as Lord Henry Brougham and Tobias Smollett had suggested as much in their comments about Monaco. Their well-circulated publications emphasized Monaco's fine climate and quaint atmosphere, but bemoaned the lack of modern comforts and the principality's inaccessibility. For these authors, the principality could offer bucolic sublimity appealing to a Romanticist aesthete, but offered little to those seeking modern conceptions of luxury. Veterans of the Grand Tour similarly dismissed the principality as pleasant, but easily omitted in favor of more accommodating and historically-important sites. Travel author and photographer Wolfgang Vennemann later reflected on these days and remarked, "[I]f we judge [in terms of what] the present brings to those who are residing in Monte-Carlo, the past appears rather dull; this is the truth."⁶⁷

Furthermore, despite its seaside locale and mountainous views, travel authors frequently focused on the ruggedness and severity of the terrain. A travelogue by Paulin Blanc (no relation to the concessionaire) quite unflatteringly described the harshness of Monaco's landscape during the days of the first casino and compared patrons of the casino to "travelers, who traverse

67. Wolfgang Vennemann, *Monte Carlo – 1936*, (1936), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, L 1.4-M3-6261, D1-551 L 1.4-M3-6261.

deserts, confront savage peoples, and gamble their existence for a medal of the Société de Géographie.”⁶⁸ This allusion to the famed society of exploration emphasized the author’s views on the bleak and austere Monégasque landscape, the presumed backwardness of the country’s inhabitants, and its isolation from the rest of Europe. Paulin Blanc continued to note that few European visitors patronized Monaco at this time for its beauty or natural attractions, but rather for its rumored cures for rheumatism: vapor baths, breathing treatments, and chocolate bars taken for the stomach.⁶⁹

Accounts rarely described Monaco on its own terms, but rather compared it to another geographic location. Nice was the most frequent source of comparison, but Monaco failed to surpass its larger and more famous neighbor. Jules Bessi noted the seedy reputation of the Riviera locales and remarked that “[t]o take in Nice and not to see Monaco, is to go to Rome and not see the Papacy; in effect, Monaco is the complement of Nice . . . [this] is the countryside of sun and flowers . . . too bad there are reptiles under the flowers and mean men under such a beautiful sky . . . Tartuffe will always live.”⁷⁰ Travelers often made similar associations of Monaco and California, a region then renowned for its aridity, starkness, and ruggedness. One such comparison called Monaco the “sequin of California” and continued to decry the misguided greed of both the gold miners in California and the gamblers in Monaco.⁷¹ The perception of bleakness and unproductivity best described through the aforementioned poem, “I am Monaco, a stray rock / I do not produce anything, / I do not plunder the good of others, / And yet I intend to

68. Paulin Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles, avec des notices sur Monte-Carlo, Aix-les-Bains, par Paulin Blanc*, (Chalon-sur-Saône, FR: 1885), 13, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V-20761, D3 L 3.33-A.

69. *Ibid.*, 139.

70. Jules Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo, causerie par Jules Bessi – 1874* (Nice : 1874), 4, 8-10, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15188, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

71. L. Smyers, *Monte-Carlo et Les Chanteurs par L. Smyers* (Nice: Eugene Gauthier et Compagnie, 1873), 2, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15197, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

live” was well established during the early half of the nineteenth century and continued throughout the early days of the casino.

The seedy reputation of the first casino at Les Spélugues also hindered initial attempts to re-conceptualize the image of the gaming resort in Monaco. While critics of games of chance vocalized opposition to any type *des jeux* in nineteenth-century Europe, many considered some forms of gambling perfectly respectable and legitimate forms of recreation and sociability. A proper gentleman could participate in a game of chance at private clubs throughout most of Europe with little restriction and without impugning his reputability. Even clandestine operations were often more or less unmolested.⁷² However, Villa Bellevue at Les Spélugues reintroduced gambling to the public arena and overtly advertised itself as a public gaming house without providing any other respectable options for leisure. Almost immediately, critics attacked the operation’s decision to remain a public house. While Monégasque subjects and citizens of the Département des Alpes-Maritimes were barred from gambling at the casino, detractors suggested that all manner of other ruffians and scoundrels could. A petition to *Les Chambres Francais* contended that, “The Prince of Monaco authorized the establishment at Monte Carlo, not ignoring the intolerable character of gambling . . . has rigorously restricted his subjects from entering the casino. Foreigners alone have the right to ruin or fortune. A restriction is also in place for citizens from Alpes-Maritime that do not belong to a club.”⁷³ Written in 1881, the petition also pointed to similar petitions submitted to the legislative body in 1856, 1858, 1859,

72. Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles*, 11. For further information regarding European gaming laws, see Joseph Kelly and William R. Eadington, “The Regulation of Casino Gaming in Europe: A Comparative Analysis,” Paper No. 86-8, September, 1986, The William Thompson Collection 87-063, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 3.

73. *La suppression des Jeux*, 7.

1861, 1876, and earlier in 1881, with most complaints occurring during the period of casino management before Blanc took over the operation.⁷⁴

Concerns over Monaco's early casino and unseemly reputation took on an international character. Noting the extent of the concern, the 1881 petition to *Les Chambres Françaises* claimed:

The suppression of the gaming house of Monte Carlo is of international interest. Serious and laborious Europe, it can be said, is soliciting this measure. Also, this petition presented to the French Chamber is not the only course of action, a committee in England is also considering the issue.

But the petition is addressed to the French government, because France is the principal interested party in the question; because France was the first to suppress gambling in 1836; and because of her right to intervene in Monaco due to its protectorate status.⁷⁵

In Nice, a petition pointing to similar complaints called on the town to pressure its neighbor to shut down its gambling operation, but was dismissed when the president of the committee determined that the majority of the petitioners were British expatriates. When one complainant, Sir Cazelet, pointed to an alarming number of suicides in Monaco during the operations of the first casino, the president reminded him of inflated numbers of suicides in Paris in 1836 and proclaimed, "In this country we like to take care of ourselves."⁷⁶ Such appeals yielded few tangible results, but the gaming house in Monaco (which to critics seemingly appeared more salacious than other, even clandestine gambling operations) garnered attention in public forums, pamphlets, and political action committees both on the continent and in Great Britain.

Other complaints and suggestions of scandal regarding the initial casino in Monaco (and the Hôtel de Russie) took on a more gendered tone. Objections to women's presence in the casino ranged from explicit concerns about the proliferation of prostitutes in Monaco to

74. Ibid., 17.

75. Ibid., 5.

76. Ulysse Pic, *La Croisade contre Monte-Carlo* (1881), 1, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V Piece – 3656, D3-803 L 3.34-A.

patronizing anxieties regarding women's inability to restrain themselves from ruin at the gaming tables. Whether portrayed as victims or vamps, sufferers or sirens, women were central to protestors' arguments and became inextricably associated with the casino's scandalous reputation. While Jules Bessi acknowledged that "[f]or gentlemen, gambling and the passion for gambling is as old as this world," many critics of the casino did not feel that same was true for women.⁷⁷

Accounts frequently portrayed women as particularly susceptible to substantial losses or forced into begging. Louis de Andreis mentioned to a friend that "everyone attends the game rooms, the women particularly like to play, rarely do they win, ordinarily they lose considerable sums of money in a few minutes. I saw one middle aged woman lose 10,000 francs in three consecutive spins of the Roulette wheel."⁷⁸ De Andreis went on to describe "ladies and girls all alone, looking for a man to give them money."⁷⁹ His descriptions, delivered in a rather matter-of-fact manner, were echoed by many other visitors who expressed greater concern. The image of the female beggar at the casino proved to be one of the most lasting holdovers of the first casino's negative reputation, and continued well into the twentieth century. The Conty Guide of 1897, despite offering a limited section for the Monte Carlo Casino, provided a vivid description of female beggars, noting that one was likely to encounter "pleasant girls" who would nicely but firmly ask gentlemen to "'lend me some *Louis* for another try."⁸⁰

Such images of women begging for money at the casino or facing ruinous losses transcended class lines. Several postcards of the casino in Monte Carlo later in the nineteenth century portrayed life in the gaming rooms, but surprisingly contained allusions to women

77. Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo*, 8.

78. Louis de Andreis to Alexandre, 1874, "De Nice à Monte-Carlo," 3, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15225, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty*, 291.

overwhelmed by the gaming tables. In a postcard entitled “Monte Carlo – Nouvelle Salle de Jeu” a relatively even mix of men and women intermingle near a crowded roulette table. Several women in the foreground dig through their purses as they leave the gaming table; a separate woman walks with her escort while she turns her pocketbook inside out. Finally, two women in drabber dresses than the rest of the patrons flank each side of the roulette table with empty purses.⁸¹ The souvenir’s suggestion was clear – the women had met their ruin at the roulette table. A postcard of a separate gaming room produced around the same time similarly displayed women who presumably had faced heavy losses. In the right foreground, a woman leaves the gaming table, shoulders slumped and head down while she scours her purse for more money; her male companion appears equally defeated and several men and women turn in shock from the roulette table to watch their departure. In the left foreground, a woman conspicuously underdressed in relation to her peers approaches the roulette wheel while a male companion appears to lecture her, pulling at her shoulder and derisively shaking his finger at her (Figure 1.3).⁸²

81. Édition Giletia, “722. Monte Carlo. – Nouvelle Salle de Schmidt,” postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1898, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F1 02317, image : FOTO 00003900.

82. “Monte Carlo Le Casino – Salle de Jeu,” postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1898, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F1 02316, image : FOTO 00003899.



Figure 1.3. “Monte Carlo Le Casino – Salle de Jeu,” ca. 1898. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

The most salient example of the cultural archetype of the ruined woman in Monaco can be found in a political cartoon from the 1920s which attempts to show the casino in scandalous light. In the cartoon, a young woman throws her dress onto a gaming table to cover her gambling debts; she stands topless, with only a revealing undergarment and stockings covering her body. Two older women and two Caucasian men stare in disgust and disapproval. Surrounding the table, a dozen dark-skinned men ogle the young woman. Mouths agape, humorously disfigured, and some wearing turbans, they are caricatures of racial stereotypes. Three more young Caucasian women smile approvingly, and partake in the erotic and amusing spectacle (Figure 1.4).⁸³ The cartoon, a clear criticism of both gambling and the objectification of women’s bodies in Monte Carlo, suggested that gambling debased women, whom critics

83. Valvesa, “How to lose one’s chemise in the pre-Second War decade of feverish gambling,” political cartoon, ca. 1920s quoted in Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975).



Figure 1.4. Valvesa, “How to lose one’s chemise in the pre-Second War decade of feverish gambling.” (Source: Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*)

believed to be incapable of resisting the allure of the gaming table; furthermore, such sources illustrated that women’s bodies and sexuality became a medium for moral debate as early as the 1850s and continued well into the 1930s in the city. Many detractors viewed the casino in Monaco as a corruptor of women, who were victimized by the passion for gambling, were subsequently ruined, and were ultimately forced into destitution or panhandling. This notorious stereotype proved to be one of the most lasting effects of the casino’s seedy 1850s reputation and continued in various forms for nearly a century.

Whereas the image of the ruined beggar woman became associated with those victimized by gambling in Monaco in the 1850s, a much more nefarious stereotype accompanied that of the “good” woman corrupted by the seedy establishment. Described as harpies, sirens, prostitutes,

and blackmailers, other women were said to prey on the respectable patrons of the casino during the mid-nineteenth century. A critic writing as *Un Homme Politique* described the immediate moral threat he believed these women presented to Europeans. He noted that “[w]e are not victims of the orgy of Monte Carlo. We are simply spectators, disinterested, cold-blooded, but revolted by the ignominious spectacle that we have seen. [These] women are profoundly scandalous and immoral.”⁸⁴ Concerns about this spectacle of eroticism generally described the spectator as the victim, not the women on display. The female form, and more specifically the exotic female form, presented a threat to the morality of European travelers. A petition derided the public nature of the casino in Monaco and concluded that it fostered the best explanation for unseemly and scandalous women in the principality. It implicitly stated that “[i]n the clubs (where gambling takes place) rascals and girls rarely get in. But in Monte Carlo there are sirens and harpies winning on green carpet.”⁸⁵ For these petitioners, the morality of gambling was not so much in question; they appeared to accept it as a respectable pastime. What disturbed these petitioners was the lack of gender and class exclusivity in Monaco. Unlike the “ruined woman” cultural archetype that portrayed women as innocent victims of the passion of gambling, the petition’s description of women as sirens and harpies portrayed supposed problems of gender intermingling in the casino in a less sympathetic light. Never victims, these “sirens” were depicted as catalysts of the casino’s corrupting nature and contributed to the moral degeneration of an otherwise respectable pastime.

84. *Un Homme Politique*, *Monte-Carlo Devant L’Europe* (Paris: Chez Alcan-Lévy, 1884), 12. The expression “*gagné sur tapis vert*” denoted a gambling victory achieved through illicit or seamy means.

85. *La suppression des Jeux*, 16. The term *winning on green carpet* was an idiomatic expression describing an irregularity in gambling. In essence, the author accuses the women of winning dishonestly.

Critics of the casino also portrayed the place as a hotbed for clandestine prostitution. Furthermore, these opponents inferred that gambling addiction was the driving force of such solicitation. Un Homme Politique claimed that:

Those girls, the women we are talking about, keep the hotels open with their hands, these dutiful and easy wine cellars⁸⁶ which remain free to work because of the truly *sheepish* police. . . . The population admitted into the gaming rooms, we will not say is mostly comprised of, but a good half, women living by prostitution.⁸⁷

While his claims were certainly well exaggerated, he was not alone in his concerns of prostitution proliferating in the principality. Charlotte Dempster wrote the following year that “it is the green table that keeps the gardens green and the violins in tune; that has brought 3,000 residents and so many hundred prostitutes to the town.”⁸⁸ Pointing to prostitution, particularly to women interested in using their earnings to fuel their desires to gamble, was a popular tactic of those wishing to sully the reputation of the casino during its first decades of operation. Ernest Bosc insinuated that even employees of the casino and accompanying hotels eagerly sold themselves for a spin at the roulette wheel. Bosc sardonically maintained that:

It is in the hotels where the gentle chambermaids, have all the attentions, consideration, thoughtfulness, and kindness toward their guests. If a gentleman teases them, they are not at all weak. They are not prudes, if one asks them, they grant it and beyond, his every desire is satisfied . . . just as the gentleman is buttoning up, to cheer him up the girl takes him to teach him a trick about always winning.⁸⁹

Tying together prostitution and the casino enterprise proved to be an effective method of besmirching the nascent resort’s reputation.

86. An obscure euphemism for a sexually promiscuous woman.

87. Un Homme Politique, *Monte-Carlo Devant L’Europe*, 14-15.

88. Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster, *The Maritime Alps and their Seaboard* (London: Longmans, 1885), 289-290.

89. Ernest Bosc, *Histoire des crimes et des suicides du tripot de Monte-Carlo, par J.-Marcus de Vèze (Ernest Bosc)* (Paris: L. Vanier, 1888), 31, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, FRBNF30133952.

The image of the *chanteuse* in Monaco managed to merge the negative connotations of blackmail, prostitution, panhandling, and extortion into one unsavory character. Prolifically described by critics and casual observers alike during the first few decades of the casino's operations, *les chanteurs* seemingly embodied every corrupt quality that adversaries claimed would come from the gaming house.⁹⁰ L. Smyers surmised that the loosening of morals in Monaco, evidenced by the opening of the public gaming house, had served as a beacon to attract such unseemly characters. He poetically denounced this development, saying that:

The thieves are always there, but it is *les chanteurs* that are the sneaky ones; difficult to destroy. They are beetles, *les chanteurs* proliferate. It doesn't matter if they are oviparous or viviparous; like the fly, they deposit their eggs in what they wish to corrupt, or, like certain grass snakes, they give live birth and lay eggs. *La chanteuse* is dead, *la chanteuse* lives!!⁹¹

He emphasized the abundance of these criminals, and stressed that they “follow one another and reassemble. They died at Nice, but have been reborn elsewhere. To prey on the victims of the games.”⁹² Like Smyers, Louis de Andreis attributed many of the suicides of those that had faced catastrophic losses to *les chanteurs*, who he described as women of ill-repute, pimps, and usurers, all of various classes and all that benefited from the ruin of patrons of the casino.⁹³ Victor Bethell, a frequent late-nineteenth-century visitor to Monaco portrayed *les chanteurs* as an essential part of the spectacle of Monte Carlo, and remarked that alongside them, the “*demi-mondaine* here reign supreme, and are all arrayed in their war paint . . . this is the place to see *them* in all their glory.”⁹⁴ His rather flippant portrayal of *les chanteurs* was followed by a note of caution, when he observed that *les chanteurs* appeared adept at using their nationality (stories of

90. *Les chanteurs* were never described as an exclusively female practice, but the prominence of women in such descriptions is noteworthy and added to the gender controversy at the first casino.

91. Smyers, *Monte-Carlo et Les Chanteurs*, 11. Emphasis my own.

92. *Ibid.*, 13.

93. De Andreis, “De Nice à Monte-Carlo,” 4.

94. V.B., *10 Days in Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), 101-102. Victor Bethell writes here using the pseudonym, V.B. Emphasis original.

home, club pins, language, etc.) to prey on their countrymen.⁹⁵ The image even found its way into popular culture surrounding Monaco. One such novel characterized the rich and elite patronage of Monaco as seasonal, but *les chanteurs* as permanent fixtures of the principality. While describing the seasonal exodus of most of the resorts guests, the author noted that “the same preponderant element of shady-looking persons of both sexes continued to color its aspect.”⁹⁶

The seedy reputation established during the run of the first casino and its successor at the Hôtel de Russie was quickly well-established, and proved to be the most difficult image of Les Spélugues for François Blanc and the SBM to overturn. In many cases, particularly those involving gender anxieties and gambling, casino-promoters and state authorities mitigated the tarnished, negative reputation but never managed to fully eradicate it throughout the following century. As late as 1910, Camille Blanc, the son of François Blanc, considered closing the majority of the gaming rooms to women as a result of these concerns. Gender anxieties, liberal gambling laws, and the inability of early concessionaires to foster any sort of luxurious or respectable pastimes, amusements, or accommodations to accompany the gaming rooms did much to earn Monaco a reputation for salaciousness, hedonism, and immorality. François Blanc consciously worked to dismantle this reputation in order to build an image of respectability, luxuriousness, and international appeal.

Discretionary Power, Capital, and François Blanc’s Vision for the Transformation of Monaco

95. *Ibid.*, 172-173.

96. William Henry Bishop, *A Pound of Cure: A Story of Monte Carlo* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1894), 146.

François Blanc made his vision for the casino-resort in Monaco clear from the onset. Almost immediately after he acquired the casino concession in 1863, he succinctly announced his philosophy to the SBM shareholders, that “here we must present the dream.”⁹⁷ The statement indicated his immediate intention to project a new image around Monaco, a fantastic vision that exceeded expectations of reality.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the philosophy stood in stark contrast to that of his less successful predecessors. Blanc’s plan called for the immediate construction of this fantastic image of luxury and an all-encompassing resort; this would take priority over the more controversial gambling aspect of the casino. Blanc reasoned that restrictive European gaming laws would make legalized gambling in Monaco a rare commodity and thus attractive to gamblers, and that the use of intense marketing campaigns emphasizing a morally-controversial issue were therefore unnecessary.

Indeed, Monaco in 1863 was one of the few spots in Europe where one could legally and publicly engage in gambling. Gaming was heavily regulated in Germany, was publicly outlawed in Great Britain, and had been outlawed in most of France since the seventeenth century; exceptions for *villes d’eaux* were nominally repealed in 1820 (though legal loopholes allowed more than 400 towns to skirt the spirit of the law) and all forms of gaming in France were outlawed in 1836.⁹⁹ With the closure of Le Kursaal de Saxon-Les-Bains, Baden, and Homborg, for years at a time (that varied) between 1860-1880, Monaco was the only site in Europe where unrestricted public gambling could occur. With this distinct advantage in hand, Blanc focused

97. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, 1863. Exhibition presented during the 150th anniversary of SBM in Monte Carlo, Monaco on July 5, 2013. <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-sbm-celebrates-its-150th-anniversary/> (accessed November 18, 2013).

98. It should be noted that this expression was so influential to the SBM, that it has remained an unofficial motto of the casino-resort and was celebrated with a sesquicentennial exhibition in July of 2013.

99. *La suppression des Jeux*, 6.

his early efforts in Monaco at constructing a favorable image and providing luxurious accommodations.¹⁰⁰

When a SBM shareholder asked for his designs for a casino-resort in Monaco and for his opinion on what should be built, Blanc curtly remarked “everything, immediately, in one place.”¹⁰¹ His strategy for overcoming the bleak, unproductive image which had so long been associated with Les Spélugues included an intense and comprehensive overhaul of Monégasque infrastructure, a collaboration with the French and Monégasque governments to improve the arteries of transportation to the principality, and the construction of numerous, modern, and lavish hotels, villas, restaurants, bars, cafes, shops, and spas. The SBM first sought to utilize the capital of other entrepreneurs to furnish the needs of the casino-resort. Philippe Casimir expressed his shock that nobody took up Blanc and the SBM’s generous offer. He commented:

[H]oping to quickly populate the desert that surrounded the work site of the new casino, they offered free land to anyone that would build a shop or hotel on the spot. Nobody accepted. They refused to take for nothing the ground which less than thirty years later, contained shops as valuable as those on the Champs-Élysées in Paris or Picadilly in London!¹⁰²

Casimir’s remarks not only demonstrated the increased value of space in Monaco after Blanc’s construction movement, but also underscored how the negative effects of Monaco’s unwelcoming and desolate image had dissuaded potential entrepreneurs from investing in the 1860s. Despite having been in operation for nearly a decade at that point, the casino industry in Monaco remained unappealing to potential patrons and investors had so little faith in the industry’s success that they turned down free land near the casino.

100. Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles*, 10, 138.

101. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, 1863. Exhibition presented during the 150th anniversary of SBM in Monte Carlo, Monaco on July 5, 2013. <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-sbm-celebrates-its-150th-anniversary/> (accessed on November 18, 2013).

102. Casimir, *Guides des pays d’azur*, 168-169.

The state itself proved to be similarly disinterested in financing improvements to the area surrounding the casino resort, at least of its own accord. In part, the principality's unwillingness to invest in infrastructural improvements could be attributed to its strained treasury. After all, the Grimaldi family decided to grant a casino concession in the first place in order to alleviate some of the state's financial woes and dependence on high taxation rates. Furthermore, the royal family placed little faith in the ultimate success of the casino-resort, based on the paltry returns of the first casino in Monaco, and remained disinclined to invest heavily in the industry. The first casino concessionaires had ignored their contractual obligations to plant gardens, improve the roads, and provide other attractions for guests; little suggested that the move to the seventh concessionaire would change that trend.

Early in 1863, M. Eynaud, the same state advisor who had recommended that the family entertain the idea of building a tourism industry based around a casino resort, urged Prince Charles III to grant François Blanc the casino concession. Eynaud partly attributed his recommendation to Blanc's successful casino enterprise in Bad Homburg that he had witnessed firsthand during his inquiry into the viability of installing a casino-resort in Monaco in 1854; however, Eynaud also shrewdly suggested that Blanc's hefty capital would make him a more fitting concessionaire than the previous lot. Eynaud told Prince Charles that "Blanc is colossally rich . . . he is a master of the art of dissimulating the green cloth of the gambling tables behind a veil of elegance and pleasure."¹⁰³ Eynaud understood that Blanc's ability to camouflage the provocative practice of public gaming with an image of elegance and cosmopolitan amusement could breathe new life into the sluggish tourism economy and attract a more exclusive and respectable clientele to the casino-resort. Despite Eynaud's seal of approval and Blanc's show of

103. "Untitled communication between M. Eynaud and Prince Charles III S.A.S. Monaco," 1863 quoted in Jim Ring, *Riviera: The Rise and Rise of the Cote d'Azur* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2004).

good faith as concessionaire (by almost immediately engaging in construction and improvement projects around Les Spélugues), the principality took few initial steps to improve the infrastructure, lighting, or avenues of transportation around the casino. The state only assisted with the projects once Blanc and the SBM had invested heavily into these improvements.

The infrastructural renaissance that began in Monaco in 1863 was thus initiated, executed, and financed by François Blanc, with nearly limitless autonomy. Blanc himself gambled rather heavily on the success of the casino with his first investments. American author Melville Davisson Post recalled that “[h]e employed the best architect to be had, built a great casino, laid out beautiful gardens and terraces and expended over \$3,000,000 upon the mere prospect of making Monte Carlo the gambling headquarters of Europe.”¹⁰⁴ Blanc considered the principality’s pre-modern image a considerable detriment to the prospect of constructing a profitable gaming resort, and quickly attempted to modernize the country with infrastructural improvements. The casino concession he had purchased had always stipulated that the concessionaire must work with the principality to improve access to the country, install modern lighting, and furnish several gardens; however, neither the Grimaldi family nor any subsequent concessionaires had made any serious overtures toward accomplishing this feat. Blanc, however, considered these improvements essential to the success of his casino. Before breaking ground on a new casino, Blanc first invested in an extensive network of gas lighting, which he hoped would produce an air of modernity in the principality. It was the new concessionaire, not the state, who provided the country with its first modern lighting system.¹⁰⁵ In addition to improving the principality’s lighting, he financed improvements to the country’s network of roads, paid to

104. Melville Davisson Post, “King of Gamblers: François Blanc, the Ex-Convict, Who Bought Monaco Then Started Monte Carlo,” *The Lewiston Daily Sun*, February 8, 1913.

105. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, 1863. Exhibition presented during the 150th anniversary of SBM in Monte Carlo, Monaco on July 5, 2013. <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-the-birth-of-a-legend/> (accessed on December 15, 2013).

modernize the harbor in the Port of Hercules, and chartered a steamer from Nice which he operated at a loss.

One of Blanc's most important infrastructural improvements occurred in 1868 when he finalized a deal to bring the railway to Monaco. The construction of the Paris to Nice line in the 1850s was seen as a potential boon for the principality; however, Prince Charles III had neither the capital to finance the 13 miles of railway from Nice to Monaco, nor the clout to encourage the French state to do so. With no involvement from the Monégasque government, Blanc nonetheless managed to finance part of the project and convince the French government to bankroll the remainder of the railway. The principality felt the benefits of the railway almost immediately, as the number of guests visiting the casino increased exponentially over the next few years. Blanc supplemented the local police force with his own, private police force that he tasked with providing peace, order, quiet, and decorum in the principality (and especially around the casino-resort). Post described the extent of Blanc's power in Monaco, exclaiming that "[m]ore than this, François Blanc bought and paid for the principality of Monaco. He paid Charles III 500,000 francs a year and all his expenses, with a percentage of the profits; he kept up all the roads and gardens for the principality; he paid the police and magistrates and all fixed charges of the kingdom."¹⁰⁶

Blanc's and the SBM's wealth and investment in Monaco, license to make sweeping infrastructural changes, and control over institutional bodies of power and authority blurred the lines between entrepreneurial investor and sovereign. While Blanc never held an official position in the Monégasque government, he nonetheless exercised a great deal of power, authority, and decision-making within the principality. Post humorously mused, "And so the genius of gambling ate a king and his court, a monarch of one of the oldest reigning houses in

106. Melville Davisson Post, "King of Gamblers."

Europe—a palace, an army, a principality with its subjects, and a bishop and cathedral to boot!”¹⁰⁷ Although Post’s conclusion was stated in a hyperbolic and poetic tone, it highlights the extent of Blanc’s autonomy in Monaco and the amount of power he wielded. The actions of François Blanc, the shareholders of the SBM, and the French government during this period of rapid construction and infrastructural improvement projects in Monaco suggested that the country operated more as a colonized state than as a sovereign and autonomous principality. Monaco’s process of modernization resulted less from the actions of the state than from the exertion of external powers which hoped to benefit from the alterations made in the country.

In addition to infrastructural improvements, Blanc also heavily invested his own money into providing luxurious and pleasurable accommodations for patrons of the casino-resort. After early failures to entice investors to construct hotels, cafes, restaurants, shops, and villas, Blanc poured his own money into these ventures. Convinced that the lack of luxurious accommodations was largely to blame for Villa Bellevue’s inability to attract a large number of tourists, he gambled much of the rest of his fortune on the assumption that if the casino could be cloaked in an air of luxury and respectability, it would generate considerable revenues. The area immediately surrounding the casino grounds, where Blanc provided the supplemental accommodations to the casino, became affectionately known as the Golden Square in 1863. Blanc partially financed a café that adjoined the casino (the eponymously named Café Divan, later christened the Café Paris) and paid for the construction of a hydrotherapy spa, several spacious villas, and boutiques in the Golden Square during his first year as concessionaire.

Blanc’s most expensive and important investment, however, was the Hôtel de Paris. The massive hotel was not completed until 1864, but Blanc was explicit in his instructions regarding

107. Ibid. The bishop mentioned by Post was Charles-Bonaventure-François Theuret, who soon would become Pope Leo XIII. Bishop Theuret was one of the first principal investors in the SBM.

its construction. He conceived of the hotel as the most important step toward announcing to the rest of the world that his casino in Monaco would be the premier resort of luxury and leisure for Western elites. He announced that his vision was for “a hotel that surpasses anything that has been built so far, even the Hôtel du Louvre or the Grand Hôtel in Paris. I want people to rave about the Hôtel de Monaco so that it becomes a powerful advertising medium.”¹⁰⁸ Blanc wanted the elegance and lavishness of the resort to overwhelm visitors and replace the noxious image of a bleak, pre-modern house of scandal which had characterized the casino from 1854-1863. His expensive gamble quickly reaped rewards, as the Principality hosted over 170,000 visitors in 1869 alone, and authors remarked on the luxuriousness of the resort. A British travel author commented that the Hôtel de Paris de Monaco “is one of the most cosmopolitan hotels in the world.”¹⁰⁹ Recreating and surpassing the sophistication of Paris was one of Blanc’s primary goals for his casino and the hotel. The architectural style of the Hôtel de Paris mirrored that of many of the Haussmanization projects (Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann would coincidentally become a frequent guest of the hotel and adviser to Blanc) and Blanc employed many of the same architects for projects in the casino resort.

Visitors marveled at Blanc’s achievements. Most often, they remarked on the rapid construction along the Golden Square. Jules Bessi poetically described his visit, noting that “[w]e arrive at the Casino by the large avenues, lit with gas, bordered by enchanting villas, encased in bouquets of palms. At night, by the lights, this view is very magical.”¹¹⁰ He continued by expressing his astonishment as to how quickly Blanc’s vision was realized. After Blanc announced his intention to create an all-inclusive resort in Monaco, “hotels, baths, palaces,

108. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, 1863. <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlos-most-prestigious-palace-the-hotel-de-paris/> (accessed on November 18, 2013).

109. V.B., *10 Days in Monte Carlo*, 163.

110. Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo*, 7.

villas, cafes, boulevards, monuments, have all elevated this enchantment.”¹¹¹ Philippe Casimir considered the transformation in the Golden Square an entirely unique phenomenon. While the rapid construction of a town or commercial center was not uncommon, the beauty and the aesthetic architectural integrity of the construction were usually considered of secondary importance. Monaco, it seemed, was the exception to the rule. Casimir remarked that “[c]ompared to equal growth of cities in America an essential difference exists: while down there one adds houses to one another without aesthetic preoccupation, in Monte Carlo taste and art always preside over the construction of buildings, arrangement of the gardens, the cleanliness of the pathways, the multiple details of hygiene, perspective and ornamentation.”¹¹²

By 1866, Blanc had financed a thriving town surrounding the casino, one which synergized the casino’s operations and lent an air of legitimacy and respectability to the resort. After his initial investments, local and foreign entrepreneurs took up the call to invest in the principality that had been issued three years before (the offer for free land had been rescinded after the casino logged over 100,000 annual visitors). The construction of the town was rapid, but it nonetheless paid heed to aesthetics, respectability, and modernity. The austere and scandalous image of Les Spélugues dissipated, while the intricately assembled city built upon a foundation of extravagance, luxury, and pleasure would soon be rechristened Monte Carlo.

Conclusions: Starting Fresh

Before Prince Charles III, François Blanc, and the SBM could christen Monte Carlo and usher in a new era of tourism with the all-encompassing casino-resort, they had to first expunge the spatial conceptions and spatial memory surrounding Les Spélugues. Long-held negative associations conflicted with the prospect of creating a tourism industry aimed at elite,

111. Ibid.

112. Casimir, *Guides des pays d’azur*, 188.

cosmopolitan, and international vacationers. During the height of the Grand Tour's popularity, and in the well-publicized travel writings of Tobias Smollett and Lord Henry Brougham, Monaco had been portrayed as a picturesque fishing town, but mostly as a bleak, austere, rugged, and backward place too remote to warrant a visit. Additional complications to Monaco's image arose during the shortsighted management of the original casino, Villa Bellevue. By emphasizing the morally ambiguous practice of gambling without providing suitable amenities or any other respectable forms of leisure, early concessionaires failed to legitimize the casino as an acceptable leisure space for European elites. On the contrary, the emphasis on gambling (especially for a public house open to men and women) and the inability to curtail illicit practices such as prostitution and blackmail earned Les Spélugues a particularly salacious and scandalous reputation.

After a decade of ineffectual, and even detrimental, management, the casino concession was granted to François Blanc. The Grimaldi family organized the sale of the concession to Blanc in large part due to his reputation for legitimizing gambling practices with sophistication, lavishness, and respectability. He immediately and publicly announced his intentions to redefine space in Monaco and to reshape the reputation and imaginary surrounding the casino resort, and thus the country's tourism industry. The concessionaire gambled upon fundamentally eradicating the negative associations of Les Spélugues and creating a new spatial imaginary more conducive to elite and international tourism. Blanc (alongside several SBM shareholders) invested most of his fortune in modernizing Monaco through intense infrastructural improvements, opulent hotels and cafes, and an elegantly redesigned casino. Prince Charles III granted Blanc (a foreigner without any official governmental authority) extraordinary power and autonomy with which to reshape Monaco's infrastructure and physical landscape. In fact, Blanc

and the SBM's authority over power and lighting, roads and railways, public spaces, police and public safety, and transportation complicated Monaco's status as a sovereign state and irrevocably intertwined state authority and the tourism industry. The result of Blanc's and the SBM's investments and urban reimagining was Monaco's Golden Square – a transformation so distinct from Les Spélugues that travel authors marveled at the rapidity and extensiveness of the change nearly a century later.

Space in Monaco is scarce and has long been at a premium; so much so that the government has invested millions in several land reclamation projects in attempts to wrest a few more precious yards of land from the sea. The principality's first, and perhaps most important, spatial reclamation project began in 1863, however, when François Blanc and the SBM re-appropriated the soiled and sullied space of Les Spélugues. Before Blanc could fulfill his promise to “present the dream” he first had to erase the negative associations and reputations of the place. Monte Carlo could not exist without discarding Les Spélugues.

Chapter Two. Constructing Monte Carlo: Cosmopolitanism, Luxury, and the Formation of a Spatial Imaginary

François Blanc's grandiose scheme to "present the dream" in Monaco initially emphasized stripping the unpleasant aspects, bland history, and scandalous connotations from the principality. However, creating a viable space in which to attract European and American elite vacationers required more than purging the disagreeable qualities of the previous casino; it also necessitated intense material and environmental transformations throughout Monaco.

Architectural and decorative conceptions for the casino were designed to reflect the forefront of contemporary European luxury, sophistication, and cosmopolitanism. The casino, and eventually its adjacent shops, restaurants, hotels, clubs, and entertainment venues, were designed as awe-inspiring edifices, festooned and bedecked with the most lavish material comforts of the time. As tastes changed and the demographics of Monaco's tourist-clientele shifted, so did the principality's architectural designs and material pleasures. Throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Blanc's gaming house underwent a score of renovations, transformations, and re-imaginings. Each change sought to align the casino with contemporary definitions of luxury and cosmopolitanism. Few industries associated with the tourism trade lagged in following suit and most strived to stay at the vanguard of the tastes of the day.

The Monégasque landscape endured such vast alterations that many locals wrote incredulously of the changes to the land. Both the tourism-focused SBM and the state engaged in massive and concurrent garden building projects. Attempts to replicate European environs, and the aesthetic selections made in the construction of these gardens, lend insight into the casino's targeted clientele. The various and disparate forms of flora planted in Monaco during

this period are staggering; the gardens' receptive soil and clement climate stood as conscious metaphors for the principality's ever-expanding crowd of international vacationers. More than plant life, the casino-promoters suggested, seemed destined to flourish upon the welcoming banks of the Mediterranean.

François, Marie (b. 1833-1881), and Camille Blanc (b. 1847-1927), and their successors, endeavored to create the first all-encompassing luxury resort at Monte Carlo. The focus of their efforts went far beyond the gaming tables. Instead of focusing solely on the tourism industry's advantages in terms of liberal gaming laws, the casino concessionaires and SBM financiers pursued a decidedly broad and comprehensive approach toward making their casino-resort synonymous with luxury and cosmopolitanism. The SBM, and even some unaffiliated horizontal industries, designed the city's architecture, décor, culinary options, entertainment options, and landscaping to fit the current definition of luxury. Even the christening of the name – Monte Carlo – functioned to remarket the space and provide a fresh canvas from which Blanc could paint his own vision for the resort. Blanc insisted that every aspect of the resort exude a dreamlike quality in order to overwhelm patrons with the sheer magnitude of the resort's luxurious amenities. In his own words, Blanc expressed that he designed portions of the resort “so that it becomes a powerful advertising medium” in and of itself.¹

The casino would reap the majority of profits for Monaco's tourism industry, but the success of the casino rested in attracting patrons and setting Monte Carlo apart from the few other restricted casino operations in Europe. Blanc wanted the allure and prestige of Monte Carlo to be the attractive aspect of his casino-resort. He focused nearly all of his efforts on making seasonal vacationing at the casino-resort a pre-requisite of acceptance into elite society.

1. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, “Le plus prestigieux palace de Monaco: L’Hôtel de Paris Monte-Carlo 1863,” <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlos-most-prestigious-palace-the-hotel-de-paris/> (accessed November 18, 2013).

Likewise, with its tax crisis averted and faced with an unparalleled influx of visitors, the state of Monaco focused heavily on providing cultural and intellectual stimulation for its subjects and guests. Prince Albert I (r. 1889-1922) and Prince Louis II (r. 1922–1949) devoted much of their energies to these enterprises, and civic authorities such as Jules Van den Daele and Louis Notari worked diligently to complement the aura of luxury and cosmopolitanism produced by the casino-resort throughout all of Monaco. In short, Monte Carlo was constructed not only as a modern city to house a thriving casino-resort, but also as an imagined space of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism.

This chapter demonstrates how material construction and built environments impacted Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary; this material aspect produced representational space where visitors were guided to think about the city in particular ways. The physical construction of Monte Carlo and its surrounding comforts served first and foremost to underline Blanc's vision for Europe's first all-encompassing resort – that of a dream, Eden, and paradise. In order to accomplish this aim, the chapter will first analyze how the act of rechristening Les Spélugues as “Monte Carlo” shaped representational space in the city and dramatically impacted how it was perceived. Next, it will examine how François Blanc embarked upon an intensive campaign of urban renovations in Monte Carlo. He patterned the construction projects after Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann's extensive transformation of Paris, took advice directly from Haussmann, and employed some of the same architects used by the prefect. Blanc's goal was to rival Paris in perceptions of sophistication and modernity. Next, the chapter will explain how, after François Blanc's death in the 1870s, his wife Marie (and subsequent concessionaires and SBM officials) worked to continue his aim to “present the dream” at Monte Carlo. Marie Blanc engaged in continuous renovations of the casino-resort's structures and accommodations in order to remain

aligned with elite tastes for leisure, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. The SBM employed a bevy of internationally-recognized architects and artists in order to signal that the resort stood at the forefront of modern luxury. The chapter will then turn to Monaco's physical environment. Contemporaries wrote of being astounded at the rapid and nearly-total changes to the principality's physical and cultural landscapes. Plants, people, and practices that did not fit the SBM's marketing schema were marginalized or extirpated. Next, the focus will shift to Louis Notari and Le Jardin Exotique de Monaco. The section considers how Notari, a Monégasque nationalist and intellectual figure, exemplified a major problem faced by locals: the struggle to maintain national culture and tradition while reaping the economic benefits of an industry that made subjects a minority in their own country. Notari's unique position as the chief architect of Monaco's Exotic Garden and as a leading advocate for the state's national heritage underscores the complexity of the casino resort's impact on the local populace. Finally, the chapter will analyze how the hotel and restaurant industries in Monte Carlo served as material components of the city's imaginary. These businesses helped to make the city one of the first all-encompassing pleasure-resorts, demonstrated the level of control the SBM exercised in terms of managing Monte Carlo's image, and bolstered Monaco's reputation as a sophisticated leisure destination. Through an associative emphasis of place, restaurants and hotels portrayed the city as an international and cosmopolitan locale. The result of these carefully-constructed representational spaces and marketing techniques helped to shape the city's spatial imaginary and encourage vacationers to experience Monte Carlo as a fantastic pleasure-paradise.

Christening the Dream: The Naming of Monte Carlo

With a stroke of his pen, Prince Charles III took a tremendous stride toward redefining Monégasque space and reimagining the burgeoning tourism industry. On June 1, 1866, Prince

Charles issued a royal decree stamping out the problematic name Les Spélugues and christening a new city, Monte Carlo, on what had been the Spélugues Plateau.² The area surrounding the casino, had already received a considerable makeover from François Blanc, who had cultivated Monaco's Golden Square by investing in or subsidizing boutiques, hotels, cafés, and restaurants. Prince Charles's proclamation further signaled the transition from the previous drab and unsuccessful casino venture to a new and promising resort enterprise. The prince had been a stalwart supporter of Blanc's grandiose vision, which made it clear that the resort was much more than just a gaming house. In a statement in 1863, Prince Charles promised that "[t]he new Casino launched by the Société des Bains de Mer will soon rise from the ground in monumental proportions. Around the Casino, fine hotels will be built, having nothing to fear by comparisons with those that have been opened in Paris, London or New York."³ In just over three years, the rapid growth of luxurious accommodations, public works, and gardens, and a sharp influx of wealth into the principality justified the prince's faith in Blanc's dream.

Celebrants for the christening of Monte Carlo, optimistic editorials in the local press, and partygoers at the casino's festivities approached the event with such vigor that few wrote about or discussed the name change as a mere formality. On the contrary, the re-christening of Les Spélugues to Monte Carlo served to redefine what it meant to visit the casino-resort. While François Blanc and Prince Charles III had worked diligently to wipe out the negative connotations of Les Spélugues, the creation of an international space of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism could only begin with the nomination of a new space: Monte Carlo.

2. *1866 - 1966 : Centenaire de la Fondation de Monte-Carlo par S.A.S. le Prince Charles III*, (Monaco : Imprimerie Monégasque, 1966), n.p., Bibliothèque Louis Notari, Monaco, M.2043. For a more narrative description of the event, see Phillipe Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo* (Évreux, France: L'Imprimerie Hérissey, 1981), 127.

3. Hélène Bustos, The Société des Bains de Mer de Monaco, <http://www.montecarlosbm.com/resort-en-2/history/> (accessed August 18, 2014).

Several theorists have argued that the act of renaming can tremendously impact the material space and the behavior within it. Geographer David Harvey contends that commercial activity and the flow of capital in space are influenced by the ways in which that space is represented. Such meticulously controlled and planned representations of space create strong associations in lived practice and also inform people's actions in that space. Harvey notes that "representations of places have material consequences in so far as fantasies, desires, fears, and longings are expressed in actual behavior."⁴ Similarly, urban historian Laura Podalsky has extended Henri Lefebvre's model for the production of space and Harvey's claims that space is produced, in meaning and activity, through a tripartite combination of materiality, representation, and imagination.⁵

Rechristening Monte Carlo provided concessionaires and civic authorities the opportunity to introduce new representations of place in Monaco, and to change the ways in which the place was represented to casino patrons. Harvey has also explained that the naming and renaming of geographical space is extremely important in determining the functions and the social and commercial roles of a place. He explains that:

The very act of naming geographical entities implies a power over them, most particularly over the way in which places, their inhabitants and their social functions get represented . . . [and] each social formation constructs objective conceptions of space and time sufficient unto its own needs and purposes.⁶

Such needs and purposes for Monte Carlo included the necessity of rebranding the place and appealing to a clientele desirous of luxury, cosmopolitanism, and elite social interaction.

4. David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity," in *Mapping the Future: Local Cultures, Global Changes*, eds. John Bird, et al (London: Routledge, 1993), 22-23.

5. Laura Podalsky, *Specular City: Transforming Culture, Consumption, and Space in Buenos Aires, 1955-1973* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 12.

6. Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again," 22.

However, representational space (such as Monte Carlo's built environments intended to evoke notions of luxury, extravagance, and sophistication) can only produce signs and symbols to suggest the intended meaning and acceptable activity within a space. Even the most carefully crafted representations of space must be received (accepted, mediated, altered, or even rejected) by those who experience the space. Andreas Huyssen claims that this reception of representational space is simultaneously formed into both a collective and individual spatial imaginary by those who experience the place. For Huyssen, spaces contain:

[P]alimpsests of real and diverse experiences and memories. They comprise a great variety of spatial practices . . . space is always and inevitably social space involving subjectivities and identities differentiated by class and race, gender and age, education and religion. A [spatial] imaginary is the cognitive and somatic image which we carry within us of the places where we live, work, and play. It is an embodied material fact . . . thus part of any [place's] reality, rather than being only figments of the imagination. What we think about a [space] and how we perceive it informs the ways we act in it.⁷

While François Blanc certainly would not have used such terms for the practice of rechristening and rebranding Monte Carlo, his actions and words demonstrated that he fundamentally understood the principles of these theories. The formation of Monte Carlo, as an idea beyond the construction of the city itself, provided Blanc with the opportunity to shape the place into a model creation, an all-encompassing resort which captivated the public's imagination with celebrity, spectacle, lavish amenities, and cosmopolitan sophistication. This chapter will focus primarily on representational space (the materially constructed environment laden with symbols in order to connote certain ideas), and how Prince Charles III, Prince Albert I, François Blanc, Camille Blanc, Marie Blanc, SBM officials, and several civic authorities sought to develop a thorough and consistent projected image of Monte Carlo as a premier luxury destination for Europe's elite. It is necessary to note that their attempts to frame Monte Carlo as a dream,

7. Andreas Huyssen, ed., *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.

paradise, or Eden may have been systematic and meticulous, but they could not wholly control the ways in which European and American vacationers imagined Monte Carlo. Chapter 3 will provide further analysis of the ways in which visitors to Monte Carlo helped to form, disseminate, and reshape a collective spatial imaginary.

The renaming of Les Spélugues to Monte Carlo had essentially sparked a new beginning for the tourism industry in Monaco, but even the choice of the name had been carefully considered in order to provide the greatest effect of luxury and sophistication. François Blanc recognized the need to replace the disastrous image of Les Spélugues and had encouraged the prince to furnish an appropriate and respectable name. In 1865, Blanc announced “I believe . . . that the time has come to attach to the new city a name worthy of the future reserved for it. La Société des Bains de Mer will accept with alacrity and recognition the name that His Serene Highness will choose. What is important to him above all, is to be rid of Les Spéluges [*sic*].”⁸ During a SBM meeting between executives Henri Wagatha, Henri de Payan, and Blanc in 1865, the men wavered between Albertville, Élysée Alberti, and Charlesville before Blanc first uttered the name, Monte Carlo. The name evoked both surprise and pleasure among the executives, and Blanc then suggested to A. Eynaud, Prince Charles’s confidant, that the prince should consider *Monte Carlo*, a flowing Italian name with an eponymous reference to his royal highness. Despite varied disagreements with Blanc over the casino concession, Prince Charles had immediately been impressed with his devotion to building the resort in Monaco and accepted the concessionaire’s recommendation for the name of the new city. Monte Carlo intimated sophistication and luxury for both men. Once Prince Charles had decided on the name, Blanc resolutely demanded that the SBM support the decision.⁹

8. *La Grande Dame de Monte Carlo*, 127.

9. *La Grande Dame de Monte Carlo*, 127.

The principality and the casino-resort immediately felt the effects of Monte Carlo's debut. In addition to official publicity, which included many pieces in the *Journal de Monaco*, *Le Figaro*, and *Le Charivari*, unsolicited visitors and travel guides remarked upon the advantageous change in name.¹⁰ Pierre Polovtsoff, an early historian of the casino who would eventually be named president of the Winter Sporting Club, quite explicitly approved of the renaming of Monégasque space:

[s]oon there was hardly anyone in the civilized world who did not recognize Monte Carlo as being synonymous with gambling . . . Les Spéluges [*sic*], Charlesville, Albertville – there is nothing exciting about them, but Monte Carlo sounds rich and rare, and rolls trippingly from the tongues of all men, no matter what their native language may be.¹¹

Similarly, a physician from Nice, Dr. Achard d'Entraigues, favored the name change. While recommending a visit to Monte Carlo for invalid patients, he noted that the newly named Monte Carlo fit the serenity, tranquility, and the natural, picturesque beauty of the principality. Commending the work of Prince Charles III toward improving the accommodations and welfare of Monégasque citizens and infirm travelers, d'Entraigues noted that “the city has been transformed, especially by the public proclamation of the present power. The community has received its share of beneficence . . . [from] S. A. S. Charles III . . . it is [now] a place veritably fit for royalty.”¹² D'Entraigues continued, noting that the name Monte Carlo evoked “[a]ll the magnificence dreamed by the most poetic imagination, clustered together on this palatial summit. The [predecessor], originally bitter and wild on this rock, has been defeated, tamed by the genius and power of the designer who has transformed this arid rock into a ravishing Eden.”¹³ The

10. *La Grande Dame de Monte Carlo*, 127.

11. General Pierre Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino* (New York: Hillman-Curl, 1937), 106.

12. Achard d'Entraigues, *Causeries de la plage. Bains de mer de Monaco. Description et climatologie de la plage, indications spéciales et avantages de ce climat pour la guérison des malades, par Achard d'Entraigues* (Nice: Société Typographique, Imprimerie, Librairie et Lithographie A. Gilletta, 1867), 13-14.

13. *Ibid.*, 16. Descriptions of Monte Carlo as an Eden or paradise proved extremely impactful to the city's spatial imaginary, but will be analyzed more fully in Chapter 3.

reactions of d'Entraigues and, later, Polovtsoff, were exactly what Blanc and the prince had aimed for. Not only did the new name stir the imagination for these men, but it also became a point of emphasis in their travel writing and helped to produce a sense of intrigue for their audiences. With one proclamation on June 1, 1866, Prince Charles III, Blanc, and the SBM helped erase the negative connotations of Les Spélugues, laid the groundwork for the creation of a new city formed to stimulate commercial activity in the principality, and chose a name, which fired the imaginations of visitors and travel writers alike.

The Two Haussmanns: Constructing and Improving Monte Carlo

The naming of Monte Carlo proved an important step toward creating the awe-inspiring and all-encompassing resort which Blanc envisioned. The construction projects and enterprises he launched after taking command of the casino concession also brought his dream closer to fruition. The idea of bringing the most luxurious, modern, and sophisticated amenities to his casino-resort defined Blanc's time as concessionaire. Following Monte Carlo's inauguration in 1866, he continually invested in the casino, the gardens, the city's infrastructure and transportation facilities, and supplementary entertainment industries. By 1867, a regional guide provided an embarrassingly flattering appraisal of the city, noting that:

At the breast of the gardens of Monte Carlo's summit is the palace of the Casino. Its splendid lounges offer the tourists the choice of varied distractions of their every pleasure. In a reading room, perfectly prepared, are gathered the political newspapers, literary, artistic, etc., of the various nations of Europe. During the day and the evening, a perfectly refined orchestra performed, in a vast and beautiful room, the masterpieces of the most famous and in vogue composers. The elegance and the distinction of the listeners give an even greater sparkle to the wealth and harmony of the room. The concerts, feasts and dances are rampant under the intelligent direction of the administration. [The crowds] of tourists and bathers who visit the beach, jealous of [the casino's] pleasures and opulence, have ceaselessly seen new embellishments to the glitzy provisions for sea bathers and their dependencies added. And the sumptuous hotels in conjunction to Casino! The Hotel de Paris tempts the tastes of the gourmet of highest status with its gastronomic treasures; not far beyond, other hotels compete for attention and zeal

in order to maintain their established reputations. This is the most elevated luxury, a perfect comfort to remark upon, even the emulated and delicate [Charles] Monselet,¹⁴ the disciple of the grand-master and High Baron [Léon] Brisse,¹⁵ will find a table worthy of his admiration. The beautifully located villas embellish the surroundings of this hill. The joyful and animated company of elites make this new city the most attractive site for people who are looking for the companionship of the world's elegant; the magnificence of the natural surrounding sites are full of attractions for the 'traveller *en voyage*', whereas the climatological conditions found there are the most agreeable for the restoration of the sick and convalescent.¹⁶

Such an appraisal implied that Monte Carlo's architects came startlingly close to their designs to make the city synonymous with luxury and leisure in the imaginations of Europe's elite. These commendations were echoed by numerous publications, travelogues, and editorials. Each celebratory description of Monte Carlo's transformation referenced the intent of the SBM and Blanc to create a fantastic aura with his construction of the casino-resort. A description of the first anniversary of Monte Carlo's inauguration followed this trend, noting that in:

1867 . . . Monte-Carlo celebrates its first anniversary . . . Its visage is already taking shape, with its gardens, fountains, its villas, its aisles of orange groves, and music kiosks. The Niçois high society, despite the attacks of the press, appreciated the receptions, the restaurants, the dances of the new city. They are intrigued by everything that is written of this new town which prohibits them. They also dream of a hint of exoticism, mingling with the players, surrounded by mystery, recognizing at random, at the hotel de Paris, in the streets, in the lounges, the celebrities whose arrival in Monte Carlo is advertised in the gazettes.

The reading room of the *Cercle des Étranger*, where one can read the magazines and all the books of literary news, is frequented by a cultured public. The lounges of Monaco's bourgeoisie are a little more to the liking of the Niçois neighbors. The small people of Nice are involved, on Sunday, with the Monegasque who come strolling on the place du Casino.¹⁷

Similarly, Bénédict Henry Révoil described the early days of Monte Carlo, but more explicitly remarked upon Blanc's vision for the casino resort. Révoil explained that:

14. (b. 1825 – d. 1888) – a noted French epicurean author and gourmand.

15. (b. 1813 – d. 1876) – A noted French epicurean author and gourmand – a mentor to and partner of Charles Monselet.

16. Achard d'Entraigues, *Causeries de la plage*, 18-19. Emphasis original.

17. Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo*, 139.

M. Blanc had a dream – paradise on earth – to soften all roughness and the daemons of the game, and, he succeeded with this vision. It was in 1868 that the splendid Casino which serves as shelter for tables of trente-et-quarante and houses the Roulette wheel was finished, and for this occasion there was a great celebration where were invited all the notables of the Principality and the elite of the population of Nice and the surrounding area. During this time, Monte Carlo has succeeded in its path; its reputation had crossed all distances, and for all circles in all parts of the world le Cercle des Étrangers, had become the refuge of pleasure and enchantment, lit by a sky of azure, embalmed by the perfumes more soothing than that of flowers . . . Look to the left or right, you will believe yourself at center of a great city. On one side stands the Hotel of Paris, on the other the Grand Café, flanked by a few stylish shops, objects d’art, and a tobacco shop where one finds the best cigars from Havana, for all tastes, and all prices.¹⁸

Others echoed Révoil’s acknowledgement of Blanc’s concept for Monte Carlo throughout the nineteenth century. Contemporary travel authors recognized that Blanc’s self-described *rêve* was more all-encompassing and complex than the ambitions that motivated the Rhineland casinos, French *villes d’eaux*, and spa-resorts. By the late 1860s, Monte Carlo’s resort had already established itself as a refuge of pleasure and luxury. While historians have argued that pleasure-seeking became part of the vacation-leisure experience in the mid-nineteenth century, Monte Carlo represented a novel example in its unmitigated devotion to pleasure and leisure.¹⁹

Despite the glowing reviews and flattering praises of both visitors and the press, Blanc avoided complacency in his attempts to connect Monte Carlo with the concepts of luxury and cosmopolitanism. Even before the founding of Monte Carlo, Blanc traveled to Paris in order to meet with Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann (b. 1809-1891), the prefect of Paris who earned an international reputation for successful urban reconfigurations with his sweeping renovations of the city. Haussmann had not only improved Paris’s infrastructure and transportation arteries, he had also engaged in extensive beautification projects and had invested in impressive and

18. Bénédicte Henry Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*, 2nd ed. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1878), 199-200.

19. Douglas Peter Mackaman, *Leisure Settings: Bourgeois Culture, Medicine, and the Spa in Modern France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5-6.

prestigious public spaces such as museums, the Bois de Boulogne, and the Paris Opera. These constructions especially interested Blanc, as they had delighted Parisian and European elites and lent an air of sophistication, culture, and modernity to Haussmann's Paris.²⁰ The two men, facing similarly herculean tasks of massive renovation projects in their respective cities, soon developed a close and genial bond and often advised one another about their construction projects. Upon hearing Blanc's vision for Monte Carlo during a visit to the principality in February of 1866, Haussmann proffered blunt advice to his friend. Blanc's confidant, Henri Wagatha, recorded the conversation between the two men, and described Haussmann taking Blanc by the arm and exclaiming "Listen here, my dear, demolish everything. I will send you Garnier when he has finished building my opera."²¹ Haussmann's advice was clear – in order for the *dream* to be built in Monte Carlo, nothing must be second-rate. Even adequate facilities must be razed to make way for the most extravagant, most modern, and most luxurious constructions designed by the architects and designers in vogue.

While Blanc did not take his friend's advice literally, he understood the gist of Haussmann's counsel: that adaptation and nearly-constant improvement in Monte Carlo was instrumental to realizing his vision. He continued with his transformation of Monaco, sometimes sparking the ire of locals and journalists. *Le Chroniqueur* wrote of Monte Carlo that it was "all that is clean, grandiose, and luxurious. If Blanc has a generous hand, it is so he can reap the benefit of what is sown."²² The cynical appraisal of Blanc's management of the casino-resort in Monte Carlo nonetheless proved apt. From 1866 until his death, Blanc averaged a 3,000,000 franc investment in the principality each year in overhead, renovations, and improvements.

20. Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo*, 128-129.

21. Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann to François Blanc as recorded by Henri Wagatha, February 18, 1866, quoted in Phillippe Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo* (Évreux, France: L'Imprimerie Hérissey, 1981), 130.

22. *Le Chroniqueur*, June, 1873.

Additionally, in 1875 alone Blanc and the SBM employed more than 1,000 workers toward the physical development of Monte Carlo. These figures did not even account for Marie's numerous cultural, societal, and artistic investments in the principality.²³ Somewhat less contemptuous than *Le Chroniqueur*, M. Villemessant, director of *Figaro* wrote that "M. Blanc has transformed Monaco into a veritable Californian gold rush. Not only has he discovered the mines, but he has created them. It looks as if a good fairy has touched Monaco with a magic wand . . . Monaco has become paradise on Earth."²⁴ Such descriptions, regardless of tone, demonstrated the intense transformation Monte Carlo saw under Blanc's leadership, and emphasized the boon the changes had brought to the principality's economy.

The concessionaire's seemingly endless stream of renovations also earned him various comparisons to Baron Haussmann in the Monegasque and French presses. François Blanc alternated between titles such as "The Little Haussmann," "The Haussmann of Monaco," and "The Ripper Baron," all of which mockingly compared Blanc to his better-known friend, and some of which accused him of tearing up Monaco and exploiting the principality. Despite the unflattering emphasis of such comparisons, even Blanc's critics admitted that his construction and beautification projects mirrored those of his famous colleague, who had transformed Paris into a byword for modernity and sophistication (at least for the upper classes).

In many ways, the transformation of Monaco improved the conditions of Monégasque citizens, who despite being barred from playing in the casino, reaped considerable benefits from the revenues. A British gaming guide listed the extensive benefits provided to the locals of the principality which had developed in the decades since the casino-resort's founding. The authors praised the reigning prince, the SBM, and shareholders, noting that:

23. Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo*, 190-191.

24. Stéphane Bern, *Plus belle sera la vie* (Paris: Plon, 2007), 134.

The inhabitants are not taxed for water, poor or school rates, and no such thing as a dog licence [*sic*] is necessary. Matches which cost ten centimes (printed on every box, contributions indirectes) in France are only five centimes within the Principality. There are no taxes here; all expenses of public works, road-making, watering, scavenging, police, churches and charities are paid for by the Casino. The amount of employment provided by the Casino is amazing, including necessarily the administration, *chefs de partie*, inspectors, croupiers, musicians, liveried servants, police guardians, firemen, theatrical assistants, staff of gardeners, laundry women, etc., everybody and everything down to the black clothes and black neckties of the croupiers being paid for out of the revenue from the Casino.²⁵

While the transformation of Monaco, as experienced by Monégasque subjects and resort employees, was more complex than the rosy portrayals of O. Plucky, B. Careful, and C. Wisdom could depict, the pseudonymous trio accurately delineated some of the benefits of the extensive changes made by Blanc and his successors.

The comparisons of Blanc to Haussmann were fitting. Certainly to a smaller scale than Paris (the size difference between these urban centers alone could account for this), Monte Carlo experienced many of the same benefits, trials, and tribulations of the French capital, which was undergoing urban renovations at the time. Both architects of urban renovation sought innovative techniques for reconstruction, devoted considerable energies to highlighting and promoting commerce and consumption, and pursued every means to make their city stand out as the most modern and sophisticated in Europe. François Blanc, The Little Haussmann, devoted the rest of his life to this aim.

The Dream Unbroken: Designing and Remodeling the Resort's Architecture

François Blanc succumbed to a sudden aggravation of a respiratory illness in July of 1877. In his fourteen years as concessionaire of Monaco's casino-resort and head of the SBM, he had completely transformed the principality, revitalized an underwhelming tourism industry and

25. O. Plucky, B. Careful & C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette: Interesting to Players and Non-players, on Sale at all Libraries, Kiosks, Railway Stations* (London: Edmund Seale, 1913), 23.

stagnant casino enterprise, given birth to Monte Carlo – a previously non-existent town which served as an ideal as much as a functional city, and had elevated the SBM’s resort and casino to one of Europe’s premier winter tourism destinations and a rendezvous site for the world’s elite. He had parlayed his 1,500,000-franc purchase of the casino concession in 1863 (in addition to the funds he personally invested into the principality) to a fortune of approximately 72,000,000 francs at the end of his life (this does not count his shares in the SBM, which he left to his wife and sons).²⁶ He had, in the words of one author, made Monte Carlo “infectious [with] gaiety” and the city itself a “spell created by imagination and gossip rather than [solely] by the place itself.”²⁷ Despite these significant accomplishments, Blanc had made it clear that his vision for Monte Carlo was to create a comprehensive pleasure resort, one which did not simply compete with other casino towns, *villes d’eaux*, and spa resorts, but surpassed them as the world’s premier luxury destination. His designs to rival Paris for the architectural achievements that signaled the foremost in modernity and sophistication were upon his death, as yet unfulfilled. His dream deferred, then, passed to his wife, Marie Blanc.

Marie Blanc comprehended her husband’s vision for Monte Carlo’s casino-resort quite well. She had, after all, accompanied him to the city, served as the Blanc family’s philanthropic arm, mingled with visiting high-society, worked to increase the principality’s artistic bounty, and served as a minority shareholder and executive of the SBM. Despite her intimate knowledge and connections, concerns immediately surfaced that she was unfit to direct such a large financial enterprise, that her role as Blanc’s heiress, not her aptitude for sophisticated management or business acumen accounted for her position at the SBM. The fact remained, however, that she inherited the majority of the SBM shares and that her son Edmond and daughter Marie-Félix had

26. Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo*, 92.

27. Charles Kingston, *The Shadow of Monte Carlo and Other Stories of the Principality* (London: Grant Richards, Fronto Limited, 1931), 13, 52.

received enough additional shares to render any challenge to her leadership fruitless. Marie Blanc quickly silenced her critics, and the four years of construction and development in Monte Carlo during her time as casino concessionaire proved to be among the most innovative and productive in Monte Carlo's history.

Even prior to his death, François Blanc made it clear that his wife would be intimately involved in the construction projects and development of Monte Carlo. Stéphane Bern, a French journalist who has specialized in documenting the history of Monaco, has adequately summarized Marie's role. He notes that the couple came to an agreement in 1876 in which Marie was given greater autonomy and administrative control. Bern relays that "[w]ith her husband advancing in age [and declining in health], it was she who would build this future, who would try to anticipate the desires of the rich and the powerful. His challenge was to continue to surprise, and amaze, jaded people."²⁸ Fiercely critical of the satirical editorials about her husband in the press, Marie wrote to acknowledge François's formative role in transforming Monaco's tourist-based economy. She offered that:

It was his genius which had planned the end of the darkest [gambling] dens and private lounges for the benefit of the large and luxurious organization where the player is treated as a marked guest, where any dishonesty was supposedly banished . . . François not only created well-paying jobs, but he gave life to the merchants, the artisans. How many specially-designed shoes or velvet slippers had he had manufactured for the rich visitors? How many merchants of knick-knacks or of local specialties had found customers with ease because of him?²⁹

Marie carried the same attention to detail and eschewal of complacency in her management of the casino-resort.

In 1876, the couple had traveled to Paris to view Paris's new architectural wonder, the Palais Garnier. François and Marie marveled at the structure, which had "surpassed their

28. Bern, *Plus belle sera la vie*, 191.

29. Marie Blanc quoted in Stéphane Bern, *Plus belle sera la vie*, 232.

dreams,” and while François had long intended to employ Garnier to construct an opera house in Monte Carlo, it was Marie’s decision to “model the architecture of the casino [and theater] after the same [Palais Garnier].”³⁰ She followed through with her commitment to Garnier and Paris as the examples *par excellence* after her husband’s death, and construction began on the Opéra de Monte-Carlo and the Salle Garnier in 1878. She discussed ideas about the harmony of architecture and music with Garnier and met with him several times to express her own vision for the opera house.³¹

Marie also seemingly took Haussmann’s advice to “demolish everything” more literally than her husband, and ordered the old casino building razed once construction had begun on the new casino and opera house. Gambling continued but moved temporarily to the Hôtel de Paris, another SBM holding. The press noted that Marie Blanc approached the business of managing the casino with as much tenacity and vigor as her late husband, and began depicting her in caricatures as grasping a ladies umbrella in the same manner that a general may grasp his sabre.³² Nor was Marie a silent partner of Charles Garnier’s; she spared no expense in bringing in the finest artists and designers of the day.³³ Despite misgivings from Garnier that the casino project was being rushed, Blanc insisted that the casino be dedicated on November 5, 1878. The fête itself was a splendid success. It received worldwide publicity and served as host to a swath of royalty and celebrities.

The highlight of celebrating Garnier’s impressive structures came in January of 1879, when Sarah Bernhardt opened the Salle Garnier by reading poetry while dressed provocatively

30. Bern, *Plus belle sera la vie*, 191.

31. *Ibid.*, 52.

32. Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo*, 199.

33. *Ibid.*, 206.

like a nymph.³⁴ That touch, too, had been Marie Blanc's, who in the spring of 1876 "had seen Sarah Bernhardt act as Joan of Arc at the théâtre de la Gaîté and dreamed of bringing her to Monte Carlo for the inauguration."³⁵ The reception of both events was extraordinarily favorable, and Henri Wagatha, François's advisor and the current director general of the gaming house and chef-supreme of Monaco and Monte Carlo, worked to extend the positive publicity of the events.³⁶ Sarah Bernhardt's performance proved to be the centerpiece from which Wagatha would magnify the swell of support from the inaugurations. Ms. Bernhardt's presence at the inauguration of the theater was not merely important for its artistic merits (although her performance in Monte Carlo garnered a legendary reputation on its own right), it also signaled that Monte Carlo stood at the forefront of high culture, sophistication, and discriminating taste.

In a direct blow to critics who maligned the casino-resort as a site of mere philistine debauchery, Wagatha and others used the connection to Bernhardt and the ultra-fashionable opera house to associate the resort with elite culture. The SBM soon financed a statue commemorating Bernhardt's performance, and Marie Blanc and Wagatha worked with Bernhardt's personal artist of the time, the famous Czech painter Alphonse Mucha, to commission a portrait of Bernhardt as her recognizable nymph character from the opera house's opening. The painting features Bernhardt, with flowers in her hair and covered with a loose-fitting fabric which seems dangerously close to sliding off of her elfin frame. Bernhardt floats slightly above the beach near the Port of Hercules, with the Tête de Chien apparent in the

34. Judith Chazin-Bennahum, *René Blum and the Ballets Russes: In Search of a Lost Life* (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), 75.

35. Bern, *Plus belle sera la vie*, 191.

36. Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*, 221.

background, clearly denoting her location. Three floral circles and an additional half-dozen semi-circles wrap around Miss Bernhardt, seemingly encasing her (Figure 2.1).³⁷

The portrait became one of the most popular and reproduced nineteenth-century images relating to Monte Carlo's casino-resort. It served as an advertising bill for many years and was reproduced as a postcard souvenir for over a century (a postcard reproduction is currently available just outside the casino atrium). The painting not only served to commemorate Bernhardt's performance and continue to relate her artistic genius to the casino-resort, but it also cleverly reminded viewers that Monte Carlo



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 2.1. Alphonse Mucha, *Monaco-Monte-Carlo*, 1887. (Source: Gallica, BNF)

served as the home to the increasingly-popular game of roulette (the three floral circles surrounding the weightless Bernhardt, with their geometrically perfect spokes and fringed grooves, unmistakably mimic the roulette wheel, as well as evoke comparisons to the goddess Fortune and her wheel). Finally, the painting displays patterns of eroticized female portraiture popular in the late nineteenth century. Bram Dijkstra eloquently demonstrated that the weightless woman and the nymph were tropes of the latter decades of the century, which fiercely eroticized the female body while ostensibly shrouding overt

37. Alphonse Mucha, *Monaco-Monte-Carlo*. *Chemins de Fer P.L.M.*, 1887, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Gallica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9016300g.r=mucha+monte+carlo.langEN> (accessed September 12, 2014).

suggestiveness.³⁸ Such efforts to commemorate and memorialize Sarah Bernhardt's inauguration of the casino imply that the association of her image with that of the casino-resort came about, not as a simple choice or decision, but as a careful selection which reflects a consistent pattern of cementing notions of cosmopolitanism, sophistication, elite taste, and at times, even eroticism in representations of the casino-resort.

The choice of Garnier as the casino's architect also spoke to casino-resort promoter's attempts to bring international and cosmopolitan impressions to the architecture of the casino.³⁹

A photograph, taken by Eugène Trutat in 1905, shows the entrance of the casino. The gigantic



Figure 2.2. Eugène Trutat, “Entrée du Casino, Monte Carlo, Avril 1905.” (Source: Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse)

towers and the large dome, the elaborately-designed clock tower, and the façade evoke the Beaux-Arts architectural style popular throughout much of the continent at the time. The most notable features are the enormous doorways near the entrance (Figure 2.2).⁴⁰ The enormity of the entrance was no accident. It was built to convey the openness and hospitality of Monaco. Indeed, Adolphe Smith,

38. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-De-Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 84-89.

39. For succinct information regarding the casino building and its history, please refer to the SBM website reference to the casino, <http://www.casinodemonaco.com/The-Casino-de-Monaco.html> (accessed October 15, 2014).

40. Eugène Trutat, “Entrée du Casino, Monte Carlo, Avril 1905,” 1905, Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, Gallica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, “Entrée du Casino, Monte Carlo, Avril 1905,” http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/cgi-bin/superlibrary?a=d&d=ark:/74899/B315556101_TRUC1815 (accessed December 8, 2010).

an early-twentieth century historian of Monaco, noted that the “greater the facilities of entry, the more hospitable the building appears. Its inhabitants evidently do not wish to wall themselves off from the world.”⁴¹

Charles Garnier had garnered fame by constructing the new opera house in Paris, and became known for his incorporation of varied architectural styles in his work. Yet, the grand public architectural innovations displayed at world’s fairs and exhibitions also greatly influenced his designs and informed his views on the symbolic and cultural connections between architecture and people. For Garnier, and almost certainly the Blanc family and the reigning princes of Monaco, the Great Exhibition of 1851 and specifically, the Crystal Palace stood as an example of the conception of international space that they wished to construct. Uniquely and instantly recognizable, the Crystal Palace suggested a spirit of internationalism, international brotherhood, and the mutual dependence among states that resonated throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴² Because the survival of the tourist industry in Monaco depended entirely on the small country’s appeal to foreigners, the Blanc family and other civic designers sought to harness the international spirit of the Crystal Palace through the use of architecture and space within Monte Carlo’s casino, opera house, and theatre. In fact, the SBM and Monaco paid careful attention to world’s fairs and exhibitions at the time, sending M. le marquis de Maussabre-Beufvier and Edmond Blanc (François and Marie Blanc’s son) as agents of the SBM to report on these vast exhibitions and to construct le Pavillon de Monaco in Paris’s Champs de Mars in order to “consecrate the new life of the charming country, and fuel the appreciation of

41. Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 315.

42. Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 187.

the numerous visitors to [these exhibitions] who admired the modern marvels and symbols of progress – five parties of envoys were sent to gain exposure for the country.”⁴³

The Great Exhibition came to represent an international event that commemorated the progressive achievements of humankind. In the process, however, “the exhibition has deprived it of its local character, and rendered it no longer English merely, but cosmopolitan.”⁴⁴ The denationalization that occurred in the space of the Great Exhibition in 1851 also occurred in Monaco throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the Great Exhibition and similar world’s fairs became international spaces of human progress, Monte Carlo became an international space of luxury. The interiors of the Charles Garnier Theater and some of the renovated rooms of the casino mimicked the openness and exhibitory, stylistic elements of the Crystal Palace. A photograph of the Nouvelle Salle, added to the casino in 1910, illustrated the spaciousness of the interior of the casino. Large windows allow abundant natural light and luxurious crystal chandeliers dangle above the gaming tables. The playful, rococo ceiling is unusually high, and the entranceways to the Salle are over two stories in height. The clustered arrangement of the four gaming tables is hardly a pragmatic use of space, but draws the focus of the entire room toward the gaming action (Figure 2.3).⁴⁵ Not only did the room differ from the earlier Monégasque style, it also imitated the exhibitory nature of the Crystal Palace. The luxury of gaming was on display.

43. Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*, 349-350.

44. *Illustrated London News*, May 1851 quoted in Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 9.

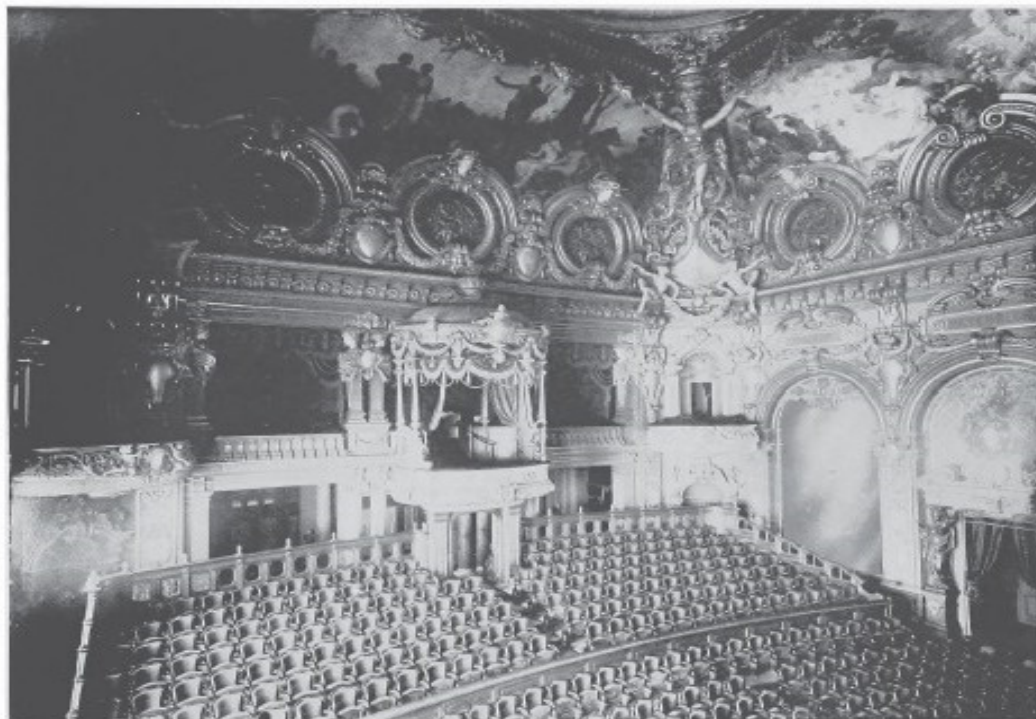
45. “The Nouvelle Salle, Or Salle Empire,” ca. 1910-1912 in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 328. This photograph would have been taken between 1910 and 1912.



Figure 2.3. “The Nouvelle Salle, Or Salle Empire,” ca. 1910-1912. (Source: Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*)

Similarly, a photograph of the Garnier Theater depicts the architectural changes in Monte Carlo that were designed to make the interior space appear inviting. Again a vast, elevated rococo ceiling, numerous statues, and elaborately decorated opera boxes imply luxury (Figure 2.4).⁴⁶ When compared to a photograph of the casino’s concert hall before 1878, it is clear that the architecture, interior design, and use of space in Monte Carlo continually changed throughout

46. “The Garnier theater: View from the Stage,” ca. 1910 in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 314. Debra L. Silverman argues that rococo was a “dream” styling largely associated with aristocrats. See Debra L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siecle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture, edited by Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).



THE GARNIER THEATRE: VIEW FROM THE STAGE

Figure 2.4. “The Garnier Theater: View from the Stage,” ca. 1910. (Source: Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*)

the last half of the nineteenth century in order to adapt to contemporary tastes and conform to the SBM’s designs for the resort. The original concert hall had much smaller entranceways, a Neoclassical interior design with several Ionic columns near the walls, and a bare, undecorated ceiling (Figure 2.5).⁴⁷ The renovations and improvements to the casino and theater were intended to make the buildings more impressive and luxurious, but also to appeal to a wide variety of foreign tourists. Like the spacious Crystal Palace from which he took his inspiration, Charles Garnier’s designs conveyed openness and expressed the conspicuous spectacle of luxury.

Monaco’s architectural renaissance inspired the desired effects on travelers. Adolphe Smith conceded that, even from the principality’s harbor:

47. “The Monte Carlo Casino: Ball and Concert Room Before 1878,” ca. 1870s in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 310.

Sailors and passengers cannot fail to recognize the frontage of the Monte Carlo casino. . . . Two or three strokes of pencil or pen from an artist's hand will render the outline of these two towers and the great domed roof of the theater between them. That is sufficient. Monte Carlo is at once recognized.⁴⁸

The grandiose and unique architecture of the new casino and the *Opéra de Monte-Carlo* not only made depictions of the city instantly recognizable, but also signaled the arrival of a modern European city and helped cultivate Monte Carlo's reputation as a rendezvous for an international group of cosmopolitan elites.

The city of Monte Carlo, and its reputation as an international hub of interaction and exchange, superseded the principality itself as the primary conception of space in the West's



THE MONTE CARLO CASINO: BALL AND CONCERT ROOM BEFORE 1878

Figure 2.5. “The Monte Carlo Casino: Ball and Concert Room Before 1878,” ca. 1870s. (Source: Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*)

48. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 316.

popular imagination. The commitment of resources to updating the casino throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the first few decades of the twentieth century reveals the casino concessionaires' and investors' solid dedication to maintaining the casino-resort's reputation as the height of luxury and sophistication. François Blanc had made it abundantly clear that to achieve his vision for Monte Carlo as Europe's premier, resort destination, all aspects of the casino-resort had to match contemporary standards of luxury for elite vacationers. Continual renovations, investments, and improvements to the casino-resort were necessary to maintain his standard of excellence. Blanc's proactive vision for the casino-resort informed decisions by his wife and sons, who managed the resort with the SBM throughout the remainder of the century. Indeed, re-investment in the casino architecture and décor occupied much of the SBM's budget and demanded as much attention as did the projects to expand the supplementary resort industries over that time period. A chronological floor plan of the casino, published in 1911, demonstrated the extraordinary commitment to continued renovations and improvements to the building. The casino underwent seven massive renovations and additions to the building between 1878 and 1910 (Figure 2.6).⁴⁹ The years between 1889 and 1906 proved particularly eventful and featured the construction of the casino's lateral façade, the addition of no less than six gaming rooms, aesthetic renovations to the main façade, and Henri Schmit's intensive remodeling efforts at the turn of the century. While the increasing number of visitors to the principality dictated some of these changes, the majority of the alterations had less to do with spatial accommodations than with attempts to remain up to date and *en vogue*.

49. *Chronological Plan of the Casino*, 1911, in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 322.

who had been tasked in 1879 with creating a grand atrium for the casino.⁵¹ A postcard of Dutrou’s atrium shows the openness of the architect’s design, as casino patrons entering the building could be seen from any vantage in the atrium. In the fashion of the Crystal Palace, the open-design of the room functions as a place for visitors to see and be seen – the room itself was on display. Dutrou coordinated with Garnier to create a neo-baroque style, with an elegant floor, twenty-eight marble columns, and elegantly wrought bronze chandeliers and candelabras (Figure 2.7).⁵² The atrium replaced a number of smaller rooms which had functioned as reading rooms, smoking rooms, and a miniature concert hall. The intent of the change was clear – the smaller functional spaces were consolidated into a larger, panoramic atrium in which casino patrons served as both audience and spectacle. While the elegant architecture of the atrium and the fine décor were on display, visitors to the casino were equally part of the exhibitory effect.



Figure 2.7. “1203. Monte-Carlo – Le Casino – L’Atrium. L.L.,”ca. 1880. (Source: the author’s collection)

A further intense series of renovations to the casino building began in 1890, when Jules Touzet, a renowned French architect, began construction on two new gaming rooms to accommodate the increasing number of

51. “Casinoscopie 1,” *Gamble Casino Magazine*, no. 5 (1983-1984): 41, William Thompson Collection 87-063, Box 1 France & Monaco, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

52. “1203. Monte-Carlo – Le Casino – L’Atrium. L.L.,”ca. 1880, carte postale noir et blanc, collection of the author, generously donated from the collection of Anton Rosenthal.

visitors.⁵³ He completed the twin rooms in under six months, but devoted tremendous detail to their decoration. A mosaic authored by the Italian master of the form of the nineteenth century, Gian Domenico Facchina, surrounded the entrances to the rooms. Facchina's work elicited praise for its encapsulation of the exotic by contemporary critics. The rooms themselves featured a number of paintings by respected French artists of the day, among them several female nudes from Loire painter, Léon Auguste César Hodebert. Hodebert's works emphasized the grace of the female form and its connection to the high arts, but the most prominent painting in the room is his depiction of the Goddess Fortuna, sensuous and blindfolded, beckoning to the room's gamblers.⁵⁴

In addition to the expansion of the twin gaming rooms, Touzet redesigned the casino façade in the same year. A postcard of the casino façade shows the subtle, but telling, improvements made to the edifice. The twin cupolas, often described as the most recognizable part of the casino, are revamped with updated molding and their clock-faces removed. The façade itself is more finely detailed, even ornate, as finely carved stone replaces the plain facing. Gates separate the steps to the casino and theater entrance from the casino terraces, creating pockets of exclusion and making parts of the casino less of a public space than a controlled, private area (Figure 2.8).⁵⁵ Such a massive renovation project, ordered just over a decade after the modern casino was redesigned by Garnier, suggests a serious and committed plan to keep the casino at the forefront of contemporary conceptions of elegance and a desire to continually update the casino-resort. These renovations came on the heels of 1889, a watershed year for

53. For more information on the fine details of many of the architectural renovations in this sections, please see Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir : Le Passe et le Présent Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice : Éditions de la Ste de Publicité des Pays D'azur, 1903), 197-198.

54. "Histoire de Salons-Touzet," <http://www.casinodemonaco.com/Salons-Touzet.html> (accessed September 16, 2014).

55. "Casino de Monte-Carlo. – Le Théâtre," postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1882-1900, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102325, image: FOTO00003907.

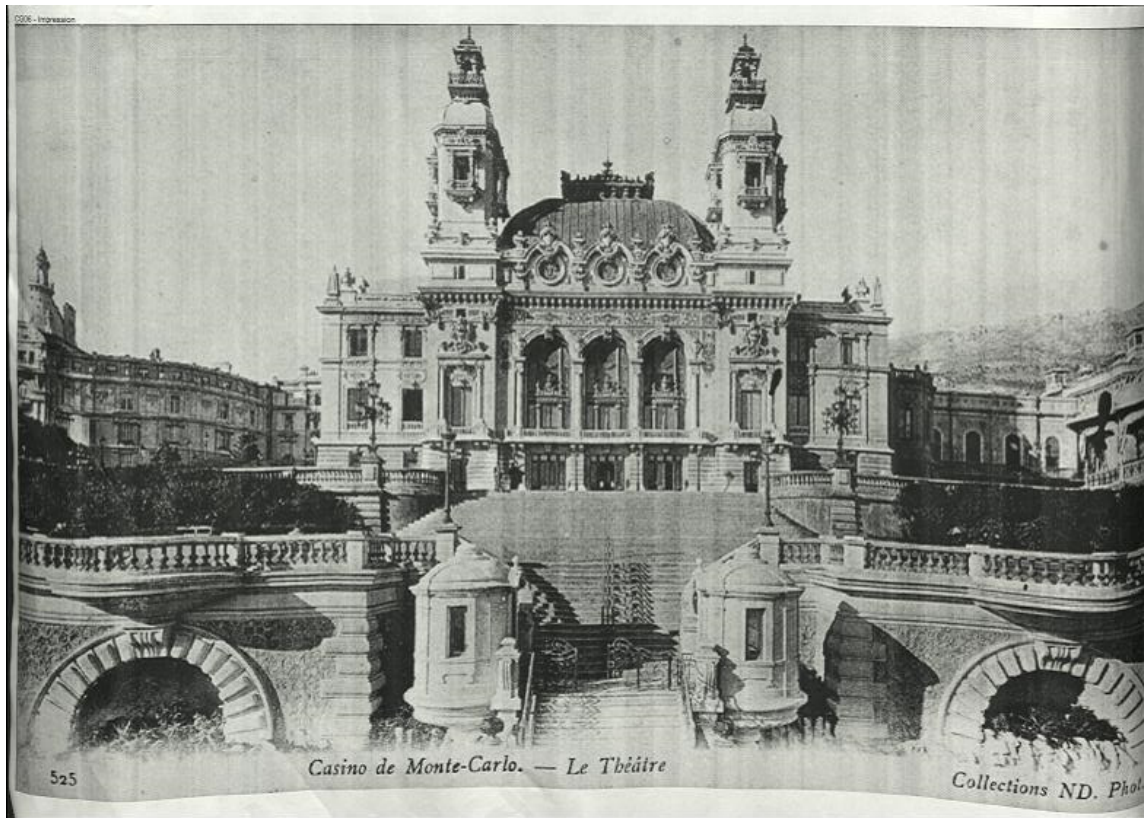


Figure 2.8. “Casino de Monte-Carlo. – Le Théâtre,” ca. 1882-1900. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

Monte Carlo which had capitalized on the influx of European and American visitors traveling to neighboring France for the Exposition Universelle of 1889 and the French centennial – attracting guests had ceased to be a problem. Improvements to the casino-resort and its rising reputation as a premier luxury destination for elite vacationers helped to draw more than half a million visitors to the principality in 1889 alone.⁵⁶ With such an increase in the number of casino patrons and with the well-received exposition in Paris (Monte Carlo’s model of modernity and sophistication), it was unsurprising that casino managers devoted considerable resources to revamping the casino.

Less than six years after Touzet finished his renovation project, casino managers once again turned to a famous European architect to overhaul the building. Camille Blanc, François

⁵⁶ Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 324.

Blanc's son from a previous marriage, had been tasked with managing casino operations following Marie Blanc's untimely death in 1881 and his half-brother Edmond's reluctance to serve as the principle SBM shareholder. Camille sought the abilities of Henri Schmit, a talented, Dutch-born French architect who spent the better part of two decades intently working on improvements to the casino building. Schmit had worked under Charles Garnier and had familiarized himself with Garnier's overall concept of Italian theater-like architecture. He was a renowned architect in his own right and his designs were featured in many of the late-nineteenth century World's Fairs and architectural competitions.⁵⁷ Camille Blanc tasked Schmit with constructing several additions to the casino in order to house more gaming rooms and provide more functional spaces for casino patrons. Schmit's new construction projects and revisions to the casino, from 1898 to 1903, suggest that the casino-resort needed areas for new activities within the casino, as well as additional space to accommodate the mounting diversity of its clientele.

Schmit's first solo project at the casino was the renovation of Charles Garnier's Salle Mauresque. The project itself was a risky venture, considering Garnier's design had won much praise and admiration from casino patrons. A postcard of the original Salle Mauresque centers on an indoor fountain wrapped in ferns and exotic vegetation, positioned under an intricate sunroof to allow for natural lighting. The fountain is flanked by roulette tables in the foreground and background, and smaller trente-et-quarante tables are visible in the periphery. Dozens of finely-wrought chandeliers hang throughout the room, and the room features three enormous,

57. For example, he won honorable mention in a contest to redesign Paris's Opéra-Comique, won the contest to design the Hotel de Ville de Montdidier, and had exhibits featured in the Exposition Universelle in 1889 and the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

Mudéjar-style doorways. The walls themselves appear rather plain, a much more austere style of décor than much of the rest of the casino (Figure 2.9).⁵⁸



Figure 2.9. “Casino de Monte-Carlo La Salle Mauresque,” ca. 1878-1898. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

Despite the popular reception of the Salle Mauresque, in 1898 Schmit was charged with updating the architecture, providing more appealing décor, and adapting the main gaming room to contemporary tastes. Visitors also approved of the architect’s fin-de-siècle renovation. He opted for a much glitzier decorative style than Garnier’s spartan choices for the Salle Mauresque. A postcard of the newly renovated Salle Schmit (erroneously titled Nouvelle Salle de Jeu on the

58. “Casino de Monte-Carlo La Salle Mauresque,” postcard 14 x 21, ca. 1878 - 1898, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 10F14856, image: FOTO00075386.

postcard) contrasted sharply with Garnier's aforementioned room. Crowded with casino visitors in their finest dress, the altered room now features several windows for natural light, gilded gold and bronze all along the walls, highly placed decorative mirrors, and several enormous portraits and landscapes by the most celebrated contemporary artists. Finally, the room glows with natural light from the domed glass ceiling (Figure 2.10).⁵⁹ The two postcards can hardly be recognized as the same room. Even Garnier's choice of paintings (mainly those celebrating sporting themes ranging from the hunt to nautical races) had been eclipsed by works celebrating women or the seasons by more modern artists.⁶⁰

Schmit's construction projects continued into 1903, when he finished a minor renovation



Figure 2.10. “722. – Monte Carlo. - Nouvelle Salle de Jeu,” ca. 1898 – 1910.
(Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

59. “722. – Monte Carlo. - Nouvelle Salle de Jeu,” postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1898 - 1910, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102317, image: FOTO00003900.

60. Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*, 197-198.

to the Salon Renaissance and constructed two new rooms: the Salle Blanche and Salon Rose. The SBM initially conceived of the Salle Blanche as a conversation room – a fact that underscores the importance of sociability and the development of a cosmopolitan network of elites at the casino-resort. The room briefly served as the nexus of communication, intermingling, and interaction between casino patrons outside of the gaming rooms. Philippe Casimir extolled the room the year it was built, remarking that the conversation and reading room was “abundantly supplied with newspapers from all the countries of the world.”⁶¹ Such uses for the room were necessary after the construction of the casino atrium had swallowed up several smaller reading and smoking rooms which had been utilized for the same purpose. Room at the gaming tables was at a premium, so it is telling that casino managers sought to oblige their clientele’s needs for sociability rather than to immediately install more gaming tables in the additional space.

The Salle Blanche also immediately housed what was arguably the casino’s most famous collection of paintings. The elegance and beauty of the female form was the overarching theme of the room’s décor, and the theme has continued since the paintings were installed in the room upon its construction. The most celebrated of these paintings is *Les Grâces Florentines* by Paul Gervais. A postcard of the painting was almost immediately made available to casino patrons and has since remained a popular seller in the principality. The painting featured three nude women in an Ancient Italian setting. The Florentine Graces feature elegantly in the forefront of the painting, preparing for a bath with the center figure shedding a coat of ermine. While the classical setting of the painting surely eased the moral concerns of more reserved casino visitors about the painting’s nudity, the painting is far more erotically charged than it may first appear. The three nudes bear a shocking resemblance to Cléo de Mérode, Liane de Pougy and La Belle

61. Ibid., 193.

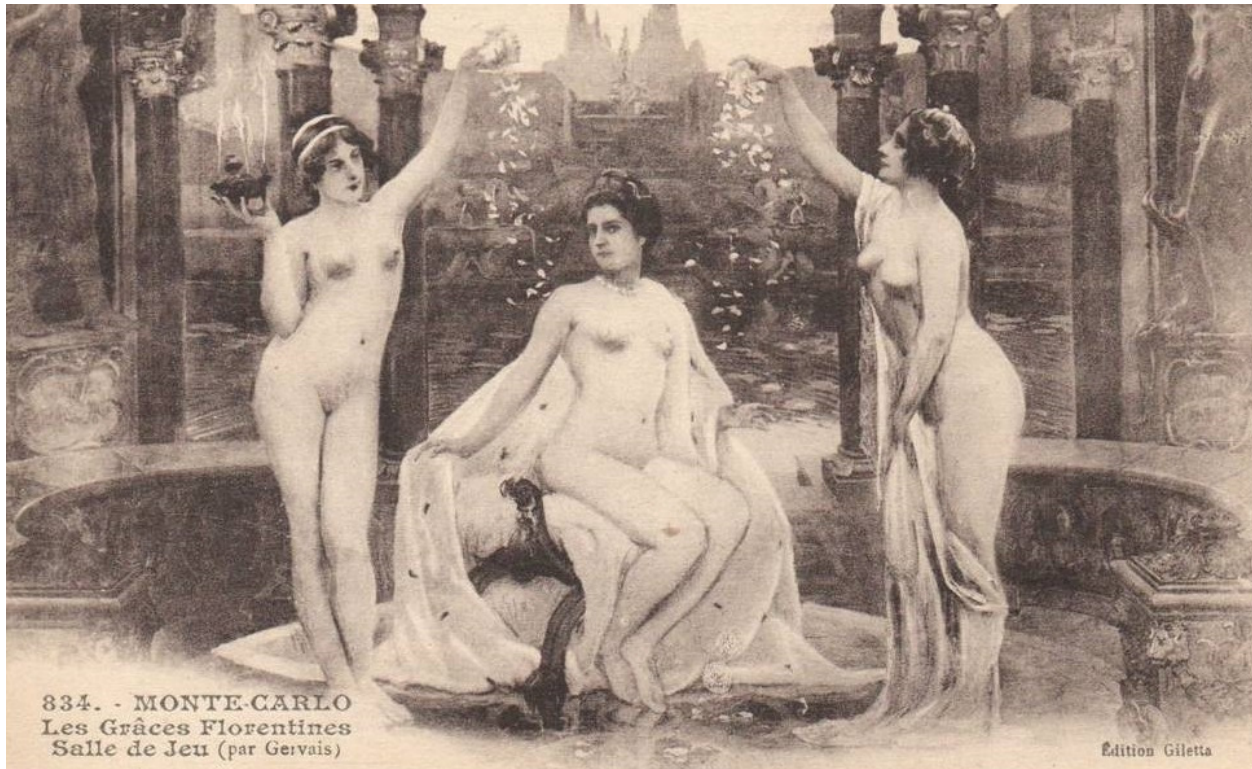


Figure 2.11. “834. – Monte-Carlo. Les Grâces Florentines. Salle de Jeu, par Gervais,” ca. 1910. (Source: author’s collection)

(Carolina) Otéro – three frequent visitors, performers, and celebrated *demimondaine* at the casino who ranged at times from actresses and dancers to courtesans and mistresses. The siren-like gaze of Otéro seems less innocent than provocative and overtly sexual (Figure 2.11).⁶² Bram Dijkstra explains that such an openly erotic painting was not uncommon in fin-de-siècle Europe. Like Otéro, the “woman’s glance would become the glance of knowledge, of the most dangerous kind of knowledge: knowledge of forbidden things . . . [it] was the very incarnation of the temptress, the snake of forbidden knowledge.”⁶³ Dijkstra notes about *Les Grâces Florentines*’s painter:

Paul Gervais [was] a characteristic example of the sort of production in which the artist’s sense of moral concern was decidedly less of a factor than his admiration

62. “834. – Monte-Carlo. Les Grâces Florentines. Salle de Jeu, par Gervais,” colorized postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1910, author’s collection.

63. Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, 138.

for the corporeal pulchritude of his self-absorbed sinners. Gervais also showed himself to be a characteristic devotee of the period's reduplication principle in art by painting not only two women in rapt admiration of their [bodies] but by managing to bring several versions of the theme . . . into his image as well.⁶⁴

Much like the women who served as the model for feminine beauty in the painting, the painting itself managed to intrigue casino patrons with its challenging, yet seductively-explicit eroticism.

In contrast to the Salle Blanche, which had been designed largely to meet the social needs of the casino's diverse and expanding clientele, construction of the Salon Rose came about for a much different reason: exclusion. Early historians of Monte Carlo speculated that the Salon Rose may have initially been conceived of as a women's gaming area. Camille Blanc was skeptical of the intermingling of men and women in the gaming rooms and briefly considered banning women from the main gaming areas and private salles in the first decade of the twentieth century. Blanc ultimately decided against such an alienating policy and no formal restriction on female gamblers was ever enacted at the casino.⁶⁵ While the room never became a gender-segregated area, it ultimately functioned to separate the smoking patrons from the non-smoking patrons. The architect also added the Bar Vert to the casino, to provide yet another space for (mostly men) to socialize, drink, and mingle. It is unclear whether Schmit would have been called on to expand upon these massive renovations at the turn of the century, because his death in 1904 brought an end to the furious period of construction that had begun in 1898. Regardless, Schmit's work demonstrated a shift in tastes in Monte Carlo at the turn of the century, a demand for spaces at the casino beyond the gaming rooms, and a continued commitment to keep the casino-resort up to date and at the height of the day's fashions.

The final major renovations to the casino during the *fin de siècle* brought greater uniformity to the casino's various entrances and terraces and provided a further refuge for elite

64. Ibid.

65. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 322.

vacationers who wished to gamble clear of the growing number of lesser breeds who now patronized the casino. The SBM tapped Arthur Demerlé, a close runner-up for the 1889 *Prix de Rome*, to provide a sense of uniformity for the casino's lateral facades, terraces, and entrances. While his 1906 project added no additional space or function to the casino, the cosmetic alterations proved to be nearly as costly as some of the previous ventures undertaken by Schmit and Touzet.

The expanding presence of mass tourists in Monte Carlo, and the continued desire to remain on top of design trends, once again demanded an addition to the casino structure in 1910. For the first time since the construction of the new casino building began, casino managers commissioned a local architect to build the newest gaming room that year. Monégasque architect François Medecin built his Nouvelle Salle with the needs of the casino's richest and most exclusive guests in mind. Access to the room was limited to select guests and members of Monaco's various *cercles* and societies, including the Sporting Club. The SBM dubbed Medecin's addition the Salle Empire due to its elaborate empire-style décor (it was perhaps the most extravagantly, even garishly, furnished and decorated of the new gaming rooms, with mahogany paneling, imperial green drapes surrounding its prominent windows.) The construction of the Salle Empire marked the culmination of a movement to segregate elite vacationers at Monte Carlo from the hundreds of thousands of tourists who visited the principality each year.⁶⁶ Medecin's role in the creation of four additional super-privé salles underscores the SBM's commitment to providing private spaces for gambling and socializing for its most prestigious clientele.

66. Chapter 5 will further explain how the creation of private salles and the separation of elite and middle-class casino patrons allowed the SBM to negotiate the tenuous balance of portraying the casino-resort as an exclusive luxury destination while also serving as a mass-tourism destination.

The SBM's dedication to architectural excellence and continued improvement to the resort did not stop at the casino itself. The Café de Paris, Hôtel de Paris, and Hôtel Hermitage were facilities almost as central to Monte Carlo as the casino itself. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, these structures had garnered fame in their own right and patronage to these places became an important and distinguishing facet of a vacationer's trip to Monte Carlo. Recognizing the importance of maintaining and updating these supplementary industries, Marie Blanc laid the plans for re-organizing and re-christening the Café de Paris, then the Café-Divan, before her death in 1881. Reconstruction of the café began in 1882, and was already reconfigured in a Moorish style made popular by Garnier's recently-built Salle Mauresque by 1897. Henri Schmit oversaw the second renovation of the café and sought to retain a bit of Garnier's Moorish styling (in part because he was removing many of those elements from the casino gaming rooms.)⁶⁷ A collection of postcards featuring the café illustrated the popularity of the establishment with visitors to Monte Carlo. The postcards feature the café, adjacent to the casino terraces, and filled with people. The numerous, and crowded, tables are surrounded by vacationers walking along the terrace and plaza in front of the casino. Each patron is finely dressed and numerous women carry parasols to block the sunlight. The café offers exceptional views of the casino façade and l'Hôtel de Paris, and gives the illusion that it is situated in a much larger city than Monte Carlo.⁶⁸ The Café de Paris energized the businesses along the casino terraces and helped to draw a large and sophisticated crowd for the resort.

Following the Café de Paris's renaming and renovation, it became renowned as a status symbol for European visitors. Victor Bethell, a British visitor who wrote several books about

67. Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*, 216.

68. "777. Monte-Carlo. – Place du Casino Terrasse du Café de Paris," collection of black and white postcards, postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1897-1910, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102323, image: FOTO00003905, and postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1897-1910, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102321, image: FOTO00003904.

Monte Carlo and its casino, described the café's significance to European high society. Speaking of the Café de Paris and Ciro's, a small but well-known competing restaurant run by a charismatic Italian-Egyptian, he noted that:

At luncheon-time . . . you can see all the notabilities in Monte-Carlo compressed into a space of about twenty yards square . . . The legal and political element was very strongly represented and London Society was also well to the fore . . . If you add to all these, a sprinkling of superbly dressed *demimondaines*, some foreign notabilities, a few barristers, City men, and stockbrokers, you will have a very fair idea of [the terrace] restaurants during the Monte Carlo season.⁶⁹

The celebrated gourmand Charles Monselet described the perpetual movement of vacationers in the square and hinted at the social implications of patronizing the Café de Paris in an article in *L'Illustration*. He wrote “[i]n the middle of this enchantment, you are presented with a perpetual back-and-forth of men and women, elegantly topped in frou-frou fabrics, a jumble of sun umbrellas, and pleasant exchanges at the turn of the terrace and garden pathway. This is Monte Carlo.”⁷⁰ The continued popularity of Monte Carlo's famed establishments could not spare them from frequent renovation – a pattern consistent throughout the casino-resort. The SBM continually updated the café throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to match contemporary tastes and to repair damages (Edouard Michelin crashed his racecar into one of the café's support pillars in 1897).

Similarly, the Hôtel de Paris underwent turn-of-the-century renovations despite the fact that the hotel was continually booked, was the most patronized lodging in the principality, and its restaurant was frequented more than any other in Monaco at the time.⁷¹ Nonetheless, the SBM authorized construction of the hotel's Rotonde addition and redesigned its interior to provide an

69. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), 45-47. Victor Bethell wrote the book using the pseudonym V.B.

70. Charles Monselet, *l'Illustration*, unknown issue quoted in Stéphane Bern, *Plus belle sera la vie*, 134.

71. Lieutenant Colonel Nathaniel Newnham-Davis and Algernon Bastard, *The Gourmet's Guide to Europe* (London: Grant Richards, 1903), 62.

even greater associative connection to Paris, which remained the city's standard-bearer for sophistication and cosmopolitanism. The Hotel Hermitage benefited, perhaps more than any other establishment, during the city's unremitting construction projects. In 1900, the SBM hired Gabriel Ferrier to redesign the only other hotel in Monte Carlo which could be considered on par with the Hôtel de Paris. Ferrier was the latest in the string of SBM-employed architects who had proven themselves to be at the top of their craft; he had recently won the *Prix de Rome* and his work had been highly-lauded when he won the gold medal at Paris's Exposition Universelle in 1889. Ferrier brought further prestige to the hotel's renovations when he sought the advice of Gustave Eiffel (who was himself designing the Winter Garden's massive glass and iron roof in Monte Carlo at the time). Such projects were time-consuming and expensive, but essential parts of a large-scale pattern for the SBM to devote widespread and considerable resources to matching their clientele's most modern and extravagant tastes.

The constant renovation projects supported a stable local economy, as well. Quoting an unnamed Monégasqueresident, Sir Hiram Maxim, an American-born British frequenter of the casino best known for inventing the famous machine gun that bore his name, demonstrated the local impact of such construction projects. Maxim recorded that:

The Casino alone provides honest employment for over one thousand people, including as it does the Administration, the *Chef de Parti*, the inspectors, croupiers, musicians, liveried servants, *gardiens*, firemen, scene-shifters, gardeners, laundrywomen, etc., etc. In fact, it may be said that the entire population of Monaco is dependent upon the Cercle. The hours of many of the employees at the gambling-tables being light, several of them are interested in business undertakings of various kinds in the town, whilst their wives and daughters are enabled to add to the family income by the letting of apartments, taking in of boarders, and finding other employment, such as dressmaking, millinery, etc. The enormous building operations, which have been going on for the last twelve years, have afforded honest labour for thousands of workmen.⁷²

72. Uncited source of a 'longtime local' quoted in Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations by George A. Stevens* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 293-294, The University of Nevada Las

Maxim acknowledged that the seemingly-unending construction projects were not limited to the casino, but included the periphery industries. He remarked that:

It must not be supposed that all the money brought to Monte Carlo passes through the Casino. . . . Immense sums are being spent yearly in the erection of splendid chateaux and villas, in laying out parks and grounds, and in building and equipping great hotels and cafes, where enormous prices are [levied]. . . . In fact money seems to be knocking about as freely as pebbles on the seashore.⁷³

Reflecting on the success of Monte Carlo throughout the years, an early 1980s trade magazine praised the casino and the SBM for its trend of perpetual renovation and for providing its patrons with frequently-updated accommodations to the tastes of the day. The trade journal contended that:

The S.B.M. is not only a casino. Far from it. After more than a century, it specializes in art, classical and contemporary. It ceaselessly innovates and improves its remarkable hotel infrastructure, it has created a timeless universe where the smallest pleasure becomes a party: festivals, spectacles, galas, expositions. This is a permanent animation which is offered to visitors all year long. By creating a unique style, the S.B.M. has given to Monte Carlo an international dimension where gourmets, collectors, gamblers, sportsmen, and businessmen from around the world meet.⁷⁴

While such an appraisal had the benefit of nearly 100 years of hindsight, the article demonstrated that the SBM's commitment to ceaseless innovation and "permanent animation" played a key role in the corporation's success in the leisure-resort industry. The Blanc family and SBM's dream, the construction of an international space of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism, required initial investments and symbolic representations of these concepts, but it also necessitated continued nurturing and cultivation to make the dream last. Employing the most

Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada. Emphasis original.

73. Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations by George A. Stevens* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 291-292, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

74. "Casinoscopie 1," 38.

fashionable and well-respected architects and artists of the late nineteenth century was an extraordinarily expensive undertaking, and while the casino had to be expanded to meet the needs of more than a million annual visitors, the renovations to the casino and horizontal industries of the SBM provided more form than function for the guests. These efforts were necessary expenditures that represented a devotion to a most carefully cultivated and manicured presentation of representational space. In every possible way, the management of the casino-resort at Monte Carlo suggested to their patrons that their space was not a competitor of other casinos or spa-resorts, but that it was something else entirely. It was an all-encompassing, modern, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan space for elite vacationing.

“A Most Verdant Place”: Redesigning and Reimagining Monaco’s Landscape

While the urban spaces in Monte Carlo grew, the roads were tarred, the casino received numerous refurbishments, and deluxe hotels expanded and proliferated, Monaco’s landscape also experienced a tremendous transformation. Casino managers and civic officials sought to emulate the lavishness and sophistication of the architectural spectacles which had been erected and remodeled throughout the late-nineteenth century with the surrounding grounds and environment. The changes to Monaco’s landscape came to represent more than the merely-aesthetic adjustments of the 1860s and 1870s. The remarkable transformation of the principality’s landscape, environment, and topography from the mid-1880s to the mid-1930s constituted a fundamental shift in how civic managers and SBM officials presented the representational space of Monegasque land. Monaco’s land was itself incorporated into the all-encompassing resort experience of visiting Monte Carlo. The principality underwent land reclamation projects, conducted numerous horticultural experiments, laid out gardens, and gave the greatest attention to providing vacationers with a picturesque view, no matter where they

stood in the resort (Chapter 3 will further explore the meaning of the picturesque in the principality and how that concept had a dynamic meaning over this course of time). The SBM funded and oversaw most such projects, but state ventures provided landscaping and gardens which complemented (and sometimes stood in direct opposition to) the SBM's horticultural endeavors. These efforts to remake the land and change the environment of Monaco were both representational (the associative symbols of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism carefully-constructed and employed by the casino-managers) and part of Monaco's built environment (the alterations to the physical environment of the principality stood as attempts to tangibly and centrally redefine space and its use at the casino-resort). The SBM, casino-promoters, and the Grimaldi family did not just provide a carefully-managed presentation of representational space in Monaco, but actually modified the state's physical space in their pursuit to construct a spatial imaginary.

One of the longest-standing and most-contentious battles between the state of Monaco and the first several casino concessionaires had centered on the creation of garden areas around the casino. These initial entrepreneurs had been much more concerned with quickly and inexpensively filling the gaming rooms than with their contractual obligations to build gardens. On the other hand, the Grimaldi family and state advisors had feared that an inability to present the casino as a respectable establishment (fashioning gardens was presumably a first step toward such respectability) would draw further attention to a then morally-ambiguous venture which was being heatedly debated by other European states. In contrast, François Blanc needed little convincing to fulfill what had always been a condition of the casino concession. Unlike his predecessors, Blanc viewed the obligation not as a wasteful financial burden, but as an opportunity to begin building his uniquely-envisioned resort for Europe's elite.

Not only had well-maintained gardens been a long-standing and essential facet of respectable vacation-leisure destinations and spa-resorts, but in the latter half of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, they also played an important part in European upper- and middle-class leisure pursuits. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, an environmental historian, demonstrated that publications of the era, such as *Die Gartenkunst* and *Garten und Landschaft*, propagated the belief that appreciation of a picturesque garden (or indeed just a picturesque view) held social implications for Europe's upper tiers.⁷⁵ Further, Swedish historian and theorist Orvar Löfgren noted that this focus on creating a picturesque landscape was an essential aspect of tourism. He argued that the picturesque "was not 'just a view,' it was an event, a focusing not only of the eyes but of all the senses . . . The language of the picturesque is thus an early example of transnational standardization . . . the globalization of the tourist industry starts here."⁷⁶

François Blanc likely understood the concept of this transnational attraction of the picturesque and had that in mind when he began to reshape the landscape of Monte Carlo. Blanc made good on his contractual obligation to provide a garden adjacent to the casino. He constructed a large botanical garden and redesigned several smaller ones throughout Monte Carlo. The initial addition of casino gardens provided patrons with a pleasing view and a picturesque pathway, and also served to erase the memory of muddy squalor and trash bins which had characterized the landscaping of the first casino, Villa Bellevue. A picture-postcard of the casino at the turn of the century shows the form of the casino gardens and hints at their function. Large date palms, among the first plants to be imported to Monaco (at the personal expense of François Blanc) line the walkways and long driveway to the casino entrance. The

75. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "The Ideological, Aesthetic and Ecological Significance of Water in Twentieth-century German Garden Design," in *Water, Leisure & Culture: European Historical Perspectives*, Water, Leisure & Culture, ed. Susan C. Anderson and Bruce H. Tabb (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 126-127.

76. Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 76.

center of the photograph shows the lush grass and the symmetrical placement of small flowers and hedges made to appear like a green carpet leading up to the building's steps. Casino patrons stroll through the pathways and ride carriages to the building's entrance. The ornamental lavishness of the casino and the garden seem inseparable (Figure 2.12).⁷⁷ A postcard produced around the same time demonstrates the importance of arriving at the casino through the gardens, features the crowds of onlookers, and even catches one of the casino's uniformed and vigilant *gardes-jardins* on duty. These adjoining gardens certainly added to the interactive spectacle experience at Monte Carlo (Figure 2.13).⁷⁸



Figure 2.12. “564. Monte Carlo. – *Casino et Jardins*,” January 1901. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

77. “564. Monte Carlo. – *Casino et Jardins*,” postcard 14 x 9, January 1901, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102320, image: FOTO00003903.

78. “887. Monte Carlo. – *Façade du Casino – Les Jardins*,” postcard 14 x 9, circa 1900-1911, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102330, image: FOTO00003912.



Figure 2.13. “887. Monte Carlo. — *Façade du Casino – Les Jardins*,” ca. 1900-1911. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

During the first decade of changes to Monaco’s landscape, the SBM focused on creating a picturesque view of the countryside and casino grounds; the corporation’s landscape artists achieved the effect by featuring the native flora and complementing it with sporadic imports. They replaced the mud and rocky dirt with flowers, grass, and trees, and arranged the plants in an aesthetically pleasing fashion. Jules Bessi remarked in 1874 that, “[t]he vigor of the vegetation constitutes, in effect, a particular characteristic of our countryside. The pouring hills, the plain and the gardens offer a large variety of fruited trees, indigenous plants and flowers one can rarely see elsewhere.”⁷⁹ As a native of Provence, Bessi was well positioned to determine how Monaco’s landscaping subtly differed from its more natural state and his description of rare

79. Jules Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo, causerie par Jules Bessi – 1874* (Nice: 1874), 3, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15188, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

plants underscores the principality's gradual incorporation of non-native plant-life. In the rest of his account of Monaco's environment, he expounded at length on the country's natural beauty, citrus groves, and native flowers while offering no description of urban environs or the casino. For Bessi, Monaco's mostly-native flora and its attractive landscape served as the state's principal asset in terms of attracting tourists. He continued with a description of the more self-contained gardens and remarked that "[t]he gardens of Monte Carlo which connect the terrace of the Casino to the sea, offer, other most picturesque points of view, agreeable paths for walking through palms, carob trees, cacti, aloes, geraniums, laurier-roses, Tamarins and all the plants of Africa."⁸⁰ Despite his emphasis on the foreign, local specimens made up the preponderance of the vegetation that Bessi listed. His vivid description suggested that the early horticultural efforts in Monte Carlo and Monaco focused on native plant-life – contrary to his own analysis.

It seems clear that Bessi comprehended the SBM's intentions for altering Monaco's physical environment. He rhetorically queried, "[c]an you imagine a more luxurious setting, more splendid, to tempt the curiosity of tourists, the enthusiasm of the poet, or the ardent imagination of the artist, than these picturesque sites?"⁸¹ Bessi seemingly answered his own question when he concluded that "It is very difficult to write in detail, the wonders that [are] contained in this verdant place . . . we have in this privileged place, an abundant harvest of heavenly memories."⁸² As early as the 1870s, visitors such as Bessi recognized that the alterations to Monaco's landscape were designed to appeal to patrons' conceptions of the picturesque and were meant to leave a lasting, pleasing, and emotional impact on its viewers.

Through the horticultural endeavors employed near the casino, the SBM eventually sought not only to provide a beautiful view, but also a more extensive variety of exotic plants

80. *Ibid.*, 16.

81. *Ibid.*, 7.

82. *Ibid.*, 5.

from seemingly every continent. Even by 1879, just five years after Bessi's description of Monaco's environs, a British visitor noted the myriad origins of Monte Carlo's assorted plants:

the deciduous trees of Europe intertwine with their bark-shedding Australian congeners; the palm trees of Asia and Africa nod their feathered heads to their kindred form over the Atlantic; the Norfolk Island araucaria stands stem to stem with the *Washingtonia gigantea* of the Yosemite Valley.⁸³

The tourist's recollection of Monte Carlo's gardens illustrated the exotic and cosmopolitan nature of the city's horticultural improvements and demonstrated the familiarity that any visitor would have felt in certain areas of the gardens. The plants and trees of the gardens originated from at least five different continents, thus presenting patrons with both the unique and the recognizable. As the SBM's horticultural reimagining of Monégasque land grew more intense, they largely abandoned the native plants and trees of Monaco. Those that remained were considered merely resilient afterthoughts, aberrations from the lush, international character that marked the revolution of the gardens of Monaco.

The importation of such a myriad selection of flora provided casino promoters with two, quite unsubtle, metaphors associating guests of the principality with the varied plant-life. The first suggested that the climate of Monaco was a suitable and prosperous environment for nearly all types of plants and people alike. The second drew attention to the very diverse and international composition of Monaco's visitors. Like the varied plant-life in the principality, Monte Carlo welcomed, even celebrated, its decidedly international clientele. By 1903, the director of the gardens, Jules Van den Daele, a

83. Osbert Sitwell, *The Scarlet Tree* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), 234. The exact identity of the visitor is unclear, but it is almost certainly Osbert Sitwell's father: the baronet, Sir George Sitwell. Sir George was a harsh critic of the casino-resort and an amateur horticulturalist who frequently voiced his displeasure with Monaco's manicured gardens and flowerbeds. He mocked the casino-management's nightly practice of wrapping individual flowers in order to preserve their shape, an exercise he considered tedious and unnecessary pampering.

Dutch-born landscape artist who relished in the jovially-concocted title, *le chef des odeurs suaves*, essentially admitted to the connection. For Van den Daele, the horticultural efforts “respond[ed] to the cosmopolitanism of the guests of this country, the flora represented here [we]re the most remarkable of all the regions.”⁸⁴ The picturesque gardens certainly contributed to the construction of Monte Carlo as an international space. Casino-resort managers strove to provide a comforting atmosphere and feeling of home to their guests, while simultaneously offering the option to experience foreign regions by proxy (through flora, culinary delights, literary selections, and a host of other experiences).

While Monaco and the casino-resort highlighted the international aura of Monte Carlo, they also maintained strict neutrality and distanced themselves from political squabbles between nations. For instance, despite having a predominantly French clientele in the early 1870s (this period proved, perhaps, the least diverse in terms of the national origins of Monte Carlo’s patronage), François Blanc insisted on hiring German-born croupiers to demonstrate that the casino-resort did not choose sides during the Franco-Prussian War. The gambit worked, and the casino saw a steady increase in German and Eastern European visitors; patronage from the French also increased.

84. Casimir, *Guides des pays d’azur*, 208.

An early-twentieth century British guidebook drew connections between Monaco's landscape and Monte Carlo's reputation as an international space. The guide remarked that "[t]he beautiful Gardens in front of the Casino are admirably kept, and contain numerous exotic trees and plants."⁸⁵

Near another lengthy description of Monaco's landscape and climate was a map that declared that "All Roads Lead to Monte-Carlo." The map places Monte Carlo at the center of the world, with the East occupying the traditional Northern setting. Lines are drawn from Monte Carlo to all of the major

European, African, and Middle Eastern cities of the day. London, Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Amsterdam, Madrid, Frankfurt, and Moscow feature prominently, but so too did perceived, non-Western cities ranging from Algiers and Cetinje to Belgrade and Constantinople (Figure 2.14).⁸⁶ The names of the cities were written in French, so it is

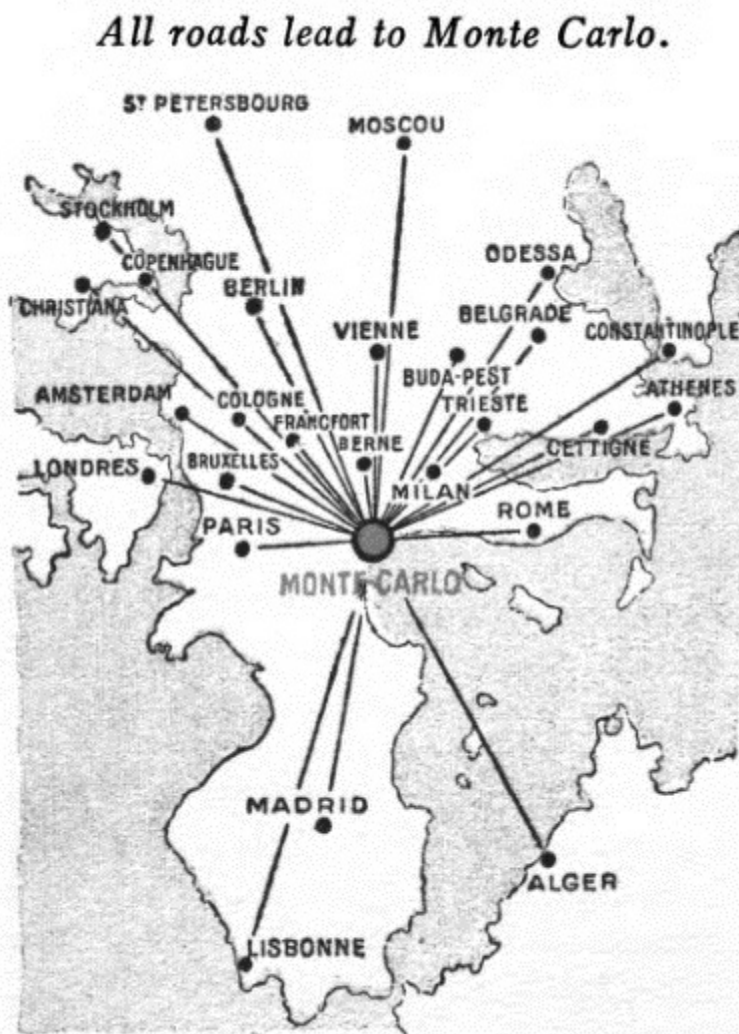


Figure 2.14. "All Roads Lead to Monaco." (Source: O. Plucky, B. Careful & C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*)

85. Plucky, Careful, and Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*, 10.

86. *Ibid.*, 6.

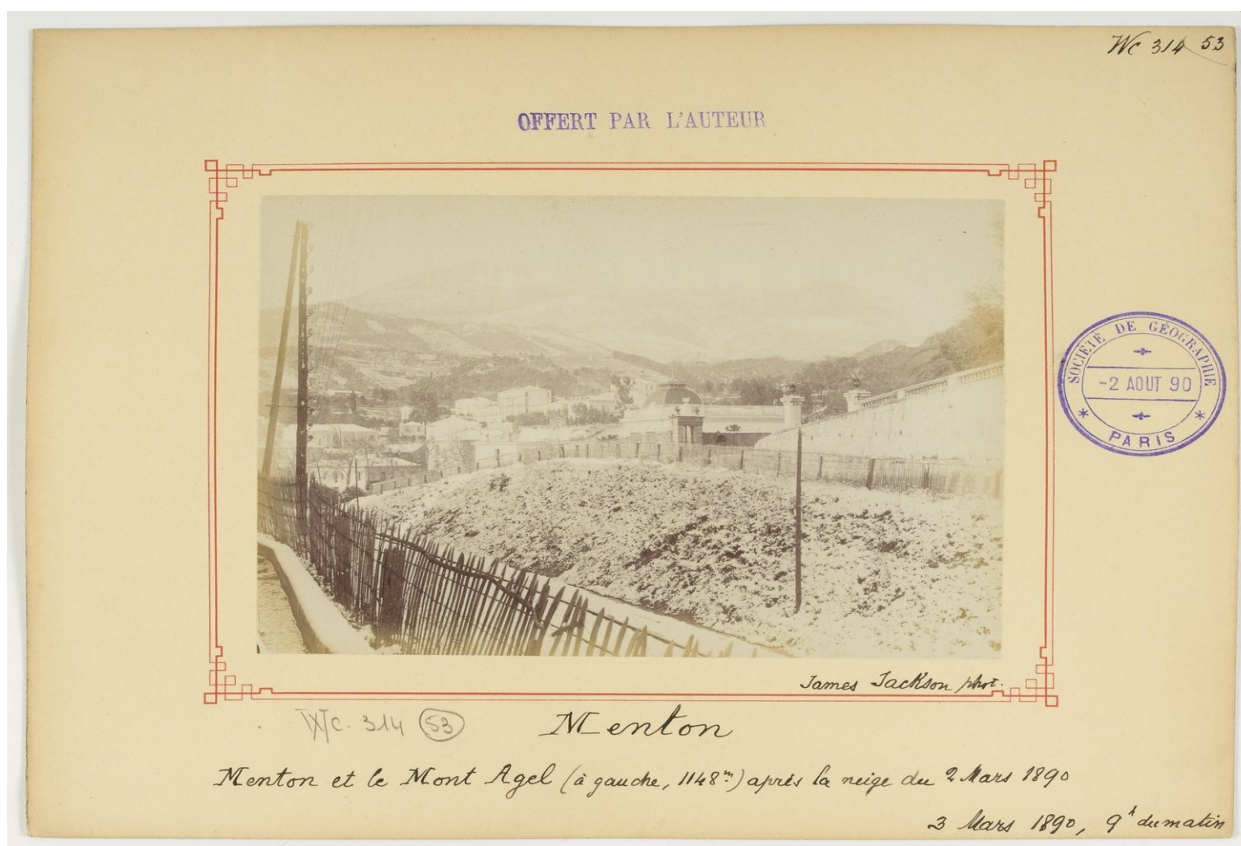
likely that O. Plucky and his cohorts adopted this map from a more widely-circulated source. The emphasis on Monte Carlo's connections to major cities, both Eastern and Western, demonstrated the pleasure city's marked determination to highlight the cosmopolitan nature of vacationing in Monte Carlo. The resort worked diligently to provide foreign guests with the comforts and pleasures of home and celebrated the far-flung and international origins of their clientele, but continued to represent the principality as a neutral, international space – where various cultures, peoples, and customs were commended, but alienating nationalism and the extension of political disputes were not.

More than the gardens received extensive renovations. By the 1890s, the entire landscape of Monaco had been transformed from the shrub-like chaparral that marked the nation's botanical countryside into an exotic, green paradise. Since its earliest settlements, Monaco's land had been characterized by its sharp and rapid changes in topography. In fact, both civic authorities and travel authors scrutinized and criticized Monaco's unique topography. The principality is tightly enclosed by the Alps and the cliff leading to the Tête de Chien and tremendous rises in elevation occur in the matter of a few feet. Landscape artists, employed both by the casino and the state, worked with the principality's unique topography to build gardens vertically in order to take advantage of space and to create a unique 'hanging garden' effect. The route to La Turbie and the Corniche Road underwent construction, not only to make access easier and to reduce the gradient, but also to provide an appealing appearance to the frequented paths.

The limited space and steep changes in elevation had largely defined the activities which could occur in the principality and provided a logistical challenge for the SBM; the corporation

intended to provide visitors with sporting options, including a golf course, despite these geographical limitations. The incorporation of Mont Agel into Monte Carlo's casino-resort presented a considerable challenge in terms of reshaping the landscape, but was crucially important to the SBM's designs to provide all-encompassing amenities for visitors to the principality.

Several sports, including pigeon shooting and horse racing, had been outsourced to adjacent spaces in Cap Martin and Nice respectively, due to the lack of space in Monte Carlo. In fact, the SBM purchased Cap Martin and redesigned it in order to imitate the Scottish Moors, and



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 2.15. James Jackson, “Menton, Menton et le Mont Agel (à gauche, 1148 m.) après la neige du 2 Mars 1890 (3 Mars 1890, 9 h du matin).” (Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Société de Géographie and Gallica BNF)

to provide a feeling of home to British sportsmen.⁸⁷ In a similar move, the corporation tagged Mont Agel to receive massive renovations and serve as a British-style golf course. A photograph of the mountain top in 1890, a little over a decade before serious reconstruction began, shows a wild and sloping surface with native shrubs, numerous rocks, and dirt. The space went unseen to all but the most adventurous of Monaco's tourists, and thus little was done to keep the mountaintop in tone with the rest of Monaco's horticultural projects

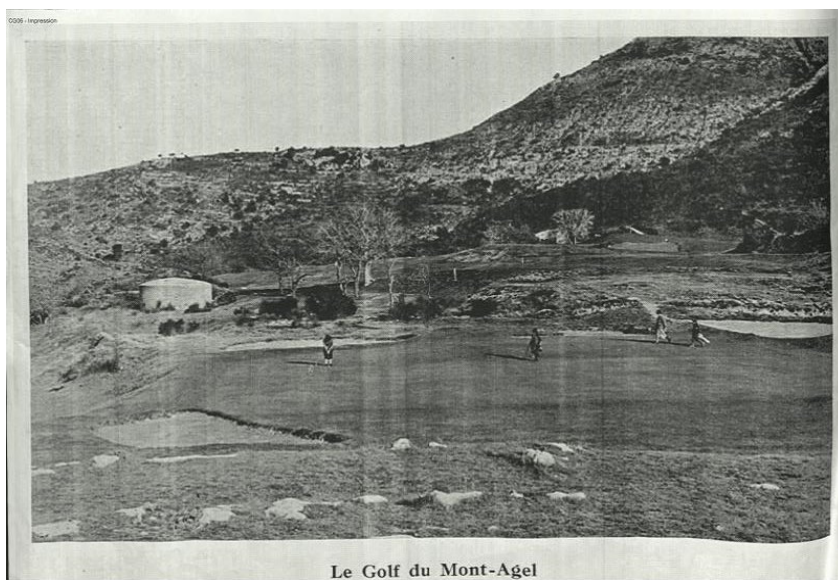


Figure 2.16. "Les Sports sur la Cote: Golf,"1928. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

(Figure 2.15).⁸⁸ The landscape changed dramatically once the golf course was constructed and opened in 1911. *Sur La Riviera*, a coastal revue periodical, published a special on golf on the coast in 1928. Photographs of the golf course revealed a marked departure from the austere landscape exhibited in the 1890 image. Lush and verdant, the course is now designed to evoke the image of pristine nature, and to draw parallels to British lands (Figure 2.16).⁸⁹

Landscaping in Monaco matched vacationers' definitions of the picturesque while also mimicking the environment of some foreign patrons' homelands. A photograph of a plaza near the Prince's Palace in 1899 illustrated how complete such transformations were, and how the

87. Kathryn Bradley-Hole, *Villa Gardens of the Mediterranean: From the Archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum Press, 2006), 94-95.

88. James Jackson, "Menton, Menton et le Mont Agel (à gauche, 1148 m.) après la neige du 2 Mars 1890 (3 Mars 1890, 9 h du matin)," black and white photograph, image 53 of 92 in *92 phot. de Provence et de la Côte-d'Azur en 1890*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Société de Géographie, SG WC-314.

89. "Les Sports sur la Cote: Golf," black and white photograph 6 x 7, in *Sur la Riviera: Revue Parisienne Hebdomadaire*, March 11, 1928, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, 03F109606, FOTO00019066.

changes represented a stark departure from the landscape apparent in photographs and paintings prior to the horticultural revolution in Monaco. The stubby shrubs, rocky terrain, and twisting olive trees have disappeared, replaced by creeping vines, lush grass, blooming bushes, and towering palm trees.⁹⁰ The plants were sporadically and asymmetrically placed, similar to the English style-gardens that became popular in Britain during the nineteenth century. This stands in sharp contrast from the rigidly geometric French-style common in Monaco prior to the horticultural changes of the 1870s, and still present in the largest garden near the casino. Clearly, by the 1890s, The SBM and the royal family had provided gardens and landscapes that mimicked the horticultural styles of the nations of Monaco's two most frequent patrons, Great Britain and France. Monaco abandoned its own national landscape to appeal to the tastes of its international clientele. The transformation of Monaco's landscape was total. In 1875 a French immigrant noted the remarkable renovation Monaco had undergone in the fifteen years in which he had lived in the principality. He noted:

that which was most arid has become fertile, the desert is peopled, the bare rock has become an immense bouquet. Civilisation with all its luxuries has embellished this solitude. Large avenues bordered with green trees and white houses stretch forth in all directions over the superb tableland; veritably a green jewel held tightly in a frame of mountains.⁹¹

There are many transformative elements in Marie de Saint-Germain's account and an emphasis on a progression from the paltry to the bountiful; this certainly reflected the evolution of the casino, which saw a deficit of over a million francs in 1859 to gross receipts of over 40,000,000 francs toward the end of the century.

90. Eugène Trutat, "Monte-Carlo, Avril 1899," 1899, Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, Gallica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/cgi-bin/superlibrary?a=d&d=/ark:/74899/B315556101_TRUC2150 (accessed December 4, 2010).

91. Marie de Saint-Germain, *Untitled Account*, 1875 quoted in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards LTC., 1912), 120.

Adhering to the example set by the SBM, the state of Monaco pursued its own beautification projects, landscaping movements, and garden creations. The Jardin Saint Martin, the first of these major state projects, pre-dated the construction of the first casino in Monaco. Prince Honoré V had commissioned the construction of the gardens in Le Rocher during the 1830s; however, the garden received tremendous attention during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Landscape artists followed the *mode du jour* and incorporated a great deal of waterworks and works of art.⁹² The lush gardens contained many native, Mediterranean plants, but as the years progressed, more and more exotic species were imported to Saint Martin. This trend was an extension of François Blanc's practice of importing scores of exotic plants (from date palms to rare and temperamental African and Japanese flowers) to Monaco. Initially, the exotic elements of the garden were consigned to parts of the casino-grounds, but the proliferation of exotic plant-life in the principality forced Blanc's successors to gift and transplant some of the flora to other parts of Monaco. Saint Martin was the initial recipient of these exotic transplants, before it too became overloaded with exotic species and the state decided to construct an exotic garden around the turn of the century.

Despite the ebb and flow of exoticism in Saint Martin, the garden became an important attraction in Monaco outside of the SBM's influence. It drew hundreds of thousands of visitors annually to Le Rocher, the cultural and government center of Monaco, which had been traditionally ignored by casino patrons. These achievements in landscaping and horticulture attracted the attention of travel writers. In 1898, Victor Bethell remarked that:

Every house is then a blaze of colour, clothed with masses of pink and red. Ivy-geranium, varied occasionally by the orange of the nasturtium, and the purple of the lovely bougainvillea: every hedge is a bower of roses, the may and laburnum are in full bloom, and the whole air is laden with the perfume of the daphne. If you go out into the country, every field and every bank is a flower-garden, whilst

92. Wolschke-Bulmahn, "The Ideological, Aesthetic and Ecological Significance of Water," 120.

at night the fireflies flit around, and the nightingales sing you to sleep. May is beautiful enough in England, it's true, but on the Riviera it's like fairy-land, and must be seen to be fully realized.⁹³

Such an appraisal matched François Blanc's hopes for a fantastic, dream-like reception to the tourist industry in Monaco. Well aware of the aura of fantasy which the gardens produced, both the state and the SBM took extraordinary steps to insure that the image continued. Philippe Casimir described the duties of the stylish and well-trained *gardes des jardins*, who "are charged with surveying the vast gardens of the casino. Divided into two brigades, they provide uninterrupted surveillance day and night."⁹⁴

The dedication to maintaining tidiness and keeping the gardens beautiful even struck a chord in the popular culture of the day. Authors such as William Henry Bishop focused on the gardens and *gardes des jardins* in their novels. Bishop wrote that "[t]he excessive trimness and prettiness of everything in the foreground especially struck the new-comer" and that the *gardes des jardins* worked together with "Soldiers of His Serene Highness's miniature army, in light blue and red, trimmer and neater too than soldiers elsewhere, [who] paced near them."⁹⁵

Similarly, Guy Thorne wrote of the intense horticultural efforts of Monaco's gardeners. The effects of the garden displays were immediately apparent to vacationers even if the visitors were shielded from the process of their creation. Casino managers worked diligently to maintain the enchanting and dream-like impression of Monte Carlo's resort by separating tourists from the labors which made these impressions possible.⁹⁶ Thorne claimed that "[t]he gardens that surround this palace are the most beautiful in the world. Sometimes, as if by touch of an

93. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense*, 41.

94. Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*, 217.

95. William Henry Bishop, *A Pound of Cure: A Story of Monte Carlo* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1894), 54-55.

96. Historians of tourism have long noted the practice of tourist centers to intentional obscure the more unpleasant elements and labor which produce resort areas. For descriptions of tourism as a dual stage and backstage of presentation, please see Rosalie Schwartz, *Tourism and Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

enchanter's wand, the thousand gardeners steal out in the night, and in the morning vast parterres of flowers, which had been all red and gold as the sun sank, are changed to blue and white.”⁹⁷

Thorne’s mystical description of the principality’s landscaping efforts certainly takes literary liberties; however, it reflects the very real attempts by the SBM to present vacationers with enchanting gardens and picturesque views while concealing the process by which the gardens were laid out.

For even the most casual observer, Monaco and the SBM’s dedication to extravagance, cleanliness, and pristineness in landscaping and horticulture was extraordinary. However, these measures fit the sweeping goal to create a projected image of an international space of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism. Authors and visitors described the effect of this meticulously-crafted presentation through of a variety of media, including postcards. Wolfgang Vennemann, a well-known German photographer, expressed a typical reception to the Monte Carlo’s casino resort. In his account, sandwiched between his photographs of cacti, succulents, and several gardens, Vennemann stated that:

Monte Carlo is one of the places in the world which carries out the alternation of pleasures with the happiest harmony. Nothing is brutal, nothing is rude. Days and nights, mornings and evenings there is a response to answer your every wish. For those who want everything, Monte Carlo is the prodigal home of joys and amenities. But these are joys of quality, these are of choicest taste. Everything is *féerie* in Monte Carlo: the brilliance of day, the lighting in the night, the flowers, the women, the parties, etc. All, is the same in this life.⁹⁸

While one may expect proponents of the casino-resort, such as Vennemann, to mirror François Blanc’s enchanted vision for Monte Carlo in their descriptions, even the harshest critics of the gaming house echoed these sentiments. William Cope Devereux, in a guide with an avowed aim

97. Guy Thorne, *A Chance in Chains* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1914), 88.

98. Wolfgang Vennemann, *Monte Carlo – 1936*, (1936), 5, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, L 1.4-M3-6261, D1-551 L 1.4-M3-6261. Vennemann also published a French-language book of photography featuring Monte Carlo, which paid particular attention to Monaco’s gardens. See Wolfgang Vennemann, *Monte Carlo: visions photographiques* (Cannes: Robaudy, 1936). Emphasis original.

to end gambling in Monte Carlo, admitted that “[a]n immense sum was lavished in making the place the delightful paradise it has become, less, of course, its Satanic evils. Beautiful gardens, cafés, concert and gaming-saloons, constructed with all the fascinating skill and taste that money and art could accomplish, were added to its natural attractions.”⁹⁹ Despite his biases against the casino-resort, Devereux acknowledged the immense and intricate strategy of the SBM to achieve Blanc’s dream for re-creating space in Monte Carlo. In yet another passage where he expounded upon the “luxuriant gardens,” Devereux came startlingly close to Blanc’s own language for his designs to create an international space of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism, calling the site “a realized dream of Paradise.”¹⁰⁰ For Vennemann, Devereux, and many others – champion and critic alike – the combined elements of architectural brilliance, natural beauty, and carefully-crafted landscaping achieved their purpose – Monte Carlo surpassed its position as a fine vacation destination and became what François Blanc had intended: an enchanting paradise and a byword for luxury.

Cultivating Cosmopolitanism, Tending Tradition: Louis Notari and the Struggle to Preserve Monégasque Culture

The remarkable transformation of Monégasque landscape was also an inescapable reality for subjects of the principality, and as such, became a constant visual reminder of how their lives and land had changed over the course of the nineteenth century. Many Monégasque subjects recognized the innumerable benefits the casino-resort had brought the principality. Greater access to Europe, improved infrastructure, a modern railroad, an end of government monopolies, taxes, and rates, greater political stability, and an influx of wealth and opportunity were tangible

99. William Hope Devereux, R.N., F.R.G.S., *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo: Comprising a Tour Through North and South Italy and Sicily with a Short Account of Malta* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884), 68. Emphasis is my own.

100. *Ibid.*, 58.

benefits recognized by nearly all in the principality. However, these advantages came with a cost: the marginalization of Monaco's people and culture in their own country, a monumental restructuring of the land, the extirpation of traditional commerce and industries, and the influx of millions of foreign visitors to the miniscule country each year. For some, these were minor annoyances, but for others these developments equated to a foreign invasion and a threat to national heritage. The physical alterations to Monaco's environment served to reinforce these changes. Describing the restructured landscape, Osbert Sitwell noted that "here and there, quite out of line and spared by the dragooning of horticulture, thrives a gnarled olive or venerable carob-tree, or some other survivor of the ancient denizens of the soil."¹⁰¹ Like Sitwell's observation of traditional Monégasque flora, most of Monaco's cultures and traditions were pushed to the peripheries in the resort-city (especially if they contradicted contemporary notions of sophistication and modernity). Similarly, William Hope Devereux described the strange, almost macabre juxtaposition of the natural Monegasque flora and the carefully managed gardens which the SBM kept. He unhappily remarked that:

Toward evening especially, the gnarled and twisted olive has a strangely sad and sombre effect, with its long, pointed leaves of dull green lined with a chilly pale tint-as it were, a thing of a past period in the earth's existence, ancient and venerable, almost sacred, and little in harmony with the gay, luxuriant vegetable life around.¹⁰²

These examples come from foreign visitors to the principality, but even these non-natives seized upon the ways in which the horticultural renovations fundamentally altered the local environment. For Sitwell, Devereux, and others, the trees and vegetation which had survived the SBM and the state's many beautification and horticultural projects evoked a sort of gloomy

101. Sitwell, *The Scarlet Tree*, 234.

102. Devereux, *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo*, 59-60.

nostalgia. This floral palimpsest served as a reminder that the extravagance and enchantment of the casino-resort had pushed another reality to the side, nearly eradicating it.

Language stood as an example of the threatened local culture. Few in the principality continued to speak Monégasque or Patois, serious debates about what languages to pursue in schools raged, and businesses adapted to the linguistic needs of their foreign customers. French served as the *lingua franca* in the casino, but English, German, Russian, Greek, Italian, and Arabic were also prevalent. William Henry Bishop's comical depiction of the linguistic diversity in Monte Carlo underscored the very real experience of Monaco's subjects in dealing with waves of foreigners. Bishop quipped that:

It would hardly have been safe to trust one's secrets there to any known language. Russians, Roumanians, Greeks, Italians, Corsicans, an Algerian sheik in his bumouse, a couple of officers of an American cruiser in port, followed one another and gossiped in their own tongues. And then went by the languid invalids, in their Bath-chairs, and then the eccentric types-that stout German figure with his prodigious club and bull-dog, a very caricature from 'Kladderdatsch,' and the Englishman in his phenomenal plaids, who must have copied himself from his own presentment on the comic stage.¹⁰³

Bishop's depiction of Monte Carlo stressed the linguistic diversity in the city, but also highlights the conspicuous absence of the city's native tongue.

For the scholar, historian, engineer, author, and linguist, Louis Notari (b. 1879-1961), Monaco's shifting landscape represented the complicated bond between the subjects of Monaco and the casino-resort and the ever-expanding crowd of cosmopolite visitors that it drew to the principality. The assimilation of Monégasque culture and traditions greatly concerned Notari, who fiercely lobbied for a preservation of national traditions. He was, however, also tasked with creating Monaco's grandest horticultural project and what amounted to the most considerable change to the country's landscape: Le Jardin Exotique de Monaco. Being the "Chief engineer of

103. Bishop, *A Pound of Cure*, 42-43.

Public Works and the Advisor of the State, friend of nature and talented artist,” Louis Notari was “encouraged by S. A. S. Prince Albert I to imagine and carry out Le Jardin Exotique de Monaco, now known and recognized worldwide.”¹⁰⁴ Prince Albert ordered Notari, through state mandate, to create the principality’s largest garden, featuring the most disparate and exotic flora – a task seemingly at odds with Notari’s own aspirations. The solution for Notari, both in his political goals and his horticultural construction, was an amalgamation of the local and the foreign. He placed an extraordinary variety of exotic imports alongside local Provençal and Monegasque species. For Notari, retaining some local species and a familiar look to the land was crucial.

During the garden’s lengthy construction, in 1918, Notari published a history of the principality where he noted that “Monaco remained unfalteringly faithful to the ancestral traditions: *the love of the land, the worship of the independence of the country*, unwavering commitment to the Grimaldi family, and a deeply religious spirit.”¹⁰⁵ He explained that:

[t]he love which is pronounced for the land is without a doubt an unconscious reminiscence of times when the Principality, isolated and devoid of its current avenues of access, had to rely on itself for survival. The olive trees, which we admired yesterday are the last majestic witnesses of Le Parc Princess Antoinette, the gigantic carob trees of yesterday have all totally disappeared, and the fields of lemon and orange trees have been transformed into a city, to provide a pension for our fathers. The oil above all and the lemons, which we transported a great distance, by sea, was the source of our commercial prosperity. This which I have proceeded to see, with a heavy heart, has led to the disappearance of most of the oil mills, which have lasted for so many centuries and where so many generations have worked.¹⁰⁶

Notari’s claims highlighted that the massive transformation of Monaco’s landscape did more than serve as an elaborate display of the resort-city’s extravagance and dreamlike atmosphere, it

104. Louis Notari Marker, Le Jardin Exotique de Monaco, erected June 21, 1983, Monaco, photograph taken by the author.

105. Louis Notari, *Quelques Notes Sur Les Traditions De Monaco* (1918; repr., Monaco: Imprimerie National de Monaco, S.A., 1958), Bibliothèque Louis Notari, Monaco, 15. Emphases my own.

106. Ibid.

also undermined an indigenous passion for the land, intensified Monégasque nostalgia, and pitted local values of self-reliance against the role of the SBM resort as state benefactor.

For Louis Notari, preserving Monégasque culture (which he credited with ancient origins) was a top priority now that the country had become so reliant on foreign tourism. While changes to the land had already occurred in abundance, and greater changes seemed inevitable, he encouraged Monaco's subjects to maintain their distinct linguistic abilities, cuisine, folklore, dress, and customs. Notari glorified the unique qualities of Monégasque language and culture, and claimed that:

[t]his is explained by the fact that the population: living isolated in craggy recesses and lacking accessible roads, was generally sedentary and that it was endowed with a tenacious character and sense of preservation. Such conditions of existence also explain that different dialects have been maintained in centers as close as Monaco, Roquebrune and Menton. These dialects are so different that, even today, a distinction exists beyond their accent and their vocabulary, when they talk about their patois, the inhabitants of one or the other of these sites [can distinguish among] these agglomerations.¹⁰⁷

Notari looked to the Grimaldi family and the state to take steps to ensure the persistence of Monégasque customs and culture. He was careful in his appeals, as he recognized the economic benefits of the casino-resort and further realized that his prominent position with the state and his celebrity status did not allow him to overtly criticize the SBM or the multitude of changes in the principality. However, he made no qualms about pointing to Le Rocher, the traditional seat of Monégasque power, safety, and the home to the royal family, when describing how Monaco could retain its culture and traditions.

Notari shrewdly and implicitly compared the principality's waves of foreign visitors to the periods of foreign, maritime invasions which Monaco had weathered throughout the

107. *Ibid.*, 10.

centuries. Notari suggested that just as their ancestors had withstood incursions from distant lands and endured, so too could the current generation of Monégasques. He argued that:

despite [the claims of] some authors, all the inhabitants of our country have not been exterminated by the invasions of the barbarians, from the 5th century, and those of the Saracens whose incursions only ceased in the middle of the 10th century. The population became scattered, at this time, and was much reduced. And during this long and damaging period, the native people fled to the inaccessible areas of our mountains, as the tradition says: '*confugiebant ad montes*'^{108,109}

For Notari, safety and preservation depended on Le Rocher and the Grimaldi family. Adjacent to his comparison of twentieth century tourists to tenth century Saracen hordes was his call to the Monégasque people to observe the traditional quatrain which had been conceived near the time of these invasions. In both Monégasque and French, he relayed the context of the quatrain and then recounted the poem:

The times were tough: galleys were cracked and the fortress was garrisoned by invalid men; the old and women were their companions in arms during these campaigns, but they survived. This dated the famous quatrain:

*'Son Monaco sovr' uno scaglia,
non semina, non raccoglio,
l'altrui non toglio
e pur vivere voglio!'*
'I am Monaco on a rock,
I do not sow or harvest,
I do not encroach on others
and despite all, I want to live.'¹¹⁰

Once again, the rock and the mountains ensured the preservation of the people, their culture, and their traditions.

Finally, Notari stressed the importance of maintaining the land, culture, and traditions, and explored their relationship with one another. He implored for the:

108. "Flee to the mountains" or in this case, "flee to the rock."

109. Notari, *Quelques Notes Sur Les Traditions De Monaco*, 10. Emphasis original.

110. Ibid., 12. Emphasis and translation are my own.

persistence of many traditions, some exclusively local proverbs, including those provided by our grandparents, those recipes which are not found in use elsewhere. [They] must be put to use, on the account of preservation of Monaco, at least this should be stressed in a conservative spirit. [The need for these attempts at preservation] is also more noticeable *owing to the fact that the number of native people is a minority in our country turned cosmopolitan*. I would like to make a brief reference to the ‘fougasse¹¹¹’ of our home, which only tastes good if it includes the orange blossom, light brandy, sprinkling of our country’s almonds and small, red and white ‘fenouillet¹¹²’, which constitute a typical national pastry.¹¹³

It is no accident that the ingredients for the local *fougasse* derived almost exclusively from the local vegetation and agricultural products which were being quickly replaced by exotic and aesthetically-pleasing flora provided by the SBM and the state. Notari, wary of the lasting effects of the waves of foreign vacationers upon the local culture and cognizant that his own role in reshaping Monaco’s landscape could potentially serve as a catalyst for these threats to Monégasque culture and traditions, nonetheless worked diligently toward constructing an awe-inspiring creation of international plant-life with Le Jardin Exotique de Monaco. Despite his misgivings, Louis Notari understood that the exotic garden, and more directly the SBM casino-resort, represented an unparalleled economic opportunity for Monaco and could help place Monte Carlo in elite company in regards to vacation-leisure destinations. Notari’s creation was a marvel; it trumpeted Monaco’s reputation as an international space, and simultaneously featured local flora which had been continuously downplayed since the casino’s conception in the mid-nineteenth century.

111. A traditional flatbread dish.

112. These are small apples known as Fenouillet-Gris, red and white in color and originating from Fenouillet in the Haute-Garonne department West of Monaco. The apples were characterized by a slight anise flavor which made them extremely unique.

113. Notari, *Quelques Notes Sur Les Traditions De Monaco*, 17. Emphases are my own.

“The World was in the Room!”: Eating, Lodging, and Cosmopolitanism in Monte Carlo

Gourmet culinary offerings and extravagant accommodations made up essential components of the casino-resort’s presentation of a space of luxury, leisure, and spectacle. An approach of providing patrons with the most sophisticated and exorbitant options for food and lodging was hardly a revolutionary strategy for casino managers who sought to promote their resort-city as an elite tourist destination. Ever since Tobias Smollett had bemoaned the paltry offerings of housing and cuisine in the Riviera in the eighteenth century, coastal towns had worked to provide more appealing options to their clientele. Monte Carlo’s casino-resort was no different. Following Blanc’s model, the SBM designed the glitziest hotels (many modeled after the Grand Hotel in Paris), hired celebrated chefs from across Europe, and meticulously trained wait staff and restaurant managers. However, hotels in the principality went one step further than their competitors by stressing the international origins of their cuisine. Historian Amy B. Trubek contends that nineteenth-century Europeans, particularly the French, were exceptionally concerned with where their food came from. These consumers considered taste and place to be interrelated. Trubek writes that “[i]n France, food and drink from a certain place are thought to possess unique tastes. Thus, more than words, terroir and goût du terroir are categories that frame perceptions and practices. . . . The natural environment influences the flavors of food and beverages, but ultimately the cultural domain, the foodview, creates the goût du terroir.”¹¹⁴ In Monte Carlo, this preoccupation with place and taste added to the city’s cosmopolitan reputation by encouraging vacationers to imagine the disparate and fantastic origins of their cuisine. Many of the city’s hotels emphasized an association with other geographical regions in order to evoke

114. Amy B. Trubek, “Place Matters,” in *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir*, California Studies in Food and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 18-20.

sensations of worldliness and cosmopolitan sophistication. In this way, even restaurants contributed to Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary.

Much like its landscape, Monegasque gastronomy and public food-fare experienced a tremendous change in the latter half of the nineteenth century, at least when it was presented to vacationers. Traditional Monégasque fare closely resembled the cooking style of Provence, with a heavy Mediterranean influence: a focus on seafood dishes, olive oil, and herbes de Provence. Though tiny Monaco bordered both France and Italy, its gastronomy most closely mirrored regional fare. With the arrival of the casino-resort and the tourist industry, however, the cuisine available to the public diverged from the Provence-style Monégasque cuisine. This represented a change which Monégasque nationalists lamented, as evidenced by Louis Notari's nostalgic depiction of the locality's traditional *fougasse*.

This shift in cuisine is hardly surprising, considering the dearth of options initially offered to visitors. The Hôtel de Russe was the only establishment that provided a public meal service prior to the construction of the first casino. The first restaurant cuisine in the casino was not Monégasque, nor was it cosmopolitan in nature. The following is a menu from Pierre August Daval's casino at the Hôtel de Russe in 1858:

HORS D'OEUVRES

Radis *noirs*

Huitres à la *douzaine*

ENTREES

Carrés de veau à la casserole

Gigots découpés en *transversals*

ROTI

Pigeons sur canapés

Petits poulets de *gain*

DESSERTS

Cerises de la famille de la *guigne*

VINS

Toute une *série* de vins *rouges*

LIQUEURS

Kummel *double zéro*
Bols avec eau à la ver-veine¹¹⁵

Clearly, casino managers prior to François Blanc focused more on presenting the gambling aspect of the casino than with providing alternatives to traditional Monégaque cuisine for visitors with diverse and discriminating palates. While the menu from 1858 featured dishes of some sophistication, it failed to match the cosmopolitan and international character of the cuisine available in Monte Carlo toward the end of the nineteenth century. This menu, typical of many restaurants in Monte Carlo in the late 1890s, was taken from the Hôtel de Paris in 1898:

Saumon Fumé de Hollande
Ox-tail Clair en Tasse
Velouté de Homard au Paprika
Truite Saumonée à la Chambord
Tourte de Ris-de-Veau Brillat-Savarin
Selle d'Agneau de Lait Polignac
Pommes Dauphin
Petits Pois Fine-Fleur
Caille de Vigne à la Richelieu
Sorbet au Clicquot
Poularde Soufflée Impériale
Pâté de Foie Gras d'Alsace
Salade Aïda
Asperges d'Argenteuil Sauce Mousseline
Buisson d'Ecrevisses à la Nage
Crêpes Flambées au Grand Marnier
Ananas Givré à l'Orientale
Coffret de Friandises¹¹⁶

115. Hôtel de Russe, *Menu at the Hôtel de Russie*, May 13, 1858 quoted in Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo and Its Fabled Casino* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 29. Italicized words are emphasized on the menu itself and represent the gambling-themed terms noted in each dish. The following translations are my own: Black radishes, oysters by the dozen, braised rack of veal, transverse cut leg of lamb, pigeon canapés, [unknown chicken dish with a connotation of winning or profiting], bad luck cherries (a pun on a French proverb), a variety of red wines, Kummel double zero, and a green, verbena liquor from Le Puy-en-Velay.

116. Hôtel de Paris, *Menu at l' Hôtel de Paris*, 1898, quoted in Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo and Its Fabled Casino* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 108. The following translations and culinary notes are my own: Smoked Salmon from Holland, Oxtail soup served in a cup (traditionally a dish from the Netherlands), Winter Squash Soup with Paprika (traditional English fare), Seared Trout from Chambord, Veal Pie with Brillat-Savarin Cheese, Saddle of Lamb with Polignac Milk (a regional dish from Haute-Loire France), Potato Puff Dumplings (French), Peas in cream (Swiss origins), Roasted Quail in the Style of Richelieu (French), Sorbet au Clicquot (although it was not exclusively regional, this dish came mostly from Reims, the city where Clicquot was produced), Small Chicken Soufflée, Goose Liver Pâté from Alsace (French and German origins), Marinated Chef Salad with Eggs, Olive Oil, and Artichoke (Spanish and Mediterranean origins, deriving its name from Verdi's

The cuisine offered at the Hôtel de Paris reflected a substantial change in the culinary offerings in Monaco. The dishes certainly display a more concerted attempt to provide gourmet and sophisticated, especially-continental, dining options to the city's patrons; but more importantly, the menu's selection and presentation of dishes reflected an emphasis on cuisine from foreign countries and select regions. While the menu from the Hôtel de Russie emphasized gambling through the puns in the dishes' names, the menu from the Hôtel de Paris highlighted the international origins of the cuisine. The single menu from 1898, representing the options for a night's dinner in the city's premiere restaurant, offered national cuisine from the Netherlands, Great Britain, Spain, Switzerland, and a number of regional options from France. Only the Buisson d'Ecrevisses à la Nage would have been considered traditional Monégasque fare just three decades before. This wide selection of cuisine, and the focus on presenting the food as refined international fare, illustrated the tremendous change in Monaco's public gastronomy.

The Hôtel de Paris, the most frequented and most celebrated restaurant in the principality, set the tone for competing restaurants. The chef de cuisine, M. Folleté, was "celebrated, with just cause, as one of the very best of Europe and indeed the entire world" while the "most skilled maître d'hôtel of Europe, M. Adam . . . [was considered] the premier man in the world in regards to hospitality."¹¹⁷ This pursuit of the most capable and skilled professionals in Monte Carlo is not surprising; however, it is worth noting that these men sought not only to recreate the local dishes of their international clientele but also went to lengths to purchase ingredients for their culinary creations from local markets in each dish's place of origin. They made sure that "all

exotic Egyptian-based opera), Argenteuil Asparagus with a mousseline sauce (a delicate sauce taking similar to Hollandaise, originating in Paris), Decorative Plate of Crayfish (Provence), Crêpes Suzettes (though the dish had not yet taken on its more recognizable name, it originated in Monte Carlo), Sorbet in a Frozen Pineapple Shell (variation of a dessert with Pacific origins), and a Box of Small Desserts.

117. Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*, 235.

provisions were expedited from Les Halles in central Paris during the winter season, and during the summer, from Geneva, Milan, Nice, or Marseilles.”¹¹⁸ Similarly, the “Frères Delhomme” selected wines from the native region of the most numerous guests, and managed the hotels wine cellar.¹¹⁹ Trubek contends that this association of food and drink with place was essentially to its cultural meaning. She claims that:

“Taste, then, in France resides as a form of knowledge [of locality]. The success of the turn-of-the-century tastemakers and taste producers lay in their ability to create an association between place and quality. They appropriated the link between taste and place. . . . Local tastes now define[d] superior quality.”¹²⁰

Following Blanc’s pattern, casino owners, entrepreneurs, and restaurateurs saw the need to cater to a wide array of foreign tourists, and they attempted to provide their patrons with familiar dining options, as well as tastes of other localities. In most public spaces, the Monégasque cultural cuisine had nearly been eradicated; it was replaced by an amalgamation of international cuisine and regional dishes, mostly from the home nations of Monte Carlo’s most numerous patrons. The public gastronomy of Monaco at the end of the nineteenth century provided yet another element that catalyzed Monte Carlo’s projected image as an international space of luxury and cosmopolitanism.

For many casino patrons, the spectacle of the dining rooms was as important to their meals as the artistry on their plates. The frequent presence of high nobility, celebrities, and even infamous courtesans in places like the Café de Paris, Hôtel de Paris, and Ciro’s lent a spark of excitement to dinner time and each meal potentially served as a social event. Victor Bethell wrote of the Hôtel de Paris’s laudable menu, noting its complexity, the diversity of dishes, and

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Trubek, “Place Matters,” 44. On the importance of taste and place, see Kevin M. Fitzpatrick and Don Willis, eds., *A Place-Based Perspective of Food and Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); and Paul Freedman, Joyce E. Chaplin, and Ken Albala, *Food in Time and Place: The American Historical Association Companion to Food History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

the emphasis on both local and international specialties. Bethell relayed the hotel's menu for one evening during his stay.¹²¹ He then remarked that:

The fish a la Berty is one of the specialities [*sic*] of this restaurant It is a most delicious sauce, flavoured with the little native onions called *échalotes*. The soufflé surprise is also a speciality of the Paris. The soufflé comes up steaming hot, and with all the appearance of an ordinary soufflé, but when you come to help yourself, you find that the centre consists of delicious strawberry or raspberry ice! How on earth they manage to serve it without the ice melting is a culinary mystery that I am unable to solve.¹²²

Despite Bethell's amazement at the culinary expertise of Monte Carlo's best chefs and his delight in such epicurean spectacles, he stressed that much of the thrill of the dining experience was in sharing the room with celebrity guests. Bethell wrote:

What an extraordinary collection of human beings you find assembled here at about halfpast eight o'clock – Princes, Grand-Dukes, aristocrats of every nationality, diplomates, [*sic*] financiers, politicians, actors, and even jockeys, are all busily engaged in discussing the good things which 'le Bon Dieu,' through the medium of Mons. Fleury, has been pleased to provide.¹²³

His description of the notable persons in the room typified visitors' descriptions of dining in Monte Carlo: a mixture of culinary pleasures and intermingling with high society.

Similarly, rubbing shoulders with royalty, nobility, and well-known members of society excited many middle class vacationers. One such visitor, the British journalist, Dorothy Constance Peel, recounted her trips to Monte Carlo and paid careful attention to the more famous clientele. She listed numerous members of high society that she encountered during her various

121. Hors d'Oeuvres.
 consumme a la Reine.
 Filets de Merlan Bercy.
 Selle d' Agneau Renaissance.
 Becasse Roti.
 Salade.
 Souffle Surprise.
 Vins.

Quoted in V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), 103.

122. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense*, 103. Emphasis original.

123. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense*, 101-102. Monsieur Fleury was the manager of the Hôtel de Paris.

dining experiences. The large numbers of royalty and politicians from all across Europe, as well as many of the richest American businessmen, made up the preponderance of her memories of the casino-resort. Among her sightings were the British royalty and members of parliament such as the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Victor Paget, Sir Hugo de Bath, Lord Wolverton, Lord Farquhar, and Lord Cecil Manners. Alongside them were the Prince of Serbia, the Prince of Saxe-Meiningen, the King of Sweden, Prince Mirza Riza Khan of Persia, the Rajah of Pudukota, Grand Duke Nicholas, Prince Hohenlohe, the Prince of Denmark, J.P. Morgan, W.K. Vanderbilt, and Charles Schwab.¹²⁴ Part of the appeal for Monte Carlo's more numerous but less well-known visitors was to see and be seen near these celebrities.

Dining at places such as the Hôtel de Paris, the Hermitage, or the Grand Hotel offered to fill a social function for the guests of Monte Carlo's aspirant classes. Victor Bethell alluded to this social experience when he noted that dinner at the Hôtel de Paris provided an opportunity for women to display themselves, participate in a conspicuous social spectacle, and demonstrate that they belonged alongside high society. For these middle class patrons, dining in the principality amounted to a practice of class and a form of social capital. Bethell explained that dinnertime was for:

the ladies; well, this is the place to see *them* in all their glory! Some, no doubt, take an interest in the good things also, but what the majority are chiefly engaged upon, is in displaying the smartest frocks and the latest hats, provided by their long-suffering husbands - or somebody else's husbands - through the obliging medium of Messrs. Doucet and Worth; and likewise in criticizing those of their neighbours!¹²⁵

It was not merely the tourists and travelers who understood the appeal of dining alongside the world's elite. Restaurateurs took advantage of their patrons' desires to be associated with the

124. Dorothy Constance Bayliff Peel, *Life's Enchanted Cup: An Autobiography (1872-1933)* (London: John Lane, 1933), 121-123.

125. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense*, 102. Emphasis original.

more famous clientele, and frequently made the presence of high-profile guests a focus of the dining experience. By the turn of the century, the Grand Hotel featured the second most visited restaurant in the principality and made it a practice of seating the most celebrated guests in the front dining room (through which other diners had to pass in order to get to their tables). The room was “specially reserved for the [most elite and famous] customers of the house. When the season is in full swing, the company in this particular room is always select, and is generally made up of some of the smartest people in London.”¹²⁶ Bethell elaborated on the Grand Hotel’s practice, noting that during a typical night at the establishment, one could see:

On the left, as we enter the room, Mr. and Mrs. William McEwan entertaining the Duke of Cambridge and a party of friends. Next to them Miss Fleetwood Wilson is giving a small dinner to meet the Grand Duke Michael and the Countess Torby. The Prince of Wales is at another table with, Lord and Lady St. Oswald, Sir Edward and Lady Colebrooke, Princess Henry of Pless, Miss Agnes Keyser, Lord Rowton, and Sir Arthur Sullivan. Mr. Gordon Bennett and Mr. H. Cosmo Bonsor, M.P. are also dispensing lavish hospitality, while the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough may be seen dining *tête a tête* in a corner of the room.¹²⁷

Restaurateurs and maître d’hôtels would also frequently point out celebrated clientele to other diners. Ciro, noted for his humor, would diffuse complaints about his expensive bills by pointing to the most famous guest in the room and joking that he would pick up the charges, while even the reserved M. Fleury would proffer news of the most celebrated diners *du jour*. The maître d’hôtel of the Grand Hotel, François, was noted for this behavior. Bethell described the many duties of François, and noted that it was he:

[W]ho here corresponds to Ciro in his own restaurant, and to Fleury at the Paris. It is he who will allot you a table, and order you a dinner short or long, rich or plain, expensive or moderate in price, just as you may elect; he will tell you what wine and what brandy to drink; he will arrange your floral decorations, if there are ladies in your party; and when half-past eight arrives, he will tell you the names of all the celebrities in the room.¹²⁸

126. *Ibid.*, 131.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *Ibid.*, 128.

For those not of the appropriate social station or wealth to mingle with nobility and high-society elites, patronizing one of Monaco's featured restaurants offered the opportunity to do so vicariously. The contemporary sociologist Gabriel Tarde argued that even this imitative practice – dining at the same restaurant as the dominant class – served to distinguish individuals from members of their own class. Writing about, recounting, and repeating this process further served to elevate vacationers in a social hierarchy.¹²⁹

Hotel lodgings in Monte Carlo played a similar role to the city's dining establishments by providing the most modern and elite luxury, as well as more modest options which nonetheless capitalized on the elite and sophisticated image produced by the more exclusive resort hotels. Especially by the twentieth century, when the annual visitors to Monte Carlo had well-surpassed one million, the SBM (and unaffiliated investors as well) expanded the hotel industry in Monaco and provided a much greater variety of lodgings. The Hotel Hermitage, Hôtel de Paris, and the Hôtel Metropole were world-renowned modern facilities, complete with well-regarded restaurants, hydrotherapeutic spas (which were advertised long before they were instituted), and the most modern and extravagant luxuries. Staying at these hotels (usually for several months at a time) was itself an indication of wealth and status. These exclusive hotels published guest directories on a weekly basis in order to provide the waves of seasonal vacationers easy access to acquaintances, options for socializing, and potential contacts for business relationships and social networking. These directories delineated the nationality of each guest (guests of a particular nationality generally clustered in a range of certain hotels) and prominently displayed aristocratic

129. Gabriel Tarde, *L'opinion et le foule* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1889), 59. See also Michael Marks Davis, *Gabriel Tarde, an Essay in Sociological Theory* (Memphis, TN: General Books, 2012), 15-24.

titles and military rank.¹³⁰ A visitor's selection of hotel was, in essence, a signifier of social class.

By the 1920s, one of François Blanc's first goals had been realized: the creation of a luxury hotel to rival and even surpass the most lauded hotels in continental Europe, and indeed the world, a hotel which would itself become "a powerful advertising medium."¹³¹ Philippe Casimir underscored the role of the Hôtel de Paris in attracting elites, when he listed those:

Having stayed at the Hotel Paris: The emperor and empress of Austria, the last empress of Russia and her children, the king and queen of England, the last queen of Portugal Maria Pia, King Oscar of Sweden, the kings of Belgium, the king and queen of Saxe, many of the grand duke and grand duchesses of Russia, the archdukes of Austria, the king of Milan and Serbia, the Prince of Nassau, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Braganca, [and] others too numerous to name.¹³²

Not only had Blanc's pet project become one of the finest hotels in the world, but a handful of competitors in the principality served as serious rivals in terms of modern luxuries. In 1924, Hyam's Guide noted that "[t]he palatial hotels of Monte Carlo offer every luxury."¹³³ Staying at one of these palatial hotels suggested that a vacationer possessed exquisite taste and intimated that they were worldly and sophisticated.

By the early decades of the twentieth century, the variety of options for lodging in the principality had increased and some hotels (managed both by the SBM and independently of it) marketed toward the middle classes. On the eve of the Great War, travel guides listed the prices for single night lodgings as ranging from two to forty francs – this pricing guide excluded quotes

130. *L'Hiver à Menton – 1903* (1903), 11-14, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 4-LC11-2071, D1-552 L 2.4-A.

131. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, "Le plus prestigieux palace de Monaco," <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlos-most-prestigious-palace-the-hotel-de-paris/> (accessed November 18, 2013).

132. Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*, 215-216.

133. *Hyam's Hotel Guide to the Riviéras (Marseilles to Viareggio): A Practical Handbook for Travellers - 1924* (1924), 77, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-g-11335, D1-503 L 3.5-A.

from the Hermitage and Hôtel de Paris, which refused to release their rates to the public.¹³⁴

Some advertisements, like one for the newly finished Hôtel du Louvre aimed directly at the more price-conscious middle class by listing their prices, announcing that the hotel staff could speak to guests in their native tongue, and marketing their hotel as family friendly.¹³⁵ This stood in stark contrast to the more exclusive hotels, some of which restricted minors, local Monégasque subjects, and citizens of the Département des Alpes-Maritimes from staying at the establishments; there palatial hotels made exceptions for “members of principal societies.”¹³⁶ Such examples suggest that a variety of lodging accommodations existed for vacationers, but that the selection of hotel helped to serve as an identifier of class.

Numerous hotels which sprang up after the turn of the century offered lodgings at more reasonable prices, but with less grandeur. Hyam’s guide also noted that “[t]he hotels here, as in Nice and Cannes, may be divided into three classes - First, Second and Third – to suit all purses and all tastes. Furthermore, the Hotels, generally, of Monte Carlo, are no more expensive, than at other resorts on the Riviera; au contraire, they are, perhaps, even less expensive than at some of the neighbouring places.”¹³⁷ Nationality, in addition to hotel class, tended to be a significant determining agent as to what hotel a visitor chose. Hotel advertisements targeted specific groups of foreigners – with their name, list of accommodations, the listing of the proprietors’ nationalities, and by advertising that the staff spoke particular languages. Bethell noted of the Metropole, that “[p]eople who have not travelled much, and who do not speak French, will probably prefer the Metropole. Being one of the Gordon Hotels, it is of course thoroughly

134. *Publicité de Guides Joanne. Nice Beaulieu et Monaco: Hotels et Etablissements Divers* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 26-29, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-LK7-25261 (P), D1-552 L 2.8-A.

135. Advertisement for the Nouvel Hôtel du Louvre, published in *Publicité de Guides Joanne. Nice Beaulieu et Monaco : Hotels et Etablissements Divers* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 26, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-LK7-25261 (P), D1-552 L 2.8-A.

136. *Publicité de Guides Joanne*, 28.

137. *Hyam’s Hotel Guide to the Rivas*, 77.

English in every respect,” but remarked that “The Hôtel de Paris, on the other hand, is open all the year round, and is one of the most cosmopolitan hotels in the world. English people are welcomed and made thoroughly comfortable, but it will be found that the foreign element usually predominates.”¹³⁸ Bethell concluded by writing that “[a]fter these come several first-class hotels” for Germans, Swiss, and Englishmen, which were, “rather smaller, more unpretentious, and less expensive.”¹³⁹ These more modest hotels increasingly sought to capitalize on the reputation of the grander, cosmopolitan hotels. Advertisement for such hotels offered shorter stays (uncommon for the wealthier guests who ‘seasoned’ in the principality), marketed toward families, and attempted to exploit the positive reputations of the premier hotels. One advertisement for the Grand Hotel St. James blatantly announced that it was “patronized by the nobility.”¹⁴⁰ Another for the Hôtel des Anglais relied wholly on the claim that the establishment was “*PATRONIZED BY THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY.*”¹⁴¹ Similarly but somewhat less spectacularly, the Hotel Princess could only guarantee that its patrons were “*HIGH-CLASS.*”¹⁴²

The marketing strategy for each of these first- and second-class hotels was to highlight the successes of the world-renowned and established hotels in Monte Carlo and their penchant for housing illustrious guests. This trend only intensified in the following decades, as the categories of hotel classes expanded to five – Grand Palaces, Deluxe Hotels, First Class Hotels,

138. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense*, 162-163.

139. *Ibid.*, 163.

140. Advertisement for the Grand Hotel St. James, published in V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), appendix 13.

141. Advertisement for the Hôtel des Anglais, published in V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), appendix 11.

142. Advertisement for the Princess Hotel and Restaurant, published in V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), appendix 14.

and Category A and B ‘comfortable’ hotels and apartments.¹⁴³ The most economical categories, A and B, frequently associated their name with a pleasant and recognizable locale. In the three most expensive categories, only the Hôtel de Paris, Hôtel de Rome, and Bristol Hotel explicitly referenced an international locality. Simply put, these hotels relied on their reputation and luxurious amenities to attract a more affluent clientele, while the category A and B hotels sought to evoke cosmopolitan worldliness and sophistication by associating their hotel with an attractive or exotic location. This proved to be an international trend by the 1940s and 1950s, as hotel-resorts in Europe and America began to merge luxury and cosmopolitanism by associating their hotels with seemingly exotic or sophisticated locations. They presented patrons with a wide variety of experiences of other locales, often wildly altered from traditional local cultures, but nonetheless new international experiences largely unavailable to the majority of vacationers in reality.

Analogous to the construction of these category A and B hotels in Monte Carlo was the construction of ‘Strip’ hotels in Las Vegas. Correspondence prior to the opening of The Dunes Hotel in Las Vegas mirrored this trend. Marketing executive James Rowe wrote to Dunes financier Alfred Gottesman considering alternative names for the casino-resort. His recommendation included “a list of geographical and Spanish language names -- most of them connoting a pleasing thought or a smart visiting place of travelers.”¹⁴⁴ Gottesman himself followed up the recommendation, telling his publicity director, “I feel we ought to hit this feature

143. Raymond-Lucien Boireau, *Guide pratique de Nice et des Alpes-Maritimes, Antibes, Cannes, Monte-Carlo, Menton, Grasse Par. R.-L. Boireau*, 7eme ed. (Lyon: [unknown publisher], 1955), 436, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 16-LK4-3781 (F).

144. James F. Rowe to Alfred Gottesman, July 13, 1954, The Dunes Hotel Collection 93-98, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 11, Folder 3.

hard for its combined geographical and quality connotations.”¹⁴⁵ A hotel guide published at nearly the same time that Rowe and Gottesman were making their observations demonstrated that these trends were already in practice across the Atlantic. Category A hotels included the names of places such as: Europe, Helvetia, Rome, the Lido, Nice, Normandy, Richmond, and Russia. Category B included “The Buckingham-Palace, Hôtel Cosmopolite, Hôtel de France, Hôtel de Geneve, Hôtel International, and Hôtel d’Orient.”¹⁴⁶ For those vacationers staying in any of the five categories of hotels in Monte Carlo, the quality of the lodgings comprised part of the resort experience.

Hotels offered vacationers spa treatments, fine restaurants, modern luxuries, and extravagant spectacles. However, these hotels served another function besides offering a place for slumber and pampering. Staying in the ‘Grand Palaces’ of Monte Carlo served as a practice of one’s class and as a socially distinctive choice that helped to validate a person’s position in Western high-society. While the lower-end of Monaco’s hotels could not keep pace with the Paris or Hermitage in regards to luxury and modern comforts, they sought to capitalize on the reputation of these hotels and to promote their own forms of a cosmopolitan experience to a different, and less affluent, clientele. While these lodgings were not all regulated by the SBM, they were in their own way helping to construct and maintain Monte Carlo’s reputation as an international space of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. The elegance of dinner at Ciro’s or the Hôtel de Paris, the extravagant luxuries of the Metropole and the Hermitage, and even the category B hotels that appropriated grandiose and international names all served as representations of space which shaped and modified the collective and individual experiences which formed part of Monte Carlo’s spatial imaginary.

145. Alfred Gottesman to Joe Perrett, July 31, 1954, The Dunes Hotel Collection 93-98, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 11, Folder 3.

146. Boireau, *Guide pratique de Nice et des Alpes-Maritimes*, 436-438.

Conclusion: “Rouge Gagne Quelquefois, Noir Souvent, Mais Blanc Toujours”

Of the many legends, quips, and tales involving Monte Carlo’s casino resorts in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, from gruesome rumors of suicides to inflated stories of gambling triumphs and breaking the bank, one of the most lasting was a simple pun. Hiram Maxim recounted the succinct, but sage quotation. He recalled that “M. Blanc is also reputed to have said in discussing this matter [of gambling]: ‘*Rouge gagne quelquefois, Noir souvent, mais Blanc toujours.*’”¹⁴⁷ While it is unlikely that quote actually originated from François Blanc, it was nonetheless one of the most popular and prolific refrains regarding Monte Carlo and appeared in numerous travel accounts, letters, postcards, travel guides, and pamphlets (it was especially well-used by detractors of the casino-resort). The apt axiom referred to the colored numbers on a roulette wheel, red and black, but astutely observed that it was ultimately Blanc who raked in the gamblers’ fortunes with each spin of the wheel. Beyond the humor of the joke lay a well-observed detail: Blanc’s creation, Monte Carlo and its casino-resort had grown into an astounding and prosperous success.

François Blanc had indeed built the dream – he had laid the groundwork for the world’s first all-encompassing pleasure resort. He pursued a comprehensive strategy to redefine the very space in which his resort stood and to present patrons with the most extravagant, luxurious, spectacular, and awe-inspiring experiences through every facet of the resort. Through representational space designed to draw the closest associations between Monte Carlo and contemporary conceptions of luxury and cosmopolitanism, Blanc and his successors guided the way in which vacationers imagined the city. François Blanc’s successors, notably including his

147. The quotation translates as “Red sometimes wins, Black often, but White (Blanc) always wins” and is quoted in Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations by George A. Stevens* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 26, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada. Emphasis original.

wife Marie, who was responsible for some of the most substantial renovations to Monte Carlo's casino-resort, consistently and continually carried out his scheme to make Monte Carlo a byword for modern luxury, sophistication, and worldliness. The christening of the town of Monte Carlo, the casino's multitudinous architectural projects and renovations, the construction of sumptuous gardens, and the extravagance of the city's hotels and cuisine all served as the built environments which formed the representational space designed to influence visitors' perceptions of the casino-resort. The Blanc family, the state, and the SBM went so far as to drastically reshape the fundamental landscape of the principality, often to the chagrin of local Monégasques, in order to 'present the dream' in Monte Carlo.

The result of these efforts was a completely reformed city-state, a land so changed that contemporaries wrote incredulously of the transformation. By the turn of the century, millions of visitors patronized the principality annually and the number continued to increase. Scores of travel guides echoed the refrain that the world's elite would, "from the four corners of the world come running to rendez-vous at this excellent cosmopolitan village."¹⁴⁸ Casino managers, the Grimaldi family, and civic planners provided a well-cultivated and consistently-executed presentation of Monte Carlo as an imagined space of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism. Their efforts certainly helped to shape the collective spatial imaginary in Monaco. However, the construction of a spatial imaginary in Monte Carlo also rested in the collective and individual imaginations of its guests. Visitors to Monte Carlo, those who experienced the SBM's representational space, mediated, altered, re-presented, and disseminated Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary. The manifold ways in which vacationers wrote about, described, and depicted Monte

148. *Cannes-Nice-Monte-Carlo-Cote d'Azur. Riviera-guide. Saison 1925-1926, 5eme année, (1925), 41, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-L17-128 (A), D1-552 L 2.3-A.*

Carlo profoundly shaped its public image, sometimes in ways that Blanc had encouraged, but often in ways he could not have envisioned.

Chapter Three. “The Garden of Eden, with a Little Splash of the Nether Regions Thrown in for Contrast”: The Perpetuation of Monte Carlo’s Spatial Imaginary

By the late nineteenth century, the SBM had proven to be remarkably faithful to François Blanc’s vision to “build” and “present the dream” at Monaco’s casino-resort. The corporation had devoted considerable materials and energy to presenting Blanc’s carefully-assembled city, Monte Carlo, as the leisure-capital of Western elites; it molded the representational space in the city through intense construction projects, infrastructural improvements, and marketing campaigns. Monte Carlo’s representational space shifted in response to contemporary conceptions of modernity and sophistication; however, the themes of luxury, cosmopolitanism, and pleasure that typified Monte Carlo’s spatial imaginary remained constant. As Monte Carlo and the SBM’s commercial success grew, so too did the number of annual visitors to the casino-resort. By the 1890s more than one million travelers visited the city and these vacationers were encouraged to imagine Monte Carlo in particular ways through carefully-crafted representational space and intense promotional campaigns employed by the SBM. While casino-promoters sought to project a specific image of Monte Carlo to their consumers, their efforts had limits. Through their collective and individual imaginations, resort visitors perceived the representational space presented to them, mediated it, and re-presented Monte Carlo’s spatial imaginary. Three aspects of Monte Carlo’s projected image fundamentally impacted spatial perceptions of the casino-resort town for both visitors and the international public: visualization, popular culture portrayals, and consistent patterns of discourse.

Visualization had long been a pivotal part of vacationing. Not only seeing, but seeing well and in the “correct” ways, and being able to articulate those visual experiences served a

distinctive function to separate vacationers from mass-tourists. Orvar Löfgren, a tourism historian, claimed that the tourists' gaze and notions of the picturesque comprised crucial parts of the process of vacationing. A tourist's visuality represented, "not 'just a view,' it was an event, a focusing not only of the eyes but of all the senses. . . . The language of the picturesque is thus an early example of transnational standardization . . . the globalization of the tourist industry starts here."¹ Löfgren's contentions regarding the transnational standardizations of the picturesque are perhaps inflated, but his claims highlighted the importance of the picturesque to tourism, the interactive process of how tourists remediated what they saw and experienced while on vacation in their imaginations, and how visitors' demands for picturesque sites of vacation-leisure led to manicured and regulated tourist spaces.

Löfgren and other theorists have applied Martin Jay's description of the gaze in general – imperfect, saccadic, and focused – to descriptions of the tourist's gaze in particular. This tourist's gaze was a mode of visuality which emphasized focal points, or nodes, that represented certain themes of the casino-resort and which informed perceptions of space in Monte Carlo.² Casino-promoters, photographers, and artists all produced visual representations of Monte Carlo that stressed these focal points and helped to shape tourists' visuality of the city. Visual depictions of Monte Carlo offered ways in which mediated representations of the city could be easily and widely distributed, and played a defining role in how visitors, and even those who had not traveled to the casino-resort, formed a collective and individual imaginary of the city.

First, visual depictions of Monte Carlo played a vital role in the projection, and even the reception, of the city's spatial imaginary. New technologies and media that allowed for quick,

1. Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 164.

2. Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. Hal Foster (San Francisco: Bay Press, 1988), 5-7.

cheap, and vivid visual representations of the city became available just a few decades before Monte Carlo's construction. The photograph and the photographic postcard were media as new and novel as the casino-resort itself, and casino-promoters, the press, and even visitors intuitively made use of them in order to encapsulate and replicate the city's image. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan argue that contemporaries of the mid- and late-nineteenth century immediately and instinctively thought of these tools and mediums in geographical terms. Through these technologies, the "world was 'made familiar' and 'brought in intense reality to [contemporaries'] very hearths." They allowed viewers to "imagine . . . [to] picture place," and "they became a 'functioning tool of the geographical imagination', informing and mediating engagement with the physical and human world."³ These forms of visual representation also permitted easy dissemination, incorporation within promotional materials, and functioned as souvenirs of the opulence and spectacle of the casino-resort.

Second, portrayals of Monte Carlo in popular culture intimately tinged visitors' perceptions of the casino-resort town. Popular culture reflected the city's projected image and spatial imaginary. In addition, these portrayals acted upon Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary and shifted the ways in which visitors perceived the casino-resort town. Within a decade of its inauguration, Monte Carlo, and particularly the Casino de Monte-Carlo, figured prominently as a setting in numerous European and American novels. By the fin de siècle and well into the twentieth century, books, songs, and films regularly showcased the city and casino, and the small Mediterranean pleasure resort cemented its place as an international icon. The wide range of these portrayals, both in terms of the quantity produced and the medium in which they appeared, suggested that Monte Carlo's presence in international popular culture was considerably high –

3. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, eds., *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 1-3.

especially in relation to the city's size and the number of its annual visitors. Works of fiction rendered Monte Carlo a place of romance and intrigue, elation and danger, and affluence or ruin. The competing themes of risk and reward were common to these popular depictions and blurred the lines between fears and desires in the imaginations of many guests.

Uniquely, the city and casino did not serve as passive backgrounds or locations for many of the novels and films, but often functioned themselves as actors that impacted the lives and actions of other characters in these plots. Authors, screenwriters, and directors frequently imbued Monte Carlo and the casino with an extraordinary degree of agency for a setting. Whether it resulted in bountiful or ruinous consequences, the city exhibited a kind of seductive magnetism that was recurrently personified by other characters. Frequently, the dénouement of a book or film's plot centered upon characters leaving the city. Either to the characters' benefit or detriment, the action in these portrayals typically concluded once Monte Carlo was no longer able to act upon its visitors. The agency that artists consistently afforded to Monte Carlo in popular culture representations enabled the city to surpass the details of any particular depiction and become imbedded in the collective imaginations of Americans and Europeans.

Finally, patterns of discourse that alternately described the city as a paradise, site of risk, a hygienic or sterile locale, or place of infinite or incredible possibilities comprised the third crucial aspect which impacted perceptions of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary. In many ways, these consistent descriptors were innately tied to, and influenced by, popular culture representations. The kernels of these discursive trends often began with visitor accounts or travelogues, but they reached popular parlance and became part of how people grappled with Monte Carlo's projected image in novels, songs, and films. Because the second and third aspects discussed in this chapter are such interrelated registers, they are largely interwoven and analyzed

in tandem here. These discursive descriptions were constant and coherent, adopted by supporters and opponents of the casino-resort alike when writing about Monte Carlo.

Certain phrases or ways of discussing the vacation-leisure resort were so pervasive that gambling critics and detractors of the casino-resort chose to operate within the discursive patterns rather than challenge them. For instance, paradise, which generally provoked an overwhelmingly positive impression of place, became a token description of Monte Carlo for its supporters; however, moralists and gambling critics who sought to abolish the casino-resort also embraced the analogy of the city as paradise in order to highlight its powerful and seductive allure. Similarly, a site of risk would initially seem to carry a negative connotation, but many visitors gleefully wrote about the risky features of Monte Carlo as part of the romance, intrigue, and *joie de vivre* which drew them to the vacation-leisure resort. In short, these discursive patterns describing Monte Carlo were so ubiquitous that they were nearly universally adopted in written accounts about the city. These patterns of depiction, accepted *prima facie*, significantly influenced both Monte Carlo's projected image and visitors' perceptions of the city.

The construction of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary – one based on leisure, luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism – required a conscious and consistent marketing strategy and projection of these themes, the mediation of these projections in the minds of its patrons, and a remediation of the projected image. Building upon Laura Podalsky's distillation of Henri Lefebvre's tripartite model of the production of space, I utilize a similar framework for describing the construction of the city's spatial imaginary. The framework consists of representations of space (or conceptions of space), representational space (perceptions of space), and remediations of space.⁴ The previous chapter primarily analyzed how François Blanc's

4. Laura Podalsky, *Specular City: Transforming Culture, Consumption, and Space in Buenos Aires, 1955-1973* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 10-13. See also Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the*

vision to “present the dream” in Monte Carlo guided the SBM’s representations of space and built environments in Monte Carlo. That chapter also examined how casino-promoters and civic authorities projected their carefully constructed image of Monte Carlo. I reiterated David Harvey’s contention that “representations of places have material consequences in so far as fantasies, desires, fears, and longings are expressed in actual behavior.”⁵ At least in part, the successful creation and growth of Monte Carlo as a vacation-leisure resort resulted from these effective representations of space and a carefully controlled built environment. This chapter, however, will analyze the latter two components of this conceptual framework, visitors’ perceptions of and remediations of space. While each component is crucial in its own right to the construction of a spatial imaginary, it is important to note that they cannot be divorced from one another. This chapter will not only evaluate the ways in which visitors perceived and envisaged the city’s projected image, but will also examine the ways in which these patrons remediated and re-presented the vacation-leisure resort’s image on an international scale.

Three facets of Monte Carlo and its projected image profoundly impacted perceptions of its spatial imaginary: an emphasis on visualization, portrayals of the city in popular culture, and a pattern of discourse which consistently depicted the city and casino-resort in certain ways (both proponents and opponents of Monte Carlo used these same patterns when discussing the city). These three themes most profoundly impacted the ways in which vacationers individually and collectively imagined Monte Carlo. Visitors to the casino-resort, and perhaps an even larger number of Americans and Europeans who never traveled to the small principality, formulated,

Future in Los Angeles (London: Verso Press, 1990); David Harvey, “From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflection on the Condition of Postmodernity,” in *Mapping the Future: Local Cultures, Global Changes*, ed. Jon Bird et al., 3-29, (London: Routledge, 1993); Henri Lefebvre, *La Production de l’espace*, 4eme édition (Paris: Editions Anthropos / Editions Economica, 1999); and Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

5. David Harvey, “From Space to Place and Back Again,” 22-23.

negotiated, and remediated their perception of space in Monte Carlo through these three distinct, but interrelated, registers. Monte Carlo's projected image, which had been carefully sculpted and promoted by SBM officials and civic authorities, certainly influenced visibility, popular culture portrayals, and discourse of Monte Carlo. In the majority of cases, resort-patrons imagined and wrote about the city in ways that the SBM and François Blanc had originally intended. Other vacationers, however, imagined the city in less expected ways. For some, the paradise carefully constructed by casino promoters seemed a corrupt Eden, the cultivated gardens and walkways were disturbingly hygienic and sterile, and the Haussmann-inspired architectural and modernization projects appeared ancient and Moorish. These incongruities demonstrated the limits of representational space, and consequently, stressed the importance of perceptions of space in regards to the formation of a spatial imaginary. The ways in which vacationers experienced, perceived, and imagined the city – complex and unregulated – nonetheless affected Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary. Additionally, perceptions of space were not relegated to an individual's imagination. On the contrary, visitors to Monaco's vacation-leisure resort remediated and then re-presented their interpretations of Monte Carlo and the meaning it evoked to them through letters, travelogues, and postcards. Visitors both consumed and reproduced Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, as they negotiated with symbolic representational space, formulated perceptions of space, and re-presented their own impressions of the city. Consistently, visualization and visibility, popular portrayals, and discursive patterns played a formational role in the process by which vacationers helped to shape and disseminate Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary.

Visualizing “The Dream”: The Primacy of Viewing Monte Carlo and Shifting Notions of the Picturesque

From the first days of Monte Carlo's existence, visualizing the casino-resort town and its surrounding landscape functioned as an integral part of a traveler's experience. Visitors to the city wrote vivid descriptions of the countryside, gardens, architecture, and interior décor, and travel guides labored to convey what their readers should see and how they should see it. Even within the first few years of the city's inauguration, Monte Carlo's tourism promoters picked up on the trend and stressed the sights, spectacles, and views that the small principality offered its patrons. There was, however, a logic to this aesthetic preoccupation. Appreciating the beauty of the landscape and views meant seeing it "correctly"; it involved adopting a tourist's gaze. For the nineteenth century vacationer, this required an identification and appreciation of the picturesque, and, perhaps more importantly, it meant writing, describing, and articulating those visual experiences according to accepted conventions. Thus, visualization served to distinguish between socially elite vacationing and mass tourism practices.

The ways in which vacationers visualized Monte Carlo and described its vistas and views were bound to a certain aesthetic form: the picturesque. Vacationers and travel guides unwaveringly described the city and its landscape as picturesque, even as the meaning of the term changed dramatically over time. Historians have grappled with the notion of the picturesque, a concept which by the late nineteenth century evoked myriad interpretations and descriptions. Despite its varied usages, the picturesque of this era was indelibly associated with Romanticism, pristine nature, and idyllic country life.⁶ In the 1860s, the early days of Monte Carlo's tourism industry, many of its aristocratic and socially elite visitors described the city and countryside as being picturesque in this way. Some of Monaco's obstacles to initially forming a remunerative tourism industry, its harsh and imposing landscape and the impoverished

6. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-2.

agrarianism of the locality, harmonized with this version of the picturesque aesthetic and appealed to elite vacationers. In the early decades of the casino-resort, the town fulfilled the need of many elite vacationers for a Romanticist's escape: a picturesque and enchanting reprieve from politics, war, urban life, and a diminishing distinction among social classes.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, experiencing Monte Carlo effectively meant seeing it. Almost infallibly, visitors to the casino-resort town described their first impressions upon seeing the city before anything else. One such visitor, Valentine Vattier d'Ambroyse, a travel author and historian who often assumed a male pseudonym, described the experience. She was "[a]ttracted from all sides, eyes, first, wander without being able to fix, they so fear losing a charming detail, a soft impression without diminishing brightness, the landscape becomes more accessible to the eye and the enchantment begins. Firstly, it arises from the contrast."⁷ Vattier d'Ambroyse's account underscored the significance of visualization to Monte Carlo's nineteenth century visitors, but it also highlighted the importance of seeing the vacation center in the correct way. Many vacationers wrote accounts of feeling overwhelmed, disoriented, or otherwise unable to process the bombardment of their visual sense. Visitors like Vattier d'Ambroyse described a frantic, skipping focus, an example of the saccadic characteristic of the nineteenth century tourist's gaze. The very picturesqueness of Monte Carlo proved problematic for the unequipped. John Barrell, a British historian of aesthetics, claimed that the "transcendent viewing-position" of the picturesque had "been regarded as the perquisite of the gentleman [in the form of] the picturesque eye [or gaze]."⁸ Such a gaze allowed viewers to survey the scene carefully and with a sense of reserve; it emphasized a dispassionate view,

7. Valentine Vattier d'Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1889), 565, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-12148, 4- L17- 26.

8. John Barrell, "Visualizing the Division of Labour: William Pyne's *Microcosim*" in *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 97-98.

devoid of sentiment, ethics, or politics. It did, however, place an emphasis on a transcendent, Romantic picturesque. Those who mastered such a gaze could, at least in their own minds, adopt a “pure, unmediated vision” and effectively appreciate “the natural,” and at times even rustic or rural elements of the picturesque.⁹ Importantly, the “picturesque gaze” or “tourist’s gaze” not only provided Monte Carlo’s vacationers with a way to cope with a bombardment of visual stimuli, it also provided social elites with a means of distinction.

Toward the turn of the century, the middle and aspirant classes also began to cling to the picturesque aesthetic and visualization in Monte Carlo as a means of social capital. The middle classes emulated elite vacationers by consuming guidebooks that offered picturesque points of view and by describing their visual experiences in Monte Carlo as picturesque. Yet, the term was characterized in different ways and adopted new meanings over time. In a gradual shift around the turn of the century, the definition of the picturesque expanded, not only to describe themes of Romanticism (which were outmoded and waning in popularity even by the 1860s) but also to include motifs ranging from horticulture and exoticism to lavish elegance and modernity. While the meaning of the picturesque changed, its use in visual depictions of the city, even by the middle classes, did not. Instead, photographs and postcards became increasingly ubiquitous forms of souvenirs at the casino-resort. Middle class vacationers could not only practice the distinctive tourist’s gaze, but could also purchase a tangible memento of their good taste and sophistication. Through these popular souvenirs, visual depictions of the concepts of the picturesque and the tourist’s gaze were disseminated and remediated, mostly by middle class vacationers. The increasingly popular practices of sending postcards and taking (or purchasing) photographs in Monte Carlo served to diminish the distinctive function of the tourist’s gaze and

9. Ibid.

visualization at the casino-resort. They also significantly impacted the ways in which the city was imagined throughout the Western world.

These nineteenth-century descriptions of the picturesque often portrayed Monte Carlo as the Romanticist idyll for visiting social elites. Typical descriptions focused on the contrast that Vattier d’Ambroyse had mentioned. In Monte Carlo, this primarily referred to the juxtaposition between the city and the natural beauty of the principality and the formidability or ruggedness of its terrain. She vividly described this idyll and claimed that:

The most fantastic dream became a shining reality, harmonious charm and grace also with imposing force. . . . Is this not the irresistible attraction of the Monegasque landscape? By imagination, let us review it, the landscape at the time when the masters of the country wished to firmly establish their authority. It is housed in a rocky promontory, to the west, in a bay enclave amid high mountains. Here and there, tightened against this formidable obstacle and torn pitfalls, the shoreline was widening to the edge of a ravine, through which flowed a torrent.¹⁰

The landscape, though beautiful, appeared nonetheless wild and untamable. Vattier d’Ambroyse emphasized the principality’s obstacles to cultivation, and indeed noted that the severity of the landscape seemed to make its very existence a precarious one. She continued, “[m]oreover, there was no way to till the ground, rocks bristled with spikes, and negated the possibility of undertaking any culture.”¹¹

Numerous other travel accounts describe the picturesqueness of Monte Carlo in terms of its rugged and severe landscape. Adrien de Baroncelli, a French nobleman, depicted the view of Monte Carlo from Mont Agel as an “enchanted” vista “where one can enjoy an incomparable

10. Vattier d’Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France*, 565. Vattier d’Ambroyse later drew attention to the picturesque qualities of the Prince’s Palace, the Tête de Chien, the sea, and the gardens.

11. *Ibid.*

view of the coast.”¹² Baroncelli argued that the coastline, ravine, diverse homes, and gigantic cliffs combined to form a “magnificent and picturesque panorama.”¹³ He too emphasized the harsh terrain of the picturesque, noting that “two kilometers below, in a rocky ravine which opens up to the valley, *picturesque and savage at the same time*, around the high mountains . . . the routes here give the views perpetual enchantment.”¹⁴ Baroncelli’s account signified that though these depictions waned over time, they continued even into the twentieth century. Both Vattier d’Ambroyse and Baroncelli described the picturesqueness of the land as rugged and savage. The severity of a landscape, incapable of cultivation and untamable, was nonetheless intensely attractive to these elite vacationers.

Visual images of Monte Carlo in the 1860s through the 1880s often reflected the brutal and austere beauty which Vattier d’Ambroyse and Baroncelli described. One such image was a popular lithograph that accompanied many early guidebooks and travel accounts of Monte Carlo. Entitled “Le Rocher de Monaco,” the image shows a panoramic view of the principality from the perspective of the Tête de Chien. The lithograph may have proven popular because it provides a ‘god’s eye view’ of the principality and a panorama of the entire country. It focuses on the iconic natural features of Monaco such as the jutting peaks of the Alpes-Maritimes and the tranquil waters of the Mediterranean Sea and Monte Carlo’s natural harbor. The brutality of nature well outshines signals of civilization. The foreground of the image features craggy rocks, jutting promontories, and creeping, densely-packed shrubs and trees which seem to swallow the humble, non-descript houses of the principality’s subjects. The only signs of activity are the half-dozen sailboats in the harbor with nets cast into the sea, hinting at agrarian rurality and

12. Adrien de Baroncelli, *La Provence: stations hivernales et plages de la Méditerranée, vallée du Var et gorges du Verdon* (Paris: Chez tous les Libraires, 1905), 148, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, LK2-5164.

13. *Ibid.*, 160.

14. *Ibid.*, 148. Emphasis my own.



Le Rocher de Monaco.

Typ. Ch. Unsinger.

Figure 3.1. “Le Rocher de Monaco.” (Source: Bénédict Henry Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*)

poverty (Figure 3.1).¹⁵ “Le Rocher de Monaco” matched the Romanticist tastes of the mostly-noble elites who constituted the preponderance of Monte Carlo’s vacationing clientele in the early years of the casino-resort’s operation. The image’s prominence in travel guides (Adrien de Baroncelli, Bénédict Henry Révoil, Valentine Vattier d’Ambroyse, Hiram Maxim, and Charles Graves, among others, all included the image in their books) indicated that there was a market for the rugged and Romanticist conception of the picturesque at Monte Carlo, long after the casino-resort town had undergone massive renovation and modernization projects that should have rendered the images of pristine but rugged nature and idyllic rurality in the principality problematic. Instead, many visiting social elites clung to the image.

The persistent Romanticism in descriptions of Monte Carlo’s picturesque views by nobles and social elites hinted that visiting the city represented a sense of escapism for a group

15. “Le Rocher de Monaco,” in Bénédict Henry Révoil, *Monaco et Monte Carlo*, 2nd ed. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1878), unnumbered preface.

facing mounting pressures from an aspirant middle class, urban life, and an increasingly-democratized society. European visitors unsettled by the Revolutions of 1848, and especially the predominantly French visitors to the casino who were freshly beaten in the Franco-Prussian War and acutely stung and alarmed by the Paris Commune, turned to Monte Carlo for a reprieve.¹⁶ Traveling to, and especially wintering in, the casino-resort town had, to an extent, become a relatively rare and distinctive social practice (a circumstance which casino-promoters eagerly emphasized). Monte Carlo's role as an exclusive site, coupled with the enduring perception of the space as a Romanticist idyll of pristine nature and tranquil rurality made Monaco a doubly attractive vacation destination for social elites. The picturesqueness of Monte Carlo allowed nobles and elites to leave behind the threats to their social order and instead embrace a comfortable, familiar, and reassuring aesthetic. Further, the diminutive size of the principality and its unique geographic situation, nestled between the mountains and the sea, provided visitors with plentiful panoramic viewpoints. Vicomte Baroncelli expressed his pleasure in being able to view the full extent of the principality from one vantage point. For the nobleman, it was a comforting and reassuring practice to behold the entirety of his vacation retreat from the vantage of one belvedere. He noted that “[f]rom this terrace the view is the enchantment of the whole principality of Monaco, nestled between the Maritimes Alps. At a glance, you can see the entire country, between two rocks, on one side the palace of Monaco and the other the casino of Monte Carlo.”¹⁷ These viewpoints, from a height, a “god’s eye view,” offered vacationers an extraordinarily unique vantage point – they were able to survey the entire city, indeed the entire

16. For more information on the impact of nineteenth century social and political changes on the lives, tastes, and leisure pursuits of the social elite, please see Elizabeth C. Macknight, *Aristocratic Families in Republican France, 1870-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Natalie Petiteau, *Elites et mobilités: la noblesse d'Empire au XIXe siècle (1808-1914)* (Paris: La Boutique de l'histoire éditions, 1997); David Higgs, *Nobles in Nineteenth-Century France: The Practice of Inegalitarianism*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 105th ser., 1 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); and Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

17. Baroncelli, *La Provence*, 147.

country, at once and still take in the natural beauty of the mountains and sea. These panoramic views almost certainly instilled a sense of certainty and power in the viewer.

In addition to guidebooks which suggested the best sites for picturesque and panoramic vantages, photographic souvenirs and postcards which featured sweeping views of Monte Carlo's natural beauty and the surrounding tranquility of the countryside flourished starting in the late 1870s. For the early postcards of the principality, panoramas of the countryside taken from *La Turbie*, or from atop the newly constructed *Chemin de Fer* viaducts, proved the most numerous. One of these myriad photographs, taken sometime between 1878 and 1893, captures the typical elements of the genre of photographic souvenirs popular at the casino-resort at the



Figure 3.2. “La Turbie: trophée d' Auguste,” ca. 1878 – 1893. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

time. Taken from high up atop *La Turbie*, the photograph features the unforgiving, rocky chaparral environment of Monaco in the foreground, clear and in focus. The focal point of the photograph travels down the steep, terraced topography of the principality and captures the small, rustic clusters of homes and humble orchards situated above both *Le Rocher* and Monte Carlo. Interestingly, the modern aspects of the country – the railroad, the casino-resort, and the shops and villas in Monte Carlo, are unfocused, distant, and seemingly fade into the sea (Figure 3.2).¹⁸ Well into the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the casino-resort was world renowned for its sophistication, brilliant lighting, and modern luxuriousness, visual souvenirs emphasizing its idyllic rurality and rustic charm remained popular.

A series of picture postcards produced by local Niçois photographer Jean Giletta further attested to the attractiveness of panoramic views and rustic subjects in visual depictions of Monte Carlo. Giletta's postcard series featured Monaco's landscape, impoverished local housing, fishing vessels, *Le Rocher*, and sweeping views of the principality. The elegant shops and lavish architecture of Monte Carlo, the casino, and other displays of prosperity and modernity were conspicuously absent. The featured postcard, taken between 1880 and 1900, provides a general view of Monaco. However, Giletta's vantage point and framing of the photograph foregrounds the medieval Genoese architecture of *Le Rocher*, obscures the pleasure boats docked at Hercules Port, and completely blocks the casino-resort from view. Those viewing the few fishing vessels and rustic houses showcased in Giletta's postcard of *Le Rocher* could be forgiven for thinking the image reflected Monaco before the construction of Monte Carlo (Figure 3.3).¹⁹ Giletta's rustic subject matter in his Monaco postcard collection was atypical of his usual style. Much of

18. "La Turbie: trophée d' Auguste," black and white photograph 14 x 9, ca. 1878-1893, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 01NUM0010, image: GLT06690.

19. Jean Giletta, "Monaco: Vue Generale," albumen postcard, 7 X 4, ca. 1880-1900, author's private collection.

the rest of his photographs, especially those taken in neighboring Nice, emphasized the modern architecture of the city and the bustle of tourist activity on the Riviera. Giletta's shift in subject matter and the volume of rustic panoramic depictions of Monaco during this time demonstrate that there was a considerable market of vacationers willing to consume these images, and further illustrate the prevalent culture at Monte Carlo of privileging the rustic and Romantic.



Figure 3.3. Jean Giletta, “Monaco: Vue Generale,” ca. 1880-1900. (Source: the author’s collection)

In fact, the perceived impoverishment, backwardness, and bucolic nature of Monaco’s landscape (and even its subjects) informed elite and noble notions of the picturesque. Vicomte Baroncelli delighted in “*arrière Monaco*” and celebrated the backward and underdeveloped part of the principality. He recalled that “[w]e passed on foot a formidable rock, while in backward Monaco [*arrière Monaco*], at the bottom of the mountain, and *La Turbie*, a horse in his collar, appeared and disappeared from eyesight in this heavenly scenery . . . we were able to take in a new marvelous panorama.”²⁰ Baroncelli’s version of the picturesque reveled in the imagined timelessness and rurality of Monaco, a “heavenly scene” in direct contrast to the modern bustle

20. Baroncelli, *La Provence*, 149.

of European urban life. Vattier d'Ambroyse echoed this sentiment, and overtly rued the prospect that this timeless retreat and bucolic idyll could be threatened. In her conclusion she bemoaned that "[f]inally, we regret that the situation of various buildings, hotels and others, have spoiled the splendid panorama offered by the promontory of Monte Carlo."²¹ She was not the lone traveler to show distress at the construction of Monte Carlo and modernization efforts. Less than a year after the inauguration of Charles Garnier's new casino, William Miller, a British visitor, wrote that Monte Carlo featured "most beautiful and picturesque scenery, the most delightful walks and excursions, with a fascinating rurality, which, I fear, the natives, looking at the matter from a French point of view, are bent on destroying, by raising it up as a sort of rival in gaiety to places such as Nice."²² Similarly, Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster, a British novelist and folklorist, seemed willing to wish away the modern amenities, comforts, and spectacles of the casino-resort in order to revert to an agrarian state of prince and people. In keeping with her love for folklore, she told the tale of Monaco: "[o]nce upon a time, when neither gambler, nor croupiers, nor *souteneurs de filles*²³, nor hotel-keepers, nor railway trains, nor baths, nor yachts, nor Jesuit colleges were to be found here, there were Grimaldi in Monaco."²⁴ For a section of Monte Carlo's resort clientele, impoverishment, agrarianism, and underdeveloped dwellings were just as important to the notion of the picturesque as pristine nature and formidable, imposing beauty.

21. Vattier d'Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France*, 593.

22. William Miller, *Wintering in the Riviera: with Notes of Travel in Italy and France and Practical Hints to Travellers* (London: Longmans, 1879), xiv-xv.

23. This is a euphemism for pimps.

24. Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster, *The Maritime Alps and their seaboard* (London: Longmans, 1885), 291.

Some descriptions went so far as to consider Monaco a quasi-colonial entity.²⁵ For French visitors who had long known Monaco as a French protectorate, considering the colonial aspects of the principality was not difficult. Especially when the reigning Grimaldi family figured as gracious benefactors and just rulers, considerations of Monaco as a quasi-colonial entity heightened impressions that viewing the rural, backward countryside and its inhabitants represented an escape from modern European urban life.²⁶ Vattier d'Ambroyse chastised local Monégasque subjects for developing a sense of pride and nationalism, and for challenging any aspect of Grimaldi rule. She interjected:

And with what reason! These were masters, who above all, were their devoted friends, and a country which was quickly turned into charming Eden. Certainly, a generous fairy has presided over this small people, who, if he fought and suffered, can say today, in all truth, he is in possession of this too often elusive treasure, Happiness.²⁷

Not only did the author describe Monaco as an Eden, a concept which will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter, she also related the paradise-like character of the principality to recent changes made by the Grimaldi family. This suggests an interesting paradox: visitors like Vattier d'Ambroyse praised the improvements to Monte Carlo and its modern comforts while extolling paradisiacal praise upon the pristine nature and idyllic rurality of the surrounding countryside. This paradox highlights the complex and shifting nature of the picturesque at the principality and demonstrates one of the varying ways in which vacationers depicted Monte Carlo as an Eden or paradise.

25. A significant amount of travel guides highlighted recent improvements to transportation and accessibility in the principality, the improvement to utilities and lighting, the standardization of language and schooling, and an extraordinary effort to improve hygiene and sanitation in the principality. Many of these changes, particularly the infrastructural improvements to roads, and the building of a railroad and gas power plant were partially or wholly funded by the SBM, the French government, or a partnership between Monaco and each of these parties. Furthermore, the perceived improvements to the principality typified key elements in the contemporaneous French civilizing mission.

26. This was particularly true for French visitors during the dynamic political climate of the 1870s as France transitioned from the Second Empire into the Third Republic.

27. Vattier d'Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France*, 570.

For some of these visitors, the Monégasques themselves, in their non-European and backward “otherness” played a crucial role in the quasi-colonial, bucolic appeal of visiting Monaco. In the 1880s, Stéphen Liégeard, an author, poet, and politician from a wealthy and well-respected family from Dijon, expressed his fascination with the “natives” and was drawn to some of their festival games, which in comparison to the roulette tables were “less risky opportunities for the natives.”²⁸ Liégeard’s descriptions of the Monégasques mirrored language regarding colonial subjects as a group placed higher on the scale of racial taxonomy than a non-colonial other, but which, despite its proximity to and edification from the Metropole, could never be confused with “actual Europeans.” Admitted that the Monégasques could “in no way recall the variously colored peoples who join play under the casino chandeliers,” his patronizingly flattering depictions of the principality’s subjects nevertheless left no room for them to be considered wholly European. Liégeard described “the type of brown complexion [of the native], swarthy as an Andalusian with a Moorish glaze, which is the prerogative of the finest half of the race. Slender and bold presence, black eyes, thick hair, these rugged daughters of the sun, in whose veins the Arabian blood must continue to flow.”²⁹ Further, Vattier d’Ambroyse’s praise of the Grimaldi family for its “ceaseless search for improvements on the whole life of a people: intellectual progress, scientific, commercial, hygienic, philanthropy” certainly mirrored the language of colonialism, particularly the French *Mission Civilisatrice*.³⁰ She admitted the

28. Stéphen Liégeard, *La Côte d’Azur* (Paris: Quantin, 1887), 264, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8- L17- 35 (A). Liégeard was not part of the titled nobility, however he was a Bonapartist and prominent regional politician during the Second Empire, and later received membership to l’Académie Française and the Ordre national de la Légion d’honneur. While not an aristocrat, Liégeard was certainly an influential figure and a member of the political and intellectual elite. His decision to withdraw from French politics after the fall of the Second Empire may signal that his gravitation toward vacationing on the French Riviera could have been a form of escapism from the political and social changes brought on by the Third Republic. Coincidentally, Liégeard is credited with coining the phrase “*La Côte d’Azur*.”

29. Ibid.

30. Vattier d’Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France*, 570.

colonial connection and noted that the principality's subjects had to make certain sacrifices, but she made the case that:

Monegasques have received full value, through the complete removal of taxes and fees, by constant public works, by building remarkable monuments, the foundation of major institutions . . . in a word, they are placed under a paternal authority, mindful of the happiness of its citizens.³¹

For Vattier d'Ambroyse, Liégeard, and other vacationers, the rustic, even colonial aspect of Monaco and its people proved attractive as a form of escapism. The visual depictions of the principality and the nineteenth-century descriptions of the picturesque at the vacation resort reflected this trend.

As the demographics of Monte Carlo's casino-resort's clientele changed, the number of visitors increased, and vacationing at the resort lost some of its relative-rarity, the meaning of the picturesque also shifted from a focus on pristine nature and rurality to an emphasis on lavish constructions, lighting, spectacle, and symbols of modernity. The shift was gradual and inconsistent, with outliers on both sides present between 1880 and 1900. Yet, by the turn of the century, descriptions of the picturesque in Monte Carlo most often emphasized modern urban spectacle. This change in the meaning of the picturesque in Monte Carlo signifies three main points. First, it means that by the dawn of the twentieth century, "picturesque" as a descriptor, especially in travel writing, had acquired so many varied usages that it could not have possibly served as a transnational standard to describe a particular aesthetic. Contrary to Löfgren's claim, travelers, especially those from different states and classes, carried different understandings of the aesthetic logic of the picturesque. Second, the shift in the definition of the picturesque reflected the simultaneous change in Monte Carlo's tourist demography. The majority of those who described the picturesque in terms of modern spectacle were among the aspirant middle

31. Ibid.

classes; while previous descriptions of the picturesque, and in fact the very distinctive ability of the “gentleman’s gaze,” came from titled nobility and other social elites, by the turn of the century middle class vacationers had surpassed them as the most numerous visitors to the casino-resort. This new class of vacationers, however, continued to emphasize that viewing Monte Carlo was the primary way of experiencing the vacation-resort. Many of these middle class vacationers were aware of the changing meaning of the picturesque. Some lamented the change while others considered it an improvement and complimented the enhancements to the natural landscape. Finally, despite the marked change in the definition of the picturesque, middle class vacationers emulated the language of social elites and continued to use “picturesque” as a primary descriptor for Monte Carlo. Despite the loss of distinctiveness of utilizing the “gentleman’s gaze” and properly identifying the (Romanticist’s version of the) picturesque, vacationers engaged in allodoxical usage of the term in order to imitate social elites.³² The distinctive function of the picturesque shifted from social elites (for whom it was no longer elite due to reduced relative rarity) to the middle classes, who used the term *ad nauseam*.

By the late nineteenth century, descriptions of the picturesque often focused on the elegance of the casino and surrounding buildings, lavishly constructed terraces, or carefully cultivated gardens. Photographs and postcards of these viewpoints, visual souvenirs of this new form of the picturesque, proliferated in Monte Carlo during this time. In contradistinction to the panoramic postcards that emphasized the natural ruggedness of Monaco, late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century postcards of the principality and Monte Carlo focused on the city’s architectural wonders, manicured gardens, and the flurry of social activity taking place on the resort’s terraces. A typical postcard of this genre, from the early 1920s, features a throng of

32. On allodoxia see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 323-326. See Introduction footnote 23 for my description of allodoxical practices.

vacationers walking along the casino's rear terrace. The crowd, a multitude of well-dressed vacationers walking and socializing together, serves as the postcard's focal point. The crowd foregrounds the image and seems to fade endlessly into the horizon. The casino's elegant rear façade and Charles Garnier's recognizable twin cupolas feature on the right-hand side of the image. Large date palms, tamarinds, and electric lamps line the main terrace and the terraces directly above and below it (Figure 3.4).³³ For this visual representation of the picturesque, man-made objects, particularly the casino, replaced the rusticity and pristineness of the principality which had been much lauded in earlier visual representations of Monte Carlo. An active, social crowd supplanted the bucolic landscapes and exotic flora substituted for the natural, rugged Monégasque vistas. The postcard subtly emphasized that the comforts of modern cities – electric lights, parasols, paved walkways, and benches – were available for vacationers.



Figure 3.4. “82. Monte Carlo. – *Le Casino et le Terrasse – The Casino and Terraces – LL.*,” January 1, 1923. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

The crowded terrace was a frequent subject for postcards of Monte Carlo. At the beginning of the twentieth century, and for at least three decades, the Terrasse Café de Paris served as a prominent focal object of

33. “82. Monte Carlo. – *Le Casino et le Terrasse – The Casino and Terraces – LL.*,” black and white postcard 14 x 9, January 1, 1923, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102311, image: FOTO00003895.

photographic postcard souvenirs. The large crowds that visited the Café de Paris provided a flurry of activity and a sense of the *joie de vivre* that vacationers craved in their visual representations and souvenirs of trips to Monte Carlo. The photographic postcards also highlighted the intricate façades of the Hôtel de Paris and the casino, the exceptional cleanliness and tidiness of the terraces, and diminutive but lavish garden displays.³⁴ (Figure 3.5) The casino itself, often foregrounded by the geometric, French gardens near the front entrance also served as a prominent postcard subject. The elegance and grandeur of the casino and the theater's architecture featured centrally in the postcards, regularly accompanied by the manicured gardens and a number of vacationers strolling through the resort grounds.³⁵ In each postcard series, modern conveniences, manmade structures, and pleasures superseded the idyllic subjects of earlier visual depictions of the picturesque.

34. See both "777. Monte-Carlo. – Place du Casino Terrasse du Café de Paris," collection of black and white postcards, postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1897-1910, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102321, image: FOTO00003904; and "777. Monte-Carlo. – Place du Casino Terrasse du Café de Paris," collection of black and white postcards, postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1897-1910, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102323, image: FOTO00003905.

35. See 564. "Monte Carlo. – *Casino et Jardins*," postcard 14 x 9, January 1901, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102320, image: FOTO00003903; 887. Monte Carlo. – *Façade du Casino – Les Jardins*," postcard 14 x 9, circa 1900-1911, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102330, image: FOTO00003912; and "Casino de Monte-Carlo. – Le Théâtre," postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1882-1900, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102325, image: FOTO00003907.



Figure 3.5. “777. Monte-Carlo. – Place du Casino Terrasse du Café de Paris,” ca. 1897-1910. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

The changing subject of panoramas marked a final notable shift in the visual depiction of the picturesque in postcards and photographs in Monte Carlo. Giletta’s photographic postcard series and earlier panoramic depictions of Monte Carlo had deliberately obscured the modernized section of the city – particularly the casino-resort and surrounding areas. Instead, these panoramic depictions, which continued until the turn of the century, adopted “god’s eye” viewpoints from high atop La Turbie or the Tête de Chien; they featured Monaco’s rugged landscape, Le Rocher, and the medieval Genoese-style architecture of the Prince’s Palace. Twentieth-century panoramas frequently adopted a lower vantage point and, in direct opposition to the previous techniques, focused almost exclusively on Monte Carlo and the casino resort.

The craggy cliffs of the Maritimes-Alps and Le Rocher were notably absent from these panoramas. Once the state finished construction of *Le Jardin Exotique*, a considerable portion of these images were taken from the garden and featured a variety of large, imposing, exotic plant life. Gigantic aloes, succulents, and cacti dominated the foreground of these panoramas, and in many cases, the photographer carefully framed the casino-resort as the focal point of the photograph by centering the building in between the stems of enormous cacti (Figures 3.6 and 3.7).³⁶



Figure 3.6. “Principauté de Monaco – Aperçu du rocher pris à partir du jardin exotique,” ca. 1931- 1950. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)



Figure 3.7. “Monaco – Jardin Exotique,” ca. 1950. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

Descriptions of the picturesque and guides for properly viewing Monte Carlo also transitioned their focus from pristine nature toward man-made structures and manicured

36. See “Principauté de Monaco – Aperçu du rocher pris à partir du jardin exotique,” black and white photograph 5.5 x 8.5, ca. 1931-1950, purchased by Mrs. Françoise Sauser, 1991, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 21F10137, FOTO00000644, Album 21F10430, page 2, no. 137; “PdM. LRPàPDJE,” black and white photograph 7 x 10.5, ca. 1931-1950, purchased by Mrs. Françoise Sauser, 1991, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote : 21F10138, FOTO 00000645; “Monaco – Jardin Exotique,” black and white photograph, ca. 1950, collection of Adrien Lucarelli, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 11F10089, FOTO00003971; and “Monaco – Le Jardin Exotique – Entre les deux rochers, Monaco: au premier plan, des cactus et autre plante exotique,” black and white photograph, 18 x 13, ca. 1950, collection of Adrien Lucarelli, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 11F10100, FOTO00003981.

landscapes. “Glorious views are had by the way not merely of the mountain scenery,” noted William Miller, a British visitor and harsh critic of the casino, who was nonetheless enraptured by the vacation-resort. He continued by pointing out that:

To attract visitors to the place, the grounds have been laid out in beautiful terraces flanked by elegant white balustrades, the borders being filled with palm and other exotic trees and shrubbery. The main attraction, however, is contained in the Casino, which is a long handsome building, in which are a spacious concert room, a reading room with newspapers, and the gambling rooms.³⁷

Miller’s account is especially illustrative of the changing notion of the picturesque in Monte Carlo. The “picturesque scenery” which Miller described has been, by his own account, “laid out” by the SBM. Further, the elegant buildings and exotic plants in his depiction seem to utterly contradict previous conceptions of the picturesque. Miller himself had previously fretted that the “natives,” through their construction of the vacation-resort, would destroy the “fascinating rurality” of Monaco.³⁸

Louis Laurent also demonstrated a key understanding of the judiciously fabricated spectacles at Monte Carlo. For Laurent, too, the lack of authentic and pristine nature lessened the visual appeal. He remarked that “at Monte Carlo, the collections are arranged to draw from it the best possible effect to the point of view of luxury. The purely human framework in which this magnificent picture is placed spoils a bit of the beauty of the canvas.”³⁹ Stéphen Liégeard pointed out that part of the appeal of such panoramas was what was missing from them. The excessive tidiness of Monte Carlo, and indeed the absence of the previously venerated “impoverished native” provided the scenes with a different kind of appeal. He explained that “[h]owever, the spectacle is also about what is not seen. Two eyes are not enough before a

37. Miller, *Wintering in the Riviera*, 213.

38. *Ibid.*, xiv-xv.

39. Louis Laurent, *Les Jardins de la Mortola et de Monte-Carlo par L. Laurent, Membre de la Classe des Sciences Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Beaux-Arts de Marseille* (Marseille: Barlatier, 1911), 9, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-S Piece – 18100, D3-803 L 3.33-A.

canvas that includes stoops, decks, balustrades, groves, lawns, fountains, statues accumulated in a pleasant confusion.⁴⁰ Seemingly aware of the deliberate construction of pleasing scenery by resort developers, Miller, Laurent, and Liégeard (and others) continued to view Monte Carlo as a picturesque retreat.

Other visitors and travel guides similarly emphasized buildings and man-made structures as subjects of the picturesque – certainly a stark contrariety with earlier notions of the picturesque. However, like Miller, many of these visitors and authors also clung to the Romanticist definition of the picturesque. The multiplicity of meaning imbued in the picturesque suggests that for a section of Monte Carlo’s late-nineteenth-century visitors, use of the term as a distinctive display outweighed its usefulness as a precise definition. This allodoxical practice, the misapprehension and misappropriation of the term picturesque, suggests that middle class vacationers sought to engage in similar spectating experiences as the social elites who visited the casino-resort, but were willing to conflate symbols of modernity and civility with the Romanticism it previously evoked. Stéphen Liégeard, who had celebrated the ostensibly backward Monégasques as quaint ornaments for the picturesque landscape, also applauded the SBM for constructing the casino-resort in such a harsh and unforgiving landscape. He appreciated:

This picturesque little corner of the Orient where man and the elements have struggled against its miracle? Well! What! The palace of Aladdin with its chiseled bronze, its shimmering brass, multicolored mosaics, transparent agates, dark porphyry, its muses with outspread wings, ancient masks grinning with laughter or pain.⁴¹

Liégeard’s description emphasized the seemingly exotic nature of the casino-resort. In harsh contrast to his previous depictions of the rugged, picturesque landscape, he denoted the carefully

40. Liégeard, *La Côte d’Azur*, 260.

41. *Ibid.*

constructed elements of the casino itself. Similarly, Vattier d’Ambroyse heaped praise on the scenes and structures that had been carefully designed for aesthetic effect by landscape artists, architects, and civic engineers employed by the SBM and the state. The author emphasized the change but did not shrink from her description of the city as picturesque. She claimed that:

The old place is no longer recognizable. All the elegances of worldly life have met there. Where there grew only a few bushes, parks and wonderful gardens extend; where absolute calm prevailed, they have brought noise, the movement of the two cities, as well as the palace of the One Thousand and One Nights invites all to admire its magnificence. A double frame in this **picturesque tableau** without peer: the amphitheater of the foothills of the Alps and the clear waters, brilliant, from the open sea, which gently come to sleep in the harbor. In the morning, lit by the rising sun, the whole emerges with an exquisite seduction, at the night the mist soon folds under the golden rays. In the evening, when the last rays of the setting sun no longer line the sky of a deep tone, earth, too, invites its fairy. Monte Carlo wraps a bright atmosphere, reflected in the bay between La Condamine and the Old Rock of Monaco, stars embroider and press their flank as it becomes darker. How the dream has come again! With what sweetness it imparts on the whole, to engrave an indelible memory!⁴²

Her illustrative portrayal of Monte Carlo echoed Liégeois’s reference to an Oriental fantasy by also comparing the casino to Aladdin’s palace. However, the emphasis of her portrayal and the primary subject of her praise was the change in the principality – from rugged rurality to worldly and sophisticated – a change in fact outlined in Blanc’s “dream.” For Miller, Liégeois, Vattier d’Ambroyse, and others, perceptions of Monte Carlo shifted from the Romanticist retreat of mid-nineteenth-century social elites to an aesthetic logic that emphasized modernity, worldliness, and sophistication.

Finally, while use of picturesque as a visual descriptor continued well into the twentieth century, it was frequently used to emphasize modernity in Monte Carlo (particularly the city’s lighting and light displays) and the exceptional cleanliness and tidiness of the modern city. Such

42. Vattier d’Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France*, 566. Emphasis my own.

definitions of the picturesque were not limited to the twentieth century; Louis de Andreis, an Italian aristocrat, described in an 1874 letter the picturesqueness of the city, as being:

Big, beautiful, and magnificent; the roads, walkways, gardens, thickets of trees, fountains, jets of water, palaces, houses, pavilions, large hotels, villas, restaurants, cafes, stores, confectionaries, all with a perfect elegance, an irreproachable cleanliness, and lighted in the evening by a large number of gas lamps.⁴³

William Miller admitted that “[t]he view of Monaco either from the west or the east is very striking, a picturesque view, especially when seen from the train, [where the city appeared] pure and bright . . . looking so clear and tidy.”⁴⁴ However, such descriptions of the picturesque increased after the 1880s and throughout the turn of the century. Arnold Mortier, an orchestral maestro, wrote that he and his wife struggled to “lift our trembling eyes” when they saw the Monte Carlo casino lit up at dusk. “Mathilde pinched herself to assure herself that this was no dream. We saw the same. We stood witness to this unforgettable scene, we saw the statue of Montansier come to life for a moment to take part in our general incredulousness.”⁴⁵ For these authors, viewing Monte Carlo was still a transcendent experience, the picturesque views left spectators awestruck and grasping for description and meaning. However, the awesome vistas featured deliberately crafted scenes and manmade structures, not unspoiled nature.

The association of Monte Carlo with exceptional tidiness, order, and hygiene was so great by the end of the nineteenth century that travelogues of other locales used it as a point of reference. Adrien Planté marveled at Monte Carlo’s lighting and bright, clean, and tidy picturesque views, and despite his disapproval of the gaming house, hoped that San Sebastian

43. Louis de Andreis to Alexandre, 1874, “De Nice à Monte-Carlo,” 3, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15225, D1-554 L 4.7-A. See also Jules Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo, causerie par Jules Bessi – 1874* (Nice: 1874), 3, 7, and 16, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15188, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

44. William Miller, *Wintering in the Riviera*, 164.

45. Arnold Mortier, *Les Soirées parisiennes de 1884 par un monsieur de l’orchestre (Arnold Mortier)*, ed. E. Dentu (Paris: Libraire de la Société des Gens de Lettres, 1885), 221.

would rival the immaculate city's "magnificent Palace of Pleasure."⁴⁶ On the same note, Léon Caubert compared the picturesqueness of the Queen's Road in Hong Kong to Monte Carlo, because of its "beautiful shops, of grand European stores . . . the cosmopolitan crowd . . . [and] bright path [that] is as neat and clean as the roads in Monte Carlo."⁴⁷ Perceptions of Monte Carlo, especially regarding how the city was visualized as exceptionally clean, bright, and tidy, exceeded nominal or cursory descriptions from vacationers. By the late nineteenth century, the city and its appearance had become a standard bearer in travel writing of the clean and well-lit modern city.

One periodical, *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, provided articles which exceptionally stressed the changing notion of the picturesque in Monte Carlo over the course of sixty years, from 1873 to 1932. The first article on picturesque Monte Carlo appeared in August of 1873 and emphasized the rugged, if somewhat exotic, natural landscape of the city and its surroundings. It noted that "[t]he gardens offer other most picturesque views and agreeable walks" and that the craggy terraces featured "all the plants of Africa."⁴⁸ This usage mirrored the Romanticist definition of the picturesque employed in Monte Carlo at the time, with an emphasis on virgin land and unsullied vistas. In the 1930s, the newspaper's use of the picturesque in Monte Carlo changed dramatically to accentuate the resort's lights, gardens, and the commotion of activity surrounding the casino – what the paper called "[a]n enchanted isle and incomparable spectacles."⁴⁹ A final example from 1930 placed a singular emphasis on the artificial, electric lighting displays at the casino-resort. The paper designated the resort the:

46. Adrien Planté, *San Sebastian: notes de voyage* (Pau, FR: Léon Ribaut, 1886), 240. Gallica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb31120789m> (accessed May 19, 2015).

47. Léon Caubert, *Souvenirs Chinois* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1891), 85, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, FRBNF30207172, 4- O2N- 877.

48. Editorial, *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, Paris, August 6, 1873.

49. Untitled, *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, Paris, June 8, 1932.

Magic of Lights: Hidden electric lamps shimmer in the grass, with a pearly color and the reflections of flowers. Projectors conjure a haze where less than an hour before there was simply stone or marble, a dream palace with purple translucent pink. There, a water jet is clothed with the sumptuousness of the bow in the sky and a fountain plays Loie Fuller.⁵⁰ Look, this is the new magic Monte Carlo, glaring and illuminated gardens. They were famous for their beauty and their flowers but then electricity came, led by Jacopozzi⁵¹. And night was no more. From everywhere they came to Monte Carlo to enjoy the magic of its blue and gold days. And now it adds a new beauty. The Princess of the Riviera has donned her fairy dress.⁵²

This visual description is especially illuminative. It completely reversed nineteenth-century notions of the picturesque as natural scenes, untouched by man. The flattering editorial emphasized modern lighting techniques and world-renowned lighting technicians. It stressed the modernity of Monte Carlo and, more importantly, the fantasy that the lighting evoked. This version of the picturesque was less the unspoiled paradise of the 1870s than it was a dreamlike, twentieth-century fantasy.

Monte Carlo's reputation for lighted spectacles, and the beautiful vistas they produced, was disseminated through guests' accounts and local papers, but the city's modern lighting also made waves in international periodicals. *Time*, *The Rotarian*, and *Popular Mechanics* each carried unsolicited notices of the picturesque beauty brought forth from Monte Carlo's ultramodern lighting system. In 1930, *Popular Mechanics* featured photographs of the casino grounds at night and an article entitled "Night Scene in Monte Carlo Shows Beauty in Lights." One of the photographs shows the main garden and casino façade radiating with concealed lights. It produces a particularly surreal effect, as the trees, fountain, and casino glowed in stark contrast to the dark night (Figure 3.8).⁵³ The magazine lauded the changes at Monte Carlo, which it called the "playground of Europe. [It] has been transformed into a fairyland of lights at

50. A female pioneer of choreography and lighting.

51. Fernand Jacopozzi, a celebrated lighting technician best known for illuminating the Eiffel tower.

52. "La Féerie de Lumières," *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, Paris, January 8, 1930, pg 4.

53. "Night Scene at Monte Carlo," black and white photograph in *Popular Mechanics* (May 1930): 721.

night by an elaborate system of exterior illumination. The famous casino after dark is bathed in white lights and the broad avenues leading to it are also illuminated, trees, fountains, and even the flower plots being decorated with concealed lighting effects.”⁵⁴ The article underscored the changing nature of beauty and the picturesque at Monte Carlo, as well as the all-encompassing effort made by landscape and exterior designers to create a surreal and enchanting effect at the casino. The changes, and the city’s commitment to electrical lighting design in order to create a new effect of the picturesque, were noted far beyond local periodicals. International publications drew special attention to the changes, particularly in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

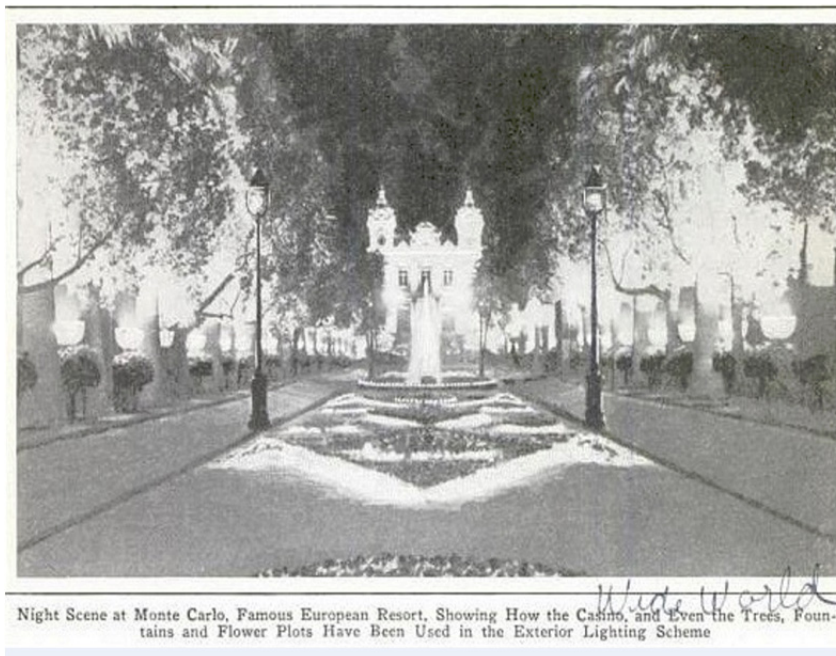


Figure 3.8. “Night Scenes at Monte Carlo,” 1930. (Source: *Popular Mechanics*)

The continued use of the term picturesque in Monte Carlo, sporadically defined though it was, and the importance of properly visualizing the city underscored the practice of seeing the city as a distinctive function. Early, socially-elite vacationers to Monte Carlo viewed the city according to accepted conventions and

reproduced their experiences with vivid visual descriptions in their travel writing. In part, social elites and the nobility distinguished themselves from other vacationers through the relative rarity

54. James N. Miller, “Night Scene in Monte Carlo Shows Beauty in Lights,” *Popular Mechanics* (May 1930): 721.

of properly seeing the resort (particularly the pristine nature and bucolic backwardness of its surroundings), through “correctly” describing their visual experiences as ‘picturesque,’ and by treating the visual spectacle as a Romanticist retreat. Romantic, rugged, *picturesque* Monaco in these days served as a haven from the threats of social upheaval and urban life in Europe.

Unsurprisingly, aspirant classes clung to the practice of viewing Monte Carlo and describing the city as picturesque in order to emulate the practice of these social elites. As the number of visitors to Monte Carlo increased, so too did the definitions of the picturesque at the resort-town. By the late nineteenth century, modernity, spectacle, and cleanliness had replaced pristine ruggedness as the primary meaning of the picturesque in Monaco. The postcard, in particular, became a source of social capital for aspirant classes. Not only was it a tangible souvenir of conspicuous consumption, but it also served to demonstrate that the sender could recognize the picturesque and adopt the ‘gentleman’s gaze’ or ‘tourist’s gaze.’ Postcard writing in Monte Carlo became so pervasive that some travelogues and social revues openly rued the ubiquitous practice. One such revue bitterly noted that:

The month of January should be called the month of letters. . . . Tourists, on their journey, enter into two excursions, attending balls and taking the month to send postcards to their friends. In the evenings, they don’t visit the casino, they stay in their rooms and write out of politeness of their wishes for the new year . . . soon, the English, who take the prize, will be our masters.⁵⁵

Despite the somewhat pompous disdain from this and similar social pages, postcard writing persisted as a pervasive practice at the casino-resort throughout the twentieth century and continued to serve as social capital for aspirant classes. Visualizing Monte Carlo was central to how visitors understood and processed the city’s projected image. Ways of visualizing, seeing,

55. “Le Mois Des Lettres : L’Art de Varier les formules de Politesse,” *Cannes, Nice, Monte-Carlo – 1923 Touter les Femmes Élégantes sont abonnées à Art. Gout. Beauté. La Plus Luxueuse Des Revues de Modes La Seule Publiant Les Modelés de la Grande Couture dans le Coloris Exact de Leur Création*, no. 2 (22-28 January, 1923), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, JO-60989 1923, D2-702 L 3.20-C.

and describing the city changed over time, in order to adapt to modern tastes and evolving demographics; however, it remained the primary way in which vacationers experienced, imagined, and re-presented Monte Carlo.

Paradise after the Fall or Eden Returned? The Consistent Discursive Patterns of Monte Carlo's Critics and Advocates

Consistent and pervasive patterns of discourse regarding Monte Carlo fundamentally shaped visitor's perceptions of the city. In some instances, casino promoters dating back to François Blanc fostered and reinforced these patterns. Comparing the casino-resort to a paradise, for instance, was a wholly unsurprising marketing tactic of the SBM. In other cases, discursive patterns formed without the sanctioned promotional agenda of the SBM. Monte Carlo as a site of risk became a prominent way of imagining and discussing the city. Certainly, casino promoters would have preferred to avoid consistent, overt associations of the resort-town with risk, but despite their unwillingness to endorse this way of viewing the city, describing the city as a site of risk appealed to much of their clientele. In both cases, proponents and adversaries of Monte Carlo and the casino-resort alike embraced the same patterns of discourse when writing about the city. While the aims of each side varied, they operated within the same discursive patterns whether they were flatteringly promoting or vehemently criticizing Monte Carlo. The fact that both critics and advocates adopted the same linguistic trends suggests that these concepts were engrained as part of the individual and collective perceptions of Monte Carlo. Particularly, language describing Monte Carlo as a paradise, a site of risk, or a place where anything was possible shaped the city's spatial imaginary and impacted the ways in which visitors perceived the city.

The most consistent and frequently discursive tendency involved describing Monte Carlo as a paradise, or as Paradise, or Eden, itself.⁵⁶ Such associations seemed apt, especially considering the resort's emphasis on pleasure and on providing guests with a divine experience, in addition to the SBM's extraordinary commitment to cultivating extravagant gardens in the city and principality. Unsurprisingly, casino promoters made no moves to disrupt these references. In addition to the literal definition of the Judeo-Christian Paradise as an immaculate, unspoiled garden, the term held a remarkable range of meaning for European and American visitors. Littré's 1870s edition of the *Dictionnaire de la langue française* offered no less than thirteen separate definitions for *paradis*. While Littré classified some definitions as archaic or esoteric, the term was still imbued with a variety of meanings in the contemporary lexicon. *Paradis* could refer to the "Paradise of Mahomet," the Judeo-Christian paradise, sumptuous gardens, "a delightful stay," or a state of being which was "the most pleasant and happiest that one can enjoy."⁵⁷ Visitors employed each of these notions of paradise when writing about Monte Carlo. At times, some visitors applied more than one meaning at a time to the city. Astonishingly, the association between Monte Carlo and paradise became so great that critics of the city and the gaming house also began to describe the casino-resort as a paradise in their arguments against it. The ubiquitous association of Monte Carlo with paradise, from both detractors and supporters, markedly shaped the ways in which vacationers imagined the city: whether as a virgin Eden, Paradise after the Fall, paradise returned, or simply an indescribably pleasurable vacation.

Much of the positive discourse of Monte Carlo as a paradise linked the paradisiacal praise of the city and countryside to visual experience. Once again, the visual experience of Monte

56. These visitors distinguished between paradise, a more colloquial usage of the term which could evoke a wide range of meanings, and Paradise, the more formal and religious usage.

57. Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, 2nd ed. (Paris: L. Hachette, 1872-77), s.v. "paradis."

Carlo was crucial. Early visitors described visualizing Monte Carlo as a paradise: a mostly natural tableau of beautiful gardens, villas, and rugged mountains. Paulin Blanc remarked that:

The most sumptuous, the most brilliant, the most frequented of all the casinos is in the principality of Monaco, on the shores of the Mediterranean, by the Italian border. They have the most magical gardens, walkways with views of the Alps, and temperate seasons, and splendid views of the horizon, it will appear to the eyes, that the palace of Eden has fallen out of the sky to the Earth; when you see it you will remember it for all your life.⁵⁸

Paulin Blanc's account centered on the awe-inspiring beauty of Monte Carlo, the gardens, and even the casino structure itself. Though he largely credited François Blanc with attracting visitors to Monte Carlo and improving the attractiveness of the land, Jules Bessi similarly observed that "foreigners . . . have come to this paradise . . . [to see] its natural beauty in a new costume."⁵⁹ Perhaps the most widely disseminated paradisiacal reference came from the infamous Belgian King Leopold II. After a visit to the principality and the gaming house early in his reign, the king was enraptured by its loveliness and declared "[t]his is the most beautiful place which exists in the world: it is a section of earthly paradise."⁶⁰ For Paulin Blanc and Bessi, and especially for Leopold II, the paradise of Monte Carlo was a visual one. More than that, it matched the model of contemporary Romanticism (a rather outmoded taste favored by social elites and nobility) as a natural haven and retreat. Stringent religious comparisons were notably absent from these depictions, but these authors nonetheless envisioned Monte Carlo as a space separate and distinct from the rest of Europe – a refuge of appealing natural beauty.

Fin-de-siècle proponents of the casino-resort employed a broader definition of paradise in their descriptions of Monte Carlo. Visuality remained central to many of their accounts, but the

58. Paulin Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles, avec des notices sur Monte-Carlo, Aix-les-Bains, par Paul Blanc*, (Chalon-sur-Saône, FR: 1885), 129, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V-20761, D3 L 3.33-A.

59. Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo*, 6.

60. Hyam's *Hotel Guide to the Rivièras (Marseilles to Viareggio): A Practical Handbook for Travellers - 1924* (1924), 73. Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-g-11335, D1-503 L 3.5-A.

Eden they described was less explicitly a pristine, natural paradise. The garden-like portrayal of Monte Carlo's paradise did not wholly disappear, but instead merged with the pleasures, experiences, and sensual bombardment of an enchanting vacation, a "*séjour délicieux*."⁶¹ Some perfunctory explanations attributed Monte Carlo's position as a site of such pleasure to a mythical connection with Eden. Stéphen Liégeard submitted that:

if it is true, as the legend has it that our first parents in the Garden of Eden brought here the branch of the lemon tree, nothing forbids us to believe that some of the dust of Eden remained on their feet, so though lost to them, our happiness would have at least a picture of somewhere where it will return.⁶²

Likewise, Baroncelli implied that Monte Carlo must have had a connection to a more heavenly sphere, and that the casino was merely a "temple dedicated to the god of games."⁶³ For each of these authors, impressions of Monte Carlo as paradise incorporated beautiful vistas, but were far more comprehensive as a site of multisensory pleasures. Critical of those who visited Monte Carlo solely for the casino, Liégeard described the dichotomy between the torment of gambling addiction and the heavenly pleasures that awaited more disciplined and restrained visitors. He admitted that:

[f]or the gambler, the gambling house was false hope, full of anguish, sweat, ruin, suicide, a heap of horrors; it was hell. Ah! Yes! *Spielhalle!*⁶⁴ For the tranquil; the poet or philosopher on holiday, who stood in the society of the *Spielhalle* and didn't approach roulette, what an Eden! This was the view of the delicious women circulating in the magical gardens; it was meditation under refreshing shade, while experiencing in his ear the distant music; it was the torrent of steep-sided and civilized mountains; it was the luxurious balls for orchestras worthy of the conservatory, for free.⁶⁵

61. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, s.v. "paradis."

62. Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 268.

63. Baroncelli, *La Provence*, 157.

64. Germanic casino or gaming hall. This is likely a reference to either the Rhineland casinos which were outlawed or marginalized several decades before, or to François Blanc's ventures in Bad-Homburg and Baden-Baden.

65. Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 260.

His writing linked Eden to enchanting gardens, but did not equate the two. Instead, his focus shifted to include the natural landscape, the promise of social interaction, pleasurable climate, peace, tranquility, exquisite music, and even subtle, sensual overtones with women's bodies on display. Liégeard's Eden was more of an experience than a Romanticist retreat. In each case, however, the Eden described appeared remarkably alluring.

Monte Carlo and the gaming house's harshest critics also adopted paradise as a preferred descriptor in their portrayals of the city. The city's very image as an alluring and fantastic space, an unrivaled paradise, proved to be a useful concept for those who wanted to pontificate on the dangers of such unique pleasures and beauty. It was arousing, it was intoxicating, they argued, but that was part of the seduction of gambling and moral decay. For these critics, Monte Carlo was paradise, but Paradise after the Fall. William Hope Devereux was one of the first critics to engage with the discourse of Monte Carlo as a paradise, as well as the most unrelenting.

Devereux admitted that a "chief reason [for] putting pen to paper has been to make an effort, however feeble, to expose the deadly evils of the plague-spot of this paradise, Monte Carlo."⁶⁶

His references to the paradisiacal allure of Monte Carlo were so recurrent that he warned readers in the preface that his travelogue might well have been considered a 337-page condemnation of "the demon play" and a call to bring an end to the "paradise which was surely designed by a beneficent Creator for the happiness of His creatures, [which has been] turned into a pandemonium."⁶⁷ Devereux unquestioningly accepted the discourse of Monte Carlo as a paradise. He agreed that it was a unique space that afforded exceptional beauty, climate, and scenery. He argued that the city's exceptional situation is what proved especially threatening to the Riviera's numerous travelers, however. Devereux admitted:

66. William Hope Devereux, R.N., F.R.G.S., *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo: Comprising a Tour Through North and South Italy and Sicily with a Short Account of Malta* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1884), viii.

67. *Ibid.*, ix.

The tiny principality of Monaco is indeed a little Paradise; but, alas! Paradise *after the fall*, for does it not include that awful gaming pandemonium, Monte Carlo? It is sad to think that the choicest spot on this fair earth should be selected by sinful men for their evil purposes. Here, amid all that is beautiful and captivating in nature, is a pit dug for the unwary, the innocent, and the weak; and, alas! too many succumb to the fatal allurements prepared for their ruin and destruction.⁶⁸

For Devereux, the corrupt and corrupting paradise made Monte Carlo a doubly dangerous place for those susceptible to the seductions of gambling.

Critics of gambling, moralists, and even popular authors followed Devereux's example of engaging with Monte Carlo as Paradise Lost. Robert Service even entitled his series of short stories set in Monte Carlo, *The Poisoned Paradise*. Forty years after Devereux's initial allusion, he continued the theme of Monte Carlo as a seductive and corrupting Eden. One of Service's characters, a sagacious elderly professor of the Sorbonne, preached on the duality of beauty and corruption at Monte Carlo. He asked a malleable young man to "[l]ook at the loveliness of earth and sky, the purple mountain rising from the silver sea, the dreamlike peace, the soft and gentle air. No painted picture was ever half as beautiful. How happy all might be here! A paradise, a human paradise; but because of that place, a poisoned paradise."⁶⁹ Much like Devereux, Service considered the corruption of Monte Carlo's casino especially sinful because of the beautiful, unmatched surroundings.

Some authors described Monte Carlo as an earthly, garden paradise for less moralizing ends than bringing a halt to the gambling craze in the city. In his poem "Death on the Terrace," Édouard Grenier juxtaposed the ethereal beauty of Monte Carlo with the immeasurable pain of unrequited love. For Grenier, the backdrop of Monte Carlo, "an Eden, gliding on the world . . . a heaven held in silent waves of peace; Pure light, glowing, ethereal" was not enough to tear his

68. *Ibid.*, 49. Emphasis original.

69. Robert W. Service, *The Poisoned Paradise: A Romance of Monte Carlo* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1922), 109.

tortured mind away from his lost love, and his eventual suicide; in fact, the paradisiacal beauty and gaiety of the city added further cruelty to the harsh realities of human interaction he experienced.⁷⁰ While Grenier's criticisms of Monte Carlo were less focused than Devereux's and Service's, he nonetheless described Monte Carlo as an Eden to highlight the disparity between representations of the casino-resort and the reality of interaction that occurred there. Grenier insinuated that the city appeared heavenly, but experiences of the casino-resort failed to match that enrapturing appearance.

Paul Mariéton, a French and Provençale author who settled in Nice in the 1880s, took up a crusade against the alleged evils of his neighboring city and often referred to Monte Carlo as a fallen paradise. Mariéton focused less on the Eden-like resort's beauty than on its seductive allure. Ever wary of the dangers of the casino, he nevertheless described the irresistible appeal of the city's modern architecture and exotic flora. Upon first sight of the casino and theatre he exclaimed:

All that [the casino resort] is solid gray, in the sunlight, glistening like silver dust. At the center of an elevated, very modern terrace is the Casino of Charles Garnier; behind the sea, essentially on rocks, his architectural work, arising from tropical vegetation, evokes a daydream of the Orient . . . we are staring in front of the siren with blue eyes, goddess of an eternal mirage.⁷¹

The siren was an appropriate metaphor for his perception of the city: beautiful but dangerous, irresistibly tempting and remarkably exotic. This trope, too, dated back to Devereux. He fixated on the seductive elements of the casino-resort, which he vowed were demonically deceptive. The illusion of pleasure, sophistication, and revelry that contributed to Monte Carlo's unique charm, claimed Devereux, developed "by the sordid wickedness of man" and had "been

70. Édouard Grenier, "A Une Morte: Sur La Terrasse," in *Poésies Complètes* (Paris: Charpentier, 1882-1891), 369-370.

71. Paul Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale: Journal de Route*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Passage Choiseul, 1894), 306-307. Mariéton wrote proficallly in both French and Provençal. Mariéton uses the phrase "évoque un songe d'Orient."

perverted into a paradise of the Prince of Darkness.”⁷² Mariéton mirrored Devereux’s language, but placed a greater emphasis on the exotic, and perhaps Islamic, sources of seduction. He described “[e]xotic plants, plumed with palms, arranged among the banisters and stairs of the high terrace. And in the middle, the Casino, the Cathedral of Hell, lifts high the two horns of these Moorish towers on this perverse Eden.”⁷³

Visitors associated Monte Carlo with an Islamic paradise in two primary ways. First, these descriptions came through as vague and stereotypical conflation of the Islamic paradise with exotic or oriental locales, Arabic literature, Moorish architecture, and aqua-centric exotic gardens. Second, Christian gambling abolitionists, like Mariéton, painted the casino-resort town as exotically seductive, an enrapturing and deceptive hell that they associated with mostly-Islamic states. This pattern of discourse, which linked exotic elements at Monte Carlo (authentic, imagined, and manufactured) to a form of paradise likely stemmed from a fin-de-siècle trend in Monte Carlo that emphasized exotic spectacle.⁷⁴

By the turn of the century, many visitors to Monte Carlo wrote about the city in terms of an Islamic paradise or an Arabian fantasy. It is likely that this trend emerged from comparisons of Monte Carlo to cities and states closely linked to Islam that Devereux and others had fostered in the 1880s. These authors sought to demonstrate the seductive capacities and beauty of Monte Carlo, but did not wish to cultivate comparisons to European or predominantly Christian states. Constantinople was the site most frequently associated with Monte Carlo in writing, but Beirut, Medina, Syria, Algeria, and Cairo, as well as more vague descriptions of Moorish towns, also served as parallels to the city in popular writing and travelogues. One of Devereux’s many

72. Devereux, *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo*, 59.

73. Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale*, 309.

74. The following chapter will more fully explore this theme of exoticism and spectacle.

comparative descriptions highlighted the beauty and seductive nature of the city, in comparison to other Mediterranean and Middle Eastern locales. He claimed that:

Beyond us, like a realized dream of Paradise, lay the beautiful plague-spot of the Riviera-the town of Monte Carlo, nested amid luxuriant gardens of semi-tropical foliage, the mosque-like minarets and cupolas of the casino standing boldly out on the heights and glittering in the sun. . . . I had seen Constantinople, Madeira, and many other parts of this fair earth of ours, but I do not remember anything that compares with this bit of Italian coast scenery, which I think is surely the loveliest in the world.⁷⁵

While Devereux and other critics' intentions may have worked to underscore the dangerous allure of Monte Carlo, they also succeeded in establishing the city as an exotic paradise in the collective public imagination.

In 1899, in a speech praising the architectural expertise of Charles Garnier, the French writer and historian, Louis Barthélemy Gustave Paul Larroumet, remarked that the casino seemed “a metamorphosis of a vision of art that hung in the magnificent neighboring rooms. It seemed to take you overseas to Oriental greenery and porticos of the paradise of Mohammed.”⁷⁶ Garnier and a number of the other architects who had worked on the casino during the late nineteenth century had labored to establish this exotic association. At various times different rooms in the casino had been briefly labeled Salle Mauresque and décor was altered to provide a shade of exotic flavor. The proliferation of garden fountains and exotic flora added to this effect. Turn-of-the-century postcards evidenced this shift, as depictions of fountains and some of the more Arabesque elements of the casino architecture grew in popularity at the time. One such postcard features the casino's front entrance and main garden. It is exceptional at the time for its perspective: the photograph was taken a great distance from the casino entrance in order to

75. Devereux, *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo*, 58.

76. Gustave Larroumet, “untitled speech on the life and works of Charles Garnier,” (speech delivered in Paris, France, November 5, 1899), quoted in Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir: Le Passe et le Présent Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice: Éditions de la Ste de Publicité des Pays D'azur, 1903), 197-198.

capture the fountain and surrounding flower bed on the edge of the garden. It is colorized, and highlights the rows of date palms and African Tamarinds which lined the garden path and fountain. The lines of trees draw a focal point to the casino's twin domes, the parts of the structure most often associated with Islamic minarets in contemporary travel writing (Figure 3.9).⁷⁷



Figure 3.9. Jean Giletta, “Monte Carlo – Casino et Jardins,” ca. 1900. (Source: the author’s collection)

The link to Arabic exoticism proved so powerful that visitors sometimes referred to the casino as Aladdin’s Palace. A British travel guide and compilation of tales relating to Monte Carlo recounted a trip two young women took to the principality. Traveling around 1911, the women remarked at being shocked at the paradise before them, and marveled at the surreal

77. Jean Giletta, “Monte Carlo – Casino et Jardins,” 5 x 3, colorized postcard, ca. 1900, author’s private collection. Contemporaries frequently associated the species of trees featured in the postcard with Africa, namely the date palms and tamarinds. Indeed, the tamarind was native to Africa. The date palm had a wider range of cultivation, but was largely associated with the tropical regions of Africa, the Middle East, and Southern Asia. These trees were most commonly mentioned in descriptions of Monaco as “La Petite Afrique.”

condition they experienced during their first night in the city. One young woman recounted that “[T]he myriad twinkling lights of the city below, rising tier above tier like the auditorium of an immense amphitheatre. . . gave an appearance of Oriental splendor reminiscent of the Arabian Nights' entertainment.”⁷⁸ For these women, Monte Carlo evoked an exotic paradise, a surreal place and experience best exemplified by an Arabic legend. Both Stéphen Liégeard and Valentine Vattier d'Ambroyse also drew attention to this connection to Middle Eastern literature and culture.⁷⁹ Guy de Maupassant, the celebrated French author, similarly captured the sense of Monte Carlo as alluring, exotic, and risky with his numerous descriptions of the city as a “Forbidden Paradise.”⁸⁰

As with other elements of description for Monte Carlo's observers, proponents of the casino-resort shared the “Middle Eastern” and “exotic” references of its critics. Liégeard, for instance, couched the seductive elements of Monte Carlo he observed in exotic paradisiacal terms. He claimed that:

The enchanter Blanc has there evoked the gardens of Armide⁸¹, the magician Garnier there constructed the Palace of the Queen of Cathay⁸², and with the headlight that the *Musée des Beaux-Arts* has heightened the flame, la Spelunca [*sic*] has become the place of delicacies, Monte-Carlo gives radiance to the now immortal name of the Prince who created it.⁸³

Although his description is unmistakably complimentary, Liégeard referred to the same seductive elements of the city that Mariéton and Devereux so thoroughly despised. Even for Liégeard, an almost sycophantic supporter of the city, the seductive and entrapping elements of

78. O. Plucky, B. Careful, and C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette : Interesting to Players and Non-players, on Sale at all Libraries, Kiosks, Railway Stations* (London: Edmund Seale, 1913), 192.

79. See Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 260; see also Vattier d'Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France*, 566.

80. Guy de Maupassant, *Sur l'Eau* in *Oeuvres Complètes de Guy de Maupassant* (Paris: L. Conard, 1910), Gallica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30910477t> (accessed July 7, 2015). See also Guy de Maupassant, *Sur l'eau: De Saint-Tropez à Monte-Carlo*, French Edition, (Paris: Encre, 1979), 121.

81. Armide was a Saracen sorceress and seductress who captured the Christian, Rinaldo, in an enchanted garden.

82. A reference to *Arabian Nights*, or *One Thousand and One Nights*.

83. Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 252.

Monte Carlo were exotic, and specifically Islamic with his reference to Armide's garden. Like the others, he most closely associated the casino itself with the legend of *One Thousand and One Nights*.

The paradise Liégeard's described blended extravagant spectacle and experience with exoticism and allusions to fantasy and legend. His travelogue also lampooned the gambling critics who condemned Monte Carlo. He suggested that Monte Carlo was a true paradise, but lamented that "[s]uch is not the opinion of some of the cantankerous among the virtuously reformed, whose voices regularly rise every three or four years from one side of the Channel or the other, to preach the holy crusade against the *infamy* - the infamy means roulette."⁸⁴ Liégeard recognized that casino promoters, visitors, moralists, and other authors wrote about Monte Carlo on a scale of divine and otherworldly discourse. Contemporary authors often considered Monte Carlo an exception to ordinary space, either as a tempting hell or as an ethereal plane of pleasure. Liégeard seemed particularly delighted at those moral critics who visited the city expecting infamous debauchery and a seedy, corrupt place only to wonder as to whether this would be the site upon which paradise would return. He described a particularly naïve group of gambling critics, whom he called "nephews of quakers," who traveled to Monte Carlo to protest the gaming house but were astonished at what they saw. Liégeard remembered that:

They asked curiously if the hell in question would not be the point of the earthly return of paradise, and [as if out] of *Vert-Vert*,⁸⁵ in a queer breakaway, they jumped into the first [crowd of people going toward the casino] whistling . . . 'the swarm of elegantly dressed unfortunate creatures whose main purpose is to conduct victims to the table games' [thus] end[ed] their only purpose of godly clout without shame.⁸⁶

84. *Ibid.*, 259.

85. Reference to an 1867 comic opera in which a parrot learns prayers from a convent, replaces his knowledge with vulgarity from a ship, and dies shortly after he is returned to a convent and relearns his saintly phrases.

86. Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 259. Italics are my own.

For Liégeard, these moral dissenters proved little different from the parrot in Vert-Vert: they recited condemnations of Monte Carlo as an ensnaring hell but were quickly enamored by their experiences once they saw the casino-resort for themselves, and subsequently abandoned their godly mission.

By the 1910s, several supporters of the vacation-leisure resort, and even some of the visitors to Monte Carlo who had become recent residents, derided infernal portrayals of the city and mocked what they viewed as trite and hollow recitations against its evils. In a tongue-in-cheek editorial in response to the multitude of rumors regarding suicides and damnable debauchery at Monte Carlo, an unnamed British expatriate lamented that it was, indeed, the daily problem of disposing of scores of dead bodies that prevented the city's reputation as a paradise from being fully realized. The resident quipped:

Of course, *if* we residents of Monte Carlo could only be spared the one blot upon the escutcheon – viz. the terrible and obvious necessity of daily witnessing the scores of *corpsees* [*sic*] being withdrawn from the bushes in the exquisite gardens, with those specially made long rakes, also the queue of wagons in attendance simply longing for biz [*sic*] (these cannot well be concealed from the public gaze), ours would, indeed, be the acme of felicity. This notwithstanding, life at Monte Carlo, in summer and winter alike, spells, in short, Paradise. Certain it is that Monte Carlo is a much misunderstood and maligned place.⁸⁷

In discussions of Monte Carlo as a potential site of corruption and moral degeneracy, as well as in the pointed and witty retorts of such claims from supporters, the city earned the mantle of “paradise” well into the twentieth century.

The pattern of discourse depicting Monte Carlo as an Eden, paradise, or even an infernal or fallen paradise developed in the 1880s and conveyed a wide range of (sometimes contradictory) meaning. It continued into the twentieth century and became a permanent part of the city's spatial imaginary. Such paradisiacal depictions of Monte Carlo were so frequent and

87. Plucky, Careful, and Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*, 138. Emphases original.

consistent that it developed into an enduring aspect of the city's projected image, and largely influenced the ways in which vacationers viewed the city throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Numerous references to Monte Carlo as a paradise continued throughout the twentieth century; however, few authors illustrated the city wholly as a paradise, damnable hell, or as an exotic garden paradise in the ways that authors from the 1880s to the 1910s had done. Instead, travelers, casino-promoters, and even detractors merged many interpretations of the city as paradise into a less rigid and likely more faithfully-representative vision. An American, Albin E. Johnson, provided a good example of the impact that Monte Carlo's representations of space had on the collective imaginations of European and American visitors, and gave perhaps the most exemplary illustration of how the city's paradisiacal discourse had helped to shape its spatial imaginary. Johnson's 1937 synopsis concisely captured the pros and cons of Monte Carlo's reign as paradise. He opined that "Monte Carlo, [is] a magic name which evokes pathos and romance. . . . Old Continentals – and others – who are not sure of the hereafter, go there to get a touch of Heaven before they die. . . . In more ways than one Monte Carlo justifies its title: The Garden of Eden, with a little splash of the nether regions thrown in for contrast."⁸⁸

Wheel of Fortune: Risk and Reward in Monte Carlo

Monte Carlo as a site of risk, or chance, reliant on the whims of fortune, also became a substantial way in which both promoters and detractors depicted the casino-resort city. Certainly, success or failure at the gaming tables played a part in this common discursive representation; however, Monte Carlo as a site of chance or risk transcended the roulette wheel, at least in terms of travel descriptions and popular culture. Popular fiction, in particular, frequently made Monte Carlo the scene of chance encounters, risky adventure, scandalous and

88. Albin E. Johnson, Traveller and Raconteur, "Sun-Kissed Southern France," *The Rotarian* (April 1937): 23.

perilous trysts, quickly accumulated fortunes, or damnable and total ruin. While the potential benefits of making a fortune appealed to turn-of-the-century patrons of Monte Carlo, even the heightened emotionality of the risk of ruin carried a certain fascination. Historian Charles Rearick has noted that, at the time “[e]ntertainments laced with risk could serve as escapes from the safely familiar and routine in amusements as well as in work life. Anxiety and foreboding had their attractions.”⁸⁹ For many vacationers in Monte Carlo, the dual aspect of chance and risk, desire and fear, proved alluring and became part of the collective public perception of the city.

For Monte Carlo’s elite and upper-middle class vacationers, yielding to the pleasures of risk and chance required walking a fine line. Experiencing such pleasures meant surrendering one’s fate to divine, or even mystical, forces while not venturing into heedless abandon. It meant experiencing a feverish stirring of emotions and nerves that came with hedonistic recklessness while maintaining a disinterested aloofness and a sense of fair play.⁹⁰ This decadence without depravity and emotionality with restraint served to distinguish between classes. Particularly in cautionary tales of popular fiction, those who embraced this site of risk with little restraint appeared boorish and those who were too fully seduced by the prospects of fortune or chance were ignominiously debased by the place, and often left to disastrous ruin.

Sir Hiram Stevens Maxim keenly observed how the elements of risk and chance proved so much more potent in the public gaming house in Monte Carlo than they did in private societies and clubs, where gambling had long been popular. Maxim considered the public act of gaming superior, specifically in regards to winning and retaining money. He explained that norms and decency would dictate that, if chance favored a particular player in a private society,

89. Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment & Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 207.

90. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 180, 183, and 215.

he should refrain from winning an obscene amount of money, he should offer the unfortunate party a chance to reclaim his losings, and he should be obliged to offer loans to other unfortunate gamblers. In contrast, public gaming came with no such stipulations and there was no informal cap, based on decency and social mores, which could prevent a gambler from maximizing his chances and winning a fortune.⁹¹ These variations between private and public gaming allowed for a much greater risk, and much greater potential accumulation of fortune, at Monte Carlo. Maxim cautioned that a proper gentleman would still exercise restraint in his gambling, but did note that “at Monte Carlo – anything . . . is possible.”⁹²

Many novels stressed the thrill and excitement of great risk at Monte Carlo, especially as an alluring and seductive excitement. Alfred Mortier’s *Taste of Risk* typified positive celebrations of risk at Monte Carlo. His protagonist’s love interest, Wanda, was capricious and primal – a seductive figure for her elusive nature and audacious penchant for risk. Mortier’s character remarked that:

During the time when I was a journalist on the Riviera, I frequented some of the best cosmopolitan places, whose elegance perfectly hid its more mysterious side. This piece is a study of a woman, a slave, which circumstances conduced to choose between two men. Wanda was one of the creatures which grow more numerous in the world; she was a proud and strong soul; she neither listened nor stopped her pleasures; she found this taste of risk seductive; she was not afraid to live dangerously . . . this taste of risk she unraveled in Monte Carlo.⁹³

Mortier’s tale exemplified the contemporary desires for playful danger and nerve-racking, risky games. Charles Rearick noted the propensity of the French for enjoying gambling, games of chance, and particularly roulette – the game of choice at Monte Carlo. He explained that:

91. Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations* by George A. Stevens (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 238-242, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

92. *Ibid.*

93. Alfred Mortier, *Taste of Risk*, reviewed in “La rubrique théâtrale dans les journaux bien pensants,” *Revue des lectures* 22, no. 3, March 15, 1934, 1448.

[T]he widely trumpeted desire for individual liberty or control of one's life did not preclude counterdesires for external determinism, abdication of control; within the limits of play it was apparently enjoyable on occasion to let go of the tasks of willing and reasoning, of being responsible, while anxiously indulging in wild hope and risk. In turning away from the too familiar and predictable, people may also have been fleeing all too predictable amusements, ones that cautiously stuck to hackneyed formulas and stale ingredients.⁹⁴

While resort patrons of all classes and backgrounds appear to have indulged in the excitement of chance at Monte Carlo, too great a taste of risk was disparaged as vulgar and distasteful. A willing surrender to risk came off as enjoyable or charming, but recklessness or overindulgence in risk-taking was condemned as boorish and destructive.

Late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century novels often portrayed Monte Carlo as a site of risk that tempted, seduced, and intoxicated weak or desperate characters. The heightened emotionality of risk was linked to early portrayals of gambling addiction, and compared to drug addiction and alcoholism. Elite patrons, especially women, strove to avoid appearing too anxious or satisfied with their winnings, particularly in light of the increasing number of fictional accounts of gambling, adventure, and intrigue in Monte Carlo. In an authentic account, La Comtesse d'Ange, a member of the Spanish nobility who had married a French aristocrat, wrote of her dismay at her extraordinary luck in the gaming rooms. She had intended to visit Monte Carlo simply to mingle with other *hivernants*, and in doing so had won a great deal of money at roulette and tapis vert. She feared that other elites would think her immoderate or seized with the spirit of gambling because of her exceptional chance. Her fears quickly turned to mortification when, once she had won 40,000 francs from the casino, the management asked her to leave and revoked her entrance card.⁹⁵ Beyond the extreme example of being forced to leave

94. Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque*, 206.

95. Ctesse d'Ange, *La Comtesse d'Ange et Monte-Carlo – 1884* (Nice: V. E. Gauthier, 1884), np., Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V PIECE-5242, FRBNF30020554.

the casino-resort due to good luck, people of d'Ange's station were reluctant to appear overly enthusiastic or enraptured by the element of chance at Monte Carlo.

Fictional counterparts, however, embraced the rush of risk which could be found in the city and at the gaming tables. Varuna Faro, a young woman spurred on by her mother's reckless gambling philosophy, spoke of the rush of risk and chance in Rosa Campbell Praed's novel, *Zéro*, written in 1884, the same year as d'Ange's reflection. She explained that:

[I]t is as fatal as a craving for drink, or another bad propensity. If we did not play we should go mad. You cannot conceive what the excitement of it is, till your stake is put down, and you feel that a mysterious force is at work, which you don't know and never can comprehend, and that it rests on the laws of chance whether your gold is raked away or doubled. What does one care for sermons at a moment when your blood is stirred and you feel yourself *living*? It's like wine to a thirsty drunkard or blood to a wild creature.⁹⁶

Varuna's ignominious description certainly seemed ill-attuned with the prized elite traits of aloofness and restraint in gaming and gambling. However, the heightened emotionality and intoxicating rush of excitement she felt in Monte Carlo's casino typified the public's perception of Monte Carlo as a site of risk or ruin. William Le Queux similarly expressed the intoxicating allure of risk and chance in his early twentieth century novel, *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo*. Le Queux stated:

Those rooms beyond are the haunt of the professional gambler, the man or woman who has been seized by the demon of speculation, just as others have been seized by that of drugs or drink. Curiously enough women are more prone to gamble than men, and the Administration of the Etablissement [*sic*] will tell you that when a woman of any nationality starts to gamble she will become reckless until her last throw with the Devil.⁹⁷

Le Queux's account melded the longstanding gender anxieties associated with public gaming and the religious allusions to the casino resort with this discursive trend of Monte Carlo as a site of risk. Each of these descriptions portrayed the allure of chance as an addiction, intoxication, or

96. Mrs. Campbell Praed, *Zéro: A Story of Monte Carlo* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1884), 187.

97. William Le Queux, *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo* (New York: Macauley, 1921), 11.

even a possession; yet, they did not dismiss the feeling of excitement and the rush of emotions elicited by the prospect of risk and chance. Few fictional authors wholly endorsed the wanton abandon of control to the gaming tables, but they often belabored to illustrate the pleasures and rushes of excitement to be had in this risky entertainment.

Both Praed and Le Queux (as well as many others) wrote that women seemed especially susceptible to regressing from acceptable forms of risky entertainment to addiction and intoxication. Contemporary social science and psychiatry attributed this observation to what they believed was women's increased emotionality, nervousness, and penchant for hysteria. The works of Carl Vogt, Jules Michelet, and Charles Darwin, and even generally more progressive thinkers such as Émile Zola and Edward Carpenter attributed women's increased emotionality to degeneration and thus they argued that women were more inclined to the addiction of risky behavior. Bram Dijkstra has synthesized that "[f]or Carpenter, [a] woman was also much less capable of differentiating between spiritual passion and lust, an ability which he considered characteristic of males 'and which causes them to be aware of a grossness and a conflict in their own natures.'"⁹⁸ These preconceptions filtered into contemporary fiction and authors frequently depicted women as child-minded victims or corrupted, vampiric creatures enslaved to the whims of chance. Praed's novel depicted both archetypes. First, Varuna exhibited a spiritual, divine infatuation with gambling. Her experience with risk could be likened to that of an oracle; she was a victim, resigned to her fate. Praed wrote that:

Her soul seemed to yearn impotently for life – for happiness – as it floated forth upon the measureless sea of the unknown. . . . What did this mean? Was it a prevision of death – of some dire impending fate? A frenzied calm held her bound. Scroll-like the Venetian Sibyl's prediction unfolded itself in air. This was the fateful year. She was powerless. . . . And yonder, where the dome of the

98. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-De-Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 242-243.

Casino stood forth against the blue, whirled the wheel of chance which should decide her destiny.⁹⁹

Praed suggested that Varuna could divine what would happen, but she was nonetheless powerless to affect it. The wheel of chance, Fortuna's alternating wheel of famine and plenty, decided her fate, and Varuna simply relinquished control to it. In contrast, Varuna's mother, Mrs. Fano represented the other archetype. She played recklessly, anxiously, and with great despair. When her stern military friend finally confronted her about her irresponsibility, she replied:

They call me the Vampire of Monte Carlo. They say that while men win gold for me, I draw from them their hearts' blood; and that fortune favours only those who love me blindly – with passion. I have a weird superstition that love, life, destiny – for me – are all in some mysterious way connected with the whirling of that ivory ball. *Bien ne va plus* will be the knell of my fate.¹⁰⁰

Such descriptions not only portrayed the vulgarity of the gambling addict, but they also depicted them as corrupting agents for others. Such fictional accounts played upon the enduring trope of portraying women in Monte Carlo's casino as either helpless victims or as sirens or vamps.

Both authors of fiction and real-life visitors to the casino habitually regarded an excessive taste of risk as an altering force, a corrupt virus, or a feverish agent; morbidity and mortal self-danger were further manifestations of the overenthusiasm for risk at the casino-resort. Praed once again displayed the animalistic fervor of the gambling addict when a Colonel approached the Fano women and chastised them for their imprudence. “Ah, madame,” he said, when he had made his greetings with his usual suave courtesy, “you worship chance after the fashion of those tribes who sacrifice new-born infants upon the altar of their god,” and in response to a recent suicide, he noted that “[a]ready the ghouls of the Casino have rifled the body; and I overheard a certain lady congratulating herself upon having secured a lock of the dead man's hair as a sure

99. Praed, *Zéro*, 252.

100. *Ibid.*, 263.

talisman against ill-fortune.”¹⁰¹ Praed made the barbarism of the tale apparent and many other authors echoed that savagery in their fictional accounts. The Monte Carlo suicide, a frequent enough occurrence but a phenomenon which was vastly overrepresented in literature, popular accounts, and treatises against the casino, became a morbidly trendy incident to observe.

Visitors tacitly accepted the sight of a suicide as a good luck charm. Plucky and his two co-authors humorously quipped that visiting Monte Carlo proved indeterminably nervy for those who confused the near constant shots at the *Tir aux Pigeons* on the terrace below with fatal rings of the rumored scores of suicides.¹⁰²

Comparable to O. Plucky, B. Careful, and C. Wisdom’s satirical account of scores of corpses being raked through the streets at night, gambling critics such as William Henry Bishop could not resist tongue-in-cheek mockery of the city’s risk-seeking adventurers who craved to see a suicide. When Bishop’s protagonist, Leonard Bond, was asked whether or not he had witnessed suicides or other horrors at that “great maelstrom, Monte Carlo,” the character acidly replied, “[n]o, I’ve had rather bad luck in that line; it’s tiresomely tame and respectable when I go. They say the woods are full of suicides, but they have a way of carting them off and tidying up things before anybody can get around.”¹⁰³ Bishop seemed remarkably attuned to the potential allure of these macabrely disastrous events, and his novel fixated on the question of how vacationers could be so fascinated by such grim fates. Leonard even expressed skepticism toward pamphlets which “ostensibly [promised] a fierce blast at Monte Carlo” and highlighted the resort’s alleged thievery, ruinous nature, and actions as “a fell promoter of suicides and

101. *Ibid.*, 148.

102. Plucky, Careful, and Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*, 174.

103. William Henry Bishop, *A Pound of Cure: A Story of Monte Carlo* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1894), 52.

murder,” but which he suspected were “often mere subtle advertising in disguise.”¹⁰⁴ These British novels and anecdotes demonstrated that even grisly death, suicide, and the macabre aspects of risk attracted a number of the resorts guests, and inspired sharp satire of their behavior by novelists and humorists.

A great number of novels and anecdotes, however, relied on describing the love of risk as a fever or illness. Robert Service illustrated the fevered dream of a young woman, enraptured by the possibilities of chance. He described her experience at the roulette table, where “[a] sudden vision of fortune [which] dazzled her. ‘If. . .’ Ah! that pregnant ‘if’ that gamblers use in victory and defeat. The tragedy of that ‘if.’ The virus was already in her veins, and she went home to dream of whirring roulette wheels and the smiles of fortune.”¹⁰⁵ Relatedly, Le Queux believed that “[t]he gambling fever is as infectious as the influenza,” while Guy Thorne described the:

votaries of Chance press[ing] inward to the very sanctum of their Temple . . . [where] for a moment all three were silent. The spirit of chance, the terrible fever of the gambler was in their blood, and even the tough old major, an *habitué* [*sic*] of every gambling hell in Europe, shared for a moment the emotion of his companions as they surveyed the supreme Temple of Chance.¹⁰⁶

Hiram Maxim, portrayed the gambling fever in more bestial terms. Maxim recalled that:

there were many objectionable characters who were constant frequenters of the Casino . . . There was one old woman whom I particularly noticed . . . Seated at the table with her hooked nose, claw-like hands, and peculiar hat, she looked curiously enough like a bird of prey, or, I might say, a human spider concealed under her web. It often occurred that lady plungers would stake on so many chances that they were quite unable to keep track of their money. One moment's hesitation on their part, and out went the claw from under the hat, and the winnings disappeared like magic. Then again, a lady might stake a louis on each of half a dozen *transversales*; out would snap the claw, and by a dexterous sleight-of-hand movement she would transfer one of the louis to another chance, and cover the gold louis with her own five-franc piece.¹⁰⁷

104. *Ibid.*, 43.

105. Service, *The Poisoned Paradise*, 63.

106. Le Queux, *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo*, 16; Guy Thorne, *Chance in Chains: A Story of Monte Carlo* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1914), 132-134.

107. Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies*, 208.

An illustration of the bestial purloiner accompanied his vivid description. The sketch shows the woman with her head down and a web-like hat sitting on her head. Her harpy-like hands extend over the table, unnaturally clawed, mangled, and twisted. She is angular, perched, and poised, a predator ready to strike at any unlucky victim (Figure 3.10).¹⁰⁸ Both Maxim's description and Stevens's accompanying illustration portrayed the woman as an animalistic, predatory creature. There could be no mistaking humanity in the descriptions, as her lust for money and good fortune were seen as inhuman.

The author and illustrator further demonstrated this bestial tendency for the uninhibited gambling and the taste for risk with a description of a rapid player, rushing from one table to another to play, and an accompanying illustration. The illustrator spared the overly enthusiastic gambler the gross disfigurement of 'the Human Spider,' but still sketched the man in bestial terms. He appears as a frantic vermin, vole-like with whiskers, large close-set eyes, and pinched hands. He scrambles from table to table, dropping chips along the way to the

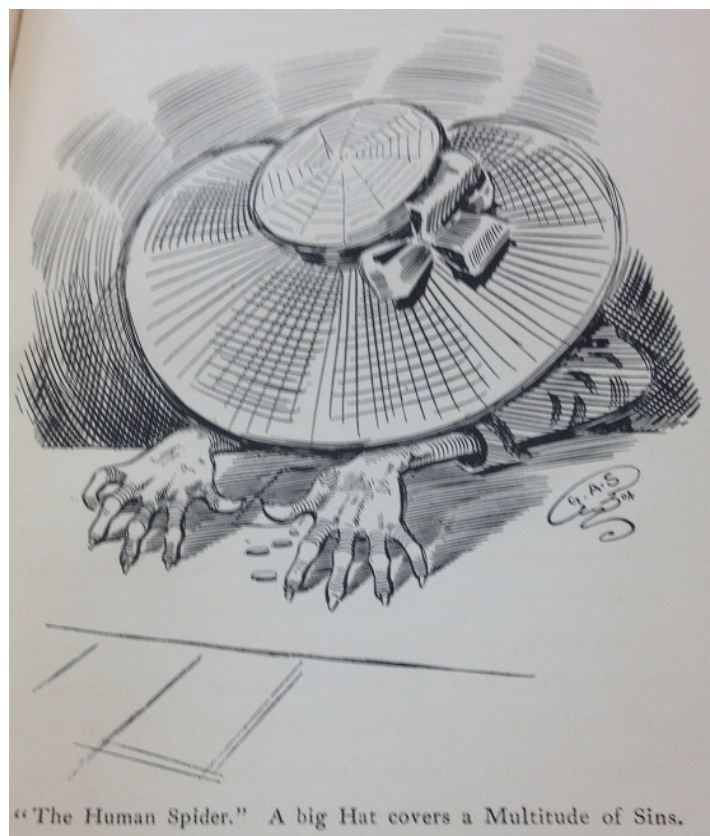


Figure 3.10. George A. Stevens, "The Human Spider.' A Big Hat Covers a Multitude of Sins," ca. 1904. (Source: Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies*)

108. George A. Stevens, "The Human Spider.' A Big Hat Covers a Multitude of Sins," black and white illustration in Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations by George A. Stevens* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 209, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

great amusement of the more reserved onlookers in the background. The men in the background stand poised and calm, with their hands in their pockets, and smile and laugh at the scrambling rodent-like man; the women look on in pity or disgust (Figure 3.11).¹⁰⁹ For each of these unsavory portrayals, from the animalistic, bestial characters to those intoxicated and infected with the fever of gambling, the authors attributed the gamblers' unhappy fates to the lack of restraint in dealing with risk and chance.

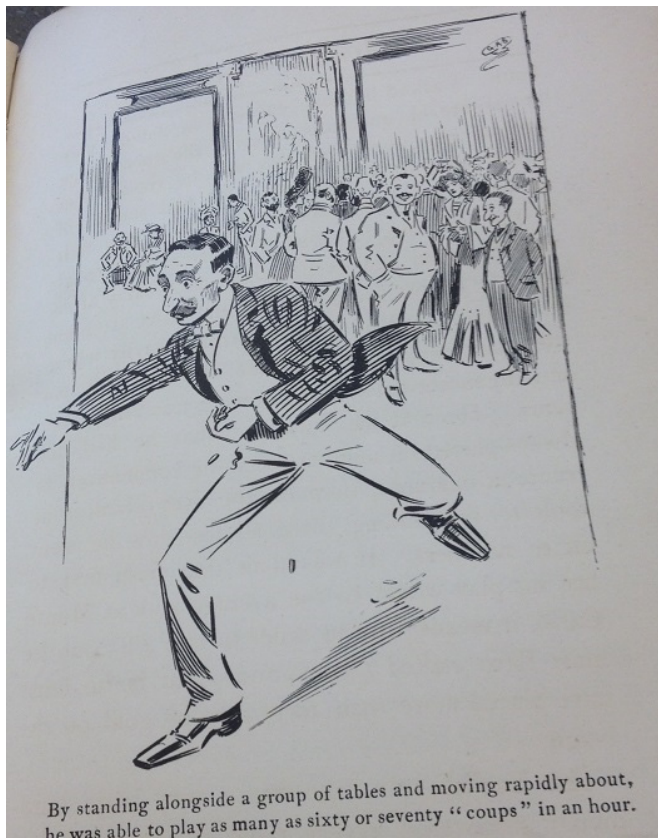


Figure 3.11. George A. Stevens, “By standing alongside a group of tables and moving rapidly about, he was able to play sixty or seventy ‘coups’ in an hour,” ca. 1904. (Source: Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies*)

Despite the plethora of cautionary tales and disturbing portrayals in novels and popular fiction, the taste of risk and the chance of fortune that could be found in Monte Carlo stirred the public's imagination and remained an indelible part of the city's image. For a great number of vacationers, the prospect of striking it rich in Monte Carlo meant that the city retained an attractive magnetism. However, stories of gambling exploits did the most to stir the public imagination. Charles Wells, a lucky British gambler, exhausted the reserves of a roulette table at Monte Carlo's casino in

109. George A. Stevens, “By standing alongside a group of tables and moving rapidly about, he was able to play sixty or seventy ‘coups’ in an hour,” black and white illustration in Sir Hiram Maxim, *Monte Carlo Facts and Fallacies: With Illustrations by George A. Stevens* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 227, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

1891; exaggerated news of his exploits spread quickly, and he soon became known as the man who broke the bank at Monte Carlo. Camille Blanc delighted in the stories surrounding Wells, because his success story led to a rapid increase of play at the casino, increasing profits by 4% within the year. However, it was Fred Gilbert's song, "The Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo" that cemented the city's place in European and American popular culture. Famously performed by British music hall great, Charles Coburn, the song became a hit in both Great Britain and the United States and was translated and performed in France as well. The popular lyrics went, "As I walk along in the Bois de Boulong [*sic*] with an independent air, / You can hear the girls declare, he must be a millionaire, / Oh, and then they sigh and wish to die, / And they turn and wink the other eye, / It's the man who broke the bank at Monte Carlo."¹¹⁰ The song lyrics, and its popularity, did much to disseminate the idea that the whims of chance could earn a lucky visitor a fortune at the casino-resort.

In both positive and negative ways, then, Monte Carlo as a site of risk and chance became a central part of how visitors, travel authors, and popular writers spoke and wrote about the city. The rush of emotion and excitement that could be had from the sense of risk in Monte Carlo was a popular element of contemporary entertainment. A brief loss of control and relief of responsibility proved attractive for visitors. However, as travelogue anecdotes and novel depictions indicated, being too enraptured by the taste for risk could yield socially, morally, and financially damaging results. Even lucky winning streaks, as Comtesse d'Ange found out, could impugn an elite's social standing. The taste of risk at Monte Carlo lent the city an exciting, enchanting air, especially in fictional representations, but too much indulgence with risk and games of chance was frowned upon in practice.

110. Fred Gilbert, *The Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo*, (1893) quoted in Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo and Its Fabled Casino* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), 96.

Against All Odds: Monte Carlo as a Site Where Anything Could Happen

“At Monte Carlo the unexpected is always happening, and you will see things occurring almost every day, against which the odds should be over a million to one!”¹¹¹ Victor Bethell’s observation perfectly encapsulates the final major pattern of discourse regarding the city: Monte Carlo was a site where anything was possible. In many ways, this pattern of discourse was an extension of the aforementioned portrayals of Monte Carlo as a site of chance and risk. Indeed, Monte Carlo’s link to boundless potentialities was largely associated with what could happen at the gambling tables. Most gaming system pamphlets and travelogues included anecdotes of strange and unlikely occurrences at the roulette table. The city’s reputation was widespread, however. An author writing under the pseudonym Casse Noisette of Sussex, echoed Bethell by remarking “It is only the unexpected which happens at Monte Carlo; things occur, we might say, almost daily, about which over a million to one would be the odds.”¹¹² Beyond the gambling references, both visitors to Monte Carlo and popular authors considered the city a site of endless possibilities in other ways. For one, the astounding array of entertainments, novelties, and diversions astounded visitors with their breadth, frequency, and extravagance. Visitors wrote of each day as holding an unexpected promise and unimagined possibilities. For another, the wide variety of persons in the casino-resort from day to day, both in station and nationality, offered patrons seemingly endless opportunities for social encounters or mere exhibition. For the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century vacationer, Monte Carlo appeared, in many ways, as a place where anything could happen.

111. Victor Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play* (London: William Heinemann, 1910), 185. The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

112. Casse Noisette, “untitled letter to the editor,” Nuthurst, Sussex, in O. Plucky, B. Careful, and C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette: Interesting to Players and Non-players, on Sale at all Libraries, Kiosks, Railway Stations* (London: Edmund Seale, 1913), 35.

As early as 1875, composer Charles Mathieu Domergue expressed shock at the variety of entertainments offered to visitors of the principality. Domergue was astounded to hear a matinee of classical pieces from the orchestra only to be treated to a “Roman Carnavalesque” in the evening; he observed that concert-goers mirrored what one would expect from the two disparate events: sober and reserved in the morning and bawdy during the evening show.¹¹³ Domergue did not elaborate on the number of patrons who attended both shows, as he did, but his account demonstrated that visitors’ behavior changed to match the form of entertainment (or that the two entertainments attracted markedly different audiences). Later in the century, Liégeard also articulated his amazement at the breadth of aural entertainments in Monte Carlo, but expressed greater appreciation for the variety of quality entertainment than had Domergue. He opined that:

Those who appreciate it now need to come to Monte Carlo and enjoy the good taste in music. Then, when the drama dies down and the lyric is silent, the operetta takes his little flute up. . . . And all it costs is passing the time and taking the trouble to sit down, opening [one’s] eyes and ears; because the administration of the Casino, personified by M. Wagatha, practice hospitality that has never known Scotland.¹¹⁴

Perhaps obscured by Liégeard’s jab at cheapskates and pikers appeared an astute observation: world-class entertainment, in a variety of sorts, from gruff comedic plays to edifying, orchestral concerts was available to casino-resort vacationers, often for free or at a reasonable price. The extensive scope of entertainment proved an enticement for customers, but also brought visitors from a variety of classes and nationalities together to enjoy the same attractions. The ease of access to high cultural entertainments made Monte Carlo, in some ways, a unique site among contemporary European vacation destinations for middle class tourists to experience such

113. Charles Mathieu Domergue, *Les Jeudis des Monte Carlo, Impressions Musicales – 1875* (Nice: 1875), 103, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, V-36875, D4-954 L 4.40-A.

114. Liégeard, *La Côte d’Azur*, 258. The reference to Scottish hospitality comes from a common contemporary stereotype and witticism that the Scots (as well as the Welsh) were miserly. Liégeard was extolling the extravagance of Monte Carlo through this common turn of phrase.

diversions; conversely, the reduced relative rarity of these events, and the resort's proclivity for inclusive entertainments proved less attractive to elite visitors.¹¹⁵

The city seemed to exercise an agency in and of itself; according to vacationers and popular culture accounts, it affected the very behavior of its patrons. Wolfgang Vennemann believed that Monaco forced one to act in a more pleasure-seeking, carefree, and lighthearted manner. He described Monaco as “a country where the heart beats faster, where the light spirit takes wings, where life ceases to be heavy on your shoulders, where you tire of thinking.”¹¹⁶ Vennemann refused to believe that life's experiences, even the feeling of the sun or the air, could be the same in:

Dungeness Stockholm, Riga, or in London [when b]etween the towering cliffs that separate them from the sullen regions of Europe, Monte Carlo and Monaco [are] cloaked as a bouquet which celebrates the pleasure of living, the joy of breathing, the happiness of going straight ahead toward the blue. It is awake to the rays of a sun which rose on Persia, Turkey, Greece and Italy before sliding between the blades of the [mountainous] blinds. It must be imagined everything that is brought to such a traveller when he opens his eyelids here: the roses of Isfahan, the bulbuls of Trebizond, the laurels of the Eurotas and the delights of Florence.¹¹⁷

Vennemann's flowery language emphasized exotic locales and even bygone empires; it evoked the enchantment and intrigue of Mediterranean and 'Oriental' lands. This affecting force of place was well-recorded by the casino administration and the SBM as well. Promotional materials and an art guide published later in the century observed that “[t]he sense of a fabled

115. *Monte Carlo -- Société des Bains de Mer et du Cercle des Étrangers à Monaco: Programme* (Monaco: SBM, 1970), np., S. R. Shapiro Collection 1016, Box 1, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada. The SBM spent decades trying to resolve this issue. The extreme range of entertainment options continues to the present day; however, the high-culture and edifying entertainment options gradually became more restricted and isolated from other options. A 1970 SBM program indicated that entertainments such as an 1880s New Orleans night club, the Stuttgart Ballet, plays by Moliere, concerts featuring works by Debussy, Beethoven, and Verdi, and regatta races were separated in private clubs, associations, or passes from other, more accessible public activities such as golf tournaments, “folklore days” featuring singing, painting, music, and poetry from English, Czech, Portuguese, Italian, and French groups, and even bowling.

116. Wolfgang Vennemann, *Monte Carlo – 1936*, (1936), 5, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, L 1.4-M3-6261, D1-551 L 1.4-M3-6261.

117. Ibid.

and pleasure-oriented past surrounds the Principality and lends a special presence to the city. . . . A bold confrontation between this noble repository of old world culture and the rather formidable [one] of our time.”¹¹⁸ This agency of place, a sort of active terroir, was credited with the fabled popularization of sunbathing, when Coco Chanel and Josephine Baker, struck with an impulsive notion one afternoon, stripped nude to soak up the sun on the Duke of Westminster’s yacht near the beach at Monte Carlo.¹¹⁹ Others who indulged in adventurous whims, from similarly sunbathing to motor boating or tandem skiing, likewise attributed their actions to agency of place.¹²⁰ Clearly, a number of visitors to Monte Carlo noticed a difference in actions among themselves and others. Whether or not these vacationers truly felt a compulsion of place, or simply used the tale in order to act in extraordinary ways or engage in otherwise unlikely activities, the lore that Monte Carlo was imbued with a sense of agency itself affected the behavior of these patrons.

For those hostile toward the city’s gaming industry, visitors’ predilections for behavioral changes proved particularly alarming. In *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo*, William Le Queux acerbically observed:

When one is at ‘Monty’ one is not in a Wesleyan chapel. English men and women when they go to the Riviera leave their morals at home with their silk hats and Sunday gowns. And it is strange to see the perfectly respectable Englishwoman admiring the same daring costumes of the French pseudo-‘countesses’ at which they have held up their hands in horror when they have seen them pictured in the papers wearing those latest ‘creations’ of the Place Vendome.

118. *Monte-Carlo Sculpture 87: Dans le Cadre du Printemps des Arts*, color pamphlet, (Monte Carlo, April 14 – September 1987), np., William Thompson Collection 87-063, Box 1 France & Monaco, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

119. “The Sun, the Sea . . . and the Swimmers: Bathing in Monte-Carlo,” *Society: The Magazine of the Societe des Bains de Mer* 7 no. 2 (Summer 1987): 24, William Thompson Collection 87-063, Box 1 France & Monaco, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

120. *Monte-Carlo, règles des jeux, casino de Monte-Carlo, album souvenir – 1950*, (Monte Carlo: 1950), 8-9, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, FOL-V PIECE-2238, D3-804 L 4.31-A.

Yes. It is a hypocritical world, and nowhere is canting hypocrisy more apparent than inside the Casino at Monte Carlo.¹²¹

Le Queux painted a picture of a place with loosened social mores. His portrayal cannot be wholly attributed to anonymity, since in his novel (and in many other authors' works, for that matter) the victims of Monte Carlo's allure were well known by their peers and often around friends and family. Instead, Le Queux and others attributed the change in behavior to the lure of the roulette table and to the place itself. He continued with his description of the corruption of English morals and values at Monte Carlo. Le Queux remarked that "[h]ere English duchesses rubbed shoulders with the most notorious women in Europe, and men who at home in England were good churchmen and exemplary fathers of families, laughed merrily with the most gorgeously attired cocottes from Paris, or the stars of the film world or the variety stage."¹²² In this passage, Le Queux not only expressed a bit of British exceptionalism in terms of an expectation for Protestant sobriety and respectability, but also that the very international nature of Monte Carlo's gaming rooms (so much celebrated by travelogues and so heavily promoted by the casino-resort management) proved the corrupting agents. In a satirical passage, O. Plucky & Co. wrote about the convenient rendezvous of "extended family" that seemed to occur at Monte Carlo. The trio remarked of Monte Carlo, Nice, and the French Riviera, that it was:

Strange the number of gentlemen there who have a niece living with them for companionship; also how many men have sisters there which in England we never knew they had. We called on a friend's brother recently, and were informed that he was engaged with his niece who was staying there with him. As a matter of fact, our friend's daughters were his only nieces, and they were all in Angleterre taking their mother out to dances. Our informant must have been in error.¹²³

According to these authors, anyone British visitors encountered at Monte Carlo could be a potential source of corruption. The games themselves were dangerous, but the close association

121. Le Queux, *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo*, 12.

122. *Ibid.*, 10.

123. Plucky, Careful, and Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*, 110.

of upright British vacationers with Eastern Europeans and Parisian demimondaine emerged as an additional threat to their respectability, sobriety, and moral goodness. Guy Thorne described the city as a cold, corrupting, mechanical agent, a “soulless, ruinous machine.”¹²⁴ Le Queux similarly believed that Monte Carlo inherently tainted those who ventured there, but thought that the crowd it generally attracted certainly aided the process. He portrayed the group which visited the casino-resort as an “irresponsible crowd – the cosmopolitans of the world: politicians, financiers, merchants, princes, authors, and artists – the crowd which puts off its morals as easily as it discards its fur coats and its silk hats, and which lives only for gaiety and without thought of the morrow.”¹²⁵ In Thorne and Le Queux’s works, Monte Carlo itself acted as a morally dangerous place; their novels were meant to entertain, but also to warn of the dangers of venturing to the principality without having the strongest character and soberest will.

Conversely, Paul Poulgy’s novel, *La fin de Monte Carlo*, and the 1927 film of the same name, were critically condemned for glorifying the immoral behavior supposedly bred at Monte Carlo. The *Revue des lectures* panned both products, first invalidating the value of Paul Poulgy’s *La Fin de Monte-Carlo* and then noting that “the film version also initially comes across as a frightening adventure, a fantastic con.”¹²⁶ The review continued its commentary on “[t]his melodramatic recitation, of bad taste, disjointed yet alluring through its distorted philosophy” and remarked that it “is no less dangerous by the sophisms of its immorality [than the resort itself]. Both work toward an apology for prostitution.”¹²⁷ The review demonstrated that, in addition to authors frequently writing about pleasure and seduction in Monte Carlo, book critics also recognized the city’s reputation and their critiques did little to distinguish between

124. Thorne, *Chance in Chains*, 102.

125. Le Queux, *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo*, 17.

126. “La rubrique théâtrale dans les journaux bien pensants” review of Paul Poulgy, *La fin de Monte Carlo* in *Revue des lectures* 16, no. 9, September 15, 1928.

127. *Ibid.*

reality and fiction. Despite the poor review, the film version proved popular with audiences, particularly in France and Portugal, and Monte Carlo as a site of pleasure, hedonism, romance, and intrigue became a trope in late silent-era and early talkie films. The director of *La Fin de Monte-Carlo*, Mario Nalpas, expressed a continual fascination with Monte Carlo.¹²⁸ He featured the city in over half of the films he directed and featured alluring, attractive women, such as Josephine Baker and Francesca Bertini, as exotic temptresses or demimondaine in Monte Carlo. The loosened morals at Monte Carlo, in travel accounts, novels, and on the big screen unsettled some of the city's visitors, but also heartily stirred the public's imagination.

In his semi-autobiographical novel *Sur l'Eau*, Guy de Maupassant likewise emphasized that the principality itself affected visitors. For Maupassant, the unique sounds and commotions generated from the casino-resort altered behavior. He recounted that his free will was arrested from the moment he entered the door of the casino. When he entered, he encountered “[a] noise of money, continuous as waves, a deep noise at once light and terrible, [which] fills the ears from the first moment one enters, then fills your soul, stirs the heart, bothers the mind, and bewilders one's thoughts. Everywhere is this sound, this singing, crying, calling, tempting, and rending sound.”¹²⁹ While visitors had predominantly focused on the sense of sight at Monte Carlo, Maupassant was overwhelmed, bewildered, and bombarded by the noise. His description of hearing the hum of noise from his yacht in the harbor, being drawn to the sound, and his eventual loss of control and disorientation from the clamor harkens back to the numerous allusions of Monte Carlo as a siren. In this depiction, the city had the agency in and of itself to lure and disorient travelers.

128. See the following Nalpas films which fully or partially feature Monte Carlo: *La Fin de Monte Carlo*, directed by Mario Nalpas and Henri Étievant, Centrale Cinematographique, 1927; *Siren of the Tropics*, directed by Mario Nalpas and Henri Étievant, La Centrale Cinematographique, 1927; and *Montecarlo*, directed by Mario Nalpas, no production information available, 1928.

129. Maupassant, *Sur l'Eau*, 126.

Plucky, Careful, and Wisdom provided the best synthesis of this discursive trend, when they highlighted Monte Carlo's apparent agency and the boundless possibilities that seemingly existed in the city. They remarked that:

Perhaps the greatest charm about Monte Carlo is that there is no place in the world quite like it. Not only is it beautiful, but the climate is perfect. Every one who can possibly do so gravitates to Monte sooner or later. **There is a magnetism about the place;** other towns may be, and are, as brilliant and gay, and where cleanliness and hygiene are as much thought about, with splendid shops, boulevards and gardens, yet not to have seen Monte's famous halls, gardens and terrace (the chatting-place of many celebrities) leaves a sense of something unaccomplished. **Everybody comes – anything can happen. Nothing is too strange to happen at Monte Carlo, and it is only ordinary things which never do.** It is no more wicked than other places, and is dangerous only for born gamblers and the unwary. We who are much travel-stained know there are spots on the sun, but not a spot upon the earth more nearly approaching Paradise."¹³⁰

Plucky and company assigned a great deal of agency to Monte Carlo, which they viewed as having an innate magnetism and attractiveness. The belief that the city was the site of extraordinary happenings and boundless possibilities played no small part in this description.

The most pervasive portrayals of Monte Carlo as a site where anything could happen had to do with the range of guests at the casino-resort and who one might see on a typical visit to the gaming room or to Ciro's for dinner. The prospect of rubbing shoulders with royalty, nobility, or celebrities punctuated travel accounts from the city's earliest days, and certainly impacted Monte Carlo's reputation for romance and intrigue in popular culture representations. Elite vacationers treasured this trend, because it established the vacation-resort as a rendezvous for other elites or aristocrats. For the middle and lower classes, the potential of seeing a reigning monarch or a famous author sparked excitement. For still others, seeing the great diversity of patrons in the casino-resort, from rich to poor, Easterners to Westerners, provided an incomparable cosmopolitan spectacle. Monte Carlo's very inclusiveness afforded the promise of spectacle and

130. Plucky, Careful, and Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*, 23-24. Emphasis my own.

excitement. The entertainment for some of the resort's patrons rested in simply seeing who else shared the experience of the vacation resort with them.

Monte Carlo's reputation as a place of rendezvous for the world's elite was an early and defining aspect of its projected image. Since the late-eighteenth-century days of Tobias Smollett and later Lord Henry Brougham, the principality had been well-noted for its ability to attract celebrated elites.¹³¹ This trend accelerated after the creation of Monte Carlo, and Jules Bessi noted in 1874 that "[f]ew cities offer as many resources as Monte Carlo, which cosmopolitan people that like artistic pleasures [enjoy]. Each year, in fact, especially during the winter, there is a reunion of elite society from the major nations of Europe."¹³² Travel guides and even detractors' accounts followed suit, largely unchanged to the present day. Guidebooks noted the principality's role as a gathering place for the world's elites.¹³³ Additionally, authors of travelogues and personal accounts made sure to list the number of famous guests, their titles, ranks, and nationalities as a given part of their discussion of Monte Carlo.¹³⁴ Unsurprisingly, this emphasis on high society at Monte Carlo filtered into fictional accounts of the city.

131. Ronald K. Huch, *Lord Henry Brougham: the Later Years 1830-1868: "The Great Actor"* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), 181, 183.

132. Bessi, *Monaco et Monte-Carlo*, 8.

133. This and similar descriptions of Monte Carlo as a rendezvous of the world's elite created one of the most common descriptors of the city from the 1860s until the 1930s, and to a slightly lesser degree in the present day. For further examples please see Ernest Bosc, *Histoire des crimes et des suicides du tripot de Monte-Carlo, par J.-Marcus de Vèze (Ernest Bosc)* (Paris: L. Vanier, 1888), 19, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, FRBNF30133952; Henry Auxouteaux de Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty: Paris à Nice Monaco-Menton*, (Paris: 4 Boulevard des Italiens, 1897), 268, 281, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 16-L27-245, D1-552 L 2.3-A; Paulin Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles*, 132, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V-20761, D3 L 3.33-A; and *Cannes-Nice-Monte-Carlo-Cote d'Azur. Riviera-guide. Saison 1925-1926*, 5th year, (1925), 41, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-L17-128 (A), D1-552 L 2.3-A.

134. For examples please see Dorothy Constance Bayliff Peel, *Life's Enchanted Cup: An Autobiography (1872-1933)* (London: John Lane, 1933), 121-123; Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir: Le Passe et le Present Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice: Editions de la Ste de Publicite des Pays D'azur, 1903), 215-216, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-K-3694; Liégeois, *La Côte d'Azur*, 256; and V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), 131.

Most popular works which fixated on elites, nobility, and celebrities in Monte Carlo emphasized the ability for ordinary people to mingle, interact, or simply observe these famous figures. Maupassant, who made a point of emphasizing that his section regarding Monte Carlo in *Sur l'Eau* was a departure from the rest of the mostly fictionalized story, and largely reflected upon his genuine experience of the city, expressed a fascination with the coalescing of high and low society in the gaming rooms. The noted author remarked that:

The casino rooms are as readily accessible to strangers as the Prince's Palace are difficult. . . . Around the tables [are] a motley crowd of players, the dregs of every continent and every nation; mixed with sovereigns, future kings, ladies of fashion, the middle class, money lenders, disreputable women; a crowd unique to all the world, of men of all races, of all castes, of all kinds, of every origin; a perfect menagerie of adventurers from Russia, Brazil, Chili, Italy, Spain, Germany; of old women with glasses, of disreputable youth carrying little purses, handkerchiefs, and the last three five-francs meant for play, when their stroke of luck will chance to return.¹³⁵

Maupassant's description of a menagerie was also rather animalistic in terms (if somewhat kinder than Maxim's bestial portrayals). His emphasis on diversity and the ability to encounter either the dregs of society or respected sovereigns embodied the discursive trend that anything could happen in Monte Carlo and remained consistent with a number of other accounts, both fictional and real.

Monte Carlo's reputation of being a place where anything could happen drew in visitors who wished to intermingle with celebrities, but it also lured vacationers fascinated by the very international and cosmopolitan spectacle that could be found in the gaming rooms. In 1885, Paulin Blanc had written in his travelogue that "[t]he Casino of Monte-Carlo recruits its clientele from all the ranges of society and from all the countries of the world. From waiters to princes. From Brazilians to Chinese and all in between."¹³⁶ While elites and celebrities received the

135. Maupassant, *Sur l'Eau*, 126-127.

136. Paulin Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles*, 140.

majority of attention in nineteenth century travel accounts, the range of visitors portrayed in Blanc's narrative lent an aura of intrigue and excitement to Monte Carlo's projected image. The image of kings and queens strolling, playing, eating, and drinking near all ranges of society also seemed disorienting and fantastic. In his novel, *Chance in Chains*, Guy Thorne described this surreal, dream-like phenomenon. He wrote of a typical night in Monte Carlo:

By this time the rooms were thronged with people of all nationalities. The wealthiest millionaires of London, Paris and Vienna rubbed shoulders with well-dressed scoundrels known to the police of all three capitals. There was a reigning king present – a tall, elderly man with a long white beard – half the nobilities of Europe were represented. The most expensive and extravagant toilets to be found anywhere in the world at that hour were seen on either side, and yet there was a proportion of the players as poor in worldly goods as Ethel McMahan and her mother themselves; retired army men in whom the gambling fever burned and would burn until their death, young spendthrifts who had come to spend their all upon a last chance, financial defaulters who hoped by one smile of the goddess Fortune to restore money which was not theirs, and to yet preserve their honour in the eyes of the world. And through this motley and brilliant crowd the strangest crowd in Europe, in the strangest place – Ethel and her mother moved as if in a dream.¹³⁷

The spectacle of throngs of people from all different nationalities, social standing, and wealth contributed to the dream-like aesthetic advanced by the casino-resort management. In the minds of vacationers, one could see the highest and the lowest in Monte Carlo's famed gaming rooms.

For some, a visit to Monte Carlo promised interaction with any of a number of their social circle, business contacts, or civic leaders. For these visitors, their experience in Monte Carlo was not wholly a pleasure trip, but served social and business functions as well. Victor Bethell explained that the process of interacting with social and commercial acquaintances began on the "Train de Luxe" on the way to Monte Carlo, where he dined and engaged with "M.P.'s, City Men, and barristers," and engaged in "whist-parties . . . principally amongst the

137. Thorne, *Chance in Chains*, 146-147.

barristers.”¹³⁸ Once at the resort, Bethell socialized and schmoozed with acquaintances from stock brokers, M.P.s, barristers, nobility, the “legal and political element,” artists, foreign notables, and “London Society.”¹³⁹ While such interactions did not necessarily straddle the line between business and pleasure, Bethell did explicitly note that he conducted meaningful business arrangements and made useful contacts during his trip. Such social engagements, thus, sometimes yielded more than a pleasurable social exchange or the courteous acknowledgment of a colleague. They had a tangible impact on work and social life when one returned from the vacation. Other travelers found ample opportunities for socializing. Some social obligations at the casino-resort often proved inescapable; Stéphen Liégeard painted a vivid picture of the practice as it occurred in the casino atrium. His account underscored the myriad opportunities for networking, socializing, entertainment, and pleasure which occurred in the atrium (and presumably other areas of interaction) at the resort, and suggested once again that anything could happen in Monte Carlo. He ambivalently remarked that:

We found [the atrium] between parties and flirting, there a hello or exchange of a joke, is given in an intermission. Everyone fraternizes with the rest of the black coats, the grande dame is upset with them for being grazed by too little; a common ground meeting, sanctuary or destruction, as you please. One speaks, while rolling a cigarette, not of the rain that never falls or the beautiful weather that always shines, but England and Tonkin,¹⁴⁰ the last Cassagnac article, new modes of merriment, of the operetta that has just passed, this, that, and many others things. You shake, by the way, the hand of the Governor General and ask some small favor at the convenience of its spiritual robust secretary, Mr. Charles Jolivot,¹⁴¹ unless you prefer to go over three or four hundred periodicals that dot the tables in the international reading room.”¹⁴²

The author suggested that conversation was largely relegated to issues external to the pleasures and distractions of the principality and casino-resort. His account tacitly demonstrated that

138. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense*, 38.

139. *Ibid.*, 45-47, 101-102.

140. France had recently acquired Tonkin as a protectorate territory as a result of the Sino-French War.

141. A Monégasque numismatist.

142. Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 256.

subtle interactions with notable figures in these meeting rooms could generate favors and advantageous positions in social or business matters. In a separate memoir from 1879, Liégeard recounted with amazement the many social contacts he had been able to make in Monte Carlo at the *Palais des Beaux Arts*. He remembered that the visit proved incomparably beneficial to him “along with ‘Tout-Paris’ which [truly] included most of Paris. . . . [I encountered] former colleagues in the house, sculptors, painters, journalists, and so many notables of politics and sport.”¹⁴³ For Liégeard, the reputation of Monte Carlo as a place where anything can happen was largely true, but it was not relegated to the realm of pleasure. Liégeard recognized, took advantage of, and sometimes rued the requirement to engage with a number of notable persons or social contacts who, at any given time, were sure to be found in the principality.

Comparably, Victor Bethell recognized that the upper classes ventured to Monte Carlo in order to build contacts, but also primarily because it was an expected social obligation. He insisted that:

As long as the world exists gambling is sure to continue. Of late years it seems to have increased its hold upon the members of the Upper Classes. Fortunately most of them take to it more as a pastime than a vice. They gamble to amuse themselves, and few of them lose more than they can afford. Some take it up in the same way that many others take to cycling, playing golf, and Bridge i.e. more or less because they are driven to it. They visit Monte Carlo and Ostend because all their friends go there, and having arrived, they find that they are 'out of it' unless they join in the universal pastime of Roulette.¹⁴⁴

For these upper class patrons, Bethell surmised that sociability, not an innate love of gambling or gaming pleasures, served as the primary motive for their travels to Monte Carlo. The crowds which Bethell described not only believed the adage that one could see anyone in Monte Carlo,

143. Stéphen Liégeard “Untitled Memoire,” January 25, 1879, quoted in Stéphen Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur* (Paris: Quantin, 1887), 256. Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8- L17- 35 (A).

144. Victor Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play*, preface.

but also that they were bound by a social obligation to visit, or even winter in, the casino-resort where they knew many of their peers would be staying.¹⁴⁵

The city's reputation as an elite rendezvous and as a place where one could rub shoulders with royalty, nobility, and celebrities served as a powerful marketing tool for the SBM; however, it also served as a target for popular authors and filmmakers (and even some personal accounts) who portrayed the city as incomparably snobby, garish, and superficial. The short story, *Woman's Beauty – At a Price: A Romance of Monte Carlo* largely highlighted the superficiality and shallowness of the social circle at Monte Carlo.¹⁴⁶ While not the first to mock Monte Carlo's supposed stuffiness, Daphne du Maurier's famous novel *Rebecca* and the associated Academy Award-winning film version of the story from 1940 harshly roasted the snobbish social circles which made the city their winter home. Du Maurier's character, Mrs. Van Hopper, personified all that the author found objectionable with Monte Carlo. The elderly busybody, ably portrayed by Florence Bates in Alfred Hitchcock's film version, was squat and ostentatiously adorned with frilly blouses, hats, and an exceptionally invasive lorgnette. The Van Hopper of the screen insatiably craved gossip and rumor, as well as any tenuous connection to a member of respectable society. She was gluttonous, indiscreet, and contemptuous and jealous of the passive young narrator who served as her hired companion. Bates's character appeared as an outmoded and garish buffoon, droning on about her love for "Monty" and her connections to aristocrats, especially in contrast to Joan Fontaine and Laurence Olivier, who openly reject the city's superficiality and suffocating social scene.¹⁴⁷ The wide distribution of

145. Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque*, 158-160. Rearick describes the harried schedule of French social elites and Monte Carlo's role in this schedule.

146. *Woman's Beauty – At a Price: A Romance of Monte Carlo* quoted in O. Plucky, B. Careful, and C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette: Interesting to Players and Non-players, on Sale at all Libraries, Kiosks, Railway Stations* (London: Edmund Seale, 1913), 184-208.

147. *Rebecca*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock, United Artists, 1940, early scenes.

the film, its critical and commercial success, and its star power did much to disseminate this reputation of Monte Carlo as an outmoded and snobbish favorite of elites throughout the Western world and the public's imaginations. In contrast to the discursive patterns which portrayed Monte Carlo as a site where anything and everything can, and will, happen, the film version of *Rebecca* pitted the young couple of Maxim and the future second Mrs. de Winter, buoyed by their nascent love, adventurous, and intriguing, against the casino-resort which was bound by a certain decorum, social code, and stifling snobbery.

Du Maurier's novel more fully captured Mrs. Van Hopper's desire for upper class interaction and the social capital which she could accumulate at Monte Carlo; du Maurier made clear that this practice commonly occurred in the city. Her unnamed protagonist reminisced about her time in Monte Carlo, and wondered:

What life would be today, if Mrs. Van Hopper had not been a snob. . . . For many years now she had come to the hotel Côte d'Azur, and, apart from bridge, her one pastime, which was notorious by now in Monte Carlo, was to claim visitors of distinction as her friends she had but seen at the other end of the post-office.¹⁴⁸

Du Maurier's book did not wholly discount the discursive pattern which suggested that anything could happen at Monte Carlo. She made it clear that untold parties, social engagements, and pleasurable pursuits were available at the principality and casino-resort, but she emphasized that the majority of high society members who wintered in the city were simply interested in acquiring contacts as status symbols. She continued to say of Mrs. Van Hopper that:

It seemed as though notables must be fed to her, much as invalids are spooned their jelly; and though titles were preferred by her, any face once seen in a social paper served as well. . . . Tact was a quality unknown to her, discretion too, and because gossip was the breath of life to her this stranger must be served for her dissection.¹⁴⁹

148. Daphne du Maurier Browning, *Rebecca* (Doubleday, 1938), 16.

149. *Ibid.*, 16-17.

Van Hopper, who served as a stand-in for an out of fashion and supercilious society of regulars at Monte Carlo, appeared cruel, manipulative, and even parasitic in the du Maurier novel. The rich and extravagant amenities which the SBM had provided in order to attract the world's elite society came across as garish and overdone in the novel, Mrs. Van Hopper and her cronies likewise seemed gluttonous. The author described the:

Vast dining-room, ornate and ostentatious, [at] the hotel Côte d'Azur at Monte Carlo . . . [where] Mrs. Van Hopper [sat], her fat, bejeweled fingers questing a plate heaped high with ravioli, her eyes darting suspiciously from her plate to mine for fear I should have made the better choice. . . . We ate in silence, for Mrs. Van Hopper liked to concentrate on food, and I could tell by the way the sauce ran down her chin that her dish of ravioli pleased her.¹⁵⁰

Du Maurier continued to insist that pretention and a quest for conspicuous social contact with elites drove those who wintered in Monte Carlo. Mrs. Van Hopper declared that she was “faithful to Monte. . . . I suppose you know a crowd of people here, though I must say Monte is very dull this winter. One sees so few well-known faces. The Duke of Middlesex is here in his yacht, but I haven't been aboard yet.’ She never had, to my knowledge.” As an archetype for a stuffy and haughty social elite vacationing in Monte Carlo, Mrs. Van Hopper served as a foil for the demure, sincere, and passive second Mrs. de Winter. However, she also typified what would become a common and standard trope in twentieth-century popular culture regarding Monte Carlo: the pompous dowager or the shallow and pretentious crone.

The city itself evoked a negative reputation in de Maurier's work. For Maxim de Winter, the bustle and possibilities of the resort-city, “all the bright lights of Monte Carlo . . . put a stopper on those memories [he] would like to resurrect.”¹⁵¹ In this sense, even though he considered them gaudy, the extensive possibilities to be had in Monte Carlo served a function much espoused in SBM promotional material and guidebooks: he could leave behind the rigors

150. *Ibid.*, 14-15.

151. *Ibid.*, 41.

and troubles of his everyday life and get lost in the *joie de vivre* of the city. Further, much like Maupassant's novelized personal account, the narrator of du Maurier's novel found the bright lights and unique din of the city to be bewildering, jarring, and unpleasant. She recalled that "in the midst of light and sound in the streets of Monte Carlo the clatter jagged on my nerves, and the lights were far too brilliant, far too yellow. It was a swift, unwelcome climax."¹⁵² She concluded that in addition to being overly "ornate and ostentatious" the rest of Monte Carlo was "superficial froth."¹⁵³ *Rebecca* was hardly the first novel, film, or account to criticize Monte Carlo's extravagance or lampoon the society of social elites that habitually vacationed at the city as snooty and passé; however, du Maurier's work and Hitchcock's adaptation were perhaps most consistent in their derision and scorn, and circulated this viewpoint among Western societies. These works manipulated the discursive pattern which suggested that anything could happen at Monte Carlo by first portraying the variety of activities which could be had and people who could be met at the city, and then suggesting that the possibilities were limited by a system of social mores, rumors, gossip, wealth, and snobbery. The society of vacationers who operated within this scheme was overseen by an obsolete yet obstinate class of social elites, typified by the gluttonous and pretentious busybody, Mrs. Van Hopper. For du Maurier, anything could happen in Monte Carlo, but only within this farcical system of pomposity.

Certainly, discursive trends of Monte Carlo essentially affected how visitors conceived of the city. Through postcards, letters, travel writing, and popular culture mediums, Monte Carlo developed as an international cultural icon, even recognizable to those who would never visit the resort-city. Representations of the city, especially in popular culture, informed perceptions of Monte Carlo in the public imagination. These patterns of discourse were consistent and

152. *Ibid.*, 34.

153. *Ibid.*, 35.

pervasive, and set the boundaries for the ways in which people wrote about, discussed, and understood the city. Monte Carlo as paradise, as a site of risk, and as a place where anything could happen were the three most prevalent, longest-lasting, and extensive patterns of discourse regarding the city. This consistent discursive approach, from opponent and supporter alike, meant that the images evoked by these patterns of discourse became ineradicable parts of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary and the ways in which people perceived the city. In many ways, these portrayals departed or diverged from the images the SBM and casino-managers had wished to paint of the casino-resort town. Daphne du Maurier's outmoded station of snootiness, Guy de Maupassant's raucous and befuddling gaming rooms, and William Hope Devereux's Paradise after the Fall were hardly impressions the SBM had hoped to evoke, but they became part of the ways in which visitors perceived Monte Carlo. In each of these patterns of discourse, the city was often depicted as a character itself, acting upon people and expressing an extraordinary amount of agency on human beings – an unusual if not wholly unique role for a place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Regardless, whether the patterns of language (which depicted Monte Carlo as a paradise, a site of risk, or a place where anything was possible) attracted or repulsed visitors, they molded the city's spatial imaginary and influenced the ways in which vacationers perceived, mediated, and re-presented Monte Carlo's image and reputation.

Conclusions: The Formation of a Cultural Icon and the Re-Presentation of the Dream

From its inception, Monte Carlo was branded, promoted, and marketed as a special space: a city of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism. Building upon François Blanc's foundational philosophy for the resort-city, "to present the dream," civic officials, casino-promoters, and SBM executives worked diligently to shape representational space to match contemporary perceptions of the founder's strategy for the resort. However, their best efforts and the most overt

representational space required mediation in the imaginations of their intended clientele. In ways consistent with the marketing schemes of the SBM, and at times in vastly different respects, vacationers, artists, and authors processed these representational spaces, re-mediated them, and disseminated their mediations through letters, postcards, songs, films, travelogues, and books. Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary was formed and reformulated, processed, and re-presented in the collective imaginations of guests and consumers of popular culture. Visitors were both affected by and acted upon the city's spatial imaginary. Three facets of the city and its projected image most profoundly impacted its spatial perceptions: the primacy of visualization in the city, popular culture portrayals of the city, and consistent patterns of discourse regarding the city. These factors, more than any others, guided the ways in which people thought about Monte Carlo, shaped the reputation of the city in the collective imagination, and helped to turn the city into an international cultural icon.

An early emphasis on visualizing Monte Carlo and the tourists' gaze made 'correctly seeing' the casino-resort a distinctive function. It also allowed for an effective synergy between symbolic representations of the city and burgeoning visual technologies such as the photograph and the photographic postcard. The city's rapid construction during the 1860s and the level of oversight and control which the SBM exerted at the casino-resort town meant that nearly all aspects of the city were crafted or reshaped in order to provide the most aesthetically-pleasing and spectacular effect. Notions of the picturesque were central to visiting and viewing Monte Carlo well into the twentieth century. They served to signify class, yet shifted in meaning over time to match the demographic changes in the spectrum of tourists visiting the principality. Effectively experiencing Monte Carlo meant seeing it, as well as correctly describing the sights and capturing them as souvenirs through photographs and postcards.

Similarly, specific discursive trends developed in reference to Monte Carlo soon after the city's inauguration, and only abated to some degree after the mid-twentieth century. Songs, novels, and films featuring Monte Carlo and its famous casino-resort reached a wide audience and shaped the ways in which Europeans and Americans imagined the vacation-leisure destination. Frequently in these portrayals, the city acted as another character in the story and exercised a great deal of agency on other characters, tempting them, luring them, rewarding bold ventures, and chastening foolhardiness. In these popular portrayals, Monte Carlo alternated as a site of romance and intrigue, of bloat and ostentatiousness, of hedonistic pleasure, or of sinful, riotous debauchery. Regardless of the artist's or author's motivations for including Monte Carlo as a setting, insipidness, inaction, and banality did not feature in their scenes of the city. For better or worse, Monte Carlo acted upon the cast of characters and often proved to be an important agent of change. Consistent patterns of discourse, often articulated in popular culture representations of the city, largely defined the parameters of debate and description for both those in favor of and those against the casino-resort, and they vitally influenced perceptions of the city. The consistency of the discourse, the lengthy duration of the patterns, and the trend for both opponents and supporters of the casino-resort to describe the city in these terms cemented the discursive patterns as part of Monte Carlo's international reputation. These three elements were central to how people perceived Monte Carlo, but through the remediation and re-presentation of the city by visitors and popular artists and authors, these elements also profoundly affected the symbolic representations of the city. As the projected image of the casino and the marketing techniques of the SBM impacted spatial perceptions of Monte Carlo, how the visitors themselves experienced the casino-resort and remediated the experiences likewise affected the ways in which the resort-city was projected. Through this rather circular

process, visitors were influenced by symbolic representations of the city, but their remediations of Monte Carlo's image also helped to influence those representations.

No source more aptly illustrates the impact of these three core elements of spatial perception, and their impact on Monte Carlo's place in the popular imagination and as an international cultural icon, than Georges Gousat's (b. 1863-1934) illustrated postcard, "Monte Carlo Beach: Le Paradis Retrouvé." Gousat, a celebrated illustrator and caricaturist, frequently targeted European high society for caricature, ridicule, satire, or celebration. He illustrated for *Le Monde* and *L'Illustration*, published roughly half a dozen books of his caricatures of elite society, and featured as an illustrator in Monte Carlo a quarter of a century before he sketched "Le Paradis Retrouvé" in 1931. While Gousat was likely well-compensated for the use of his illustration as a popular postcard in the city, the work was not a commission. It was instead an unsolicited portrayal of the changes he had witnessed in the city since 1904. The postcard featured a number of the elements central to Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary, and especially illustrated the three main discursive patterns described in this chapter. Gousat's illustration centered upon a semi-nude couple, a modern-day Adam and Eve. Eve appears fair-skinned with flowing blonde locks, topless and covered with fig leaves, holding an apple in her left hand and grasping onto Adam with her right. She is undeniably ecstatic, with her head tilted back, face flushed, and a broad euphoric smile on her face. Adam is dark haired and dark skinned, primal, exotic, and mysterious. He is covered with a fur draping, but his face is not visible. He is emotionless and anonymous, an exotic plaything for the rapturous Eve. The postcard announces "Le Paradis Retrouvé," in a defiant embrace of forbidden fruit, pleasure, and sin. If the allusions to Genesis and Milton were not apparent enough, the serpent swims gleefully next to the couple, but is too cartoonishly cheerful to be threatening. The background presents a picturesque vista, a

reference to the beautiful natural landscape of Monaco and the Mediterranean Sea; rustic sailboats and seagulls add to the tranquil and peaceful beauty of the scene. However, the illustration is dotted with some subtle (and one quite overt) allusions to modernity. The couple are not swimming or lounging, but rather are water skiing on a shared board, pulled by a modern motorboat, wind flowing through their hair as they outpace the flying gulls. A modern yacht rests in the harbor next to the casino, the bustling city, and the oceanographic museum (Figure 3.12).¹⁵⁴

Gousat's postcard depicts a dual paradise, simultaneously modern and ancient. Eve is the essential character in the work. She shamelessly and guiltlessly enjoys the pleasures of Monte Carlo, without reproach or censure. It would be difficult to imagine a greater allusion to risk than the forbidden fruit which Eve grasps, but she revels in the risk. Similarly, Gousat suggests that anything could happen at this Monte Carlo paradise. Eve is water skiing, topless, as part of



Figure 3.12. SEM, “Monte Carlo Beach: Le Paradis Retrouvé,” 1931. (Source: Gallica, BNF)

an interracial couple in the 1930s. Gousat's glorifying depiction of Monte Carlo's "Paradise Found," in addition to the fact that the postcard was (and continues to be) a best-selling souvenir at the casino-resort, indicates that hedonistic pleasure-seeking, risk-taking, and celebration of the modern had become part of the vacationing experience in the city by 1931. Gousat, and the consumers of his postcard, accepted (and also furthered) Monte Carlo's reputation as a paradise, a place to be seen, a site of risk, and a spot where anything could happen. The SBM's projected image of Monte Carlo as a modern space of luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism influenced these spatial perceptions. But visitors also remediated this projected image and themselves shifted the ways in which the casino-resort was imagined. This interplay between symbolic representations of place and perceptions of space functioned to develop Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary and cement the city's reputation as an international cultural icon.

Part II

Chapter Four. Spectacular Unrealities: Creating a Shared Experience of Mass-Leisure Culture through Novelties, Extravagance, and Exoticism

There are a great many houses in Monte Carlo where people live and strive and suffer, and go through the normal life of man; there is a commercial, a social, a civic life that goes on there from year to year; but it has nothing to do with the charmed existence of pleasure. That real world is, in this land of paradox, but a parasite on the unreal world that lives its brief life of sunny winter months here.¹

— Filson Young, “Monte Carlo,” in *Memory Harbour: Essays Chiefly in Description*

Filson Young’s early-twentieth-century appraisal of Monte Carlo made it abundantly clear that vacationing in the city represented a break from the ordinary and a reprieve from daily life. In some ways, his account is extraordinary because it recognized that the “dream world” presented at Monte Carlo came at the expense of the marginalization of locals and an obscuring of their own “normal life of man.” Yet, his portrayal of Monte Carlo was one of many that explicitly described the city as “unreal” and the pleasurable leisure experience of visiting the casino resort as an “unreality.”² Elaborate and abundant spectacle fostered this sense of unreality among vacationers.

In many ways, spectacle, even in fantastic or surreal forms, was part of modern urban life in many European cities. Historians have demonstrated that the creation of

1. Filson Young, “Monte Carlo,” in *Memory Harbour: Essays Chiefly in Description* (London: Grant Richards, 1909), 18-19

2. For examples of this trend of describing Monte Carlo, and particularly spectacles offered in the city, as “unreal” see Young, “Monte Carlo,” 11-35; Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), 375-381, 435-437; Paul Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale: Journal de Route*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Passage Choiseul, 1894), 305-330; O. Plucky, B. Careful & C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette: Interesting to Players and Non-players, on Sale at all Libraries, Kiosks, Railway Stations* (London: Edmund Seale, 1913), 184-208; and William Le Queux, *Mademoiselle of Monte Carlo* (New York: Macauley, 1921), 71.

new technologies, shifts in urban planning, the growth of consumer societies, and the construction of edifying public spaces not only made spectacle a common occurrence in urban centers, but they also predisposed the populaces to spectatorship. In many respects (from shopping at Le Bon Marché to wandering the boulevards, from patronizing museums to visiting universal expositions, from attending the opera to touring the Paris morgue), fin-de-siècle Europeans partly experienced life as an audience.³ The SBM capitalized on the fact that their patrons had been trained as an audience, and bombarded their clientele with a variety of spectacles. In their efforts to “present the dream” at Monte Carlo, casino-resort boosters made spectacle omnipresent and alternately emphasized fantastic, elaborate, modern, novel, and exotic displays in order to impress the city’s inimitability upon its patrons. The SBM sought to produce the effect of exceptional fantasy, unreality, and escapism. In many ways, this practice mirrored that of a world’s fair, but a permanent one. Visitors were assailed by multi-sensory spectacles, sometimes for months at a time. These marvels were not aimed to mitigate violence or to encourage nationalism, but they were designed to alleviate class contentions at the casino resort and provide a shared leisure experience for a heterogeneous group of vacationers. Monte Carlo’s spectacular unrealities proved essential to the continued success of the city’s tourist economy.

3. On spectacle and changes to European life during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries see Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century France* (1982; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Peter Buse et al., *Benjamin’s Arcades: An Unguided Tour, Encounters: Cultural History* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005); Alice L. Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); and Angela C. Pao, *The Orient of the Boulevards: Exoticism, Empire, and Nineteenth-Century French Theater*, *New Cultural Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

Once again, Paris served as both model and foil for the principality. In the introduction to *Spectacular Realities*, Vanessa R. Schwartz convincingly argues that in late-nineteenth-century Paris, and in other European cities as well, spectacle became a ubiquitous part of modern life. Spectacles took the form of a sensationalized version of everyday life in the city, affected economic choices, ushered in the rise of consumer culture, and fundamentally altered the collective experience of urban Europe. Schwartz contends that:

The visual representation of reality as spectacle in late nineteenth-century Paris created a common culture and a sense of shared experiences through which people might begin to imagine themselves as participating in a metropolitan culture because they had visual evidence that such a shared world, of which they were a part, existed. . . . This culture produced a new crowd as individuals joined together to delight in the transformation of everyday life into spectacle while avidly consuming spectacles of a sensationalized everyday life.⁴

Daily life, in short, was commodified to the point that “the collective participation in a culture in which representations proliferated to such an extent that they became interchangeable with reality.”⁵ This change in Parisian, and parts of European, urban society essentially meant that the audience usurped the mob. The visual spectacles of everyday life celebrated diversity of the public. Schwartz explains that:

As its producers aimed to please the heterogeneous mass through the construction of shared visual experiences. . . . The crowd, and the experience of belonging to an urban collectivity more generally, did not disappear as those who stress the alienation of modern urban life suggest. Rather, their collective violence did . . . there was a new crowd that became the audience of and for urban spectacularity.⁶

Parts of what Schwartz described in Paris were mirrored in Monte Carlo. Both the SBM and the state organized and emphasized spectacle in the city, particularly to cultivate an appreciation for

4. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 6, 12.

5. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

6. *Ibid.*, 5.

the ever-growing diversity of clientele at the casino-resort. In turn, visitors came to associate the city with lavish spectacles and began to transform from a heterogeneous crowd into an audience of and for such exhibitions. As demonstrated by Young's account and contrary to what Schwartz observed of Paris, the vast majority of spectacles, marketing ventures, and sensational visual representations instead focused on the *unreality* of vacation life in Monte Carlo. The city's shared spectacles, afforded to both elite vacationers and Cook-tour budgeteers, were vital in negotiating the resort-tourism industry's transition into the twentieth century.

Spectacle, particularly in the form of overwhelmingly ostentatious and extravagant display, had been part of the SBM's plans for the casino-resort since François Blanc announced his grandiose "dream" for Monte Carlo. The resort's reliance on spectacle, however, took on a new urgency as the fin-de-siècle prosperity the city had experienced as the winter destination for the Western world's social elite faded and Monte Carlo was forced to contend with a number of potential pitfalls to the tourism-economy's continued profitability in the early-twentieth century. Many histories of Monte Carlo, particularly those written by early-twentieth century historians, have rather unfairly attributed the relative stagnant growth of Monte Carlo's tourism industry during the 1910s and 1920s to Camille Blanc's lack of business acumen, questionable social refinement, and his inability to appeal to the tastes of anyone besides the waning number of old-world aristocrats who still wintered in the city.⁷ On the contrary, I will argue that Camille Blanc and his successor René Léon both understood the importance of providing a large variety of attractions, entertainments, and spectacles at Monte Carlo, apart from the casino, and both helped

7. For such examples, see Phillipe Saint Germain, *La Grande Dame de Monte-Carlo* (Évreux, France: L'Imprimerie Hérissey, 1981); General Pierre Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino* (New York: Hillman-Curl, 1937); Charles Graves, *The Big Gamble: The Story of Monte Carlo* (London: Hutchinson, 1956); Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935); and Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*. Notable exceptions to this trend include Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo and Its Fabled Casino* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977); and Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975).

to adapt the casino-resort to modern tastes while navigating serious obstacles to the industry's long-term success in Monaco. Their use of spectacle to achieve the delicate equilibrium between the casino-resort's simultaneous operations as an elite destination of leisure and as a site of mass tourism proved to be the men's most important contribution to Monte Carlo's viability in the twentieth century. The inherent contradiction in how the SBM marketed the resort-town and how it actually functioned was mitigated through the use of spectacle by creating a sense of shared experience between social elites and the throngs of middle-class tourists.

This chapter will examine why spectacle became so important to the success of Monte Carlo's tourist economy in the twentieth century, analyze the types of spectacles presented to the tourist audiences, and explain how these displays became central to forming the projected image of the casino-resort in the international public's imaginations. The chapter will chart visitors' shifting tastes from a pastoral and picturesque aesthetic to one predicated upon modern and exotic spectacle and the more general shift in European leisure and pleasure-seeking tourism from the Belle Époque to the outbreak of World War II. I will contend that throughout the 1910s and 1920s, the survival of Monte Carlo as a premier site of luxury and leisure, as well as its future as a remunerative resort institution, was thrown into severe doubt. Contrary to the argument of early historians, Monte Carlo's struggles were not the result of gross mismanagement by the casino concessionaire. Rather, the city's challenges stemmed from the changing nature of European tourism, demographic changes in the resort's patronage, proliferation of liberal gaming laws throughout Europe, a broader change in leisure tastes, and the intrinsic paradox of operating as a destination of mass-leisure while promoting an image of privileged exclusivity. The SBM's decision to provide myriad and overwhelming spectacles at Monte Carlo, ranging from curious novelties, to displays of modernity, and even exceedingly

exotic exhibitions, proved to be an effective and coherent strategy in which to negotiate the challenges to the casino-resort's success. Exotic spectacle became particularly important to Monte Carlo's early-twentieth-century marketing schemes. It not only captivated audiences with a palatable flavor of the foreign, it created a sense of shared experience and "Europeanness" to meld the heterogeneous composition of the resort-going crowd and create what Young called a "family of pleasure."⁸ SBM officials, casino promoters, and the state provided vacationers with an array of spectacles to augment the attraction of gaming in Monte Carlo from the fin de siècle throughout the precarious wartime years in the resort-town. Unlike Vanessa Schwartz's Parisian observations, these elaborate visual displays and exhibitions emphasized the spectacular unrealities of vacation life in Monte Carlo in order to create a shared sense of experience of the city among the visiting crowds and in the public's imagination, to respond to the dynamic changes in European leisure tastes, and to manage the balance between promoting the casino-resort as an exclusive site of luxury and leisure while simultaneously operating as a site of mass tourism.

The Hidden Legacy of the End of the Blanc Family's Control of the SBM

Camille Blanc's reign as the principle shareholder of the SBM and casino concessionaire, which began in 1881 upon the death of his mother, came to a swift and bitter end at the hands of Sir Basil Zaharoff (b. 1849-1936) in the spring of 1923.⁹ Almost as swiftly, Camille Blanc's nearly forty-two-year legacy at the helm of the casino-resort and the SBM became skewed and soured in early histories of Monte Carlo and in the media. Monte Carlo's severance from the Blanc family partly served as a timely scapegoat for the SBM's slumping dividends and for a wealth of ills which prevented the casino from attaining the ample growth in patronage it had experienced

8. Young, "Monte Carlo," 19.

9. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 120-121.

in the 1880s and 1890s. Perhaps more damning to Blanc's legacy was Zaharoff's personal connections to early historians of Monte Carlo and his shrewd usage of media for consolidation of financial and political power.

Zaharoff, a Greco-Ottoman arms dealer and munitions magnate who reveled in his nickname "Merchant of Death," had amassed a fortune selling weapons to both factions during World War I and had become well-known for his mass production of Vickers machine guns. Coincidentally, one of Zaharoff's chief rivals and ultimately his principal business associate, Hiram Maxim, helped to heap blame on Blanc for the casino's woes. In addition to inventing the famed Maxim gun, Maxim penned a book and innumerable articles about Monte Carlo from the 1880s until the end of his life. Similarly, General Pierre Polovtsoff contributed to Camille Blanc's tainted legacy. Polovtsoff had a personal friendship with Zaharoff and his casino director, René Léon, and owed his position as President of the International Sporting Club to the men.¹⁰ Backed by François Blanc's grandson, Prince Léon Radziwill, a heavy shareholder of the SBM who harbored no great love for his uncle Camille, Zaharoff purged the casino-resort of Blanc supporters by firing numerous employees, reining in the casino administration, and eliminating sinecures and lengthy pensions.¹¹

These moves had a lasting impact on perceptions of the Blanc family and the casino-resort in both academic and popular histories of Monte Carlo, as well as in the media. Camille Blanc's obituary in the *Montreal Gazette* in December of 1927 blamed him for much of the casino's struggles while it lauded Zaharoff as a savior.¹² Similarly, media coverage of the casino's centennial in 1966 consistently and incorrectly attributed many of Camille Blanc's

10. See Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 131-132, 140; and Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 122-123.

11. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 132.

12. "Camille Blanc, of Casino Fame, Dead," *The Montreal Gazette*, Friday, December 23, 1927.

administrative decisions to Zaharoff.¹³ Historian Stanley Jackson likens Zaharoff's maneuvering to wrest control of the SBM from Blanc to a decisive execution – a veritable decapitation. Zaharoff had made token entreaties to both Prince Albert and Prince Louis II as early as 1916. When he sensed the Grimaldi family's disenchantment with Blanc and noted the possibility of a succession crisis, the far-wealthier munitions magnate began his efforts in earnest. While Camille Blanc briefly left the principality on a business trip in May of 1923 and just after Prince Louis announced the birth of his son, Prince Rainier, Zaharoff used proxy agents to buy a majority share of SBM stock and rented a bloc of suites where he “sat on the terrace of the Hotel de Paris, an admirable vantage point for viewing the execution.”¹⁴ Once Zaharoff secured his position as the majority shareholder of the SBM (and when his half-hearted designs to gain the Monégasque throne had subsided) he offered little change to Camille Blanc's strategic direction for the casino-resort. Zaharoff's casino director, René Léon, like Blanc before him, ably managed the resort throughout the 1920 and 1930s and devoted considerable portions of the SBM's annual budget and reserves to myriad attractions, spectacles, and periodic renovations.

The souring relationship between Camille Blanc and the Grimaldi family also obscured his contributions to Monte Carlo's continued success throughout the twentieth century. 1898 had been a watershed year for the casino-resort with record profits and over a million and a half visitors to the city. Blanc also worked to separate the wealthy and elite patrons of the casino from the crowds of tourists with the creation of private gaming rooms and the construction of an exclusive society known as the International Sporting Club.¹⁵ It was in this intoxicating atmosphere of soaring revenues and international acclaim that Camille Blanc signed a fifty-year extension of the casino concession which placed a substantial burden of Monaco's infrastructural

13. John H. Thompson, “The City that Gambling Built,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, Monday, May 9, 1966.

14. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 130-131.

15. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 98-102.

improvements, power and utilities, entertainment budget, and the compensatory allowance to the royal family on the SBM. Historian Xan Fielding summarizes that:

he offered no less than a bonus of ten million francs in the following year, and a further fifteen million in 1913. The casino also undertook to contribute five million francs towards the construction of the harbour, six hundred thousand a year towards the expenses of the theatre, plus whatever sums were needed for the laying of new roads and the maintenance of those already in existence. Finally, the prince's annual subsidy of one and a quarter million francs was to be raised to one and three quarter million in 1908, two million in 1918, two and a quarter million in 1928 and two and a half million in 1938. Such an offer was not to be refused.¹⁶

This new concession, which generously favored the royal family, endeared Blanc to Prince Albert and Princess Alice (princess consort, r. 1889-1922) but left little room for a decline in the casino-resort's record-high profit margins. Princess Alice found Blanc's commitment to Monte Carlo outside of the casino itself particularly appealing. A patron of the arts, Princess Alice delighted in Blanc's hefty budget for the theatre and opera house, and his willingness to bring in, at her suggestion, Raoul Gunsbourg, a talented Romanian impresario, to direct Monte Carlo's cultural entertainments.

During this period, Prince Albert also provided opportunities for spectacles and entertainments that aligned with his personal interests. He inaugurated the Saint Nicholas Cathedral in 1903, whose Neo-Romanesque architecture signaled a more contemporary style for state-financed buildings and which marked a sharp departure from the medieval Genoese architecture long associated with the royal family. He also financed an anthropological museum, and laid ground for his own pet project, the Musée Océanographique de Monaco.¹⁷ After eleven years of costly construction, the museum opened in 1910 and, while at sea in September of 1911,

16. *Ibid.*, 103.

17. Julian Hale, *The French Riviera: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 170; and Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 78. Stanley Jackson attributes most of the expense for the Oceanographic Museum to the SBM.

the prince wrote an impassioned dedication to its guidebook. The prince's dedication remarked on the duty, not only to better understand the science of the sea and the evolutionary mysteries of the deep oceans, but also to provide a "dream [for the] crowds" and "to reveal to curious minds the strange organisms whose unexpected forms are shaped from the tormented paces of geological time . . . while the affairs of our crowd slides far over their world."¹⁸ Prince Albert's instructions suggested his desire to provide Monaco's visitors with spectacular displays (albeit instructive and edifying ones) and also demonstrated his understanding of the dreamlike quality of these spectacles. By offering audiences a glimpse into the hidden world of the deep sea, Albert's museum sensationalized the foreign and the unknown – a discernable divergence from everyday life. These substantial investitures in non-gaming interests in Monte Carlo were far from frivolous expenses. Camille Blanc learned the value of continually revitalizing the casino-resort from his parents, and notably counted "over-complacenc[cy]" as the chief vice of resort management.¹⁹ While Blanc and the royal family initially shared an interest in providing spectacular entertainment for Monaco's guests, soaring overhead at the resort, stagnant growth, and the outbreak of war strained the relationship.

Attacks in the media, social revues, and guidebooks, mostly from British authors, targeted both the Grimaldi family and Camille Blanc and did little to settle relations between the business associates. Augustus Hare launched vitriolic attacks on Prince Albert while Frank Harris concentrated much of his attention to discrediting Camille Blanc's leadership of the SBM. Harris was an Irish-born jack-of-all-trades who rarely missed an opportunity to press an advantage where his investments were concerned. An author and editor in London, a socialite

18. S.A.S., Albert, Le Prince de Monaco, Preface to *L'Océanographie Vulgarisée: de la Surface aux Abîmes* by H. Bourée (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1913), 1-2. Gallica BNF, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k63607690/f11_item.r=Mus%C3%A9%20oc%C3%A9anographique%20de%20Monaco,%203%20avril (accessed January 21, 2016).

19. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 98.

and intellectual at the English Literary Society in Monte Carlo, a lawyer and investor in Lawrence, Kansas, and a hotel owner throughout the French Riviera, Harris exercised considerable influence over the socially-elite group of vacationers at Monte Carlo. Counting among his personal friends Guy de Maupassant, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, and Jean Lorrain, themselves frequent visitors to Monte Carlo, his harsh words dealt a bitter blow to Blanc. During his time as editor of the *Fortnightly Review* he lobbed accusations of mismanagement and corruption at Blanc. Monte Carlo's poorly-patronized Cesari Palace Hotel, which he had owned and operated at a loss since 1899, motivated his attacks.²⁰ Stanley Jackson suggests that Harris's incendiary media campaign may have been covertly subsidized by Prince Albert, who wished to attain a more advantageous negotiating position for a better annual income from the SBM.²¹ The growing discontentment between Blanc and the Grimaldis escalated into a public spat, especially after the death of Prince Albert in 1922. *Literary Digest* announced, in a matter of fact manner, that "a feud [is] expected to break out between Prince Louis and Camille Blanc, whose father founded the Casino and who is generally considered to be the most powerful and wealthy man in Monaco."²² Such public airing of the discord between the state and the SBM head helped to spark Zaharoff's interest in taking over the casino-resort.

A series of crises in the 1910s and 1920s placed the Grimaldi family in its most precarious situation since the monopoly and taxation fiascos of the mid-nineteenth century. Prince Albert was advancing in age, and the heir apparent, Louis II, had yet to marry. Louis II's only child, Charlotte, had been born out of wedlock and was initially ineligible to inherit the throne, sparking concerns that France would envelop the principality should Albert and Louis die

20. A. I. Tobin and Elmer Gertz, *Frank Harris: A Study in Black and White* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1931), 124, 193-194; and John D. Passos, Introduction to *Bomb*, by Frank Harris (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963).

21. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 78.

22. *Literary Digest*, July 15, 1922, 38.

without producing a legitimate heir. Further, Monégasque subjects entered 1910 with a host of complaints against both the royal family and the SBM. While the casino-resort and hotels in Monte Carlo received top-of-the-line public utilities and amenities (heavily subsidized at around 70% by the SBM) the rest of Monaco suffered through subpar distribution of gas, water, and electricity (although both Blanc and Prince Albert were quick to point out that the subjects paid a pittance of what neighboring Frenchmen paid for their utilities). For locals, the ostentatious public attractions such as the Oceanographic Museum quickly lost their appeal and transformed into constant reminders of what they viewed as misallocation of state resources. The casino-resort and surrounding properties offered employment opportunities for Monégasque subjects, but locals were largely pushed to the periphery and afforded only menial jobs at low pay; the most prestigious and well-paid positions went to foreigners, usually French or Italians.²³

A political movement, “le Comité monégasque,” led by the Monégasque nationalist Suffren Reymond, and its journalistic arm, “Le Réveil monégasque,” roused public opinion against the management of the SBM, the intermingling of state and royal finances, and the appointment of French officials to state positions, and alerted Monégasque workers to their less-than-ideal labor conditions.²⁴ On March 16, 1910, the spectacular unrealities of Monte Carlo’s elaborate and sensational displays and attractions were juxtaposed with the spectacular reality of Monégasque subjects and workingmen publicly demanding greater rights. While the Garnier opera house featured the fantastic bacchanal of a Massenet opera in Monte Carlo, a crowd of 800 protestors converged on the steps of the Prince’s Palace in Le Rocher. Nobody was injured during the demonstration (though several shots were fired), but the crowd forced Prince Albert to

23. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 104-106.

24. Milena Radoman, “La constitution a 100 ans,” *Monaco Hebdo*, January 27, 2011, <http://www.monacohebdo.mc/4221-la-constitution-a-100-ans> (accessed January 3, 2016).

promise greater rights in terms of the freedom of the press and suffrage.²⁵ Despite the promise of concessions and the imminent drafting of a constitution, serious demonstrations, riots, and unrest continued in Monaco throughout the rest of the year, largely ignored by the press. Affectionately known as the “*four horsemen of the apocalypse*” by their countrymen, “*Suffren Peymond [sic], Théodore Gastaud, André Marsan, [and] Charles Bellando de Castro*” organized frequent marches and demonstrations in order to secure rights from the Grimaldis and to achieve spectacular coverage of their movement.²⁶ The unrest reached a crescendo on October 16, 1910, when a substantial crowd (estimated at 400) once again converged on the steps of the Prince’s Palace to demand a constitution; they were met by the heir to the throne, who anxiously addressed the mob from the staircase. A photograph of the incident circulated among the local papers, and not only showed a much different crowd than those usually photographed near the Café Paris or on the casino terrace, but effectively portrayed the end of absolute monarchy in the principality (Figure 4.1).²⁷ The agitation was so severe that Prince Albert called for “French troops in Menton to hold themselves ready to restore law and order and even arranged for an English man-of-war at Villefranche to send in a number of sailors, ostensibly on ‘holiday leave’ but ready to protect British lives and property.”²⁸ Violence of any kind was averted and the unrest in Monaco reached its apex in 1910; after Prince Albert signed the new constitution, the subjects avoided such elaborate displays of protest throughout the decade, but remained resolute in their calls for an extended franchise, greater Monégasque control of state offices, and better access to public utilities.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid. Emphases original.

27. “Journée du 16 octobre 1910. Le Prince Louis s'adresse à ses sujets,” black and white photograph, October 16, 1910, Bibliothèque Louis Notari.

28. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 105.



Figure 4.1. “Journée du 16 octobre 1910. Le Prince Louis s'adresse à ses sujets.” (Source: Bibliothèque Louis Notari and Milena Radoman, “La constitution a 100 ans,” *Monaco Hebdo*, January 27, 2011.)

The public protests served as a stark contrast to the elaborate spectacles of luxury, novelty, and pleasure on display for vacationers and threatened to undermine the SBM’s designs to “present the dream” to its guests.²⁹ While the demonstrations received spotty coverage in the Monégasque and local French presses, particularly in comparison to the well-covered attractions and entertainments highlighted several times a week in the publications, they nonetheless signaled a decline in Grimaldi authority and threatened to spoil the image of Monte Carlo as a vacation-leisure paradise. After Blanc declined Prince Albert a substantial loan and suggested that it would be more appropriate to allot the SBM’s budget toward the Rallye Auto, the theatre industry, a golf course, and entertainment attractions rather than to maintaining public attractions such as the Oceanographic museum, Prince Albert sought a potential new concessionaire.

29. The uprisings and demonstrations throughout 1910 would not be matched by any subsequent public display of unrest, in scale or intensity, until perhaps the workers and croupiers strikes of the mid-1940s.

Zaharoff was an obvious choice. His close friendship with Georges Clemenceau would ensure Monaco's autonomy with Zaharoff at the helm, and the weapon's manufacturer was both wealthier and seemingly more compliant to Grimaldi wishes than Blanc; Prince Albert eagerly agreed to a twenty-five million franc loan from Zaharoff in 1917 with the understanding that the new investor would gain control of the casino-resort at a future date.³⁰ Despite Blanc's majority ownership of the SBM and the freshly inked fifty-year concession, the eventual transfer of control of the SBM seemed a *fait accompli* by the mid-1910s.

“The Mass Will Win; Indeed, It Has Won Already”: Monte Carlo and the Changing State of Early-Twentieth-Century Tourism

The sluggish growth of Monte Carlo's tourism industry in the early decades of the twentieth century (and the changes the SBM instituted to respond to the stagnation) cannot be wholly attributed to mismanagement, political unrest, wartime strains, or a transfer of the casino concession; vast changes in European tourism, leisure-tastes, and clientele impacted Monte-Carlo's casino-resort in profound ways from the fin de siècle throughout the mid-century. First, European and American tastes for leisure and entertainment changed significantly at the turn of the century (and underwent several subsequent iterations throughout the first half of the twentieth century). Pleasure-seeking, the pursuit of spectacle, active exercise, and a taste for the exotic and the authentic became the orders of the day. Second, for many vacationers the temporal dimensions of leisure-travel shifted dramatically. During the nineteenth century *hivernants* dominated Monte Carlo's clientele. These elite, seasonal vacationers arrived at Monte Carlo at the first signs of winter, in October, and stayed upwards of six months in the principality. This seasonal vacationing pattern waned in the twentieth century, to be replaced by a new wave of middle-class European and American tourists, who, traveling by car or bus would

30. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 119-120.

take a brief stay in Monte Carlo before setting off for a new destination. As beach-going and sunbathing became fashionable leisure activities, imported from Northern Europe and Scandinavia, Monte Carlo halted winter's monopoly on pleasure at the casino, opened its own beach resort, and provided a cadre of year-long entertainment options. Third, Monte Carlo could no longer claim exclusive domain over many of the unique advantages that had made it a premiere site of vacation-leisure during the nineteenth century. The city no longer held a European monopoly on gambling (even its monopoly on certain games, such as trente-et-quarante and roulette, came to a halt in the 1930s).³¹ The rest of the Riviera had shed its scandalous and seedy reputation. Cities all along the Mediterranean coast provided fierce competition by the twentieth century. Modern, luxurious, "grand hotels" proliferated in France, Great Britain, and Central Europe and offered amenities and entertainments comparable to those that Monte Carlo's hoteliers supplied. Finally, the demographics of the clientele at the casino-resort expanded from what it had been in the early years of Monte Carlo's tourism successes. According to Adolphe Smith, "[t]he democracy had permeated even Monte Carlo."³² The incredibly wealthy, elite, and aristocratic patrons did not wholly disappear, but less-exclusive and less-wealthy tourists also flocked to the casino-resort. Mass tourism in the principality supplanted the elite social society which had once dominated the casino's gaming rooms. By the interwar years, yet another wave of artists, Hollywood stars, nouveau riche, and bohemian pleasure-seekers joined the already heterogeneous composition of Monte Carlo's tourists. A constant for this increasingly-diverse group was a taste for spectacle; in many cases the resort-crowd seemed indistinguishable from an audience, and the variety of spectacles at Monte Carlo offered each demographic element of the clientele a semblance of shared experience.

31. *Ibid.*, 129.

32. Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 324.

These drastic changes in European leisure and vacation culture provide context for the SBM's relative struggles in the early twentieth century; in fact, these broad shifts proved to be more impactful on Monte Carlo's tourism industry than decisions made within the principality. The SBM's general solution for negotiating the various challenges facing the casino in the early twentieth century was a commitment to presenting vacationers with an array of spectacles: spectacular unrealities consistent with the casino-resort's steadfast presentation of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. Both Camille Blanc and René Léon, the very capable and forward-thinking managing director appointed by Sir Basil Zaharoff, dedicated significant portions of the SBM's budget to providing entertainment and spectacular diversions, and avoided complacency at all costs. Their nimble management of the Monte Carlo casino-resort in an era of vast changes in leisure-culture throughout Europe, and during significant shifts in the clientele in the city, was essential in traversing the greatest crisis the city's tourism industry had faced since the 1850s.

Europeans' pursuit of pleasure in their leisure time was hardly a sudden and unforeseen invention of the twentieth century; on the contrary, the melding of pleasure and vacation leisure had been a steady and defining aspect of nineteenth-century European culture. Douglas Mackaman notes the perceptible shift from the productive ethos of travel toward more pleasurable pastimes as early as the mid-nineteenth century among the bourgeois classes, a shift that accelerated throughout the rest of the century.³³ Similarly, Charles Rearick cautions that while "the period before World War I was far from being an era of mass leisure" the period between 1880 and 1914 saw a dramatic shift in leisure tastes in France, particularly in the cities. Admission receipts from spectacle entertainments in Paris:

33. Douglas Peter Mackaman, *Leisure Settings: Bourgeois Culture, Medicine, and the Spa in Modern France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5.

[S]howed a very steady and steep growth of entertainment grosses [between 1893 and 1913]. That is, receipts more than doubled while the population of Paris grew by only 18 percent. . . . A similar pattern of change occurred in lesser cities. France's leading winter resort, the fast-growing city of Nice, added such entertainment facilities as casinos, skating rinks, and dance halls. . . . On a smaller scale, many of France's some 130 spas, or *villes d'eaux*, became 'places of pleasure' in the same period for a clientele that was more mixed socially than before; the kinds of entertainments popular in Paris, as well as gambling casinos, became a central part of life at the spas."³⁴

Not only did Monte Carlo face increased competition from both travel destinations and urban centers for potential French and European patrons, the city also had to provide a greater variety of spectacular entertainments for a larger range of guests than ever before.

These sweeping changes in leisure culture were hardly unique to France. Orvar Löfgren documents the rise in British, American, German, and Scandinavian vacation travel in the early decades of the twentieth century, and those vacationers' tastes for something beyond "that old boring city with old people walking the promenade."³⁵ Andrew Denning charts the broad-ranging adoption of Alpine skiing during this period, which before the 1880s had been relegated to the perceived periphery of Northern Europe, and the rise of resort-based tourism economies in Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. He argues that Alpine skiing held wide appeal to European vacationers by combining an essentially modern appreciation for nature, a fascination with speed and mobility, and a bodily and mental stimulation to combat both the stresses and banalities of modern existence. Denning demonstrates that the skiing villages of Central Europe developed a significant tourist economy and spawned cosmopolitan networks of vacationers captivated by this new leisure practice throughout European metropolitan centers.³⁶

34. Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment & Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 29.

35. Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 168-170.

36. Andrew Denning, *Skiing into Modernity: A Cultural and Environmental History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

The growth of ski-resort tourism and the sport's cultural impact on Europe certainly provided increased competition for Monte Carlo and signaled a shift in leisure tastes to rival the lengthy seasonal vacation patterns of the city's *hivernants*. Similarly, David Clay Large delineates the change in Central European leisure tastes in the three or four decades prior to World War I. Despite a ban on gambling in newly unified Germany, the number of visitors to Austrian and German spas rose significantly (as did the number of luxury hotels, sporting practices, entertainment options, and modern medical treatments).³⁷

Rosalie Schwartz also describes the dazzling speed with which Americans took to foreign tourism during the twentieth century and the dizzying array of pleasures and entertainments they sought out during their vacations. She notes that nouveau riche Americans particularly gravitated toward Monte Carlo, where “new and old money [were] welcomed . . . [and for Americans] Monte Carlo became synonymous with fashionable gambling.”³⁸ A late-nineteenth century gambling critic remarked on the rising number of foreign tourists in Monte Carlo. His account suggested that the observations made by these historians of tourism in Europe and North America, generally noting the rising popularity of vacation-leisure and the diversification of leisure tastes, had a tangible impact on Monte Carlo. The observer sharply criticized the vacationers' wanton pursuit of pleasure and listed “[t]he biggest players in this suspicious place: Russians, English, Germans, Austrians, rich Italians, French, and Americans.”³⁹ Across Europe and the United States, the number of vacationers grew and tastes for vacation-leisure evolved at

37. David Clay Large, *The Grand Spas of Central Europe: A History of Intrigue, Politics, Art, and Healing* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 225.

38. Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism & Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 9.

39. Ernest Bosc, *Histoire des crimes et des suicides du tripot de Monte-Carlo, par J.-Marcus de Vèze* (*Ernest Bosc*) (Paris: L. Vanier, 1888), 19, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, FRBNF30133952.

the turn of the century; Monte Carlo and the SBM were required to adapt to these changes in order to remain a profitable destination for a diverse and cosmopolitan crowd of travelers.

For social elites, vacationing at Monte Carlo had become part of the winter season, “a hectic race from one social event to another,” and for even some of the most entrenched *hivernants*, visiting the casino was partly a social obligation.⁴⁰ As early as 1887, Stéphen Liégeard remarked on the tediousness of maintaining his social schedule with acquaintances at the casino and theater; he particularly bemoaned having the “radiant fantasy [and] splendors” of his vacation spoiled by the obligatory small talk about politics, the arts, and current events.⁴¹ In 1910, British patron and author, Victor Bethell, similarly suggested that visiting Monte Carlo was a compulsory social rite for Europe’s upper classes, who “find that they are 'out of it' unless they join in the universal pastime of Roulette.”⁴²

Upper-class socialites demanded a greater variety of entertainment than the gaming rooms, rich food, and luxurious hotel rooms. Their petitions were granted and exceeded with myriad sporting spectacles and amenities, competitions, and high-cultural offerings from world-renowned artists corralled by Raoul Gunsbourg. Even when spectacular entertainment offerings failed to hit the mark with discriminating vacationers (as was the case with Blanc’s carnivalesque Battle of the Flowers, the boxing match he arranged at the tennis club, or the principality’s inaugural beauty pageant), the attractions drew large crowds of aspirant-class tourists, while elites disinterested in such novelties could find agreeable distractions among the casino-resort’s shooting competitions, fencing tournaments, regattas, or could attend a Massenet opera.

40. Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque*, 158-159.

41. Stéphen Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur* (Paris: Quantin, 1887), 255-256, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8- L17- 35 (A).

42. Victor Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play* (London: William Heinemann, 1910), preface, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Whether the spectator found the day's attractions appealing or not, their comfort was at least a consideration: "competitors and spectators were thoughtfully protected from dust by an Italian contractor, who provided Monte Carlo's roads with the first tarred surface in Europe."⁴³

Even by the 1890s, guidebooks and package tour offerings indicated a shift in the temporal dimension of vacationing in Monte Carlo. The vast majority of vacationers still stayed at least several weeks in the principality (or commuted from nearby Nice), but brief stops from middle class tourists or day trips were not uncommon. In 1897, the Conty guide offered two pre-packaged experiences of Monte Carlo: one highlighted well-known social engagements, parties, and a lengthier pass to the casino for those planning to stay for at least a month in Monaco, the other provided day passes to the Tir aux Pigeons or admission to carnivals, the theater, or regatta races and was described as a "package for those with limited time and limited means."⁴⁴

Similarly, in 1913, the *Publicité de Guides Joanne* split its hotel price guides into long-term and short-term categories, and steered short-term guests toward the 10-day option for admission to the salles privées (instead of the full-season ticket) during the winter months.⁴⁵ By the 1920s, day trips and brief vacations of just several days were commonplace in the principality, particularly for American tourists.

Monte Carlo became a destination for cruise liners (necessitating intensive and expensive changes to the harbor) and serviced cruise ship passengers ferried in from Nice even before the principality established a deep-water port in order to accommodate the large vessels. Early in 1923, one Riviera guide and social revue recounted Monte Carlo's place in the multi-city

43. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 83-84.

44. Henry Auxouteaux de Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty: Paris à Nice Monaco-Menton*, (Paris: 4 Boulevard des Italiens, 1897), 6-7, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 16-L27-245, D1-552 L 2.3-A.

45. *Publicité de Guides Joanne. Nice Beaulieu et Monaco: Hôtels et Établissements Divers* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 26-28, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-LK7-25261 (P), D1-552 L 2.8-A.

itinerary of one Italian-based cruise liner. In the week of January 29 through February 4, the revue noted that “*Le Conte Rosso* took 600 passengers, nearly all Americans, [to Nice and Monte Carlo]. Because of the scale, the tourists came from Nice via automobile, by the Grand-Corniche, and had lunch at Negresco. When they returned, after having visited the casino, they stayed at the Hotel Metropole in Monte Carlo.”⁴⁶ The *Conte Rosso* provided trans-Atlantic cruises from New York to the French and Italian Riviéras (it unfortunately met a tragic end in World War II when it was refurbished as a war vessel and sunk, ironically by a submarine built by Vickers-Armstrong, the corporation that had once made Zaharoff his fortune), but was just one of a group of ships ferrying passengers from Great Britain and the United States all along the Mediterranean coast. The one- and two-day boosts in tourism patronage from package tours and cruise lines brought Monte Carlo a new class of tourist, but also compelled the SBM and casino-resort management to provide accommodations for a sudden influx of several hundred vacationers and to offer daily extravagant spectacles in order to enchant tourists who made Monte Carlo merely one stop on a multi-destination tour. The SBM presented a variety of spectacular entertainments designed to appeal to elite seasonal vacationers, but also to captivate the imaginations of this new wave of middle-class tourists who spent relatively little time in Monte Carlo.

As a result of the declining importance of accommodating the crowd of seasonal winter vacationers, the changing tastes in leisure culture, and demographic shifts in patronage, the casino-resort discontinued its longstanding policy of grinding to a halt in May, employing a skeleton crew of its usual robust staff, and catering to a small and decidedly less-glamorous

46. *Cannes, Nice, Monte-Carlo – 1923. Touter les Femmes Élégantes sont abonnées à Art. Gout. Beauté. La Plus Luxueuse Des Revues de Modes La Seule Publiant Les Modelés de la Grande Couture dans le Coloris Exact de Leur Création*, no. 3 (29 January – 4 February, 1923), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, JO-60989 1923, D2-702 L 3.20-C.

clientele. For one of the few times in the previous sixty or seventy years, Monte Carlo became an imitator instead of an innovator in resort tourism. 1922 saw the first notable rise in beach-going and sunbathing on the Mediterranean coast. Vacationers imported these practices from Germany and Scandinavia, and Coco Chanel, F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, Sarah and Gerald Murphy, Jean-Gabriel Domergue, and Josephine Baker popularized the new trends at Monte Carlo over the course of the next few years. Antibes, Cap Ferrat, and Juan-les-Pins quickly capitalized on beach-going culture and drew scores of vacationers from the gaming rooms in Monte Carlo to the fresh air of the coast. Director “René Léon realized that if it was to survive and compete with such places as these, he would have to create what neither François Blanc nor his son had ever contemplated: a summer season.”⁴⁷

The sunbathing craze, and beginning in 1922 the trend of cruise liners depositing 600-800 visitors on Monaco’s shores in the middle of summer, directed a new crowd to the casino-resort.

Löfgren summarizes that:

Sunbathing and other amusements drew a new blend of money, youth, and bohemian intellectuals and artists to the Riviera. Holiday life was supposed to be informal, fun, and fast. Speeding down the coast road to a casino or nightclub became part of the routine. Unlike the old elite . . . [it was] a new Riviera. . . . ‘Everybody’ flocked to the Riviera, trying to emulate the bohemian and artistic lifestyle.⁴⁸

Léon and Prince Pierre de Polignac, a SBM shareholder and Prince Louis II’s son-in-law, employed American socialite, gossip columnist, and professional hostess, Elsa Maxwell, to prepare the casino-resort for the summer season at the lofty salary of \$10,000 a year and casino boosters later kept her on retainer for \$6,000 a year.⁴⁹ Maxwell had successfully transformed Venice’s Lido into a recognizable rendezvous for an international group of Western elites, and

47. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 124.

48. Löfgren, *On Holiday*, 169-170.

49. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 124.

Léon and Prince Pierre expected her to perform a similar transformation at Monte Carlo. She imported tons of sand to Monaco's beaches (which soon washed away) and oversaw designs for the Monte-Carlo Beach Hotel and Club and the Summer Casino which opened in July of 1927. She worked with Léon to furnish the Country Club which opened in 1928 and developed a comprehensive agenda of parties, galas, spectacles, and social events held in these new summer attractions.⁵⁰ Building the new facilities, paying for a full staff year-round, and financing daily spectacular entertainment came at an incredible cost for the SBM. The corporation spent 500,000 British pounds on the Country Club, nearly that price on the Monte-Carlo Beach Hotel, and endured the enormous expense of 2,000,000 British pounds to build 'Le Sporting.' The gamble paid off and "the SBM's shares stood at a record £120 in 1928 when the directors felt confident enough to inaugurate another summer attraction, the Grand Prix de Monaco."⁵¹

Increased competition from other European resorts and vacation destinations factored into Monte Carlo's struggles to maintain the steady growth of its tourism industry in the early decades of the twentieth century. Even before they were afforded the luxury of opening casinos as well, coastal French cities such as Nice, Cannes, and Biarritz ventured to match Monte Carlo in terms of luxurious hotels, restaurants, and guest accommodations. Largely inspired by Monte Carlo's Hôtel de Paris, Mediterranean resort towns began an informal, but nonetheless intense, competition for the most luxurious "grand hotel." A group of Swiss investors, led by Henri Ruhl, transformed the aging l'Hôtel des Anglais into the Lavish Nice Ruhl during the first decade of the twentieth century. A contemporary postcard of the updated hotel demonstrates the architectural influence of l'Hôtel de Paris, designed by Gobineau de la Brétonnerie and Jules

50. See Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 147-148; Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 124-125; and "The Sun, the Sea . . . and the Swimmers: Bathing in Monte-Carlo" *Society: The Magazine of the Société des Bains de Mer*, 7 no. 2, (Summer 1987): 24, 76, William Thompson Collection 87-063, Box 1 France & Monaco, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

51. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 148.

Dutrou. The landscaping features a palm tree-lined façade and corner garden plots near terrace walkways and the promenade especially evokes the front entrance to its Monégasque counterpart (Figure 4.2).⁵² César Ritz opened the lavish InterContinental Carlton Cannes in 1911, famously depicted in Alfred Hitchcock’s *To Catch a Thief* (1955), which matched the luxuriousness of Monte Carlo’s best palatial hotels while offering nearly twice as many rooms. However, Alexandre Darracq and Henri Negrescu’s eponymous Hotel Negresco, and its accompanying Le Chantecler restaurant, earned the reputation as the most elegant hotel on the Riviera when it opened in 1913.



Figure 4.2. IMLT., “36 – Nice – Promenade des Anglais et Entrée de la Jetée Promenade,” ca. 1910s. (Source: the author’s collection)

⁵² IMLT., “36 – Nice – Promenade des Anglais et Entrée de la Jetée Promenade,” black and white postcard, c. 1910s, author’s collection.

The SBM administration fully comprehended that the propagation of European grand hotels threatened Monaco's favorable position in the top-tier of luxury destination sites. Stanley Jackson remarks that "[Camille] Blanc clearly saw the possibility of the Hotel de Paris, with its rococo nymphs and cherubs, becoming a vulgar anachronism. He therefore decided to invest heavily in amenities and entertainment on a scale which would outdazzle Cannes . . . his first step was to accommodate patrons who did not care to rub shoulders with lesser breeds."⁵³ The French Riviera was not Monte Carlo's only competition in this feverish period of constructing lavish restaurants, luxurious spas, and grand hotels. David Clay Large noted that the era "signaled the dawn of grand hotels that stretched into the 1930s," and Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, and Bad-Homburg all competed to provide guests with the most modern and sumptuous accommodations. Wiesbaden's Nassauer Hof, built in 1907, quickly became the crown jewel of Central Europe's super-luxury hotels. It "had over three hundred rooms, all equipped with private baths. The hotel also boasted easily accessible elevators; airy social spaces and restaurants; a marble-clad ballroom; the 'Orangerie' for daily concerts and five o'clock teas; an adjoining garage for automobiles; and a concert/travel ticket office."⁵⁴

Further, throughout the early-twentieth century, Monaco's monopoly on European gambling disappeared; even its unique control of games such as trente-et-quarante, and especially roulette, loosened in the 1930s. Monte Carlo remained the largest casino-resort structure in Europe despite the increased competition. The traditional European models for casino-resorts were small and discrete institutions that did not expand to meet the increased demand for gambling. Joseph Kelly and William R. Eadington conclude that these competing casino-resorts "tend[ed] to complement rather than dominate the touristic and recreational assets

53. Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 98.

54. Large, *The Grand Spas of Central Europe*, 228.

in those communities, and their influence on broad aspects of community life, as well as community image, [was] limited.”⁵⁵ What these new casino competitors lacked in size, they made up for in quantity. States tolerated illegal gambling operations, at least tacitly, in the spa towns of Central Europe throughout the early twentieth century. By 1930, Austria had repealed its ban on gambling and Adolf Hitler authorized a conditional repeal on gambling in Germany’s larger cities in 1933.⁵⁶ Likewise, many French towns skirted the spirit of the law banning gambling in France by taking advantage of various loopholes normally reserved for *villes d’eaux*. William R. Eadington writes that “[t]o have a casino, a town would apply to the [Ministère de l’Intérieur] for status as either a 1. Health resort 2. Thermal bath community or 3. Seaside resort. After receiving such a designation (over 400 towns were so categorized), the municipal council could — action to have gaming.”⁵⁷ The laxity of French gaming laws allowed for most seaside resorts to open up casino establishments even before the state lifted the ban on gambling.

Competing resort-towns such as Cannes and Nice were therefore poised to provide impressive and modern accommodations for many of the wealthy, seasonal vacationers who did not wish to fight the crowds in Monte Carlo. Additional small casinos sprung up in Antibes and other coastal hotspots and offered cheaper entertainment and a more relaxed atmosphere for middle-class patrons and a young, fashionable, and artistic crowd. Across the Atlantic, the burgeoning casino-resort industry in Havana siphoned away many potential American clients from Monte Carlo. Cuba’s capital city provided an appealing alternative for American

55. Joseph Kelly and William R. Eadington, “The Regulation of Casino Gaming in Europe: A Comparative Analysis,” Paper No. 86-8, September, 1986, The William Thompson Collection 87-063, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 3. For more information on European gambling trends see David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (New York: Gotham Books, 2006).

56. Large, *The Grand Spas of Central Europe*, 300, 327.

57. William R. Eadington, personal notes on a legal pad, The William Thompson Collection 87-063, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 3.

vacationers who wanted to avoid the dangers of unrestricted submarine warfare during World War I, slake their thirst during prohibition, and enjoy a short pleasure trip in the “naughty Paris of the Western hemisphere and [the] luxurious Riviera of the Americas.”⁵⁸ The most damaging loss in Monte Carlo’s competitive advantage as a casino-resort came in the 1932-1933 winter season, when France legalized roulette and Monaco’s monopoly on the game essentially expired. Roulette had been intimately associated with Monte Carlo (despite having been invented in France). Aside from becoming a well-loved game and fascinating vacationers, it served as a status symbol for visitors to the principality.⁵⁹ Coupled with strain placed on the tourism industry by the international economic crisis of the 1930s, the loss of its monopoly on roulette sparked the second significant challenge to Monte Carlo’s tourism industry of the twentieth century.

Far and away the most dynamic change presented to the SBM and the casino-resort management was the demographic shift in Monte Carlo’s patronage. Since the 1880s, Monte Carlo could hardly have lived up to its reputation as an exclusive site for Western elites (half a million vacationers visited the city in 1889 and tripled to one and a half million just twenty years later).⁶⁰ However, by the twentieth century, the Monte Carlo casino-resort operated as a successful destination of mass tourism while it still clung to its reputation as an exclusive site of elite luxury. Complicating the issue, the town did not simply have to provide amenities and entertainment to more vacationers, it had to accommodate an increasingly-diverse range of social classes. Camille Blanc, René Léon, and Emmanuel Maubert, directeur des jeux, turned explicitly to providing a vast array of spectacles in order to manage Monte Carlo’s seemingly contradictory roles as a mass tourism destination and a site of world-renowned exclusivity. These men, their

58. Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island*, 15.

59. Charles Graves, *Royal Riviera* (London: Heinemann, 1957): 176.

60. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 324.

successors, and the SBM fully realized the precariousness of Monte Carlo's reputation and its practice as a casino-resort, and sought to create a spectacular unreality for its varied guests. Although different social classes often preferred different entertainments, these directors attempted to turn the heterogeneous crowd into a unified audience by creating a sense of shared experience through nearly-constant and overwhelming spectacles at the casino-resort. Despite the varied, and at times conflicting, leisure-tastes of Monte Carlo's patrons, this focus on spectacle allowed casino-resort managers to maintain the city's carefully-crafted spatial imaginary and to continue marketing it as a space of luxury, leisure, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism.

In 1912, Adolphe Smith succinctly observed that “[t]he democracy had permeated even Monte Carlo. Aristocrats and very distinguished personages still frequented the casino, but they were lost in the crowd.”⁶¹ Smith's frank appraisal was hardly unique; on the contrary, commentary on the social diversity of Monte Carlo's visitors became a major part of how contemporary observers wrote about the city.⁶² Yet, casino promoters had little to fear that Monte Carlo's pleasure-seeking “crowds” would turn into a violent or unruly mob. The threats to social order which Schwartz describes in *Spectacular Realities* or that Tony Bennett lays out in his discussion of the “Exhibitionary Complex” were not what SBM officials sought to mitigate with their use of spectacle.⁶³ The larger groups of people at the casino resort (a trend well-

61. Ibid.

62. For further examples on the increasingly diverse range of social classes to visit Monte Carlo see Young, “Monte Carlo,” 25-28; Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir : Le Passe et le Présent Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice : Éditions de la Ste de Publicité des Pays D'azur, 1903), 215-216, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8- K-3694; Bethell, *Monte Carlo Anecdotes and Systems of Play*, 2; Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty*, 281; *Publicite de Guides Joanne*, 26-29; and Paulin Blanc, *Les Joueurs et les cercles, avec des notices sur Monte-Carlo, Aix-les-Bains, par Paulin Blanc* (1885), 132, 140, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-V-20761, D3 L 3.33-A.

63. Tony Bennett's “Exhibitionary Complex” suggests that sites of spectacle (such as museums, exhibitions, fairs, and department stores) and the learned process of spectatorship provided a self-regulating model of control for

observed by visitors) nonetheless remained a problem. Smith, Corti, and Polovtsoff suggested that elite vacationers tended to group middle-class tourists into the fluid categories of “crowds” or “mobs.” Other contemporaries described the middle classes in even-more unflattering terms, as “waves,” “hordes,” or “invaders.”⁶⁴

The problems posed by the rise of middle-class visitors were not lost on the casino management. Smith explained that “[t]he casino authorities, as shown by these figures, are face to face with a very serious problem. They are too successful. This is not a usual complaint, and it may be regarded as a fault on the right side; but it is none the less perplexing.”⁶⁵ The paradox proved problematic not only because casino-promoters now had to attract wealthy social elites without the premise that vacationing in the city was an exclusive, distinctive, and relatively rare practice, but also because Monte Carlo’s penchant for attracting wealthy notables, aristocrats, and social elites and its reputation as an exclusive rendezvous for a cosmopolitan crowd of seasonal vacationers had become an essential part of the city’s projected image and spatial imaginary. Karl Baedeker, the noted guidebook author and a turn-of-the-century visitor to Monte Carlo, bemoaned the “gaming clientele and diversionists themselves” who “hardly compare with the luxurious constructions, hotels, villas, and apartments.”⁶⁶

The presence of mass tourists and middle class vacationers, and the obscuring of a celebrated class of elites, threatened to undermine the city’s carefully constructed spatial

modern societies. These spectacles aligned the populace with systems of power and signaled a collective interest (often along national lines). See Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Culture: Policies and Politics, series edited by Tony Bennett et al. (London: Routledge, 1995), 59-88.

64. For examples of middle class vacationers as crowds see Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*; Polovtsoff, *Monte Carlo Casino*; and Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Wizard of Monte Carlo* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935). On vacationers as invaders and hordes see Louis Notrai, *Quelques Notes Sur Les Traditions De Monaco* (1918; repr., Monaco: Imprimerie National de Monaco, S.A., 1958), Bibliothèque Louis Notari, Monaco; and Louis de Andreis to Alexandre, 1874, “De Nice à Monte-Carlo,” Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-15225, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

65. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 373.

66. Karl Baedeker, *Le Sud-est de la France, du Jura à la Méditerranée, et y compris la Corse : manuel du voyageur*, 7th ed. (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1901), 381.

imaginary. Smith described Emmanuel Maubert and the casino-management's lamentation of the resort's shifting demographics:

The worst aspect of the situation is that to-day quantity rather than quality predominates. This has given cause for much reflection, no small alarm and anxiety and a great deal of useless regret. After all, the development of economic forces is like the tide of the sea, it takes but little account of would-be Canutes, even if they are casino directors. It is the old battle between the first and the third class, between the saloon and the steerage, between the orchestra stalls and the pit or the gallery. Though the situation is very different, the result will be the same. The mass will win; indeed, it has won already. It is true M. Maubert, the directeur des jeux, was very careful to impress upon me that there had been no falling off in the number of the high-class frequenters of the casino. They came now as in the bright days of yore, when, he was fain to confess, their presence was much more obvious. But, he promptly continued, they are there now, only they are lost in the crowd; they are not less numerous, but they are crowded in the mass of pleasure excursionists, of Cook's tourists, of travellers booked through by innumerable agencies and syndicates. Again, there is the question of the automobile. Formerly, people found that it was a long journey, and when they reached Monte Carlo they were glad to stop for a month at least, and often for a considerably longer period. Now they come in their own motor cars and by easy stages, and after they have been at Monte Carlo for a week or so, they feel as if they must travel farther as they have their own automobiles, and it is so easy to go on another stage. Thus it is that the casino crowd has quite a different aspect.⁶⁷

Smith perhaps overstated his suggestion of class antagonism (there is little evidence that the lower classes wanted much more than to emulate the leisure practices of the upper classes or that the elite classes desired much more than to distinguish themselves from the masses and possibly play roulette in a private room). However, his account demonstrates that casino-management acutely apprehended the paradox of operating as a mass tourism destination and promoting the casino as an exclusive site of luxury and leisure, as well as the class anxieties which resulted from that inconsistency. Further, both Smith and Maubert rightly conceded that there was no going back to the "bright days of yore." The crowds at Monte Carlo had fundamentally changed

67. Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 374-375. This passage includes a reference to "King Canute and the waves," a legend of King Canute's recognition of his inability to halt the waves of the sea or change the natural laws of the world.

and that fact necessitated that the SBM adapt in order to accommodate the pleasures of the varying classes of visitors.

One of the keys for managing the tenuous balance between operating as a site of mass tourism and promoting Monte Carlo as an exclusive destination was to encourage the audience to supplant the crowd. Casino-resort managers recognized that an audience of spectators, rather than a collection of junket tourists and Cook excursionists, represented the best hope for maintaining and re-presenting Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary as a select cosmopolitan resort of luxury, leisure, and pleasure. Despite wide-ranging leisure tastes among Monte Carlo's classes of visitors, the emphasis on spectacle and entertainment created a sense of shared experience among its patrons.

Vanessa Schwartz demonstrates that the spectacularization of everyday urban life in late-nineteenth century Paris pacified the mob. The crowd shifted its focus from violence to the consumption of spectacles and shared experience. Bennett also argues that spectacle had a regulatory function for urban crowds. He contends that "the exhibitionary complex . . . served not to atomize and disperse the crowd but to regulate it, and to do so by rendering it visible to itself, by making the crowd into the ultimate spectacle."⁶⁸ In Monte Carlo, spectacle did not serve to mitigate violence or control vacationers, but rather it made the crowd part of the multi-sensory display and helped to transform a diverse group into a (more or less) unified audience. Writing at the time, the French sociologist, Gabriel Tarde, similarly revealed the power of spectacle, marketing, and photo and print advertising on consumer taste and choice. He considered imitation an innate aspect of modern society and argued that the publicist's marketing efforts diminished the distinction between social classes.⁶⁹ By gravitating toward similar

68. Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 68.

69. Gabriel Tarde, *L'opinion et le foule* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1889), 59.

consumer and leisure pursuits, the crowd unified and imitation, instead of competition, defined the class variations of the crowd. Tarde explained that:

The public, after all, is only a species of commercial customers, but a very singular species . . . purchasing the same products in the same stores, dressing the same or [using] the same tailor, attending the same restaurant, establishes between people of the same world a social link . . . and thereby developing a union with social class that feeds, dresses, and satisfies all [consumer choices] in a somewhat similar manner. The economic fact, only noticed by economists therefore complicates an amicable relationship that also deserves to attract their attention. They consider themselves as the buyers of a product, or service, and as rivals competing for the object of their desire; but they are also and more importantly congeners looking to strengthen their similarity and to distinguish what they are not. Their desire is nourished by the desire of others, and even in their emulation, there is a secret sympathy which necessarily grows. [Shared experience or the presentation of shared experience in the press] makes this link more intimate and even deeper! Here, no one would talk about competition, there is a communion of ideas suggested, and the awareness of this communion – but it is nevertheless evident.⁷⁰

Further examples in this chapter and the next will demonstrate how the SBM and casino management encouraged the audience to supplant the mob in Monte Carlo's crowds of tourists; a shared experience of spectacles highlighted the exceptionality (and even the artificiality) of the city. With the inverse of Schwartz's Parisian observations, spectacular unrealities created a sense of shared experience among Monte Carlo's elite vacationers and middle class tourists, and helped the SBM to navigate its problematic paradox of success.

The construction of the beach club and summer casino, and the introduction of year-long resort tourism in Monte Carlo, brought in an even more varied crowd than those seen in the first few decades of the twentieth century. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the waning finances of White Russian émigrés also deprived the city of what had been the largest remaining group of wealthy aristocrats during the 1900s and 1910s. During the 1930s, an unnamed British observer described the motley crew of casino visitors during the summer as:

70. Ibid., 15-16.

[Y]ouths in singlets, jaunty negresses, blowzy blondes in pink pajamas, Spaniards with their jackets over their shoulders and sleeves loose, girls with raffia-coloured hair, middle-aged women in black, carrying their gambling systems under one arm, girls in green flannel trousers, and English couples in khaki breeches and old gentlemen in steaming braces.⁷¹

Spectacle could be found in the crowd itself, but not in the manifestation of what the SBM wished to present. Casino-resort promoters took steps not only to provide alluring entertainments for the variety of customers at the casino-resort but also to separate the colorful crowds of tourists from the upper class vacationers who better typified Monte Carlo's projected image. Camille Blanc had installed some private gaming rooms even in the late-nineteenth century, but upper class demands for additional private spaces and a buffer from the more boisterous crowd of budgeteers accelerated from 1920-1950. After construction finished on the International Sporting Club in 1932 it became the preferred site for gaming for many of Monte Carlo's most exclusive clientele, in no small part because admission to the building required an additional seasonal pass and the stamp of approval of the SBM.⁷²

Even the games offered in private and public rooms diverged over this time. In an effort to capitalize on the most recent gambling fads, and to make up for the loss of their roulette monopoly, the SBM adopted popular American games such as Blackjack and Craps (although the corporation still refused to implement the noisy and gaudy slot machines which had become a sensation in Nevada). One of the most widely-covered publicity moves for the city occurred in 1949, when the corporation sent Albert Jauffret, their chief croupier, and Louis Ceresol, the casino-resort's directeur des jeux, on a cultural mission to learn to shoot craps in Las Vegas in

71. Charles Graves, *The Big Gamble*, 148.

72. *Society: The Magazine of the Société des Bains de Mer*, 7 no. 2, (Summer 1987): 44, William Thompson Collection 87-063, Box 1 France & Monaco, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

hopes of drawing in more middle class tourists.⁷³ A reflection on the gaming rooms in the 1940s and 1950s demonstrated a remarkable difference in the rooms. At that time, newer games were relegated to the Salle des Amériques, while the Salle Europe required a different entrance card and offered more traditional games for the casino such as trente-et-quarante, baccarat, and roulette. Visitors remarked on the aural sensation of the Salle des Amériques, a humming interspersed with the occasional bellowing shout at the craps table and the clink of the register at the currency exchange – sounds that made visitors feel “[a] little bit as if [they] were coming out of a dream.” Such visitors’ experiences proved quite different than those of the Salle Europe, where “greater restraint by the players” evoked the feeling of “a return to the ‘grandes classes.’”⁷⁴ The authors recalled that the SBM had learned the lessons from intermixing such varied entertainments, even in games of chance, and had arranged the rooms with this knowledge in mind.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, the semi-regulated segregation of space in the Monte Carlo casino did not preclude a sense of shared experience among its vacationers. Spectacular displays and entertainments provided middle class tourists with a sense of belonging and commonality with the more exclusive guests. Clever use of spectacle enabled the SBM to provide mass tourists with an ‘authentic’ experience of Monte Carlo which they had marketed as an exclusive paradise of cosmopolitanism, luxury, and pleasure, while still maintaining buffers of privacy for more discriminating guests.

73. Michael Rougier, “Albert Jauffret (chief croupier) and Louis Ceresol (director general of gambling) or Monte Carlo casino resort learning to shoot craps at a casino in Las Vegas,” black and white photograph, *Life Magazine*, March, 1949, Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce Records MS 96-07, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, Las Vegas, Nevada, Box 11, Folder 1, Subfolder Life Magazine. See also *Monte-Carlo, règles des jeux, casino de Monte-Carlo, album souvenir – 1950* (Monaco: Monte-Carlo SBM, 1950), 16, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, FOL-V PIECE-2238, D3-804 L 4.31-A.

74. “Casinoscopie 1,” *Gamble Casino Magazine*, No. 5, 1983-1984, 41-42, William Thompson Collection 87-063, Box 1 France & Monaco, The University of Nevada Las Vegas Special Collections and The Center for Gaming Research, The Lied Library, Las Vegas, Nevada.

75. *Ibid.*, 41.

“Of These Components is Formed a World of Charm and Unreality”: Novelties, Artificiality, and the Creation of Common Experience through Spectacle

The SBM’s twentieth-century emphasis on spectacle did not waiver, often required a significant investment, and at times failed to be immediately remunerative. However, Camille Blanc, René Léon, and other SBM executives turned to spectacular presentations and entertainments to respond to the pressures the casino-resort faced from increasing competition, a shifting demographic, and a public which increasingly demanded new forms of entertainment. Spectacular presentations and attractions varied considerably, but could nearly always be found at the casino-resort. For the audiences, spectacles contained a participatory function: one was to take in the extravagant or surreal sights, but also to be seen doing it. For decades, the SBM had striven to make simply entering the gaming rooms of the casino a spectacular experience, and the growing diversity of casino patrons added to the exhibition. The Conty Guide echoed many contemporary travel guides when it warned that “you will feel aloof before this spectacle, unique to all the world,” and described the visitors in the gaming rooms as “[a] colorful crowd, the most heterogeneous of society, and [of all] the nationalities.”⁷⁶

The constant utilization of the Garnier Theater, exhibitions in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, the addition of the International Sporting Club, and the construction of a plethora of sporting venues underscored a renewed commitment to the presentation of spectacle in the principality. During this period the SBM emphasized four basic categories of spectacles: high culture, novelties, sports, and the exotic. High cultural offerings, from ballets, operas, artistic exhibitions, and concerts, represented the oldest and longest-lasting spectacles in Monte Carlo. Chiefly under the direction of Monaco’s longtime resident impresario, Raoul Gunsbourg, Monte Carlo became a world-renowned destination for high cultural spectacles and select artistic talent.

⁷⁶ Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty*, 281, 288.

Even in years of budgetary crisis, these sophisticated entertainment spectacles were well-funded and promoted.

Starting at the turn of the century and largely advocated by Camille Blanc, the SBM sponsored a considerable number of novelty spectacles. Casino-promoters inclined toward these unique diversions in order to attract a large audience of mass tourists. While some were instituted to capitalize on contemporary fads, there was often an intimate link between these novelties and the most modern technology of the day. Automobile trials and races, hydroplane exhibitions, dazzling lighting displays, motorboat competitions, and waterskiing acrobatics showcased new technologies and daring performers in the principality. The Grand Prix de Monaco exemplified the most successful of these novelty attractions and has garnered nearly as much fame and attention for Monte Carlo as has the casino, while vaudevillian acts such as the Japanese dancers “Takka-Takkaet and Yoga” and the somersaulters, “Headon and Durban,” are less-remembered oddities.⁷⁷

Monte Carlo’s fascination with exotic spectacle was perhaps the shortest-lived of the forms of spectacular exhibitions. It provides great insight into class anxieties at the casino-resort, avenues for social distinction, and the leisure tastes of early-twentieth century European vacationers. The next section will examine Monte Carlo’s brief but powerful turn to the exotic. Similarly, sporting spectacles in Monte Carlo have been an important part of the city’s projected image and spatial imaginary since the 1870s and continue to the present day. International sporting competitions in the principality have predated the FIFA World Cup, the Davis Cup, and the modern Olympic games, and have been central to the development of Monte Carlo’s cosmopolitan identity. This section will only provide a cursory glance at the numerous sporting spectacles that developed in Monte Carlo, but the following chapter will further analyze the role

⁷⁷ *Cannes, Nice, Monte-Carlo – 1923*, No. 3 and No. 7.

of sports in the city. Finally, a sense of unreality, and at times artificiality, permeated the casino-resort's spectacles. Visiting Monte Carlo and taking in the sundry spectacles offered by the SBM could not be confused with the banality of everyday life for vacationers. Sensational presentations and a break from daily life defined the commonality of experience in Monte Carlo.

The presence of high culture spectacles in Monte Carlo did not signify a new phenomenon of the twentieth century. Spectacular productions in the casino itself, and later in Garnier's Opéra de Monte-Carlo, had been a staple of the casino-resort's entertainment offerings since François Blanc had taken command of the SBM. However, the commitment to the fine arts intensified in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Construction of the Palais des



Figure 4.3. Eugène Trutat, *Palais des Beaux-Arts, Monte-Carlo, avril 1906*. (Source: Bibliothèque de Toulouse)

Beaux-Arts in the 1890s provided elite patrons with a venue for social gatherings as well as a posh setting for art exhibitions. Eugène Trutat's 1906 photograph of the building shows the site's prominence to Monte Carlo's resort-structure (located between the Hôtel de Paris and the casino), the remarkable attention to elegant landscaping near the edifice, and

the building's modern aesthetic. Designed in the glass and steel styling of the Belle Époque, and drawing inspiration from the exhibition buildings of recent world's fairs as well as the

competitor casino in Nice, Palais de la Jetée, the building matches contemporary notions of modernity (Figure 4.3).⁷⁸

Raoul Gunsbourg also provided stability to Monte Carlo's elite cultural offerings. The SBM and Princess Alice effectively poached Gunsbourg from the the Opéra de Nice where he had made a name for himself in the early 1890s. The Romanian-born impresario served nearly sixty years as the director of Monte Carlo's Opera and the general head of the city's elite entertainments, where he encouraged the SBM to provide a healthy budget to the arts and delivered a sense of steadiness to the city's artistic entertainments. Under Gunsbourg's direction, Monte Carlo became the permanent station, or at the very least temporary home, for world-class artists such as Jules Massenet, Jean-Gabriel Domergue, and Sergei Diaghilev.⁷⁹ More than the sunny climate and luxurious accommodations drew these artists to Monte Carlo; Enrico Caruso, Feodor Chaliapin, Arrigo Boito, Massenet, and the others sang, wrote, painted, designed, and scored in the city in part because the casino-resort's management offered a heftier fee for their services than anywhere else.⁸⁰ The incomparably high artistic fees paid out to Monte Carlo's performers demonstrated the SBM's commitment to providing captivating cultural offerings which competing resorts simply could not match. This resulted in a nearly constant exhibition of the fine arts. A byproduct of Gunsbourg's management and the SBM's generous budget to high culture was that Monte Carlo briefly became the rendezvous of a cosmopolitan network of world-class artists. Pablo Picasso, Jean Lorrain, Oscar Wilde, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Henri Matisse, Edith Wharton, Igor Stravinsky, Maurice Ravel, Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette, Graham Greene, Jean Cocteau, Guy de Maupassant, H. G. Wells,

78. Eugène Trutat, *Palais des Beaux-Arts, Monte-Carlo, avril 1906*, April, 1906, black and white photograph, Bibliothèque de Toulouse, http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/ark:/74899/B315556101_TRUC1779 (accessed February 4, 2016).

79. *Society*, 24.

80. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 110-111.

Anton Chekhov, Isadora Duncan, Joseph Conrad, Josephine Baker, and all of the artists brought in by Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes served an artistic residency in Monte Carlo and formed both formal and casual artistic societies.⁸¹ Their presence at the resort added to the spectacle and lent credence to the city's reputation as a cultural center in the conversation with Paris, London, and Berlin.



Figure 4.4. Eugène Trutat, "Fête des fleurs, Monte-Carlo, avril 1905," no. 3102. (Source: Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse)



Figure 4.5. Eugène Trutat, "Fête des fleurs, Monte-Carlo, avril 1905," no. 2958. (Source: Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse)

The SBM had provided less-refined novelty entertainment options as far back as the 1870s; however, the early decades of the twentieth century saw a precipitous rise in the amount of novelty spectacles presented to Monte Carlo's patrons. As early as the 1900s, novel mass spectacles were arranged for audience comfort, but also to be easily photographed. The prospect of capturing the displays for posterity and as souvenirs for Monte Carlo's guests made such arrangements a priority. Eugène Trutat's photographic series of the Fête des Fleurs in April of

81. Hale, *The French Riviera*. Julian Hale provides an excellent account of the range of celebrated artists who worked in Monte Carlo during the early decades of the twentieth century.

1905 demonstrated the preoccupation with photographic positioning. The event itself, a carnivalesque parade of flowers essentially plagiarized from Nice's longstanding festival, was not the hit that Camille Blanc had hoped it would be. The parade drew a crowd of several hundred spectators, but attracted more locals and children (both of whom were barred from the gaming tables) than expected (Figures 4.4 and 4.5).⁸² Nonetheless, the event organizers aligned the crowds against the most photographic backdrops of the parade route. Similarly, Trutat's photograph of an audience viewing a motorboat race in 1909 subtly shows a sizeable, but segregated crowd. More exclusive guests occupy positions in and around the salles d'armes, a semi-regulated space at the Tir aux Pigeons. The larger, and more diverse crowd, watches from above on the casino's rear terrace (Figure 4.6).⁸³

82. Eugène Trutat, "Fête des fleurs, Monte-Carlo, avril 1905," series of 15 black and white photographs, Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, Num Photos., 3298, 3280, 2946, 2945, 3295, 3279, 2944, 3281, 3283, 3241, 3880, 3881, 3102, 2958, and 3885.

83. Eugène Trutat, "Monte-Carlo, course de canots automobiles, avril 1909," black and white photograph, 9 x 12, April 1909, Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, Num Phot., 3887.

Entertainment organizers designed other exhibitions to provide vacationers with the most modern fads or entertainments. Niche sports, which had not yet gained popularity as spectator sports, managed to draw substantial crowds at Monte Carlo, in part because of their uniqueness. In 1922, an audience of several thousand saw the



Figure 4.6. Eugène Trutat, “Monte-Carlo, course de canots automobiles, avril 1909.” (Source: Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse)

Société de Gymnastique de Caen perform in one of the first continental exhibitions of Netball, an early derivative of basketball (Figure 4.7).⁸⁴ Billed as women’s basketball, advertisements for the event focused on the gender of the competitors. The audience was relegated to one side of

84. Agence de presse Meurisse, “Monte Carlo, basket Ball: Société de Gymnastique de Caen,” black and white photograph, 13 x 22, 1922, Gallica – Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90382165.r=Monte%20Carlo%20basket%20ball> (accessed February 5, 2016).

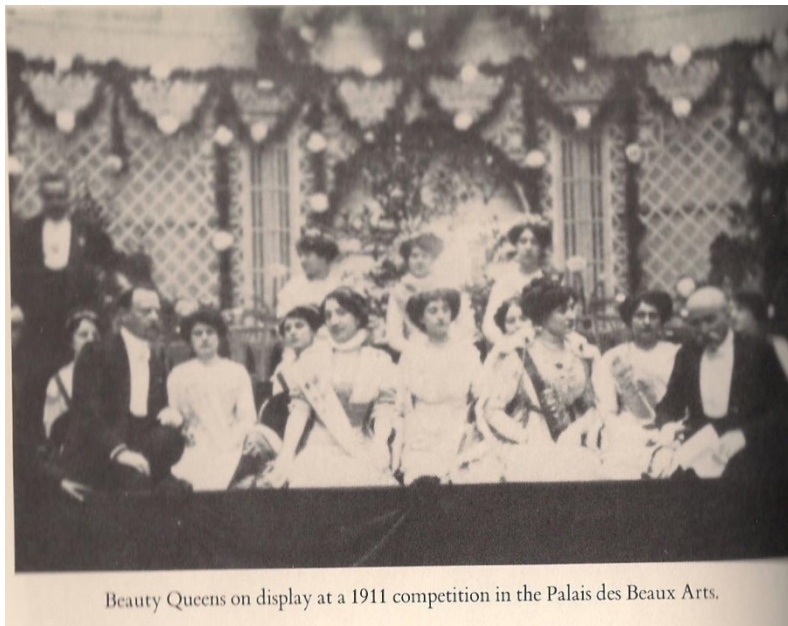


Figure 4.7. Agence de presse Meurisse, “Monte Carlo, basket Ball: Société de Gymnastique de Caen,” 1922. (Source: Gallica, BNF)

the court, in no small part due to photographic staging. Likewise, public events such as dog shows and beauty pageants afforded audiences with theatrical displays and competitions, but were also staged for photographic souvenirs. Monte Carlo’s beauty pageants, which tended to repel the principality’s more-discerning guests, nevertheless attracted large crowds and many participants. A photograph of one such pageant in 1911 illustrated the staged and scripted nature of the event. A dozen young ladies, surrounded by judges, are placed in front of a florally festooned lattice, on a curtained-stage in the back of the Palais des Beaux-Arts (Figure 4.8).⁸⁵

85. “Beauty Queens on display at a 1911 competition in the Palais des Beaux Arts,” black and white photograph in Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (Briarcliff Manor, NY: Stein and Day, 1975), photographic insert.

While the competitions crowned a winner, Camille Blanc made sure to spare the feelings of the more homely participants, all of whom consisted of casino-resort patrons. Each contestant received some award, from “most congenial” to outlandishly contrived categories like “best parasol.” The spectacle was important, but the guests’ happiness and pleasure were also considerations. These novelties were as varied as they were frequent; however, they generally succeeded in attracting a large audience and in providing tangible evidence of a shared experience.



Beauty Queens on display at a 1911 competition in the Palais des Beaux Arts.
 Figure 4.8. “Beauty Queens on display at a 1911 competition in the Palais des Beaux Arts.” (Source: Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*)

Many were designed as mass spectacles and linked to modern technology, presenting vacationers with thrilling feats, a communal experience, and photographic souvenirs of the events. In 1909, the SBM advertised for the “offer[s] of substantial prizes for flights across the Bay of Monaco. . . . [Henri] Rougier, a famous French cyclist and automobilist,

[in early March] made some thrilling flights above Monaco Bay, photographs of which we reproduce.”⁸⁶ The photograph of the Rougier’s exploit shows his biplane skimming the masts of the many yachts in the crowded bay. Spectators in boats, yachts, piers, and terraces focus on the

86. The Paris Correspondent of *Scientific American*, “Rougier’s Spectacular Monaco Flights,” *Scientific American*, April 23, 1910, 324.

plane, and the caption admits that the event “THRILLED MONACO FOR TWO WEEKS.”⁸⁷

The photograph demonstrated a separation of classes, elite vacationers on yachts and the less select on docks and terraces, but underscored the shared experience of such a spectacle. Rougier repeated his daring flight several times throughout March (receiving a purse from the SBM for each attempt) and even managed to gain a great height over Mont Agel. The novel spectacle, the brainchild of Camille Blanc, proved so popular with all manner of patrons that he continued to fund such flying feats and even organized the Coupe d'Aviation Maritime Jacques Schneider, a celebrated international seaplane race, for the first time in Monaco in 1913. Rougier, who had whetted his appetite on the hefty prizes for aerial accomplishments which the SBM awarded, found the principality's pavement as profitable; he walked away with the grand prize from the first Rallye Automobile Monte Carlo in 1911.

The decision to pursue motor racing in Monaco seemed a logical turn for the SBM. Airplanes, speed boats, and especially cars enthralled large swathes of Monte Carlo's visitors. Spectator racing events had long been a popular pastime and entertainment for their patrons, particularly the French, and motor racing represented modernity, speed, thrills, and measured risk. Even in the earliest days of automobiles, endurance and gradient trials abounded in Monaco. Motorists sought to break records climbing the steep inclines of the Maritimes-Alpes and the geological and geographic boundaries made Monaco a frequent terminus for lengthy trips. The automobile had already become an important symbol of modernity and excitement in the principality when Prince Albert organized the first Rallye Auto de Monte Carlo in order to provide another alluring distraction for the city's guests and to demonstrate the capabilities of modern automobile engineering. The race was a grand success, enchanting the audience and

87. “Rougier flying over the yachts in the Bay of Monaco in his Voisin biplane,” black and white photograph, March, 1910 in *Scientific American*, April 23, 1910, 324.

sparkling lengthy discussion of the race at the casino-resort. However, the event proved somewhat problematic as a spectacular entertainment because, as part of a 28-hour race from Paris to Monaco, it provided only a fleeting moment of spectacle for the audience. A photograph of the second year of the race, in 1912, showed a particularly deserted rallying point near the Hôtel d’Orient shortly after the race. Judging the cars’ quality and state of repair factored into the time of the competition, yet no spectators appear in the photograph for the judging process (Figure 4.9).⁸⁸ While the race was popular with patrons, and that popularity grew throughout the twentieth century, the SBM and Camille Blanc sought to bring in more spectacles which emphasized the contemporary technological marvels of the finest cars and airplanes, but provided audiences in Monaco with longer-lasting displays.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 4.9. Agence Rol., “Monte-Carlo, rallye auto, vue générale,” January 24, 1912. (Source: Gallica, BNF)

Flying exhibitions became something of a commonality in the Monégasque sky. Historian Robert Wohl contends that throughout Europe and North America, flight fascinated audiences and created spectacles that represented mankind’s achievements and seemingly defied what was

88. Agence Rol., “Monte-Carlo, rallye auto, vue générale,” black and white press photograph, January 24, 1912, Gallica Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6920216z.r=monte%20carlo%20rallye%20auto> (accessed February 6, 2016).

thought to be possible. Wohl explains that:

The airplane remained during its first four decades of existence a magical contrivance that had little to do with most people's everyday lives. . . . it largely [existed] through the form of spectacle. . . . I shall argue that one of the great attractions of flight for the men and women who engaged in it during the 1920s and 1930s was the visual excitement that it offered, an excitement that was often combined with a sense of awe that merged on mysticism and a feeling of contact with the divine.⁸⁹

As such, flight fit the dreamlike model of spectacle presented at Monte Carlo. The city was one of the earliest to embrace the powerful spectacle of aerial exhibitions. The SBM offered hefty purses for aerial feats in the days preceding the Schneider Trophy. In 1913, a course from Monaco to Beaulieu to San Remo and back drew nine competitors; each aviator crashed before completing the course, but delighted the crowds in Monaco and earned a consolation prize of 13,000 francs from the SBM (none of the pilots experienced serious injury). The corporation placed similar bounties for endurance flights from Paris and for flying at world-record speeds.⁹⁰

The flight and automobile craze in Monte Carlo spawned a slew of motorcar and flying clubs, schools, and top-of-the-line mechanic shops in the city. Working with the Automobile Club de Monaco, René Léon solved the problem of the fleeting spectacle of the Rallye Auto. The rally remained a popular event, but the Monaco Grand Prix provided the excitement of world-class auto racing while keeping the spectacle wholly within the principality. Stanley Jackson notes that “Léon followed Camille Blanc’s example of multiplying the lures at Monte Carlo. The American chorus girls at the Summer Casino shed a new glamour and the Monte Carlo Grand Prix – the world’s first round-the-houses motor-car race – provided a fresh range of

⁸⁹ Robert Wohl, *The Spectacle of Flight: Aviation and the Western Imagination 1920-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 4. For further discussion on the use of flight as spectacle and aviation’s impact on modern Western societies, see Robert Wohl, *A Passion for Wings: Aviation and the Western Imagination, 1908-1918* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁹⁰ Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 114-115.

thrills.”⁹¹ Most importantly, the race created the ultimate spectacle in Monte Carlo – and the ultimate audience. Within the first two decades of the Grand Prix, the race’s attendance topped out at over 100,000, a staggering figure for a country with an area of less than a square mile. Photographic depictions of speed and the crowd for the Monaco Grand Prix, and other less celebrated competitions, became prominent souvenirs for the casino-resort.⁹² The popularity and profitability of the race, which has become arguably as recognizable a part of Monaco as the celebrated casino, turned what had started as a novelty exhibition into a lasting mass spectacle.

Other novelty spectacles featured smaller events open to a few hundred guests at a time, held in the Palais des Beaux-Arts (which had fallen out of fashion by the 1920s) or in open-admission nights at the winter sporting club. In the spring of 1923 alone, Le Palais des Beaux-Arts and the International Sporting Club hosted an astonishing variety. These sometimes bizarre events frequently featured less-celebrated performers and instead focused on the promise of exotic flavor from a faraway land. In a span of 26 days, these venues hosted acts described as:

The Three Arizonans – Indian Jugglers, the dancers Misquette and Maxly, Jimmy Fletcher – American Contortionist, tight-rope walker Les Willy Roles, a company of Russian dancers, French singer Suzanne Chevalier accompanied by the Spanish Ballet, The Ballet Oriental, Argentina’s ‘La Reine des Castagnettes’ and Spanish Dance, ‘The Art of Eccentricity’ by Soccodato, the eccentric acts of husband and wife team Chiuko [*sic*] and Kaufman, the somersaulters Headon and Durban, Russian burlesque dancers, and flamenco dancing by Laura de Santelmo.⁹³

Such a schedule suggests a concerted effort by the SBM to present a variety of novelty acts and spectacles meant to represent several cultures and nationalities. Furthermore, material promoting the acts emphasized the performers’ nationalities or origins. In fact, the incorrect spelling of the group “Chinko and Kaufman” may have been an intentional oversight in order to add an aura of authenticity to the act. The geographical and cultural roots of the entertainers were critical parts

91. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 127.

92. *Monte-Carlo, règles des jeux*, Photograph souvenirs of sporting spectacles, 8-9.

93. *Cannes, Nice, Monte-Carlo – 1923, No. 3 and No. 7*.

of the experience offered at the International Sporting Club. These novelty spectacles, held mostly in private rooms (normally reserved for club members but open to the public for these events) essentially provided experiences from across the globe to middle-class vacationers, in combination or in quick succession and in one place.

The authenticity of these international experiences is questionable; for example, the Three Arizonans were not Native American and the Ballet Oriental was simply a sub-sect of the Ballet Russe performing interpretations of East Asian and Middle Eastern dance. Laurel Victoria Gray contends that the Ballet Oriental segment of the Ballet Russe:

[E]nchanted the world with its portrayals of forbidden harems and provocative temptresses . . . the genius of Russian composers, dancers, choreographers, and theatrical designers merged to create a dazzling vision of the exotic East, a vision so powerful that it continues to shape popular notions about Eastern dance to the present day.⁹⁴

Despite its stereotypes and inauthenticity, club members consumed such visual and aural spectacle as effective experiences of the exoticized East. The mix of high culture through ballet and orchestras and the more vaudevillesque acts implied that the international cultural experiences of the familiar (the Americas and Europe), and the Oriental (Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East) were more of a topos than a place. The sensory and artistic experiences of the other mattered more than location or authenticity. Social planners like Elsa Maxwell devoted a considerable amount of time to framing events in the sporting clubs, and the social interactions within, that focused on the consumption of these novel cultural spectacles from around the world.

Deviation and differentiation from everyday life marked one constant of the large variety of spectacles in Monte Carlo. In fact, visitors often commented on the (albeit stunning)

94. Laurel Victoria Gray, "Envisioning the East: Russian Orientalism and the Ballet Russe," presented at the Second International Conference on Middle Eastern Dance, May 2001, 1.

artificiality and unreality of these spectacular displays. Filson Young's account at the beginning of this chapter falls into this vein. Young made it clear that vacation life in was a "charmed existence of pleasure" and an "unreal world" that remained distinct from the "normal life of man."⁹⁵ Rosalie Schwartz has likened this illusory practice, common in tourism industries, to a stage drama, where spectacularly staged and scripted experiences are packaged for the tourist, while the "haphazard backstage drama" of real life is obscured.⁹⁶ Young's vivid descriptions of the casino-resort perhaps affirm Rosalie Schwartz's tourism-stage analogy. For Young, visiting the casino was remarkably artificial, intensely participatory, and seductively inebriating – in essence it was performing a play. He described the typical day at the casino-resort, when:

The dust of the day has subsided; lamps glow amid the flowers; men and women, some of the most lovely of women and the most beautifully attired, **walk on the spotless pavements as though they walked on a lighted stage.** The murmur of music, melodies of passion and romance, steal from violins out of the cafés and among the trees. There is a rustle of feet, a whisper of dresses, a hum of voices. This is under the evening sky; but as you pass under the great portals of the Casino and enter the rooms the odour of the evening and the perfumes of flowering shrubs **fade and vanish suddenly like an overture that is ended.** The lights blaze from the chandeliers on the decorated walls and marble floor of the atrium; the atmosphere thickens, becomes less fragrant, less sparkling, grows heavy and overpowering like a drug. Room after room opens before you filled with a throng that flows in and out and moves in eddying orbits round the tables. There is something in the atmosphere that is strange and compelling; you realise that you are approaching the heart of something, that you are coming near the centre of a system of tides and currents and influences that has drawn men and women from North and South, and East and West, from San Francisco and from St. Petersburg, from the Northern and the Southern Seas. . . . You look more closely still, you look at the hedge of faces set about the table. What do you see? **Upon most of them there is a mask; hardly any one is himself or herself there; everyone is pretending.** Some are pretending to indifference, some are pretending to certainty. . . . Behind you are the light and clamour, the hot excitement and intoxication of the gold-drugged atmosphere, **the garish, artificial day of pleasure.**⁹⁷

95. Young, "Monte Carlo," 17-18.

96. Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island*, xi-xii.

97. Young, "Monte Carlo," 25-28, 32. Emphases are my own.

Young's description underscores the theatrical and spectacular elements of the casino visit: walking on a lighted stage, entering a room full of music, lights blazing like on a stage, and the performative sociability of the crowd. He conceded that this participatory, theatrical spectacle was part of the recipe for excitement and pleasure at the casino-resort. Young concluded that "of these components is formed a world of charm and unreality where in the twentieth century of the Christian era the civilisation of pleasure has come to its zenith."⁹⁸

Other visitors, and even authors of popular fiction, picked up on the unreality and artificiality of Monte Carlo. One young British woman declared that the well-lit casino grounds "seemed an illusion of the senses too beautiful to be real. This impression of unreality was emphasized when, at the final breaking of the dawn, the opalescent reflections of the sun upon the windows gave an appearance of Oriental splendor reminiscent of the Arabian Nights' entertainment."⁹⁹ The surreal reaction likely matched what the SBM had envisioned when it had hired Loie Fuller, the American 'Goddess of Light,' to design the lighting system near the casino entrance and terraces. Known as a pioneer of colored lighting spectacles, Fuller combined lighting displays and music, and had gained much acclaim for her productions at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris.

Comments on the surreal nature of spectacle and the casino-resort and the artificiality of Monte Carlo became so prevalent, that they became a staple in fictional depictions of the town. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, William Henry Bishop wrote of "[t]he excessive trimness and prettiness of everything in the foreground" and how that effect "especially struck

98. *Ibid.*, 16.

99. *Woman's Beauty – At a Price: A Romance of Monte Carlo* quoted in O. Plucky, B. Careful, and C. Wisdom, *All about Monte Carlo and Roulette*, 192.

the new-comers.”¹⁰⁰ Bishop continued with a lengthy description of the artificial, almost sterile, aspect of the stage-like presentation of life in Monte Carlo. He concluded that “the ruling traditions of the place, the long-established sense of ‘good form,’ repressed all unpleasant manifestations there.”¹⁰¹ Similarly, in 1914, Guy Thorne marveled at the surreal change of scenery in the city. Thorne remarked that:

The gardens that surround this palace are the most beautiful in the world. Sometimes, as if by touch of an enchanter's wand, the thousand gardeners steal out in the night, and in the morning vast parterres of flowers, which had been all red and gold as the sun sank, are changed to blue and white.¹⁰²

Guests and popular authors alike made it clear that the spectacles they experienced in Monte Carlo were extraordinary, at times artificial, and far removed from everyday life. However, spectacle was an important part of the shared vacation experience in the city, for elite guests and for mass tourist budgeteers. The dazzling, spectacular unrealities at Monte Carlo entered the popular imagination and in fact became an attractive aspect of vacationing in the city.

Harem Dancers, Gypsies, and Exotic Fantasy on Stage: Examining Self and “Other” through the Ballets Russes in Monte Carlo

In April of 1911, Frederic Wicht, the Director General of the Monte Carlo Casino, finalized a contract to make Sergei Diaghilev’s ballet troupe, The Ballet Russes, a permanent institution at the city’s casino-resort. Contracting entertainers, even for lengthy engagements, was a common occurrence at Monte Carlo and for the SBM, which prided itself on providing guests with an impressively large number of diversions. As such, the details of engaging Diaghilev’s then-itinerant ballet troupe would normally have been arranged by the resort’s Theatre Director, Raoul

100. William Henry Bishop, *A Pound of Cure: A Story of Monte Carlo* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1894), 54.

101. *Ibid.*, 146.

102. Guy Thorne, *Chance in Chains: A Story of Monte Carlo* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Company, 1914), 88.

Gunsbourg.¹⁰³ However, Wicht, and indeed the four directors of the SBM's administrative committee, considered the Ballet Russes's residency at Monte Carlo so important that for each contract they personally negotiated what would have normally been considered a routine and mundane agreement themselves.¹⁰⁴ The recent demographic shifts in the casino-resort's patronage in no small part motivated the attention to which Wicht and other casino promoters focused on the Russian impresario. Monte Carlo, in short, had an image problem. Since the resort-town's inauguration in the 1860s, the SBM had promoted Monte Carlo as an exclusive site of cosmopolitan luxury for the world's elite: a marketing effort which had far surpassed the casino corporation's loftiest expectations.¹⁰⁵ As the number of annual visitors to Monaco grew, it became increasingly more difficult for the SBM to successfully frame the resort-town as an exclusive destination. Signing Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes as permanent performers in Monte Carlo served as part of a sweeping effort by the SBM to balance its operations as a mass tourist destination and its promotion to the Western world's elite, cosmopolitan vacationers that the resort city was still an exclusive site of luxury and leisure.

The casino administration considered contracting the Ballets Russes an important endeavor for two principal reasons. First, since founding the Ballets Russes in the guise of the Imperial Russian Ballet in 1909, Diaghilev (who neither danced, choreographed, composed, or painted, but was a masterful alchemist in organizing these components) had experienced extraordinary success in Europe's cultural crucibles: London and Paris. His productions differed notably from Western European ballets of the era, which audiences mostly received as stale and

103. For more details please see Georges Detaille and Gérard Mulys, *Les Ballets de Monte-Carlo 1911—1944* (Paris: Éditions Arc-en-Ciel), 1954, 11-17; and Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo*, 336-337.

104. "Engagement," series of contracts between M. F. Wicht and M. Sergei Diaghilev, April 1911-August 17, 1913, Archives SBM, presented in "Étonne-moi! Serge Diaghilev et les Ballets Russes" exhibited at the *Salle des Arts du Sporting d'Hiver*, July 9 – August 30, 2009, organized by The Nouveau musée national de Monaco and under the presidency of H.R.H. Caroline, Princess of Hanover.

105. Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*, 159.

unoriginal. Léon Bakst's colorful backgrounds and sets, Mikhail Fokine's earthy Polovtsian choreography, and new, *avant-garde* scores from Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Igor Stravinsky provided a decidedly Russian tint to London and Paris's cultural seasons. London's *Daily Mail* commented that "in the summer, the Russians, with their *Cléopâtre*, *Schéhérazade*, and the rest, instilled in us a taste for something different – the *art nouveau* ballet, which has spread broad wings in flight away from and above the old French tradition."¹⁰⁶

Monte Carlo's casino promoters desired novel and exciting, but refined and technically elegant, art to entertain its guests and fill Charles Garnier's world-renowned theater. Diaghilev's productions had enraptured, and better yet, shocked, Paris, the city which Monte Carlo held up as both an inspiration and rival for high culture and sophistication.¹⁰⁷ Second, casino management and patrons alike associated the Ballets Russes with exoticism and the Orient. Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary already incorporated the discourse of oriental fantasy, cultivated in no small part by the SBM's marketing experts. Travelogues, novels, promotional material, and advertisements described the opulence, luxury, and *féerie* of Monte Carlo's gardens, terraces, and décor, compared the casino to Aladdin's Palace, evoked the Saracen legend of Armide, and called the city an Oriental Paradise.¹⁰⁸ These exotic associations between the casino-resort and the perceived luxuries and abandon of the Orient alone made the ballet troupe's repertoire, which included a seductive veil dance and bacchanal in *Cléopâtre* and a harem orgy in *Schéhérazade*,

106. *The Daily Mail*, October 17, 1911, quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 46.

107. Arnold L. Haskell, *Ballet Russe: The Age of Diaghilev*, Pageant of History, ed. John Gross (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 69-72.

108. For examples of this discourse, please see Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale*, 307; Gustave Larroumet, "untitled speech on the life and works of Charles Garnier," (speech delivered in Paris, France, November 5, 1899), quoted in Philippe Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur. Monaco, Monte-Carlo et les environs, par Philippe Casimir : Le Passe et le Présent Vues – Portraits – Plans – 1903* (Nice : Éditions de la Ste de Publicité des Pays D'azur, 1903), 197-198; Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur*, 260; Valentine Vattier d'Ambroyse, *Le Littoral de la France* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1889), 566, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-12148, 4- L17-26; and Guy de Maupassant, *Sur l'eau: De Saint-Tropez à Monte-Carlo*, French Edition, (Paris: Encre, 1979), 121.

an attractive option for Monte Carlo's nightly entertainment offerings. However, the troupe's residency in Monte Carlo provided the city's elite patrons with a forum for social distinction, and even self-reflection, at the resort. In her book, *The Orient of the Boulevards*, Angela Pao demonstrates the pervasiveness of exoticism and the Orient, particularly in the theater, and the influence exotic cultural forms had on "the prevailing social, political, and intellectual concerns in France."¹⁰⁹ At least for French patrons (which were by far the most numerous of Monte Carlo's visitors in the prewar era), the Orient would have been a familiar theme for an evening's entertainment, and would have evoked feelings of fantasy, unreality, and self-reflection.¹¹⁰

By the fin de siècle, and especially in Monte Carlo and Paris, this longstanding taste for the Orient had merged with a burgeoning celebrity culture centered upon *Les Grandes Horizontales*: a handful of beautiful women, entertainers, and courtesans such as Cléo de Mérode, Liane de Puigy, and Caroline Otéro.¹¹¹ Through the Ballets Russes's exotic designs, themes, and costumes, and particularly through the celebration of prima ballerinas who embodied Oriental splendor, seduction, and sensuality, Monte Carlo's casino-resort and theater became a site of ordering and "othering," a place for self-reflection and the examination of Europeanness and Western identity, pitted against an Oriental other.¹¹² It also paved new creative and artistic ground, and briefly provided the city's elite patrons with original and

109. Pao, *The Orient of the Boulevards*, 3.

110. *Ibid.*, 85.

111. For more information regarding *Les Grandes Horizontales*, their connections to Monte Carlo's casino-resort, and the formation of a proto-celebrity culture, see Michael D. Garval, *Cléo de Mérode and the Rise of Modern Celebrity Culture*, (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012); Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 92; Liane de Pougy, *Mes cahiers bleus* (Paris: Plon, 1977); and Carmen Posadas, *La Bella Otero* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 2001).

112. On establishing a national or European identity through the rhetorical effects of representations of "otherness" see Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 67; and Conklin, *In the Museum of Man*, 102-107. Similarly, Ann Laura Stoler argues that, despite the fluidity of colonial categories, encounters with a colonial "other" helped to create a sense of "Europeanness" among colonizers. The "otherness" of colonial subjects not only stressed a colonizer's Dutch or French identity, but their European identity as well. See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 8-9, 78-79, 101-103.

exclusive cultural terrain, thereby helping balance the city's exclusive image and practice as a mass tourist destination. By the late 1910s, middle-class vacationers, emulating the cultural elite, consumed performances of the Ballets Russes and called for ever-more exotic, and stereotypical, performances. Revivals of the troupe's repertoire throughout the twentieth century speak to its legacy as a cultural icon in Monte Carlo and the continued consumption of oriental exoticism in European leisure pursuits.

For a brief period from 1911 to 1915, the Ballets Russes's residency in Monte Carlo served as new cultural terrain for Europe's tastemakers. The city itself struggled to maintain its strained reputation as an elite and exclusive site of leisure while operating as a mass tourism destination. The casino resort's diversions, which in previous decades had been considered among the finest classical entertainments in the world, had diverged into novelties or stale renderings of classic high culture. The casino management brought in Diaghilev, and through him a wealth of talent known for their commitment to an exotic, *arte nouveau*.¹¹³ SBM executives and vacationers who had seen the ballet troupe's repertoire in Paris expressed shock when the company inaugurated their residency with a performance of *Giselle* (1848) and the *Swan Lake* (1876): decidedly traditional and unoriginal. Arnold Haskell remarked that "for once, Diaghilev had failed to gauge public taste. The colour of Bakst's *Cléopâtre* and *Schéhérazade* had made Benois' moonlight seem insipid . . . to the Parisian sophisticate *Giselle* belonged to the dust-laden storeroom of the opera."¹¹⁴

Chastened by the lukewarm reception to the troupe's traditional fare and convinced of his relative creative autonomy in Monte Carlo, Diaghilev quickly returned to his exotic subject matter. This resulted in a dramatic shift in elite leisure in Europe and the beginning of a new and

113. Haskell, *Ballet Russe*, 58-59.

114. *Ibid.*, 70.

experimental form of high cultural art. Lynn Garagola charts Diaghilev's successes with the summation that:

In short order, Monte Carlo witnessed the triumphs of [his] first Paris seasons, exotic works like *Scheherazade* (1910), *Cleopatre* (1909), and the Polovtsian dances from *Prince Igor* (1909), which electrified audiences with their hot colors, throbbing rhythms, and a constellation of themes drawn from Symbolism, decadence, and the iconography of the fin-de-siècle – all new to ballet.¹¹⁵

Diaghilev's Parisian accomplishments, and his ascendant reputation as the designer of all-new and fascinating exotic displays, meant that he entered his contract in Monte Carlo as one of the most fashionable artists of the time in the eyes of European elites. Diana Vreeland, an influential twentieth-century French-American fashionista, echoed Garagola's appraisal of Diaghilev's work as groundbreaking and original when she concluded:

He brought with him a tone of savagery, Oriental refinement, extraordinary design and color, as well as moods, music, and dancing, that had never before been seen or heard in Western Europe. The influence of Diaghilev, that magician of the theater, changed the culture of our century, and the page was turned forever on La Belle Epoque.¹¹⁶

During the prewar period, the troupe infrequently returned to traditional ballets, and met harsh reviews when they did. A critic in the British society journal, *The Lady*, remarked in October of 1911 that "Surely Karsavina never looked so beautiful or so fascinating as in that rich Oriental dress [in *Schéhérazade*] and never danced with more suggestive fascination! But the new ballet, *Giselle*, 'left us cold,' and the phrase rather fits the subject, for the second act is a ghostly one."¹¹⁷

115. Lynn Garagola, "Workshop of the Muses: Sergei Diaghilev and Monte Carlo," in *A Feast of Wonders: Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes*, ed. John E. Bowlt, Zelfira Tregulova, and Nathalie Rosticher Giordano (Milan: Skira Editore S.p.A., 2009), 33.

116. Diana Vreeland, "Introduction," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Diaghilev: Costumes & Designs of the Ballets Russes*, temporary display guide, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 1.

117. *The Lady*, October 26, 1911 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 48.

European elites, it seemed, could not get enough of the oriental fantasy brought to life on Diaghilev's stage in Monte Carlo. French high society, in particular, turned to the exoticism of the Ballets Russes and appropriated Arabic and Eastern themes into elite culture. The exotic aesthetic which the troupe consistently displayed in Monte Carlo became a distinguishing facet of elite taste and identity. Contemporaries recalled that "[t]he exoticism of the Ballet Russe was soon taken up by the grands courtiers, led by Paul Poiret; oriental balls became the rage; and the Russian influence could be felt in poster-design and interior decoration."¹¹⁸ Poiret, the celebrated Parisian fashion designer led the charge in terms of this high cultural exotic turn. The Ballets Russes's vibrantly colored costumes and flowing wraps inspired many of his designs and generated an international market for oriental fashion and accessories (Figures 4.10 and 4.11).¹¹⁹ Demand for turbans, lampshade skirts, and colorful, flowing dresses outpaced supply in London, where fashionable elites were forced to simply read about the trendsetting culture in Paris.

Poiret remarked on how quickly the ballet and his costume designs inspired imitators. While at the Garnier Opera House in Paris, he "noticed one woman in the stalls who might have walked out of a seraglio. . . . Her dress was all rich silks and embroidered with no shape in it, and her head was wound round with a turban. She was quite an exception."¹²⁰ The impression the ballet had on fashion was even felt in America, where Chicago's Marshall Field advertised:

Simultaneously with the Russian Ballet's appearance here, we are displaying Original Costumes designed by Bakst and Costumes worn by the artists in certain of the ballets. It will be interesting to note the influence of these Costumes on

118. Haskell, *Ballet Russe*, 64.

119. For examples of the costumes which influenced Poiret and his competitors, please see Léon Bakst, "Narcisse," a Bacchanate depicted in watercolor, pencil, and metallic paint, 1909; Léon Bakst, "Costume for Jewish dancer in *Cléopâtre*, pencil and watercolor, 1911; Léon Bakst, "*Cléopâtre* – A Syrian Dancer," pencil and watercolor, 1913; Léon Bakst, "Fantasie sur le costume modern," 1910 all displayed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Diaghilev: Costumes & Designs of the Ballets Russes*, temporary display guide, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 10, 13, 15, 25; and "Le Dieu Bleu," black and white photograph of Nijinsky, 1912, displayed in Detaille and Mulys, *Les Ballets de Monte-Carlo*, 61.

120. Paul Poiret quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 40-41.

women's clothes of the moment – the new Suits, Coats, Frocks, Skirts and Blouses revealing this Russo-Oriental influence in pleasing modification.¹²¹

To avoid allegations of blatant imitation, Poiret claimed that his designs were not wholly inspired by Bakst's and the ballet's designs, by remarking on the overall change to European elite culture. "The East is in the air," he said.¹²² He may have been correct. Poiret and other Parisian elites threw lavish parties entitled "The 1,002nd Night" which required attendees to wear "gauzy hoop skirts which immediately became a fashion craze."¹²³

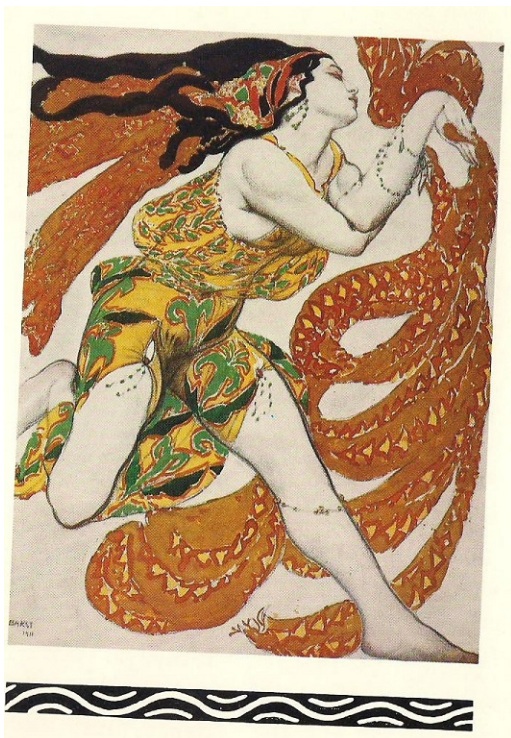


Figure 4.10. Léon Bakst, "Narcisse," 1909. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Diaghilev: Costumes & Designs of the Ballets Russes*)



Figure 4.11. Léon Bakst, "Fantasie sur le costume modern," 1910. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Diaghilev: Costumes & Designs of the Ballets Russes*)

121. Advertisement insert in the program for the Chicago debut of the Ballets Russes, February 13, 1916 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 154.

122. Paul Poiret quoted in Richard Buckle, "Diaghilev Reprieved," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Diaghilev: Costumes & Designs of the Ballets Russes*, temporary display guide, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 2.

123. Paul Poiret quoted in MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed*, 40-41.

The association of the Diaghilev, Bakst, Fokine, and the Monte Carlo Ballets Russes with exoticism proved so great, that members of European expeditions in Africa began to adopt the language of the ballet and the artists' names in their descriptions of remote colonial holdings. More than a decade after the Ballets Russes had premiered their exotic ballets, Stella Court Treatt, part of a British motorized expedition in African from Cape to Cairo, reflected on the romance of African evenings, and connected the exotic sights and sounds of Rhodesia to Europe. For Court Treatt, a clear linkage existed between the two places and their culture: "a Bakst stage-setting."¹²⁴ In 1924, Georges-Marie Haardt and Louis Audouin-Dubreuil, the leaders of a similar French expedition financed by Andre Citroën, referenced the Ballets Russes as a cultural touchstone to convey the exotic, oriental, and surreal experiences of traveling through Africa by car. Upon encountering a group of Arab horsemen near Bourem, in the Gao province of modern Mali, the expedition was tempted to:

Call this the prologue to one of Scheherazade's nights. VISIONS FROM THE EAST. The illusion continues. We seem to be living through an Oriental fairy-tale in the far-off times of Tancred and the Saracen kings. . . . We make our entry in the midst of a noisy and motley crowd. The regular beat of tom-toms, and brazen accents of trumpets, the shrill cries of women, and the hearty 'fofo' of the Djerma make a kind of orchestration for a Russian ballet after the manner of 'Petrouchka.'¹²⁵

The expedition made further comparisons of the Bambili dancers of Niangara to the Ballets Russes troupe, and evoked the legend of Armide, which the company's *Le Pavillon d'Armide* had popularized in Europe.¹²⁶ The frequent references to the Ballets Russes in African travelogues of the 1920s illustrated the far-reaching influence of the company's brief exotic turn of the 1910s.

124. Stella Court Treatt, *Cape to Cairo: The Record of a Historic Motor Journey* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1928), 50.

125. Georges-Marie Haardt and Louis Audouin-Dubreuil, *The Black Journey: Across Central Africa with the Citroën Expedition* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1927), 40-41.

126. *Ibid.*, 26, 200. *Le Pavillon d'Armide* merged the fantastic "dream worlds" of Armide's enchanted garden and the extravagant court fantasy of Louis XIV's Versailles.

Further, Court Treatt and Haardt and Audouin-Dubreuil's accounts demonstrated that Diaghilev's productions were internationally recognizable representations of an exotic other for European audiences. If readers were unfamiliar with the Bambili dances of the Congo or the Touareg and Berber horsemen of Northern Africa, then the dances and stage-settings of *Petrouchka* and *Schéhérazade* provided a cultural reference for European audiences in order to evoke the appropriate, and fantastic, image.

While the SBM afforded Diaghilev relative freedom in the creation of his ballets, Monaco's longstanding fascination with exotic lands and a mythologized East made the presentation of exotic subject matter in Monte Carlo an appealing option. Previous chapters have outlined the city's connections to an exotic aesthetic, through the importation of exotic flora, the adoption of neo-Moorish architecture and Arab-inspired décor, and even the misapprehension of tourists. As early as the 1870s, François Blanc had recognized his guests' tastes for a palatable exotic and, with the help of landscape architect Édouard André, began to import an array of botanical specimens, representing every continent aside from Antarctica, to Monaco. André initially interspersed the exotic flora with domestic plants before setting aside a designated section for exotic plant-life in 1879.¹²⁷ In 1897, Prince Albert dedicated the Exotic Gardens. Designed by Louis Notari and realized through enormous expenditures by the state and the SBM, the garden contained among the greatest diversity of plant-life, collected and organized by man, in the world. It also proved to be a remarkably successful tourist draw, attracting more than a half million visitors per year by the 1930s.¹²⁸ François and Camille Blanc cultivated the

127. Émile Sauvaigo, *Flora mediterranea exotica: Énumération des plantes cultivées dans les jardins de la Provence et de la Ligurie, avec un tableau des collections botaniques les plus importantes de Marseille à Gênes* (Nice: J. Ventre, 1899), XVIII. The book provides an excellent account of the variety of species and the size of the botanical collection in Monte Carlo within the first two years of the construction of the Exotic Garden.

128. Hale, *The French Riviera*, 194.

connection between the alluring exoticism of the exotic flora in the gardens and the pleasures of the rest of the casino-resort.

Even areas outside of the Exotic Garden drew comparisons to Africa and the Far East. In 1903, Philippe Casimir noted about Monaco's Les Jardins Saint-Martin, "[t]hese delicious gardens where the biggest variety of African flora persists in all seasons, have garnered this corner of Monaco the name 'le Petit Afrique.' The plants have achieved the look of barbarian figures."¹²⁹ Popular accounts of the gardens related them to Islamic Paradise Gardens or compared them to Arabian legends. Guy Thorne called the gardens "a scene from the 'Arabian Nights' . . . the air was 'all Arabia.'"¹³⁰ For some visitors, relating Monte Carlo to Africa or Arabia appealed to their taste for a vacation experience that broke from the norm of everyday life in Europe. Even when the casino-resort presented the exotic in name only (for instance, Charles Garnier's Salle Mauresque was expunged of any Moorish or African influence within the first few years of its existence, replaced by the lavish and ornate Second Empire décor) visitors continued to utilize exotic terms in their travel accounts.

The SBM responded to vacationers' tastes for the exotic by providing pockets of (often stereotypical) exotic design and entertainment. The corporation worked with resident composer Jules Massenet to produce *Le Cid*, with its heavy Moorish influence, and the overtly exotic *Bacchus* and *Cléopâtre*.¹³¹ In 1898, the SBM went so far as to install a small Egyptian-themed room at the casino-resort. The room had been originally designed for a photographic competition, and featured a hodgepodge of African and Middle Eastern décor, but the display so

129. Casimir, *Guides des pays d'azur*, 101. Contemporary authors often drew connections between Monaco's gardens and "exotic" Africa. For instance, Paul Mariéton repetitively described Monaco's gardens and landscape "le Petit Afrique" and called Monte Carlo "the African Corner." See Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale*, 313-318.

130. Thorne, *Chance in Chains*, 131, 148.

131. Massenet's *Cléopâtre* was likely inspired by the success of Fokine and Diaghilev's ballet of the same name, however the two works share little in common other than the exotic Egyptian setting and eponymous queen.

fascinated tourists that it was left untouched for several years. A photograph of the room shows an amalgamation of styles from Egypt, Persia, the Maghreb, and the Far East. A miniature sarcophagus and a sculpture of a female Egyptian Pharaoh, set upon a small rug-covered table with embalming tools, are the focal points of the display. Persian carpets blanket the room and cover a great deal of the furniture; an Eastern fan rests at the rim of a vase and a pair of Koummya, Moroccan daggers, hang from the opposite wall. Tasseled baubles dangle from the



Figure 4.12. “Un salon ‘égyptien,’” 1898. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

furniture and the ceiling, between two downturned brass and crystal chandeliers with both Moroccan and Egyptian influences (Figure 4.12).¹³² The display failed to capture any one style

132. “Un salon ‘égyptien,’” black and white photograph 18 x 24, March 24, 1898, in the album “Concours de photographie de Monaco – 25 mars 1898,” Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 27F10101/27, image: FOTO00051010.

with authenticity, but nonetheless remained a popular attraction just by meeting vacationers' demands for the exotic. This tradition of spectacular exotic displays in Monte Carlo provided a precedent for Diaghilev's avant-garde productions, and encouraged the ballet company to pursue African, Arabian, Asian, and Middle Eastern subjects. Monte Carlo's late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century explorations of exotic themes also suggested that Diaghilev's troupe could freely sacrifice authenticity for extravagant spectacle.

Diaghilev also capitalized on an existing trend for elites visiting Monte Carlo: high society's fascination with a budding celebrity culture. Cléo de Mérode, Liane de Puigy, and Caroline Otéro, courtesans and performers who had inspired great interest and fascination from elites in Paris and Monte Carlo, distanced themselves from other demimondaines and parlayed their talents and sexuality into their own class of celebrity. These women marketed themselves through visual media such as the postcard, exploited their connections to key figures in French high society, such as Georges Goursat and Jean Lorrain, and blended the exotic and the erotic in their performances in order to captivate the attention of European elites. Michael D. Garval argues that these proto-modern celebrities made spectacular sensuality and the female form central to their popularity, especially among the upper classes, by couching eroticism in classic mythology (such as the legends of Armide or Phryne) or in exoticism.¹³³ For Garval, Cléo de Mérode's various nude modeling and sensual dances occurred on sets with engravings of Javanese dancers and with Mérode performing her:

Cambodian dances. . . . In this atmosphere of erotically charged exotica. . . . Since she knew little about Cambodia Mérode based her number on engravings, statues, and even a film of Cambodian dancers that was playing in a boulevard theater. She had couturier Landolff concoct a 'Cambodian' costume – a pearl and gold sequin encrusted affair of gold cloth and purple velours, with a massive pyramidal

133. Garval, *Cléo de Mérode*, 78, 130-131.

headdress, menacingly long fingernail extensions, and serpents of gold and ruby round her arms, wrists, and ankles (Figure 4.13).¹³⁴



111 Communicating through the star. Reutlinger, CLÉO DE MÉRODE, S.I.P. No. 6, postcard with inscription in French, 1902, author's collection.

Figure 4.13. Reutlinger, “Cléo de Mérode, S.I.P. No.6,” ca. 1898. (Source: Michael D. Garval, *Cléo de Mérode and the Rise of Modern Celebrity Culture*)

What Mérode’s costume lacked in authenticity it made up for in profligate spectacle. Mérode and Otéro appeared in postcards featuring the women in exotic garb, and Otéro made sure to emphasize her “gypsy” heritage when performing at Monte Carlo and frequently requested that her photograph in “gypsy costume” accompany any promotional material for her performances (Figure 4.14).¹³⁵

According to a retired croupier, Jacques Renault, Otéro would wear her exotic costumes into the casino “always, as a kind of joke, she’d start out with the *chemin de fer* in the ‘kitchen,’ which is what we call the first hall [open to the lower class mass tourists]. Before the night was over she would wind up at the wheel in a *salon privé*, where the lowest bet is 10,000 francs.”¹³⁶

By rendering the erotic as exotic, these early celebrities managed to present otherwise scandalous or obscene materials and acts to a society of elites concerned with respectability and

134. Ibid., 130. See also, Reutlinger, “Cléo de Mérode, S.I.P. No.6,” black and white postcard featuring Cléo de Mérode in Cambodian garb, in Michael D. Garval, *Cléo de Mérode and the Rise of Modern Celebrity Culture*, (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 147.

135. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 92; and “La Belle Otero, Spanish gypsy dancer and international courtesan, whose jewels and extravagance enlivened the Nineties,” black and white photographic postcard in Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (Briarcliff Manor, NY: Stein and Day, 1975), photographic insert following page 60.

136. Jacques Renault, “account of Caroline Otéro in Arthur H. Lewis, *La Belle Otero* (New York: Trident Press, 1967), 144.

decorum. Gazing at these scantily-clad or nude beauties, and even socializing with them at the casino-resort or well-known restaurant, did not offend upper class sensibilities because these women had so thoroughly established themselves as an exotic other; on the contrary, interacting with these celebrities, served to highlight one's own wealth and social standing. King Nicholas of Montenegro, Czar Nicholas II of Russia, King Carlos of Portugal, and even Prince Albert of Monaco, before Princess Alice had her briefly barred from the principality, carried on high-profile affairs with Otéro and frequently had her accompanying them in public. The *Paris Presse* concluded in November of 1901, that “the value of beauties like Otéro, Renée de Presle, Émilienne d’Alençon, de Pougy is as solid as gold francs.”¹³⁷ Diaghilev agreed, and attempted to cultivate the same elite-focused celebrity culture around his prima ballerinas in Monte Carlo. His discovery of “Roshanara,” who had taken her stage name from a seventeenth-century Indian princess to enhance her exotic appeal, fell into this vein. Diaghilev hired her on loan in 1911 (Loie Fuller had already signed the dancer and actress for her light and sound spectacles) and featured her as an exotic beauty in *Kismet* and *Cléopâtre*.¹³⁸



Figure 4.14. “La Belle Otero, Spanish gypsy dancer and international courtesan, whose jewels and extravagance enlivened the Nineties,” ca. 1890-1913. (Source: Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*)

137. Lewis, *La Belle Otero*, 145.

138. MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed*, 61.

Further, the artistic community surrounding the troupe developed a celebrity status in its own right. With world-renowned artists such as Léon Blum's brother, René, Michele Fokine, Nijinsky, Alexandre Benois, Igor Stravinsky, Léon Bakst, and Pablo Picasso collaborating on the company's productions, Diaghilev was not amiss when he surmised on one occasion "if the theatre burned down tonight, a large part of the world's creative artists would be wiped out."¹³⁹ The troupe and their exotic offerings even exercised a tremendous influence on later artists in the 1920s. For instance they served as the inspiration for Paul Domergue's series of European women in Oriental dress, painted and set in Monte Carlo. A retrospective of Domergue's works mentioned that:

Visits to Monaco often combined work with pleasure and even an invitation to the Ballets Russes – now established in Monte-Carlo – would result in fresh inspiration for his paintings. The Ballets with their orientalist costumes and exotic sets by Bakst had an enormous impact upon all the art-related fields, including fashion and decoration. Domergue's work in the early 20's also reflects this influence; his paintings are aglow with rich colours, unusual textures and oriental screens, and feature kimono-clad ladies, with huge fur collars and tasselled sleeves, who look as though they might be dressed by Domergue's good friend Paul Poiret . . . baptised for these occasions 'L'Oasis' and filled with artificial palm-trees and chinese lanterns.¹⁴⁰

The passage underscored the prominence of the Oriental aesthetic in Monte Carlo, and the far-reaching impact that the exotic-themed ballets had on artistic movements of the era. The Ballets Russes's repertoire teemed with taboo topics, overt sexuality, and erotic displays, couched in an aura of exotic otherness that captivated the cultural vanguard and mitigated the problems inherent to the subject matter. Diaghilev capitalized on an existing celebrity culture and through *Cléopâtre* and *Schéhéhrazade* guided a "return to the Harem" in order to appeal to elite tastemakers.

139. Sergei Diaghilev to Jean Cocteau quoted in Arnold L. Haskell, *Ballet Russe: The Age of Diaghilev*, Pageant of History, ed. John Gross (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 70.

140. "The Sun, the Sea . . . and the Swimmers," 24.

Audiences to the theatre in Monte Carlo, and during the Ballets Russes's European tours, were enthralled by the troupe's ability to render erotic and exotic themes within high culture and with artistic aplomb. During the prewar years, acute criticisms of the company were rare, although critic Richard Capell famously recalled hearing an audience member call Michel Fokine's choreography "cannibal island dancing."¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, *The Daily Mail* acknowledged that "[p]urists in Russia criticized this ballet very severely as being too great a departure from the traditional style of ballet dancing. It was keenly appreciated by the general public."¹⁴² Although, some audiences "complained of the savagery in some of the troupe's shows" and applauded when "M. Bakst [left] his fierce Oriental harmonies for once in favour of refinement."¹⁴³ Following the lead of the elite vacationers who so warmly embraced the ballet troupe during their Monte Carlo residency, most of the European public bestowed rave reviews on the Ballets Russes and gravitated toward the exotic themes. An audience member remarked of the Polovtsian dances in *Prince Igor* that "the barbaric dances performed by a crowd of richly-dressed figures were nothing short of amazing."¹⁴⁴ Similarly, a critic called *Cléopâtre* "magnificent theatre, especially the sensational entrance of Cleopatra herself, unwrapped by slaves from yards and yards of mummy-cloth."¹⁴⁵ Another *Morning Post* writer marveled at the sultry movements of the harem dancers and favorite slaves, and expressed envy at the lifestyle of hedonistic abandonment sanctioned in these exotic, non-European cultures. She concluded "the veil-dance [is] as fascinating as anything in the production. Perhaps, though, the most vivid

141. Richard Capell, June 10, 1914 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 114.

142. *The Daily News*, June 22, 1911 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 32.

143. Richard Capell, June 10, 1914 quoted in MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed*, 114.

144. *The Daily News*, June 22, 1911 quoted in MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed*, 32.

145. Haskell, *Ballet Russe*, 59.

impression one takes away from *Cleopatre*, is the wonderful Bacchanale.”¹⁴⁶ The presentation of seductive veil dances, harem scenes, bacchanals, and simulated orgies attracted audiences precisely due to the performances’ relation to an exotic other.¹⁴⁷ Elite vacationers and theatre-goers could ogle beauties and become entranced by sensual spectacle because of the process of othering and ordering taking place between the audience and the stage: a process extenuated by the previous decades merger of celebrity culture and exoticism in Monte Carlo and Paris, cultivated by Diaghilev and his artistic team, and accentuated by elite perceptions of European modernity and sophistication. The process was well-veiled. Even contemporaries expressed surprise, remarking “[q]uite why no one ever seems to have protested at this display of lust and immorality . . . remains an enigma.”¹⁴⁸

The Ballets Russes’s more exotic fare found less enthusiastic audiences in the United States, in other parts of Europe, and initially with middle class audiences. These spectators did not have the benefit of the modern celebrity culture of Paris and Monte Carlo, nor the prewar elite practice of cementing a modern and sophisticated identity by othering exotic spectacle. These audiences found the Ballets Russes’s harem scenes and bacchanals more threatening than enchanting. World War I had briefly suspended the troupe’s residency in Monte Carlo and forced the company into a North American exile. American critics recognized the group’s artistic talent but their subject matter horrified them. Grenville Vernon wrote of a performance in New York:

The remarkable impersonation of the negro favourite of Zobeide, Princess of Samarcande, by M. Bolm will render the ballet impossible of production south of the Mason and Dixon’s line. Even to Northern minds it was repulsive. Yet it is a

146. *Morning Post*, October 30, 1911 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 51.

147. Alice L. Conklin has noted this tendency for self-reflection through the examination of an exotic other: Amerindians, Oceanians, Africans, and Asians. See Conklin, *In the Museum of Man*, 6-8 and 102-107.

148. MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed*, 51.

scene whose Oriental splendor, color, animality, and lust will long remain with all who saw it. If it had not been given so wonderfully, so poetically, it would have been bestial. As it *was* given, it was a page of the ‘Arabian Nights’ most gorgeous imagery.¹⁴⁹

Excisions to the ballets in order to appeal to American tastes and sense of morality resulted in headlines such as “SCHEHERAZADE MILDER: harem scene result[s] in a revel of less abandon”¹⁵⁰ and “TAILORING OF POLICE SPOILS SCHEHERAZADE – BALLET STILL FAILS OF MORALITY, BUT SUCCEEDS IN BEING DULL.”¹⁵¹ Prior to a lengthy engagement in Chicago and the upper Midwest, *Chicago Daily Tribune* critic Percy Hammond explained to Diaghilev that the play would not go over well there. Hammond clarified that “[m]iscegenation, no matter how idealised and illegitimate was not a misdemeanor appropriate to the Eli Bates Settlement¹⁵² or to the community in general,” and the resulting discussion led Diaghilev to bleach the Golden Slave, Nijinsky’s role as a negro favorite, in order to “skim the thin ice of middle west propriety.”¹⁵³ The incredible appeal of the exotic, it seems, was rather limited to the stages in Monte Carlo, Paris, and London in the prewar and war years.

1919 saw a return to normalcy at the Monte Carlo casino resort after a brief shutdown during World War I; it also witnessed a return of the Ballets Russes’s residency. The company never fell out of favor with upper class vacationers, but the troupe’s exotic subject matter no longer served as new and exclusive cultural terrain. During the company’s remaining residency at Monte Carlo “[t]here was just one [more] outburst of ancient splendor, in *The Sleeping*

149. Grenville Vernon, *New York Tribune*, January 18, 1916 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 139. Emphasis original.

150. *The World*, January 27, 1916 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 139.

151. *New York Tribune*, January 27, 1916 quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and The United States 1911-1929* (London: Dance Horizons, New York & Dance Books, 1975), 139.

152. This was a Chicago charity organization.

153. MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed*, 156.

Princess.”¹⁵⁴ However, middle class vacationers (who typically took advantage of the theatre’s reduced prices on Thursdays) clamored for the exotic material which had generated such discussion in the prewar years. These patrons emulated the upper class’s recent tastes for exotically-themed leisure, but seemed to care less about the subject matter’s authenticity or relation to classical legends.

While the prewar ballets, costumes, choreography, and set designs hardly represented unmitigated renderings of Eastern cultures, they at least rooted the exotic flavor in legends familiar to the cultural elite (be it Phryne, Schéhérazade, Ta-hor, Armide, or Zobéide) and Bakst, Benois, and especially Fokine strived for, if not historical authenticity then a celebration of the East. The exotic orient presented by these artists formed an amalgamation of various Eastern cultures and time periods. Fokine made numerous trips to Turkey, Iran, and other Eastern locals and acquired fabrics, curios, fashion, and miniatures to gain inspiration for new costumes and choreography, “he maintained a long-standing interest in the culture of the East, perceiving it as fantastic and fabulous, and his collection includes fifteen nineteenth-century Turkish and Iranian miniatures.”¹⁵⁵ By World War I he had acquired over 1,000 visual sources to inform his work for the Ballets Russes, and he gave “studious attention to the culture, customs, and ethnographic artifacts of the environment into which he was planning to place his characters.”¹⁵⁶ Elena Fedosova surmised that:

There is no doubt that in their work on *Schéhérazade*, both ballet-master and painter drew substantially upon historical sources. But, of course, the Orient of Fokine’s ballet had nothing in common with the ethnographically correct dances

154. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Diaghilev*, 4.

155. Elena Fedosova, “Alexandre Benois and Leon Bakst: Their Visual Sources,” *A Feast of Wonders: Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes*, ed. John E. Bowlt, Zelfira Tregulova, and Nathalie Rosticher Giordano (Milan: Skira Editore S.p.A., 2009), 70-71.

156. *Ibid.*, 69.

of the people of the East, despite his assertion that he had imported ‘authentic’ Arab, Persian and Indian moves into his choreography.¹⁵⁷

Much like Monte Carlo’s ‘Egyptian Room’ attraction, Fokine’s displays of exoticism represented an amalgamation or hodgepodge of ‘Oriental’ localities more than a consistent or faithful rendering of any one place or culture.

Middle class vacationers did not require such authenticity or connection to ancient legends. Instead the imitation of elite tastemakers through the consumption of overtly exotic spectacles motivated their leisure pursuits at Monte Carlo. The Ballets Russes obliged them, limiting exotic fare in their new creations, but rehashing the old standards containing exotic themes like *Le Dieu Bleu*, *Cléopâtre* and *Schéhérazade*. Upon taking inventory of the company’s material holdings following Diaghilev’s death in 1929, new owner Colonel Wassily de Basil, and future owner René Blum, discovered how popular the exotic offerings had been. De Basil recounted that “[c]ertain costumes from Diaghilev’s oldest ballets such as *Schéhérazade* (1910) . . . a work which held its appeal – had obviously been renewed so often . . . that nothing of Bakst’s harem remained.”¹⁵⁸ The harem’s absence was short-lived. De Basil and Blum commissioned artists to recreate the costumes and art from *Schéhérazade* when they reformed the ballet company as the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in 1931 and frequently performed the original troupe’s exotic ballets until the company disbanded in the late 1940s.

The Monte Carlo casino resort’s decision to contract Sergei Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes was motivated by the SBM’s desire to appeal to elite vacationing patrons and because the corporation believed that the dance troupe’s exotic repertoire could reestablish Monte Carlo’s

157. *Ibid.*, 71.

158. Colonel Wassily de Basil and Anthony Diamantidi quoted in Richard Buckle, “Diaghilev Reprieved,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Diaghilev: Costumes & Designs of the Ballets Russes*, temporary display guide, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 12.

reputation as a site of exclusive, elite leisure in an era of mass tourism. During their residency at Monte Carlo, the ballet company established new cultural terrain for European and American elites and dramatically changed what constituted high culture. Presaged by a new modern celebrity culture which had emerged in Paris and Monte Carlo at the turn of the century, in which courtesans, performers, and demimondaine melded the exotic and the erotic to establish their celebrity, the Ballets Russes centered its performances on sensual and oriental dancers and depictions of far off lands. With Diaghilev's return to the harem, the nightly exotic spectacle at Monte Carlo turned the stage into a site of ordering and othering, allowed for the presentation of lurid and scandalous subject matter in a refined and respectable setting, and forced elite Europeans to consider and contend with their own identity in relation to an exotic other.

Conclusion: Summer, Speed, and Spectacle – Monte Carlo in the Era of Mass Tourism

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the SBM, casino concessionaires, and the state had labored and schemed to create a viable tourism industry in Monaco and to promote Monte Carlo as an ideal destination for an exclusive, luxurious, and cosmopolitan vacation. That process had not been easy. Environmental and geological disadvantages, a seedy reputation, relative isolation, and a lack of guest accommodations had threatened to undercut even meager successes for the tourism industry and the survival of the casino-resort seemed far from assured. François Blanc's savvy management of the casino-resort and grandiose strategy for Monte Carlo's tourism industry, the SBM's commitment to constructing a consistent spatial imaginary for the city, and a relative monopoly on European gambling both secured the future of the tourism industry in Monte Carlo and earned the city the reputation as one of the premier sites for exclusive leisure.

By the twentieth century, Monte Carlo faced a new problem: it was too successful. Built upon a reputation of exclusivity, it catered to an increasingly diverse range of guests and

effectively operated as a destination for mass tourism. Vast changes in both the types of vacationers and the leisure tastes they chose to pursue, as well as an increase in competition and a loss of gambling monopolies, placed considerable pressures on Monaco's tourism industry to adapt. The question was no longer "could the casino-resort succeed," it was whether or not it would continue its success into the twentieth century, or complacently fade into a gaudy anachronism of a winter pleasure station. Camille Blanc and René Léon guided the SBM through this immense era of change, invested a tremendous amount of the company's resources into updating the casino-resort in order to respond to a new clientele, and turned to spectacle in order to respond to the new challenges that the city faced.

Spectacle, in a variety of forms, became the dominant focus of the SBM as it continued to shape Monte Carlo's projected image and to provide popular entertainment options for a contemporary crowd. Providing a sense of shared experience through elaborate and orchestrated exhibitions also became a way to deal with the difficult dilemma of maintaining the city's reputation as selective station for a superior class of vacationers while simultaneously hosting several million visitors each year. Elite travelers were afforded their exclusivity in the forms of private gaming rooms, palatial hotel suites, select club memberships, and sporting societies; however, Monte Carlo's nearly-continuous exhibitions of spectacular unrealities presented each visitor with proof (often tangible, in the form of photographic souvenirs) of a common experience in the principality.¹⁵⁹ Through these spectacles, the casino's crowds of segregated classes became a unified audience, a "family of pleasure."

159. *Monte-Carlo, règles des jeux*, 7-10, 13. This 1950s souvenir packet from Monte Carlo's SBM highlights the importance of photographic souvenirs of spectacles. The souvenir contains very little of the casino, games, opera, fine restaurants, or shops. Instead, the flashy nightclub "Fiesta" and its scantily-clad showgirls, motorboat races, tandem skiing exhibitions, beachgoers and sunbathers, dancing competitions, and the exotic garden figure prominently. The full-page feature photograph captures Monte Carlo's ultimate spectacle: the Grand Prix de Monaco. The race itself takes a backseat to the audience itself, as spectators crowd the streets, peek out from the

For many vacationers, novelty spectacles highlighted the departure from normal life at the casino-resort and offered a far different form of entertainment than what could be had in Charles Garnier's theatre. The novelty craze of the 1890s and 1900s coincided with the largest growth in annual visitors to Monte Carlo and certainly provided affordable and alluring options for an increasingly diverse clientele. While somersaulting and tight-rope walking failed to find a large, lasting audience at the casino-resort, novelty spectacles highlighting mechanical engineering, flying, and motor racing did. What began as mere novelties, the Schneider Trophy, the Rallye Auto, and the Grand Prix de Monaco cemented modern machinery's place in Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary and linked the city with modern conceptions of technological achievement and human daring. As a taste for speed overtook the deliberate pace of Monte Carlo's *hivernants*, summer, too, came to the city and swept away the practice of seasonal vacationing. The Monte Carlo Beach Hotel, the Summer Casino, Sporting Summer, and new leisure practices like sunbathing and waterskiing altered the temporal and demographic dimensions of the city's tourism industry. Further, the Ballets Russes and a cavalcade of celebrated artists ushered in a brief, but intense, exotic turn in Monte Carlo. Sergei Diaghilev's ballet company delighted audiences with risqué depictions of exotic settings and characters, provided a new and exclusive cultural terrain for the city's elite and an avenue of distinction from mass tourists, and forced elite Europeans to consider and contend with their own identity in relation to an exotic other.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the SBM made spectacle central to its strategy for navigating the changing landscape of European tourism and the potential pitfalls of accommodating more numerous, but less wealthy and select, guests. The spectacles presented at

yachts and boats of the harbor, and lean far out from their hotel windows in hopes of catching a glimpse of the speeding cars.

Monte Carlo heightened the sense of unreality for guests and signaled that vacationing in the principality represented a marked departure from daily life. This spectacular unreality provided a sense of shared experience among vacationers and continued SBM's efforts to market Monte Carlo as a unique site: a pleasure paradise and a fantastic dream not to be replicated. Spectacle replaced the excitement and sociability of the gaming rooms in the popular imagination, just as the audience replaced the select crowd of seasonal vacationers at the casino-resort. By the mid-twentieth century, Monaco was as well known for its Grand Prix as it was its fabled gambling casino or its position as the rendezvous of the world's rich and famous.

Monte Carlo's reliance on spectacle actually accelerated after mid-century. Even though he preferred a return to a more exclusive clientele, Aristotle Onassis's reign as the head of the SBM saw a growth in the number of maritime spectacles, night clubs, and yachting culture. Following a brief downturn in attendance during and immediately after World War II, Prince Rainier III (r. 1949-2005) lobbied the SBM to provide more attractions and spectacles in order to draw a greater number of middle-class visitors. The prince's marriage to Academy Award-winning actress, Grace Kelly, in 1956 served as the premier example of surreal spectacle in Monaco. The extravagance of the wedding did more to evoke a fairy tale than reality: Tamara Tournanova (a prima ballerina known for her exotic appearance and called "the black pearl of the Russian Ballet") choreographed and hosted ballet performances in the public squares, receptions featured Hollywood actors and heads of state, the wedding party arrived via a convoy of yachts, workers launched extravagant fireworks displays, and throngs of well-dressed and wealthy wedding guests crowded the principality.¹⁶⁰ The strategy of employing extravagant spectacles at the casino-resort became a central aspect of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary,

160. *The Wedding in Monaco*, directed by Jean Masson, Citel Monaco and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1956. Excerpts of the wedding and a detailed description of the principality's preparations can be found in this short film.

effectively responded to changing leisure tastes, and attracted an increasingly diverse clientele, but the changes meant that visiting the casino-resort had ceased to be a distinctive practice in and of itself. Exclusive vacationers sought particular forms of entertainment in Monte Carlo and turned to sports in order to distinguish themselves from the masses of tourists and budgeteers.

Chapter Five. Separation through Sport: International Sporting Competitions, Exhibitions, Clubs, and Exclusivity

From the city's earliest days, sports, in their various forms, served as a fundamental facet of Monte Carlo's image. The city began hosting international shooting competitions in 1871, fencing in 1873, and tennis in 1880; however, more informal sporting exhibitions occurred near the casino even before Monte Carlo's inauguration in 1866. Decades before the modern Olympics, Davis Cup, Ryder Cup, or World Cup, François Blanc, Camille Blanc, Prince Albert I, Auguste Blondin, and others carefully linked Monte Carlo with the most elaborate international sporting competitions, trials, and exhibitions of the era. Since Monégasque subjects were barred from entering most sporting competitions and were ineligible for membership at the city's sporting clubs and *cercles*, the numerous sporting events held in Monte Carlo emphasized fair and neutral international competition between its visiting clientele. At its simplest level, the practice of sport at the casino provided another opportunity for the gambler to place a bet. Pigeon shooting soon became established as the most organized form of sport betting, but individuals often wagered on tennis or fencing matches, either as participants or as spectators. More importantly, sport was a cultural and social practice for Monte Carlo's vacationing clientele. Practicing sport was in essence a demonstration of social capital, a practical expression of class, and an instrument of distinction. Practitioners (and in some cases, spectators) distinguished themselves in social space through their choice of sport, knowledge of the rules of the game, knowledge of the language of the game, their relation to their body, the intensity of competition, and the quality of their skill.

Furthermore, the very act of participating in international competition reproduced the image of cosmopolitan sophistication essential to maintaining one's position in social space.

While practicing certain sports demanded pre-requisites of eliteness, engaging in sporting spectatorship reproduced a sense of cultural legitimacy without the acquired knowledge or know-how required by performing the sport. The rising popularity of novelty exhibitions and spectator sports in Monte Carlo by the latter decades of the nineteenth century negated the distinguishing facets of sports (demonstrations of social capital such as knowledge of the rules of the game, control and reserve of language and the body, and the implied access to expensive sporting gear). As a result, sports and sporting clubs became the primary method of differentiation and exclusion for socially elite visitors to Monte Carlo. These visitors wished to maintain their place in social space by limiting the democratization of sports on holiday and retaining the relative rarity of their cultural practice of sport at an elite vacation-resort.

This chapter will demonstrate how sport, in its assorted practices, reproduced and represented the city's image of an international space of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism, and will illustrate how sports became the primary medium of class anxiety and exclusion for the city's patrons. To achieve this aim, the chapter will chart how the practice and meaning of sports in the principality changed over time from 1863 to the 1950s, and how individuals of certain classes gravitated toward particular sports in order to distinguish themselves in social space. By examining Monte Carlo's renowned shooting range, the Tir aux Pigeons, we will see how, during the late nineteenth century, the SBM devoted a great deal of its budget to perceived "elite sports" that evoked the bygone image of the warrior aristocracy and how pigeon shooting served as a practice of class for elite vacationers. The focus will then turn to the expansion of sports in the principality, in terms of additional sports such as regatta races, golf, and tennis as well as an increase in sporting practitioners, and how social elites' exclusive grip on sports waned. Next, the chapter analyzes sporting clubs as sites of sociability and distinction. Oftentimes, these clubs

were only superficially connected to sporting practice, but a rigorous vetting process ensured that membership remained a distinguishing trait. Sporting clubs also added to Monte Carlo's spirit of cosmopolitanism and fostered sociability among elites who had little in common other than their social status. We will then analyze the curious absence of cycling as a widespread practice in Monaco and how the popularity of the sport throughout Europe precluded its inclusion at the casino-resort. The rising importance of golf and tennis during the early decades of the twentieth century signaled that sports were declining in importance as exclusive social capital. Through these sports, women also entered the previously male-dominated leisure practices at Monte Carlo. By inspecting caricatures of vacationing sportsmen in *Sur la Riviera*, the chapter establishes that sport became a forum for class anxieties, contentions, and criticisms in the city. Finally, spectator sports (best exemplified by fencing and auto racing) became the dominant form of sporting practice at Monte Carlo. This led elites to pursue complex (and at times, convoluted) strategies for social distinction but, ultimately, spectator sports signaled the end of sports as a distinguishing practice in the city. The elaborate spectacles of sports such as the Monaco Grand Prix did, however, become a central part of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary and catalyzed the city's development as an international icon.

Sporting Leisure: Examining the Distinctive and Mimetic Functions of Sporting Practice and Exhibitions

Sport comprised a significant portion of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary (international sporting competitions became indelibly linked with the city's image) and also disseminated the city's carefully-constructed projected image. I adopt a rather broad definition of sports as a leisure activity, requiring some level of bodily exertion, skill, and competitive spirit – highly regulated and operated within the bounds of a set of rules – which attempts to prevent or limit serious

violence, harm, or injury to the participants or spectators.¹ Additionally, I contend that sports are “mimetic” activities for both practitioners and spectators. It is, in short, an alternative to ordinary life, where those involved can act in ways, express emotions, and adopt roles that may not be socially acceptable in ordinary circumstances. In Monte Carlo these mimetic functions served to relieve tensions from the rigors of everyday life, foster sociability, and identify one’s place in social space.² However, they also provided an avenue for members of ascendant classes to encroach upon the exclusive activities of the upper classes and subsequently provided the elite with a forum to express their anxieties about this encroachment.

This chapter will consider three elements of sports as leisure activities. The first is sporting practice; this can include team or individual sporting exercises, organized events or informal games, amateur activities or professional exhibitions. These practices were performed as spare-time leisure activities and differ from regenerative or medicinal regimens. The second element of sporting leisure considered here is sporting clubs. These clubs, organizations, or *cercles* served to complement the cultural and social functions of sports in the resort-city. Sporting practice was not always the primary purpose for sporting clubs like *The International Sporting Club of Monte Carlo*, *Sporting Été*, and *Sporting Hiver*. Nearly all sporting clubs were reserved for members (at least on specific days of the week) and more often offered lunch, tea,

1. This definition fits most, but not all, of the sporting activities or practices in Monte Carlo. Professional athletics and novelty exhibitions which became popular in the 1890s and continue to the present day in the city complicate the notion of sports as a leisure activity. These athletes were paid a fee, salary, or commission to entertain patrons at the casino-resort, and must be distinguished from other athletes, professional or amateur, that won or attempted to win a purse from the city’s myriad international competitions. For these paid professional athletes, the skill, exertion, and practice required to perform their exhibition are great enough that it can cease to be categorized solely as a leisure activity as it more closely resembles the characteristics of work.

2. This Chapter adopts Eric Dunning’s and Norbert Elias’s definition of mimetic-class leisure activities. The authors argue that mimetic activities provided a pleasurable release of tension and excitement, and a break from the emotional restraints and sense of reserve required by, to some degree, all classes of ‘civilized’ societies. These emotional breaks and representations of the “‘unreal’ fantasy world . . . formed a distinct and integral part of social ‘reality.’” See Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, eds., *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 74-75.

dancing, private gaming rooms, soireés, galas, and other entertainments than sporting practices. However, these clubs also played host to some important sporting practices: fencing, shooting, international tournaments, and regatta races. Crucially, they served as the principal form of exclusion and class distinction in Monte Carlo. The sociability promoted by these clubs, and their unique connection to the practice of sports, makes them indispensable sites of analysis. The final element is spectator sports – sporting practices, competitions, novelties, or exhibitions that function, at least partially, to entertain an audience of spectators. Monte Carlo became famous for spectator sport exhibitions near the turn of the twentieth century, with its automobile endurance tests, naval and aerial trials, the Rallye Auto, and the Monaco Grand Prix, to name but a few examples. Most reproductions and re-presentations of sports in Monte Carlo are of this nature, and spectator sports have become a lasting part of Monte Carlo's constructed image.

Bourdieu's work *Distinction* will serve as much of the theoretical basis of this chapter. Bourdieu maintains that tastes for certain cultural practices and objects (in this case sports) were strongly correlated with one's place in social space or one's class. He views the logic of taste as an exchange of different types of capital (social, economic, cultural, educational, etc.), an exchange that acted to identify, distinguish, and reproduce one's class. Bourdieu argues that elite tastes were characterized by a distinctive rarity, exclusive solely to the dominant class, and he maintains that:

The dialectic of downclassing and upclassing which underlies a whole set of social processes presupposes and entails that all the groups concerned run in the same direction, toward the same objectives, the same properties, those which are designed by the leading group and which, by definition, are unavailable to the groups following, since, whatever these properties may be intrinsically, they are modified and qualified by their distinctive rarity and will no longer be what they are once they are multiplied and made available to groups lower down. Thus, by an apparent paradox, the maintenance of order, that is, of the whole set of gaps, differences, 'differentials', ranks, precedences, priorities, exclusions, distinctions, ordinal properties, and thus of the relations of order which give a social formation its

structure, is provided by an unceasing change in substantial (i.e., non-relational) properties. This implies that the social order established at any given moment is also necessarily a temporal order, an ‘order of successions’ . . . the competing groups are separated by differences which are essentially located in the order of time.³

I contend that sports became a forum for struggle in Monte Carlo along this model, as sporting practices became available to the middle and upper classes and threatened the dominant class’s exclusive hold on these practices. The change in the popularity of sports over time not only signified a change in the social make-up of Monte Carlo’s clientele, but reflected changes to the dominant class segments as well. Sports and sporting clubs also demonstrated class tensions and anxieties, as the dominant class struggled to maintain the relative scarcity of elite sporting practices through exclusionary actions and the classes directly below them in social space attempted to imitate those practices.

The wide array of activities and entertainments available in Monte Carlo by the turn of the twentieth century reflects the paradox in the city of its image as an exclusive, luxurious playground of the rich, and its role as a mass-tourism destination for multiple class fractions. At issue was the retention of the relative scarcity of legitimate cultural practices, practices sought after and imitated by tourists. The result was that alternatives to traditionally aristocratic or elite sporting practices grew in popularity in the city. Bourdieu’s concept of cultural allodoxia, which refers to the way in which lower class groups often misidentify and misrecognize the “legitimate culture” of the dominant classes, can illuminate this issue. He argues that individuals belonging to classes directly below the dominant class are:

[D]ivided between the tastes they incline to and the tastes they aspire to . . . condemned to disparate choices . . . what makes middle-brow culture is the middle-class relation to culture – mistaken identity, misplaced belief, allodoxia . . . it is, quite simply, the fact that legitimate culture is not made for him (and is

3. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 163.

often made against him), so that he is not made for it; and that it ceases to be what it is as soon as he appropriates it.⁴

In short, the rising number of middle class tourists emulated elite vacationers' propensity for sporting practice. However, the middle class's imitation of the upper class and its sports signaled its lack of cultural legitimacy. Ascendant classes nonetheless inclined toward sports in their leisure time and believed that they were participating in legitimate culture by spectating or actively engaging in sports. Elite vacationers attempts to distinguish themselves through perceived legitimate sports, and even middle class vacationers attempts to emulate these practices, helped to preserve the city's image as an exclusive and luxurious space in an era of mass tourism.

Finally, this chapter will consider how sport fostered sociability and a sense of shared experience for a wide range of guests. Using Elias and Dunning's notion of the spare-time spectrum and their theory of *leisure-gemeinschaften*, I will argue that sports and sporting clubs became an important mode of sociability for members of all classes. Sporting clubs provided a space where European and American elites could socialize with one another.⁵ Similarly spectator sports and novelty sporting exhibitions provided mass tourists with a shared, connected experience. This *leisure-gemeinschaften* sociability created a sense of community among those that would have otherwise had little in common and afforded a release from the stresses of everyday life.

4. Ibid., 326-327.

5. Elias and Dunning define *leisure-gemeinschaften* as an informal community of sociability in which people join others without the necessity of performing or displaying specialized skills, simply to enjoy each other's company with a higher level of emotional, integration, and stimulation without serious commitments and the risks inherent in them. It lowered the barriers of social interaction and contact and provided a climate of overt emotionality in "otherwise ambivalent relationship." Spectator sports in Monte Carlo fit this model well, and brought together a heterogeneous group of vacationers who had little else in common. See Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, 120-122.

Recent histories of sport and leisure have argued against the compartmentalization of work and leisure and have stressed the intersectionality of sporting-leisure and social class.⁶ Most effectively, Bourdieu demonstrates that sport has been used as an arena of distinction between the social classes. For Bourdieu:

The sporting exchange takes on the air of a highly controlled social exchange, excluding all physical or verbal violence, all anomic use of the body (shouting, wild gestures etc.) and all forms of direct contact between the opponents (who are often separated by the spatial organization and various opening and closing rites).⁷

The social exchange is a symbolic indicator of one's place in social space. The restraint one exhibits (both in control of the body and the aloofness of one's disposition), the place of the sporting exchange, the choice of sport, the knowledge of the rules of the game (and the time in which it took to learn them), economic and material expenditures (in the form of equipment or club membership), obligatory manner, and other practices help explain certain classes' inclinations toward certain sports and also serve as highly visible markers of social distinction.⁸

Bourdieu also notes that several sports (golf, tennis, shooting, skiing, riding, sailing, fencing, etc.) were practiced almost exclusively by the dominant classes throughout the nineteenth century. The restraint exhibited by performing these sports and the perceived noble tradition associated with them (for example, the imitation of the warrior-aristocrat in pigeon

6. Authors have argued against the model of separating work and leisure espoused by early members of the Frankfurt School, particularly those by Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer. See Theodore W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. Herder and Herder, New York (1944; repr., London: Verso, 1997). For authors who have complicated Adorno and Horkheimer's model, stress the cultural import of sport, and examine sport's connection to social class see Rudy Koshar, "Seeing, Traveling, and Consuming: an Introduction," in *Histories of Leisure, Leisure, Consumption & Culture*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures, Leisure, Consumption & Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Susan C. Anderson and Bruce H. Tabb, eds., *Water, Leisure & Culture: European Historical Perspectives*, Water, Leisure & Culture (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Histories of Leisure, Leisure, Consumption & Culture*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Bero Rigauer, *Sport and Work*, trans. Allen Guttman (1969; repr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*; and John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, "Theorizing Sport, Social Class and Status," in *Handbook of Sports Studies*, ed. Jay Coakley and Eric Dunning (London: Sage, 2000).

7. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 217.

8. *Ibid.*, 215-221.

shooting, fox hunts, riding, or fencing) made engaging in the sports a *de facto* practice of social class. Implicit in the noble tradition of these sports was the exclusion of upwardly mobile middle and upper classes from participating in them. Bourdieu views the social exchange of these dominant sports as exclusive social capital through the relative rarity of the practice of the sports; the social capital of sporting practice is exclusive – once democratized it loses its value.

He argues that democratized sports, by:

[T]heir very accessibility and all that this entails, such as undesirable contacts, tend to discredit them in the eyes of the dominant class. And indeed, the most typically popular sports, football and rugby, or wrestling and boxing, which, in France, in their early days were the delight of aristocrats, but which, in becoming popular, have ceased to be what they were, combine all the features which repel the dominant class: not only the social composition of their public, which redoubles their commonness, but also the values and virtues demanded.⁹

As Bourdieu has shown, and as was exhibited in Monte Carlo throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sports became a principal forum of contestation for social capital as dominant classes attempted to maintain the exclusivity of their practice and upwardly mobile classes attempted to emulate the dominant classes by participating in their once-exclusive sports.

Bourdieu also analyzes the aspect of restraint associated with the sport and how it is an essential distinctive function of sport. Bourdieu notes that:

In an age when sporting activities were reserved for a few, the cult of ‘fair play’, the code of play of those who have the self-control not to get so carried away by the game that they forget that it is ‘only a game’, was a logical development of the distinctive function of sport, so too, in an age when participation is not always a sufficient guarantee of the rarity of the participants, those who seek to prove their excellence must affirm their disinterestedness by remaining aloof.¹⁰

Likewise, he argued, one must practice restraint to ensure that one’s body is not put in a compromising position.¹¹ This type of restraint in sporting activities identifies the function of

9. Ibid., 214.

10. Ibid., 215.

11. Ibid., 207, 211.

sports for an individual that is defined by that individual's habitus, dictated by the body schema, and serves as a symbolic indicator of class.

The quality of restraint associated with sport is equally important for Elias and Dunning. Building upon Elias's seminal work, *The Civilizing Process*, the authors claim that sports provide a socially controlled surge of emotionality, excitement, and violence that is a necessity for human beings, but is no longer acceptable in most parts of a society that values emotional restraint. With varying success, Dunning and Elias combine the study of sociology, psychology, and biology to suggest that sports and leisure provide emotional releases essential to counter the control and repression of overt emotionality in ordinary life. The pair argue that leisure and sporting "events, particularly those of the mimetic class . . . provides for the need to experience the upsurge of strong emotions in public—for a type of excitement which does not disturb and endanger the relative orderliness of social life as the serious type of excitement is liable to do."¹² We will see how in Monte Carlo, sports provided a break from the rigid control of daily life and allowed an essential release of tension in an acceptable and non-violent way.

Discriminating Sportsmen: The Tir aux Pigeons and the Introduction of Sport in Monte Carlo

In 1854, the year in which the first casino in Monaco opened for business, sports was not part of the principality's cultural landscape. Doctors prescribed some athletic exertion for health purposes and some Monégasque subjects played traditional Provençal games, but the significance of sports was certainly minimal. The first casino concessionaires made no attempts to use sporting practices in order to attract or entertain tourists. Even the possibilities presented through sport betting were not considered until François Blanc bought the concession in 1863.

12. Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, 71. For considerations of Elias and Dunning's theory of leisure in the spare-time spectrum and the importance of leisure-*gemeinschaften* to European sociability, see *Ibid.*, 69, 98, and 122.

In fact, Blanc and the SBM's first active promotion of sports in Monaco actually encouraged vacationers to leave the city. Blanc had labored to quickly provide entertainment options for Monaco's growing number of international visitors by offering free land for entrepreneurs willing to build a shop or restaurant on the site, revamping the Hôtel de Paris and Le Café-Divan, and drawing up plans for a theatre and opera house. This strategy provided long term solutions in terms of offering diversions and entertainments for Monaco's roughly 170,000 annual tourists, but did not immediately address the issue. Blanc and the casino administration encouraged vacationers to make day trips to neighboring Nice in order to enjoy the city's horseracing and steeplechase events as early as 1866.¹³ The casino concessionaire and owners sought to make the most of the principality's proximity to Nice and the horse races that attracted tourists from across the world.

By the winter of 1871, the SBM finalized its construction of the first major structure devoted to sports in Monte Carlo. Le Tir aux Pigeons opened to the public in January of 1872, and from its inaugural event, international competition became a staple at the shooting range. Directly adjoining the southern side of the casino, Le Tir aux Pigeons occupied some of the most valuable and visually appealing land in the city. As part of the casino's famous terraces, the elevated range extended toward the Mediterranean Sea. Shooters would stand on a marble walkway, between the other casino terraces and a staircase that descended roughly twenty-five feet to a grassy range that met the sea. A concourse that featured a buffet and small spectator stand, which served as a meeting area for shooting contestants, was separated from the casino by a gate. To the South, a cupola containing a plaque with the names of the winners of the Grand Prix aux Pigeons and several other trophies was open for public viewing. A room for *les garçons de tir* and five mechanisms for releasing the frightened birds were built directly below

13. The Blanc family in fact financed the racetrack in Nice.

the cupola (Figure 5.1).¹⁴ The gated area at the Tir aux Pigeons, which separated the sporting participants from other casino visitors, made the shooting range the first segregated space in Monte Carlo's resort areas. Pigeon shooting, an especially discriminating sporting practice largely practiced by European elites, thus became one of the first socially distinctive leisure forms for Monte Carlo's visitors.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 5.1. Agence Rol. Agence Photographique, “Tir aux pigeons de Monte-Carlo [sur une terrasse],” 1907. (Source: Gallica, BNF)

Constructing and maintaining the structure came at an enormous cost, especially considering that the casino had only just begun to turn a profit.¹⁵ Having debuted in Paris in 1831, the sport of pigeon shooting was scarcely forty years old when Monte Carlo gambled on

14. Agence Rol. Agence Photographique, “Tir aux pigeons de Monte-Carlo [sur une terrasse],” 1907, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Estampes et Photographie, Gallica BNF <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6914103z.r=tir+aux+pigeons+monte+carlo.langEN> (accessed October 22, 2012).

15. Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975), 42. Jackson describes the cost of installing the shooting range in the early days of Monaco's tourist economy. He notes that even the frequent international competitions required the SBM to front prizes of up to 10,000 francs.

the construction of a luxurious, elite facility to feature the sport in the city.¹⁶ The decision to bring the sport to Monte Carlo had been a collaborative effort from both François Blanc and Prince Charles III (for whom fowl shooting was a favorite sport). The SBM approved the shooting course, assumed responsibility for its regulation, funded the construction of the range, and managed its budget.¹⁷ The range almost exclusively featured international competitions in order to appeal to the casino-resort's exclusively foreign patrons. Vacationers raved about the facilities and it took only a few years for Monte Carlo's Tir aux Pigeons to be recognized as one of the most luxurious and elite shooting ranges (and shooting clubs) in the world. Charles Limouzin and Gaston de Paris noted that "[s]ince 1872, era of the inauguration of pigeon shooting, the bi-weekly and the grand international competitions have expanded and are very much in vogue that the range at Monte Carlo is considered today the finest of all the ranges in the world."¹⁸ From the first introduction of sport in the city, casino and civic planners sought to create an image of luxury, eliteness, and distinction through sport.

Few restrictions for entering a competition in the early years of Le Tir aux Pigeons existed. One needed only to provide the entrance fee for one of the numerous international competitions, which in some cases was as low as five francs. In fact, as in many other facets of the new resort-city, the only people barred from competition were the subjects of Monaco themselves, a trend which continued in most sporting competitions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first Shooting Committee consisted of twenty-four men, mostly of French, British, Italian, and Austrian origins. Fourteen of the members (58.33%) were titled

16. Charles-Maurice de Vaux, *Le Sport en France et à l'Étranger: Silhouettes Sportives* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1899), 200, Gallica BNF, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5495741b.r=le+sport+en+france.langEN> (accessed October 8, 2012).

17. *Ibid.*, 211.

18. Charles Limouzin and Gaston de Paris, *L'Hiver 1876 à Nice et à Monaco, Cannes et Menton* (Nice: Imprimerie Nice, 1876), 113, Gallica BNF, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5477957z/f110.image.r=escrime%20monte%20carlo.langEN> (accessed September 24, 2012).

nobility and often competed in the competitions.¹⁹ 1876, a typical year in the early decades of Monte Carlo's international shooting competitions, saw 111 tournaments contested and between 5,000 and 6,000 pigeons slaughtered at the range each month of the shooting season.²⁰

Depending on the competition, winners most often received pieces of art as a prize or a small purse. The largest and most prestigious competition each season, *Le Grand Prix de Tir aux Pigeons*, awarded 5,000 francs to the victor.

Monetary gain, however, did not seem to be the primary motivation for entering a shooting competition. Upon receipt of their winnings, champions often redistributed their gains in vast public displays of conspicuous consumption. At the conclusion of a minor international competition, Gaston de Paris remarked that “[w]hen Robert de Lizy won the prize – ‘it is true that he spent his victory purchasing vermouth for the field at the Café de Paris.’”²¹ Similarly, British Captain Aubrey Patton, a two time winner of the *Grand Prix* spent the purse from his second victory in 1876 on champagne for the press, to celebrate in the shooting house.²² For Robert de Lizy and Captain Patton, their victories represented not monetary gains, but social ones. The shooting prowess of these men served a distinctive function: it announced their excellence in marksmanship which was an imitative leisure activity intrinsically linked to the notions of the elite and the European ideal of the warrior-nobleman. By participating in these competitions, elite men distinguished and reproduced their place in social space.

Elite sociability also comprised an important facet of sporting practice in Monte Carlo throughout the 1870s and 1880s. The frequent international shooting competitions, held every two or three days during the winter season, brought together elites from all over Europe and the

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 111.

21. Ibid., 121.

22. Ibid., 109-110.

rest of the Western world. The Shooting Committee which organized the various international competitions particularly emphasized participants' nationalities in schedules, programs, plaques, and trophies. The group seemingly celebrated the internationally-diverse composition of the sportsmen who entered Monte Carlo's shooting competitions. The breakdown of nationalities for the seventy-four individuals that participated in the 1876 *Grand Prix* are as follows:

English – 23
 Italian – 18
 French – 15
 Belgian – 9
 Russian – 3
 German – 3
 American – 2
 Swedish – 1²³

No one nationality predominated and the Shooting Committee strove for a balance of nationalities in both membership and competition. This and other diverse groups of sportsmen not only competed against one another, but also socialized. The structure of the shooting range and the salles d'armes encouraged sociability among this eclectic group of vacationers as well.

Charles-Maurice de Vaux examined Monaco's Tir aux Pigeons in his late-nineteenth century survey on French sports, and offered some explanations about what attracted elite sportsmen to the range. He remarked on the natural beauty, luxury, and elegance of the range and claimed that:

This is Monte Carlo, where each year the grand prize of Monte Carlo is disputed, that attracts all the great pigeon shooters. This marksman's range, perfect by all reports, has been arranged with such luxury that there is nothing missing which you could desire. When the wind blows a bit or the sun shines brilliantly, they are always met by the beautiful sky of the Mediterranean, the shooting requires great effort. Targets are easy to lose in the blue: blue sky, blue sea, blue mountains, blue pigeons, blue rocks, the best English pigeons are of this color.

Installed among the terraces and gardens of Monte Carlo and the prevailing sea, in this marvelous décor of light, blue and greenery, it enjoys an exceptional situation.²⁴

23. Ibid., 120.

The author emphasized the luxury the range afforded its guests, the beautiful views it provided, and the exceptional level of skill required to excel as a marksman at the range. De Vaux went on to note that it was these qualities that attracted both elite shooters and shooters who were elites. These sportsmen were drawn “from the four corners of the world, elites who don’t seem to look anywhere else.”²⁵

Again, monetary gain does not seem to have been the primary motivation for participating in the shooting competitions; the 111 winners of competitions in 1876 (43.24% of whom were titled nobility) and the larger number of competitors that did not receive a prize could have gained more money at the roulette table. Many winners, in fact, rather infamously spent their winnings on the day of the competition. De Vaux suggested that sportsmen’s participation and performances were more important than the potential prizes. He noted that:

In these shooting competitions you delight in the situation . . . by an inevitable enchantment, you bow to the charms of the good life. The shooters, outside of the glory to have their names inscribed in golden letters on the marble plaques on the interior of the stand, were attracted by the prospect of being involved in something important and of winning gold medals or objects of art of high honor.²⁶

The words most often used to describe the sense of honor in these competitions were *noble*, *riche*, and *cynégétique*. The latter term, most accurately translated as “the art of the hunt,” evokes early-modern noble hunting practices. It is a term curiously applied to the stationary shooting of captive pigeons, but reflects the meaning and importance of the sport for its elite practitioners.

In addition to toasts to the field of competition and the imbibing of alcohol, demonstrated by Robert de Lizy and Aubrey Patton’s generosity, competitors spent most of their time at a

24. De Vaux, *Le Sport en France*, 203.

25. *Ibid.*, 200.

26. *Ibid.*, 204.

tournament socializing with one another. Side-betting, placing a gentleman's wager on the performance of a competitor, the survival of a certain pigeon, or the success of the wagering parties, was rampant. Accounts suggest that the amount of money exchanged between sportsmen almost always exceeded the purse of the tournament in which they were competing. Charles Limouzin remarked that "[a]s to the competition, one bets a lot, the one for the marksmen, the others for the pigeon. To this small game, the differences of 50 and even of 100 Louis [1,000 – 2,000 francs] are not rare."²⁷ These sportsmen talked amongst themselves, wagered freely, and viewed the competitions from the terrace overlooking the range and the shooting house. Limouzin noted that this area was:

[R]eserved to the party of marksmen, [where] against the wall, is placed a big black plaque with medals. On the left side are registered the names of the marksmen to which one gives as much glowing credit as the dead pigeons. To right of the house, facing the sea, a buffet is erected listing the days of competition . . . Close to the buffet, to the left is a free space that allows the amateurs of this kind of sport to attend, sit, witness to the slaughter of these innocent blue-rooks.²⁸

Comfort and luxury were certainly major factors in the SBM's design of le Tir aux Pigeons. However, promoting interaction between vacationers and visitors of different nationalities also seems to have been a priority. Many of the competition schedules, plaques, trophy engravings, and lists of participants were published in French, English, and German. The location, structure, and amenities offered on the range's terrace and salles d'armes suggests that casino planners sought to facilitate interaction and sociability among these international guests. Furthermore, these planners recognized the elite status of the visiting marksmen, because for nearly two decades parts of le Tir aux Pigeons remained the only part of the casino or its grounds restricted to only a portion of the public.

27. Limouzin and de Paris, *L'Hiver 1876*, 110.

28. *Ibid.*, 109-110.

In addition to attracting elite sportsmen to the principality and providing entertainment for guests, pigeon shooting drew the aim of moral critics and also served as a target of scandal for tracts decrying the degeneracy of the resort. British gambling critic William Hope Devereux termed the competitors a “*shady fraternity*” that “characteristically engaged in slaughtering tame pigeons, by way of a manly recreation and noble sport!”²⁹ Despite Devereux’s tone of disapproving incredulity, his decision to couch his description in gendered terms was an apt one. The practice was restricted to male participants, and evoked the traditionally masculine activity of the hunt. Devereux was clearly familiar with these associations to noble hunting practices (promoted by the casino and newspapers alike), but viewed them as a sham. Noting the tempting allure of the resort, he continued to describe it as:

A paradise, in spite of man's wickedness and merciless cruelty. At Monaco itself, there are thousands of pounds given away annually as the casino prizes, for the tame pigeon-slaughtering, matches, which generally bring a great gathering. But the wonder is, that gentlemen will soil their hands with the stakes, tempting, as undoubtedly they are; and the marvel is that some of our leading newspapers, who righteously claim against the iniquities of Monte Carlo, still condescend to advertize these decoy matches.³⁰

It is little wonder that some newspapers promoted the pigeon shooting contests which Devereux viewed as “decoy matches.” The SBM devoted tremendous resources to hosting and marketing the events, and the Blanc family owned the *Journal de Monaco*, which was unsurprisingly a proponent of the competitions.

Rumors ran rampant that press agents had been bribed to endorse the shooting range and its international competitions. Even travel authors who encouraged their readers to visit Monte Carlo noted the practice. In 1897, one such author declared that:

29. William Hope Devereux, R.N., F.R.G.S., *Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo: Comprising a Tour Through North and South Italy and Sicily with a Short Account of Malta* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1884), 49-50. Emphasis original.

30. *Ibid.*, 69.

It was also the custom to give a banquet to the leading Press representatives on the night of the great Pigeon Shooting competition, and the story goes that every invited guest, on taking his place, found a thousand-franc note artfully concealed in his napkin! It was doubtless easier for them to write of the admirable arrangements made for the comfort of visitors and the invariable courtesy shown by the management, etc., etc., after a dinner at which such liberality prevailed.³¹

Despite the rumors of illicit bribery and promotion, and the moral criticisms of killing live pigeons, pigeon shooting remained one of the most legitimate practices for elite sportsmen in Monte Carlo and the popularity of the sport grew from year to year.

For a select number of visitors to Monte Carlo, pigeon shooting was not, in and of itself, an adequate replacement for hunting. The SBM could not satisfy the demand for hunting in Monte Carlo itself, but casino-resort promoters and even the royal family offered notable guests the opportunity to genuinely engage in the hunt with a nascent form of sporting-practice junket tours. Norbert Elias has demonstrated that hunting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was one of, if not the principal, form of noble sport in Europe.³² Stalking prey served as a leisure activity that rather bluntly evoked the role of the warrior-aristocracy. The hunt contained a certain element of danger, required a level of knowledge of the use of firearms and a certain code of implicit rules, and required restraint of body and mind; all of which made it an important distinctive sporting practice, accessible in an organized form to only the higher segments of societies. The sport demonstrated many similarities to pigeon shooting and seemed like a perfect complement to that sporting practice. However, geographical limitations in the principality, as well as the urban environment of Monte Carlo, proved to be an insurmountable challenge to providing vacationers with hunting as a form of leisure.

31. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo at the Bank's Expense: Containing Hints to Visitors and a General Guide to the Neighborhood* (London: William Heinemann, 1898), 38. Victor Bethell wrote this piece anonymously with contributions from Frank Curzon, using only his initials V. B.

32. Norbert Elias, "An Essay on Sport and Violence," in Elias and Dunning, eds., *Quest for Excitement*, 160-161.

The Grimaldi royal family proffered a solution to the principality's inability to satisfy casino patrons' desires for the hunt. They invited large numbers of elites to join them for hunting excursions in Le Chateau de Marchais, in Picardie, France. Prince Charles III purchased the property in 1854, the same year in which Monaco opened its first casino, and quickly began hosting hunting expeditions for elite guests of the principality. Prince Charles, and his son Albert, were renowned hunters and often engaged in the sport to escape the rigors of ruling the state. In 1890, Adrien Marx wrote of his experience on one of the Grimaldi's exported hunting trips. He noted:

Prince Albert adores hunting. The fatigues of the hunt are, for him, a rest after the distant unrest and protests. Disdaining the system in fashion where young partridges are raised in a relatively tight space, he prefers artificially nourished pheasants and fertile rabbits operated upon an immense territory surrounded by the single tenant of the Chateau de Marchais.³³

Marx referenced the prince's disdain for the type of pigeon shooting that had become so popular in Monte Carlo, a fact that the SBM worked to obscure from the many guests who frequented the Tir aux Pigeons. For the royal family, *cynégétique* consisted of more than the slaughter of captive pigeons. Instead it related to the hunter's connection with nature, knowledge of hunting techniques, exercise, and the companionship of other hunters. Marx portrayed the hunt at Marchais as a glorified battle. He described the vigor with which Prince Albert approached the hunting practice, and warned that:

The people honored by an invitation to this slaughter must leave at their place the fear of long and sterile hikes. This is true war against an enemy that defends itself and distrusts all, the true battle with a prey with which the wing is quick and the paw nimble. There is no shelter behind which one treacherously awaits the panic-

33. Adrien Marx, *"Sub Jove": chasses, pêches, excursions, voyages* (Paris: Libraire de la Société des Gens des Lettres, 1890), 188-189, Gallica BNF, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5443492m/f205.image.r=sportif%20monte-carlo.langEN> (accessed October 3, 2012). Marx claims the trip occurred in "a previous year" but does not give a specific date for the excursion. Information from the document suggests that it occurred after Albert's participation in the Franco-Prussian War and before Charles' death in 1889. The mid-1870s to the mid-1880s seems the most reasonable period in which the hunting trip occurred.

stricken hare or the entrusted partridge. One conceals oneself as one can, under branches of trees, in holes . . . I would say almost that the fight is even. . . . Sometimes, the fervor of the prince induced us until three leagues of the chateau, and we there returned only at twilight, lightly exhausted, but awake in spirit and with blossomed soul.³⁴

This example illustrates the mimetic function of sport. The hunt for Marx, Prince Albert, and his noble companions was a playful mock battle, a reprieve from the rigors of “real life,” and a reproduction of social status. While the distinctive symbolic benefits of these hunting excursions mirrored that of the pigeon shooting in Monte Carlo, it more closely resembled the war-like practices once associated with the nobility.³⁵

Invitation to these hunts and associations with the princes served to signify one’s place among the elite. Nearly all of the invitees were frequent patrons of Monte Carlo and the casino-resort, and a large number were nobility from across Europe. Marx recounted that:

I was — as one would imagine — excessively flattered to have been judged worthy by the prince to participate and I consider an honor the five days that I had to pass the time with those of titles of nobility in *cynégétique*. Even more, I am honored to have been admitted to live under this roof, from which the ceremonial one does not exclude a big simplicity of pace and where the frank warmth of hospitality one receives leaves an indelible impression in the heart of the guests.³⁶

Despite Monte Carlo’s distance from Marchais, Princes Charles and Albert attempted to make a connection between these hunts and the city. Invitations were generally only extended to patrons of Monte Carlo during their stay, and preference was given to travelers who wintered annually in the principality. For many of the most elite visitors to Monte Carlo in the late nineteenth century, a hunting trip to the prince’s palace in Picardie was part of the season’s festivities.

34. Ibid., 189, 192.

35. Arno J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 82.

36. Adrien Marx, *Sub Jove*, 189. Emphasis my own.

Invitees to these hunting parties made sure to document their trip, and provide textual and visual reproductions of their hunting practices. Guests wrote letters describing the hunt and posed for photographs with their trophies, each other, and the prince. Marx claimed:

It was, for five days, a slaughter of hares and partridges. Prince Albert had hoped that more of the wildfowl would have been brought down, during our stay, on the vast marshes that punctuate its plains and its wood. The ducks and the silly geese do the gaze at the chateau no good grace; it was necessary to satisfy the prince and his guests with feathered and hairy victims, spread every evening in front of the house of the guards, and we formed a picture of the most flattering ones.³⁷



Figure 5.2. “M. Van Den Bosch,” ca. 1890s.
(Source: Charles-Maurice de Vaux, *Le Sport en France et à l’Étranger: Silhouettes Sportives*)

Arranged photographs of the hunt and even of pigeon shooting were among the most popular sporting photographs in Monte Carlo during the late nineteenth century. In addition to Marx’s description of the hunter posing with his kills, marksmen frequently posed with their guns raised, displaying their technique and acquired sporting knowledge. Le Comte de Robiano and M. Van Den Bosch, Belgian nobility, committee members of Monte Carlo’s Tir aux Pigeons and frequent guests of Prince Albert in Marchais, were among the most prolific subjects of these photographs. Their clothing, choice of

37. Ibid., 191-192.

weapon, stance, grip, and aim in these photographs distinguish them as elite sportsmen; their bodily control and reserve, knowledge of marksmanship, and access to premier equipment visually reproduce their place in social space in these photographs (Figure 5.2).³⁸ For these elite sportsmen, and especially for those whose sporting practice was limited to a small number of witnesses on a private estate in Picardie, visually reproducing their exploits proved as necessary a distinctive function as the sporting practice itself.

Expansion and Democratization of Sport in Monte Carlo

Beginning in the 1880s, sports in the principality expanded, both in the number of participants and the types of sporting events held in Monaco. Pigeon shooting, the prototypical sport at Monte Carlo, remained the most popular sport in the city well into the early decades of the twentieth century. Sailing, golfing, fencing, and tennis, however, grew rapidly in popularity, and Monte Carlo became one of the first cities in the world to host an annual international competition for each sport by the turn of the century. While the number of participants for each sport rose exponentially during the 1880s, participant demographics also underwent a transformation. Aided by an ascendant middle class seeking to break into the elite seasonal travel circuit, increased access to equipment and sporting knowledge throughout Europe and America, and the growth of mass tourism in Monte Carlo, noble elites lost their stranglehold on sports as an exclusive practice of social capital. As aspirant classes sought to emulate their titled counterparts and elites struggled to maintain the relative scarcity of their leisure practices, sports in the resort-city became a manifestation of these class contentions.

Perhaps the most salient example of the expansion of sports in Monte Carlo is the rapid development and evolution of the shooting ranges in the city. The SBM named Auguste

38. "M. Van Den Bosch" and "M. Le Comte De Robiano," photographs in de Vaux, *Le Sport en France*, 214-215.

Blondin *Secretariat du Tir*, of the Tir aux Pigeons and he expertly managed the range by increasing its budget, the number and prestige of its tournaments, and the luxury and glamor of the salles d'armes. In 1899, Charles-Maurice de Vaux charted some of Blondin's improvements to the range and emphasized the socially-distinctive function of pigeon shooting in Monte Carlo.

He concluded that:

The excellence of the shooter does the most to distinguish the brilliance of the society of foreigners . . . since 1887 the administration of the cercles des étrangers has successfully managed to raise more money for the competition [Le Grand Prix de Monaco] and more importantly have attracted the best shooters in the world to enter. From 30,000 francs in 1888, the budget for the competition has grown rapidly to 40,000, 50,000, 60,000, 70,000 and finally, 120,000 in 1898.³⁹

Similar to the budget of *Le Grand Prix*, which quadrupled in a decade, the budget for the shooting range increased sharply from 1876 to the turn of the century. So too, did the number of participants. De Vaux continued by noting that “[t]he number of contestants grows each year, and the prize for the spa grows by 40, 50, to 75 shooters . . . in 1891 we created le grand prix du cercle des Étrangers (handicap)”⁴⁰ In the first twenty-one years of the range's operation, membership to the shooting club had increased from under 50 (most of whom were part of the prestigious shooting committee, the organizing and governing body of the range) to 326. The percentage of titled participants in the shooting competitions also experienced a dynamic change. The percentage of noble sportsmen decreased from nearly 60% in the 1870s to a mere 26.99% in 1897.⁴¹ The change reflected not only the sport's mounting reputation as a leisure practice, but also a democratization of the sport itself.

Titled elites still maintained a significant presence at Le Tir aux Piegons, but they were a highly visible minority. The European and American middle classes, mostly from Belgium,

39. De Vaux, *Le Sport en France*, 214.

40. *Ibid.*, 215.

41. *Ibid.*, 217-220.

Austria, Italy, and England, infiltrated what had been just several years before a nearly exclusive, elite cultural and social practice. Arno Mayer suggested that these upwardly mobile classes sought to emulate and assimilate into, not to oppose, the dominant aristocratic culture. Mayer wrote that, “[t]o be sure, the bourgeois aspirants steadfastly courted and invested in this assimilation, as they sedulously emulated and cultivated those they considered their superiors . . . his supreme ambition was not to besiege or overturn the seigniorial establishment but to break into it.”⁴² Mayer also contended that, up to a certain point, the dominant and aristocratic classes did not fully discourage this cultural and social mimicry. For Mayer, even belonging to the upwardly-mobile middle class served only as a transition point to the elite noble classes for nineteenth century Europeans. He continued:

The elite was inordinately absorbent and resilient, the bourgeoisie was singularly impressionable and flaccid . . . for the socially and psychologically insecure business, financial, and professional grandees the upper bourgeoisie ‘was but an antechamber to the nobility,’ and their ‘highest aspiration was first to gain admission to the nobility and then to rise within it.’⁴³

Sports in Monte Carlo, like Le Tir aux Pigeons, provided a forum outside of the ascetic (and often painful) visits to health spas and sanatoriums through which the bourgeoisie could engage in elite leisure practice alongside the nobility. Aristocratic reactions to this encroachment varied, but neither the dominant classes nor the ascendant middle class considered abandoning their sporting pursuits; sports as a leisure practice continued to gain popularity in Monte Carlo with each passing year.

Several sports emerged as popular pastimes for guests in addition to shooting competitions. Before 1890, the sporting competitions were relegated to the winter and spring seasons, concluding by April of each year. The choice of sports and sporting competitions

42. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime*, 84.

43. *Ibid.*

offered in the principality (mostly organized and funded by *Le Comité de Patronage* and *Le Comité de Tir*) should not be surprising. Fencing, regatta races, lawn tennis, horse racing and riding, and golf all fit the “aristocratic image” of sport, an image that appealed to the elite and ascendant classes which comprised Monte Carlo’s visitors in the waning decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ A social program of the 1889-1890 winter vacation season in Monte Carlo described a number of sporting events hosted at the Tir aux Pigeons. The events included pistol, rifle, and shotgun competitions held every two or three days, but also foil and épée fencing for “the discriminating sportsmen” in the adjacent salles d’armes.⁴⁵ Spatial limitations made horse racing impossible within the city; however, the casino took bets on tracks throughout the Riviera and organized transportation to courses for numerous races such as the Prix de Villefranche, Prix de Monte-Carlo, Prix de Roquebrune, Prix des Alpes-Maritimes, Grand Prix de Monaco, Prix du Conseil General, Prix de la Société des Courses, Prix du Conseil Municipal, Prix D’eze, Grand Prix de la Villes de Nice, and Prix de S.A.S. le Prince de Monaco.⁴⁶

As early as 1897, travel guidebooks, agencies, and budget tour groups provided pre-packaged tourism options for the masses which included admission to these sporting events. Ticket options provided by Henry Auxouteaux de Conty’s travel guide and corporation offered access to the Tir aux Pigeons, international regatta competitions, and coastal horse race courses.⁴⁷ By the turn of the century, sports had become part of the appeal and image of cosmopolitan exclusivity which Monte Carlo represented. The Conty guide (similar in many

44. Golf would not be available in Monaco until 1911, but the course at Mont Agel was only the third course built on the continent.

45. *L’hiver au soleil. Saison 1889-1890. Programme sommaires des fêtes du littoral. Monaco. Monte-Carlo. Nice. Cannes. Menton-1889* (1889), 29, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-LK1-226, D1-552 L 2.8-A.

46. *Ibid.*, 61-71.

47. Henry Auxouteaux de Conty, *Guides Pratiques Conty: Paris à Nice Monaco-Menton*, (Paris: 4 Boulevard des Italiens, 1897), 6-7, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 16-L27-245, D1-552 L 2.3-A.

respects to the more well-known Michelin guide) was a pocket sized travel guide of different regions aimed more at the middle classes than the upper-bourgeoisie or elite. Aristocratic and wealthy elites still maintained a strong presence in sports in Monte Carlo, but these sporting practices were no longer exclusive to them.

Parties invested in Monte Carlo's success negotiated a delicate balance of attracting an increasingly large number of tourists to the resort city while maintaining the image of elite and exclusive luxury. By 1889 the annual number of visitors to the principality had exceeded 500,000, and that number would triple within the next two decades.⁴⁸ In the same year, social programs proclaimed that "Monaco is the premiere place for winter travels along the Mediterranean Coast, because of its climate, its distractions and elegant pleasures it offers its visitors, and which has recently become the meeting place of the world's aristocrats, all of which demand European winter vacations."⁴⁹ Quite clearly, the half million visitors to the principality were not all of elite or noble status. The Prince of Monaco, casino concessionaire, and *Secretariat du Tir* (Prince Albert I, Camille Blanc, and Auguste Blondin, respectively) responded to the problem of satisfying both their elite patrons and mass tourists by providing access to sports for all visitors to the principality and simultaneously creating truly restrictive sporting activities and clubs.

This move mirrored a larger trend of expansion at the casino, with pockets of exclusivity. Renovations to the casino added several gaming rooms, including the Salle Touzet and Salle Garnier, which quickly became private gaming rooms. Several more renovations and extensions to the casino occurred until 1910, when Camille Blanc briefly considered banning women

48. Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), 324.

49. *L'hiver au soleil*, 22.

entirely from the private salles before deciding against it.⁵⁰ These alterations to the building created segregated spaces where the wealthy and the elite could partially escape the masses of tourists in the gambling house and find exclusive places in which to gamble and socialize. Many casino visitors bemoaned the move to create private gaming rooms and the requirement of admission cards to enter the casino. Gambling critics and visitors alike wrote an extraordinary number of letters, pamphlets, and papers censuring this shift to exclusivity. The subject proved to be a particularly popular piece of fodder for gambling critics. As early as 1874, an anonymous critic railed against these changes, saying “[t]his [the announcement requiring an admission card] is a mockery to the reader that they want to dismantle the heterogeneous elements from the four corners of the world that exist in the gaming rooms.”⁵¹ For the author, the nature of the space had changed. Before:

No one thought, and with good logic, no one could conceive of an establishment of this kind essentially being a public house. Now, in any public place whose usage is more or less moral, more or less useful, that is a church, a theatre, a museum, all are equally and anonymously allowed to enter, provided that they are held in accordance with the place’s usage, and in some cases entry is free. The opposite is not a right but solely an abuse of local authority.⁵²

The casino-resort, which at times served as the only public gaming house in Europe and was certainly the only one to consistently operate throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, aroused serious concerns from moralists and opponents of gambling. On one hand, the openness of the casino and its accessibility to the public threatened to spread the perceived evils of gambling to more victims. On the other, the status of the casino as a grand public building,

50. *Chronological Plan of the Casino*, 1911 in Adolphe Smith, *Monaco and Monte Carlo: With Eight Reproductions in Colour from Drawings by Charles Maresco Pearce, and with Forty-eight Illustrations in Black and White* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), 322. For further information regarding Camille Blanc’s considerations of barring women from parts of the casino, see Xan Fielding, *The Money Spinner: Monte Carlo Casino* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 97.

51. Casse-cou [pseud], *À la Colonie Étrangere. Casse-cou. Considérations sur les cartes d’entrée de la maison Blanc et compagnie* (Nice: Imprimerie Caisson et Mignon, 1874), 5, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, K-14530, D1-554 L 4.7-A.

52. *Ibid.*, 4.

coupled with an adjoining theater and opera house, contrasted with contemporary notions of such unrestricted structures as sites of intellectual and cultural amelioration.⁵³

Moral considerations aside, this anonymous critic couched his complaints against the casino as an affront to the process of civilizing society through open access to edifying public spaces. Most elite guests to the casino were considered *hivernants*, travelers instead of tourists that stayed the entire winter season in the principality, a luxury only some of the middle classes could afford. Requiring an admission card to enter the casino, in a sense, announced each visitor's position and importance for each trip to the gaming rooms. Despite concerns that open access to the casino equated to a perversion of the refining functions of public houses, opponents such as this critic were also troubled by the gaming house's hierarchical admissions process. The author claimed these rules were "new sources of humiliation. There are three sorts of cards: that which gives you the grandest entrance, the annual card, that which gives you a lesser entrance, the monthly card, and that which permits you the least entrance the card for a single day."⁵⁴ He concluded that "[t]his is no longer a public house of games, they should feel obliged to change the sign to say 'le Cercle des Étrangers de Monaco et la Société des Bains de mer.'"⁵⁵ This critic's treatise lamenting the exclusionary practices in Monte Carlo typified the opinions of many in the debate over the public and private nature of the casino that lasted throughout the century. Although the Blanc family and casino-promoters had pitched the resort as an exclusive destination for elite travelers, it could not maintain its reputation solely as an elite space if it was open to everyone. Even the anti-gambling treatises of the 1870s recognized several points: first that the casino-resort's draw extended beyond the elite classes, and second, that the contradictory

53. For information on the use of publically accessible spaces as sites of edification and social cultivation, see Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Culture: Policies and Politics, series edited by Tony Bennett et al. (London: Routledge, 1995).

54. Casse-cou [pseud.], *À la Colonie Étrangere*, 9.

55. *Ibid.*, 5.

functions of the casino-resort as a private and restricted destination for the upper classes and as a public gaming house created an environment which underscored social divisions.

Anxieties over mass tourism and the desire for exclusivity were manifested in sporting practices. 1889 particularly highlighted these concerns over upper class exclusivity and mass tourism. Upon completion of Le Grand Tirs de Spa, the SBM essentially made Pigeon shooting, by far the most popular outdoor pastime in the principality, a segregated leisure pursuit. Co-managed by the same committee as Le Tir aux Pigeons and built near the Spa l'Été, the newer range was open to the public while the older and more exclusive range remained limited to members of the range or recognized shooting societies. Belgian, French, Italian, and English men served on the committee for both ranges, including “MM. U. Van Den Bosch, E. Carnarvon, comte de Robiano, baron de Villenfagne de Vogels, and Manietto Ghido.”⁵⁶

The spa range was not only accessible to the public, but it also seemed especially designed to attract middle class tourists. Casino promoters advertised the adjoining spa as “another comfortable accommodation for a moderate price, [which] offers all the advantages of hydrotherapeutic treatments of the first order.”⁵⁷ Despite rapid changes in spa culture and leisure in the late nineteenth century, spa and medical establishments like Spa l'Été conformed to notions of productivity and respectability which appealed to the ascendant middle classes.⁵⁸ Despite the spa range's less-restrictive admission requirements, it still managed to attract elites and members of the nobility. The most prestigious competition held at the spa range, the *Lauréats du Grand Prix de Spa*, interestingly an event with a rather modest purse (3,000 francs in 1889 compared to 12,000 francs for other international competitions hosted that year),

56. De Vaux, *Le Sport en France*, 216.

57. *L'hiver au soleil*, 29.

58. Douglas Mackaman, *Leisure Settings: Bourgeois Culture, Medicine, and the Spa in Modern France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5.

featured victors from the titled nobility eight out of the first nine years in which it was held.⁵⁹

While the spa range appealed to middle class tourists, it operated as an inclusive sporting facility that attracted both elite and noble sportsmen and less-select vacationers and amateurish marksmen.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 5.3. Agence Rol. Agence photographique, “Entrée des tirs aux pigeons à Monte-Carlo,” 1907. (Source: Gallica, BNF)

Contrarily, the Tir aux Pigeons became increasingly more exclusive. A photograph from 1907 of the entrance to the shooting range illustrates the exclusive nature of the space. The renovated casino with Charles Garnier’s recognizable twin domes, expansive entryways, and open terraces make up the background. The photograph focuses on the gated entrance to the shooting range, where two uniformed doormen stand watch over the gate. Two elegant, marble sentry stations keep with the luxurious architectural tone of the casino, but suggest restricted space and interdicted access (Figure 5.3).⁶⁰

The range itself, once open to all visitors

59. De Vaux, *Le Sport en France*, 215-216.

60. Agence Rol. Agence photographique, “Entrée des tirs aux pigeons à Monte-Carlo,” 1907, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Estampes et Photographie, Gallica BNF <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6914105s.r=tirs+aux.langEN> (accessed November 29, 2011).

(but not Monégasque citizens or residents of France's Département des Alpes-Maritimes), became restricted to members of exclusive clubs. Auguste Blondin, secretary of the range, announced that:

Any person wishing to take part in pigeon shooting must have written permission from the Patronage Committee or the Shooting Committee of 1888-1889, or from two members of the Society of Patineurs (Paris), The Hurlingham Club, The Gun Club (London), the Shooting Range Bois de la Cambre (Bruxelles), or the Society of Pigeon Shooting of Rome or Florence. A personal card will be given for the season once permission is given.⁶¹

By 1889, the Tir aux Pigeons was clearly no longer open to sporting neophytes. Membership to the shooting committee in Monte Carlo or to recognized clubs, the social capital of the elite classes, was a prerequisite to competition at the range. Few exceptions were allowed, but Blondin noted that “[f]or persons not party of the aforementioned societies, your letter of participation must be signed by a member of the Comité du Patronage ou de Tir; the participation letters must contain the names of the entrants.”⁶² With a separate, but newer, shooting range in Monte Carlo, few tourists from non-elite classes encroached upon the newly reclaimed exclusivity of the Tir aux Pigeons. As a result, international competitions (and ultimately international sociability through sporting practice) remained largely associated with the Tir aux Pigeons and the elite members of the range.⁶³

Prince Albert also played a role in the expansion of pigeon shooting and exclusionary practices for his nation's guests. His devotion to the sport and the Tir aux Pigeons demonstrated the attraction's importance to Monaco tourist economy. The prince, unlike his father, deplored the sport of pigeon hunting (he considered the slaughter of tame pigeons unsporting, although he

61. Auguste Blondin quoted in *L'hiver au soliel*, 38.

62. *Ibid.*, 42.

63. International competitions were held at the spa range as well, but much frequently occurred at the Tir aux Pigeons. Elite and noble participants dominated the international competitions at the spa as well throughout the century.

held a great passion for hunting in the wild).⁶⁴ He supplemented the casino's purchase of forested grounds in Cap Martin, which had once been his family's hunting reserve. Kathryn Bradley-Hole explained that "pigeon-shooting had become such a big draw for the Riviera's hibernants that in 1886 the wilds of Cap Martin were obtained for a shooting enterprise, whereby visitors who regretted leaving behind the Scottish moors each winter could at least take a potshot at the copious rabbits and pheasants."⁶⁵ This expansion of the shooting sport appealed to elite ideals of pristine nature and *cynégétique*. It also provided refuge from the hordes of tourists which seemed to grow in number during each winter season. The conversion of Grimaldi hunting grounds into a public reserve suggested that the demand for these experiences went beyond what the prince could personally offer at Le Chateau de Marchais. The aforementioned hunting trips, reproduced through photographs and memoirs, were signifiers of status reserved for an elite few. The conversion of Cap Martin to a public hunting ground provided marksmen with a greater connection to the elite notion of *cynégétique* and its imitative relation to the bygone warrior aristocracy without having to travel far from Monte Carlo.

Club Sociability: Practicing Sport and Class at Monte Carlo's Sporting Clubs

Founded near the turn of the century, the original winter and summer sporting clubs in Monte Carlo formalized sporting practice, fostered international competitions, centered some elite sociability (at least nominally) around sports, and provided an official means of exclusivity. Subjects of Monaco were barred from membership, because membership to another national sporting club was a prerequisite. In 1924, a British hotel guide described the older sporting club as "a very handsome and imposing building," but warned that "it is open to all members of

64. Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo*, 82.

65. Kathryn Bradley-Hole, *Villa Gardens of the Mediterranean: From the Archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum Press, 2006), 94-95.

recognized clubs, but only on presentation by two other members.”⁶⁶ This self-policing rule, a restrictive list of acceptable clubs, and stiff membership fees meant that members of the Monte Carlo sporting clubs could be selective about who they let into their midst. The sporting clubs’ denial of King Carlos I of Portugal’s membership application became something of a legend and a humiliating rebuff for the hapless monarch, but effectively demonstrated the clubs’ rigid admission standards. Membership to the clubs afforded one entrance into the clubs’ private rooms, soirées, and events, as well as the opportunity to participate in the competitions; however, the masses of non-members were not entirely excluded. Tourists could take part in the clubs’ activities during the offseason and, for a price and upon approval of the administration, access the public areas of the International Sporting Club during peak season.⁶⁷ Non-members could seek admission to competitions or appeal for membership by contacting the club secretary, but upholding a longstanding tradition, Thursdays were reserved for club members.⁶⁸ Membership to the sporting clubs signified the wealth and status of the city’s *hivernants*, but could be cheaply accessed on a temporary basis by those with less means. Frequent, elite travelers to Monte Carlo, however, needed to maintain membership to one of these clubs in order to fit into the city’s exclusive social scene.

The importance of Monte Carlo’s early international sporting clubs goes beyond their uses as mere status symbols. The private areas, and members-only days, illustrated the clubs’ primary function for their elite members – to provide a space of sociability for elite visitors from across the globe. Oftentimes, the sports themselves played a meager role, if any, in attracting

66. Hyam’s *Hotel Guide to the Rivas (Marseilles to Viareggio): A Practical Handbook for Travellers - 1924* (1924), 75, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-g-11335, D1-503 L 3.5-A.

67. *Publicité de Guides Joanne. Nice Beaulieu et Monaco: Hôtels et Établissements Divers* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 28, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-LK7-25261 (P), D1-552 L 2.8-A.

68. *Ibid.*, 29.

members to the sporting clubs, their social affairs, and private rooms. Sociability in these sporting clubs closely resemble Elias and Dunning's descriptions of leisure-*gemeinschaften*: a transient, communal social interaction typified by a sense of shared experience, lowered social boundaries, high emotionality, de-routinization, and close interaction with relatively impersonal contacts.⁶⁹ In Monte Carlo's sporting clubs, this form of sociability allowed elites from all over the world, with little else in common besides their wealth, status, and choice in leisure activities to mingle and socialize with one another. People that would likely have been ambivalent toward, or ignorant of, one another, instead formed tight-knit, seasonal leisure communities in these sporting clubs.

Social pages and newspapers on the Riviera often remarked on group activities of sporting club members. One such page noted that nearly 600 mostly-American members of the club embarked on a pleasure cruise together in February of 1923.⁷⁰ A separate commentary published in the same paper remarked on the social function of the International Sporting Club. After listing a number of important guests, including Le Duc de Connaught, Duchesse de Sutherland, Sir John and Lady Ward, Lady Alastair Kerr, and Lady Maidstone, the Prince and Princess Giovanelli of Rome, Senator Javotte Bocconi, the Marquis and Marquise de Vallahermosa, Comtesse Grammont, and the Duke and Duchess of D'ayen, it simply concluded that "the tea hour, at Sporting, is the rendez-vous of the elite of the colony of foreigners."⁷¹ Club members enjoyed a variety of activities together, most completely unassociated with sports or competition. During the peak winter and spring seasons the club held private balls and elegant

69. Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, 121-122.

70. *Cannes, Nice, Monte-Carlo – 1923. Toutes les Femmes Élégantes sont abonnées à Art. Gout. Beauté. La Plus Luxueuse Des Revues de Modes La Seule Publiant Les Modelés de la Grande Couture dans le Coloris Exact de Leur Création*, no. 3 (29 January – 4 February, 1923), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, JO-60989 1923, D2-702 L 3.20-C.

71. *Ibid.*, no. 7 (February 19, 1923).

soirees no less than once a week. Each Tuesday night, club members met in the private rooms of the sporting clubs, dined on an elegantly prepared feast, and were treated to orchestral music as part of the weekly formal balls.⁷² From time to time, the sporting clubs even served their titular purpose, hosting fencing competitions or other sporting competitions. By the 1890s, the sporting clubs largely functioned as an exclusive spot for gambling. Historian Xan Fielding surmises that:

Something had to be done to discriminate between high life and the rabble . . . [the cercle privé of the sporting clubs provided] much greater comfort than in the public rooms. Most of the players knew each other; the atmosphere was much more intimate and conducive to high stakes. It was rather like a club where the members were all in a league against the bank By 1898, [Camille] Blanc reconstituted it as an even more exclusive society, to be known henceforth as the International Sporting Club. . . . [A] visitor had to belong to a recognized club in his own country and produce a receipt to show that he had paid his yearly subscription.⁷³

Fielding's summary of the formation of the International Sporting Club suggested that private gaming, comfort, sociability, and a sense of community permeated this exclusive space. Elite vacationers sought to distance themselves from mass tourists through sporting clubs and societies (even if the connection to sport was little more than nominal). Sporting practice had little to do with membership to these clubs, however, the well-entrenched and regulated system of sporting societies in Europe and America ensured that these spaces largely remained the realm of the elite.

Limits to Mass Sporting Practice in Monte Carlo: Cycling

The infrequent and restricted practice of Cycling in the principality proved to be one limit to the democratization of sport in Monaco. By the 1890s, in both the United States and Europe, bicycles proved to be leveling agents for sex and social class as well as the vehicles for hugely

72. *Ibid.*, no. 3.

73. Fielding, *The Money Spinner*, 97-100.

popular leisure-time activities. Eugen Weber notes that the proliferation of bicycles in France during the 1880s and 1890s not only brought an intense interest in healthful rejuvenation through exercise, but also increased mobility for the middle and lower-middle classes, provided avenues for economic promotion, and functioned as a sport in which all classes could compete on, more or less, even footing.⁷⁴ Weber additionally argues that the increased practice of cycling provided greater gender equality and drastically changed the lives of women. The cycling craze of the 1880s and 1890s impacted issues ranging from women's fashion to mobility and even sexuality.⁷⁵ Michael Taylor summarizes the liberating and leveling effects of cycling, by noting that affordable bicycles and access to ever-growing cycling clubs promised "health and happiness, personal liberty and social equality."⁷⁶ By the turn of the century, many Western societies considered cycling the first, the most diverse, and the most popular sporting practice for the masses. France, the country which by far accounted for the most visitors to Monte Carlo, became especially enamored with the sport. Despite the popularity of the sport elsewhere, even in nearby Nice, cycling was slow to catch on near the casino-resort.

Upon first glance, cycling would seem to be a sporting practice and leisure-time activity well-suited for development near the casino-resort. In addition to its mass appeal during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, cycling quickly became closely associated with regenerative, healthful exercise and bodily renewal. Similar in many ways to the spas and *villes d'eaux* which remained popular sites of rejuvenation and renewal, cycling offered a way to legitimize leisure and improve one's health without the expensive and sometimes painful practice of spa-going. Indeed, part of A. Eynaud, the Grimaldi family, and François Blanc's

74. Eugen Weber, *France, Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), 195-206.

75. *Ibid.*, 200-201.

76. Michael Taylor, "The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s" *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 214-215.

various strategies for appealing to international tourists had been to market the casino-resort (in part) as a site where one could heal and rehabilitate their body.

Throughout the late 1890s, several visitors to the principality encouraged tourists to take up the healthful practice when visiting Monte Carlo. Frank Curzon and Victor Bethell (a British author and resident banker in Monte Carlo) encouraged cycling or other forms of exercise as an alternative to the stagnant and stationary routine of gambling inside the casino. Bethell remarked on the strains some of the luxurious excesses of Monte Carlo placed on the body and stated:

If you have any regard for your health, you must take plenty of exercise at Monte Carlo. Most people take none; they order the richest dishes on the *menu*, over-eat themselves twice a day, remain in the poisonous atmosphere of the gambling-rooms for hours and hours at a stretch, and then wonder why they get out of sorts!⁷⁷

Both men advocated cycling as the best remedy for such inactivity and overindulgence, and Bethell cited encouraging more exercise at the resort as the primary purpose of his book. He began his book with an introductory call to action, penned during a stay in Monte Carlo in May of 1898. He admitted that:

We are not *all* ardent cyclists, I am aware, although it is daily becoming more rare to find anyone under fifty who does not, 'bike' : still, as a general rule, wherever a bicycle can go a carriage can follow, and if I succeed in persuading only a few to leave the unhealthy atmosphere of the Casino on a fine day and explore the beauties of this lovely country – whether it be on a 'bike,' in a carriage, or on foot – I shall consider that my labours have not been in vain. It maybe as well to mention that none of the rides, herein described, are beyond the powers of even the average lady cyclist.

Bethell and Curzon were not the only visitors clamoring for a greater presence of cyclists at Monte Carlo. The recently founded cyclist organization, le Touring Club de France, published maps of the principality and encouraged its members to take in the picturesque sites of Monaco's

77. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo*, 29.

roads. The French cyclist periodical, *Véloce-sport et Bicyclette*, similarly encouraged its readership of bicycling enthusiasts to visit the resort.

The SBM, International Sporting Club, and the royal family did little to encourage cycling in the principality – a startling lack of action in the context of the massive investitures in other forms of sporting practices at the time. At no point were cyclists banned or restricted from the roads, but commercial and civic authorities did not cultivate the pastime with any enthusiasm. Guidebooks and travel accounts from 1889 until the brief closure of the casino-resort during World War I remarked on the relative dearth of bicycle shops and amenities in Monaco. An 1889 seasonal guide to the Riviera encouraged cyclists to visit Nice for their needs, due to the lack of adequate cycle shops in Monaco.⁷⁸ The recommendation was especially shocking due to the consistent praise from numerous guidebooks for Monaco's automotive garages and motor-shops, which they often touted as the best in the world. Similarly, *Les Guides Joanne* routinely noted inadequate cycling conditions. The guidebook did, however, encourage tourists to join the Sport Vélocipédique et Automobile de Monaco sporting society which was reserved for foreign tourists.⁷⁹ In an era of massive investiture in elite sports in the principality, such as pigeon shooting and golf, commercial investors and governmental authorities did little to promote the extremely popular but democratic sport of cycling.

In addition to casino promoters' apparent apathy toward cyclists, Monaco's geographic limitations, dangerous riding conditions, and bothersome border checks further dissuaded cyclists from riding in the principality. While visitors marveled at its beauty, Monaco's landscape and rapidly modernized roads were not designed to accommodate a tremendous amount of bicycle traffic. Even the most ardent proponents of cycling in the principality

78. *L'Hiver a Soleil*, 61-71.

79. *Publicité de Guides Joanne*, 30.

admitted their trepidations for cyclists' safety. Bethell conceded that "[o]ne has to ride carefully on entering the town, as the electric tramway has made the road rather dangerous for cyclists."⁸⁰ Despite further appeals to cyclists to practice their sport in Monaco, he continued to warn them, noting that "[t]he Condamine Hill being now dangerous on account of the [electric tramway]."⁸¹ Such reservations were not solely relegated to cycling enthusiasts or travel authors. The French Minister of Transport (mistakenly identified in this periodical as the defunct Minister of Public Works), Adolphe Turrel, formed a committee to investigate the road conditions leading from France to Monaco and within the principality itself. In 1896, the committee "determined that the roads were in poor repair and there was a dangerous level of automotive traffic."⁸² The committee's findings, clearly aimed at the cycling-crazed French public, officially discouraged cycling in Monaco due to public safety concerns. Cyclists frequently cited the roads connecting Monaco to France and Italy as among the poorest that they had encountered in their travels. Furthermore, border crossings proved more tedious for cyclists than they did for pedestrians (who predominantly passed unmolested across the border). Bethell and Curzon described an exceptionally lengthy and inconvenient detention at the Italian custom's house when riding back into Monaco and strongly encouraged their readers not to ride across the border.⁸³ While the practice of cycling began to blur the distinctions between man and woman, rich and poor, all across Europe, the democratizing sport was limited to a very small scale in Monaco. Poor road conditions, troublesome geography, and civic elites unwilling to endorse such an equalizing sport combined to largely keep cyclists at bay in Monte Carlo. At a time when sporting practices were

80. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo*, 59.

81. *Ibid.*, 65.

82. F. Juven, ed., "Commission de Circulation des Automobiles," *Véloce-sport et Bicyclette*, February 4, 1897, 12.

83. V.B., *Ten Days at Monte Carlo*, 78.

growing, well-funded, regulated, and encouraged in the principality, the most popular sport of the masses in Europe failed to gain traction.

The Decline of Sports as Exclusive Social Capital

The year 1903 saw an uptick of visitors at Monte Carlo (1,500,000 annually) and an increase in the number and types of international tournaments. International tennis, sailing, and fencing tournaments occurred frequently in the principality and became increasingly accessible. By 1897, Monte Carlo Country Club had established a clay tennis court and offered a prestigious European Championship in addition to its annual Monte Carlo Tennis Championship. Reserved to members of the country club (membership to which required affiliation with a prestigious European or American club), the society maintained a rather exclusive membership base.

The proliferation of tennis courts in the resort-city and its surroundings served as perhaps the SBM's most blatant concession to the large number of British visitors in Monte Carlo. The sport was almost exclusively enjoyed by the British, English was the official language of the clay court at the country club (but not at the more public lawn-tennis courts), and led by the lauded tennis champion brothers, R. F. and Lawrence Doherty, the British claimed the first ten tennis championships held at the country club. More frequent, seasonal "[t]ournoi international de lawn-tennis" were held every few days during the winter months at the Stand du Pigna and Grand Councours International de Tir and were open to all that wished to enter.⁸⁴

The *journée des régates* exemplifies the rapid democratization of some, previously exclusive, sports in Monaco. Like many of the sporting events organized by sporting clubs in the principality, the regatta had initially been practiced by club members and advertised solely for a club audience. However, unlike many sporting club events which could be confined to the club

84. *L'Hiver à Menton – 1903* (1903), 1, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 4-LC11-2071, D1-552 L 2.4-A.

itself, the regatta necessitated use of the publicly accessible and highly visible waters of Monaco's bay. An anonymous photograph of the first journée des régates held in March of 1899 confirms that despite the flurry of activity in the port, a little more than a dozen onlookers cheered on the sportsmen. Class divisions are apparent, as laborers carry on about their business with little regard for the seaborne spectacle. Clearly, in the inaugural race, the sporting practitioners outnumbered their audience (Figure 5.4).⁸⁵ In a period of four years, the popularity of the regattas soared in Monaco, and attracted a tremendous audience outside the ranks of sporting club members.

By March and April, Monte Carlo also hosted international regattas, often together with neighboring Nice.⁸⁶ A series of photographs by Jules Beau, commissioned in part by Prince Albert and taken from the International Sporting Club, shows boats



Figure 5.4. "Port de Monaco: vue prise de la descente du port, 1ère journée des régates, 16 mars 1899." (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

participating in the International Regatta of Nice as they passed by the principality. These regattas drew large crowds and were popular social events at the sporting club, and at the casino-

85. Anonymous, "Port de Monaco: vue prise de la descente du port, 1ère journée des régates, 16 mars 1899," March 16, 1899, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 10FI1576.

86. *L'Hiver à Menton*, 1.

resort itself.⁸⁷ Despite the growing number of sporting participants (and audience members), the types of sports offered and practiced in Monte Carlo required emotional restraint, bodily reserve, and matched the traditional ideal of aristocratic sport.

At the behest of the British Colony of Monte-Carlo, a sizeable and influential society in Monaco, and in order to accommodate the sizeable number of British tourists whom had acquired a taste for the sport, the SBM commissioned the construction of the Monte-Carlo Golf Club at Mont Agel in 1911. The project to construct the course was an exceedingly daunting and expensive one considering Monaco's geographic limitations and the relative novelty of golf course construction (the course would ultimately become the third ever constructed in continental Europe). Nonetheless, the SBM embarked upon the daring and unprofitable project swiftly and unreservedly. The corporation employed hundreds of laborers and landscape artists, and hired Willie Park Jr., the first full-time golf course architect and the designer of London's foremost contemporary course, Sunningdale Gold Club, to complete work on the course in just seven months.⁸⁸ In a mid-twentieth-century history of Monaco, Charles Graves recalled that decades before, he expressed shock at the SBM's commitment to building the course and remarked that "the construction of the course was estimated to cost nearly a quarter million British pounds, and it failed to turn a profit for decades."⁸⁹

The expenditure on the golf course and the urgency the SBM placed on its rapid construction suggested that providing superior sporting establishments was of paramount importance for the casino-resort's influential seasonal patrons. Further, the construction of the

87. Jules Beau, "Régates internationales de Nice, Coupe de France, Coupe d' Italie," in *Collection Jules Beau. Photographie Sportive*, (1904), photograph no. 44, page 191, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Richelieu, Département Estampes et Photographie, 4-KG-37.

88. "Le Monte-Carlo Golf Club, Un Club Centenaire," Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, <http://fr.montecarlolegend.com/le-monte-carlo-golf-club-un-club-centenaire/>.

89. Charles Graves, *The Big Gamble: The Story of Monte Carlo* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), 128.

golf course at Mont Agel demonstrated the central role that sports played in Monte Carlo and the SBM's projected image of cosmopolitan luxury and leisure. Subsidized by casino profits, Mont Agel had been designed to increase the amenities available in Monte Carlo, appeal to British travelers (by far the nation with the most numerous winter visitors to the city), and reaffirm the resort-city's image as a worldly, modern, and sophisticated vacation destination. Despite its drain on the SBM's budget, the course proved to be an important facet of the casino-resort due to its prestige and attraction for influential guests.

The SBM held the course's inauguration during peak season for the all-inclusive resort-city and, by November of 1911, the company welcomed all tourists to golf at the club. Certainly the sport required an economic investment through the purchase of equipment, green fees, and membership dues, as well as knowledge of the complex rules of the game and technique of the swing. However, some aspects of the sport made it accessible to the increasingly-diverse masses of tourists continuing to flood into the principality. The sport did not have traditional associations with the warrior aristocracy and had only recently garnered interest outside of the British Isles. Further, English served as the accepted language for the sport and it was progressively receptive of women participants. For these reasons, golf at Monte Carlo circumvented some of the tacit entry requirements typical of most other sports which appealed to the dominant tastes.

Very quickly, the golf course at Mont Agel became part of the visual representations of Monte Carlo. Postcards, in particular, were popular souvenirs for tourists in the principality as they combined travel narratives and photographs; travelers showed what images appealed to them and how they described their vacationing experience with their selection of postcard.⁹⁰ Several postcards from the 1920s featured golfers and the course at Mont Agel. One undated postcard displays five adults and two children on the fairway at Mont Agel.⁹¹ The clubhouse

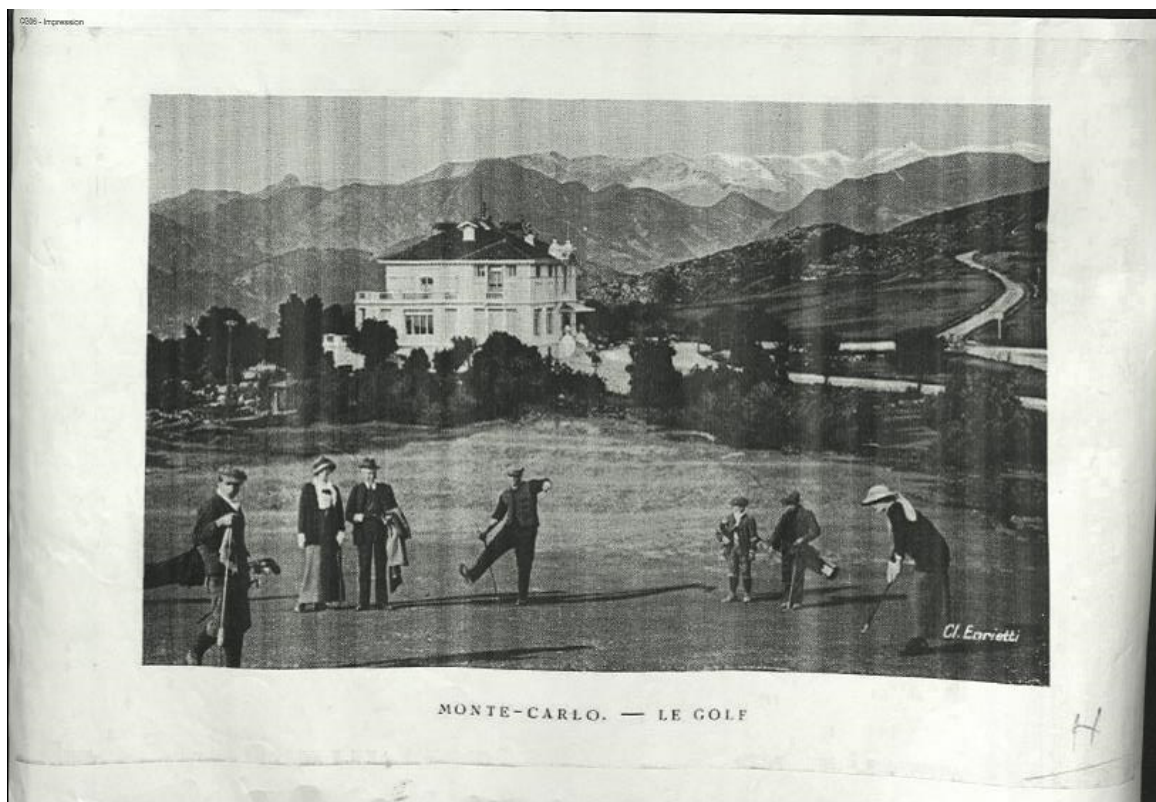


Figure 5.5. Cl. Enrietti, “Monte-Carlo. – Le Golf,” ca. 1920s. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

90. “Le Mois Des Lettres : L’Art de Varier les formules de Politesse,” *Cannes, Nice, Monte-Carlo – 1923 Touter les Femmes Élégantes sont abonnées à Art. Gout. Beauté. La Plus Luxueuse Des Revues de Modes La Seule Publiant Les Modelés de la Grande Couture dans le Coloris Exact de Leur Création*, no. 2 (22-28 January, 1923), Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, JO-60989 1923, D2-702 L 3.20-C.

91. The club house, landscaping, and other markers suggest that the photograph used in the postcard was taken around the early 1920s.

figures prominently in the background, alongside the Maritime Alps and a manicured landscape. The image captures the dynamism of the sporting practice. At its center, a man has just taken a swing at the ball, with one arm raised and the other clutching his club, he appears off-balance with his foot kicked high in the air. Ready for her shot, a young woman takes aim at the ball as two men and another woman watch her technique (Figure 5.5).⁹² The postcard highlighted several changes golf made to the landscape of sports in Monte Carlo. The image demonstrated that, at least for this male participant, the sport of golf placed athletes in more compromising positions than Monte Carlo's exclusionary sports such as pigeon shooting. His body was left contorted and compromised, a dramatic change from the reserved and dignified positioning of bodies in other popular sports in Monte Carlo. Also, women are more prominently displayed as sporting participants than in any other sport offered in the principality. Indeed, women frequently competed at Mont Agel, even while they were formally barred from the Tir aux Pigeons into the 1920s.

Within three years of the golf course's founding, many world class women golfers (mostly British) such as Muriel Dodd, Cécile Leitch, and Gladys Ravenscroft played the links at Mont Agel and even gave instructive exhibitions. Photographic poses of these women appeared in magazines, revues, and society pages.⁹³ A postcard which features a distant shot of several women golfers at Mont Agel taken in the 1920s eventually appeared in an issue of the magazine *Sur la Riviera* in 1928. The image highlights the frequency with which women engaged in golfing in Monte Carlo and also focuses on the landscaping of the course and the geography's natural ruggedness. Much like the nature reserves in Cap Martin, the links emphasized pristine

92. Cl. Enrietti, "Monte-Carlo. – Le Golf," postcard 14 x 9, ca. 1920s, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, Cote: 02F102382, image: FOTO00008100.

93. Agence Rol. Agence photographique, "Championnat du monde de golf, miss Cécile Leitch," 1914, Gallica BNF, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6929694b.r=golf.langEN> (accessed October 22, 2012).

nature surrounding the fairway and drew associations to British landscape.⁹⁴ The regularity with which golf served as the subject of photographs and postcards in the 1910s and 1920s demonstrated its rising popularity as a sporting practice and signaled a change in the types of sports offered in Monte Carlo. Many visitors, from tourists to magazine editors consumed images of golf in Monte Carlo and re-presented the images of their experiences of the city.

Sporting Allodoxia: Sport as a Forum for Class Anxieties and Cultural Criticism

Sports played at Monte Carlo and throughout the rest of the French Riviera very commonly became the target of cartoons, caricatures, and humoristic representations from the turn of the century until the early 1930s. In addition to their comical intentions, many such visual representations of sports rather overtly pointed to elites' anxieties of tourists encroaching on their once exclusive leisure activities. A weekly Parisian revue printed in Nice, *Sur la Riviera*, provided its readers with accounts of the more prestigious vacationers on the Côte d'Azur, seasonal trends of what was en vogue, lists of activities on the coast, and also lampooned more egregious offenders of high society. Several cartoons, with sports as the theme, graced the cover of the magazine in the late 1920s. Each cover, part of a series of *Dessin Humoristique de Don*, reflected the growing democratization of sports in Monte Carlo and the Riviera. They peeled back the illusory veneer that sport was the exclusive social capital of the elite vacationers in Monte Carlo, and demonstrated that the masses of tourists in the principality also engaged in sporting practice. Although they often emphasized the tourists' ineffective sporting prowess, these cartoons demonstrated the expansion of sporting practice at Monte Carlo and the presence of elite anxieties regarding the encroachment of tourists into what was promoted as exclusive space.

94. "Les Sports sur la Côte: Golf," black and white photograph 6 x 7, in *Sur la Riviera: Revue Parisienne Hebdomadaire*, March 11, 1928, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, 03F109606, FOTO00019066.

The first cartoon cover of this nature, released in April 1927, was an illustration of a woman golfer at the apex of her swing. The golfer was surrounded by palm trees and the sea, a scene that could only be meant to reflect Mont Agel Golf Course.

The figure evokes Jordan Baker, F. Scott Fitzgerald's iconic, slender, and athletic golf pro from *The Great Gatsby*. The connection is likely, considering Fitzgerald's frequent patronization of the Monte Carlo casino and the recent successful publication of the novel. Although her body is mildly contorted and her eyes are shut, she exhibits better technique than any other sporting figures Don portrayed (Figure 5.6).⁹⁵ This cartoon represented what was



Figure 5.6. Dessin Humoristique de Don, "Joueuse de Golf," 1927. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

encroachment on the elite and

heavily-male dominated sporting landscape since its inception in Monte Carlo – that of women.

The first decades of sports in Monte Carlo, primarily held at the Tir aux Pigeons, solely featured

95. Dessin Humoristique de Don, "Joueuse de Golf," color cartoon 6 X 9, reproduction of the cover of *Sur la Riviera*, no. 233, April 17, 1927, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, 03F109523, FOTO00019016.

male participants; women, when they were involved at all, took on the role of the spectator. Coupled with the numerous other photographs and descriptions of women golfers in the 1920s, this magazine cover hinted that golfing was not only an acceptable leisure activity for women, but that it was also part of their self-representation and a means of social differentiation. By the late 1920s, women's place in sports at the leisure resort had gone from nonexistent to prominent and had even moved past the turn of the century novelty acts promoted by Camille Blanc; instead, women had a firm, if not entirely equal, presence in sports in Monte Carlo and were visually portrayed that way. It is no coincidence that the most capable sportsperson in Don's cartoons is the woman golfer. Women were competent competitors in golf, tennis, and other sports, and their encroachment into sporting practice was better received by contemporary elites than that of mass tourists.

More sporting caricatures by Don, published as the covers of *Sur la Riviera*, featured tourists and athletes disastrously attempting to play sports that they do not know how to play. One such cartoon cover, published in late December 1928 illustrated the effects of tennis players practicing golf. The figure in the cartoon has flailed wildly at the golf ball; with his arms spread wide apart and his foot kicked up to his forehead, his technique is excruciatingly poor. Despite his atrocious technique and understanding of the game, the figure is well-equipped and well-dressed for the exercise; his long socks, plaid pants, sweater, and golfing cap mirror acceptable sporting attire of the time, and he possesses a bevy of fine golf clubs at his disposal. In the background, a young caddy looks on in horror at the golfer's bad form. Mouth agape and limbs spread, the caddy seems to call for the golfer to stop. In contrast to the well-dressed golfer, the caddy's clothing is in shambles. He is barefoot, his pants are ripped at the bottom and patched at

the knee, and are barely held up by a lone suspender (Figure 5.7).⁹⁶ The viewer could easily



Figure 5.7. Dessin Humoristique de Don, “Joueur de Tennis Pratiquant le Golf,” 1928. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

infer that the golfer was part of the *nouveau riche*. He could effectively imitate a discriminating sportsman in appearance – after all, he had purchased the correct tools and casual uniform necessary to practice the sport. However, the rookie golfer lacked the distinctive cultural legitimacy of the sport: aloofness, bodily reserve, acquired knowledge of the game, and appropriate technique. His futile imitation of the elite sportsmen only heightened the impression that he did not belong to the dominant class.

A similar cartoon published two weeks later displayed another vacationer unsuccessfully attempting to conquer a new sport. The illustration depicted a mustachioed man standing in his tennis whites near the net, gripping his racket like a golf club and getting ready to swing away.

96. Dessin Humoristique de Don, “Joueur de Tennis Pratiquant le Golf,” color cartoon 6 X 7, reproduction of the cover of *Sur la Riviera*, no. 266, December 30, 1928, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, 03F109517, FOTO00019011.

Like the previous caricature, the sportsman is well dressed for his exercise, but has little idea of how to play the sport (Figure 5.8).⁹⁷ Although both cartoons were more humorous than vitriolic in nature, the frequency with which sporting knowledge and technique served as the subjects of satire in society reviews suggested that the growing masses of tourists in Monte Carlo and the Riviera were encroaching on the once exclusive sporting practices of the elite. Don's portrayal of well-kempt, equipped, and appropriately dressed vacationers making buffoons of themselves on the tennis court and golf course implied that the middle classes and *nouveau riche*, those with the economic capital to practice these sports but not necessarily the knowledge of the rules, language, or technique, were better targets for lampooning than other masses of tourists. This example of what Bourdieu dubbed *allodoxia*, the close emulation of aspirant classes to elite cultural practices but with misidentification and misunderstanding of the customs and traditions associated with the practices, served to further distinguish between class segments. Mere participation in certain sports, such as

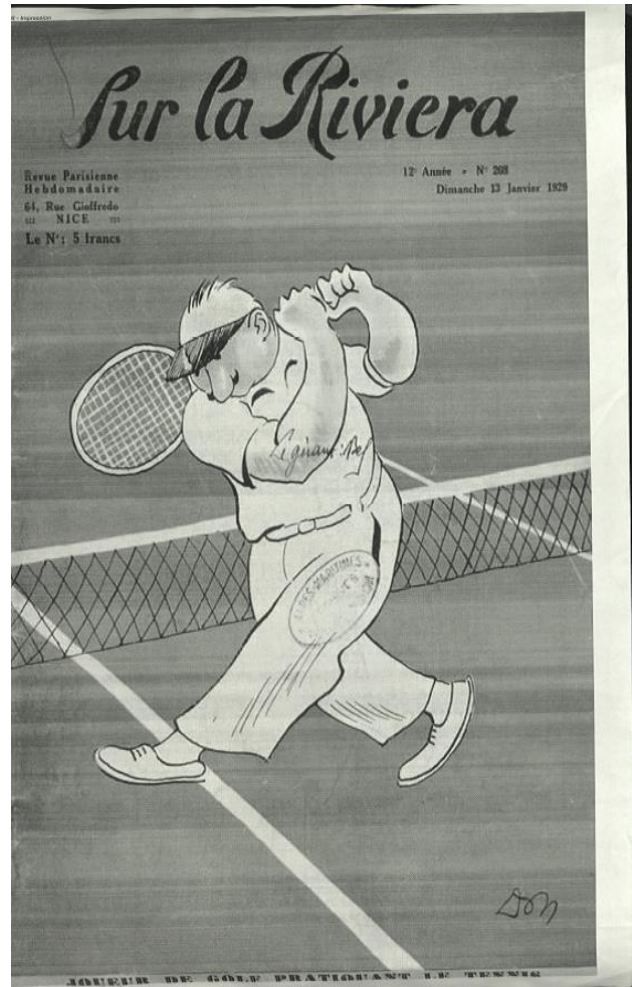


Figure 5.8. Dessin Humoristique de Don, “Joueur de Golf Pratiquant le Tennis,” 1929. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

97. Dessin Humoristique de Don, “Joueur de Golf Pratiquant le Tennis,” color cartoon 6 X 7, reproduction of the cover of *Sur la Riviera*, no. 268, January 13, 1929, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, 03F109522, FOTO00019015.

golf or tennis, was no longer a dependable identifier of elite status in Monte Carlo. The exclusive social capital produced by playing golf, pigeon shooting, or playing tennis had diminished by the late 1920s; but sports still served as a forum of distinction. The discerning features of sports in Monte Carlo had shifted to appropriate knowledge of the rules of the game, bodily restraint, and formal technique – aspects of sporting practice that were learned or acquired slowly and gradually. Practicing sports in Monte Carlo served to distinguish a vacationer as elite only if the practitioner performed the sport in the correct manner and at the appropriate place. Allodoxical sporting practices, such as those parodied in Don's humoristic caricatures, helped to differentiate elite sportspersons from others during a time in which the number of sports played and practitioners grew rapidly in the resort city.

“They have Reduced the Nobility’s Weapons to the Current Sporting Condition”: Fencing, Spectacle, Spectatorship, and Strategies of Distinction

Few things signaled a more dramatic shift in the meaning of sport in Monte Carlo, as well as the very nature of tourism in the resort-city, than the rapid rise of spectator sports that occurred in the early decades of the twentieth century. Once hailed as the exclusive playground of the world's most elite and cosmopolitan vacationers, by 1900 Monte Carlo was undeniably a destination of mass tourism. Civic planners and the SBM promoted both images: that of an exclusive recreational space for the world's elite and simultaneously an accessible vacation-spot for an ever-widening range of classes. The role of sports in the principality faced a similarly divergent evolution. Spectator sports did not immediately replace elite sporting practices; rather, they allowed for many of the approximately 1.5 million annual visitors to the resort-city to experience forms of leisure from which they had previously been restricted. Vanessa Schwartz has argued that spectacle, spectatorship, and their re-presentations “did not efface class and

gender except in their conceit that diverse consumers should, could and would have similar access to them.”⁹⁸ I similarly contend that the rise of sporting spectatorship in Monte Carlo did not efface class lines or distinctions (or even heavily blur them); but it did provide access to previously unobtainable experiences for mass tourists which ultimately contributed to the resort-city’s success in maintaining a reputation of exclusivity while catering to masses of visitors.

For the mass tourist, spectator sports played, in part, a consumptive function in their experience of Monte Carlo. Participation in a sporting event, even as a spectator, and the representation of that experience served to increase one’s social capital. Knowledge of the rules of the game, disinterested aloofness, knowledge of the language of the game, reserved bodily control, good technique, and other factors which served to make sports a distinctive practice in Monte Carlo during the nineteenth century no longer precluded the masses who consumed the experience as spectators. The reserved demeanor of the sporting practitioner which had been a particularly important component for respectable and legitimate forms of elite sporting practice was not expected of the audience of a mass spectator sport. Elias and Dunning have noted that such activities “provide chances for experiencing a pleasurable stirring-up of emotions, an enjoyable excitement which can be experienced in public and shared with others and which can be enjoyed with social approval and in good conscience.”⁹⁹ This is the case in Monte Carlo at the start of the twentieth century, as tourists socialized and were awed by numerous sporting spectacles aimed at a wide audience. Elite sporting practices remained popular in the

98. Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 202.

99. Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, 99.

principality, but were overshadowed by the highly-visible and heavily-promoted spectator sports, motor vehicle trials, and novelty spectacles which proliferated at the resort-city.¹⁰⁰

International fencing competitions were among the first sporting events in Monte Carlo to bridge the gap between elite sporting practice and spectator sport for the masses. Along with pigeon shooting, fencing had long been one of the most culturally-legitimate sporting practices for visiting elites. Both sports developed as an imitation of the warrior aristocracy and served distinctive functions throughout the nineteenth century; however, unlike pigeon shooting, fencing proved accessible to the masses of middle-class tourists who visited Monte Carlo. It gained in popularity from the 1910s until waning during the middle decades of the twentieth century. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Monte Carlo hosted bouts from respectable clubs which were open to the public and well-attended by visitors (largely ranging in social standing).

A postcard from 1929 illustrated the magnitude of fencing as a spectator sport in the principality. A match between members of *le Cercle Hoche* and *le Cercle de Monaco* is the central focus of the postcard, occupying much of the foreground. The bout takes place near the casino terrace steps, and the *piste*, or playing area, is surrounded by tents, tables, chairs, and other comforts. Nearly two dozen members of the respective clubs crowd the scene, intimately close to the encounter. The club members are offered a strip-side view of the match but are also

100. In the previous chapter I analyzed many of the sporting spectacles and novelty acts which could have been examined in this chapter. Many such acts and practices served a multitude of functions in Monte Carlo: impacting class distinctions, creating a sense of shared experience, contributing to the creation of a specific imaginary, and providing avenues through which visitors could re-present their vacation experience, just to name a few. Due to this complexity, I ask the reader to consider parts of chapter four and this section in tandem, as compartmentalizing these acts of spectacle and spectatorship provides only a limited perspective through which to elucidate their meaning. Additionally, Monte Carlo has a tremendous history of automobile racing, so much so that racing challenges gambling and elite luxury for the prime spot in Monte Carlo's public image. I do not wish to present my analysis of the history of racing in Monte Carlo as comprehensive or exhaustive. On the contrary, only a small portion of the voluminous history of the Monte Carlo Grand Prix will be presented here. Further exploration of these events will be left for a future project.

conspicuously on display themselves. The background of the postcard is lined with hundreds, perhaps thousands, of onlookers who, despite having an obstructed and distant view, are nonetheless intently focused on the competition (Figure 5.9).¹⁰¹ The postcard underscored the popularity of such an event, but also demonstrated how merely viewing the sporting event served as a practice of class. For the masses of spectators, who certainly would have represented a range of classes, the event offered a shared experience of elite sporting practice and access to activities from which they had been shielded mere decades before.



Figure 5.9. “Un assaut entre le Cercle Hoche et le Cercle de Monaco, arbitré par le maître Dodivers,” January 27, 1929. (Source: Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes)

101. “Un assaut entre le Cercle Hoche et le Cercle de Monaco, arbitré par le maître Dodivers,” black and white postcard, 6 X 7, January 27, 1929, Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes, 03F109615, FOTO00019075.

For the members of the fencing clubs, the sport offered an active and public reaffirmation of class. Membership to such exclusive clubs was, in and of itself, an indication of high position in social space; being photographed or observed as a member of one of these clubs at a public event granted an even greater appearance of exclusive associations. In fact, distinctive biographical dictionaries often considered membership to select sporting clubs a criterion for inclusion in their lists of notable persons. Biographical dictionaries including *The International Blue Book*, *The International Who's Who in the World*, *Qui Etes-Vous*, *Chi E*, and *Ver Ist's* each included numerous members of *le Cercle Hoche* and *le Cercle Monaco*, the fencing clubs featured in the postcard. Club membership was prominently displayed in the biographical entries (often concluding an entry) and served as a record of distinction for the entrant. The avowed mission statement of *The International Who's Who in the World* was to compile a list of the world's notable persons, and the publication explained that:

When a man or woman becomes a notable, he or she is instantly a citizen of the entire world, and a world celebrity, with whom all the world desires to become acquainted. It is our endeavor in presenting this new work of biographical reference, to ignore geographical and political boundaries, and without patriotic colouring to introduce to the people of the whole world its most notable living men and women.¹⁰²

This description closely fit the portrayal of the casino-resort's high-profile guests, as cosmopolite and sophisticated elites.

Certainly, obtaining membership in these sporting clubs would have done little to tarnish one's reputation as belonging to a group of international elites. In fact, many members of recognized fencing clubs in Monaco, including those attending the much-publicized and unrestricted events, were unable to partake in the sport itself. Instead, club membership and

102. *The International Who's Who: Who's Who in the World – Incorporated with the International Blue Book: A Biographical Dictionary of the World's Notable Living Men and Women*, ed. Hyacinth Ringrose (Philadelphia: The Central Newspaper Union, 1910), 6.

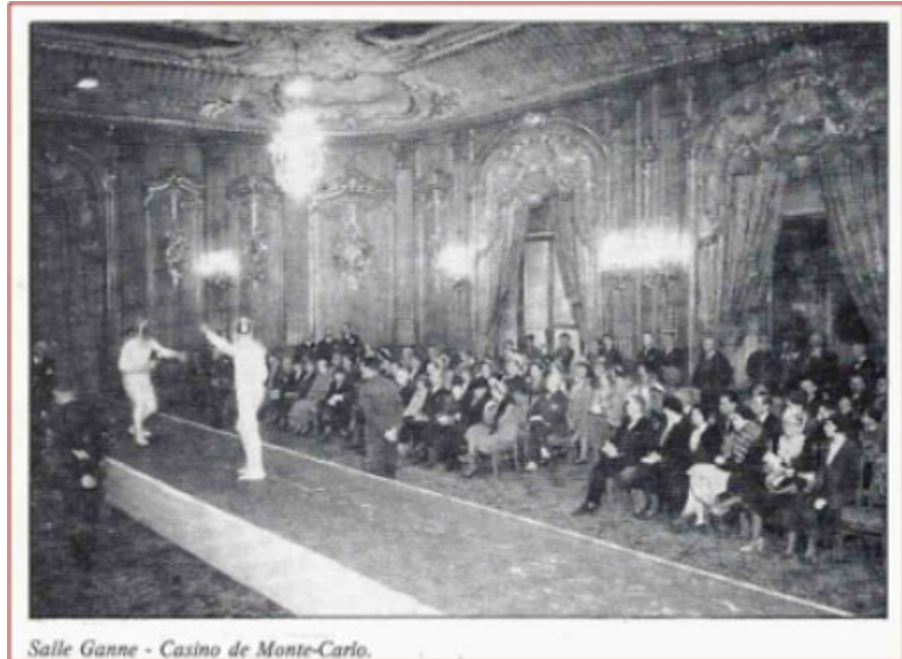
activities served a social and distinctive function for many of its associates. King Charles I of Roumania (r. 1866 – 1914), a notable member of both of the aforementioned fencing societies, likely never engaged in a bout. When the monarch, who was well-known for his corporeal frailty, joined *le Cercle Monaco* around 1910 (at no less than age seventy-one) it is doubtful that the physical exertion of the fencing club was his primary reason for applying for membership.¹⁰³ For the aspirant classes, the access to these club events (in the form of spectatorship) provided a distant but tangible connection to the world of the cosmopolitan society of elites outlined in the *International Blue Book*; it provided these classes with a shared experience, and a window to the world of the refined, privileged classes. For these members, an association with fencing clubs offered a public display of class distinction at a casino-resort which was no longer their exclusive playground.

However, not all fencing bouts were made available to the public. Some matches remained club affairs and, in fact, the hosting club took extraordinary steps to ensure the exclusivity of these events. An undated postcard (the picture was most likely taken in the late 1920s or 1930s) shows a fencing match taking place in the most unlikely of places: the casino itself. The Salle Ganne, a multipurpose room that remained in operation from 1911 to 1948, served as host for the bout. Contestants crossed foils in front of a select group of vacationers, as several dozen well-dressed spectators sat to the side of the *piste*. The room mirrored the lavishness of the Salle Empire, with magnificent hanging chandeliers, elegant green drapery, and an ornate and gilded ceiling (Figure 5.10).¹⁰⁴ While it is unclear whether or not the event was open to the public (the size of the Salle Ganne would certainly have been a limiting factor), signs

103. *Ibid.*, 483. Note that Romania did not adopt its modern spelling until 1975.

104. “Salle Ganne – Casino de Monte-Carlo,” black and white postcard, ca. 1911-1948, published by the SBM Monte Carlo for an event held on September 14, 2013 to commemorate the casino-resort’s history of commitment to the sport of fencing and to honor the corporations sesquicentennial, <http://www.montecarlosbm.com/news/fencing-competition-in-monte-carlo/>.

suggest that the fencing match was a restricted event. The Salle Ganne served for many years as a *super privée*: a private room reserved for exclusive members, clubs, special events, parties, and galas.



Salle Ganne - Casino de Monte-Carlo.

Further, the arrangement of the audience toward

Figure 5.10. “Salle Ganne – Casino de Monte-Carlo,” ca. 1911-1948. (Source: SBM Monte Carlo)

the back of the room, with the *piste* separating the spectators from the room’s entrance, indicates that the bout was more structured than an open event with free-flowing foot traffic. The likely exclusive nature of the bout fits the climate of elite sporting practice in the principality at the time, as members of the upper classes turned to exclusive sporting practices (such as fencing) as a social signifier.

Nevertheless, the two aforementioned postcards featuring fencing illustrate the complexities of the intersection of sports and class anxieties and expressions. Sporting elites (and club-member spectators) continued to use traditional sporting events derived from the warrior-aristocracy as a distinctive function well into the twentieth century. By the 1910s, many of these proceedings were made, at least ostensibly, available to the public. For the fencers and club members, these public exhibitions offered, in addition to a pleasurable afternoon of fencing, an opportunity to publicly associate themselves with restricted private clubs and high-society.

Likewise, the growing numbers of middle class vacationers in the principality were given access to fencing bouts and other events which had previously been practiced in the exclusive realm of the elite, and derived similar distinctive benefits through the shared experience of spectatorship. Sporting enthusiasts explicitly noted the democratization of fencing in this era. As early as 1899, Charles-Maurice de Vaux lamented the reduced relative rarity of the sport, the perversion of the purity of the practice, and the swelling popularity of fencing. He ruefully remarked:

Fencing is an art form in which a small number of practitioners long preserved the knowledge and certain qualities [of fencing:] measured actions, grip, reserved elegance, and respect for oneself and others. Fencing is a souvenir of a more refined distant time, which has seemed to resist impurity. This has changed. The sportsnobs [*sic*] being legion, have finally absorbed the swordsmen, by transforming them and [the sport] into what we all now know, and have reduced the nobility's weapons to the current sporting condition.¹⁰⁵

De Vaux's concerns hit at the heart of the anxieties of elite practitioners, as fencing became more easily available to the masses. De Vaux's commentary and these two postcards demonstrate the varied, and often contradictory, ways in which class anxieties and expression were contested through sporting practice in Monte Carlo.

The progression of fencing practice in Monte Carlo, beginning virtually from the conception of the city in the 1860s and growing in popularity through Monaco's fencing craze during the first half of the twentieth century, underscores the trajectory and complexity of sports' connection to class anxieties and conflict in the resort-city. In its earliest days in Monte Carlo, the sport, much like pigeon shooting, served as a visible display of status for the city's elite (and often aristocratic) vacationing sportsmen. Harkening back to the ideal of the "warrior aristocracy," even well into the twentieth century, fencers demonstrated their elite social position

105. De Vaux, *Le Sport en France*, 435.

through the sport, though they did so privately in facilities reserved by restricted, local and international sporting clubs.

The shift in fencing practices from approximately 1910 to 1950 highlight the complex, and often contradictory, ways in which apprehensions regarding status and social jockeying played out through sports in the principality. Elite practitioners (and associated, but non-practicing club members) began fencing in very public, well-attended, and well-publicized events at the principality. Fencing rose in popularity and, like sports in the principality more generally during the early decades of the twentieth century, intrigued the resort-city's rapidly expanding demographics and mass tourists. These public events maintained fencing's distinctive role, as still relatively few vacationers practiced the sport, but fencing club members displayed their elite social status publicly; their presence and participation was captured in press photography and postcards, redistributed throughout the Riviera's social revues and newspapers, and sometimes sold as souvenirs for Monte Carlo's masses of tourists.

Fencing bouts, like an increasing array of sports in twentieth century Monte Carlo, became incredibly popular spectator sports. Thousands of aspirant-class vacationers experienced previously-exclusive, distinctive practices by spectating fencing events or by merely purchasing sporting souvenirs. These, often cursory, cultural encounters nonetheless lent an air of shared experience for Monte Carlo's mass tourists and provided visual and experiential ownership of a previously inaccessible activity for the majority of the city's visitors. Attending a public fencing match or purchasing a postcard of such a contest served as social capital and a mapping of elite culture for upwardly-mobile individuals who wished to imitate and integrate into elite circles. This form of imitative class-jockeying aligns with Arno Mayer's contention that the era's

aspirant classes sought to peaceably cultivate the cultural practices of those they considered their superiors and to infiltrate, not destroy, the elite social realm.¹⁰⁶

While the heyday of fencing in Monte Carlo was characterized by public events and spectatorship, it also paradoxically led to an increase in the expression of class anxieties for some elites and a withdrawal to small, private, and exclusive clubs for the sporting practice. The oscillation between highly publicized and well-attended bouts and private club matches highlights the complexities of class anxieties and concerns about sports in Monte Carlo as relatively rare and exclusive practice. While casino concessionaires and SBM promoters sought to present Monte Carlo as an exclusive space as it grew into a mass tourism destination for the West's middle classes, elite vacationers and sportsmen struggled to derive the same meanings of distinction and social capital from sporting practices in the city during the twentieth century that they had in the nineteenth. The varied actions of elite sporting vacationers signal that sports was indeed a major forum for class contentions in Monte Carlo – a peaceable struggle which ultimately saw the shared cultural experience of mass spectator sports triumph over the once exclusive and distinctive practice of sports in the principality.

As the twentieth century progressed, it became increasingly clear that in terms of popularity and practice, spectator sports had eclipsed elite, exclusive, and club sports. This trend was evident, not only by the proliferation of spectator sports, but also by the decline, and in some cases the cessation, of elite mimetic sports. Auguste Blondin, the director of Monaco's Tir aux Pigeons and an instrumental figure in the promotion of distinctive sports in the principality established a fencing school in the shooting range during the late 1880s. The school's connection to the shooting range, and the strict membership requirements of the time suggest that

106. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime*, 84.

participation in the school was reserved for a select few.¹⁰⁷ A photograph of a match from the school in 1911 demonstrates that, not only had Blondin’s coterie survived, it had grown into a well-attended club with dozens of spectators watching the indoor match (Figure 5.11).¹⁰⁸

However, once fencing reached the apex of its popularity in Monte Carlo during the late 1940s, interest in the sport, and its support from the SBM, fell sharply. By the 1950s Blondin’s school was forced to close its doors permanently.



Figure 5.11. “1911 – Escrime.” (Source: Archives Monte-Carlo, SBM)

Similarly, shooting ranges and even the Tir aux Pigeons, the crown jewel of Monte Carlo’s elite sporting past, failed to contend with the growing popularity of other spectator sports by the middle of the twentieth century. In addition to the sport’s declining esteem among visiting elites, Monaco’s commitment to peace and isolationism during the early years of World War II made the massive and frequent slaughtering of pigeons a pastime incongruous with its aims. A photograph of the famous Tir aux Pigeons, taken shortly before the Italian occupation of

107. “Blondin, l’Escrime,” *Journal de Monaco*, September 1886.

108. “1911 -- Escrime,” black and white photograph, 1911, Archives Monte-Carlo, SBM, <http://fr.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-une-histoire-de-sports-insolites/>.

Monaco in 1942, shows the shooting range abandoned for sporting purposes, and instead converted to a vegetable garden. Perhaps no image can better illustrate the shift in sporting focus and its meaning in Monte Carlo than this photograph depicting the city's renowned sporting palace deserted and overgrown, and relegated to a vegetable garden (Figure 5.12).¹⁰⁹ While the SBM refitted and reopened the range following Monaco's liberation in 1944, it never regained its grandeur and was never again central to Monte Carlo's sporting, social, or distinctive practices; the casino-resort permanently demolished the Tir aux Pigeons in 1972.¹¹⁰ The eventual demise of these elite sporting institutions can be partially attributed to changing tastes throughout Western societies; however, the termination of pigeon shooting and fencing in Monte Carlo as serious pursuits also underscored the end of such sports as distinctive functions in the city. The rise of spectator sports, the increasing accessibility to a range of sporting practices for the middle and even working classes, and Monte Carlo's growing reliance on mass tourism led to a strong disassociation between perceptions of elite qualities and sporting practice in the resort city.

The construction of the Stade Louis II in 1939 served to solidify spectator sports as the dominant sporting affair in Monaco and largely brought an end to sporting practice and spectatorship as relatively rare and distinctive functions. The stadium, eponymously named after Prince Louis II (r. 1922 – 1949), represented an extraordinary commitment to spectator sports in the principality. By 1939, providing a large stadium to house a European football club was not extraordinary, and there was nothing about Jean-Baptiste Pastor's arena's dimensions which could not have been dwarfed by even older stadiums such as Anfield, Old Trafford, or Parc des Princes; however, Pastor's construction, nestled beside the governing heart of Monaco, Le

109. "1942 – Le tir au pigeon transformé en potager," black and white photograph, 1942, Archives Monte-Carlo, SBM, <http://fr.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-une-histoire-de-sports-insolites/>.

110. "Monaco: Une histoire de sports insolites," Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, <http://fr.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-une-histoire-de-sports-insolites/>.

Rocher, could seat over 12,000 spectators, a number approximately equal to two-thirds of the country's population at the time. Unlike previous sporting venues in Monaco, from the Tir aux Pigeons to the Mont Agel Golf Course, the state commissioned and funded the stadium. While the aforementioned venues had been operated and maintained by the SBM, often at a considerable loss, Monaco's government funded, maintained, and promoted the Stade Louis II at great cost.



Figure 5.12. “1942 – Le tir au pigeon transformé en potager.” (Source: Archives Monte-Carlo SBM)

A lavish and extensive inauguration ceremony opened the stadium, and commemorative posters and even a set of five state-issued stamps featured the stadium and were intended to draw a close association between the principality and the new arena.¹¹¹ The stamps featured multicolor perspectives of the pristine pitch, with the stadium in the foreground and Le Rocher in

111. Addressed envelope containing all five stamps from Jules Flament, Monaco-Ville, Monaco to Jean Joures, Fréjus, Var, August 17, 1939, published by the British Philatelic Bulletin, <http://www.footballphilately.com/2012/01/stade-louis-ii-monaco-philatelic.html>.

the background. The image provided the illusion of a grassy path leading up to the Prince's Palace and the old city; it was unlikely that the effect was accidental. The inauguration of the Stade Louis II came upon the ten-year anniversary of the first annual Monaco Grand Prix, an event which had evolved from the Rallye Automobile Monte Carlo (an entirely-international racing event first held in 1911). The Monaco Grand Prix had, in less than ten years, achieved an international reputation as one of the world's finest automobile races, and certainly as the most glamorous and exclusive. While the practice of sport as a distinctive social practice had waned in Monaco by the 1930s, sport continued to be of the utmost importance to Monaco's constructed image and international reputation. The Monégasque state emphasized the spectacle and renown of the grand prix and drew attention to the race's high-tech automobiles, as well as the newly-built football stadium, in visual representations of the state, official documents, and promotional materials; the closest possible association was drawn between Monaco and these popular spectator sports. Sports, particularly spectator sports, became central to Monaco's constructed image and remained so throughout the twentieth century.

Conclusion

From the casino-resort town's earliest days, sports, as much as the roulette wheel or the twin-domed casino, have been vital to Monte Carlo's carefully-constructed spatial imaginary. Further, sport, like the city's spatial imaginary, has shifted in meaning, adapted to reflect new conceptions of modern luxury, and changed over time to accommodate Monte Carlo's patrons. Throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the SBM shipped vacationing sportsmen to local areas to hunt or attend horseraces and ultimately constructed an expensive, and eventually world-renowned, shooting range, Le Tir aux Pigeons. The casino corporation's commitment to providing sporting options for guests, from the Tir aux Pigeons to the tennis

grounds at the Monte Carlo Country Club and the golf course at Mont Agel, was exceptionally intensive and not immediately profitable. The initial unprofitability of these sporting institutions indicates that casino-resort management was aware that the draw of modern sporting sites would attract an internationally-diverse group of elite vacationers and that they were willing to foot the costs of building and maintaining the sporting venues in order to accommodate the desires of their discerning guests.

Likewise, for many of Monte Carlo's elite vacationers during the latter half of the nineteenth century (particularly the society of elite seasonal travellers known as *hivernants*), wintering in the casino-resort was an expression of their place among the privileged classes; however, the relative rarity of sporting practice, the knowledge of the rules and language of the sport, ownership of the proper equipment, and the exhibition of the appropriate approach to the sport all served as important, distinctive functions of class. As the number of annual visitors to Monte Carlo rapidly grew during the late-nineteenth century and consequently threatened the resort-town's reputation as an elite and exclusive vacation destination, SBM executives turned to sports to manage the tenuous balance between the city's roles as an exclusive and relatively rare resort and a mass tourism destination. For casino-resort patrons, sports became a vacation-leisure practice in which one could demonstrate status as well as a forum in which to express class anxieties. Even ancillary sporting connections, from galas supporting regattas at the International Sporting Club to spectators of fencing bouts or the Rallye Automobile Monte Carlo, served as social capital for vacationers into the early twentieth century.

Spectator sports, which quickly grew in popularity around the turn of the century, eclipsed mimetic sporting practices and those that evoked associations with the warrior aristocracy. They effectively served to dampen the social and distinctive functions of such

competitions by the 1930s and 1940s; however, the prominence of spectator sports in Monte Carlo provided a wide range of vacationers with a greater sense of shared experience, community, and leisure-*gemeinschaften*, a stark contrast to the exclusionary sporting practices of the Belle Époque.¹¹² Further, spectator sports drew massive crowds, attracted press photography, and proved a suitable subject for visual and material objects, from photographs and posters to souvenirs ranging from postcards to calendars, playing cards, and programs. The worldwide reputation of events such as the Monaco Grand Prix signaled that the importance of sports in the principality had not waned since the 1870s and the days of pigeon-shooting aristocrats, but it had transitioned from a distinctive function to a mass tourist amusement and a spectator attraction. Importantly, throughout this extensive transition, sports remained indelibly associated with Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary.

Consistently, cosmopolitanism and international competition characterized sporting practice and spectatorship in Monte Carlo. As much as any other factor, the state and SBM's unswerving cultivation and promotion of truly international sportspersons, sporting clubs, and competitions in Monaco developed and maintained cosmopolitanism and internationalism as central facets of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary. In fact, throughout most of the resort-town's history, sporting competitions were reserved for visitors and members of recognized clubs, while subjects of Monaco were barred entirely from competition. As early as the 1870s, Monte Carlo played host to multiple, major international competitions per week during peak season and has remained (especially considering the country's size, population, and geographical limitations) a major site of international sports. While Monte Carlo's sporting competitions predated prestigious events ranging from the modern Olympics to the FIFA World Cup and the Davis Cup, it continued its commitment to international competition throughout the twentieth century.

112. Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, 122.

It served as an active member of the International Olympic Committee, hosted world-renowned Formula One races and Association of Tennis Professional matches, twice hosted the Games of the Small States of Europe, and served as home to the World Fencing Championship in the 1950s.

The International Philatelic Exposition, which Monte Carlo hosted in 1952, observed that the state and the royal family had displayed an extraordinary commitment to sports as part of the country's representation in official stamps, seals, and documents. Paying special attention to the host country's contributions to philately, the organization remarked that stamps, seals, and insignias had traditionally featured historical events, sovereigns, or religious depictions; however, between 1885 and 1927, no less than sixty-six stamps produced by the small principality had exclusively featured sporting spectacles or achievements, with a series of eight commemorative *Jeux Olympiques* stamps produced in 1948 alone. The organizing committee determined that official Monégasque documents produced since 1885 consistently featured sports as well as "efforts to also record the prosperity and riches of the country."¹¹³ The International Philatelic Exposition's observations were astute. Slowly but consistently the Monégasque state, the royal family, and the SBM had placed sports and international competition (alongside luxury and exclusivity) to the forefront of Monaco and Monte Carlo's official representations and had catalyzed their inclusion in the city's carefully constructed spatial imaginary. Since its inclusion as part of the casino-resort's offerings beginning in the 1860s, the practice and purpose of sports in the principality has shifted as Monte Carlo grew

113. *Reinatex 26 avril 4 mai 1952: Exposition Philatélique Internationale (1952) – Reinatex exposition philatélique internationale, 26 avril – 4 mai 1952. Salons de l'International Sporting Club de Monte Carlo, 26 avril, (1952), 117-122, Bibliothèque Nationale de France François-Mitterrand Rez-de-jardin, 8-v-62037, D3-803 L 3.34-A.*

from an exclusive rendezvous for vacationing elites to a mass tourism destination of several million annual visitors; however, sports have steadfastly remained part of the resort-city's narrative, an indelible part of its imaginary as a space of international luxury, leisure, and cosmopolitanism, and have continued to serve as social capital, spectacular events, shared experiences, and amusements for a wide-array of visitors throughout the twentieth century.

Conclusion. The Tourist Economy, Social Distinction, and the Spatial Imaginary

In 2016, many of the leisure practices from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and the meanings behind them remain the same for casino-resort patrons. Vacationers, particularly from the aspirant classes, can still derive distinctive benefits from entering a luxurious gaming room and staking a number at the roulette wheel. They can stroll along the Largo de Monte Carlo and make extravagant purchases at the world-renowned shops, dine in Michelin-starred restaurants, and rub shoulders with a modern iteration of a socially-elite jet-set (tourism executives have expressed exasperation with the recent trend of tourists invasively disrupting the vacations of particularly famous guests in order to take a selfie with them). Various agencies and corporations still offer junket and quick trip options for excursionists on a particularly tight budget. If visitors time their trip correctly, they can be treated to fantastic and elaborate spectacles and sporting events. The resident soccer club, CD Monte Carlo, attracts scores of foreign vacationers to its fixtures. The weekend of the Grand Prix remains the highlight of these spectacles, as nearly 500,000 vacationers turn up for the featured races and delight in the modern marvels of automotive technology. This portrayal seemingly differs little from the atmosphere of Monte Carlo's pleasure-seeking casino-resort during the 1930s or 1940s except in one key respect: the entire description is of modern-day Macau.

In many ways Macau, the small, former Portuguese colony and current special administrative region of China, has taken up Monte Carlo's mantle as the gambling-centric rendezvous of a cosmopolitan crowd and the vacation-leisure destination for both discerning elites and middle class vacationers seeking to elevate their position in social space. Monte Carlo

and Macau are similar in many respects. Like Monte Carlo, Macau is a tiny region with a complicated and convoluted history of political sovereignty – neither wholly dependent nor wholly autonomous. Its special situation has provided liberal gaming laws in a region that is exceptionally repressive of public gambling and has thus afforded it a relative monopoly on the industry. Much like Monte Carlo in the 1860s, Macau has seen incredible growth in its tourism industry since Portugal transferred the territory to China in 1999. It too initially focused on eradicating a negative reputation (particularly as a site rampant with crime, drugs, and gang violence) in order to establish a more respectable projected image to buttress its tourism industry. At the turn of the century, Macau’s gambling-based tourist economy had plateaued at approximately 6 million annual visitors. After an intense phase of construction and rebranding (which placed an emphasis on aspirations and the Western world in the district’s marketing campaign) Macau quintupled its number of visitors to 31.5 million per annum in a period of six years.¹ The growth led to casino profits that not only outpaced Monte Carlo’s by a significant margin, but also propelled Macau’s gambling industry to generate more revenue than every casino in the United States combined.² The “Monte Carlo of the East” now boasts a gambling-based tourist economy four times larger than its chief rival, Las Vegas.³

Perhaps the most salient parallel between Monte Carlo’s casino-resort during the period considered in this study and Macau’s current situation is the vacation-leisure destinations’ importance to the social aspirations of an emergent middle class. While vacationing in Monte Carlo became an important avenue of social mobility for the European middle classes and

1. BBC Radio 4, “Macau: Monte Carlo of the Orient,” radio broadcast, Friday, April 24, 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05r6wyc> (accessed March 15, 2016)

2. Ibid.

3. Tania Branigan, “Macau now far beyond ‘Asia’s Monte Carlo’ or ‘Vegas of the East,’” *The Guardian, Macau*, Sunday, May 15, 2011. For more information charting the growth of Macau’s tourist economy see Desmond Lam, “The Case of Gambling in Macau: The ‘Monte Carlo of the East,’” in *Chopsticks and Gambling* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2014).

nouveau riche who were beginning to use pleasurable leisure-pursuits to ascend in social space, Macau is serving a similar function. China and Pacific Asian countries now contain the largest middle class the world has ever seen – a new class with, as-yet, largely undefined leisure tastes and practices. Many members of this newly-formed and rapidly-growing bourgeoisie travel to Macau (whose patronage is currently 67% Chinese) and seek to distinguish themselves in social space and exhibit cultural legitimacy by vacationing in the casino-resort.⁴ Macau has not only evoked Monte Carlo's image of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism through the aforementioned overt references, it has also adopted some of the techniques Monte Carlo used in the construction of its spatial imaginary. It is consistent in the presentation of its projected image, encourages the re-presentation of the casino-resort economy through souvenirs, markets toward an exclusive class of vacationer while serving millions of middle class vacationers, and seeks to draw the closest association between the special district and contemporary notions of sophisticated pleasures. Reproductions of and references to localities associated with luxury and pleasure also abound in Macau, creating representational space that is simultaneously international and non-national.

Macau's intimate association to Monte Carlo and its adoption of a marketing strategy similar to Monte Carlo's carefully-constructed projected image suggests that examinations of the incredible rise of Monaco's tourist economy have much broader applications than local or regional studies of the Côte d'Azur. Macau is the latest in a string of international locations that have turned to Monte Carlo and its spatial imaginary as a model for building and maintaining a successful tourism economy. Vacation-leisure centers ranging from Havana and Las Vegas to Orlando have evoked Monte Carlo's model for remunerative resort tourism and have drawn explicit connections to the city and its luxurious reputation. Geographically and environmentally

4. BBC Radio 4, "Macau: Monte Carlo of the Orient."

isolated, and lacking the accompanying amenities associated with vacation-leisure centers, Las Vegas and Orlando launched their tourism industries with many of the drawbacks which Monte Carlo had faced. These cities, however, aided by enterprising civic authorities, entrepreneurs, and the Walt Disney Corporation, followed Monte Carlo's lead by establishing meticulously-constructed projected images. "Sin City" and "The Most Magical Place on Earth" owe a great deal to François Blanc's decision to "present the dream" in Monte Carlo. Only Havana has had the advantages of a large, pre-existing city, an established international reputation, and extant horizontal industries to supplement a thriving tourism economy; nonetheless, during the city's pre-revolutionary days, it made overt associations to Monte Carlo and copied the city's strategy of forming a consistent spatial imaginary (in this case, a fantastic island of pleasure and adventure) in order to launch a booming resort tourism industry.⁵ In each example, the site's spatial imaginary has acted as a strong agent of change for the place. It has delivered economic benefits to the corporations and entrepreneurs who promoted the image; it has fundamentally altered the environment, culture, and daily life for the local populations; and it has delivered a lasting social impact on the vacationers who interact with that imaginary.

This dissertation has examined how Monte Carlo established a vibrant and profitable tourism economy, and perhaps more impressively, maintained it for 150 years, by formulating a consistent and powerful spatial imaginary that emphasized the city as a site of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. The project also analyzes how Monte Carlo's reputation as a site of sophisticated and exclusive leisure made vacationing at the casino-resort a distinctive function for American and European travelers who wished to maintain their position or ascend in social space. Casino promoters manipulated and emphasized certain aspects of the city's projected

5. Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism & Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), xii-xx, 14-15.

image, such as spectacle and sports, in order to manage the precarious balance of operating as a site of mass tourism while promoting the place as an exclusive pleasure resort. This paradox made Monte Carlo a central site of class anxieties and contention among elites and the aspirant middle classes.

State officials, civic authorities, and SBM executives drew on Blanc's vision to "build" and "present the dream" in Monte Carlo in their strategies to shape the city's projected image.⁶ The spatial imaginary, a conception of place, laden with symbols, impacted by representational projections, infused with meaning, designed to arouse certain feelings or emotions, and mediated and re-configured in the imagination, involved more than a strong marketing campaign. SBM and casino-resort promoters constructed it through the careful formulation of built environments and representational space (meticulously-crafted through a consistent projected image of the city as a place of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism). Vacationers, gambling critics, and creators of popular culture perceived Monte Carlo's projected image, mediated and re-mediated the image in their imaginations, and impacted, altered, and disseminated the city's spatial imaginary in their writing and discourse. In this way, Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary not only affected the people who visited or thought of the city, but it also was fundamentally affected by them; the spatial imaginary was thus produced and re-produced, but consistently held to the themes of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism.

Part I of this project considered the construction of Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary. The first chapter examined how Monte Carlo's predecessor, Les Spélugues, had a toxic reputation un conducive to forming a profitable tourism industry. After the spectacular failures of the first few casino-concessionaires, François Blanc recognized that Monaco could only develop a

6. Archives Monte-Carlo SBM, 1863. Exhibition presented during the 150th anniversary of SBM in Monte Carlo, Monaco on July 5, 2013. <http://www.montecarlolegend.com/monte-carlo-sbm-celebrates-its-150th-anniversary/> (accessed on November 18, 2013).

remunerative resort industry by discarding Les Spélugues. The first step in the construction of the city's spatial imaginary was the erasure of the negative conceptions associated with the former place. Chapter Two analyzed the ways in which François Blanc, the state, and SBM officials "presented the dream" of Monte Carlo as a place of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. In order to evoke these themes, casino promoters shaped Monte Carlo's urban, physical, and cultural landscapes to create representational space for their clientele. Evidence suggested that once these built environments and representational spaces were in place, casino promoters did not remain idle; on the contrary, they worked tirelessly to avoid complacency, continuously renovated the resort, and sought to match contemporary notions of their promoted themes. The third chapter examined how Monaco's visitors (and even critics and creators of popular culture) perceived Monte Carlo's projected image, mediated the representational space, and reshaped and re-presented the city's spatial imaginary. This chapter argued that these visitors were not only influenced by Monte Carlo's image, but they also profoundly affected the imaginary themselves, sometimes in ways in which casino-resort promoters could not have imagined. It demonstrated how visualization, popular culture representations, and consistent patterns of discourse provided visitors with extraordinary agency in which to reshape Monte Carlo's image and reputation.

Part II focused on the social implications of visiting Monte Carlo for nineteenth- and twentieth-century European and American vacationers. It examined the strategies that the SBM and the Monégasque state employed in order to maintain Monte Carlo's reputation of exclusivity while catering to both select elites and waves of middle class tourists. Part Two also analyzed how the casino-resort became a site of class anxieties, exclusion, and contestation as social elites sought to maintain the relative rarity of their leisure pursuits and as ascendant classes sought to

emulate the dominant class. Chapter Four considered how spectacle, and particularly spectacles which emphasized the fantastic unreality of vacationing in Monte Carlo, allowed the SBM to successfully negotiate the paradox of presenting the city as exclusive while serving millions of annual visitors. The SBM also made strategic use of spectacle in order to maintain Monte Carlo's reputation as a site of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism as these concepts changed over time. Exotic spectacles, novelties, and spectator sports created a sense of shared experience at the casino-resort and allowed the heterogeneous crowd of vacationers to become a fairly unified audience, what one contemporary observer called "a family of pleasure."⁷ Finally, Chapter Five analyzed the role of sports in Monte Carlo's spatial imaginary and its reputation as an international and cosmopolitan space. The chapter demonstrated that sports became a primary avenue of distinction for social elites, served as social capital for middle class vacationers wishing to emulate those elites, and developed into a forum for class anxieties. By the time that sports' distinctive function had waned in Monte Carlo toward the mid-twentieth century, spectator sports in the principality, headlined by the Monaco Grand Prix, had developed into a part of the city's projected image as essential as its fabled casino.

As Monaco and the SBM prepare to celebrate Monte Carlo's sesquicentennial (which at the time of this writing is less than one hundred days away), they have understandably focused on the city's international reputation as an extravagant luxury resort and byword for leisure. They have designed exhibitions to display the city's role in film, literature, and popular culture, and have gone to great lengths to emphasize the casino-resort's past as the playground of the rich and famous. These celebrations stress Monte Carlo's unparalleled success as a resort-tourism industry over the past 150 years, but they obscure the precariousness of the industry's early days.

7. Filson Young, "Monte Carlo," in *Memory Harbour: Essays Chiefly in Description* (London: Grant Richards, 1909), 19.

In the 1850s, few could have imagined that Monaco could support even a modest tourist economy. The principality was uniquely disadvantaged as a vacation-leisure center; it was perceived as a European backwater lacking modern amenities and accommodations for guests. Monaco and its struggling agro-economy offered little of interest to draw even the most adventurous of wanderers to the small state, which was extraordinarily isolated from its French and Italian neighbors. Even the concession of a gambling casino did relatively little to attract foreign patrons. Only when visionary entrepreneurs and state officials sought to “present the dream” and build Monte Carlo did the principality’s fortunes change. The longstanding successes of the SBM’s resort and Monte Carlo’s tourist economy owe a considerable debt to the carefully-crafted presentation of the city as a space of luxury, pleasure, and cosmopolitanism. After 150 years of service as a premier vacation-leisure destination and as the chosen rendezvous of the world’s elite, François Blanc would likely consider his dream realized.

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