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Stopgap territories.

Inns, hotels and boarding houses in Marseille at the beginning of the 1870s.

The value of studying « stopgap accommodation »¹ has now been widely recognised. If you go back to the buildings, streets, neighbourhoods and cities that once offered shelter, you get a sense of the lives of the people who lived there and then left without a trace². Among those given shelter were the migrants. The history of stopgap, or temporary, accommodation is at the heart of a new definition of migration. It is no longer seen as an exception – a brief interlude between two periods of stability (immigration) – but as a « permanent or semi-permanent change of residence »³, a continuum of intermittent phases of stabilisation. Residential mobility is a constituent element of this revised definition of migration, which envisages migrants (both national and international) moving in variously sized circulatory spaces as opposed to linear trajectories that end in definitive settlements⁴. Urban history has been much enriched by this new focus on mobility⁵. The city seems to be in a permanent state of re-creation and is viewed as a represented, lived space⁶, made up of territories fashioned by mobility⁷.

While there is a certain continuity in the research on temporary accommodation in Paris and indeed Rome for the modern and contemporary periods⁸, there is a clear gap as far as

¹ This expression has been taken from C. LEVY-VROELANT (dir.), *Logements de passage. Formes, normes, expériences*, Paris 2000, p. 11. She defines 'stopgap accommodation' as a 'lodging phenomenon', which corresponds to a 'way of living' characterised by its impermanent, precarious nature. Temporary accommodation therefore mainly but not exclusively denotes migrant accommodation. For a recent review, see M. BERNARDOT, A. LE MARCHAND, C. SANTANA BUCIO (dir.), *Habitat non ordinaire et espace-temps de la mobilité*, Broisieux 2014, pp. 9-12.

² A. FARGE, *Le goût de l'archive*, Paris 1989, p. 123 [A. Farge, *The allure of the archives*, New Haven 2013].

³ J. LUCASSEN, L. LUCASSEN (eds.), *Migration, migration history, history: old paradigms and new perspectives*, Bern 1997, p. 32; see also C. IMBERT, H. DUBUCS, F. DUREAU, M. GIROUD, *D'une métropole à l'autre. Pratiques urbaines et circulations dans l'espace européen*, Paris 2014, pp. 29-81.

⁴ D. HOERDER, L. MOCH (eds.), *European migrants: global and local perspectives*, Boston 1996, p. 4.

⁵ D. ROCHE (dir.), *La ville promise: mobilité et accueil à Paris, fin XVII^e-début XIX^e siècle*, Paris 2000; LEVY-VROELANT (dir.), *Logements de passage* cit.; D. M. RATCLIFFE, C. PIETTE, *Vivre la ville. Les classes populaires à Paris (Première moitié du XIX^e siècle)*, Paris 2007; A. FAURE, C. LEVY-VROELANT, *Hôtels meublés et garnis à Paris 1860-1990*, Grâne 2007.

⁶ The concept of « lived space » was introduced by Frémont in A. FREMONT, *La région, espace vécu*, Paris 1976.

⁷ B. LEPETIT, *Proposition et avertissement*, in J. BOTTIN, D. CALABI (dir.), *Les étrangers dans la ville: minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen âge à l'époque moderne*, Paris 1999, pp. 11-15, p.13.

⁸ On Paris, see note 5. On Rome, see E. CANEPARI, *Structures associatives, ressources urbaines et intégration sociale des migrants (Rome XVI^e-XVII^e siècle)*, in « Annales de démographie historique », 124 (2012), pp. 15-41.

nineteenth-century Marseille is concerned⁹. The second largest city in France by population was, however, a long-time preferred destination for both French and international migrants¹⁰. Moreover, the urban as well as economic development of Marseille, which was based on its port and the industrial activities connected with it, was quite remarkable during this period¹¹. Marseille was attracting an increasingly large number of workers, including a very large Italian contingent (one in five by the end of the 19th century), who all had need of accommodation¹². With the growth in port activity, there were also a large number of Italian migrants (18,000 in 1880) stopping over in Marseille for a few days or weeks on their way to Latin America¹³.

This historiographic gap is most certainly due to the difficulty of gathering together all the available sources. The censuses are of minimal use. There are records of the floating population in summary tables, but these do not show the sociological diversity of the tenants lodging in the hotels. The lists of names vary in terms of quality, with tenants named in one list but not the next¹⁴. The most reliable sources are most definitely the police archives. In France, the law of 1791 required that a register be kept on landlords' and landladies' business activities in Paris. This measure was extended to the rest of the country with the introduction of articles 471 and 475 into the 1810 penal code, which put the mayors, under the aegis of the chief constables, in charge of monitoring landlords and landladies and their businesses¹⁵. This legislation was supplemented in Marseille by various bylaws, including those of 1867 and 1875, which banned prostitution in hotel establishments and forced landlords and landladies to declare their businesses and keep a scrupulous record of their admissions, which were then

⁹ There are a few lines in E. TEMIME, *Migrance. Histoire des migrations à Marseille*, Aix-en-Provence 1989, t. 2 « L'expansion marseillaise et l'invasion italienne », pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ For an overview, see TEMIME (dir.), *Migrance*, cit.

¹¹ C. REGNARD, *Marseille la violente. Criminalité, industrialisation et société 1851-1914*, Rennes 2009; X. DAUMALIN, N. GIRARD, O. RAVEUX (dir.), *Du savon à la puce: l'industrie marseillaise du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, Marseille 2003; X. DAUMALIN, *Le patronat marseillais et la deuxième industrialisation 1880-1930*, Aix-en-Provence 2014, pp. 49-60. Some older but nonetheless still useful texts: M. RONCAYOLO, *La croissance urbaine* in M.-P. VIAL (dir.), *Marseille au XIX^e siècle: rêves et triomphes*, Marseille 1991, pp. 21-42; RICHARD, CATY, *Le port et le négoce* in M.-P. VIAL (dir.), *Marseille au XIX^e siècle*, cit., pp. 67-90.

¹² Research on Italian immigration in the southeast of France and Marseille has been recently revised. See S. MOURLANE (a cura di), *Les Italiens dans le Sud Est de la France: nouvelles perspectives*, in « Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana », 11 (2015); S. MOURLANE, C. REGNARD, *Empreintes italiennes. Marseille et sa région 1840-1940*, Lyon 2013; G. SANNA, *Il riscatto dei lavoratori. Storia dell'emigrazione italiana nel sud-est francese (1880-1914)*, Roma 2011; P. BEVILACQUA, A. DE CLEMENTI, E. FRANZINA (a cura di), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana II Arrivi*, Rome 2002, pp. 133-137.

¹³ C. REGNARD, *Marseille, ville de transit pour les Italiens 1860-1914*, in « Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana », 11 (2015), pp. 20-29.

¹⁴ On the difficulties of gathering together sources on tenants, see: FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit., p. 14 onwards; F. BENFANTE, A. SAVELLI (a cura di) *Proprietari e inquilini, Premessa, Premessa* in « Quaderni storici », 113 (2003/2), p. 299.

¹⁵ FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit., p. 14 onwards.

checked by the police¹⁶. As in most large French cities, a special police service – often the vice squad – was responsible for carrying out checks on establishments offering lodging accommodation, namely hotels, inns offering beds and private residences renting bedrooms out on a per-night basis. Together with the introduction of new legislation, which was increasingly coercive as far as foreigners were concerned, this control and surveillance measure revealed a concern among the public authorities in Marseille, as in the rest of the country, about the supposed dangerousness of the mobile populations in a period of history that generally upheld sedentariness¹⁷. The police administrative documents therefore provide the most reliable sources on the history of both temporary accommodation and those who lived in them¹⁸.

This study is based on an examination of the registers compiled by the Marseille police force, or at least what remains of them¹⁹. There are only a few extant registers from the 19th century, and these cover the periods from 1847 to 1848 and 1869 to 1874. On account of their size and complementarity, two lists have been selected from the latter period. One list comprises 1,804 individuals who were in lodgings between November 1869 and September 1870 in the Hôtel-Dieu arrondissement²⁰ and the other comprises 1,357 inns, hotels and boarding houses in Marseille in 1874²¹.

The 1874 police register does not take into account the traditional tourist hotels. While the selection criteria are not specified in the source, we note that the majority of the tourist establishments are absent. A list of these can be found in the *Indicateur Marseillais*. As highlighted by Levy-Vroelant, nobody in the 19th century, including the police and the tenants, would have confused the hotels for travellers – wealthy or otherwise – with the hotels for workers²². Function – professional or otherwise – was clearly the factor underpinning the

¹⁶ Municipal Archives of Marseille (Archives Municipales de Marseille—AMM), 3D20 and 3D30, general district administration: bylaws 1861-1870 and 1870-76.

¹⁷ C. DOUKI, *Identification des migrants et protection nationale*, in M.-C. BLANC-CHALEARD, C. DOUKI, N. DYONET, V. MILLIOT (dir.), *Police et migrants. France 1667-1939*, Rennes 2001, pp. 107-109; L. DORNEL, *La France hostile. Socio-histoire de la xénophobie 1870-1914*, Paris 2004, pp. 202-210; G. NOIRIEL, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France (XIX^e-XX^e siècle). Discours publics, humiliations privées*, Paris 2007, p. 178; J.-C. FARCY, *Migrations intérieures et délinquance au XIX^e siècle* in S. MOURLANE, C. REGNARD (eds.), *Les batailles de Marseille. Immigration, violences, conflits*, Aix-en-Provence 2013, p. 116.

¹⁸ Depending on the town, this type of study can be supplemented with prefectural sources, healthcare sources, the land register or censuses. Cf. FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit., pp. 18-29.

¹⁹ The vast majority of registers compiled by the vice squad were destroyed when transferred to the Municipal Archives. Those that survive are dispersed throughout the collection of Departmental Archives.

²⁰ Bouches-du-Rhône Département Archives (Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône—ADBdR), 4M520: register dated 22 November 1869 of people staying in inns, hotels and boarding houses in the 5th arrondissement.

²¹ ADBdR 4M2328: statistical summary of all hotels, inns and boarding houses in Marseille.

²² FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit., p. 17.

coherence of this environment, which had to respond to the need to welcome a large migrant population into the city and provide lodgings for a sector of the urban population that did not have any means of securing their own homes²³.

It should be borne in mind that these sources are police transcriptions of the registers provided by landlords and landladies. These original registers are now lost, but they were probably incomplete or even incorrect because they relied on their own and their tenants' declarations. In addition to these caveats relating to the very nature of the sources, the registers are also difficult to read and their patchy quality prevents any exhaustive study of either the landlords and landladies or the transitory populations that lodged in these types of accommodation. These sources have therefore been supplemented as far as possible by other police sources and by examining the censuses and the land register.

The story of how parts of the city became stopgap territories emerges from a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the registers and a mapping of the smallest to the largest migrant settlements in Marseille.

1. Temporary accommodation in Marseille: not just a coincidence

1.1. An uneven distribution

The « statistical summary of all hotels, inns and boarding houses in Marseille » constitutes the list of the 1,357 establishments known to the police in 1874²⁴. The lists appears to be reliable since the chief superintendent mentions a figure of 1,460 in 1876²⁵. Since the population of Marseille was around 312,000 in 1872²⁶, there were therefore 4.7 lodgings for every 1,000 inhabitants according to the police source. In reality, the ratio was probably higher given the number of undeclared lodgings and locations. I will come back to this point later²⁷.

Map 1: Locations of establishments monitored by police in Marseille in 1874²⁸

²³ ROCHE (dir.), *La ville promise*, cit., p. 293.

²⁴ ADBdR 4M2328, cit.

²⁵ ADBdR 4 M 7: chief superintendent's report dated 31 December 1876.

²⁶ ADBdR 6M167: census summary table, Marseille arrondissement, 1872.

²⁷ Some of this temporary accommodation was not monitored by the police, cf. 2.1 below.

²⁸ Source: AMM 78Fi470 and 4M2328, cit.

Mapping these addresses (Map 1) from this official source allows us to pinpoint the neighbourhoods in which the majority of addresses were located²⁹. We can distinguish three main groups, indicated by the black circles on the map.

In the northeast of the Old Port lie the Bourse and Mont-de-Piété neighbourhoods. They are located within an area delimited by the Arc de Triomphe to the north (now Porte d'Aix), the Palais de la Bourse to the south, Chapitre to the east and the Rue de la République to the west (situated between Saint-Charles railway station and the Old Port). This area is densely populated with addresses. With more than 300 between them, these working-class neighbourhoods, clustered around the Cours Belsunce, are known historically in Marseille for welcoming mobile, especially international, populations³⁰. Because the labourers from Marseille traditionally stood along the Cours Belsunce hoping to get hired for the day, establishments offering temporary accommodation sprang up along the little streets coming off the Cours Belsunce to take them in. These establishments also welcomed French and Italian migrants up until the end of the 19th century and then the Armenians and North Africans during the inter-war period³¹ and the Africans in the second half of the 20th century³². In addition, the development of rail and sea transport in the second half of the 19th century also highlighted the role of these neighbourhoods as providers of travellers' accommodation³³. Even today, these neighbourhoods still host a high concentration of low-cost hotels, workers' hostels and ethnic shops.

The second circle covers the north of the Old Port area, namely the Hôtel-de-ville and Hôtel-Dieu neighbourhoods. Clustered on the hillside among the oldest neighbourhoods in Marseille and stretching down to the bottom of the Panier neighbourhood, we can see a collection of almost 200 establishments. The density is heaviest on the outskirts of the Old Port, particularly towards the East. Again, these are working-class neighbourhoods, traditionally populated by families making their living from the sea or from jobs associated with it³⁴. The custom of welcoming incomers to these neighbourhoods also goes back a long way³⁵. It was a

²⁹ It has only been possible to locate 1,141 (84%) of the 1,357 addresses listed in the police register. The remaining 16% mainly correspond to districts on the outskirts (the 16th arrondissement and beyond), where the register entries just give the district rather than the full address.

³⁰ E. TEMIME, *Marseille transit: les passagers de Belsunce*, Paris 1989, pp. 18-19.

³¹ Idem, pp. 26-50.

³² B. BERTONCELLO, S. BREDELOUP, *Colporteurs africains à Marseille: un siècle d'aventures*, Paris 2004, pp. 96-99.

³³ REGNARD, *Marseille, port de transit pour les émigrants italiens (années 1860-1914)*, in « Archivio storico », 11 (2015), cit., p. 22.

³⁴ TEMIME, *Migrance*, t.2, cit., pp. 76-78.

³⁵ M. VOVELLE, *Le prolétariat flottant à Marseille sous la Révolution française*, in « Annales de démographie historique », 1 (1968), pp. 111-138; M. VOVELLE, *Gavots et Italiens: les Alpes et leur bordure dans la*

custom strengthened during the second half of the 19th century when the Corsicans and Italians –labelled the « Neapolitans »³⁶ because they came mostly from the South – gradually moved in. It was not only a settlement area of choice for fishermen but also a port of call for mariners. It had a lively nightlife with many inns and wine merchants³⁷. It also hosted Marseille’s red-light district, which was located behind the Hôtel-de-ville and around the quays. While this area was officially demarcated in 1863, the move did not in any way confine the sex for sale, both legal and illegal, to that area³⁸.

Although less tightly grouped, there is an obvious cluster of establishments on the other side of the port, to the south of La Canebière. There were around 200 establishments dotted around the Opera, the Grand Théâtre and the Marché Central. The urban morphology was quite different here because these neighbourhoods were designed and built from the end of the 17th century onwards to expand and upgrade Marseille. In contrast to the two areas described above, this was traditionally a residential area for the Marseille middle classes³⁹. Nevertheless, this southern side of the port was still very commercial and was marked throughout the 19th century by a strong tradition of crafts and industry⁴⁰.

Finally, it is possible to distinguish some peripheral settlements towards the top end of the Joliette neighbourhood and the new port to the north as well as along the length of the Avenue du Prado to the south and beside the Saint-Charles railway station, where some factories had sprung up⁴¹. It is also possible to locate some addresses in the Belle-de-Mai district, a working-class neighbourhood to the north of the Saint-Charles railway station. People were rehoused here after they had lost their homes following works to open the Rue Impériale (now

population marseillaise au XVIII^e siècle, in « Provence historique », 108 (1977), pp. 137-169, p. 147; TEMIME, *Migrance*, t.2, cit., pp. 31-33.

³⁶ M.-F. ATTARD-MARANINCHI, *Le Panier, village corse à Marseille*, Paris 1997; A. SPORTIELLO, *La mémoire collective d’une immigration: le cas des pêcheurs napolitains du Vieux-Port de Marseille*, PhD thesis, supervisor P. JOUTARD, 1983; MOURLANE, REGNARD, *Empreintes italiennes*, cit., p. 26.

³⁷ REGNARD, *Marseille la violente*, cit. pp. 109-114; L. MONTEL, *Marseille capitale du crime. Histoire croisée de la criminalité organisée et de l’imaginaire de Marseille (1820-1940)*, PhD thesis, relator F. DEMIER, 2008, pp. 340-372.

³⁸ M.-F. ATTARD-MARANINCHI, *La prostitution à Marseille au XX^e siècle, l’échec du contrôle spatial*, in B. GARNOT (dir.), *Histoire et criminalité de l’Antiquité au XX^e siècle: nouvelles approches*, Dijon 1992, pp. 391-399; A. ARBORIO, *Bar et meublés, ou la prostitution privée de rue (début du XX^e siècle)* in P. FOURNIER and S. MAZZELLA (dir.), *Marseille entre ville et ports: les destins de la rue de la République*, Paris 2004, p. 228.

³⁹ M. RONCAYOLO, *La croissance urbaine*, in VIAL (dir.), *Marseille au XIX^e*, cit., pp. 21-42.

⁴⁰ DAUMALIN, GIRARD, RAVEUX (dir), *Du savon à la puce*, cit. p. 58.

⁴¹ Idem, pp. 171-218

the Rue de la République). Many Italian immigrants also chose to make this area their home⁴².

At city level then, the uneven distribution of temporary accommodation would seem to indicate several lines of reasoning. First and foremost, this type of accommodation clearly results from a long history of population movement both within and towards the old neighbourhoods of Marseille. Furthermore, this snapshot of establishments offering temporary accommodation in 1874 shows the importance of economic factors in the hordes of addresses that sprang up around the big factories (along the Avenue du Prado to the south and the Boulevard National to the north), the quays and the docks as well as the new ports that were being built at the time. Urbanisation in Marseille, which resulted to a large extent from industrialisation on the outskirts of the town, was structured around industrial employment. Establishments offering temporary accommodation contributed to providing people with lodgings near their places of work. The workforce was very geographically mobile in the 19th century⁴³. Finally, the appearance of this type of accommodation also shows the vitality of the role of transit from certain neighbourhoods located near the Old Port and more broadly between the railway station and the port. The strong growth in commercial trade and the marked increase in travellers to Marseille in the second half of the 19th century only served to boost this economy.

1.2. From hovel to bourgeois boarding house

In addition to the uneven distribution of the addresses in Marseille, there was great variety in the types of establishments monitored by the police. They were sorted into categories according to the type of lodging (« inn », « hotel », « boarding house ») and given a score, which probably corresponded to the level of comfort and the pricing scale⁴⁴. The « boarding houses », which represented almost the entire register (95% of the establishments listed), were

⁴² P. FOURNIER, S. MAZZELLA, *La percée originelle: entre aménagement urbain, transformation sociale et rentabilité foncière*, in FOURNIER, MAZZELLA (dir.), *Marseille entre ville et ports*, cit., pp. 29-39; MOURLANE, REGNARD, *Empreintes italiennes*, cit. pp. 26-27.

⁴³ For more on the urban aspects, see M. RONCAYOLO, *La croissance urbaine*, in VIAL (dir.), *Marseille au XIX^e*, cit., pp. 21-42; on the economic and social aspects, see DAUMALIN, GIRARD, RAVEUX (dir.), *Du savon à la puce*, cit., X. DAUMALIN, *Le patronat marseillais et la deuxième industrialisation 1880-1930*, Aix-en-Provence 2014, pp. 49-52 and X. DAUMALIN, *L'industria marsigliese e l'immigrazione italia del Mediterraneo nell'Ottocento: bilancio e prospettive*, in MOURLANE (a cura di), « Les Italiens dans le Sud Est de la France: nouvelles perspectives », cit., pp. 10-19.

⁴⁴ ADBdR 4M2328, document cited. We do not have the classification guidelines because most of the vice squad police archives in Marseille have disappeared. On Paris, please refer to FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit. p. 18 onwards.

distributed over four categories, from « boarding house 1 » to « boarding house 4 ». The most common category was « boarding house 3 » (where the establishments were sometimes connected to an inn, a refreshment stall or a tobacco shop), representing more than a third of the addresses. In order to show the locational differences between the establishments in the higher categories and those in the lower, the addresses considered by the police to belong to categories 1 and 2 are marked on Map 2 below.

Map 2: Locations in Marseille of categories 1 and 2 establishments monitored by the police in 1874⁴⁵

We can identify almost 200 addresses distributed across Marseille⁴⁶. While the establishments offering the more superior quality temporary accommodation were not entirely absent from the historic neighbourhoods of Marseille to the north of the Old Port and La Canebière, we can see that they preferred the neighbourhoods to the south, which sprang up with the expansion of the city in the 17th century. Three-quarters of the proprietors of these establishments were considered by the police to be of « good moral standing »⁴⁷, which referred both to the legal compliance of their establishments and the absence of any criminal activities within their walls. The majority of these proprietors were women (53%). This was proportionally higher than the female representation across the entire register, with two-thirds of the proprietors overall being landlords and only one-third, landladies. The better the quality of the accommodation, the more likely it was the proprietor was female. The commercial stature of these establishments was higher, denoting a different pricing scale to that on the northern side. The median commercial value of the higher category establishments was 1,200 francs as compared with 650 francs for addresses overall.

It is logical then that those who could afford it stayed in the wealthier neighbourhoods, the more expensive rooms and the establishments with good reputations. A certain harmony thus developed between the sociological profile of these neighbourhoods, which were more commercial and middle class, and the populations that they welcomed as they passed through the city. There were not many foreigners among them, but there was a high proportion of domestic staff employed in the middle-class families in this part of the city as well as many commercial and services employees. This is confirmed by the example of the category 1

⁴⁵ Source: AMM 78Fi470 and ADBdR 4M2328, document cited. The categories grouped together are « boarding houses 1 and 2 », « standard and bourgeois boarding houses », « hotels 1 » and « hotels 1 and 2 ».

⁴⁶ Of the 195 establishments assembled on this map, only 10 (around 5%) could not be placed.

⁴⁷ The source does not allow us to give any explanation as to what this judgement included.

boarding house located at 26 Rue Grignan, which was run by Antoine Bouchard⁴⁸. In 1872, this proprietor, originally from Grenoble, provided lodgings for four valets, one cook and two maids as well as five merchants, two office clerks, a tutor, an engineer and a person of independent means. Most of his tenants were couples, and some had children. Hence, temporary accommodation was not just intended for the marginalised or the poor populations. Far from it. It also served the needs of people whose professions required them to travel and those in certain intermediate social categories who saw these upright establishments as being on a par with their standard of living. As Faure pointed out, furnished rentals could have « a distinctly bourgeois character »⁴⁹.

In contrast, the first two areas highlighted on Map 1 – the Panier and Belsunce neighbourhoods – are notable for their absence from Map 2. There is a concentration of lower-category establishments, particularly categories 3 and 4 boarding houses. Their proprietors did not always have a good reputation. Only 60% were classified as having « quite good », « good » or « very good » moral standing. The rest, around 40%, were labelled as « shady », « suspect », « dubious » and even « bad ». Some of the establishments among this latter 40% were highlighted as harbouring criminals, as being host to « suspicious » activities or as operating as illegal brothels. The proximity of the port and the dilapidated housing in these medieval neighbourhoods fostered the development of this poor housing⁵⁰. Moreover, new neighbourhoods were being built near the northern and western slopes of the Panier hill. Lower quality temporary accommodation establishments were developing in these spaces, with housing that was either still very basic or under construction. The Rue Mazenod, which can be clearly seen on Map 1, is a good example of this. The rear of Joliette docks was a hotspot for setting up lodgings, so we find private addresses here – most notably number 22, which we will return to later – and labels like « hovel 1 » or « block of houses 3 »⁵¹, which was one of a number of temporary accommodation blocks in housing that was just as temporary.

We can therefore see the emergence of a social and spatial convergence. The structure of the housing and the history of the neighbourhood, as well as its economic profile, facilitated the growth of a variety of establishments, ranging from hovels to opulent homes. In return, these

⁴⁸ ADBdR 6M181: Marseille, list of names taken from the surveys, 2nd canton intra-muros, city centre, 1872.

⁴⁹ FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit., p. 65.

⁵⁰ L. MONTEL, *Les vieux quartiers de Marseille au XIXe siècle*, in « Histoire Urbaine », 36 (2013), pp. 49-72.

⁵¹ ADBdR 4M520, document cited.

temporary accommodation establishments served to reinforce the identity of these neighbourhoods through the population profiles that they accommodated.

On a more micro scale, we might ask ourselves to what extent such clusters created territories within the neighbourhoods themselves, in other words how they contributed to producing differentiated uses of space by those involved⁵².

2. Living as closely as possible to one's fellow human beings: the Hôtel-Dieu neighbourhood

2.1. Accommodation grouped together and partially illegal

Any transition to a more detailed analysis would require sources that we currently only have for the 5th police district, which takes into account the northern area of the Panier hill and groups together the Hôtel-Dieu and Grands Carmes neighbourhoods⁵³.

Map 3: Establishments offering temporary accommodation in the Hôtel-Dieu neighbourhood (1869-1874)⁵⁴

The 1869 and 1870 data on tenants are shown in grey⁵⁵, and the addresses monitored by the police in 1874 are indicated by the black dots⁵⁶.

First, the results of this cross-tabulated analysis of the two sources show that not all of the addresses used by the temporary tenants were known to the police, or at least they were not noted as such. The closing of some establishments, which was a possibility during the four-year period separating these two registers, was certainly not the only cause. The provision and use of illegal lodgings seems to have been well rooted in local Marseille tradition. The discrepancy undoubtedly corresponds in large part to the subletting of bedrooms in private houses, restaurants and inns, which would explain the high proportion of addresses listing fewer than 10 people over the ten-month period covered by the register.

⁵² We are relying here on the definition of territory as put forward by R. BRUNET, R. FERRAS and H. THÉRY, *Les mots de la géographie. Dictionnaire critique*, Paris 3rd ed. 1993, p. 330; see also M. VANIER (dir.), *Territoires, territorialité, territorialisation. Controverses et perspectives*, Rennes 2009.

⁵³ ADBdR 4M520, document cited. The sources are missing for the other police districts.

⁵⁴ Sources: AMM 78Fi470; ADBdR 4 M 520 and 4 M 2328, documents cited.

⁵⁵ ADBdR 4M520, document cited.

⁵⁶ ADBdR 4M2328, document cited.

Second, establishments offering temporary accommodation were polarised around certain streets in this district. To the south, we can see a cluster of addresses around the Rue Caisserie, and to the east, there are a large number of addresses in the streets surrounding the Hôtel-Dieu. Moving further north, while the dispersion is more noticeable, the Vieille Charité also serves as an aggregating pole. Finally, the temporary accommodation along the waterfront, in housing that was under construction at the time, is concentrated around Marseille Cathedral and the Joliette docks. This jumbled distribution can be attributed to differentiated causalities. The first is that access to charity and healthcare continued throughout the 1870s, and this served to strengthen the welcoming tradition of the humble population in this area of Marseille. It is wholly logical that establishments offering temporary accommodation should thrive in the streets surrounding the Vieille Charité and its immediate vicinity. This centre for the poor and destitute, which was established in the 17th century, was still in operation during this period⁵⁷. The same observation can be made of the Hôtel-Dieu, which had existed as a hospital for patients with all manner of conditions since the end of the 16th century⁵⁸. The second causality is that it is clear that the economic activity on the northern and eastern fringes of the neighbourhood, especially those relating to the port activities and construction sites, served to promote the creation of temporary accommodation establishments. Although construction of the Joliette docks had been completed by this point, the docks further north were still under construction as were the buildings surrounding them. Hence, Rue Mazenod, Rue Marchetti and Rue Sainte-Pauline in the north as well as the areas surrounding Marseille Cathedral hosted many lodging establishments. Finally, in the south of the Hôtel-Dieu neighbourhood and at the foot of the hill, the roads leading into the Rue Caisserie also show a large concentration of addresses. We come back to the reasons for this below⁵⁹. These groupings indicate that certain institutions, activities and strategic intersections define the temporary accommodation establishments and contribute to creating micros territories that are marked both economically and socially by their presence.

2.2. Who passed through the 5th police district?

⁵⁷ R. BERTRAND, *Le patrimoine de Marseille: une ville et ses monuments*, Marseille 2001, pp. 86-90

⁵⁸ Idem; see also J. AZIZA, *Soigner et être soigné sous l'Ancien Régime: l'Hôtel-Dieu de Marseille aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Aix-en-Provence 2013.

⁵⁹ Cf. Section 3

Based on the 1869-70 register, it is possible to reconstruct a sociology of the 1,804 tenants that passed through the 5th police district over the course of the 10 months⁶⁰. A total of 89% of the individuals in our sample were not born in Marseille. Temporary accommodation was therefore accommodation for national and international migrants. Half of the sample was French – either from France or Algeria (53%) – and 40% were Italian. The other nationalities represented were negligible but were mainly English, Spanish and Swiss.

Within the space of two generations, therefore, the proportion of Italians accommodated in lodging establishments in this district had risen from 10% to 40%⁶¹. This partly corresponds to an increase in their presence in Marseille. By 1872, there were already more than 25,000 Italians, accounting for over 10% of the city's total population⁶². The origins of a third of the Italians is unknown to us owing to the incorrect spelling of their village names. However, a third of the Italian tenants came from southern Italy (mainly from Basilicata but also from Calabria, Campania, Puglia and Sicily), and another third came from northern and central Italy. An examination of the list of tenants lodging in temporary accommodation at the beginning of the 1870s therefore highlights the southern origins of the Italian tenants as compared with the rest of the mainly northern Italian population in Marseille at that time⁶³. This was also the case at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1848, for example, almost all tenants had come from Sardinian states⁶⁴. There is no doubt that in the 1860s and 1870s, the southern Italians would have had fewer networks or family connections (which would have enabled them to lodge temporarily with their compatriots) than the Piedmontese, whose presence in Marseille was more historic. The tradition in the Hôtel-de-ville neighbourhood – with its fishing population – of welcoming southern Italians, possibly earlier than has been shown up to now, should also be acknowledged⁶⁵.

As far as the tenants originating from Marseille itself were concerned, their proportion (10%) was stable with regard to that already reported by Vovelle for the end of the 18th century. This would indicate that a section of the Marseille population did not have the means to secure any accommodation other than lodgings in boarding houses or hotels. As Faure and Levy-Vroelant have shown, a section of the Parisian working classes found themselves in the same housing situations. Employment crises, particularly those of 1848 and the end of the

⁶⁰ADBdR 4M520, document cited.

⁶¹ VOVELLE, *Gavots et Italiens*, cit. p. 139.

⁶² MOURLANE, REGNARD, *Empreintes italiennes*, cit. p. 19.

⁶³ Idem; see also SANNA, *Il riscatto dei lavoratori*, cit., pp. 119-123.

⁶⁴ADBdR 4M520, document cited.

⁶⁵Sportiello dates their presence to the 1880s: SPORTIELLO, *La mémoire collective d'une immigration*, cit., p. 126. See also MOURLANE, REGNARD, *Empreintes italiennes*, cit., p. 23.

19th century, would have had the effect of highlighting this recourse to temporary accommodation among the Parisians. It is difficult, however, to advance the same conclusion for Marseille. On the one hand, the 1848 crisis was less marked here. The few lists that we have for 1848 show a stable proportion of around 10% of people originally from Marseille who were living in lodgings⁶⁶. On the other hand, the end of the Second French Empire⁶⁷ was not a period of crisis. At the very most, we can cite an ancient custom among a section of the local population to live among the migrants in lodgings in the city centre.

Two-thirds of the people living in lodgings were manual workers. Of these, half were labourers or unskilled workers, in other words manual workers with no qualifications. The number of unqualified manual workers was proportionally higher among the Italians, and they were also more predominantly deskilled. Professions associated with the sea were well represented here (6%), albeit less so than among the French migrants (13%). Commerce, domestic and service professionals were well represented among the people from Marseille (13%) and the French migrants (21.3%). Temporary accommodation therefore principally accommodated qualified manual workers, such as the male port workers, construction workers and artisans (stevedores, caulkers, porters, shipwrights, joiners, bakers, cutlers, etc.) and the female homeworkers (gilet makers, shoe upper makers, etc.). There were many mariners among the French migrants as well as a great number of domestic servants (both male and female), street peddlers, hawkers and tradesmen (cobblers, locksmiths). Finally, the Italian tenants were predominantly labourers or unskilled workers but also specialised workers (tinsmiths, coppersmiths) from southern Italy and even travelling artists and musicians.

From a demographic point of view, migration gave these tenant populations a very masculine profile (women represent only 10% of the whole sample), and this was not diminished any by the tenants from Marseille (1% women) or Italy (4%). The masculine profile was mainly due to French migrants and more particularly to the migration of French manual workers and young French women destined for domestic service. The tenants were mainly aged between 25 and 29 (although the Italian tenants tended to be younger and those from Marseille, older). Living in lodgings was therefore mainly a masculine situation. For workers from Marseille, this no doubt corresponded to a precarious period in their professional or personal lives, which necessitated a spell in cheap accommodation. As far as the migrants from further afield were concerned, the tenant community was younger and less qualified. Among this group, we

⁶⁶ADBD 4M520, document cited.

⁶⁷ This is the name given to the reign of Emperor Napoleon III (1852-1870).

find itinerant professions as well as labourers either passing through or at the beginning of a stabilisation phase in the city. Finally, in an intermediate situation, French migrants from the surrounding regions preferred to use temporary accommodation for the purposes of temporary or seasonal migration.

Traditionally, there was an increase in this latter group of migrants during the winter⁶⁸. This is confirmed by the Marseille sample. There were more than 200 persons registered during the winter months (December to January). Seasonal workers generally went to the city to seek work during the low season in the French and Italian mountains and farms. If we examine the admissions for the largest lodging establishment, namely 22 Rue Mazenod, which was located just behind Joliette docks, we can see that it took in 313 tenants over the ten-month period. This equates to 1 in 6 of the tenants in our sample. This seasonal aspect of the business is confirmed with almost 70 admissions in December and 44 in January in contrast to between 16 and 30 for the spring and summer months.

Finally, the majority of these tenants only passed through the lodging establishments in the Hôtel-de-ville neighbourhood once over this ten-month period. In the rare cases when tenants' names appear more than once, some returned to the same address. One such tenant was Angeline Georges, a labourer aged 32 from San Concordio di Moriano, a small Tuscan village a few kilometres north of Lucca. His name appears three times as a tenant at 4 Rue du Colombier between 5 December 1869 and 27 May 1870⁶⁹. Some repeat tenants moved around different addresses in the same road, like Joséphine Bertrand, who moved from number 3 to number 5 Rue Sainte-Pauline between May and August 1870, and others moved around different addresses in different roads, like Victoire Campa, a seamstress from Sartène, who lodged at 15 Montée Saint-Esprit in June 1870 and then at 28 Rue Caisserie the following month. The changes of address did not therefore imply big moves since the addresses were very close to one another. Whatever the case at individual level, the great volatility of these tenants seems to have been the norm and, although the source only shows the admissions, there is no doubt that the high turnover at some addresses denotes not a large intake capacity in these buildings – space was very limited⁷⁰ - but very short stays.

⁶⁸ The phenomenon of seasonal migrants, well known in Provence, is documented by Mourlane: *Introduzione*, in MOURLANE (a cura di), « Les Italiens dans le Sud Est de la France: nouvelles perspectives », cit., p. 7.

⁶⁹ ADBdR 4 M 520, document cited. The name has probably been Gallicised.

⁷⁰ FAURE, LEVY-VROELANT, *Une chambre en ville*, cit. p. 101. We will have the opportunity to come back to this issue of overcrowding in Section 3.

Finally, the family profile of the tenants seemed to determine which address they headed for. Some landlords and landladies specialised in offering accommodation to single women. This seems to have been the case at 7 Rue Négrel, where women (seamstresses, cooks, refreshment bar girls and manual workers, mainly from the Alps or nearby départements) represented half the tenants (i.e. 8 women) over this ten-month period. We can see a trend here that had already been observed in Paris, where it was noted that single women formed a special clientele, and they were often set apart in temporary accommodation establishments because of the problems that their presence might engender in the company of male tenants⁷¹. Conversely, however, the majority of addresses only took in men or, at a push, married couples, such as the two couples registered in December 1869 at 17 Rue du Chevalier Roze, or unmarried couples, like the mariner and the seamstress from Agde at 9 Rue Fontaine de Caylus in November 1869. Furthermore, men very often moved as a group. Homogeneity arising from professional and geographic origins doubled up as family relations. The tinsmiths⁷², for example, who were all Italian and came mostly from villages in Basilicata, lodged for the most part at 22 Rue Mazenod. In April 1870, a father and his two sons from Maratea were registered at this address as was one of their compatriots, and they all gave tinsmith as their profession. This address was also well known and frequented by musicians, who mainly all came from the same region, most notably Viggiano and Tramutola, and travelled with their children⁷³. Most of the Italians and all of the children and older adults in the sample fall into this category of family migrations.

Whether we focus on the phenomena of spatial concentrations at neighbourhood level or on the demographic trends that characterise a particular address, it is clear that the choice of lodgings – albeit temporary – was not left to chance but was in response to individual or group strategies aimed at ending up in familiar territory. These strategies combined a knowledge of the economic and social context of the roads and established migratory networks from the regions of origin to the stopover places⁷⁴. The landlords and landladies of the lodging establishments developed their business activities close to the neighbourhood's strategic spaces – near a charity institution, a strategic intersection or job offers – in

⁷¹ *Idem* p. 153.

⁷² On the tinsmiths, see J.-L. OCHANDIANO, *Lyon à l'italienne. Deux siècles de présence italienne dans l'agglomération lyonnaise*, Lyon 2013, pp. 51-55. On the Italian migrants' occupations, see P. MILZA, *Voyage en Ritalie*, Paris 1993, pp. 137-186.

⁷³ *Idem*.

⁷⁴ This phenomenon has been described by Gabaccia in D. GABACCIA, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street: Housing and Social Change Among Italian Immigrants 1880-1930*, Albany 1983; see also S. BAILY, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City 1870-1914*, Ithaca 1999, p. 10.

accordance with the opportunities presented by the market. Finally, the reasoning behind these choices can be highlighted at street level⁷⁵.

3. A spatial and social system based on temporary accommodation: Rue Caisserie

The Rue Caisserie is around 800 metres long and was named after the crate factories set up there during the Ancien Régime⁷⁶. It was much narrower in 1870, at a maximum of 3 or 4 metres (as were all the roads in the neighbourhood)⁷⁷, than its current width of 12 metres. Marking the boundary between the 2nd and 5th police districts, this street hosted a large number of the people listed in our sample (330, or 20%). It represents much more than just a boundary, however, and as such merits being studied as a territory in its own right, where the distribution of establishments offering temporary accommodation was a response to the street's own spatial, social and economic reasonings.

3.1. Concentrated business activity

Map 4: Temporary accommodation in Rue Caisserie (1869-1874)⁷⁸

In the two registers we have available to us, 25 establishments in Rue Caisserie are recorded as taking in tenants. Eleven of these (represented on Map 4 in the lightest grey) appear in the tenants register but not in the landlords and landladies register. Fourteen (represented in medium grey) appear in the landlords and landladies register, with the majority being listed as category 4 lodging establishments. Five addresses (indicated by the darkest grey buildings) appear in both sources.

The map confirms the tendency highlighted above for temporary accommodation establishments to agglomerate. All the addresses are located between the Place des Augustines to the East and the Rue Vieille Fonderie to the West, with a distinctive cluster on both sides of the Rue Rompe-cul. Within this very limited space, the declared business activity seems to be at least as extensive as the undeclared activity, and it is centred on just one section of the road. This overlapping, which is particularly noticeable between numbers

⁷⁵ E. GARDELLA, S. CONRAD, F. COSTE (dir.), *La rue*, « Tracés », 5, (2004); *La rue, entre réseaux et territoires*, « Flux », 66-67, (2006 and 2007).

⁷⁶ The name given to the French political system that existed before it was overthrown by the French Revolution in 1789.

⁷⁷ A. BLES, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Marseille*, Marseille 2001, p. 94.

⁷⁸ Source: ADBdR 3P1163, Saint-Laurent land register (10th ancient section).

40 and 58, suggests the possibility that the vice squad did not know about these clandestine addresses. Insofar as this map represents the business activity over 5 years, it is certainly likely that some addresses closed down between 1869 and 1874. However, it may also be the case that certain landlords and landladies concealed their business activities so as to avoid taxes and the obligations associated with their business. Moreover, it is not possible to completely rule out an « intentional » oversight on the part of police officers or corruption practices within the force itself⁷⁹.

In any event, this grouping together of businesses offering temporary accommodation in this section of the road did not happen by accident. The primary reason why these businesses sprang up here was undoubtedly the strategic intersection. Its proximity to the Vieux-Port made it an arrivals space par excellence for those disembarking or working at the port. Moreover, the Rue Caisserie runs east to west and leads, via Rue Rompe-cul, from the port up towards the Panier. On a more prosaic level, the fact that it is situated quite low on the slope of the hill made it a lot easier to negotiate, especially for anyone carrying luggage.

The second reason for the agglomeration lies in the road's proximity to the red-light district. The road marked the administrative boundary to the north, although prostitution activities did not end at the boundary⁸⁰. Almost all the hotels were located within the stretch of the red-light district from Rue Reynarde to the east to Rue Lanterne to the west. The tenant population was very likely to have taken advantage of the prostitution economy, whether as clients or as unrecruited or casual prostitutes. Prostitutes were able to conduct their activities illegally. For example, at number 42, the presence of « women » was reported by the police, rendering the moral stature of the owner « suspect »⁸¹. Furthermore, we cannot rule out the hypothesis that timesharing existed and therefore that multiple activities connected the furnished accommodation and the running of brothels nearby. Hence, Madame Catherine Barbier, proprietor of 51 Rue Caisserie, was also the proprietor and occupant of 21 Rue Radeau, right in the middle of the red-light district⁸².

⁷⁹ Montel has clearly demonstrated the extent of the corruption practices within certain departments in the Marseille police force: MONTEL, *Marseille capitale du crime*, cit., and *Proxénétisme et corruption à Marseille dans les années 1920 et 1930. Pratiques et représentations*, in O. DARD, J. ENGELS, A. FAHRMEIR, F. MONIER (dir.), *Scandales et corruptions à l'époque contemporaine*, Paris 2014, pp. 109-122.

⁸⁰ M.-F. ATTARD-MARANINCHI, *Normaliser la transgression: discours politiques à l'égard de la prostitution à la fin du XIXe siècle*, in B. GARNOT (dir.), *Ordre moral et délinquance de l'Antiquité au XXe siècle*, Dijon 1994, pp. 95-103 and *Les filles du port des Marseillaises « pas comme les autres »*, in « Marseille », 166, 1993, pp. 63-67.

⁸¹ ADBdR 4M2328, document cited.

⁸² ADBdR Napoleonic land register, indicative chart by roads, 10th section, 4P1947. On the subject of prostitution in hotels, see ARBORIO « Bar et meublés, ou la prostitution privée de rue (début du XXe siècle) », cit., pp. 230-232.

Finally, there is another element that enables us to understand a certain disparity in the distribution of addresses on the northern side of the Rue Caisserie (even numbers). There were a lot more addresses on the north side than on the south (odd numbers). This concentration of addresses can be explained by the presence of an address frequented by almost 200 individuals in our sample, namely 40 and 40a⁸³. These were two buildings situated on the Rue Caisserie on either side of the Rue Rompe-cul. The development of temporary accommodation in its immediate surroundings, particularly at the other major addresses in the road, namely 28, 30 and 44, was market-driven. The landlords and landladies hoped to attract more clients through their close proximity to this very well-known address, which was in a strategic place and took up two numbers.

Numbers 40a and 42 are the only addresses in the 1872 census reported as being a « boarding house »⁸⁴. While number 42 is listed in the landlords and landladies register, it only appears against one tenant's name in the tenant list. Number 40, however, is missing from the landlords and landladies register, but a total of 197 people passed through its doors between November 1869 and September 1870. Aside from the sources' imperfections, this difference in the number of tenants can probably be explained by the existence of two temporary accommodation systems. One was aimed at long-stay tenants (of more than a few months) and the other at short-stay tenants (like numbers 40 and 56), which thus showed a high turnover over the ten-month period. While the size of the plots were relatively similar, it was not possible to invoke the size of a particular building⁸⁵. In addition, when we examine the sociology of the tenants listed for numbers 40 and 56 (239 persons) and for the other addresses in the road (103 persons), the similarity is striking. Around 25% of them were Italian, very few were originally from Marseille (3%) and between a quarter and a third had professions associated with the sea (mariners, sea captains, cabin boys, stokers). It was not therefore the profile of the tenant that varied but the duration of their stay, with the majority of addresses reporting a low turnover.

Rue Caisserie was thus attractive to tenants because of its prime location but more especially because one of its addresses was very well-known for short stays, particularly among the maritime population. The whole of Rue Caisserie, particularly the addresses at the crossroads, benefited from the popularity of 40 and 40a.

⁸³ Number 40a is shown on the 1872 census as a boarding house. Cf. ADBdR 6M183.

⁸⁴ *Idem*.

⁸⁵ ADBdR 4P1947: Napoleonic land register, indicative chart by roads, 10th section.

3.2. Temporary accommodation: an element of the social and economic system of Rue Caisserie

The summary in the *Indicateur Marseillais* mentions the nature of established businesses on Rue Caisserie in 1870⁸⁶. We can see a similarity between the principal boarding houses and the wine merchant innkeepers, liquor sellers and restaurateurs, whose businesses were mainly concentrated in the properties from numbers 27 to 46. The two activities were complementary and were sometimes even combined. The tenants drank and ate out in these businesses. The establishments at numbers 24, 40, from 29 to 33, 44 and 56 offered the option of being able to drink, eat and lodge all in one place. The building at number 44, which was narrow but extended back a long way, belonged to Madame Belland Françoise. It was run by a Monsieur Vergez, a liquor seller from the Hautes-Pyrénées region, who lived there with his two children and his mother. There was a public house on the ground floor and his own apartment plus 14 furnished rooms, recorded as category 3 lodging accommodation, on the upper floors, which he let to 26 people for a declared commercial sum of 1,500 francs⁸⁷.

Numbers 40 and 40a were owned partly by Marseille's hospices administration (which had the plot as well as the shop and the 4th floor⁸⁸) and partly by a private proprietor. The *Indicateur Marseillais* mentions a restaurateur at this property, a Monsieur Hubac from Hérault, who lived at 40a with his wife and a servant and who ran the shop as his business. It is possible that the very intensive furnished rental activity at this address was down to this restaurateur, but it could equally have been the work of Marseille's hospices administration, which would have made their real estate assets, located not far from the Hôtel-Dieu, profitable. It could also, of course, have been the concomitance of both businesses. However, this address is not listed in the 1874 landlords and landladies register, so we have no way of confirming this hypothesis.

On the opposite side of the road, the temporary accommodation establishments alternated with the wine merchant shops and even shared addresses in some cases. In this central section of the road, we also find a number of shops that supplied the restaurateurs and liquor sellers (bakeries, grocers, butchers, cheese shops, general food shops). Beyond that, the rest of the

⁸⁶ *Indicateur Marseillais* 1891.

⁸⁷ ADBdR 6M183 and ADBdR 4M2328, documents cited.

⁸⁸ Marseille's hospices administration had a lot of land ownership (often bequeathed) in Marseille and the surrounding areas, which generated income for it. Cf. AZIZA, *Soigner et être soigné*, cit. p. 70; there are also other similar examples, such as that of Florence: F. BENFANTE, *Le proprietà urbana dell'ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova (Firenze XVI-XVIII secolo)*, « Quaderni Storici », 113 (2003/2), pp. 325-344, p. 329.

shops (fashion boutiques, hairdressers, jewellers, watchmakers, pharmacies, haberdashers, tailors) had set up near the Place des Augustines and the Place de Lenche.

Conclusion

Through an examination of the large number of addresses listed for the beginning of the 1870s, this study has highlighted the importance of people both passing through and moving to Marseille. Marseille was not just an immigration destination but a stopgap city for workers and travellers.

There is nothing random about this residential mobility, however. Addresses – even temporary – were chosen based on prior knowledge of the destination and/or on socioeconomic reasoning. The development of the rental market responded to this demand. Temporary accommodation emerged as a means of reducing home-work travel in an era when modes of transport were still limited. The volatility of the workforce also explained the success of this type of accommodation.

While the variation in levels of analysis allows us to depart from an administrative interpretation of the urban space (a study or comparison of different police districts), it also highlights this coherence of the logic behind the creation and aggregation of temporary accommodation establishments. Whether the focus of our studies is on villages or rural spaces that are gradually being taken over by industrial activities and urbanisation, neighbourhoods situated close to a port or railway station, neighbourhoods structured around health or charity institutions or roads surrounding the entertainment or red-light districts, the spaces we examine show that the development of the temporary accommodation economy participated in a coherent economic and social system and in the production of urban territories.

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