





Photographic Memories- Lost Corners of Paris:
The Children of Cité Lesage-Bullourde and Boulogne-Billancourt, 1949-50

Mémoires photographiques des coins perdus:
Les Enfants de la Cité Lesage-Bullourde et Boulogne-Billancourt, Paris 1949-54

Photographs by Marilyn Stafford

Alliance Française gallery exhibition, Toronto, March 8th – April 3rd 2017

Exhibition curated by Julia Winckler with the assistance of a SSHRC research grant,
From streets to playgrounds

Much travelled and internationally published photographer Marilyn Stafford grew up during the 1930s in Cleveland, Ohio USA. In December 1948, Marilyn moved to Paris via New York, and in 1951 briefly sang with a small music ensemble at Chez Carrère near the Champs Elysées. At the club she met Edith Piaf and also became friends with Robert Capa and Henri Cartier-Bresson, who both encouraged her work as a photographer. Between 1949 and the mid 1950s, Marilyn made photographs in several different Parisian neighbourhoods. Her compelling images of children from Cité Lesage-Boulourde near the Place de la Bastille, provide rare insights into the daily lives of children in one of Paris' poorest districts.

Marilyn's photographs of the children who made these streets their playground, document a community whose lives and experiences had been completely underrepresented. Her ability to engage with them provides for posterity captivating visual traces of a vanished neighbourhood, long dispersed when the area was eventually demolished and gentrified. The exhibition also features photographs taken in Boulogne-Billancourt and Marilyn's pioneering fashion work, which for the first time took models out of the studio and onto the streets, applying a social documentary approach to the fashion shoot.

The few surviving contact sheets, negatives and prints from Marilyn's archive of this period have been digitized and painstakingly repaired, allowing them to be enlarged to reveal new detail. The archival material also has a life of its own, revealing Marilyn's working practices, her photographic eye, and the editorial choices she made by cropping and cutting, making marks with crayons and stapling contact sheets and individual images together. They have the patina of time embedded within them and contain multiple stories as we encounter and hold the gaze of the children Marilyn photographed.

To accompany the exhibition, this catalogue includes an introductory essay by Julia Winckler (University of Brighton, School of Media), and a contextual essay about the Bastille area by Professor emerita Adrienne Chambon (University of Toronto). A new documentary film by Ian Hockaday about Marilyn Stafford's early career and years spent in Paris has been made especially for this exhibition (2017).

Marilyn Stafford, à la fois grande voyageuse et photographe internationalement reconnue, a grandi à Cleveland, Ohio aux Etats-Unis dans les années 30. En décembre 1948, Marilyn déménage à Paris en passant par New-York. En 1951 elle chante brièvement pour un petit groupe de musique Chez Carrère, dans les environs des Champs-Elysées. Dans ce cabaret elle a pu rencontrer Edith Piaf et se lier d'amitié avec Robert Capa et Henri-Cartier Bresson qui l'ont tous deux encouragée à embrasser une carrière photographique. Entre 1949 et le milieu des années 50, Marilyn sillonne les quartiers parisiens avec son appareil photo. Ses photographies donnent un rare aperçu de la vie quotidienne des enfants de la Cité Lesage-Boulourde proche de la place de la Bastille, qui est à l'époque l'un des quartiers les plus pauvres de Paris.

Les photographies de ces enfants, dont la rue est le terrain de jeu, rendent compte du quotidien de cette communauté, tombée dans l'oubli. En dialoguant avec eux Marilyn a pu laisser à la postérité une collection d'images retracant la vie de ce quartier finalement démolie et gentrifié. Cette exposition présente des photographies prises à Boulogne-Billancourt mais aussi d'autres travaux novateurs reliés au monde de la mode. Pour la première fois les modèles sont photographiés dans les rues plutôt que dans un studio, réinvestissant la technique du documentaire social dans la photographie de mode.

Les quelques planches contact, négatifs et impressions de cette période qui ont survécu, ont été numérisés et méticuleusement restaurés, ce qui a permis en les agrandissant de révéler de nouveaux détails. Le matériel d'archives a aussi une existence propre, révélant la méthode de travail de Marylin, son regard photographique et les choix éditoriaux qu'elle a pu faire en recadrant et en coupant, en marquant au crayon et en agrafant ensemble des planches contact et des images individuelles. Ces photographies sont marquées de la patine du temps et contiennent de multiples histoires que l'on devine dans le regard des enfants que Marilyn a photographié.

Photographic Memories - Lost Corners of Paris: The Children of Cité Lesage-Bullourde and Boulogne-Billancourt, 1949-1954

Mémoires photographiques des coins perdus: Les Enfants de la Cité Lesage-Bullourde et Boulogne-Billancourt, Paris 1949-54

Julia Winckler, University of Brighton, February 2017

Introduction

Des photographies presque perdues, une cité perdue, photographs nearly lost, a neighbourhood lost

Photographer Marilyn Stafford and I sit at the table of her sun-drenched conservatory in Shoreham, on the south east coast of England. We carefully look through a small archive of photographic records from the late 1940s and early 1950s that survive from visits Marilyn made to one of Paris' poorest neighbourhoods, the Cité Lesage-Bullourde, near the Place de la Bastille in the 11th arrondissement.¹

Only six original contact sheets, a handful of vintage prints, and a few medium format negative strips still exist. Most of the negatives were lost in one of many moves that took Marilyn from Paris to Rome in the late 1950s, then from Rome to Beirut, and eventually, via New York, to London in the mid 1960s. These visual records are precious traces of everyday life at Cité Lesage-Bullourde, and especially of the children who worked and played in its narrow streets and courtyards, and whose lives were rarely documented. Marilyn photographed the neighbourhood and its residents with curiosity and openness. The surviving photographs provide evidence and precious fragments of a neighbourhood that had been in turmoil for decades previously, and was going to absorb

even more residents by 1957, before eventually being completely demolished. Over the next decades, the areas around the Bastille became regenerated, its demographic changed, and in 1984 the new Opéra Bastille was built just a couple of blocks away from the neighbourhood Marilyn had visited shortly after moving to Paris. All that now remains are ‘lieux de mémoires’ (Maurice Halbwachs 1950, Pierre Nora, 1984), like the Bastille column itself, which stands in close proximity to the former neighbourhood at the Place de la Bastille.

Unlike Cité Lesage-Bullourde, now long gone, and its residents, who got dispersed, the contact sheets, photographs and negatives remain frozen and suspended in time, making it possible for contemporary viewers to explore the traces of the lives Marilyn recorded. The archival material has also had a life of its own, and reveals the working practices of Marilyn, her photographic eye, and the editorial choices she made by cropping, cutting out small contact images, making marks with crayons and stapling contact sheets and individual images together. They have the patina of time embedded within them and contain multiple stories: we encounter and hold the gaze of the children Marilyn photographed, we gain insights into the living conditions and physical structure of the Cité, we learn about Marilyn’s working practices and her thought processes, as she was scribbling and marking up the contact sheets and selecting individual images.

Comment décrire, comment saisir ce qui n'est pas montré: autour de la Bastille

As archival storytellers, we are faced with the task and the responsibility of trying to do justice to the children and their families, who allowed Marilyn to record them so that more than six decades later we can now encounter them ourselves within the gallery space of the Alliance Française in Toronto.

When George Perec and Robert Bober made a film about large-scale emigration to the US at the turn of the last century, they used archival documentary photographs of migrants arriving on Ellis Island to explore what their experiences might have been like. Perec and Bober posed methodological questions and reflected on how to describe past experience:

Comment décrire?

Comment raconter?

Comment regarder? [...] Comment lire ces traces?

Comment saisir ce qui n'est pas montré, ce qui n'a pas été photographié, archivé, restauré, mis en scène?

Comment retrouver ce qui était plat, banal, quotidien,

Ce qui était ordinaire, ce qui se passait tous les jours?

(George Perec & Robert Bober, *Récits d'Ellis Island* 1979)

It is as if their questions had also been written in relation to Marilyn's remaining photographs, whose significance is heightened by the fact that Cité Lesage-Boulourde disappeared. Before we enter the neighbourhood through Marilyn's photographs, I want to respond to Perec and Bober's call to try to bring into focus what the photographs are only able to partially show: a historical précis.

Already by the turn of the 20th century, the area around the Bastille was 'a vast network of streets and courtyards, of tired looking houses, of dilapidated and structurally unsafe dwellings, of alleyways and passages that were not easy to discern or navigate for outsiders, with artisan businesses and small shops, inhabited by waves of immigrants from Italy, Poland, and Askenasi and Sephardic Jews who had moved there at the turn of the 20th century. This had resulted in a cosmopolitan neighbourhood with many petits métiers' (Winckler. Lutz, 2013:290). Before the Second World War, many European refugees had moved to the area between rue de la Roquette, rue du Faubourg St Antoine and also to the Marais area around St. Paul.

'Les habitants de la Cité Lesage-Bullourde'

'Les habitants de la Cité Lesage-Bullourde', a sociological study based on data gathered in 1953 and 1957 by Jean-François Théry, was published in *Vie Urbaine* in 1959.² The study, which included two area maps, statistics and photographs of buildings focused exclusively on the cité, which was situated in the Quartier de la Roquette, close to the rue de Charonne and the Faubourg-St-Antoine, on the corner of Rue Keller and Avenue Ledru-Rollin. Thery described Passage Bullourde, which was 15 meters wide and 124 meters long as the neighbourhood's main artery (1959:191).³

See Fig 14. Plan de la Cité Lesage-Bullourde, Thery 1959 (*Vie Urbaine*)

Like the general area around Cité Lesage-Bullourde, before the war, the Cité itself had been home to foreign craftsmen, many of whom were refugees. Thery lists carpenters, tailors (who sought out the proximity of a clothes factory in the Passage Dallery) and merchants from Poland, Russia, Greece, Turkey and Macedonia, Spain and Italy. He notes that the majority of them had been of Jewish origin, and that 'some disadvantaged French families lived amongst them'. (1959:231). Before the war most residents of the Cité also worked within it (1959:228). During the German occupation, mass deportations of Jewish residents began in July 1942 from Paris, first to Drancy, then to Auschwitz (Winckler, L. 2013:297).⁴ Thery explains that between 1945 and 1953 local workmen took over workshops that had been left vacant due to the deportations and new residents moved into rooms that had become empty. This led to a transformation of the neighbourhood's population just after the war (1959:229). In 1945, there were 317 individual residential units in the Cité; 119 families lived in dwellings that contained only one room and a small kitchen area (1959:200). Sixty families shared two rooms, fourteen families had three rooms and only six families had accommodation consisting of four rooms. The arrival of new migrant groups after the war, primarily from Algeria, led to the further deterioration of living standards in the Cité. Based on a study by the

Préfecture de la Seine from 1953, referenced by Thery, 60% of families were sharing just one room (1959:207); 135 of the individual residences were considered ‘clean’; 52 ‘badly kept’ and 21 ‘containing parasites’. The same study revealed that of 199 units, only 11 had water, gas and electricity, 103 had gas and electricity (but no water), and 81 had only one element ‘of comfort’. Three units had none at all (1959:208/209). There were only 15 public toilets shared by 534 residents and one water source per 120 residents. 70% of residents were manual laborers working as carpenters, tailors and metalworkers.⁵

Re-entering Cité Lesage-Bullourde through the photographs of Marilyn Stafford

Back in Marilyn’s conservatory in Shoreham nearly seventy years since she entered Cité Lesage-Bullourde with her camera, we try to go back in time. Through Marilyn’s recollections of her own walk in the neighbourhood, and guided by her photographs, we reflect and try to understand what life might have been like for the children and adults who lived under such harsh conditions.

Marilyn recalls that she had arrived in Paris from New York less than five years after the end of WWII. For a while, she stayed in a small hotel room near St. Germain des Prés. As often as possible, she would step out, Rolleiflex camera in hand, and ventured off by bus to explore new parts of the city. On one of these excursions, she took a bus from the rive gauche to the rive droite all the way to the end of the line, near the Place de la Bastille. Keen to do street photography, she felt at ease, even though there were very few photographers, let alone women photographers, ‘wandering about the streets making photographs. It was not long after the end of the war and very few people had cameras.’

Marilyn felt that photography ‘came to her’. She wanted to do photojournalism, not studio work. ‘I had two or three jobs in studios and studied with a studio photographer, but my feeling was to go out and find photographs. I would get on a bus and get to the end of the line and go out – I found myself in some wonderful areas. One day, I

got off at the Bastille.' Marilyn was drawn to the narrow streets around Bastille, and, noticing a sign on a wall, *Cité Lesage-Bullourde*, she entered an alleyway of this overcrowded neighborhood.

See Fig 1. Photograph of entrance to the Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.

Des récits de vie

Marilyn caught the attention of the children who were everywhere and took several rolls of film, documenting their interaction with her. She recalls her first impressions:

'What I found was lots of children in the streets; there were no playgrounds for them to go to; there were little groups of kids and few mothers around, I suspect their parents were working. I was not of the quartier, so the children were curious about me, friendly, open and warm – they just gathered round. I was wandering around, kids perform, you know. They did all their little tricks – some pictures just happened to be there on the spot, and in some of them they acted up little dramas. In one photo a little girl's hands are cupped – perhaps because I had a rolleiflex camera and held it like this, she was playing a game and pretended she held a camera, too. The Cité had some very lovely architecture but had disintegrated over the years. Latterly it was a place that refugees and displaced people would go to – small métiers, petit métiers – the place was full of it. From my reading I learned that in the later period it was not very healthy – the walls were painted with lead paint; the people were living in very crowded conditions, toilets were on the landing; kids had nowhere to go, they had to go to the streets to play.'

Marilyn's experience of seeing children everywhere in the Cité had not changed by 1957, when Thery was working on his study. He describes that,

Aussi l'entrée dans la Cité est-elle particulièrement saissante. Lorsqu'on y pénètre vers sept heures du soir, on est frappé par la nuée d'enfants qui occupe la chaussée, tandis que le linge sèche aux fenêtres et que des ménagères circulent avec des seaux d'eau qu'elles remontent dans leur logement ... A toutes les fenêtres pendent des vêtements, des ustensils de cuisine, des caisses. On sent qu'à l'intérieur chaque centimètre compte.' (1959:191)

Marilyn and I look at some of the contact sheets, now digitized, on a computer screen and zoom in as closely as possible. We notice children's chalk drawn graffiti on the walls, posters carrying political announcements, children reading, playing, crying or acting up in front of Marilyn's camera. 'My feeling is that I like to place people in their environment. When you take a picture what are you doing?' Marilyn reflects.

See Fig 2. Children playing & Fig 3. Boy reading, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.

She describes how each contact sheet image contains multiple scenes, and that there are possibilities, through cropping, of other stories to be foregrounded. What if we just focused on the girl kneeling on the pavement with arms raised, or cropped out the boys around her? We could also focus more closely on the boy to her right; why is he carrying a suitcase, what does the wall papered text behind the children, which has already been partially torn off say? Only the words '1 Janvier' and 'populaire' are still readable. Another picture reveals a poster fragment with the words 'Pour la Paix en Algérie et pour Amitié'.⁶ The central focus of the photograph is a young girl, standing in the entrance to one of the alleyways of the Cité. She is wearing oversized adult stilettos and looks at Marilyn cautiously.

See Fig 13. Girl in High Heels, 1949-54, M.S.

Cropping into each of the contact sheet images, new situations are revealed: some of the children have been captured incidentally on the edges of frames, there is a dog; a girl in another photograph appears to have moved into the frame, arm raised; perhaps she is singing or talking to Marilyn? To the right of the frame we see a water bucket. The building looks run down.

See Fig 4. Children in the street, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.

In another photograph we see a group of boys laughing, and helping each other onto a wall. Just to their right, the helping hands of an adult on standby come into view.

See Fig 5. Boys climbing a wall, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.

Marilyn also encountered a metalworker and a large group of children outside a welding workshop, the name Puzenat clearly visible on a sign.

See Fig 6. Children and metalworker outside a welding workshop, Cité Lesage-Bulourde, 1949-54 M.S.

La mémoire collective

Between 1953 and 1957, the population of the Cité changed quite dramatically again; by 1957, 70% of local residents were from North Africa (primarily Tunisia, but also Algeria and Morocco). Théry concludes his report stating that the neighborhood will disappear, and that rehousing measures have already been taken. He does, however ask what will happen to the present population of the Cité. Stating that they will not cease to exist, he ends the report with a poignant question, 'Quelles vont être les répercussions de la disparition de la Cité sur la

population actuelle?' (1959: 234).

Perhaps Théry had read the work of French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who looked at the importance of collective memory and the 'cadres sociaux' in shaping a sense of personal and community identity. In *La mémoire collective*, Halbwachs reflects on the importance of relationships that have formed between homes, streets and communities.

Si entre les maisons, les rues, et les groupes de leurs habitants, il n'y avait qu'une relation toute accidentelle et de courte durée, les hommes pourraient detruire leurs maisons, leur quartier, leur ville, en reconstruire, sur le même emplacement, une autre suivant un plan différent: mais si les pierres se laissent transporter, il n'est pas aussi facile de modifier les rapports qui se sont établis entre les pierres et les hommes.

(Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris, P.U.F. 1950:137)

Despite the hardship Marilyn had encountered, she also recalls a joie de vivre and much resilience amongst residents at the Cité, and still remembers the energy and playfulness of many of the children she photographed. Having taken very little distance from her subjects, Marilyn's empathy and connection are palpable in these early photographs.

It took several more years until the Cité was demolished; today, only a street called passage Lesage acts as a reminder of the neighbourhood's former existence.

Boulogne-Billancourt: another bus ride

Another bus ride, in early 1950, this time heading south west, took Marilyn to Boulogne-Billancourt where she photographed the children of factory workers from the nearby Renault automobile factory. She found herself in a much more diverse social and economic demographic area, however, it was one of the most densely populated

districts. Into the 1950s, Billancourt still had a strong trade union presence; its population was mainly working class, whilst Boulogne was an affluent residential area. In Billancourt she captured everyday situations and took a mixture of posed and unposed photographs of school children and residents within the community, who were eager to be photographed. The area had a much better infrastructure, and Marilyn captured some of the small businesses, cafés, newsagents and children.

The photograph of a boy on his own, hunched over, is particularly touching. The child, in overcoat, béret and boots that may have been passed down to him (as they appear to be too big for him still) holds onto a book, as he tries to read a paper lying on the pavement in front of him.

See Fig 7. Boulogne-Billancourt: boy with béret reading paper, 1950, M.S.

'What are we all looking at: we are all seeing these slices of life'

In 1951, whilst Marilyn was performing as a singer at Chez Carrère, she met and became friends with Robert Capa. She recalls being much younger than Capa: 'I looked up to him google eyed, because he was simply the most gorgeous person. He was like a big brother. I would go to him and ask him questions. Bob was open, he was Hungarian.'

Only a few years later Marilyn met Henri Cartier-Bresson through their mutual friend, the Indian writer Mulk Raj Anand. She recalls how she accompanied Cartier-Bresson, who had founded the picture agency Magnum after the war, on some photography walks and recounts that he always kept his camera close to his chest.

'One of the things I learned from Cartier-Bresson was not to be obvious and to try to blend into the background. To wear something totally unobtrusive. He always wore a raincoat and a hat. I not just learned from him but I

took the habit of understating whenever I went out to take photographs. It became a pattern in my life. Even though I later worked for years in the fashion industry, I always wore something very non-descript to not stand out. I remember sitting with him one day at a café, he was sitting in such a way that the table was to his right and he had the camera at his waist and he just saw a picture and he clicked it; he didn't even put the camera to his eye. He knew how to operate that Leica so well. I hadn't any thought in my mind that I was good enough to take professional photojournalist photographs. Maybe to earn a living I thought I could take portraits, but Capa dissuaded me, saying painted portraits were more popular in France'.

Photographers like Henri Cartier-Bresson, Brassai and Robert Capa (both Hungarian), Willy Ronis, Robert Doisneau, Chim (David Seymour) and Gisèle Freund had been making socially concerned, political work in Paris since the early 1930s, documenting night work, strikes and demonstrations, widespread unemployment, poverty, poor housing conditions and clochards. Fellow Hungarian André Kertész had documented the everyday life of Parisian markets and parks, before emigrating to the US in 1936. Sabine Weill and René Burri began to record working class life in Parisian neighbourhoods just over a decade later. Doisneau's photograph, titled 'Butterfly child', Aubervilliers, 1945 shows a young girl carrying a heavy milk jug. The photograph bears a strong thematic resemblance to a photograph Marilyn took at Cité Lesage-Bullourde, of a young girl carrying a milk bottle. Marilyn reflects that her version may appear familiar to viewers, because we would have seen similar images before. She comments that, 'in a sense we have all seen the same event happening and it struck all of us. I also noticed another photograph I had taken of just windows overlooking the Seine; and in a sense we are not unique – we are all seeing these slices of life which are around us, which need to be kept as part of a collective memory. This was part of the everyday life in Paris at the time.'⁷

On another walk Marilyn found herself in the 20th arrondissement, where she took a photograph of two young girls near La Place Gambetta. The girls are on the pavement, leaning against a windowsill, but the curtains are drawn. Marilyn reflects why she took it. 'You have a photograph for instance, where initially you see a street, a door, and a window; two little girls are by the window, and up above is the name of the street, Rue Désirée. The message of the picture is obvious but it is a point made.' The house looks somewhat tired and worn; cracks have appeared in the plaster. It is evident that the street cannot live up to its name; but Marilyn saw an opportunity to reveal this contradiction.

Unlike some of her contemporaries, Marilyn never posed any of the street scenes she documented; instead, she tried to capture incidental moments spontaneously.

See Fig 8. Children on Rue Désirée, 20th arrondissement, Paris, 1950 M.S.

Another journey took Marilyn to the Jardin des Tuileries, where she took a photograph of a boy with balloons, which calls to mind the famous French children's film, *Le ballon rouge*, shot on location in the 20th arrondissement around Ménilmontant, made with non actors and released to huge acclaim in 1956.

See Fig 9. Boy with balloons, Jardin des Tuileries, Paris, 1949-54, M.S.

In the early 1950s, Marilyn also began to make photographs of ready to wear fashion, and took models out into the streets of Paris. Merging the idea of being an urban *flâneur* with street and fashion photography. A contact sheet has survived from one of Marilyn's first walks with a model through the steep streets around Montmartre, and their interactions with children at a nearby école primaire. When looking at the contact sheet, we notice that

the group of children initially just look at the model, and then start mingling with her.

See Fig 10. Contact sheet, children and model in Montmartre area, 1954-55, M.S.

Marilyn included the children in most of the photographs she made that day. In the photograph in the top left corner of the contact sheet, inscribed '1T', a boy in light shorts looks at the model casually, while the boy in black shorts meets Marilyn's gaze. The children in the background look somewhat bemused.

Conclusion: showing a human situation

When I ask Marilyn what she did with the photographs of Cité Lesage-Bullourde and Billancourt she explains that she 'just looked at them, scribbled on them, what I thought would be a good photograph. In retrospect I look at some of the ways I cropped them and I see that I would not have done it that way again.'

She would later show Cartier-Bresson another series of photographs made in 1958, during the Algerian war of independence, which documented the plight of Algerian refugee families who had sought refuge across the border in Tunisia, and included a photograph of a mother trying to comfort her young child. Cartier-Bresson helped her to make a selection of photographs, which were sent to the Observer newspaper in London, who used them on their front page.⁸

See Fig 11. Algerian refugees (mother and child) in Tunisia, 1958, M.S.

Throughout her long career, Marilyn has sought out possibilities to make personal work that would record a human situation. This was particularly the case with her photographs of Algerian refugees stranded in Tunisia, and Marilyn explains that she still feels a great affinity for migrants and displaced people. She has always hoped that by photographing complex human situations her work would activate people to become involved and take a stance. This has been a central tenet of her work and she will launch a photographic award for documentary women photographers making socially engaged work on international women's day this year.

Julia would like to thank Lutz and Anke Winckler, Marilyn Stafford, Adrienne Chambon, and Ian Hockaday for their invaluable feedback on this text.

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Endnotes

1. The Cité was founded in 1864 by entrepreneur Mr. Lesage, and its name was adjusted to Lesage-Bullourde in 1877, adding the name of Mr. Lesage's father in law. They worked in yarn spinning (Thery, 1959:192). For more background, see detailed article on the areas history by Adrienne Chambon, 2017. All of Marilyn's comments are based on recorded conversations we had during 2016.
2. It was Théry's dissertation. Vie Urbaine, 1959, No.3, pp.187-240. Copy obtained courtesy British Library.
3. The Passage Lesage continues to exist but has been transformed beyond recognition. It contains modern residential buildings. See A. Chambon's essay for further information on the area.
4. During the 'rafle du vélodrome d'hiver' 12.884 Jewish residents, of whom 4051 were children, were taken to Auschwitz (Winckler, L. 2013:297). At least 27 families with 58 children were deported from Cité Lesage-Bullourde itself, including 16 year old Louise Buk. See [HYPERLINK "https://amejd11e.wordpress.com/parcours/louise-buk/"](https://amejd11e.wordpress.com/parcours/louise-buk/) https://amejd11e.wordpress.com/parcours/louise-buk/ Association pour la mémoire des enfants juifs déportés.
5. By 1957, many new residents contracted tuberculosis within six months of their arrival in the Cité, and an ongoing problem with rat infestation appears to have gotten even worse. 'Tout récemment encore, une nouvelle deratisation fut pratiquée sans grand résultat. Les rats font tellement de bruit qu'ils empêchent les gens de dormir. On en rencontre dans les escaliers jusqu'à la journée. Le soir, c'est au point qu'un des habitants obligé de rentrer après 20 heures, mettait des bottes pour atteindre son logement sans risqué d'être mordu. Bien des femmes ont peur d'aller chercher de l'eau après la tombée de la nuit... leur présence est dangereuse pour les tous jeunes enfants qui sont très nombreux dans la Cité'. (Thery, 1959:219).
6. There had been uprisings in Algeria against French colonial rule since 1949. The poster might help date this particular image to around 1954, when the French-Algerian war formally began; or it could have been an earlier peace plea, posted by one of the peace leagues in Paris.
7. For a photographic survey and appraisal of documentary street photography of Paris between 1900-1968, see Stallabrasse, J. (2002).
8. This was the first (but not the last) time that a photograph by Marilyn would be used on the cover of a national newspaper.

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Fig 1. Photograph of entrance to the Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 2. Children playing, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 3. Boy reading, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 4. Children in the street, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 5. Boys climbing a wall, Cité Lesage-Boulourde, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 6. Children and metalworker outside a welding workshop, Cité Lesage-Boulourde, 1949-54 M.S.



Fig 7. Boulogne-Billancourt: boy with beret reading paper, 1950, M.S.



Fig 8. Children on Rue Désirée, 20th arrondissement, Paris, 1950 M.S.



Fig 9. Boy with balloons, Jardin des Tuileries, Paris, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 10. Contact sheet, children and model in Montmartre area, 1954-55, M.S.



Fig 11. Algerian refugees (mother and child) in Tunisia, 1958, M.S.



Fig 12. Boy in doorway, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.



Fig 13. Girl in high heels, Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.

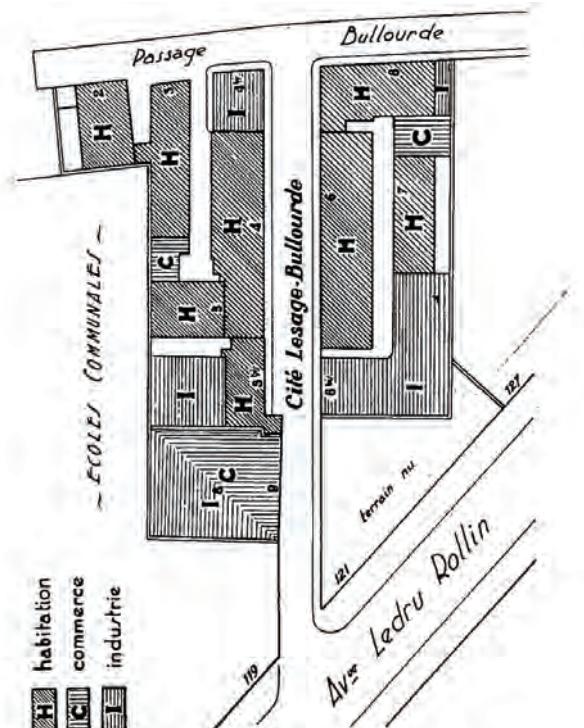


Fig. 1. — Plan de la Cité Lesage-Bullourde.
(*Cf.* p. 290, le plan partiel du XI^e arr. de Paris où se trouve la Cité Lesage-Bullourde)

Fig 14. Cité Lesage-Bullourde, Théry 1959 (*Vie Urbaine*)



Fig. 22. — Plan partiel du XI^e Arr. de Paris.

Fig 15. Partial Map, Bastille, Thery 1959 (*Vie Urbaine*)

Paris, promenade derrière la Bastille, à la recherche de la Cité Lesage

Adrienne Chambon, Février 2017

En décembre 2016, nous sommes allés nous promener dans le quartier où se trouvait La Cité Lesage, derrière la Bastille, faubourg St-Antoine, non loin de la rue de la Roquette. Ce quartier est rempli de ruelles étroites, de passages, de cours qui portent le nom de leur ancien propriétaire ou qui rappellent l'enseigne d'un ancien bar, d'un café, d'un bal musette ou d'une auberge comme *Le Passage du Cheval Blanc* ou *le Passage de la Main d'Or*.

Quartier de production et de résidence

À l'origine, ce faubourg était situé hors de l'enceinte de la ville de Paris, sur la route menant au château de Vincennes. Dès le XIII^e siècle, c'était un quartier d'artisans, qui grossit au XV^e lorsque les commerces du quartier bénéficièrent d'avantages fiscaux. De quelques centaines d'habitants en 1635, le faubourg Saint-Antoine passe à 30 000 ou 40 000 habitants dès le début du XVIII^e siècle, ce qui représente 8 à 10 % de la population parisienne de l'époque. L'installation de nouvelles populations originaires de régions rurales de France (Auvergne, Limousin, Alsace), ou originaires d'Allemagne et d'Italie et ayant immigré pour des raisons d'ordre économique, religieux et politique explique cette augmentation notable de la population du faubourg St-Antoine. Parmi les nouveaux arrivants on observe aussi un nombre important de protestants et de juifs. On assiste alors à une forte augmentation des commandes. L'artisanat local comprenait principalement différents métiers du bois: menuisiers, ébénistes, marqueteurs et tourneurs sur bois. On y trouvait le dépôt de bois pour la ville de Paris et un marché du charbon. On y trouvait encore des ateliers de faïence, des miroiteries, des ateliers de tissus, et des fonderies à l'origine d'un certain nombre d'incendies rapportés dans la presse. Ce quartier artisanal s'industrialise au XIX^e siècle, et comprend entre autres une fabrique de fours de faïence, une fabrique de produits textiles et

une manufacture de locomotives à vapeur. Par ailleurs, le creusement du canal Saint-Martin et la construction du port de l'Arsenal permirent d'acheminer des marchandises jusqu'à la Seine et au canal de l'Ourcq.

Certaines rues se trouvent répertoriées déjà sur le plan de Paris de 1672 mais c'est au XIXème siècle qu'un grand nombre de passages furent percés ou aménagés à partir de structures plus anciennes. Les maisons d'habitation et les ateliers se multiplient. Le tissu urbain devient plus dense. Les ateliers étaient installés à l'intérieur de passages longs et étroits qui communiquaient avec les rues qui étaient également étroites. On ne pouvait distinguer les uns des autres les rues, les ruelles et les passages.

See Fig 15. Partial Map, Bastille 1959 Thery (*Vie Urbaine*)

Souvenir d'enfance du faubourg Saint-Antoine

Je me souviens-d'avoir rendu visite, lorsque j'étais enfant, dans les années 1950, à des amis de ma mère qui tenaient un commerce de meubles dans un passage donnant dans la rue Faubourg Saint-Antoine. On passait sous une voûte, et on allait vers le fond de l'allée. Et ces lieux qui paraissaient étroits, s'élargissaient tout à coup dans l'espace des ateliers qui se trouvaient à l'arrière des bureaux. C'était un lieu d'une intense activité.

Passage Bullourde

La Cité Lesage se trouvait dans le passage Bullourde. Ce passage, qui porte le nom de son propriétaire, est long de 124m et large de 15m. Il donne par un de ses côtés dans la rue Keller, ouverte par la ville de Paris sur l'emplacement de l'ancien marché de charbon, et nommée d'après l'orfèvre et fondeur du XVIIème siècle, Jean-Balthazar Keller. Il communique de l'autre côté avec un autre passage de 360m de long sur 12m de large, le passage Charles Dallery. Certains passages sont comme des îlots et s'ouvrent sur des cours intérieures occupées

par des groupements d'ateliers. Les cours et les passages pouvaient également abriter des habitations pour les ouvriers. Dans ce quartier on expérimenta à la fin du XIXème siècle avec les premières cités ouvrières, dont les normes étaient nettement supérieures au conditions précédentes. La Cité Lesage était une de ces constructions ouvrières.

Quartier insoumis

Tout au long des XVIIIème et XIXème siècles, ce quartier artisan puis ouvrier se mobilisa lors de mouvements sociaux. Il s'y tint des réunions publiques, des organisations ouvrières, une ligue de femmes, les premiers syndicats se formèrent en ce lieu. Le quartier comprenait une des plus importantes coopératives de consommation (*La Moissonneuse*). Pendant le siège de la Commune, ses représentants et leaders ouvriers, entre autres l'immigré hongrois Léo Frankel, prirent part à l'organisation municipale de la Commune. Il s'agit donc d'un quartier militant d'où naquirent les revendications des droits du travail. Ses habitants se heurtant aux forces de police, il était aisément d'ériger des barricades au travers de ses ruelles et de ses passages avec des matériaux locaux et il était relativement facile d'échapper aux poursuites compte tenu de la parfaite connaissance du quartier qu'en avaient ses habitants. A la chute de la Commune, les sanctions policières et administratives frappèrent durement la population. Lors du rattachement des faubourgs à Paris en 1860, le quartier fut alors divisé administrativement en deux arrondissements (11ème et 12ème), et l'accès au canal fut recouvert par un grand axe routier dans le cadre du réaménagement Haussmann.

Pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le quartier fut victime de nombreuses rafles et de déportations de familles juives dont il reste quelques témoignages. Ainsi le témoignage des enfants d'un déporté recueilli il y a peu de temps, en 2012. Avant la guerre, il s'agissait d'une famille de 28 personnes qui habitait la Cité Lesage-Bullourde. Le père, Szmul Przyswa, originaire de Kalushyn en Pologne, tourneur sur bois de formation, travaillait à Paris en

tant que brocanteur. Lors d'une rafle en mai 1941, Szmul et de nombreux voisins furent convoqués au gymnase Japy. De là, ils furent transportés dans un camp de transit situé en France, à Beaune-la-Rolande, où Szmul resta plusieurs mois. Il fut déporté à Auschwitz et tué en octobre 1942. De cette famille, seuls la mère des témoins, et les trois enfants, Lisette, Henri et Maurice ont survécu. Il reste quelques photos de Szmul entouré d'un groupe de prisonniers prises au camp d'internement français, avec les baraquements et les barbelés en arrière-plan. Egalement, la photo d'un lit de poupée en bois confectionné par Szmul pour sa fille Lisette. Ces photos se trouvent sur le site "les Témoins".

De nouvelles populations issues de l'immigration, surtout de l'Afrique du Nord (Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie) s'établirent dans le quartier après la guerre.

Évolution du quartier

Ce quartier fut en grande partie démolî lors de la construction de l'Opéra Bastille, dont les travaux commencèrent en 1984. Il continua à être remodelé par les promoteurs immobiliers. Les endroits comme le passage Bullourde, qui jouxte une école, n'abritent plus aujourd'hui que des bâtiments modernes, des blocs sans âme.

A quelques pas de là, une petite partie de ce quartier garde cependant les restes d'un tissu urbain qui se rapproche du quartier historique, suite à une décision d'urbanisme prise dans les années 1990 pour préserver ce qu'il restait de ce lieu. En se promenant, on retrouve une partie de l'architecture ancienne. Mais la population a changé. Les lieux sont occupés maintenant par des studios d'enregistrement, des cabinets d'architectes, des associations, des galeries d'art; des publicistes, des bureaux à espace partagé. C'est un quartier de jeunes, attirant et cher.

En s'y promenant, on perd facilement ses repères dans l'enchevêtrement de ses ruelles. On découvre un passage un jour, et on ne le retrouve pas la fois suivante. Chaque cour, chaque passage a son identité, son atmosphère, que ce soit l'étroit *Passage de Lhomme*, tracé en 1852, avec ses 122m de long et 3,3m de large, ou bien le *Passage du Cheval Blanc* qui donne dans des cours abritant des ateliers, chacune portant le nom d'un mois de l'année, janvier, février, mars, avril et quelques autres encore.

Ces lieux engendrent un autre type de proximité. Dans certains passages les gens vont et viennent. Dans d'autres, un groupe discute, deux personnes se parlent, appuyées contre un mur. Il y a un rythme ralenti dans les passages, une atmosphère ouatée. L'endroit peut être également-bruyant, mais en tout cas bien en retrait de la circulation routière, quoique seulement à quelques pas d'axes routiers. Espace de piétons, de vélos et de motos. Une cour sert de parking et paraît déplacée. Les portes de magasins sont grandes ouvertes sur un passage qui a continué le commerce des meubles. Dans d'autres, on voit les employés et professionnels à travers les vitres des ateliers. Certaines cours sont devenues figées, luxueuses et débordantes de végétation. Un restaurant haut de gamme a investi l'espace d'une cour, on ne peut aller plus loin. Le dimanche, les grilles de certaines cours et de quelques passages sont alors fermées. Dans bien des cas, des digicodes empêchent toute flânerie, toute promenade rêveuse hors du temps dès que l'on n'a pas de raison professionnelle de pénétrer dans une cour.

Sources bibliographiques

Les données historiques de cet article proviennent de sites d'histoire populaire et de sites de tourisme. Dans les deux cas, les données se présentent sous forme d'itinéraires qui, tout en offrant un survol de l'histoire spatiale de la Cité et de ses alentours, ont l'avantage de faire écho au thème de la promenade, qui se trouve à l'origine des photographies prises par Marilyn Stafford. Nos sources : plusieurs articles d'Alain Rusenthalz, auteur des Traversées de Paris (2eme ed., 2010), sur son site web *Les Paris*, www.alain-rustenthalz.net/; *Paris-Ballades : le faubourg Saint-Antoine* <http://www.parisballades.com/Arrond/11/11esaintantoine.htm>.

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Des compléments d'information proviennent de sites thématiques: Visitez le *Paris révolutionnaire*, <https://www.parisrevolutionnaire.com/spip.php?article2678>

et administratifs: *Paris Mairie du XIeme*, histoire <http://www.mairie11.paris.fr/mairie11/>

L'article sur les coopératives se trouve dans une publication/blog *La Feuille Des Cigales: L'actualité de l'épargne militante en Ile de France*, <https://feuillecigalesidf.blogspot.ca>. Les incendies figurent dans un article du journal *l'Humanité* datant du 18 février 1913, " Deux sinistres dans le XIème." Egalement incluse une publication savante sur les fabriques de céramique rédigée par Régine de Plinval de Guillebon, " La manufacture de poèles de faïence des Vogt à Paris 1821-1919," publiée dans *Sèvres, Revue de la Société des Amis du Musée National de Céramique*, No 16, 2007, pp. 123-133.

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Marilyn Stafford, biography (b.1925 Cleveland, Ohio).

The work of much travelled and internationally published photographer Marilyn Stafford spans three continents and covers a variety of subjects, from street scenes and architecture to fashion and portraiture. Marilyn, nee Gerson, grew up during the 1930s in Cleveland, where she performed at the Cleveland Playhouse Theatre. She went on to study theatre at the University of Wisconsin. Hoping to get work on Broadway, she moved to New York where she was given her first Rolleiflex camera by a friend, which quickly led to photographing Albert Einstein for her first commission in 1948.

In December 1948 Marilyn moved to Paris, where she briefly sang with a small music ensemble at Chez Carrère near the Champs Elysees during 1951. At the club she met Edit Piaf and also became friends with Robert Capa, who encouraged her to work as a photographer. Between 1949 and the mid 1950s, Marilyn made photographs in different Parisian neighbourhoods. Her photographs of children from the Cité Lesage-Bullourde near the Place de la Bastille, and also from around the area of Boulogne-Billancourt are featured in the Alliance Française exhibition in Toronto. In the mid 1950s, Marilyn met Henri Cartier-Bresson, who became a mentor. In 1956 Marilyn married a British foreign correspondent; two years later, she documented the plight of Algerian refugees who had sought refuge in Tunisia. Their daughter Lina was born the same year.

The family moved from Paris to Rome, where Marilyn continued her portraiture work and then onto Beirut. In Lebanon Marilyn made a series of work on life in remote villages as well as Beirut during 1963. This work was eventually published as the book *Silent Stories* in 1998.

In the mid 1960s, and single again, Marilyn and her daughter moved to London where she worked for Women's Wear Daily, Chicago Tribune, BBC and other international publications. She was one of very few women photographers working in Fleet Street and made a name for herself as a fashion photographer of Haute Couture and ready to wear clothes. In 1972 Marilyn went to India where she met Indira Ghandi and was given permission to photograph her for a whole month.

Marilyn now lives by the sea in Shoreham, on the South East Coast of England.

For more information, please see:

www.marilynstaffordphotography.com



Exhibition content, image captions and film information

A0 image titles

- Boy with béret reading paper, Boulogne-Billancourt, 1950, M.S.
- Boy and mannequin at Bastille flea market, 1949-54 M.S.
- Boy sitting on steps to house, Cité Lesage Bullourde 1949-54 M.S.

A0 size contact sheet captions

- 1. Cité Lesage-Bullourde 1949-54 M.S.
- 2. Cité Lesage-Bullourde 1949-54 M.S.
- 3. Cité Lesage-Bullourde 1949-54 M.S.
- 4. Cité Lesage-Bullourde 1949-54 M.S.
- 5. Montmatre, model and children 1954-55 M.S.

A3 images

- Three children, girl, boy and scooter, laundry, water jugs, Cité Lesage Bullourde (from negative), 1949-54, M.S.
- Boy standing in doorway (from negative) Cité Lesage-Bullourde, 1949-54, M.S.
- Children playing (boy holding suitcase), Cité Lesage-Bullourde (from contact sheet), 1949-54, M.S.
- Boy reading book (seated), Cité Lesage-Bullourde (from contact sheet), 1949-54, M.S.
- Boy standing (sign Puzenat), Cité Lesage-Bullourde (from contact sheet), 1949-54, M.S.
- Girl in high heels Cité Lesage-Bullourde (from contact sheet), 1949-54, M.S.
- Two girls and teddy, Rue Désirée, near Place Gambetta, (from contact sheet), 1950 M.S.
- Girl pushing pram with young boy Boulogne-Billancourt (from vintage print), 1950, M.S.

Documentary Film

A film by Ian Hockaday (director/editor) on Marilyn Stafford's work, (2017), with a narrative compiled by Ian Hockaday and Julia Winckler in conversation with Marilyn Stafford during 2016 and 2017.

Additional exhibition area maps

Fig 1: Plan de la Cité Lesage-Boulourde, Thery 1959 (Vie Urbaine)

Fig. 2 Plan du quartier, Thery 1959 (Vie Urbaine)

Photographic Memories - Lost Corners of Paris is timed to take place alongside *From Streets to Playgrounds* at the City of Toronto Archives gallery, which focuses on early 20th century representations of children in Toronto's Ward neighbourhood. Julia and Ian would like to thank the cultural director of the AF, Patricia Guérin, Camille Viault and Thierry Lasserre, executive director, for their dedication to the exhibit.

Both exhibitions have received financial support through an interdisciplinary SSHRC insight grant, *From street to playground: photographic representations of children* (2013-2017). The research team comprises six colleagues from three universities: Prof. Adrienne Chambon (PI) Prof. Ernie Lightman and Bethany Good, University of Toronto, Prof. Vid Ingelevics and Mary Anderson, Ryerson University, and Julia Winckler, University of Brighton.

Curated by: Julia Winckler with film by Ian Hockaday (2017).

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Boy and Mannequin, Bastille fleamarket 1949-54, M.S.



