12-16-2015

# Maps, Tourism, and Historical Pedagogy: A Study of Power, Identity, and the Politics of Representation in Two Southern Cities

Jessica Marie Moss

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/anthro_hontheses

MAPS, TOURISM, AND HISTORICAL PEDAGOGY: A STUDY OF POWER, IDENTITY, AND THE

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN TWO SOUTHERN CITIES

By

JESSICA MARIE MOSS

Under the Advisement of Emanuela Guano, PhD

ABSTRACT

In what ways can historical power relationships be interpreted through a chronological analysis of historical maps, and how are these coded versions of history produced and reproduced through the modern tourist experience?  I argue that historical maps can be interpreted to reveal the political influence and agendas inscribed upon the built environment.  I review how the implications of these value systems can be seen in the cultural constructs and institutions that have been used over time to generate revenue through a two stage process,: first, through an analysis of historic and modern maps in two Southern cities, New Orleans and Charleston, South Carolina, and second, through personal ethnographic fieldwork.  I analyze my findings to compare these two cities in their use of spatial representation to facilitate and contain a historic tourist industry that spawns local industries of historical tourism to both justify and codify these views as history.

INDEX WORDS: Historical tourism, Map analysis, Spatial experience, Charleston, New Orleans

MAPS, TOURISM, AND HISTORICAL PEDAGOGY: A STUDY OF POWER, IDENTITY, AND THE

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN TWO SOUTHERN CITIES

By

JESSICA MARIE MOSS

An Honors Thesis Submitted for Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Research Honors Degree
of

Bachelor of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2015

MAPS, TOURISM, AND HISTORICAL PEDAGOGY: A STUDY OF POWER, IDENTITY, AND THE

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN TWO SOUTHERN CITIES

by

JESSICA MARIE MOSS

Thesis Advisor:          Emanuela Guano

Thesis Copy Approved:

Honors College

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

December 7, 2015

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

*Figure 1 Photograph Overlooking New Orleans' Jackson Square. Intended to represent the idealized nostalgia fueling historic tourism. Photo by author.*

**Introduction**

Historical tourism provides material for interesting inquiries into the behaviors of tourists and in the pedagogy of historical narrative. The paths through which local history is taught through tourism as a pedagogy of historical narrative represent the political and social interests at work. An examination of these conduits of historical inclusion and dissemination of selected portions and point of view in history reveal the key role of the tourist in the consumption of this rendered and packaged historical narrative. The quest for authenticity shared by many tourists drawn to historical tourism provides the means for justifying these selected views as representative of the historic experience, often glossing over the reality that they are idealized views of a very narrow slice of history: what Stephanie E. Yuhl termed "A Golden Haze of Memory" (2005). It is the idealized urban myth that a tourist can experience a place unchanged through history and only accented by the modern conveniences (see Figure 1). The process of a tourist learning this constructed historical narrative from the tour-guides and tourist board is a part of a larger process. This process begins by the tourist actualizing that narrative through physical evidence, then carrying home this evidence in their perception of that visited spot in both memory and photographs to be shared with others. The expectation of the tourist (also see Kasfir 2000) is reproduced through these social encounters, be it photos posted through social media or through direct conversation, and expanded to a wider audience who may wish to capture this same experience or may just carry that limited perception as a reality in their minds regarding that place.

This is one of the many reasons why studying tourism is of interest, this reifying alteration of history through the social experience of tourism. Historical tourism is also an economic cornerstone for many cities. This dependence on appeal and need to stimulate business for specific areas of retail and service industries often clashes with an urban city's need to be efficient and productive in business and industry. This study seeks to understand the power of maps within both the tourist experience and in mitigating tourist behavior within functioning urban environments. An essential starting point for this

study is to understand maps as encoded representations of power and how they can be used to interpret the political relationships and values of the mapmakers.

As people produce urban environments, the latter become entrenched within the cultural network of symbols and images meaningful to the people who create and use them (Geertz 1973). Often, places of significance within the urban built environment, such as government buildings, monuments, or the homes of elite residents, tend to encode within their structure messages of power or prestige based on the values of the culture that created and used them. These significant places can therefore be interpreted as extensions of cultural ideals. Henri Lefebvre's (1991) 'conceptual triad' of public space highlights political power relationships as incorporated within the 'representational space' (the lived space, often encoded with personal symbolism and ideology), the 'representation of space' (such as the cognitive production of space found in maps, often representing the ideological history of the space), and 'spatial practice' (the actual use of the space and its production and reproduction within society; Lefebvre 1991:33-40). With Lefebvre's (1991) 'conceptual triad' as the base for analyzing the historic social production of space found on maps, the following sections investigate the political relationships in the built environment through representational architecture, inclusions, exclusions, voids, and solids as the ideological 'representation of space' in what Benjamin Orlove (1991) would call 'analysis of form'. This 'analysis of form' is a way of critically examining the map as a physical object through its inclusions and exclusions that reveal individual cognitive representations of the area. By combining this with an analysis of practice, the maps' consumption and audience, this 'representation of space' is understood as a cognitive map embodying the political designs of the mapmakers (Crampton and Krygier 2006; Orlove 1991). With this examination as a foundation, this paper then studies modern tourist maps in conjunction with their practice, what Michel de Certeau (1984) would call "walking the streets" which views the act of walking through a city as the means through which the space of the city is produced and reproduced. Associating this concept with John Urry's (1992) expansion of the types and values understood with analysis and categorization of the tourist gaze, these tourist experiences expose many associations with

the built environment. Utilizing these theoretical underpinnings, this study breaks into two parts: the examination and interpretation of historic maps and an account of personal ethnographic tourist experiences. For the former, the study examines chronological maps throughout the political history of New Orleans and Charleston to determine how the production and 'representation of space' has acted as a framework for identity and the survival of selected cultural values, and how these have been translated and reproduced into modern 'representational space' for tourist experience. For the latter, I travel to both Charleston and New Orleans with the official tourist map to see how the maps guide my experience within the city. Together, the findings from these analyses will be compared to further the understanding of the role of maps in the propagation of historic narrative and other aspects within the tourist experience.

**Literature Review**

*Maps and Power*

Landscapes, both urban and rural, are rich in history and cultural meaning. The ways that they are bounded, used, and designed can be assessed to reveal the values and intentions of empowered actors relating to the space. Power dynamics of control and socialization can be interpreted through the forms and functions of landscapes. Maps offer a window into this mentality through the analysis of their creation and use. Before the time of photographs, maps provided the means of documenting and interpreting the landscape. To solidify a discrete set of symbolic references in an official institutional map is a way of justifying that set of views and enshrining them as printed truth to be carried forth in time. This political process of mapmaking has the potential to wield great power. To further explore the power and political essence of both the creation and form of maps, the following section examines the theories of Lefebvre (1991), Crampton and Krygier (2006), and Orlove (1991) to demonstrate how the role of the mapmaker can be understood and interpreted in history.

Maps occupy an interesting place within the Lefebvre's triad, as they can be both highly personal and subjective cognitive expressions of the built environment as experienced, such as defined by

'representational space'. More conventionally, maps may also signify an ideal in the realm of the technocrat, a printed 'representation of space' in their ability to emphasize and deemphasize space through verbal and visual symbols. Combining these two conceptions of maps gives power to those 'representational spaces' exhibited within the printed work of the map, or the 'representation of space'. The mapmaker becomes the architect for what is important, what is represented, and what is visible to those who view the map. The ideologies and values of the mapmaker are the ones codified, intentionally and unintentionally, and within this context maps become deeply political. Geographers Jeremy W. Crampton and John Krygier (2006) expand upon this notion further in their analysis of critical cartography in the modern era. Through looking at maps a "a specific set of power-knowledge claims" once controlled by "powerful elites that have exercised dominance over [mapmaking] for several hundred years", maps offer a view of the representation of space by the elites of the area shown through history (Crampton and Krygier 2006:12). This concept is based on Michel Foucault's notion of power as an element of agency through the politics of knowledge that has been "historically and geographically defined" (Foucault 1991: 117), denoting that politics, geography, and history are intertwined (Crampton and Krygier 2006). The "cartographic propaganda" seen during the last century's world wars provide an example of this intrinsic connection and reveal a further illustration of specific and guided versions of history becoming lasting 'representations of space' (Crampton and Krygier 2006: 20). Awareness of these types of techniques in modern examples of maps allows criticism of the information contained within historic maps, including an awareness of the social and political factors which establish maps as active social constructors that represent the political context in which they were created (Crapton and Krygier 2006). In viewing maps as active forces, not static things, researchers are able to ask questions beyond addressing the form of the maps and extending into the realm of the influences of and upon maps. This is one of the foundations of critical cartography, and through this it becomes possible for researchers to interpret the political motivations of the mapmakers by placing a map within its historical context.

Extending beyond the political sphere observed through critical cartography, Orlove (1991) considers both the individual mapmakers' motivations and cognitive representations of space in addition with the actual use of the map. In his study of the politics of representation through map analysis, Orlove (1991) chose to document individual conceptions of shared landscapes through an analysis of the maps used in a political discourse. Two institutions (the inhabiting peasants and the established government) created these maps as an attempt to communicate ownership and usage rights of the region. The maps revealed the individual mapmakers' mental construction of their land, their 'representation of space'. Comparing the maps, both made for the same purpose, revealed much about the representational tactics and understandings demonstrated by these two separate groups. Orlove compared these maps in several ways: production, or how "maps portray notions of the relations that social groups, categories, and institutions have with one another and with specific territories" and consumption, the "ways in which social actors use maps in social interactions, especially conflicts" (Orlove 1991:4). This follows a similar understanding to Crampton's distinction between the study of the process of mapmaking and analysis of the maps themselves (2009). Orlove also incorporates the understanding that the 'implied reader' and the 'actual reader' of a printed work are not always the same leading to assumptions about print representation that become visible for analysis. In this case, the visual language of the institutional maps reveal them to only be fully understood by other government leaders, demonstrating that the implied reader' of the maps was the local peasantry, through the 'actual reader' in both cases was the government.

Specific map features that are highlighted through their presence or absence can also be interpreted through the lens of political representation. Though James Holston's (1989) analysis of solids and voids is primarily used to categorize urban environments as pre-industrial, modern, or post-modern, the social structures and spatial use of the features themselves as represented by these design elements may be interpreted in conjunction with other techniques of map analysis. The exploration of the relationships between solids (often in the form of buildings) and voids (parks, streets, or spaces between buildings) within the landscape reveal patterns of 'spatial practice' and conceptualizations of public and

private space (Holston 1989: 110-144). For example, through the use of 'representational architecture',

elites express their social and economic restrictedness, often molding the city layout to their needs (Dal

Lago. 2001). This is a phenomenon reoccurs throughout time in older cities plagued with frequent

destructive disasters that create opportunities for massive rebuilding projects is often dominated by a

small percentage of the population (Dal Lago 2001, Yuhl 2005). Types of representational architecture

are frequently delineated as solids separated from other blocks of solid by large voids, such as an official

government building being surrounded by a large park or fenced off area away from the other residences

(Holston 1989: 119).

*The Tourist Gaze, Performance, and Experience:*

Foucault's analysis of the power inherent within the act of gazing and the gaze itself has been

reanalyzed in the context of the tourism by Urry (1992, 2013). Looking beyond the form of the panoptic

structure and the role that the built environment plays on portraying the ever-present authoritative gaze,

the concept of the power fundamentally inscribed within the act of gazing can lead to the economically

profitable tourist industry as this gaze is commodified. Urry (1992) looks at what makes an environment

desirable for a tourist and at which specific elements construct the tourist experience. It is clear that

tourists frequent both Disneyworld and secluded resorts, and it is obvious that they are not looking for the

same experience in each place. Urry seeks to understand why these tourist destinations are successful,

what elements they may have in common, and what their distinctions reveal about the variety of tourist

goals and expectations. To this end, Urry distinguishes five forms of tourist gaze: romantic, collective,

spectatorial, environmental, and anthropological (Urry 1992: 185). These idealized types exhibit

groupings that express the relationship with other people than the tourist, the types and durations of those

interactions, and the overall goals of the tourist within a specific situation and space. Originally, Urry

split the gaze into only the first two categories. The romantic form represented the more private

experience where there was continuous immersion into more limited space with the goals of seeing

amazing, unique, and awe-inspiring sights. The communal form required other people, group activity,

and centered on a series of collective connections between a set of people where importance fell on gazing at the familiar bringing the focus back to the group experience.  Upon continued research, Urry expanded this to include the spectatorial form, another group-oriented form that focused on quick scanning and the collection of specific signs (such as photographs or souvenirs).  Additionally, he included the environmental form, which relied on more collective organization than activity and was more interested in education and inspecting, and finally he added the anthropological view, which is solitary with goals of sustained immersion and active interaction and interpretation.

This analysis of the performance of tourism through understanding the active gaze of the tourist highlights the role of practice in the production of space.  In his much referenced inquiry into practice, language, and daily habits, De Certeau studied the way in which residents cognitively perceive their environment through the language that is used in giving directions to non-residents or tourists; he called these "stories about the streets" (De Certeau 1984: LOC 1774).   These stories are enacted by walking the streets and constantly reproduced through pedestrians as "they weave places together" (De Certeau 1984: LOC 1735).   De Certeau placed the oral stories, the residents descriptions of places, into two categories, the 'map' and the 'tour', finding that when people gave directions to the uninitiated regarding spatial orientation, they would either juxtapose known locations, such as "the bathroom is next to the master bedroom", or they would provide paths of movement, such as "go down the hall and turn right then go into the second door on the left".  The former is an example of an oral 'map', the latter represents an oral 'tour'.  Map types reveal a value on the knowledge of the spatial order of places, and in De Certeau's study of New York residents made up only 3% of the total interactions (De Certeau 1984: LOC 1782). The bulk of responders utilized the tour type which values spatializing actions, a series of operations used to manipulate the space (De Certeau 1984: LOC 1782).  De Certeau sees this "chain of spatializing operations" as being "marked by references to what it produces (a representation of places) or to what it implies (a local order)", and this notion ties in well with Lefebvre's (1991) understanding of the production of space discussed above (De Certeau 1984: LOC 1799).  This verbal tour, or representation of

space, reveals an idealized and highly personal conception of the space, the speaker's representational space, in addition to providing keys of appropriate spatial usage to achieve a goal, or in this case reaching a destination. Tourist maps can be seen to incorporate both of these types of stories in a printed from, providing the literal map of spatial locations in relationship to one another and highlighting the routes and important landmarks as a printed form of a tour. The mere act of including these sights on a tourist map into the category of historically important sites is a type of power wielded by the mapmaker. This power is demonstrated through the structuring of what is not only included within the tourist's potential itinerary but also determining what becomes a part of the stories that are produced. These stories include both the oral and visual accounts about the streets constructed by the tourists and those stories reproduced by the pedestrians' act of walking.

Emanuela Guano (2003) expands on this idea, carrying it through what Urry would call the anthropological tourist gaze as she conducts fieldwork to analyze the spatializing of culture and local heritage of residents in the Buenos Aires neighborhood of La Boca, known for supporting a large number of middle-class Southern European immigrants who value the neighborhood's "Italianess" and who defend it from a growing population of South American underclass moving into the area. Guano's paper is stylized as a tour itself, documenting her experience and exposure as an interest tourist and guided by the recommendations of locals. Where Guano's study focused on demarcating identity, belonging, and the influence and visual relationship of the political, certain signifiers within the stratified La Boca neighborhood are seen to represent social inclusion. For example, the tourist destination of Caminito is often synonymous with La Boca to outsiders though it makes up only a small section of the Argentine neighborhood of La Boca. In this area, tourists expect to see the 'authentic' La Boca with colorful homes and shop, vibrant murals, and filled with music. It is here that "the spectacle of 'heritage'" is performed for the tourists, though it is also where "the local power of self-representation has shifted to the hands of nonresident tourist operators and businesspeople whose connections to the local middle-class community are at best thin" (Guano 2003: 369). Guano argues that the continued reproduction of this outsiders'

image of La Boca is a part of De Certeau's 'map' form of spatializing in conjunction with the spatial narratives provided to her by her middle class informants. This map form of spatializing points to distinct landmarks viewed as representational, and in this case guides the tourist to objects representing La Boca's Italian heritage. It is also clear in Guano's study how the continuation of this commodified form of the production of heritage within the Caminito has been severed economically and culturally from the people that it is supposed to represent to cater to the expectations of the tourist, what Urry (1992) would call the spectatorial tourist gaze. Guano also noted that the form of stories or directions offered by the middle-class residents were of the tour type when encounters with the South American underclasses may be expected. These series of operations regarding whom to avoid and other potential threats dominated the discourse in lower-class areas or areas considered dangerous. This form of direction overlays desires to express inclusion and exclusion within the space, defining and legitimizing the representation of space as viewed by the informer, and the desire to see the lower income 'threats' to the Italian heritage of the area viewed by others as not belonging. This example of the expansion of De Certeau's concepts beyond the linguistic understandings that they provide becomes an interesting framework to further analyze the forms of inclusion, exclusion, and relationships seen in formats beyond the spoken word. Using the concepts on a literal map bolsters the strength of the interpretations gained through the other theories detailed above.

**Methodology**

*Research Location:*

Charleston and New Orleans exemplify Southern cities with strong tourist draws through commercialism and historic sites. While Charleston remained an English colony from its founding in 1670 through the Revolutionary War, New Orleans experienced a much more complicated political history. From its initial formation as a French colony in 1718, it was ceded to Spain in 1763, then branded as American after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. I prioritized maps in my selection that represent this diversity of political influence at different points in time. The Civil War through the Industrial Revolution produced a shift in the production values of the American economy away from the

labor-intensive agrarian system embodied within the Southern plantations. This move towards manufacturing and mechanization disempowered the long-standing Southern elites entrenched in the 'plantation system' in both cities. Elite social status transferred to Northern bankers and industrialists, often from working or middle-class backgrounds, many seeking to legitimize their aristocratic claim through an association with past greatness (Yuhl 2005). This transition led to great political changes as expressed within the built environment. An explosion of regionalism and nostalgia engulfed America countering the rise of a post-war modernism and sweeping social change towards a developing middle class (Kammen 1990). Several elite social groups, including preservationist societies, banded together politically with ideas to integrate their culturally and historically important property into the economic landscape by turning to historical tourism (Stanonis 2006; Yuhl 2005). Both cities have historic districts that were demarcated through political and preservation actions, and both have distasteful histories surrounding slavery and their participation in the Civil War. Due to these similarities and differences, the comparison between these cities opens up avenues to explore the mechanisms utilized by the politically dominant over time. These changing interests and values in the city over time are exposed through the techniques and theoretical framework provided in the earlier section of this paper.

*Research Design and Methods:*

The process for analyzing maps used within this paper follows a similar outline of analysis of form and production to that of critical cartography and Orlove's 'ethnography of viewing' (Crampton and Krygier 2006; Orlove 1991). Within the context of form, the areas of inclusion and exclusion are examined in conjunction with solids and voids within the urban space. A discussion follows that places these spaces within political contexts concerning their representation of power relationships within time. The associations between these features and the nature of their representation are also considered in connection with the analysis of production, illuminating the implicit and explicit audiences for the map. The analysis of practice involves the "ethnography of viewing", a reflexive understanding of how maps are created, read, and categorized (Orlove 1991:5). By combining these techniques with the analysis of

landscape features explained earlier in this paper, three historic maps and one modern tourist map of both Charleston and New Orleans are selected based on the time that they were produced and their area of focus. As in the case with most of history, primarily institutional or official maps have survived in the archives of time, and as these will provide the most insight into the dominant political framework, these are the categories from which the maps were selected. The Library of Congress, research universities across America, and city archives have provided the pool from which maps in this project were selected. When possible, I try to correlate the maps in time between the two cities to gain a more comparative analysis of the political practices enacted on a broader scale within this region.

Viewing these maps as a representational story in the De Certeau sense, I chose to walk the streets of the modern cities to see how the places highlighted on the tourist maps weave together a path. By starting with the knowledge that these maps were produced for tourist consumption, I wanted to experience the act of walking through city as represented on the map to further understand the act of reproducing the spatial component of the tourist's view of the city. To this end, I set myself up with a tourist guide map and spent a weekend in both cities. My goal was to walk the streets with the map as my guide, aiming for a historical tourist experience while also paying attention to the other tourists that I encountered. In addition to using a map and keeping notes, I wanted to record my experience as I walked through the city in a more visual format so that I could reference my experience and locations by using a GoPro video camera on a chest mount to capture my surroundings. I set very loose parameters for my tourist experience, letting the maps and the locations be my guide. In Charleston, I spent about 5 hours in the afternoon walking the length of the southern half of the peninsula focusing on the historic areas demarcated on my map. As New Orleans becomes a different city at night, I made two expeditions from my hotel room into the French Quarter for about 3 hours each, one during the afternoon and one later at night. I also brought along the most essential modern tourist object, a camera.

**Map Analysis**

*Charleston*

Charleston's importance as a cultural center peaked during the eighteenth century. Its success as a commercial port, market, and in plantation farming derived heavily from the Slave Trade and created many landed wealthy elite (Del Lago 2001). Once representing a major cultural center for the colonies and then a new nation, misfortunes, including extensive war damage, a cotton-killing boll weevil infestation, major hurricanes, and earthquakes, left the city's infrastructure broken by 1919 (Yuhl 2005). From the decaying manor homes to increasingly dangerous urban centers, 1920s Charleston exemplified the Southern downward plight in the years after the Civil War. Though always exhibiting a strongly conservative view towards progress and technology, such as denying trains access to the city, many of the elite Charleston families maintained their plantation and city homes by moving extended family under one distinctly antebellum roof (Yuhl 2005). These families held their elite status in their bloodlines, not in their bank accounts, tracing heritage to colonial founders and through Revolutionary War heroes. The generation that reached adulthood during this depressed period of Charleston history grew up on accounts from their elders of an idealized and romanticized 'golden age' before the war, and many of these elites sought to recapture this lost imagined glory through preservation tactics and the development of a historic district containing their own residences (Yuhl 2005) and embracing the economic draws of historical tourism.

Looking at the first map in the Charleston series, the emphasis of the walls surrounding the city in the map from 1704 (Figure 2) reveals a clear delineation between city space and agricultural space while also demonstrating the security within the walled area. The orientation of the map, with west being at the top, also draws attention to the eastern walled section surrounded by inlets. The references include mainly structural elements, such as the bastions along the walls, the bridges, five churches of different faiths, the court of guard, and an historically intriguing listing of the "first rice patch" (Figure 2). Plantations and territory outside of the walls are named along with the Minister's House, and within the

city walls numbers list the locations of fifteen family residences. The focus of this map seems to be the demarcation of residential space from the urban infrastructural areas of religion and security. Individual buildings appear to line the streets and many voids exist on the interior of the structural blocks. Not all of the buildings are labeled, and there is also a distinctive absence of commercial listings and street names around the town. As the map's focus is on residential space, this map was probably not intended for outsiders of the community to use, with a more probable audience being the inhabitants or the government for tax purposes. As many of the names of the domiciles listed are also names of important streets in the subsequent development of the city, it can be inferred that the families recorded were a part of the city elite. From this, it can be assumed that any lower income residents are probably unaccounted for on the map. As the scale shows, this is a very small urban area, and there seems to be much more space in use outside of the walls than inside, making it a primarily agrarian-supported community opposed to the later dominance of the harbor.
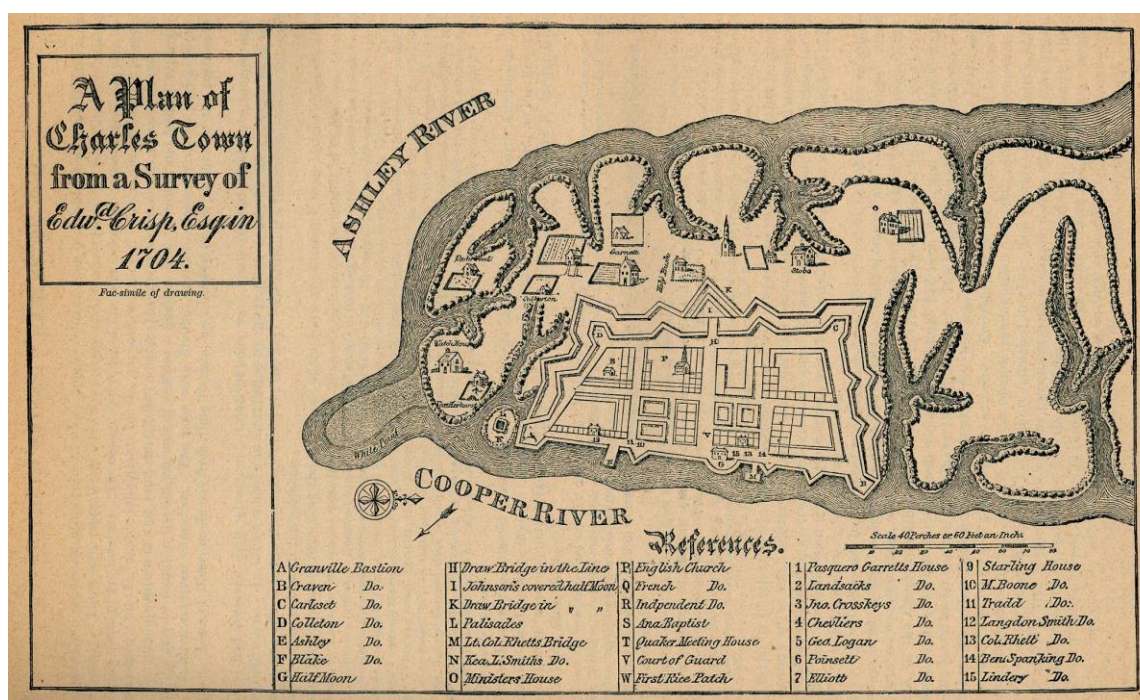


*Figure 2 English map of Charleston as Charles Town from 1704 (from Library of Congress Online Collection)*

Few maps of Charleston seem to have survived from the late eighteenth century that do not include visual representation of its involvement in the Revolutionary War. The second map in this series from 1780 (Figure 3) both recounts the structural additions to protect the town as fortifications shown on the map and in a verbal account. The obvious walls around the city are no longer present from the earlier map, though many barriers have been erected in the outskirts of the town. Closer inspection of these elements review an early blueprint for the roads defining the northern expansion of the city exemplified by a sudden change in grid orientation north of Broad Street (Figure 4). More streets have been developed in the main area of the city alluding to urban growth, a probable cause for the removal of the constricting walls. The streets on the interior of the developed area, those also present on the original map, bare names, and an extensive system of piers have developed along the eastern coast of the peninsula. A fortification along the south of the peninsular city, later known as The Battery, has also been erected by this time. Residential locations are no longer the focus within this map. Even the individual buildings are not drawn, though at the intersection of Broad Street and Meeting Street (unnamed on this map), small images appear of buildings on that corner: a church, a residence, a market, and the arsenal. This collection of important landmarks seems to be a function of orientation for the audience of the map in space, and as this is one of the oldest intersections of the city, orientation in time as well. Streets and defenses, the ways of travel, are the focus of this map and represent the intentions of those mapmakers. It is also revealed in this map the areas of marshland that were considered impassable and unusable as they were actually included as inlets from the ocean though they are later areas that would be built over to meet the demands of an expanding population. The addition of a written account also reveals that this map was created as a tactic of preservation for a single moment in military history. The audience was intended to be an interested future generation, a record for posterity.
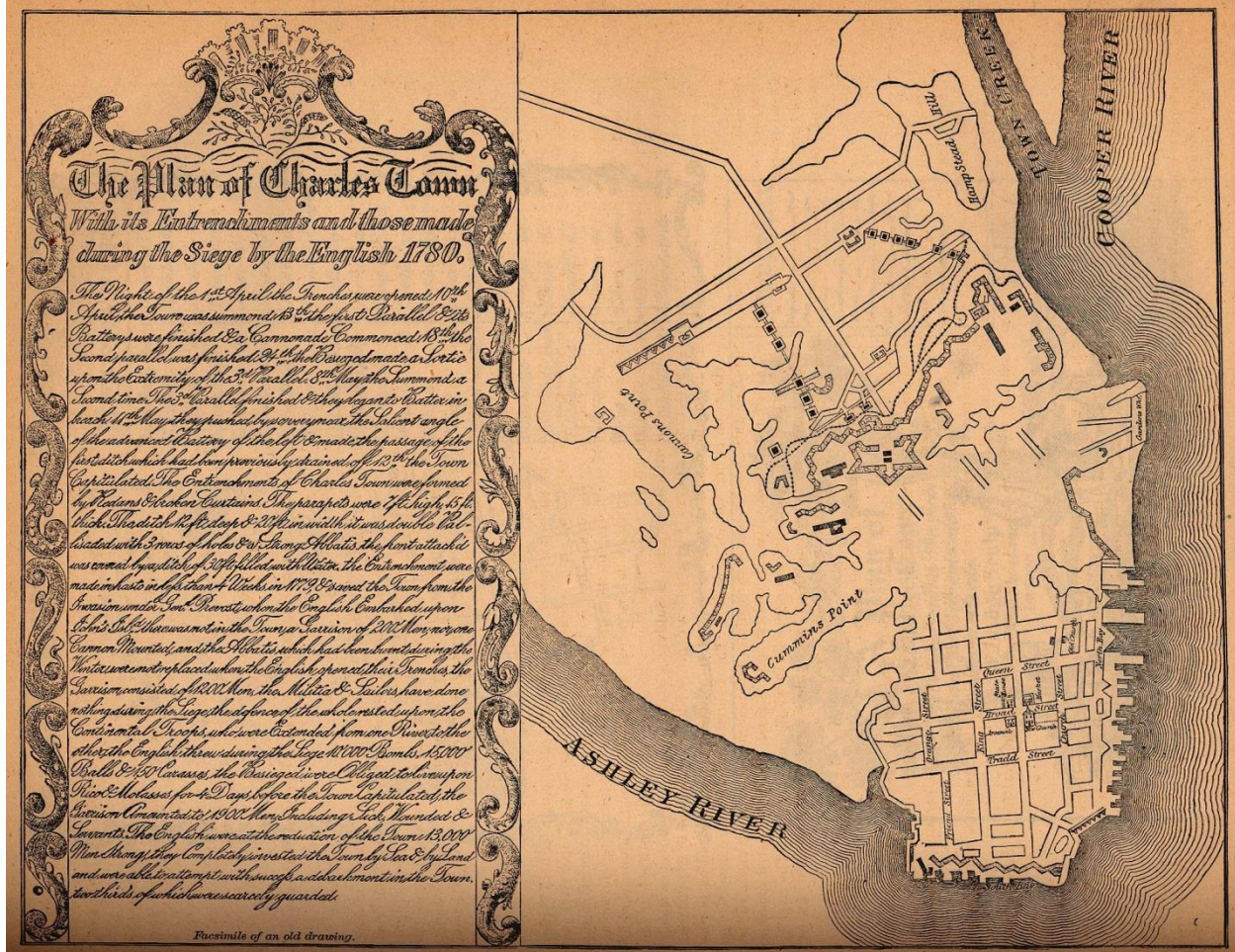
*Figure 3 Map of Charleston from 1780 as Charles Town featuring Revolutionary War modifications (from Library of Congress Online Collection)*

The approximate century between the second and third maps in this collection experienced much urban growth and spatial solidifying as the map from 1877 reveals (Figure 4). The overall orientation of the map is slightly west of north, focusing the shape of the Charleston peninsula as the dominant alignment thereby narrowing the audience's attention to the landform itself and away from the general cartographic institutional standards. The importance of the city of Charleston is highlighted in this way. It is also evident that the city has greatly expanded in population and nautical importance since the last map, as the built environment now extends far beyond the earlier boundaries and the docks have been significantly expanded. The northern territory that was pushed into by Revolutionary War preparations,

also the prior home to extensive plantations, is filled in with grids that are further arranged into numbered districts. The overall feeling here is one of order and progress. Continuations of these areas are even extended across the swampy northeast as blueprints of future construction and appear printed right over the then current outlines of the marshland and unused space. Though individual buildings are not demarcated along the streets, several structures are drawn in their respective areas listed with a number correlating with the map key. The key focuses on "public buildings", and among the locations singled out are government buildings, schools, public halls, military points, and at least 39 church or chapel sites. Identifying public buildings builds a communal identity for the town with more public buildings signifying the promise of collective care, opportunity, and support. Urban development has begun to claim large areas of marshland for construction, as seen on the western and southern sides of the map leading to the interpretation that these areas are so popular that they need to take measures to expand from here rather than further north. A large race course dominates the northeastern area of the map, and much as sports complexes do now, promotes an idea of large crowds requiring entertainment. This is another direct reference to the booming population of the city, and streets in this area seem less connected and spaced wider apart alluding to a prevalence of voids or perhaps planned future construction in that region. This is also a map that reveals the reliance on personal travel, as the city streets have become more densely surrounded and expanded, it becomes important for residents to begin to see things from above to fully understand the present layout and future plans for the design of the city. Also, the presence of extensive ports and dock areas reveal that this is a hub of travel, making it apparent that this map is meant to show avenues of transport through the growing city. This map reveals an expanding and diversifying urban center with much emphasis placed on its eastern harbor. To this end, the purpose of this map seems to be the glorification of urban expansion and development within the Charleston area.

*Figure 4 Map of Charleston from 1877 revealing much urban growth (from Library of Congress Online Collection)*

The final map in this analysis is the modern tourist map published by the Convention and Visitor's Bureau in 2009 as a part of a tourist guidebook (Figure 5). This map too focuses on the shape of peninsular Charleston, oriented slightly west of north, and draws attention directly to the urban areas. The shapes of the eastern harbor and southern extensions on the city are simplified and rounded, not drawing attention to the development of the shipping industry and fortification of the area as previous maps have done. This map centers on another form of industry, that of historical tourism. Parking and public transportation routes seem to be the primary focus as they hold the top positions in the key and are highlighted in the brightest colors. Beaches, golf courses, parks, and the "Museum Mile" are also distinguished as areas of interest. For the map's consumer, there are many voids of space that are essentially invisible to the tourist path and are juxtaposed with the brightly highlighted avenues of intended travel. There appear to be attractions marked as pink circles with numbers that seem to relate to another key not printed on the map, intelligible only if you have the supporting guidebook. The majority of areas of interest seem to occupy the area south of Calhoun Street, with the exception of Marion Square, and extend south along a two-block area. The concentration of sites is in the oldest established section of the city. The city is a grid of solids and voids with no individual building outlines or park outlines, only the printed names that represent general locations of well-known places of restricted access, such as the College of Charleston or the Gaillard Auditorium. Easy access to bus transportation seems to be prevalent in all of these highlighted areas, and a clear extent of tourism is defined as accessible, though much more of the city is visible in the map. There are definite sectors of tourist travel codified within this maps, with bright colors and lines pointing to areas of tourist acceptance and little information that would lead to exploration outside of these zones.

*Figure 5 Tourist map of Charleston from a 2009 official guidebook (from CharlstonCVB.com archives)*

The development of the Historic District in 1931 containing the homes of the contemporary political elite was another economic reform for the heritage preservation of the built environment.  This elite-driven history can be seen in the maps as the areas of constant focus of designated historical importance dominating the succession of maps in this collection, from the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets (Figures 2 and 3) and the concentration of tourist focus to the oldest areas of town.  In this way, these areas are reified as socially and historically significant, insuring their ongoing preservation through the financial contributions of the tourists.  These tactics have led to a narrative of Charleston supporting the paradoxical glorification of the past with ignoring many of the less savory political actions. The emphasis established in historical tourism drives the tourist experience of stepping into the past, living within the historic practices and landscape of a bygone era. In Charleston, this historic ideal was codified by a genteel, polite society of elite, white Americans. Charleston's contributions to the Revolutionary War were pushed to the forefront, bringing with it the colonial-style of that era seen around the city (Yuhl 2004; Zierden 2010).  The suppression of the town's Civil War involvement is seen in the neglect of the history of the enslaved and of the African-American residents of the city during its renewal.

*New Orleans*

New Orleans also found historic tourism to bolster the economy in the interwar years by embracing its exotic history and reputation for decadence. At the start of the 20th Century, New Orleans was quick to recognize the economic potential of modern production, fostering an elite social class of businessmen that sought to create a productive, efficient city (Stanonis 2006). This parallels the internal struggle Charleston faced between modernity and history in presenting its identity. The segregation of the Historic French Quarter from the Central Business District shows a distinct parceling of modernity and history. This harkens back to the interwar years and the desire to promote both the productive economy favored by the elites and the tourism that brought money to more middle and lower-class residents (Stanonis 2006).  From its French colonial foundation to its short but influential Spanish occupation, New Orleans embodied the anthropological 'other' in America offering an exotic escape for tourists within

their own country.  Even prior to emancipation, racial boundaries in New Orleans were not only drawn

between white and black communities, but they also contained a vast spectrum of racial categories, each

with a distinct identity representing an uncommonly complex social system for the time (Stanonis 2009).

Additionally, the Carnival phenomenon of Mardi Gras began to take place in the oldest areas of town in

1857 embodying the dichotomies of celebration and abstinence, democratization and elite spectacle, life

and death, and performing these as ritual on public streets (Flake 1994). By 1880, Mardi Gras became a

national destination, introducing the city to the value of the tourist's dollar (Stanonis 2006). The city's

reputation continued to embody exotic danger as the city moved into recovery from the Civil War and

into the modern era.

The walled port-city of French New Orleans, as represented in the 1763 map (Figure 6), is clearly

a formal map denoting territory claimed and monitored by the French government, shown by the language

and standardized layout of the map.  It is clearly oriented as viewed from above in the usual western

political standard, and it has a compass and scale.  The manufactured structures of development occupy

the central focus with extra emphasis placed on the city walls.  The internal layout shows an ordered and

designed symmetrical block system with regular streets meeting at right angles.  The only identifiable or

unique structural shapes on this map are those of the church and public square which seem to be the city

center.  As this is close to the center of the city, the focal point of the map and the city seems to be on this

public square and cathedral.  This city was clearly modeled after the pre-Industrial cities of Europe with

focus on the corridor streets, well-organized grids, and public center.  The small black dots within some

of the structural blocks are not explained.  This extreme attention to the diligence and perfection of the

grid system, in addition to the lack of landscape features beyond the city walls, reveals the production of

the map to be institutional, as these are the features valued by this category of producers as shown by

Orlove (1991:21).  The river, a useful commodity to the political structure and economy of the city, is the

only natural feature shown on the map.  As there is very little distinctiveness to the individual city

buildings, this does not seem to be a map for use by outsiders because a specific local knowledge would

have to be enacted to both find the city within the landscape and to locate specific places within the city. As the dominant features appear to be the enormous walls and block design of the city, it can be concluded that one intention of this map was to document parceling of the property through utilizing the manufactured constructions of boundaries as justification. This is very interesting when situating this map within the political climate of 1763, the year that the Treaty of Paris ceded the French colony of New Orleans to the Spanish Empire. With this information, this map can be interpreted as a military map due to its emphasis on defensive structures and ambiguous locations.
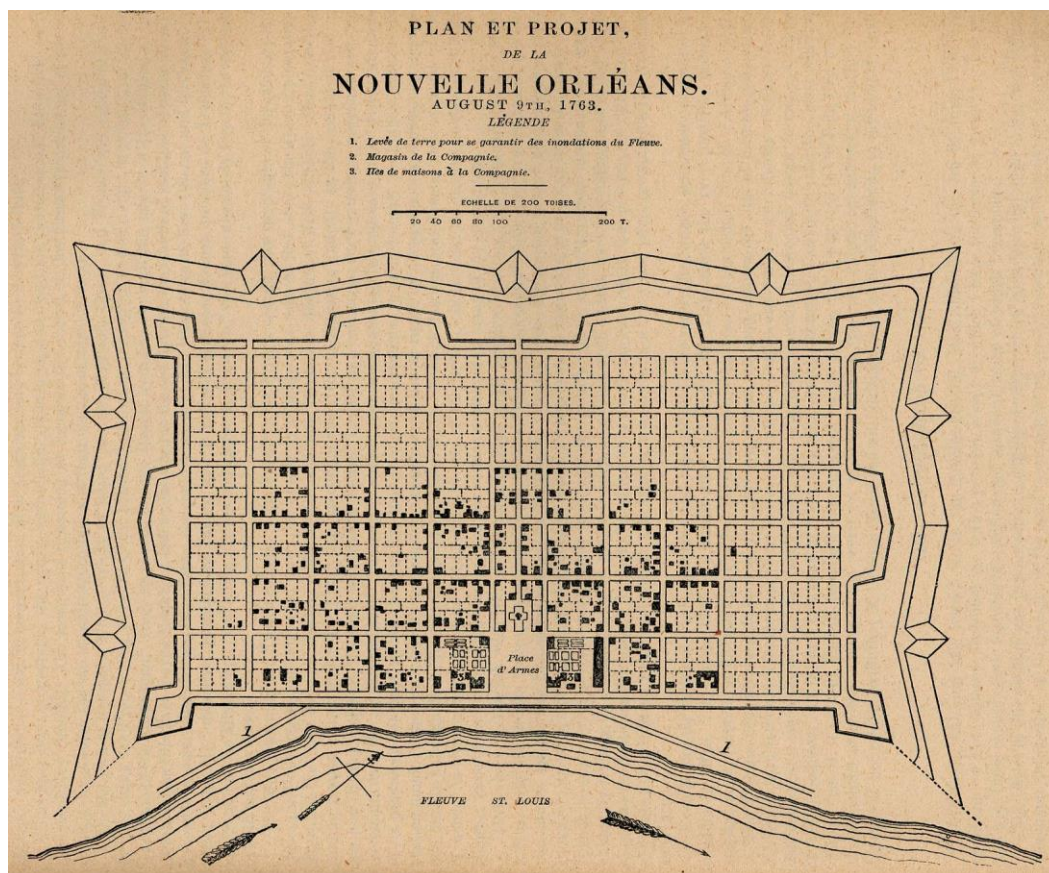


*Figure 6 French map of early New Orleans from 1763 (from Library of Congress website)*

The map from 1798 (Figure 7) offers an interesting contrast to the French map made about three decades earlier. The city is situated in the larger landscape including Lake Pontchartrain, multiple rivers, swamps, and surrounding plantations with border lines. The larger inclusion of environmental features, such as Lake Pontchartrain and the stylized trees on the terrain around the main city, reveals that the land

was beginning to be viewed as important parceled locations as opposed to area that just needs to be navigated through.  The navigation through this terrain is also emphasized by the inclusion of the roads and river routes that lead to the city.  Boundaries around the city are also drawn on the map, and the rights of ownership as granted by the king for the plantations are listed within the territory making this a very informative map.  Smaller parcels of land are also registered to owners including the dates and conditions of their sale.  As with the earlier map, there is a clear orientation and use of both scale and compass.  A legend lists the locations of five forts, two hospitals, the church, and the government building, though the interior within the city walls is obscured due to its small size in comparison to the landscape, making it evident that the city is not the primary focal point of the map but the largest organized center among many notable locations.  There is still emphasis on the walls of the city, but they seem more traversable than the earlier French map due to the inclusion of the surrounding landscape and the legend.  There also seems to be evidence of early urban expansion southwest along the Mississippi River outside of the original walls of the city.  The switch seen in the modern gird orientation between the French Quarter and other areas of the city is evident here as well as city development reorients to follow the river.  Though this map was clearly produced for institutional purposes, as demonstrated by the court-like documentation of ownership and adherence to standardized forms, this map makes the city more accessible to outsides through its focus on information and included references.  Though this map was made only a few years before the territory changed political hands, the inclusions within this map seem to indicate that it was meant to be utilized in a much more direct way than the French version.  Interestingly, the city was under Spanish control at the time the original map was made, remaining so until 1801 when the French briefly held control again.  This version in English was made in 1875 and was translated from the original Spanish.  It would be interesting to extend this research into the earlier practice of recopying of maps to compare the original with the translated copies applying these same analytic methodologies.

*Figure 7 Map of New Orleans from 1798 showing original city walls (from Library of Congress website)*

The third map in this selection dates from 1880 (Figure 8) and shows the intensification of construction in the area due to increased population between the years of 1841 and 1880. As growth is the primary focus, this map includes little of the surrounding environment outside of the Mississippi River. It also does not focus on locational individualization or spatial usage. The presence of solids and voids are stylized and are the only element of value in this map; it is focused on building density not distinctiveness or function. Instead, it shows in a darker color the older city area surrounded by an expansive set of lines and blocks attempting to conform to the odd angles set by the river to conjoin with the older sections of the city. A scale is present, but there is no compass, and the map looks more like an architectural draft than a locational device. As this is the first of the series representing the city under American control, it is interesting to note the emphasis on expansion and growth. Though institutional in creation, this map has a clear propagandistic purpose promoting the expansion and progress of New Orleans during a relatively short amount of time.
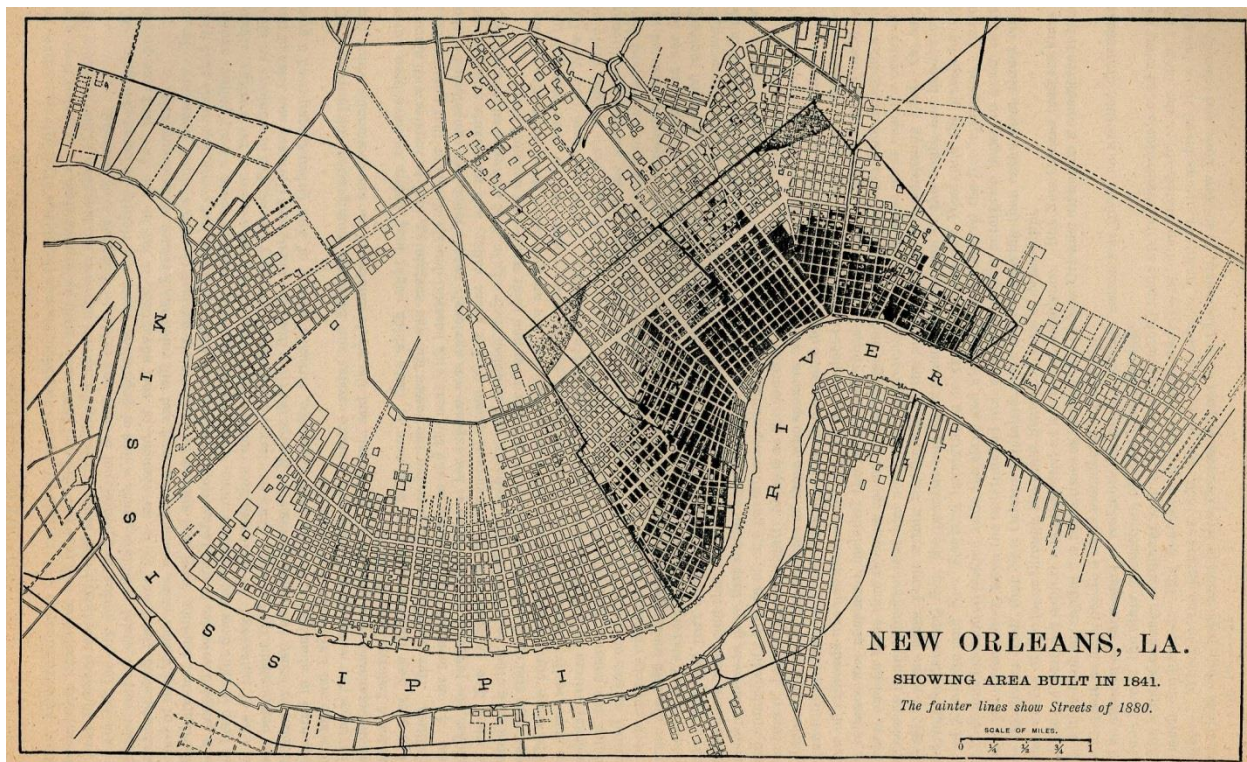


*Figure 8 Map of New Orleans from 1880 showing growth from 1841 (in black) to 1880 (from Library of Congress website)*

The final map in this analysis is the modern tourist map published as a part of a guide book by the Convention and Visitor's Bureau in 2001 (Figure 9). Though the city is much more expansive, this tourist map focuses solely on the area surrounding the French Quarter, the Warehouse Arts District, and the Central Business District (CBD). The shapes of the city blocks and surrounding areas are simplified with little individualism beyond street names. Though the solids and voids are dominant as a simplified grid of named streets in white outlining peach blocks, there are many unnamed purple blotches especially surrounding the CBD and the Louisiana Superdome. A view of these purple areas with Google Earth reveals that they are parking lots. The names of specific tourist locations appear in black over their approximate locations such as Harrah's Casino, Jackson Square, the US Mint, the Convention Center, and the Louisiana Superdome. No information, aside from street names, exists outside of these highlighted tourist areas. As with the earlier tourist map for Charleston, this one appears to have knowledge in a separate key that can only be deciphered with the accompanying guidebook. So again, as with the Charleston example, the focus of this map is avenues of travel, parking, and public transportation. The mapmakers in this New Orleans example seem to be using a tactic of spatial delineation and selective cropping by highlighting the entire French Quarter, the historic heart of the city, in blue. This visual separation of the area originally walled (Figure 6) further segregates it as the place for tourism, and the majority of public transportation lines seem to connect it to the areas around the CBD supporting the larger hotels, even going as far as drawing out the various bus lines in shades of blue furthering the symbolic link to the blue French Quarter. Even the freeway exit signs that lead to the tourist areas are reproduced for easier navigation along the bright red representation of the freeway. Unlike Charleston, specific historical markers and landmarks are not designated on the map of New Orleans, only large modern commercial areas are listed. Within the French Quarter, there is no listing of specific homes or museums, and it appears that a tourist, once inside the invisible walls of the historic zone, becomes responsible for discovering the city by walking through it.
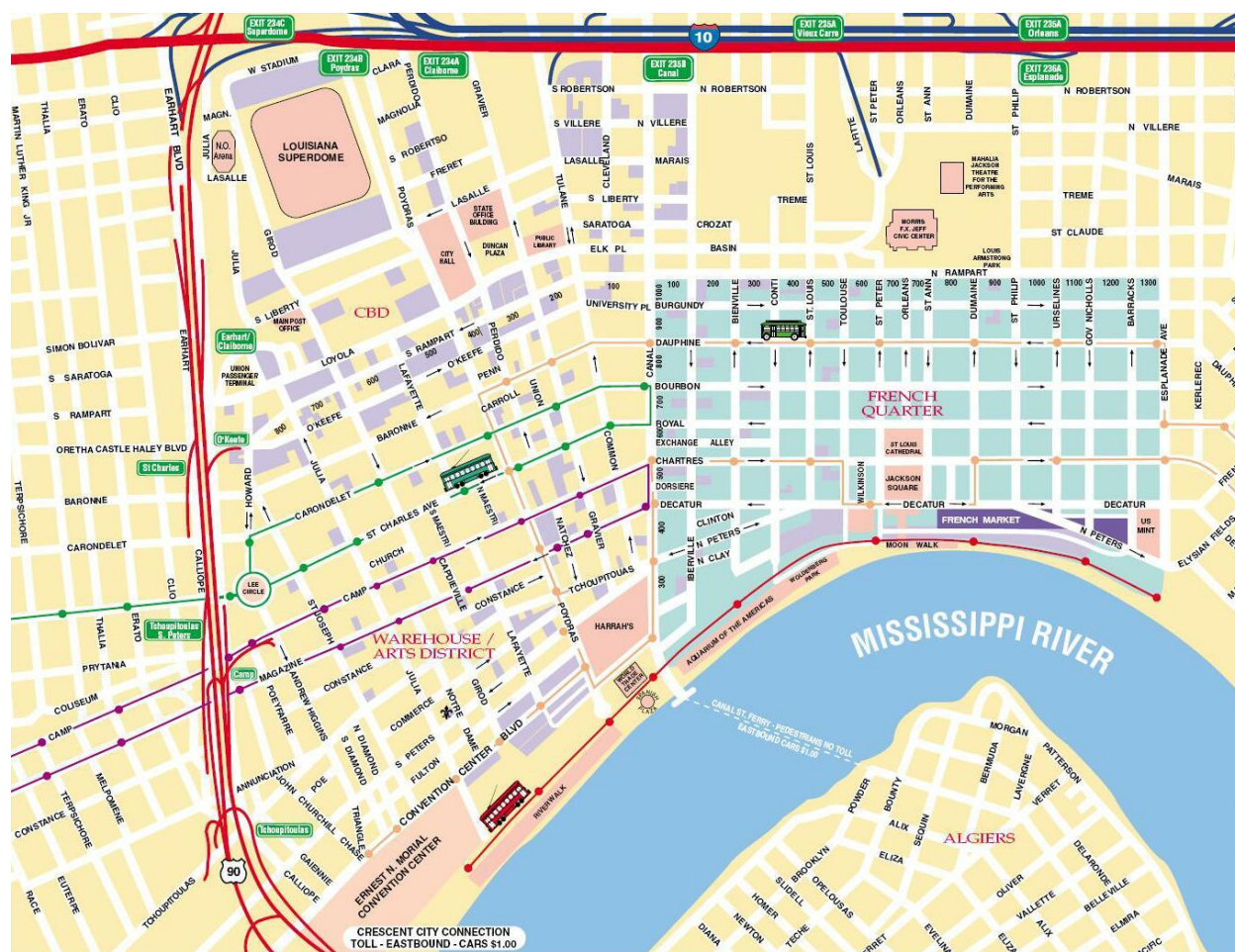
*Figure 9 Tourist map from 2001 New Orleans official guidebook (from New Orleans CVB archives)*

From a progressive analysis of historic maps of the area, it becomes apparent that the city of New Orleans blossomed quickly (Figures 7 and 8), faster than the initial development of the older Charleston. A boom of immigrants in the decades leading up to the Civil War, primarily Irish Catholic, added to the multiethnic population and increasing social pressure between classes and the various ethnic groups by taking the population from less than 18,000 in 1810 and propelling it over 168,000 residents by 1860 (Stanonis 2009:182). This massive influx resulted in a liminal state in the identity of New Orleans and its residents, as natives were suddenly surrounded with multi-ethnic immigrants flocking to join the diverse communities within the older areas of the city (Frink 2010). The French Quarter Historic District was the result of the Vieux Carre Commission founded in 1925, establishing the French Quarter as an official historic district by 1936 with similar prescriptive aesthetic rules for the protection of historic buildings

found in Charleston (Stanonis 2006). Though the delineation of the district was less arbitrary than its

Charleston counterpart, as the original city of New Orleans was established specifically as a walled area

containing these blocks (Figure 6), the decision to separate this area was also based on race and ethnicity

(Stanonis 2006). Where Charleston sought to separate the homes of the elite, New Orleans separated out

the areas most associated with ethnic immigration and the allure of the cultural 'other'. This interesting

twist on the elite footprint on the urban landscape provides interesting insight into the motivations of the

Interwar decision-makers.

**Walking the City: Auto-Ethnography**

Throughout my adolescent and teenage years, my family moved around a lot, and as an only

child, I consistently found myself alone in new social settings.  A suburb of Charleston was one of the

cities that I moved to.  I remember seeing the beautiful historic homes along the Battery, the horse-drawn

carriages, and feeling like I had stepped back in time, at first.  As I became more accustomed to the city, I

began to see behind the scenes.  I remember the annoyance of being late to school because of the traffic

caused by tourists as summer approached or from the drawbridge delays as tourist laden sailboats

thwarted rush hour traffic.  When I spent the night with school friends who lived within the historic heart

of the city, I recall the family concerns regarding safety along the tourist-crowded streets or in parks.  We

could only play in the gardens between the houses, walled off from the historic beauty of the city.  I began

to see that the horses dragging the carriages of tourists were often mistreated, never getting to run free and

always stuck with the exhaust fumes of cars.  I heard the grumblings of store owners during the hurricane

season when the town was unpopular to tourists, and I realized that they were viewed as a highly

necessary, indispensable inconvenience.  The shimmer of a lost golden-age of chivalry, highly cultivated

in Charleston, was lost to me upon learning of its long and often obscured history with slavery.  I began to

perceive the city differently, and through this I became skeptical of the brand of history that was being

taught to me through my earlier experience in the city.  Obviously for economic reasons, the city wished

to display its most profitable, aesthetically pleasing side to visitors, but it frustrated me as a child.  I

viewed this as misinforming the public, as I had felt misinformed about the authenticity of what I had seen during my first few weeks of living there. I never really saw myself as a traditional tourist from that point on, as I always tried to see behind the scenes of the places that I visited by talking to employees and residents away from the resorts, hotels, or tour guide agencies. As I grew up, I found myself avoiding the traditional tourist destinations of the places I visited, choosing instead to wander aimlessly in pursuit of discovery. This was aided by a hobby in photography, as holding a professional-looking camera often provides acceptability and legitimacy to those lonely and silent street haunters that stray outside of tourist zones. That said, I look back on trips to popular destinations, like San Francisco, and often lament not seeing the more famous sites of Alcatraz Island or getting a photo in front of the Golden Gate Bridge. It was this experience, the discovery of the prismatic multiplicity of perceptions overlaying space that led me to wonder about the relationship of this with history. As I saw Charleston for the first time in over two decades driving into it for this project, I realized that this project had truly began in 1989 when I had moved to the city and saw it for the first time.

*Charleston: Nostalgic imaginaries*

I arrived in Charleston less than a week after a major flood, an event that has been fairly common throughout the long history of the city. All of the news and weather reports had prophesized further torrential downpours, and my soggy drive into the city seemed to corroborate their apocalyptic predictions. However, after I passed into the surrounding suburbs of Charleston, I had finally broken free from the rain. Once off of the freeway and into the peninsula of the main city, I was surprised to find the residents had not only recovered from the previous weeks' events, but had embraced the hours of morning sunshine, filling their sidewalks with shoppers and parks with farmer's markets. I passed by the tourist center, which looked more like an antiquated bus depot, corralling tourists onto various busses for delivery to museums and along air-conditioned window-shopping tours. I unloaded my car amid a clamor of other arriving hotel guests and the bustling activity of several large wedding parties gathering in their finery in the tepid humidity, waiting for vans to usher them to whichever of the city's many historic

churches they had been fortunate enough to book for their event.  One thing I would come to realize on my Saturday and Sunday field work in Charleston was its high percentage of brides and the fierce competition over prestigious wedding space, a point I return to later.

After politely pushing my way through a group of tuxedoed men and dodging a flower girl who was twirling joyously in her white taffeta dress, I was able to negotiate an early check-in time for my reservation and made my way to the room.  The only hotel with any availability under $500 a night (though just barely) within the historic area of Charleston was the historic Francis Marion Hotel, built in the 1920s as a monument to pre-Depression luxury.  The staff radiated Southern hospitality, the hallways dripped with chandeliers, and as I entered my room, the ceilings soared to over twelve feet in height. Two full bathrooms and massive walk-in closets alluded to the more extensive needs of a bygone era, though I was very grateful for the space after the long drive.  Even without the wedding party (or more probably parties) displayed in their formalwear, my surroundings would have made me feel terribly under-dressed in my T-shirt and yoga pants selected for car comfort.  As I was about to hit the streets to make the several mile walk through the historic areas of the city, I defied the urge to change my clothing to match my surroundings and began to prepare my gear for the field.



*Figure 10 Marion Square facing south hosting a farmers market (photo by author)*

Marion Square (Figure 10), where my hotel was located, was at the northernmost area of what is generally considered historic downtown Charleston, though the official historic zone lay in the area south of Broad Street. It is impossible not to see something old, some remnant of centuries of habitation and development in almost every section of the peninsula city, so my curiosity ran deep over what was in that official historic area, what made it so legitimately 'historic'. Holding up the tourist map that was to be my guide, I saw two parallel highlighted paths leading south, one on Meeting Street and one on King Street. The highlighted path of Calhoun Street bisected these running east to west from the Wharf and Aquarium at the former to the City Marina at the latter. King Street was labeled in bold black letters for several blocks declaring it the Fashion District, the Design District, and then the Antiques District as it made its way through the historic markers south to the Battery at the tip of the peninsula (Figure 5). As this seemed to be where most of the foot traffic was headed as well, I joined in with the crowd of people around Marion Square that included locals walking their dogs or strollers, merchants packing up from the earlier farmers markets, and what was becoming the inevitable small clumps dressed in formalwear, somehow blending in seamlessly with the midday street life. As the park in the square was replaced by the continuous facades of predominantly 19th Century storefronts, the crowd changed, slowed in its pace, and began to carry many more shopping bags. As I looked around, I noticed that the smaller boutique storefronts were filled incongruously with mall franchises such as Forever 21, Banana Republic, and even an Apple Store. The bottom floor or two floors of these historic buildings had been internally redesigned to house the global drivers of capitalism and multi-national conglomerates. Tourists were directed here by maps, signs, and even by the layout of the streets through chasing the 'authentic' historic architecture and finding themselves in a mall veiled thinly with the deterioration of history.

Wanting to escape the shopping mall, I consulted the map to find that the parallel highlighted path south, Meeting Street, lay one block to the east. Crossing the block through yet more shops, I came to the famous Charleston Market, the six-block long public market that now functions as a long corridor of sweetgrass baskets, local spice mixes, original local art, and jewelry stalls. Along the streets on either

side of the market were more stores, restaurants, and private tour guide centers.  Breaking free from the stall-lined monotony that resembled the background of old cartoon scenery on an endless loop, I crossed through the shopping laden crowd to continue my trek south.  I was now on Church Street, within the oldest areas of the city, and found myself staring up at the impressively dominant St. Philip's Cathedral. A wedding party was gathering outside, a crisp groom with his tuxedoed men took their last round of selfies before engaging in a final official photo.  As I crossed the front of the church, I spotted a line of dark blue taffeta draped bridesmaids filing into the other side of the building.  The bells of the church began to solemnly chime the time: three bells.  The sound echoed across the city emanating from the many other historic churches that anchor "The Holy City".  I was now, as my map informed me, far from shopping.  There were far fewer pedestrians, and most of the traffic was produced by the tour busses that I had passed earlier at the tourist center/bus depot, and there were many of the horse drawn carriages. Muffled accounts of important buildings, famous residents, and odd tidbits drifted occasionally from these carriages mixed in with the rhythmic clip-clop of the horse's metal shoes on the pavement.



*Figure 11 The cobblestone street in the oldest standing section of town, Chalmers Street, facing east (photo by author)*

I continued south, marveling at the quiet residential homes with their individualistic charm and hand-crafted antiquity before I came upon a fully cobbled street on my left (Figure 11). A woman, looking simultaneously confused and annoyed, bobbed about on the rough cobbles in a mid-90s Toyota sedan on a road otherwise devoid of traffic. The only pedestrian traffic were two small parties that each included a bride, a photographer, and a handful of well-dressed women. They tried to keep their separate groups from colliding, though it was obvious that they were both spatially maneuvering for the cobbled street for their bridal photos. I began to wonder how special the 'special day' is when you are not even the only bride on the block. Small homes with thick walls leaning slightingly under the weight of time and painted in vibrant colors lined the street on either side. The plaque on one of them prominently displayed the date of construction as 1649. I would come to find out later that this was the oldest surviving house in Charleston, though this adorable pink home nor the cobbled street were not to be found on my map. Following this cobbled street east, I came upon the famous historic Rainbow Row, a group of townhome style historic homes brightly painting and 'representative' of the ideal Charleston home. Street traffic began to pick up with more tour busses, pausing for photos to be snapped out of half open windows, and more carriages with horses forced to breath the exhaust from the stagnating busses, all competing for space in front of the homes. Pedestrian traffic as well began to thicken, and as my paced slowed I looked around to see many tourists, devoid of their shopping bags, and most looking at the same map that I was. Within almost every group of tourists, be it couple or small collective, one person directed using the tourist map. This dynamic continued as I made my way to the Battery, a barricade of concrete that holds back the ocean waters along the peninsular tip. A raised walkway surmounted the barrier providing amazing ocean views. I paused behind a small group of tourists, their walking guide stymied by one of the few large puddles left as evidence of the earlier flood. I overheard him sharing his credentials as an independent tour guide contracted by only the best local hotels as I ducked around them to reach the mansions around White Point Gardens, a public park at the tip of peninsula.

As I sat on the battlement of the Battery and looked over the ocean, I reflected on how interesting it was to see the clumps of tourists with shopping bags in the shopping areas, with cameras and maps in the cultural viewing areas, and realized that they must not have traversed directly from one place to the other. At some point, they stopped from one activity to the other if they were walking, probably at their hotel room, and prepared for another set of experiences. Additionally, this presence of guides everywhere as peddicabs, carriage rides, walking, or bus tours, tourists were very directed to areas and told what to observe. The lack of tourists, especially pedestrians, in the oldest sections of the city really spoke to the power of exclusions on the map. This highly residential area was simply not included, so the oldest house in historic Charleston was not included either. I had done something abnormal in walking the space between Marion Square and the Battery; the evidence for reliance on guides in the tourist experience was all around me.

*New Orleans: Performance of the exotic*

Crossing over Lake Pontchartrain offers a unique view of New Orleans one doesn't normally see unless she is looking down from a plane or in a stylized form on a map; you get a sense of what the whole French Quarter and surrounding neighborhoods looks like from above. As most of the available and affordable hotels are outside of the French Quarter in the Central Business District or in the Warehouse/Arts District, I checked into a very professional hotel next to the convention center and quickly found myself surrounded by attendees of a medical support software conference. The business suits and professional demeanors permeated from the lobby and up the elevators. It was an odd deviation from what I had come to expect from the raucous and exuberant New Orleans that permeates popular culture. I consulted my map and saw that I was only about five blocks from the western edge of the French Quarter, so I gathered my map, cameras, and notebook and walked through a functioning commercial city. A streetcar split Canal Street down the middle and offered little protection to pedestrians who may stumble in front of it. The lack of redundant safety measures is not often seen in the United States, and it revealed the requirement for a level of personal awareness and responsibility that I

would come to associate with the city. After missing a turn and reorienting myself with my map as the city grid suddenly shifted to follow the curve of the Mississippi River, I stumbled into large parking lot on the southwestern edge of the French Quarter. After I picked my way through the mass of cars, I finally emerged into the historic center of New Orleans, the original streets that made up the French Quarter (Figure 12). Rows after rows of old homes in various stages of distress, from abandoned to fully remodeled, lined the streets casting shadows over sidewalks brimming with pedestrians. Many of the bottom floors had been converted into retail, restaurant, or bar space which teemed with patrons as I made my way northeast along the road closest to the Mississippi River.



*Figure 12 Decatur street in the French Quarter facing northeast (photo by author)*

I spotted a shaded alleyway that seemed fairly isolated from the intense and chaotic flow of pedestrian traffic and I ducked into it. This turned out to be a shaded oasis of quiet within a traditional French Quarter courtyard, complete with fountain and wrought iron benches. As I walked further, I realized that I was headed towards the entrance to a tourist center that was about to close for the day and was surrounded with historical markers and large signage about the origins of the French Quarter. I sat

down in the quiet, enjoying the irony that my respite was in the only designated tourist center that I had found, a place unmarked on my map. When I rejoined the pedestrian current, I again felt myself swept down the street, past more bustling independent shops and street-side bars. The air began to fill with the intense fragrance of fried dough and melted sugar, and the distant sound of mixed horns and drums could be discerned just above the cacophony of the surrounding pedestrian crowd. As I crossed over a street, the name of which I was unable to catch as street names appear tiled into the sidewalk and not hanging overhead, the line of buildings disappeared on my left and was replaced with the bright colors of large paintings hung onto a wrought iron fence. Vendor after vendor displayed a multitude of varieties of arts and crafts, ranging from local themes to modern art, from photos and painting to small sculptures. The outside of the fence acted as a backdrop for an artistic spectacle while also becoming a stage on which personal commerce could occur.

When the crowd thinned slightly as it was diverted onto several other paths I was able to see that the fence was surrounding Jackson Square, a manicured and planned park with a large statue of a man on a horse in the center. As this city was designed after the European pre-Industrial cities, Jackson Square would have originally been the city center, the public square. There were dozens of benches along the perimeter of the park facing inward, and most were filled with people. As I looked closer, I realized that the vast majority of people were eating, and I was suddenly again aware of the smells that had aided in drawing me into this area of the city. A few people milled about the park's paved walkways, though far fewer than were on the sidewalks, and only one person was occupying the grass as she took a nap in the sun. After taking a quick break sitting on a patch of grass next to the statue, whom I assumed to be the Jackson cited in Jackson Square, I found myself drawn to the amazing edifice of the St. Louis Cathedral that dominated the northwest side just outside of the square. Several tourists stopped and took photos of familiar scenes, cuing up in front of photo spots, and capturing the same frame again and again before moving on.

*Figure 13 Facing the CBD in the French Quarter on a pedestrian street between Jackson Square and the St. Louis Cathedral with performing jazz ensemble (photo by author)*

Reemerging from Jackson Square, I was thrust back onto the stage of New Orleans city life and into the scenery of painters working while displaying their art for sell, fortune tellers, and a ten-piece jazz ensemble that had carved out a circle of open space lined with listening faces (Figure 13). There was a sense of freedom mixed in with the spectacle, and I noted a woman in Victorian dress pass me with her face painted completely as a skull in the Day of the Dead fashion. Passing by restaurants that surrounded this arena between the church and the square, I noticed that the faces inside were all facing out of large windows that acted as a thin membrane between the musicians with their audience and those voyeurs on the inside; the identity of the subject and object are all a matter of perspective, I realized, and not for the last time within that city. As I left the music behind me, I followed the gate and the displayed art upon it back towards the river, catching a whiff again of the smells of baking and frying. The well-known beignet and coffee house Café Du Monde sported a line similar to what would be encountered at a theme park, curved back and forth upon itself like a snake at rest. Passing this by, I headed back towards the park that sat above the river, train line, and Jackson Square and offered a picturesque view of the entire

square with the cathedral at its back (Figure 1). I found a bench to let my overexcited senses rest, and looked around at the other people surrounding me. Even up here, the density of people was thick. So far, it had been this way except in the tourist areas of the tourist center and the square. Additionally, the surrounding crowd seemed to be a mix of locals, discussing class schedules at Tulane or walking their dogs, and tourists, though none of them possessed a map. At this point I realized too that once I had found my way to the French Quarter, I had not once consulted my map for directions or suggestions. The sights, sounds, and smells of the city in conjunction with the flow of the crowd had propelled me to this point. There were a few guides steering horse-drawn carriages, but nowhere near the number that had been in Charleston. There were also peddicabs, but they appeared to function more as simple transportation than unofficial informant of the city as they had done in Charleston. That personal responsibility which I had seen when I first arrived became emulated in the tourist experience of the historic areas, and the former walls that protected the original city, what became the French Quarter, seemed almost solid in their spatial definition of this tourist zone. This became even clearer when I returned walk down the infamous Bourbon Street at night.

Bourbon Street becomes a pedestrian only street after dark and many of the storefronts fully open themselves up, either with garage-door style front walls being rolled up or door-sized windows being open. With this membrane of exterior wall broken, the interior literally spills into the exterior becoming almost one continuous space. Alcohol flows freely from the bars that occupy the most of the buildings along the street, though the bar types came in many forms, from a line of colorful frozen mixes resembling candy machines to places specializing in pizza by the slice with your libation, and many more traditional bars piping out local musical acts into the sidewalk. The mix of sounds blended together between the bars and the crowd creating a chaotic roar of stridency punctuated with the occasional piercing shrieks of exuberant girls. It appears that the ritual of receiving beads is not observed during Mardi Gras alone. The party extended everywhere, and it was impossible to tell local resident from tourist within the mix unless they included me in the conversation, and it was a very social crowd! Many

people were celebrating bachelor and bachelorette parties, family reunions, and girls-night-outs. Others were just taking in the sight of a street party that lasted for miles and enjoying the spectacle of a large crowd of people taking enjoyment in the company of that crowd, both as visible or invisible as they cared to be within it. The beautiful architecture of the French Quarter was dimmed, obscured by the bright lights of the club and bar signs and the mix of bright interior lighting from some of the stores that bathed the street in patches. It had truly become a stage now, a large open space dedicated to containing the wild abandon of the infamous party epicenter that, surprisingly, diminished quickly as I turned and left Bourbon Street. One block southeast and the noise and life that had been deafening sounded more like deep base coming from a neighboring car and two more blocks rendered it silent. As I left, I noticed again how this city preyed on my senses, overloading them past their ability to absorb and to process. Also, I noticed for the second time that my experience had been guided by the flow of the crowd and not by the map.

As I made my way further from Bourbon Street and into the more quiet areas of the still active French Quarter, I realized that I was at the rear of the St. Louis Cathedral. A spotlight was used to project an enlarged shadow of a stature of Jesus onto the plain stucco back wall of the cathedral, and I followed the fence separating the road from this back garden around the corner and into an alleyway, now parallel to the cathedral making my way back towards Jackson Square. I resurfaced on the pedestrian road where the band had played earlier. The band had long departed, but the fortune tellers remained in addition to a large mixed group of locals and tourists engaged in the commerce of the streets and some homeless people claiming their spots on benches for the night. The heartbeat of city life had, for the most part, moved elsewhere once darkness took over, and the pageantry seen earlier on the square had transitioned into a different sort of performance, less attentive of their visibility. With the bright colors of the paintings removed, the fence revealed a more austere presence. It seemed almost unrecognizable as the same street from earlier. This sense of disorientation continued on the walk back to my hotel, past

Harrah's casino and back into the lair of the business traveler, whick provided a further counterpoint to my experience with the French Quarter.

**Discussion: Reproduction of history through the tourist experience**

Where the modern map of Charleston outlined the tourist area through an implicit rainbow of colors and points of interest, New Orleans overtly highlighted the entire French Quarter in blue (Figures 5 and 9). In this, Sidney L. Kasfir's (2000) understanding of the tourist as occupying an uncertain space applies to the mentality emerging in Charleston and New Orleans. Kasfir argues that tourists on vacation are neither themselves as they are in their daily lives, nor are they a member of the local population (Kasfir 2000). They seek an 'authentic' experience of the local population that has been tempered with their inherent cultural perceptions and expectations, and knowing that this is what sells, the indigenous locals often perform these expected scenes of 'authenticity' to support themselves in a tourist economy (Kasfir 2000). This is successful because the tourists get what they expect, and because the tourists' identity occupies a liminal place, a break in the daily identities lived at home, it adapts to the culture it encounters with the desire to display the behavior of a 'good tourist' (Kasfir 2000). In these later two examples, the notions of history are constructed and lived through the tourist's experience, recorded by their gaze. Map guidance and aesthetic reform show the tourist an interpretation of history through packaging a commodified form of history; the city effectively functions as a living museum. As 'good tourists', visitors accept the interpretation given to them, reifying the hegemony of the elite. This power of dictating 'spatial practice' through encoding a political 'representational space' and distributed as a 'representation of space' in the form of a map intended for tourist consumption is clearly illustrated as examined through Lefebvre's (1991) triad of spatial production. It is this power that teaches a version of history, shapes the tourist identity, and contains the tourist behavior to areas where it is tolerated and needed the by the commercial industries of the area.

Urry posits that those living in major tourist areas would feel like they were always being looked at, as if their city was the panoptic structure, and they would construct backstages away from the all-

seeing eye (Urry 1992: 177). In Charleston, the stages were the historic storefronts, the squares, and the historic landmarks, but while I was there, every one of these I saw had been converted into a facade for commerce. The backstage here appeared to be corporate sponsored by the high-end global retail brands found only in luxury malls in cosmopolitan cites. These also provided a lot of the work for the college students and few lower-income residents of the area and those who drove in from the suburbs. In New Orleans, the stage was truly everywhere that the public eye could go, everywhere that was visually exposed, though the central hub of it moved from the day around Jackson Square to the night around Bourbon Street. The stages were the streets, the bars, the parks, and they were used as literal stages for art and other forms of spectacle. The backstages were outside of the French Quarter, unmarked on tourist maps, hidden behind top-level curtained windows. The city thrives on spectacle and action with the people present, tourist or resident, acting as the key players of the urban production played out in the streets. Charleston's social and residential backstage lay in the areas surrounding the tourist nodes, and a reason for the abundance of guides and maps in Charleston is to maintain these areas as separate from those activity areas of the tourists. This mitigates both the resident's need to maintain daily life and the tourist's liminal space separate from the mundane, though spatially, the residents live in some of the most historic sections of the city and thereby some of the most interesting areas for the historical tourist. However, through maps redirecting the tourist gaze and guides steering them to specific polynucleated nodes of designated activity (such as shopping or sight-seeing), tourist activity is able to be structured and curtailed to allow for a profitable industry to exist along-side the routine daily existence of residents.

New Orleans seems to approach this differently though. Maps direct a tourist to the French Quarter, but then the built environment and the layout of the French Quarter that curtail tourist activity. Within this gridded relic city, industries catering to tourism thrive alongside the tourists. Once inside the invisible city walls, ghosts of the former extremities of the original city plan, the flow of the crowd along with the sights, smells, and sounds propel tourists inward. This allure of the crowd and plays into Urry's forms of the tourist gaze (Urry 1992). As an example of the collective form, the communal activity and

series of shared encounters become a cornerstone of the New Orleans experience. This can be seen in the draws of the jazz ensemble spawning an impromptu audience or the unspoken social contract of consensual mayhem that grips Bourbon Street at night. Communal activity is also important within the spectatorial form, as seen with the jazz ensemble, as is the prevalence of a series of brief encounters. Walking through New Orleans, I almost felt like I was window shopping at the crowd, just browsing at the wide variety of people as I ambled through, letting my gaze just slip over most of them in passing due to the extreme over taxation of my senses. These brief encounters overshadow the act of people watching in New Orleans, a popular past time of many from my observations, as the flow of the crowd keeps the individuals in the crowd constantly moving. The gaze of the spectatorial type is also constantly moving, glancing, and collecting the many different signs that represent their surroundings. In most places, collection of these signs may be in the form of photographing certain landmarks, eating at a certain restaurant, or buying a certain trinket that represents the city somehow, and this is strongly evident in New Orleans.

The forms of tourist gaze seen in Charleston, however, are very different. What Urry calls the environmental gaze occurs here in conjunction with the romantic type of gaze (Urry 1992). The environmental gaze is one of collective organization with a sustained and educational objective. It has the goal of scanning the scene in order to survey and inspect the environment. This is the gaze cast by tourists in their guided site-seeing excursions when they view historic homes, landmarks, museums, gardens, and views along the ocean. It is the sense that one is learning history and absorbing some of that by being in the same place that the history occurred. The romantic form is more solitary with sustained immersion, usually in an attempt to share the moment intimately and fully so as to recall it nostalgically at a future date. The tourist here desires to be awed, to see amazing and exclusive sights. This can be seen in the restaurants of the city, in the hotels, and on the private resort beaches. In these situations, other people are seen as pollutants to the environment, though other people are exactly what a collective type of gaze requires.

Through walking the streets as they are represented on the maps, the process of learning about the city is reproduced within tourists' experience. Through exclusion and inclusion, physical maps emulate De Certeau's (1984) idea of maps as cognitive representations producing and reproducing space through the everyday practice of life. In Charleston, this is very evident in the separation of space for various activities, the multiple forms and options of transportation, and the voids on the tourist maps in the residential areas of town even if they are directly adjacent to the areas of retail commerce that require tourist business. This can be seen most clearly in Charleston while in New Orleans the boundaries of tourist behavior seem to be contained by the now-invisible walls of the original city. Once a tourist has been directed to the French Quarter, it is the sights, smells, crowd that guide a tourists steps. The mapmaker here still has power in what the tourist sees and what paths are taken to get to the French Quarter, as the city does rely on walking as the primary form of tourist transportation. This is evidence by the placement of Harrah's Casino in the middle of almost every route from the hotel rich districts surrounding the French Quarter into that historic section of town.

**Conclusions**

Changing perceptions shape how space is viewed, produced, reproduced, and utilized. Maps provide a version of one such perception at a certain point in time, and as maps are utilized by people, these perceptions are reproduced. In historic maps, this reproduction is accomplished when historians, archaeologists, or other researchers reference the maps to orient themselves within the space of those maps at the time of their creation. These understandings of space become a node in the network of research, informing that inquiry, and providing the stage for an interpretation of the activities that occurred during that time. An analysis of how historical tourism is represented on a map made for tourists illuminates mechanisms through which these individual perceptions become performed to produce a spatial form of that perception. The perception of what a tourist *should* see becomes the reality of what the tourist *does* see through the inclusions and exclusions on the maps made for tourist consumption. These narratives of the city constructed through the tourist experience are then reproduced

through the stories that they tell and the photos that they take and share. The performance enacted by the tourist in walking the highlighted routes seen on the tourist map recreates the tourist areas of the city. By being there, tourists court tourist-driven businesses and reify the imaginary lines defining the tourist district. Recognizing the power of maps in this modern context informs potential interpretations of power relationships and political agendas that may be inferred from historic maps when analyzed through a framework of critical cartography. In conjunction with critical analysis, a comparative view of the inclusions and exclusions seen on historic maps may highlight the perceptions of the mapmakers. Additionally, the examination of the implied reader and the actual reader of the maps may allow researchers insight into the political framework in which the map was created.

Through this analysis, I have argued that the dominant roles of the political elite in shaping urban development and values of historical importance can be decoded through their representational systems and symbols found within historic institutional maps. Using two Southern cities known for their investment in historic tourism, this process of selected urban history, renewal, and the process in which it is reified over time is elucidated through the analytical frameworks provided by many urban spatial theorists discussed above. Understanding the relationship between 'representational space' and 'representation of space' as embodied within the visual codes of maps parallels the cognitive understanding of the mapmakers allowing for an interpretation of the motivations and manipulations of past political forces. Tying these findings to their historical context allows for a more complete version of history outside of the chosen version perpetuated through time. The technique of map analysis used in this paper can aid in future studies within history, archaeology, and cultural anthropology to place space within its political framework of time and help our understanding of urban development. This analysis also reveals the power of mapmakers, both past and present, to direct the spatial usage and historical education of tourists through guiding their gaze toward specific areas of the city. By understanding our own assumptions as researchers we are able to further our notions of cultural and temporal relativity in understanding maps by placing them in their historic context and recognizing maps as active agents. This

relativity, or contextual understanding of the production and consumption of maps, influences us as the maps themselves were influenced during their creation. As most people at some point find themselves in the role of a tourist, this analysis can inform us of spaces that have been dressed for our consumption, allowing us to exist in our liminal tourist state with more awareness of political context, both past and present.

The people in Charleston are almost invisible and the object of viewing is the city, the built environment. In New Orleans, the streets and parks of the French Quarter are the stage and scenery, but it is the people, the crowds of local musicians, psychics, artists, and chefs mixed in with the tourists that provides the collective object of viewing. This need for large group engagement in order to appreciate the setting is what Urry terms the 'collective' and 'spectatorial' forms of the tourist gaze in which communal activity and a series of shared encounters is essential to the tourist experience and a part of their expectations (Urry 1992: 182). This differs from Charleston's dependence on more 'romantic' and 'environmental' forms of the tourist gaze that value more sustained viewing activities that range from solitary to collective organization with a goal to view, survey, and inspect the surroundings (Urry 1992: 181). The maps constructed for tourists act as both 'maps' and 'tours' in the stories that they tell about the streets. Through inclusion and exclusion of places on maps, they reveal the relationships between buildings, but only those buildings that are acceptable for tourists, either for their type of gaze or to reproduce what is representative of the chosen view of the city. This can be seen in the Caminito tourist area in Guano's (2003) study of La Boca as well as the examples of Charleston and New Orleans seen in this paper. They also act as tours through providing the paths of transportation and focused areas of tourist activity. Taken together, this reveals the power of the mapmakers in the reproduction of the historical narratives chosen for a city.

**References:**

Anderson, Benedict.
  1983  *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso Editions.

Crampton, Jeremy W. and John Krygier.
  2006  An Introduction to Critical Cartography. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies,* 4(1): 11-33.

Crampton, Jeremy W.
  2009  Cartography: performative, participatory, political. *Progress in Human Geography* 33(6): 840-848.

de Certeau, M.
  1984  *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.  Kindle Edition.

Debord, Guy.
  1994[1968] *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone Books.

Del Lago, Enrico.
  2001  The City as Social Display: Landed Elites and Urban Images in Charleston and Palermo. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 14(4): 374-396.

Flake, Carol.
  1994  *New Orleans: Behind the Masks of America's Most Exotic City*. New York: Grove Press.

Foucault, Michel.
  1977  *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Pantheon Books.
  1980  "The Eye of Power." *In Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-77*, edited by C. Gordon, 146-65. New York: Pantheon Books.
  1991  *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombardori.* New York: Semiotext(e).

Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec.
  1986  "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics*, 16(1): 22-27.

Frink, Sandra.
  2010  "Strangers are Flocking Here": Identity and Anonymity in New Orleans, 1810-1860. *American Nineteenth Century History*, 11(2):155-181.

Geertz, Clifford.
  1973  *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, Perseus Publishing.

Gramsci, Antonio.
  1971  *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.* New York: International Publishers.

Guano, Emanuela.
  2003  A Stroll Through la Boca: The Politics and Poetics of Spatial Experience in a Buenos Aires Neighborhood. *Space & Culture*, 6(4): 256-376.

2015    Touring the Hidden City: Walking Tour Guides in Deindustrializing Genoa. *City and Society,* 27(2): 160-182.

Historic Charleston Foundation Website.
  ND    Historic Charleston Foundation Preservation and Achieves. https://www.historiccharleston.org/Home.aspx, last accessed September 12, 2015.

Holston, James.
  1989   *The Modernist City*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Iser, Wolfgang
  1978   *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kammen, Michael
  1990   *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Vintage Books, Random House Press.

Kasfir, Sidney L.
  2000   Tourism, Aesthetics, and Global Flows along the Swahili Coast." In *Venbrux*, Eric et al. (eds.), Exploring World Art. Long Grove, Ill, Waveland Press, pp111-129.

Larson, Jonas and John Urry.
  2011   Gazing and performing. Environment and Planning D: *Society and Space*, 29(1): 1110-1125.

Lefebvre, Henri.
  1991   The Production of Space. Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Library of Congress Website.
  ND    Library of Congress Collections with Maps.  https://www.loc.gov/maps/collections/, last accessed September 14, 2015.

Orlove, Benjamin S.
  1991   "Mapping Reeds and Reading Maps: The Politics of Representation in Lake Titicaca." *American Ethnologist*, 18(1): 3-38.

Roach, Joseph.
  1996   *Cities of the Dead*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rotenberg, Robert.
  1995   *Landscape and Power in Vienna.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Stanonis, Anthony J.
  2006   *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism 1918-1945.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Urry, John.
  1992   The Tourist Gaze "Revisited": The concept of the gaze, the tourist, and the environment. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 36(2): 172-185.

Urry, John and Jonas Larson.

2011   *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: SAGE Publications, LTD.

Yuhl, Stephanie E.
  2005   *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston.* Chapel Hill: The University of
         North Carolina Press.

Zierden, Martha.
  2010   Landscape and Social Relations at Charleston Townhouse Sites (1770-1850).
         *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14(1): 527–546.