Le Corps au combat: the body as a site of symbolic combat in republican newspaper satire in the late Second Empire and early Third Republic, c. 1867-1873

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the importance of the body in the contestation of symbolic authority by republican newspaper satirists during a period of great political change in France, encompassing the end of the Second Empire and the beginning of the Third Republic. In recent years, much attention has been given to caricature in the period, but historians have largely restricted their consideration to broad surveys of collections. This thesis instead opts for a close reading of individual caricatures and other satire in an effort to decode their symbolic meaning, identifying and contextualising sources that can enlighten us about the reformulation of authority in the period and assisting further research in the area. As concerns methodology, the study bases its understanding of the body on the frameworks set out by Judith Wechsler and Bertrand Tillier, that the body functioned as a set of codes to be read, revealing information about one's character and serving as signs of social difference. Corporeality is therefore not only considered in its physical terms (physique, gesture and dress), but also as a social and political phenomenon, encompassing ideas of morality, gender and class. As explored in each chapter, this has wide-ranging consequences for satire's ability to interrupt the transmission of symbolic authority, which, inspired by Seth Whidden, the thesis defines as the conventions of signs and symbols which allow one agent to act upon another. The manipulation of the body as sign, particularly but not solely in caricature, is the cornerstone of the satirist's involvement in the contest of symbolic authority. As the thesis attests, symbolic conventions are constituted through discursive practice, with the theoretical approaches of Richard Terdiman shaping the thesis' understanding of such practices. The study of the body and symbolic authority thus necessarily collides with issues of discourse and counter-discourse. The thesis contends that this intersection of corporeality, discourse and symbolic authority is a good framework in which to examine textual and visual satire in late-nineteenth-century France, appreciating the role that individual satirists played in the symbolic struggles of the era while recognising the collective, societal and discursive formations integral to their success and which defined their limitations. This is particularly important given the prevailing context of censorship in the period. This nuanced approach allows for censorship to be perceived as more than a mere roadblock to satirical intervention against Bonapartism and monarchism, but as a source of artistic and ideological innovation which provided a fertile field for the negotiation of symbolic authority between satirists, their readers and their subjects.

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Author’s Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Aidan Martin

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Last, and, if you will forgive the cliché, certainly not least, is that mostly anonymous legion of librarians, archivists, administrative staff, computer technicians and other scholars and workers, at the University of Glasgow, at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* and elsewhere, without whom this thesis would not be possible. My studies of caricature have underscored to me the extent to which any production is ultimately a collective endeavour. The pandemic has further underscored to me the extent to which we are reliant on a vast network of people, most of whom we never and will never encounter in our daily lives. I want to give special thanks to Carolyn Donaldson, who responded promptly to my queries over the year, and the College of Arts Graduate School at Glasgow, who have been equally quick to respond to my, occasionally panicked, emails, particularly in the last couple of weeks.

0.0 Introduction

‘Gill a campé la République, avec une série de chefs-d'œuvre improvisés’, wrote the journalist Maucroix of the caricaturist André Gill in October 1881, some weeks after the artist’s condemnation to the notorious *asile de Charenton* on grounds of poor mental health.[1] Less than four years later, the writer Jules Lermina eulogised that ‘Gill a été l'un des plus ardents, des plus vaillants, des plus utiles ennemis de l'Empire. Avec Rochefort, c'est le démolisseur excellent des hommes de cette période odieuse.’[2] These comments betray that the time of which Maucroix and Lermina spoke was a period of intense political and symbolic reconfiguration in France. The collapse of the Second Empire on 2 September 1870, and its replacement two days later by a new Republic, took place amid a bloody conflict which saw France disarmed of two provinces and the permanent loss of the lives of hundreds of thousands of French troops and civilians. This war birthed the Siege of Paris and was the midwife of the Paris Commune, which, though only considered in this thesis in the context of their aftermath, subjected the prevailing political and social structures to extreme pressure and opened up political and public space to women and the working class. These conflagrations, martial and social, gave way to an internal political struggle within France, which pitted republicans and monarchists against each other, and triggered debates among republicans around which aspects of their Revolutionary inheritance were legitimate and which social groups should be permitted in republican society.

With these political changes and tribulations came re-examination of the visual and textual conventions which sustained and were sustained by these systems. In other words, the supplantation of the Bonapartist regime by the Third Republic accompanied and was accompanied by the relegation of the Napoleonic eagle in favour of the republican Marianne. We can see this in a satirical print from soon after Napoleon III’s defeat at Sedan, where the ex-Emperor was depicted heading off to Prussia, denuded of his uncle’s bicorne and with his eagle in tow [Figure 0.1]. But though change was organised around these moments of conflict and collapse, these systems of meaning had nonetheless already come under strain, and continued to be subject to continuous struggle after these moments had passed. This wider context of fomentation and realignment coincided with the temporary weakening of a regime of visual censorship, then almost fifty years old, and it is this co-occurrence which makes the period between 1867 and 1873 in

[1] Maucroix, *Tout Paris* [29 October 1881], quoted in Charles Fontane, *Un Maître de la Caricature: André Gill, 1840-1885* (Paris: 1927), vol. 2, p. 241; Gill was sentenced by a jury to Charenton (now l’hôpital Esquirol) and his confinement produced a wave of obituaries among the Parisian press, preceding his actual death by some four years. These eulogies began in 1881 with the artist’s confinement and were produced periodically throughout the next fifteen years, the last coming in 1894 with the christening of la Rue André Gill (which still stands today not a ten minute walk from le Sacré Cœur). They are reproduced in Charles Fontane’s biography of Gill, see Fontane, ed., ‘Gill jugé par ses contemporains’, in *Un Maître de la Caricature: André Gill, 1840-1885*, vol. 2, pp. 229-334.
[2] Jules Lermina, *Le Mot d’ordre* [4 May 1885], quoted in Fontane, *Un Maître de la Caricature*, vol 2., p. 278.

France an excellent historical window through which to examine the constitution and interruption of symbolic authority, and the body's centrality in this process.

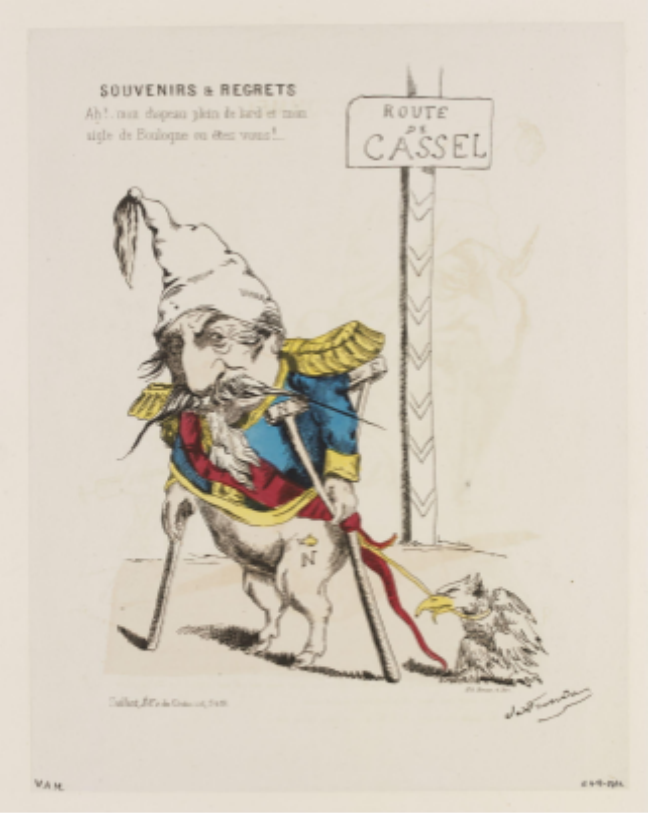

Figure 0.1: de Frondat, *Souvenirs & Regrets* (1870-1), accessed online via *Victoria & Albert Museum Collections*.

Caricaturists, and satirists more generally, participated in this political and symbolic agitation, and their works form the corpus of this thesis. André Gill, as we saw above, was held up as the foremost example of this type of artist, and the above comments further betray contemporary notions of the satirist's ability, especially of one so uniquely skilled as Gill, to intervene in political conflicts, even attributing to them an almost-singular responsibility for the downfall of the Second Empire and for the christening of the Third Republic. Yet, this view, which conceives of the field of social and political struggle as an individualist insurrection, frustrates our understanding of the period and masks in its simplicity the material and discursive stakes of satire. Indeed, Judith Wechsler has linked the relevance of caricature and journalism in the period to the socio-economic pressures of nineteenth-century France, which drove much of the rural population to the cities, oversaw the urban transformation of Paris and spawned a veritable revolution in mass communication and transportation. Media capable of responding to the rapidity of these changes, which included newspaper satire, was privileged as a result.[3] Richard Terdiman, in his 1985 book *Discourse/Counter-Discourse* (to which I refer often in this work), spells out the discursive and collective dimensions of satire, and repeats German scholar Rainer Warning's observation that

[3] Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), pp. 13.

'[ironic discourse] presupposes a public that is prepared to exclude itself from dominant value systems'.[4] Further, we can gather from contemporary sources that Gill's caricatures became part of the texture of the Parisian lifestyle. Eagerly awaited, their publication resembled an event in which the urban crowd indulged. Through their recognition of and merry reaction to Gill's subtle critiques, the city's inhabitants were made an accessory to his symbolic vandalism and reinforcement.[5] Satire's effectiveness in the period was thus as contingent on a whole host of societal forces as those representations of authority whose transmission it sought to distort, interrupt or efface.

0.1 The Body

The body, a key facet of caricature and newspaper satire, is revelatory of the material forces at operation in satire's challenge to symbolic authority in the period. In response to the societal dislocation of Paris outlined by Wechsler, a series of codes developed around the human face and body, which were thought capable of delivering information about a stranger's moral character. This 'silent vocabulary' was drawn from both formal and informal sources, dating back (it was thought) to Aristotle, and included pseudoscientific ideas such as physiognomy and phrenology.[6] Bertrand Tillier has pointed out that these corporeal codes were equally drawn from newer cultural and technological understandings of the body, and links their ability to communicate symbolic meaning, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, to the scientific revolution around medicine and genetics, through which representations of physical deformity and distinction could be ordered systematically and related to a material reality of bodily weakness and strength.[7] In conceptualising corporeality, it is useful to connect these above observations to Michel Foucault's insights on discourse, namely its material nature and its capacity to legitimate knowledge and thus shape the thinking of a particular period.[8] The ability of Gill and his contemporaries to destabilise the authority of Bonapartism and of monarchy was fundamentally linked to their ability to transmit to and manipulate before their audience these pre-established norms of reading the body, to tap into this knowledge of corporeality that constituted social fact.

In framing corporeality in this thesis, we do not contain ourselves to the physical distortions of the face and body. The physical body was indeed an important feature in the contest of symbolic authority in the period, and we discuss how this type of manipulation was employed to symbolic ends below. But

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[4] Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 143, 155-8.
[5] see Fontane, vol. 2., pp. 242, 282, 331.
[6] Wechsler, p. 15.
[7] Bertrand Tillier, 'Révélation', in *La Républicature: La caricature politique en France, 1870-1914* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997), para. 20-5.
[8] Mark Olssen, 'Foucault and Marxism: rewriting the theory of historical materialism', *Policy Futures in Education*, 2/3-4 (2004), p. 462; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), pp. 135-40.

consideration of the social, political and gendered dimensions of corporeality in the period can also pay dividends as concerns our understanding of the symbolic and discursive struggles of the period. Abstract political forces were embodied in both real and allegorical corporeal forms, with caricature's capacity for visual alterity blurring the lines between these categories, and through which the systems of meaning which supported them could be debated and reconfigured. Discourses of the body penetrated into the language of the time and informed the conceptualisation of social struggle. For example, Karl Marx, examining revolution and counter-revolution in France during and immediately after the Second Republic, remarked that 'violent outbreaks naturally erupt sooner at the extremities of the bourgeois body than its heart', discussed the deployments of military force 'which were periodically applied to the head of French society to compact the brain and render the body torpid', and finally spoke in terms of 'the peculiar physiognomy of the period'.[9] Larger social organisms were given physical properties and verbally constructed as bodies.

Nor must we limit ourselves to consideration of discrete organisms, whether social or physical, but should rather conceive of the body as a constellation of corporeality, including attitudes, gait, custom and costume. Wechsler and Terdiman concur that corporeality (which includes direct physicality, but also gesture and dress) acted as a signifier of social difference in the period, necessarily involving satire and its audience in the field of societal struggle.[10] Robert Nye shows us how this framework can also be applied to gender in the period, and notes the intensely corporeal nature of the gendering of gestures.[11] It reminds us of the discursive function of corporeality in the period, organising relations between people within society.

0.2 Symbolic Authority

In writing this thesis, I have been greatly indebted to Seth Whidden's *Authority in Crisis in French Literature*, particularly in the process' formative months.[12] Whidden's deployment of Alexandre Kojève's notion of authority to discuss the role of literature and the author in late-nineteenth-century France, amid the political dislocations of the Second Empire and the nascent Third Republic, is especially useful in the chapters below. Kojève conceived of authority as an essentially social phenomenon, requiring both author and reader, 'the possibility of one agent to act upon others'.[13] Its application in the context of literature is

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[9] Karl Marx, *Class Struggles in France*, ed. Friedrich Engels (London: Electric Book Company, 2001), p. 150; Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', trans. Terrell Carver, in *Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire : Postmodern Interpretations*, eds. Mark Cowling and James Martin (Pluto Press, 2002), pp. 33, 42.
[10] Wechsler, pp. 13, 16; Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, pp. 179-84.
[11] Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford Uni Press, 1993), p. 7.
[12] see Seth Whidden, *Authority in Crisis in French Literature (1850-1880)* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).
[13] Whidden, *Authority in Crisis* (London: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 1-2.

perhaps reminiscent of the Roman conception of *auctoritas*, which, while also encompassing ideas of authorship and authenticity, relates primarily to a moral authority, or one's 'capacity to inspire respect' in another.[14] As Marx reflected on the conflict between the National Assembly and Louis Bonaparte during the Second Republic, in which the latter was elected by the whole people and thus possessed an almost divine right to rule, 'it is impossible to create moral authority by legal phrases'.[15]

We might refer to authority in this sense as *symbolic* authority, defined as 'those conventions through which one commands respect' or 'those conventions which allow an agent to act upon another'. The agents participating in this interplay of authority could be emperor and subject, candidate and voter, artist and viewer. This conception of authority proves particularly attractive in light of the multiplicities of authority, artistic and temporal, with which we are treating in this thesis. As we glimpsed above and shall see in more detail below, these conventions were contingent and fluid. This fluidity was heightened by the time of crisis at work in our period, as cultural production is ultimately embedded in the socio-economic structures within a particular historical moment.[16] Contemporary sources often discussed the usurpation of symbolic authority in terms of a symbolic vandalism, as a destructive process interrupting the formation of discourses. Gill was compared in one source to Atilla the Hun, 'il ravageait avec le rire'.[17] While the contest of symbolic authority indeed involved the voiding of certain symbols of their expressive power, it should also be considered in its positive sense, the ways satirists sought to reinforce, renegotiate or even create new conventions of authority. These conventions could be manipulated or usurped, invented or uplifted, often by those far removed from political power. How satirists acted out these processes of symbolic dissolution and creation during the Second Empire and early Third Republic, particularly through corporeal convention, is explored in this thesis.

Below, I employ the terms 'symbolic resistance' and 'discursive resistance' more or less interchangeably, reflective of the close links between the two. The symbolic conventions discussed above were constituted by discursive practice, and include the Napoleonic eagle and the discursively-mediated ways of reading the body which we saw above. They could in turn function as a means to disseminate or restate discourses. The sabre, for example, was a shorthand for imperial claims to incarnate martial prowess and social order. Due to the malleability of symbolism in the period, such symbols could also be twisted, turned against the very discourses which they signified and disrupting their cultural transmission. These

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[14] Ildar Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 300 - 900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 11-2. This connection has also been remarked on by Whidden, see Whidden, *Authority in Crisis*, pp. 4-5.
[15] Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', p. 32.
[16] This was discussed by Colin Foss and Nick White during a webinar organised by the Nineteenth-Century French Studies Association, particularly in relation to the Siege of Paris (1870-1), but which can be applied to the period more generally, see Colin Foss and Nick White, *NCFS in Captivity: The Culture of War*, online webinar, Nineteenth-Century French Studies Association [accessed 06/09/2021] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OiMVHvcf8p4> [31:30 - 35:50].
[17] E. Coquelin, *La vie humoristique* [1881?], quoted in Fontane, vol. 2, p. 258.

conventions were thus often in competition with each other, resisting and reinforcing the propagation of discourses underpinning the Napoleonic regime, monarchy, republicanism or of the bourgeoisie's place in society. These acts of symbolic reiteration and deformation of discourses could often occur simultaneously, inhabiting the same symbol. Caricaturists' manipulation of bodily codes can be interpreted in this fashion. Though they deployed these corporeal signs to sap the symbolic authority of their opponents, embodying weakness in place of strength, satirists were also reinforcing these tacit assumptions around the body, further entrenching their position as social fact. Caricature and satire could therefore function both discursively and counter-discursively, reinforcing one discourse in the act of tearing down another. This does not necessarily speak to a failure of ability on the part of the satirist, but rather expresses the durability of certain discourses in the period and signals towards their dominance.

0.3 Discourse and Counter-Discourse

What is meant by discourse and counter-discourse? Terdiman defines discourses as 'a culture's determined and determining structures of representation and practice', the 'structuring structures [...] which provide a culture with its understanding of itself and define its encounter with the world confronting it'.[18] As Terdiman further explains, 'the inherent tendency of a dominant discourse is to "go without saying" [...] its presence is defined by the social impossibility of its absence'.[19] They are the images which we learn consciously and unconsciously in our daily life, in conversation at home, at work, at school, through the media, and which construct our knowledge of things.[20] Landlordism is a legitimate economic activity. Homelessness does not represent a failure of public policy, but is rather like the zodiac the product of mystical and unavoidable cosmic forces. Roads are the exclusive domain of the private motorist. The economy is like a household budget. It is the sole responsibility of individuals to look to their own mental health. These are among the discourses which dominate the world today, informing and informed by the relations (often asymmetrically organised) between people within society and determining political and cultural responses to issues of housing, public transport, taxation and healthcare. Counter-discourses, by contrast, could be defined as the articulation of an alternative to these discourses, in doing so often necessarily employing those same systems by which discourse is produced, 'the multiform violations of the norms of the dominant constitut[ing] the realm of [its] functionality'.[21]

Examination of the formal norms of newspaper culture sheds light on the advantages and limitations of newspaper satire as acts of counter-discursive resistance. This follows from newspapers' function as

[18] Terdiman, p. 12.
[19] Ibid., p. 61.
[20] Hatsuho Ayashiro, 'Deconstructing Dominant Discourse Using Self-deprecating Humor: A Discourse Analysis of a Consulting with Japanese Female about Hikikomori and NEET', *Wisdom in Education*, 5/2 (2015), p. 1.
[21] Terdiman, pp. 13, 68-9.

'signs of dominant discourse self-confidently bodied forth' and from the fact that counter-discourse draws its potential from the detection, mapping and subversion of 'naturalised protocols' of social representation.[22] We will explore satirists' attempted evasion of the discursive structures specific to the period, including censorship and the particular form of the newspaper, in the relevant chapters themselves, and instead speak here in general terms. Broadly, in formulating their symbolic critique of power through the newspaper, satirists sought to avoid where possible the repressive institutions and market logics which dominated the form, these attempts constituting their counter-discursive function. But newspaper satire could only tread water for a time and could never wholly escape submersion within the formal boundaries of its medium.[23] The form of the newspaper always inscribed itself on the satire.

We can see these processes at work in caricaturists' use of visual bodily codes. Their employment of these signs, while advancing acts of symbolic and discursive resistance, was also motivated by profit, the need to 'develop a pungent and rapid communicative vocabulary' to maintain their readership's interest.[24] This was particularly key to caricature's success given dominant modes of news consumption at the time, whereby people rarely read newspapers from beginning to end. Further, given mixed competencies in literacy, providing news in a fashion that was both easy and interesting to read was advantageous in this commercial environment.[25] These considerations brought satirical production into the economic domain and assured that, if sustaining a critique of power remained its primary function, then satire's pursuit of such resistance would at least be coloured or even hampered by its nature as a commodity. It shows the boundaries imposed on satire in prosecuting symbolic struggles through a medium such as the newspaper, a limit which this methodology readily admits.

The form of the newspaper through which satire was disseminated regulated opportunity for symbolic resistance, but caricature also possessed a visual form which was distinct from its operation through the newspaper and makes it conducive to our understanding of the semiotic churn in the period. The counter-discursive stakes of caricature's nature as a visual medium was heightened by the technological context of the nineteenth century. Judith Wechsler has discussed the impact of the rise of photography on caricature in mid-nineteenth-century France, writing that it 'undermined the task of the illustrator and forced new polari[s]ation between illustration and painting, eroding the position of the caricaturists in whom the power to inform, to indicate character and moral action, is dependent on selectivity and emphasis'.[26] That contemporaries increasingly used the daguerreotype as a means of denigrating social Realism in satire, exemplified by Charles Baudelaire's withering criticism of Henry Monnier's Joseph

[22] Ibid., pp. 117, 149.
[23] Ibid., pp. 185-91.
[24] Wechsler, p. 15.
[25] Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: an anatomy of political power (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)*, pp. 177, 356.
[26] Wechsler, p. 174.

Prudhomme,[27] points to the fundamental difference between caricature and photography, wherein lies caricature's counter-discursive potential. It reveals that caricature is not simply a hand-drawn form of photography, engaged in the faithful summoning of reality, but rather seeks to exaggerate it, often in grotesque fashions.

Yet, while the development of novel visual technologies may have heralded the end for Realism in caricature, it also presented caricature with new counter-discursive avenues, as Tillier contends. Tillier has elaborated on the *réalité illusoire* acquired by caricature in the later decades of the nineteenth century, linked to advances such as the phenakistoscope and the stereoscope. This illusory reality allowed vision to be unbuckled from traditional ways of representation and permitted depiction of the body to compete with reality.[28] Although Tillier and Weschler link caricature's renewed visual otherness to contemporary scientific advances, in some sense, it is inherent to the medium's function. Alfie Bown has recently made this case in his 2019 psychoanalytical study of comedy, challenging the traditional definition of caricature as the mere distortion of reality. Instead, he argues that 'caricature is not a process of embellishing an original but of effacing the concept of an original human prior to its representation.'[29] This iconoclastic challenge to modes of representation shows that '[c]aricature is not an art form that turns reality or the original into caricature, but one that shows that reality is caricatural, always eventually transforming originals into new things'.[30] Though the three viewpoints have much to distinguish them, they are fundamentally united in their recognition that caricature thrives in its capacity to produce and sustain a visual otherness, through which it can expose reality as 'contingent', elsewhere identified by Terdiman.[31] It is in revealing discourses as transitory that caricature comes into its own as an exercise in counter-discourse.

Indeed, Lermina came close to recognising the counter-discursive nature of caricature in the period:

> [Les caricatures de Gill] forment véritablement une histoire de l'époque impériale, à cette période d'ébranlement qui, déjà, faisait prévoir l'effondrement prochain. Gill, avec son crayon spirituel et sa verve satirique, sachant dans un détail, dans une allusion, viser le point faible de nos adversaires politiques, fut un des plus utiles artisans de la chute de l'Empire.[32]

What made Gill's satire so subversive was his ability to espy the slightest weakness in the ideological structures of his opponents, the chinks in their discursive armour, and, employing the visual alterity

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[27] Ibid., pp. 127-9, 174.
[28] Tillier, para. 20-2.
[29] Alfie Bown, *In the Event of Laughter: Psychoanalysis, Literature and Comedy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 46.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Terdiman, pp. 76-7, 151.
[32] Jules Lermina, quoted in Charles Fontane, *Un Maître de la Caricature: André Gill, 1840-1885* (Paris: 1927), vol. 1, p. 237.

inherent to caricature, shatter the glass for all to see. The effective form and function of Gill's artistic wit against the Second Empire and the monarchist restorationists of the Third Republic derived from the discursive realities of visual, textual and mediatic culture, dominant discourses around the body and corporeality, and the contexts by which symbolic meaning became fluid in the period. The premise of this thesis is that this intersection of corporeality, discourse and symbolic authority is a good framework in which to examine textual and visual satire in the late-nineteenth century in France, appreciating the role of satire and of satirists while recognising the collective, societal and discursive formations integral to their success and which defined their limitations.

0.4 Word and Image

Though caricature is considered above and below primarily in visual terms, its collaboration with mass print media, poetry and song necessarily blurs the line between the pictorial and the literary. Noted poet Charles Baudelaire made his forays into satire with *la plume* rather than *le crayon*, interweaving prose and caricature in his poetry. Such an occlusion of visual and literary forms of parody is apparent in the works of Paul Verlaine, Eugène Vermersch and Théodore de Banville.[33] Even within visual caricature itself, we find word and image going hand-in-hand. The individuals satirised within the visual medium are sometimes identified with captions, subtitles or annotations,[34] while on occasion the full symbolic meaning of a particular drawing is only realisible from the title. W. J. T Mitchell has discussed the deleterious effects that this blurring of the formal boundaries between logographic and pictographic representation can have on semiotic order and his succinct description of the ever-present potential for the shift from word to image influenced much of my analysis below.[35] Caricaturists in the period were fully cognisant of the unique opportunities offered by their medium to shift attention from the aural to the visual and back, an awareness often actively applied to their critique of established authority. For example, in this way, a caricature simply entitled *Rébus* broached the topic of an upcoming press law, which threatened the material circulation of newspaper satire by imposing a tax of fifteen centimes on paper [Figure 0.2].[36] The print depicted a goose standing over an issue of *La Presse* and frames it as a puzzle for the reader to tease out: in French, *l'oie sur la Presse* sounds identical to *loi sur la presse*. If the pun proved undecipherable to the reader, the captions helpfully informed the viewer that the symbolism would be revealed a month later, in the same way one might nowadays wait a week for solutions to a crossword puzzle. It illustrates how republican caricature in the period was a collective venture with

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[33] Sonya Stephens, 'Argot littéraire, argot plastique: Caricature in Baudelaire's prose poetry', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 30/2 (1993), p. 200; Whidden, pp. 47, 62-3.
[34] Terdiman has discussed the subversive and counter-discursive importance of captions, especially those seeking to capture the spoken word, see Terdiman, pp. 180-4.
[35] W. J. T Mitchell, 'Word and Image', in *Critical Terms for Art History* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).
[36] Alfred le Petit, 'Rébus', *L'Éclipse*, 4/142 (16 July 1871).

artists inviting their readers to partake and delight in the decoding of these masked signs of subversion.[37] It reassembled a game, played out between satirists and readers, whose prize was a collective stake in the contest of symbolic authority. In this game, text functioned as a way of communicating to the reader, conveying the symbolic usurpation present in the image while evading censorship or otherwise attempting to militate against loss of transmission. Caricature benefited in this manner from the semiotic density offered by its half-visual, half-textual means of transmission. Its meaning was diffused across text and picture, with one encouraging the reader towards a particular interpretation of the other. In other contexts, it could even divert the audience away from a particular reading, complicating meaning, fragmenting it, in doing so becoming a witness to and an agent of the fragmentation of 'semiotic and aesthetic order' so described by Mitchell.

Figure 0.2: Alfred le Petit, 'Rébus', *L'Éclipse*, 4/142 (16 July 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

0.5 Sources and Readership

These ideas of aesthetic order translate well into questions of authority, in that the boundaries of artistic or literary order were often coterminous with those of political and symbolic authority, the domination of one group of people over another, the subjection of one symbol to another. This is evident in contemporary perceptions of caricature. The art critic Champfleury compared caricature favourably to official historical documents, entering into the historical record and the material world a form of

[37] see also Wechsler, p. 82.

artistic-literary expression that was seen to emanate from below rather than from above. Caricature's accessibility to illiterate and semi-literate audiences and its willingness to represent their lives and views was equally the source of a moral disgust and dread in Champfleury's peers.[38] Its transgression of artistic boundaries was identical to its transgression of social boundaries.

Champfleury's description of caricature as a historical source was not unique, and that contemporaries often saw satirists as contributing to historical knowledge demonstrates how they participated in questions of symbolic authority in the period. Indeed, the quote by Lermina above treats Gill not so much as a caricaturist, but as a historian, a social critic of the Second Empire who shaped the perceptions of Napoleon III that were held a decade after his fall from power. Feminist and newspaper editor Séverine similarly described Gill's caricatures as 'non point des recueils éphémères, mais des registres d'annales utiles à consulter pour bien établir l'histoire de notre temps'.[39] So echoed the journalist Étienne Carjat, writing that caricature under the Second Empire and the early Third Republic figured among the pages of contemporary history.[40] The prints of Gill and his colleagues became the authoritative record of the Second Empire. Caricature's perceived ability to project an alternative history, a "better" history than that contained in the official record, meshes well with the concept of visual alterity above. As sources of history, they were equally sources of moral authority, capable of telling truth from lie, the good from the bad.

The wide way in which caricature was distributed imbued its challenge to authority with a popular currency and demonstrates its utility as a historical source for our purposes. Reaching tens of thousands by the simple tally of readership figures, it grants a wider window into the everyday visual and textual culture of contemporary Parisians than that offered by a private letter, a piece of literature or even the written press in some cases. The illustrated satirical magazines which we call upon here, *La Lune* (and its successors, *L'Éclipse* and *La Lune Rousse*), *Le Charivari* and *Le Grelot*, boasted considerable readerships, and took it as their mission to popularise their papers among the masses.[41] Barely a year after its foundation, *La Lune* had a weekly circulation of thirty-two thousand by 25 November 1866. This figure grew steadily to forty-one thousand by 14 April 1867, remaining so until 23 June 1867, after which the newspaper ceased to report on its readership figures.[42] These compare well against some of the most venerable republican newspapers at the time, such as *Le Journal des Débats* and *La Presse*. *Le Siècle*, another main republican newspaper, sold around fifty-two thousand copies at its peak (1861).[43] *La Lune*

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[38] Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature moderne* (Paris: Imprimerie Simon Raçon, 1885), p. vii-viii, accessed on *BnF Gallica*, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k931674m/f13.item> [accessed 08/03/2021].
[39] Séverine, *L'Écho du Paris* [25 May 1894], quoted in Fontane, vol. 2, p. 315.
[40] Étienne Carjat, *Le Journal* [27 April 1895], quoted in Fontane, vol. 2, p. 317.
[41] F. Polo,, 'Au Public', *L'Éclipse*, 1/1 (26 January 1868), p. 2.
[42] *La Lune*, 2/38 (25 November 1866); ibid., 3/58 (14 April 1867).
[43] Price, *French Second Empire*, pp. 175, 181.

compares less favourably against *Le Petit Journal*, which regularly sold around a quarter of a million copies a day, though, as France's best-selling newspaper, this is perhaps to be expected.

Interestingly, *La Lune*, in November 1867, claimed to have an eye-watering half a million readers.[44] We should remain sceptical of this assertion, interpreting it as a mere act of bravado and a means to derive greater artistic authority by impersonating the imagined expression of the popular will of Paris. It does however point towards a decoupling between sales and readership, which we should expect from contemporary media consumption habits, particularly regarding caricature. The circulation figures listed above provide only a part of the story. Even accounting for multiple readerships in cafés, only a small proportion of the population read newspapers, and those who did rarely read articles from beginning to end.[45] Caricature's form was well-positioned to exploit this. Emblazoned on the front pages of dailies, weeklies and periodicals, it was visible for all Parisians to see at the street-side kiosks from which they bought and consumed their news, disseminating their symbolism to those less engaged readers, or even to those who did not buy the paper at all. At other times, caricatures were featured on separate sheets, sold in the streets of Paris and plastered on walls and fences across the city, consumed by passers-by.[46] Caricature therefore benefited doubly from its marriage to and separation from mass print media, whereby newspapers acted as engines for the spread of these transgressive literary and pictorial modes, but satirical print by no means found itself anchored to this one source of transmission. This bifurcated nature of caricature complicates the understanding set out above about the capacity of the form of the newspaper for discursive recuperation, in that it was both tied to the newspaper and apart from it.

The visual symbolism of caricature equally proved able to percolate into other media, such as popular song and poetry, widening its destabilising influence. *Le Sire de Fisch-ton-Kan*, popular with Parisian audiences during the Siege of Paris and the Commune, referred to the exaggerated physicality of Napoleon III established in caricature, while the treatment of Adolphe Thiers, Ernest Picard and Jules Favre in Rimbaud's *Chant de guerre parisien* clearly assumes an audience familiarity with caricatural representations of these three figures.[47] The relationship between caricature and popular song was a symbiotic one. We often find poems or songs scribbled around drawings, to be sung, read or whistled to an *air connu*, suggestive of a musicality that is often obscured by time. Indeed, the Napoleonic regime clearly identified certain songs as a threat to their authority, on par with caricature, and the singing of *La*

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[44] Gill, 'Les lutteurs masqués', La Lune, 3/87 (3 November 1867), p. 1.
[45] Price, p. 177.
[46] Catulle Mendès and Arthur Rimbaud remarked on the vulgar, often sexually or politically transgressive posters adorning Paris' streets, see Kristin Ross, '1871, 15 May: Commune Culture', in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. Denis Hollier (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 751-7. Curated selections of André Gill's caricatures were also advertised and sold separately by *La Lune* and *L'Éclipse*.
[47] Paul Burani, *Le Sire de Fisch-ton-Kan* (1870), <https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Le_Sire_de_Fisch_Ton_Kan> [accessed 09/03/2021]; Ross, 'Commune Culture', p. 756.

Marseillaise was banned for most of Napoleon III's reign.[48] In light of this categorical collapse between the visual and the textual present in caricature, this thesis directs its attention towards newspaper satire in general, including both caricature and the text accompanying it. Indeed, in the last chapter, we concern ourselves mostly with textual satire from Paris in the aftermath of the Commune. Despite their textuality, these articles are deeply corporeal and sensory in nature, and we see the visual form inscribing itself on their vocabulary in a similar way to the songs and poems above. These sources sought to capture gesture, attire and other signifiers of social belonging through the written word, referring to similar semantic notions as caricature. The two are thus not easily separable - caricature may have had the advantage of connecting with a less literate audience, driving its more threatening appearance to the authorities, but textual satire nonetheless proved capable of participating in the contest of symbolic authority.

0.6 Structure of the Thesis

Throughout this thesis, I hope to make a threefold contribution to the scholarship: on the primary level of the sources, on the secondary level of historical analysis, and on the tertiary plain of the theoretical and methodological approaches which enable us to grasp the contest of symbolic authority in the period.

The first chapter is primarily concerned with the asymmetrical symbolic warfare that was waged by republican caricaturists in the late Second Empire, with the goal of subordinating the political power of Napoleon III to their visual authority. Political caricature from this period has been largely absent from the historical record, and despite Robert Justin Goldstein's recognition that satirical print did not die out completely between 1851 and 1870, little has been done on these satirical interventions. This hole was partially filled in 1996 by a number of scholars, contributing to *La Caricature entre République et Censure*, which sought to remedy lacunae in our historical understanding of caricature.[49] Among these scholars was Roger Bellet, who looked at André Gill's depiction of politically and culturally-important individuals between 1867-9.[50] My study takes a slightly different approach, focusing less on the caricature of individuals and more on the political allegory employed by Gill to evade government censors and attack the ideological structures underpinning the Bonapartist regime. By extending our understanding of Gill's career into 1870, the chapter covers the 8 May plebiscite and the supposed liberalisation of the Second Empire. These processes preceded the regime's collapse by several months,

[48] Price, pp. 192-3.
[49] Philippe Régnier and others, eds., *La Caricature entre République et Censure: L'imagerie satirique en France de 1830 à 1880 : un discours de résistance ?* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1996); Richard Scully has also added to our understanding of anti-Bonapartist caricature in the period, considering it transnationally rather than in a solely French context, see Richard Scully, 'The Cartoon Emperor: The Impact of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte on European Comic Art, 1848–1870', *European Comic Art*, 4/2 (2011), pp. 147-180.
[50] Roger Bellet, 'Trois années de caricatures d'André Gill : La Lune et L'Éclipse de 1867 à 1869', in *La Caricature entre République et Censure*, pp. 357-362.

and caricaturists sought to exhibit before a wide audience the tensions and vulnerabilities exposed by them. The regime of censorship imposes difficulty as it blocked the physical depiction of Napoleon III by caricaturists. The frameworks set out above aid us here and allows us to conceive of authority and corporeality more widely. It is hoped that by emphasising institutional or ideological deployments of the body in the period a new avenue can be opened up for the study of the struggle over symbolic authority in the late Second Empire.

In the second chapter, we consider the political and symbolic struggles between monarchists and republicans in the early Third Republic, as told through the lens of satire. This saw caricaturists attempting to hollow out the authority of monarchy as an abstract political force through attack on Napoleon III and a collective monarchist body. This was articulated alongside the republican desire to supplant the monarchist discourse to embody order with a claim that the Republic offered the best opportunity for social stability. This struggle against monarchists had its twin in an internal republican debate around the renegotiation of the political culture of the regime, as identified by James R. Lehning.[51] We consider how symbolism mediated this reformulation and how the conflict was inscribed on the two opposing corporealities of Marianne. This reveals that there were a multiplicity of perspectives among republican caricaturists about how exclusive or inclusive the new Republic ought to be and reminds us of the complexity of the symbolic combat in the period.

The final chapter brings textual satire more into focus and homes in on how republican satirists in the wake of the Commune sought to execute a realignment of Parisian society. Discourses of gender, moral and public hygiene and narratives of the inseparability of corporeal and national decline were marshalled in an attempt to socially demarcate the virile Parisian from the cowardly Versaillais *fuyard* and exclude certain aspects of bourgeois society from the new Republic. This brand of satire therefore participated in a similar reformulation of republican political culture as above. The chapter reveals some of the limitations of satire in symbolic resistance, often reproducing dominant discourses around the body and gender in the act of challenging others.

Napoleon III recurs throughout this thesis, his body appearing in some form, under some framework, in every chapter. It thus makes thematic sense, as well as chronological sense, to begin our study with the Second Empire. How caricaturists in the last years of the Napoleonic regime assaulted the symbolic authority of the Emperor had reverberations throughout the period.

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[51] see James R. Lehning, *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Third Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

1.0 The Institutional Body and the Bodily Institution of Napoleon III (1867-1870)

Political caricature of Napoleon III in the last years of the Second Empire provides a great showcase for the body's deployment on the symbolic terrain, as it stripped the political and visual apparatus of hereditary monarchy of its ideological protections and exposed it to a withering and public barrage of satirical subversion through a form that was by definition rooted in corporeality. As we shall see, to this end, Republican caricaturists in the years and months before the Emperor's abdication on 4 September 1870 exploited the tension between that which Ernst Kantorowicz identified as the separation between the monarch's 'body natural' and 'body politic' and later applied to the context of the late Second Empire and early Third Republic in France by Bertrand Tillier.[52] This dual corporeality, and its interaction with censorship, is crucial to this study, as it informed the subversive function of political caricature in this period. This regime of censorship, imposed on the French people (and primarily against the visual medium) more or less without interruption between 1820 and 1880, prevented caricaturists from deforming and manipulating Napoleon III's image and forced them instead to develop interesting symbolic and visual-semantic strategies to avoid criminality and prosecute their attack on the Second Empire.[53] In all of the caricatures consulted below, direct reference to the Emperor's body (or, at least, his visage) is entirely absent. Yet, due to the context of dual corporeality described above, the presence of the Emperor's body was implied even in its visual absence. In fact, in necessarily forgoing direct deployment of Napoleon III's corporeality and relying instead on his unspoken bodily presence, these satirists were able to engage in a far more profound symbolic assault on the Napoleonic regime, one which implicated its very means of political and cultural legitimation and reproduction.[54] It is from this realisation which derives the discursively and symbolically corrosive quality of political caricature in the period, and provides insight on the challenge of meaning under the Second Empire prior to its collapse.

As the expression of symbolic struggles is ultimately determined by the discursive terrain on which they operate, the definition of dominant discourse which we saw in the introduction requires qualification and contextualisation regarding its manifestation under the Second Empire, particularly as regards its use of

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[52] This was first advanced by Kantorowicz in 1957, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediæval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); for its more recent application to the study of late-nineteenth-century French political caricature, see Bertrand Tillier, *La Républicature*, pp. 9-39.
[53] Robert Justin Goldstein remains unsurpassed in the study of the censorship and its subversion in nineteenth-century France and Europe, see Robert Justin Goldstein, 'Censorship of Caricature in France (1815 - 1914), *French History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 71-107; and Robert Justin Goldstein, 'Fighting French Censorship, 1815-1881', *The French Review*, 71/5 (1998), pp. 785-96.
[54] My understanding of these processes of legitimation and reproduction owes a great debt to Roger Price's comprehensive dissection of the political anatomy of the Second Empire, see Price, *French Second Empire*; Karl Marx's history of Louis Napoleon's 2 December *coup d'état* has also proved instructive, see Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte'.

both explicit and implicit means of coercing consent in the mediatic, political and cultural spheres. In this, special attention is given to the institutional makeup of the Empire, as discursive practice is more than the simple production of discourses, but is rather rooted in the apparatus which maintains them.[55] Richard Terdiman has identified the struggle between 'hegemony' and 'counter-hegemony' as fundamental to the operation of counter-discourse in nineteenth-century France. This struggle over hegemony is a hallmark of modern 'civil society', and can be distinguished from the blunter instruments of control that typify authoritarian governments.[56] The politically-chimaeric Second Empire poses complications in this regard. As Price and others have asserted, it is not entirely accurate to state that universal male suffrage disappeared between 1851 and 1870. Universal suffrage had been abolished by the *parti de l'ordre* in the wake of *montagnard* victories in the 10 March 1850 by-elections, but was nominally restored under Napoleon III.[57] This suffrage, however, was ultimately channeled through the form of plebiscitary rather than parliamentary democracy. The legislative body was neutered, reduced to a 'mere court of record' and legislative initiative rested with the Emperor. Not content to allow a proper opposition to take root even in this meagre body, lists of official candidates were drawn up and the entire apparatus of Imperial bureaucracy was dedicated to securing their election.[58] How caricaturists sought to delegitimise the plebiscitary democracy of the Second Empire is central to the final section of this chapter.

Similar to the electoral apparatus, control of the media was exerted through both explicit and implicit means. The press laws of 1850, which raised the dreaded *cautionnement*, increased taxes on newspaper distribution, banned a number of revolutionary newspapers and required each article to be accompanied by a signature, were maintained under the Empire.[59] Marx singled out the signature as particularly insidious and his description of its effects on the form of the nineteenth-century newspaper recalls Terdiman's commentary on the anti-organicist, commercialised mode of newspaper culture.[60] This law hastened the newspaper's transformation into a commodity, already underway, and ensured that the goal of conveying information or critique could not be extricated from the goal of producing profit. This logic of profit limited, though certainly did not extinguish, caricature's effective capacity as an exercise in counter-discourse.[61]

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[55] Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, pp. 55-6.
[56] Ibid., pp. 42-3.
[57] Price, *French Second Empire*, pp. 5, 44-5; Terdiman, p. 45; Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', pp. 58-9, 90-1.
[58] H. W. Homans, 'France under the Second Empire', *The North American Review*, 111/229 (1870), pp. 405-7; see also Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', pp. 53-4.
[59] Homans, p. 407; Marx, *Class Struggles*, pp. 154-5; Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', pp. 51-2, 60.
[60] Marx, *Class Struggles*, pp. 154-5; Terdiman, pp. 122-4.
[61] Terdiman, pp. 47, 118-23.

While these instruments of financial repression and marketisation discouraged symbolic opposition through the material control over access to discourse,[62] the Imperial government was also concerned with cultivating positive sentiment among the press, offering funds, the promise of career advancement and exclusive access to those who towed the party line.[63] *Le Petit Journal* was manipulated by the regime in order to project the public face of the Empire to its two hundred and fifty thousand-strong readership, publishing serialised novels of the First Empire's military glories and distributing lithographic portraits of official government candidates through its pages.[64] This reveals the importance of public image in supporting the regime, and shows how the memory of Napoleon I and the projection of martial strength figured in the ideological underpinnings of Bonapartist governance. It further suggests that the battlefield of visual culture under the Second Empire was not a one-sided affair, but rather an area in which "official" and "unofficial" visual representation clashed. This is quite apparent in the first section of this chapter, which considers how caricature in this period fashioned "high" art into a critique of the Second Empire.

The effects of market logic and royal patronage on the press were doubled up with the more explicit instrument of censorship, revelatory of the twin modes of control at the heart of the Empire. Under the inherently authoritarian nature of this regime of censure, particularly during the earlier years of the Second Empire, the full legal and bureaucratic apparatus of state was deployed against caricaturists who stepped out of line,[65] shaping the discursive context in which caricature intervened and greatly influencing the nature of satirical art in the period (discussed more below). Nor did the "Liberal" Empire, despite the pretense of opening up the political sphere, mark a fundamental change in this system of repression, and in fact furnished new justifications for censorship in the defense of liberty.[66] We may then question how we can fit the Second Empire, which exhibited both authoritarian and civil forms of control, into Terdiman's paradigm discussed above? As Judith Wechsler demonstrated, censorship under the July Monarchy provoked artistic innovation and 'forc[ed] the traditional visual repertoire to yield up indirect political and social meaning'.[67] Terdiman for his own part argues that censorship modified but did not extinguish 'possibilities for certain strategies of counter-discourse', and presented new opportunities for symbolic resistance of its own.[68] Seth Whidden has similarly noted that Bonapartist censorship informed author's thoughts on the meaning of their own authority as writers and gave

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[62] Foucault identified such restricted access as one of the ways of ordering discourse, see Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', *Untying the Text: A Poststructuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 63-4.
[63] Price, pp. 173-4.
[64] Ibid., p. 181.
[65] see generally Goldstein, 'Censorship of Caricature', pp. 71-107.
[66] Price, pp. 185-6.
[67] Wechsler, *A Human Comedy*, p. 68.
[68] Terdiman, p. 52. Some of these new opportunities were described by Goldstein, see Goldstein, 'Fighting French Censorship', pp. 785-96; and Goldstein, 'André Gill', pp. 146-55.

opportunity for more politically subversive thought.[69] These comments are in a similar vein to my assertion above, that the exigencies of censorship paved the way for a more subtle yet corrosive brand of political caricature, and they demonstrate the extent to which the study of caricature under censorship is readily compatible with narratives of counter-discursive resistance.

In any case, whether its consent relied on violent or non-violent forms of coercion, as Terdiman aptly notes, good management of public opinion was central to the legitimisation of the Napoleonic political project.[70] This can be seen in the prologue to Empire, during Louis Bonaparte's time as President of the Second Republic, where much focus was placed on securing the support of the army and workers through gifts and pageantry.[71] Censorship itself is revelatory of this emphasis on maintaining the monarch's good image in the public eye, particularly as concerned his body and visage. In engaging in such a protracted legal campaign against visual satire, the Napoleonic government confirmed caricature as a like participant in the war for the public mind.[72] It is this singular importance of public opinion to the regime from which derives caricature's potency, especially regarding its deployed corporeality, as a tool of symbolic challenge under the Second Empire. This reliance of the imperial system on public opinion likely increased as it embarked on its anaemic project of liberalisation, which, if retaining some of the choice tools of political and mediatic repression, at least engaged in the pretence of 'open[ing] up [space] within the discourse which allowed for variegated expressions of dissent'.[73] The weakening of the censorship apparatus encouraged caricaturists' return to the political terrain, while what remained of these instruments of repression could be sidestepped through semiotic codes well-established amongst their audience and produced as evidence of the regime's continued authoritarianism.[74] The contradictory drives towards continued authoritarianism on the one hand and liberal concession on the other thus created a propitious atmosphere for caricaturists' attempts to trade symbolic blows with the Napoleonic state on the discursive field, and forms the political context in which the caricatures below were propagated.

In this conflict for the public imagination, we can perceive a claim by caricaturists to represent a source of symbolic authority and visual representation that stood as an alternative to those projected by the ruling party. This capacity for symbolic and visual alterity is the foundation of caricature's counter-discursive character. As we saw in the introduction, the art critic Champfleury, responding to contemporaries who saw caricature as spirited and unruly, even violent, derived historical value from

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[69] Seth Whidden, *Authority in Crisis*, p. 12.
[70] Terdiman, p. 45; cf. Price, pp. 36-7; cf. Goldstein 'Censorship of Caricature', p. 85.
[71] Marx, *Class Struggles*, p. 161; Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', pp. 50-1, 57-8, 65.
[72] Goldstein, 'Censorship of Caricature', p. 85; Terdiman argues similarly for the press laws of the July Monarchy, see Terdiman, pp. 161-2.
[73] Ibid., p. 52.
[74] Goldstein, 'André Gill', pp. 146-55.

caricature's ability to incarnate the voice of the masses.[75] Jules Vallès, a key actor in Parisian politics around the time of the Commune, similarly lauded caricature's nature as 'l'arme des désarmés' and identified its capacity for symbolic corrosion: '[l]e rire aussi fait trou dans le bois des idoles'.[76] This role as a *vox populi* was actively pursued by satirists. For Champfleury, caricature was a task which was taken up 'par des hommes dont la mission consiste à mettre en lumière les sentiments intimes du peuple'.[77] Vallès, allowing satirists to use his likeness as they saw fit (as demanded by censorship), addressed his article directly to the 'citoyen caricaturiste'.[78] This idea of 'le citoyen caricaturiste' did not simply extend to the caricaturist's ability and compulsion to represent a more everyday experience, but also its claim to possess and disseminate among the masses a truth greater than even that of the established order itself. This view is shared by Tillier who, describing the role of political caricature during the Panama Affair of 1892, writes that '[p]romue par le peuple [...] et destinée au peuple, la caricature entend rendre sa propre justice en prouvant les faits, débusquant les suspects et condamnant les coupables'.[79] Caricature's attempts to constitute itself as an alternative authority was grounded in its claim to represent the people, and feature particularly in the final section of this chapter, which explores how Napoleon III's plebiscitary democracy clashed with *L'Éclipse*'s caricatural democracy.

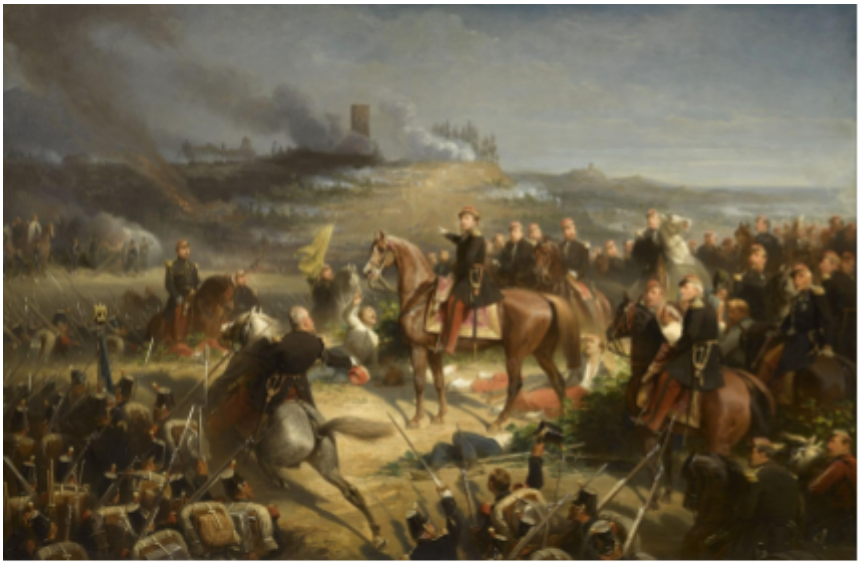

Figure 1.1: Adolphe Yvon, *Bataille de Solférino* (1861), public domain, accessed online via *Wikimedia Commons*

We can relate this supplantation of an established moral authority by caricature to its capacity for visual alterity, discussed in the introduction. The new scientific context of the late-nineteenth-century, aided by caricature's particular form, triggered a reconfiguration of the visual terrain, spawning a multiplicity of equally-authoritative visual perspectives in which what was normally considered to constitute reality could be crowded out. This ability to denude reality of its appearance of permanence intersects with

[75] Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, p. vii-viii.
[76] Jules Vallès, 'Citoyen Caricaturistes', *La Charge*, ed. Alfred le Petit, 1/13 (7 April 1870), p. 2.
[77] Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, p. vii.
[78] Vallès, 'Citoyen Caricaturistes', p. 2.
[79] Tillier, 'Personnalisation et personnification des scandales', in *La Républicature*, para. 11.

issues of symbolic resistance, as dominant discourses are the means by which this reality is normalised and counter-discursive activities are 'always interlocked with the domination they contest'.[80] In the late Second Empire, these dominant discourses included imperial ideology and ascendant notions of the body. A foreign observer contemporary to the Second Empire identified images of military or imperial supremacy and the projection of stable governance as key symbolic underpinnings of the Napoleonic regime.[81] These appearances were also cultivated through official portraiture, which aimed to present Napoleon III as a skilled general [Figures 1.1 & 1.2]. The same writer maintained that 'the connection between the First and Second Empire is almost too obvious to need insisting upon'.[82] That Napoleon III clothed himself in the trappings of his more illustrious forebear was also apparent to Marx, writing in the early 1850s, when he identified Louis Bonaparte's 'continual caricaturing of Napoleon' and later described him as '[he] who covers his low and repulsive visage with the iron death mask of Napoleon'.[83] Marx's corporeal metaphor and invocation of caricature are particularly apt given our purposes in this chapter. It is suggestive of the centrality of the body of the Emperor to the moral apparatus of the regime, and Napoleon III's "performance" of Napoleon I can be contrasted with the caricature which sought to exploit or deform such embodied symbolic practices. Marx also provides a useful summary for the other discursive tools of the Bonaparte regime, the bourgeois refrain of 'property, religion, family, order' which he satirised as 'theft, perjury, bastardy, disorder'.[84] Napoleon III's capacity to conform to these ideas are picked away at in some form by the caricature during or after his reign, attacks in which discourses around the body played a central role.

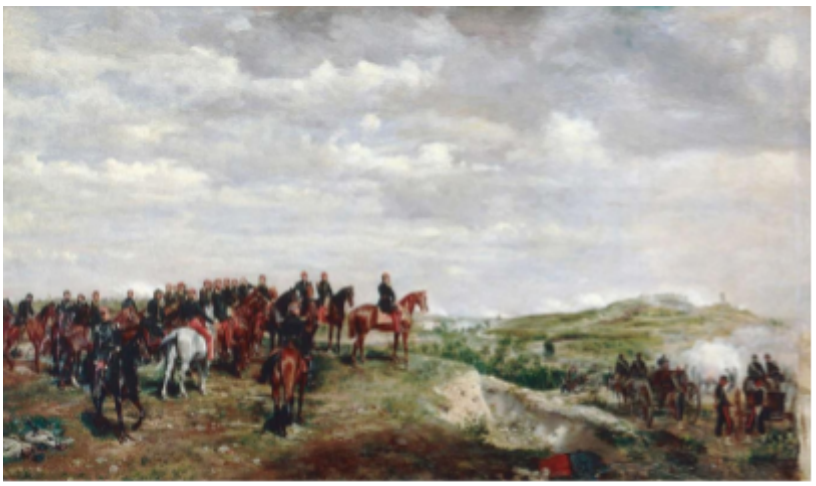

Figure 1.2: Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Napoléon III à la Bataille de Solférino* (1863), public domain, accessed online via *Wikimedia Commons*.

Discourses around the body and its viewing are rooted in the particular historical moment in which they appear. Indeed, Tonio Hölscher, though focused primarily on visual culture in classical antiquity, raises

[80] Terdiman, pp. 16, 61-4.
[81] Homans, 'France under the Second Empire', pp. 402-3.
[82] Ibid., p. 402; see also Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', pp. 50-1, 105.
[83] Marx, *Class Struggles*, p. 161; Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', p. 21.
[84] Ibid., p. 107.

some general questions on cultural visuality across history. He argues that the Graeco-Roman world, far from being unique in the value placed on the body and visual culture, 'developed specific practices of visual corpor[e]ality… that corresponded to their specific social and cultural needs'.[85] This is no different for representations of the human body in late-nineteenth-century France, and we must consider the contemporary discourses around the body which caricaturists sought to deform or deploy against Napoleon III. Tillier has discussed the evolution of visual corporeality in the course of the long nineteenth-century, and his insights prove useful to the aims of this chapter. According to Tillier, the body witnessed a fundamental transformation of its meaning in this period, through which the metaphysical view of the body underwent a retreat, ceding ground to a modern, scientific understanding. The body became an object of medical research in which representations of physical deformity and distinction could be ordered systematically and related to a material reality of bodily weakness and strength.[86] In engaging in a human typology whose categories were defined by shared physical characteristics or corporeal gestures,[87] caricature mediated the body's transformation into a set of signs to be read and decoded. Although interest in phrenology and physiognomy had plateaued in the period with which we are concerned, these pseudoscientific biomedical discourses continued to inform caricaturists' portrayal of their subjects. For example, in his series of caricatures entitled *Pilori-Phrénologie*, André Belloguet tapped into the grammar of phrenology to expose the character of his charges.[88] To these older currents, we can add advances made in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the fields of surgery, sanitation and medicine (and their cultural and visual modes of representation), and together they exemplify this heightened interest in and changing perceptions of the human body as an object of visual culture in the era.[89] As we will see in the final chapter of this thesis, this biomedical ordering of the human anatomy became a key facet in the regulation of sexual difference and in counter-discourse against the bourgeoisie in the aftermath of the Paris Commune.

Elsewhere, how the body of monarchs was constructed by contemporaries give a particular accent to political caricature's role as a destabilising agent. Tillier, integrating his work into the theories of medieval kingship advanced by Ernst Kantorowicz, effectively demonstrates how satirists in this era exploited the vulnerability of the *corps naturel* to strike at the more robust *corps politique* through the medium of caricature.[90] As described by Kantorowicz, the king's two bodies, physical and political,

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[85] Tonio Hölscher, *Visual Power in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), pp. 1-2.
[86] Tillier, 'Révélation', in *La RépubliCature*, para. 20-25.
[87] Wechsler, p. 16.
[88] André Belloguet, *Pilori-Phrénologie: Ollivier-Iscariote* (1870), accessed on *BnF Gallica*, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53028661s.r=pilori-phr%C3%A9nologie?rk=42918;4> [accessed 27/02/2022]; Tillier, 'Les Enjeux de la physionomie', para 2-8.
[89] See Tillier, 'Révélation'; Sophie Leroy, ed., *Medicine and Maladies: Representing Affliction in Nineteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); and David S. Barnes, *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle Against Filth and Germs* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).
[90] Tillier, 'Le Corps de l'empereur', para. 4-5.

constituted a single, inseparable unit. The political body was the superior in this marriage, able to cancel out the 'imperfections of the fragile human nature'.[91] Tillier refers to this corporeal asymmetry in the context of anti-Bonaparte caricature in the aftermath of Napoleon III's abdication, in which the more vulnerable physical body of the ex-Emperor (reinforced by the vacuum of sacrality left by Napoleon III's political and physical decline) was used as a launch pad to attack his more durable political body, the concept of hereditary monarchy as a whole, and pave the way for France's reconstitution under the body of the Republic.[92] This framework proves illuminating in understanding caricature and the body's abilities to challenge typical modes of power, and is central to the argument of this chapter.

This link becomes clearer in relation to the Emperor's very personal means of deriving legitimacy, in which his body was vital in the cultivation of positive public opinion that was central to the continuation of the Napoleonic regime. Napoleon III embarked on royal tours and engaged in public ritual in order to 'personalise the bonds between ruler and common folk'.[93] We can relate this to Louis-Napoleon's desire to rule through plebiscite rather than parliament, important in the last section of this chapter on allegory of the political event. These plebiscites at once signified his personal link to his subjects and furnished his reign with a popular legitimacy.[94] A tension is visible in this, through the duality described by Tillier and Kantorowicz, between the public, natural body of the monarch and his private, political body. The Bonapartist regime derived social unity and support from public appearances, portraiture, statues, coinage, all of which placed Napoleon III's natural body on display. Due to this public-facing aspect of the imperial body, the Emperor's body was omnipresent, even in contexts where Napoleon III's corporeal form was physically and visually absent. The caricatures discussed below exploit this, attacking the Emperor's body and thus reign, despite the exigencies imposed by censorship, namely the prohibition against negative visual portrayals of Napoleon III, which though weakened in the last decade of his reign never entirely disappeared. How this ubiquity of imperial corporeality intersects with issues of discourse and symbolic resistance is clear. As Terdiman informs us, the presence of discourse 'is defined by the social impossibility of its absence',[95] with counter-discourse relying on the hegemonic nature of the very structures which it seeks to corrode. In the same way, anti-Imperial political caricature in this period relied on the hegemonic nature of royal corporeality to create a visual silence which spoke volumes about the impoverished moral authority of the Second Empire.

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[91] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, pp. 8-10.
[92] Tillier, 'Le Corps', para. 4-8, 16.
[93] Price, pp. 36-7; see also Tillier, 'Le Corps', para. 3.
[94] Price, pp. 34, 44-5, 52-3.
[95] Terdiman, p. 61.

1.0.1 Sources

This chapter draws primarily on satirical prints and their accompanying articles published in *La Lune* and *L'Éclipse* between 1867 and 1870 (and especially 1869 and 1870) to demonstrate the ability of the medium to corrode the symbolic authority of the Imperial body. This relatively narrow band of time reflects the pervasive influence of censorship in the period, which poses evidentiary limitations on earlier study. Nineteenth-century rulers had sought to control their public image for almost as long as political caricature had existed in France and a regime of censorship was imposed through the majority of the nineteenth century.[96] Accordingly, between 1822 and 1881, images were subjected to almost continuous control between 1822 and 1881.[97] Even in periods where the regulations imposed on the written word were relaxed, such injunctions governed visual culture. In 1835, under the atmosphere of public ridicule of the July Monarchy in which the artistic genius of Honoré Daumier, Charles Philipon and others was applied in a ferocious symbolic assault on the body of the monarch, measures were introduced to protect the king and his representatives from criticism.[98] After 1852, caricature languished under an oppressive regime of 'double censorship', whereby artists not only had to request permission from the authorities but also from those who they wished to lambast.[99] Given the centrality of the Emperor's visage to the regime's survival, much focus was given to limiting unofficial depiction of Napoleon III, to the point of exerting pressure on neighbouring countries to ban caricatural portrayals of him.[100] French governments, though wary of the visual medium as a whole, were therefore particularly concerned with the defence of the bodies of its representatives. The bulk of existing caricatures of important figures in the period came with their express blessing, such as Vallès declaration above, and negative caricature of other figures was suppressed. These restrictions, backed by an apparatus that was at once financial, violent and carceral, precipitated caricaturists' retreat into the realm of social and cultural critique and prompted Champfleury to write in 1865 that caricature had 'à peu près disparue en France, semble morte'.[101] Even with the liberalisation of the Empire in its last decades, some legal barriers to caricature's propagation persisted, such that around twenty-five of André Gill's prints were forbidden in the final years of the Second Empire.[102] The paucity of material critiquing the Second Empire, imposed by censorship, explains the short timeframe of this chapter.

Yet, though the Second Empire's newfound liberal pretensions did not herald the total collapse of censorship, it nonetheless encouraged the formation of new satirical press ventures, with around thirty

[96] see Caroline Rossiter, 'Early French Caricature (1795-1830) and English Influence', *European Comic Art*, 2/1 (2009), pp. 44-5, p. 51.
[97] See Goldstein, 'Censorship of Caricature', pp. 71-107.
[98] Wechsler, pp. 80-1.
[99] Goldstein 'Censorship of Caricature', pp. 71, 73-4.
[100] Scully, 'The Cartoon Emperor', p. 148.
[101] Goldstein, 'Censorship of Caricature', pp. 77-80; Champfleury, p. viii.
[102] Goldstein, 'Censorship of Caricature', pp. 81.

such journals in publication between 1867 and 1870.[103] This explosion in both demand and capacity for satirical critique in the Second Empire was accompanied by increasingly bold attempts by caricaturists to transgress and evade the punitive legal framework arrayed against them.[104] Indeed, though caricaturists were not allowed to display Louis-Napoleon's face, they devised novel ways to attack the Emperor and the Empire. This is most famously demonstrated in André Gill's caricature of the Emperor as Rocambole (the half-criminal, half-hero protagonist of a popular series of French adventure books) in *La Lune*, which highlighted Napoleon III's personal and physical resemblance to the character and depicted him as a two-faced figure, 'le Janus populaire' [Figure 1.3].

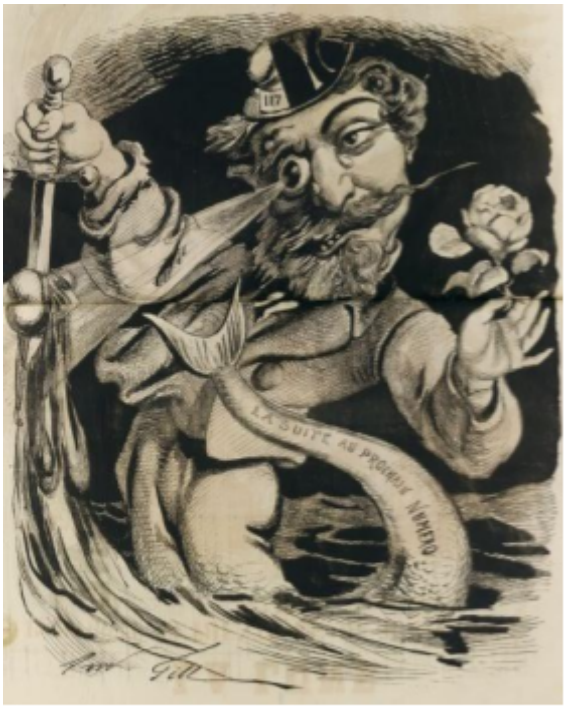

Figure 1.3: André Gill, 'Portrait authentique de Rocambole', *La Lune*, 3/89 (17 November 1867), accessed online via *BnF*.

These attempts at avoiding censure often expose the collective nature of satirical print, with caricaturists inviting their audiences to participate in the decoding of innuendos and reading of signs.[105] Prior to the drawing of Napoleon-as-Rocambole, Gill composed a caricature involving two masked fighters, *l'homme rouge* and *l'homme noire*, of which the figure in red appears to have the upperhand [Figure 1.4]. The caricature asserted directly to its audience that it bore 'aucune insidieuse allégorie' and reminded its viewership of the censorious atmosphere which prevented *La Lune* from broaching certain news items.[106] At the same time, in Italy, Giuseppe Garibaldi and his *chemises rouges* were engaged against Papal States, which was supported by the French military. By advocating for a victory of *l'homme rouge*, *La Lune* was directly arraying itself against the Pope, and by extension the French government which

[103] Ibid., pp. 80-1.
[104] Ibid., pp. 74, 81.
[105] Wechsler, p. 82
[106] Gill, 'Les lutteurs masqués'.

supported it. Gill's allusion was perhaps too apparent. If a reader could be forgiven for missing the significance of the two pugilists, the broken *canon* (exploiting the homophony and homography of the French words for "cannon" and "canon") with 'AMEN' inscribed on it next to them was too hard to miss.[107] Indeed, despite Gill's inviting non-invitation to his readership to look for clues within his drawing, the government noted the hidden allusion. *La Lune* was suppressed and its editor was sentenced to two months in jail and harshly fined.[108]

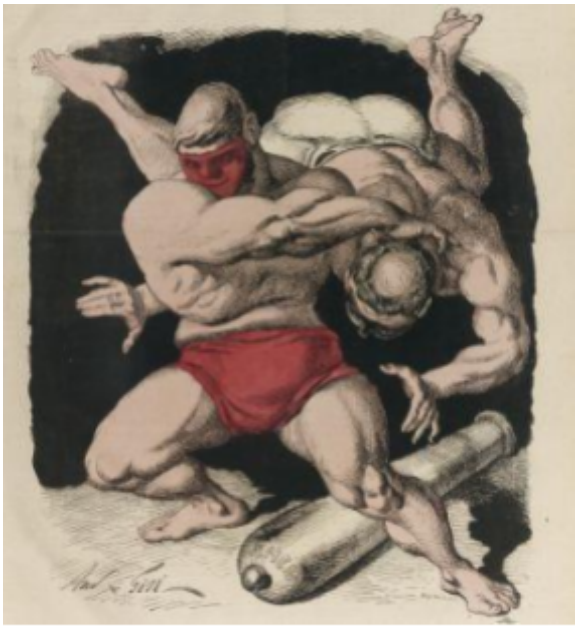

Figure 1.4: Gill, 'Les lutteurs masqués', *La Lune*, 3/87 (3 November 1867), accessed online via *BnF*.

This episode is illustrative of the collective nature of caricature, that the receipt of its signs was socially-mediated. In its capacity as an exercise of symbolic resistance, caricature was not simply the product of individual genius, but derived meaning from the discursive percolation of knowledge of signs throughout Paris. It further expresses caricaturists' increasing willingness to reassert themselves in political affairs after 1867, returning from a long exile in the land of social caricature. This return to the stage did not go unhampered however, and we can see the continuing effects of censorship on caricaturing, limiting its entry to the discursive field despite pretensions of liberalisation. Satirical outlets could throw caution to the wind and circulate engravings without the prerequisite authorisation, but in doing so they opened themselves up to state retaliation. Gill and his fellow satirists would go on to develop a number of strategies in a semiotic arms race against the Bonapartist censors in the last years of the Second Empire, and their prints form the corpus of this chapter. These included reference to literary, artistic and mythological traditions, the deployment of seasonal metaphor and the use of allusions around political events (most importantly, the plebiscite of 8 May 1870, discussed in the final section of this chapter). These permitted caricaturists to denude the regime of its symbolic repertoire, even in spite of

[107] We find similar homophony in satirical print from around the English Civil War, see Helen Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640-1645', *The Historical Journal*, 47/4 (2004), pp. 821-2.
[108] *La Lune*, 3/92 (8 December 1867), p. 2.

the austere legal barriers erected to shield the Emperor's body. Caricature of the Emperor's physicality nonetheless remained virtually nonexistent, with the example of Rocambole above one of the few exceptions. Most caricature directly evoking Napoleon III's natural body as a means of symbolic attack only arose in the aftermath of his abdication. In this way, the government's capacity to impede caricaturists was unable to completely counteract these artists' ability to corrode Napoleon III's image in the public eye, though it did close off certain avenues of their attack.

As we have just seen, the legal context of 1867-1870 was well disposed to caricature in its dissemination of counter-discursive symbolism. The process of liberalisation, however tepid, also had ideological and political implications that make satire from those years conducive in shedding light on discursive struggles within the Second Empire, particularly as concerns the dual body of the Empire. The Napoleonic government had embarked on a process of economic and political liberalisation in the 1860s and these efforts were intensified after 1867-8, when new laws were passed allowing for a freer press than had previously been permitted and the right to public assembly. Émile Ollivier's ascension to the premiership at the beginning of 1870 confirmed this new liberal turn, which was to be cemented by popular acclaim through a referendum marked for 8 May 1870.[109] The timing of this project of Liberal Empire is interesting as it coincided with the emperor's increasingly public infirmity and a number of setbacks for the empire abroad.[110] Though the extent to which this was more than mere synchronicity has been debated,[111] broadly speaking, the health of the empire followed the health of its emperor. A degree of corporeality is thus implied in satirists' attack on the Empire during this phase (and, indeed, is visible in caricature of this period). This bodily implication can also be seen in Louis-Napoleon's election as the first president of the Second Republic in 1848, which was the precursor of his claim to rule, as Marx described it, 'by the people's grace' under the Second Empire.[112] This was strengthened by the constitution of the Second Republic, which imagined an executive 'with all the appurtenances of royal power', represented by a single individual and elected by the whole nation, against a powerful legislative body, but composed of seven hundred and fifty individuals and whose personal authority was diffused accordingly. Through these differing sources of legitimacy, Louis-Napoleon became the 'spirit of the nation incarnate'.[113] Marx's choice of 'incarnate' is perceptive here, in light of the physical aspects of kingship that we discussed above, and is revelatory of the corporeal aspect at work under this plebiscitary monarchy. In adopting a system so bound up in the physical and legal aspect of a single personage,

[109] Price, pp. 50-2.
[110] Ibid., p. 48.
[111] Price argues that Napoleon's programme of liberalisation came more or less willingly, with the post-1848 regimen of repression no longer justifiable as the threat of revolution subsided, see Price, *French Second Empire*, p. 49. More recently, however, Jerome Greenfield has argued that the financial costs of the failed war in Mexico accelerated the formation of the Liberal Empire and links this to a more general crisis of legitimacy for the French state, see Jerome Greenfield, 'The Mexican Expedition of 1862-1867 and the End of the French Second Empire', *The Historical Journal*, 63/3 (2020), pp. 660-685.
[112] Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', p. 32.
[113] Ibid, pp. 31-3.

deepened under the Second Empire by the dualist kingship described above, symbolic attack on either of these facets brought the other into question. Though by 1867 protections surrounding the Emperor's political body had begun to fray, the natural body of the Emperor, most vulnerable to attack, remained shielded from criticism through censorship. Yet, the Empire's supposed liberal turn presented a unique opportunity to caricaturists, not simply encouraging them forth, but allowing them to cut deep into the ideological protections of the regime itself. It was through this intersection of legal, ideological and political change that political caricature from 1867-1870 was granted a prime opportunity for the waging of war, between the Emperor and *le citoyen-caricaturiste*, over the moral claim to embody the voice of the French people.

While this provides the backdrop for the caricatures discussed throughout this chapter, it is especially relevant to sections two and three below, which examine how the use of seasonal metaphor and political allusion around the referendum permitted caricaturists to assault the Emperor's political body without recourse to deformation of his natural physicality. The first part of this chapter considers how caricaturists made use of visual tropes of the "high arts" of sculpture and portraiture, deployed metaphors of seasonality and mocked the political apparatus of the Napoleonic state in an effort to delegitimise Napoleon III's rule and exercise their own claim to a popular artistic authority. It will be demonstrated that their significance in the struggle over symbolic authority in the late Second Empire is underscored by the bodily metaphor innate to hereditary government, allowing for criticism against Napoleon III to be aired despite the direct and near-complete absence of his physiology in caricature in this period. It is suggestive of the diverse contexts in which the body can act as a lens for our understanding of symbolic resistance in the period. Ultimately, all these considerations curve back to questions of authority: the ability of those in power to make others obey them, and the ability of caricaturists to make others laugh. Such bitter laughter is the bread-and-butter of counter-discourse.

1.1 An Empire Eclipsed: Satire in Symbolic Resistance to Bonapartism

1.1.1 Hiding Meaning in Antiquity and Fable

Caricature employing historical or mythological tropes from Ancient Greece and Rome, which I collectively refer to below as *les études antiques*, and satirical prints employing the rich parables of the French countryside, which we might call by analogy *les études fabuleuses*, were powerful components of the nineteenth-century satirists' semantic arsenal. They invoked two very different artistic traditions. The first dealt with the legacy of the Classical world as expressed through the venerable mode of "high" art,

while the second involved the folkloric inheritance of rural France and occupied the subaltern level of popular culture. Despite the differing origins of these themes of satirical art, and the differing bases of cultural knowledge involved in their decipherment, they operated towards the same goals of bypassing censorship in order to subvert the symbolic authority of the Bonapartist regime.

The counter-discursive quality of *les études antiques* originates in their highly-parodical nature, a central aspect of caricature's capacity for symbolic effacement. Whidden has discussed the disruptive effects of literary parody in relation to Verlaine's lampooning of the poetry of Gustave Pradelle, and his arguments prove useful for our present purposes. Verlaine exaggerated and deformed Pradelle's original stanzas to the point of ridiculousness, supplanting and disrupting its poetic value. Further, by injecting erotic undertones into Pradelle's work, profaned the highbrow subjects considered by the other poet, dragging them down to the level of ribaldry.[114] A similar process of subversion can be seen in *les études antiques*, where revered works of art are parodied and transformed to attack political authority. The destabilising quality of these caricatures is heightened by the vast differential in the levels of respect that each medium (the "high" art of painting and sculpture on one side, the 'low art' of caricature on the other) could command,[115] while their differing sources of patronage (from above and from below) necessarily implies a thread of political authority. If, following Kojève through Whidden, we define artistic authority as the ability of an artist to act on their viewer, then the exercise of that authority is ultimately limited by an image's ability to attract attention.[116] By democratising these cultural symbols, liberating them from the stuffy confines of the *Musée des souverains* and disseminating them widely through the streets of Paris, caricaturists were competing with these royally-commissioned forms of art for oxygen and attention, interrupting the ability of these more venerable productions to contribute to the forming of discourses in society. It further recalls Alfie Brown's description of the iconoclastic function of caricature discussed above, whereby caricature injects itself into the stream of visual representation of an urform (be it a person or a painting) and contests the very idea of its originality. The *études antiques* discussed below are thus inherently destabilising towards those in power, as they impeded the function of royally-commissioned art as instruments of artistic authority and as propagators of cultural knowledge.

Like their folkloric counterparts, they also allowed critique of the Empire and Emperor to be hidden away from censors, with the painting or event being parodied acting as the key to break the cipher's code and unravel its inner meaning. Yet, while this approach was advantageous as far as avoiding censorship was concerned, it also posed an obstacle to transmission and placed limits on how obscure parody could be. We can compare this to Terdiman's description of the counter-discursive gauntlet which Mallarmé's

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[114] Whidden, *Authority in Crisis*, pp. 44-9.
[115] Tillier, 'Révelation', para. 37-40.
[116] Barton Byg, 'Images of Authority and the Authority of Images: Woolf, Böll and Straub/Huillet', *Modern Language Studies*, 18/3 (1988), p. 40.

subversive poetry ran, that 'its violation [strove] for the greatest possible distance, but without disconnection'.[117] It is a similar state of affairs for the use of classical painting in caricature. Satirical art was unable to wholly dispense with the original, as to do so would render its parodical message unintelligible. Because of this, as it spread its own deformed version of the urform, it necessarily reinforced the status of the original as dominant. It was never fully able to break away from the influence of the version which it parodied, and was instead bound to reproduce its formal conservatism in some small way or else dissolve into utter obscurity. It reminds us of the inherent problems and structural limitations of counter-discursive works, tethered to the discourse whose dominance they contest. There is however reason to suggest a smoother reception of these caricatures among their audience. Marie Luise Buchinger-Früh has demonstrated that caricature of paintings, especially those dealing with mythological or Classical themes, were a common device of caricaturists in the 1850s and 1860s, specifically referring to their appearance in *Le Charivari*.[118] Such *études* had therefore become established as caricatural codes by 1867 and their audiences would be primed to find political or social meaning in them.

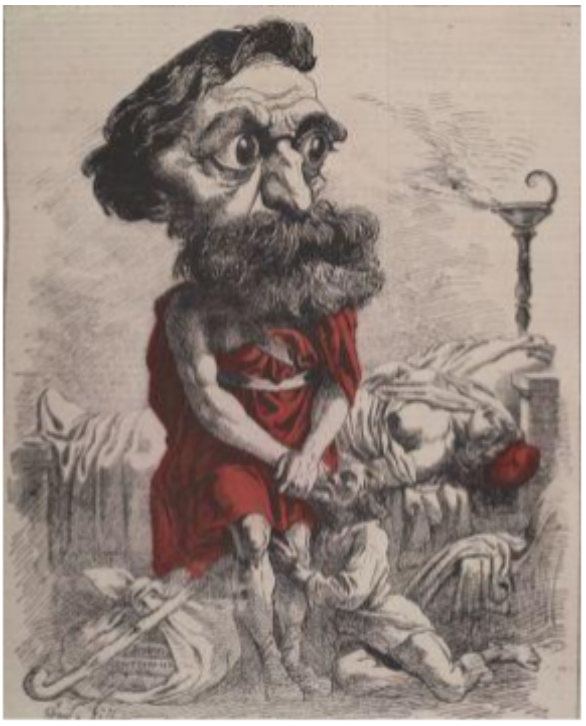

Figure 1.5: Gill, 'Félix Pyat', *L'Éclipse*, 2/95 (14 November 1869), accessed online via *BnF*.

André Gill's caricature of Félix Pyat for *L'Éclipse* (14 November 1868), which parodies Pierre-Narcisse Guérin's famous *Le Retour de Marcus Sextus* (1799), itself an allegorical interpretation of the French Revolution, provides a good showcase for the pitfalls and advantages of this form of visual satire, as well as illustrating how the Emperor could fall victim to acts of symbolic warfare even in contexts where his physical body was absent [Figures 1.5 & 1.6]. Gill's print is accompanied by a subtitle which directs the

[117] Terdiman, p. 69.
[118] Marie Luise Buchinger-Früh, 'La peinture du Second Empire dans les caricatures du Charivari', *La Caricature entre République et censure*, pp. 338-344.

reader to the original painting, located in the *Musée du Louvre*, where the full meaning of the image will be laid bare. This suggests that caricaturists themselves were aware of the potential for rarefaction with which they grappled and took steps to address this. In this fashion, Gill's reconstruction remains largely faithful to the original painting, reproducing its essential aspect as well as some of its finer details. This militates against its descent into esotericism and ensures greater symbolic weight for the main artistic departures.

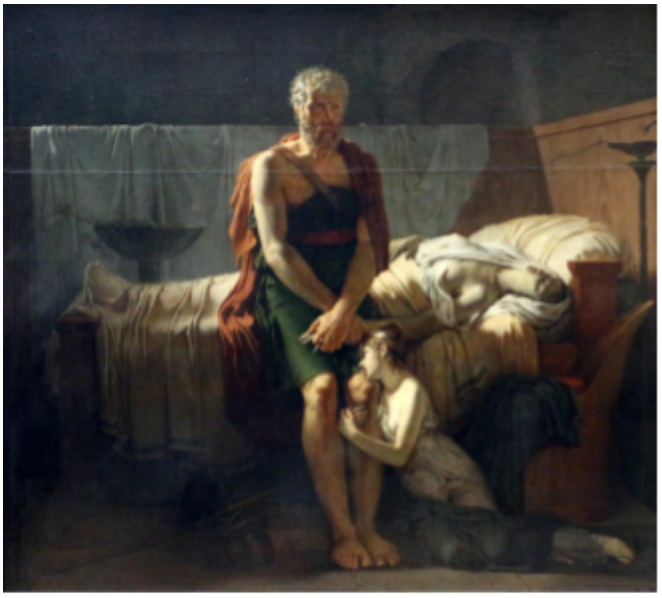

Figure 1.6: Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, *Le Retour de Marcus Sextus* (1799), public domain, accessed online via *Wikimedia Commons*.

Guérin's work is centred on Marcus Sextus, a synecdoche for those proscribed by the Roman dictator Sulla. Sextus returns home from exile to find his wife dead and his daughter in mourning. As imaginary figures, Marcus Sextus and his family were not intended to represent actual victims of ancient dictators, but rather as allegories of a more recent event, symbolising the tribulations suffered by the *émigrés* during the French Revolution.[119] Gill replaces Sextus with Félix Pyat, a republican who had himself just returned from exile for his role in the insurrection of 13 June 1849 against the presidency of Louis-Napoleon. Napoleon III thus assumes the role of Sulla, as the offstage, unseen author of Pyat's misfortune. Gill further substitutes Sextus' wife with Marianne, the embodiment of French republicanism, clad in the revolutionary icon of the red phrygian cap.[120] In the same way that Guérin's painting used the past to comment on a more recent reality, Gill's subversion is similarly trained on the contemporary atmosphere. By exchanging an aristocratic victim of revolutionary violence for a revolutionary victim of aristocratic violence, the caricaturist blunts the symbolic attack of the original and repurposes it to his own ends. He diverts attention away from it, seeking to undermine its artistic

[119] Michel Delon, 'Beau comme la révolution', *Europe*, 67/721 (1989), p. 203.
[120] For the history of these symbols, see Maurice Agulhon, 'Apuntes para una arqueología de la república: la alegoría cívica femenina', in *Política, imágenes, sociabilidades, de 1789 a 1989*, ed. Jordi Canal, trans. Francisco Javier Ramón Solans (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2016), pp. 119-62.

authority with his own. Once targeted towards the revolution and republicanism, its thrust is now redirected, surreptitiously, towards the Empire and Bonapartism.

Gill's replacement of Sextus by Pyat implicates Napoleon III personally, in his capacity as the one who sent Pyat into exile. The allusion between Napoleon and Sulla so created is a symbolically powerful and destructive one, doubly so that it goes unsaid and thus unpunished. It conjures up the febrile years of the Second Republic, when Napoleon, through the 1851 coup d'état, set himself up as a dictator in the classical mould of Sulla, a resemblance noted by historians and contemporaries alike.[121] This dictatorship had been intended as an emergency measure to "safeguard" the Republic from radicals such as Pyat, and received a broad base of support on those temporary grounds.[122] Gill's caricature therefore served to remind viewers of the coercive and deceptive means through which Louis-Napoleon became Emperor. This becomes particularly significant in light of the policy of liberalisation pursued by the regime in its later years. It exposes the illiberal character of Napoleon's coup d'état, viewed as an original sin in the eyes of many republicans, which no tentative reform would ever be able to expunge,[123] and undercuts its legitimacy. In this, Gill's caricature was acting doubly as a symbolic denial of the Bonapartist state's founding myth and as an authoritative rejection of its recent pseudoliberal turn. That the Napoleon-Sulla allusion is implicit to the drawing, firmly offstage, and not explicitly drawn, demonstrates how such strategies could be used to evade government censors, all the while exposing the Emperor's political body to attack. That Gill's parody represents an attack on the Bonapartist regime is further suggested by the inclusion of Marianne, which assumed an intensely subversive character under the Second Empire. Maurice Agulhon revealed how the figurative value of Marianne reached its peak in this period and became identified with hopes for a new Republic.[124] Pyat was especially connected with this subversive allegory, having penned a *Lettre à Marianne* during his exile in London. This letter contested both the Emperor's legitimacy and the means by which he derived this legitimacy through the image of Marianne, declaring that 'toi [Marianne] seule es notre reine' and comparing the ointment used in coronations to salad dressing.[125] Gill's inclusion of Pyat and Marianne should likely be interpreted in this context, becoming a sharp critique of the symbolic authority of the Emperor.

This thesis is not wholly devoted to the destruction of authority, but also its investment, and the reverse process is apparent in Ernst d'Hervilly's article within the newspaper, which, in lionising the former exile, primarily valorises Pyat's literary skill as conduit through which to support his political programme

[121] Price, pp. 4, 33.
[122] Ibid., p. 26-7.
[123] Ibid., p. 323.
[124] Agulhon, 'Apuntes para una arqueología de la república', pp. 129-30.
[125] Félix Pyat, Rougée and G. Jourdain, *Lettre à Marianne* (London: 1856).

and expresses sympathy with the abortive insurrection of 13 June 1849.[126] The article refers to him as 'encore un revenant', 'l'ancien représentant du peuple, le proscrit', firmly linking him to Marcus Sextus through shared experience of exile and government repression, as well as strengthening Pyat's credentials as incarnating the will of the people. The author also gives consideration to Pyat's personality, hailing his humility and personal asceticism, from which the radical politician derives a physical vitality befitting someone many years younger. The reference to Pyat's asceticism derives greater meaning from dominant notions of republican maleness, which, handed down from the French Revolution, sought to imitate the behaviours of Ancient Rome. As Robert Nye has remarked, these prevailing ideas of masculine bourgeois honour placed a special emphasis on high moral fibre and self-discipline.[127] This moral regimen was not simply internal and mental, and 'statesmen attempted to embody these stoic qualities by cultivating personal austerity and presenting themselves in public with an invariable reserve and dignity'.[128] Nye further describes how these ideas of masculine honour were 'decorated during the Revolution by a discourse of antique virtue'.[129] *L'Éclipse* looks favourably on Pyat because of his realisation of this republican ideal of masculinity, and is also seen in Gill's caricature itself. Pyat is presented as thin, yet muscled, in a reserved stance, emotionally unmoved despite the hardships of exile and the death of republicanism at Napoleon's hands. Pyat visually embodies these favoured attributes of the republican movement, handed down by a lineage of revolutionary republicans, with the significance of this masculine symbolism likely being clear to viewers. This interpretation is strengthened by the contemporary conception of the body as an object of medical interest considered above, of which caricature was an eager recipient and wherein linkages were sought between moral and physical strength and weakness. Pyat's internal moral excellence is so mapped onto the visual representation of his body. Even Pyat's dress and facial hair bear significance. As clothing and hairstyle is often coterminous with specific political, economic and social allegiances, they thereby become invested with meaning as signs of social difference.[130] Many of these dividing lines of fashion became entrenched over the course of the French Revolution and the Restoration, such that by the time of the Second Empire, the wearing of red clothing or the growing of a full beard was seen as evidence of a rebellious background, to the point of criminality.[131] Gill draws Pyat with both, wearing in art what could not be worn in person, in a calculated rejection of the laws and authority of the regime Pyat's clothing, the classical toga, visually cements Pyat's embodiment of an ideal Roman and republican masculinity. Through these, Gill forges a symbol of

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[126] Le Cousin Jacques (pseudonym of Ernst d'Hervilly), 'Félix Pyat', *L'Éclipse*, 2/95 (14 November 1869), p. 2. The significance of this oft-overlooked rising for the French left has been discussed by Bernard Moss, see Bernard Moss, 'June 13, 1849: The Abortive Uprising of French Radicalism', *French Historical Studies*, 13/3 (1984), pp. 390-414.
[127] Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, pp. 53-4.
[128] Ibid.
[129] We can compare this to Marx's description of the Revolution as having been 'accomplished the business of the day in Roman costumes and with Roman phrases', see Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', p. 20.
[130] Emmanuel Fureix, 'L'Iconoclasme, un objet d'histoire politique? Souveraineté et recharge révolutionnaire, 1830-31', *Raison publique*, 1/21 (2017), pp. 100-1; Terdiman, p. 165.
[131] Price, pp. 34, 320.

the radical republican resistance to the regime, grounded in the personnage of one of its longest and most tireless opponents. In depicting Pyat in this manner, Gill enshrines Pyat's radical ideas with a symbolic vibrancy and capacity to defy the Emperor. It demonstrates that caricature was not simply a destructive force, but could also embody alternative symbols of power, often within the same brushstroke.
Related to *les études antiques* were *les études fabuleux*, caricatures which adopted the rich semiotic moralism of countryside folklore as a means of commenting on contemporary political and social affairs. We see many such examples in Parisian satirical print in our period, in a number of forms and guises, invoking Aesop's fables, the works of Jean de la Fontaine and French folk songs. The percolation of these rustic influences in Paris can perhaps be related to the great influx of rural populations to the capital in the decades after the French Revolution,[132] through which the cultural knowledge of the French hinterlands became embedded amongst the Parisian working class. In this sense, *les études fabuleux* could be described as the antipodes of *les études antiques*, reproducing the popular, "low" culture of France and not the aristocratic, "high" traditions of Ancient Rome. In giving visual currency to this depreciated cultural network, caricature was exploiting a communicative pathway of imagery and signs that was eminently decodable by its in-group while remaining obscure to an outsider (namely the Second Empire's bureaucracy). It was less vulnerable to the dilemma of disconnection and obscurity mentioned above and more capable of sustaining symbolic resistance as a result.

The effectiveness of *les études fabuleux* as a means of attack against the Second Empire can be seen in a caricature of Léon Gambetta by Gill [Figure 1.7].[133] This references a famous folktale and logic puzzle, in which a farmer has to transport a wolf, a goat and a cabbage across a river, but cannot leave the wolf unattended with the goat, or the goat alone with the cabbage. There are many permutations of this problem, and it appears to be almost universal across human societies, with its first appearance in the French written record dating back to the time of Charlemagne.[134] In Gill's version, both the goat and the cabbage are present, but the wolf is crucially absent. Gambetta is depicted facing off-page, in alarm or shock, protecting the goat from an outside threat. That the caricature was published just a few weeks before the 8 May 1870 plebiscite suggests that the caricature should be interpreted as a political allegory, especially so that Gambetta campaigned tirelessly for abstentionism during the referendum and had only shortly before given a speech in parliament opposing it.[135]

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[132] Richard Sennett, *A Human Comedy*, foreword, p. 7.
[133] Gambetta had shot to national fame in 1868 for his repudiation of the regime during the trial of Louis Charles Delescluze and was thereafter one of the foremost Republican politicians, see J. P. T. Bury, *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic* (London: Longman, 1973), pp. 1-8.
[134] Marcia Ascher, 'A River-Crossing Problem in Cross-Cultural Perspectives', *Mathematics Magazine*, 63/1 (1990), pp. 26-9.
[135] Bury, *Gambetta*, p. 6.

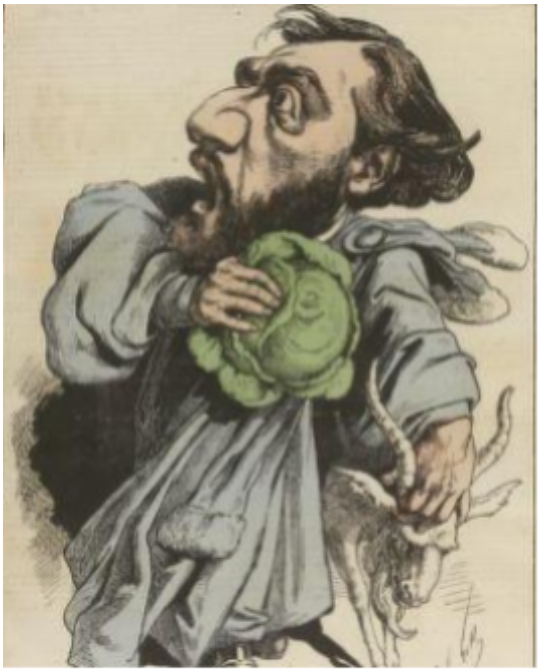

Figure 1.7: Gill, 'Gambetta', *L'Éclipse*, 3/117 (17 April 1870), accessed online via *BnF*.

Gambetta, clearly assuming the role of the farmer, is cast in a paternal light, shielding the goat, perhaps representing the French people, with his own body. The most symbolically powerful aspect of Gill's print is found in what is not shown, however. The wolf's absence would be extremely visible to those aware of the folktale, and encourages the viewer to wonder about its identity. Indeed, censorship would not have allowed Napoleon III to be drawn directly as a wolf, but the incomplete folktale allows for the attack against Napoleon III to be conveyed even in his direct absence. Gill is thus able to furnish Napoleon III with the qualities of a wolf, after the rich pedigree of animal-human metaphor, in a way that would pass wholly undetected by a government censor. Such metaphor is similar to phrenology and physiognomy in that it participates in a human taxonomy, classifying individuals on the basis of their morality which was thought to acquire form in their physical resemblance to certain animals.[136] In the fables of Aesop and the Brothers Grimm, wolves are typically framed as predatory, gluttonous and, most pertinent here, tyrannical, as in *The Wolf and the Lamb*.[137] In France, such metaphor was most famously and most extensively described in an 1856 study, *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux*, whose illustrations were provided by the caricaturist Grandville and whose subtitle 'études de mœurs contemporaines' illustrates the deployment of such imagery as reflections of a current society.[138] This study presented the wolf metaphor with a dual valence, a vicious misanthrope on the one hand, and a charismatic manipulator of public sentiment on the other.[139] We can imagine that this would have appeared as a particularly apt description of the Emperor to republican eyes in the context of the

[136] Wechsler, pp. 15-7.
[137] Aesop, 'Fab. II: De Lupo & Agno', in *Aesop's Fables with His Life*, trans. Thomas Philipot (London: 1687), p. 5.
[138] Grandville, *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux: études de mœurs contemporaines* (Paris: Marescq et C[ie], 1856).
[139] E. de la Bédollierre, 'Cour criminelle de justice animale', in *Scènes de la vie privée*, ed. Grandville, pp. 44-47.

approaching plebiscite, and militates against the discourses underpinning "Liberal" Empire. Animal-human metaphors further serve to maintain distance between the categories of human and animal, assigning to those whom they parody a bestial, less-than-human character. This is perhaps especially true of the wolf, which as we saw was framed as possessing a great and murderous antipathy towards humankind. By enshrining Napoleon III with the emotional and physical qualities of a wolf, Gill's caricature thus undermines the legitimacy of the political institutions of the plebiscite as well as the Emperor's own personal legitimacy.

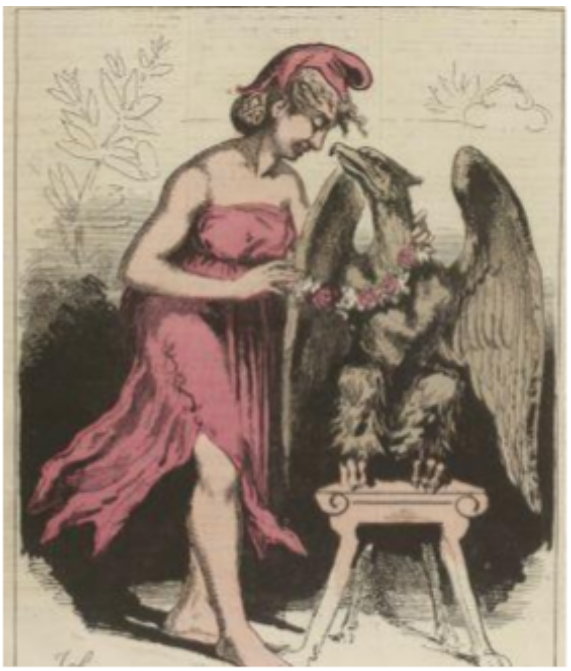

Figure 1.8: Job, 'Jeune Phrygienne jouent avec un Aigle', *L'Éclipse*, 3/116 (10 April 1870), accessed online via *BnF*.

The final caricature that we consider in this section combines antique art, human-animal metaphor and seasonality in an attack against the political and symbolic authority of the Napoleonic regime. We refer here to Job's *Jeune Phrygienne jouant avec un Aigle* [Figure 1.8].[140] As with the caricature of Gambetta and the wolf-Napoleon above, this satirical print was published just prior to the plebiscite, and thus intervened directly against imperial discourses of liberty and longevity. Unlike the other *études antiques*, this one does not seem to correspond to a specific painting or sculpture, but rather appears to bring elements of two Greek myths together: Ganymede and the Eagle, Leda and the Swan. While separate, these myths have a number of similarities, and centre around a youth who is abducted or seduced by Zeus, appearing in the form of a bird. The caricature's title likely references Ganymede, who was referred to as *le jeune phrygien* by at least one eighteenth-century dictionary of mythology.[141] Yet, Ganymede appears as a woman and the article accompanying the print refers to her as 'une autre Léda'.[142] More

[140] Job, 'Jeune Phrygienne jouent avec un Aigle', *L'Éclipse*, 3/116 (10 April 1870).
[141] David Étienne Choffin, *Dictionnaire abrégé de la Fable, ou de la Mythologie* (1758), p. 157.
[142] Star., 'Jeune Phrygienne jouent avec un Aigle (Galerie du Louvre), *L'Eclipse*, 3/166, p. 2.

puzzlingly, the caricature's subtitle refers the reader to the *Galerie du Louvre*, but there seems to be no corresponding sculpture. The caricature does however bear remarkable similarity to a number of paintings and sculptures of Leda, who is seduced or waylaid by swan-Zeus. This suggests a very conscious choice on the part of the caricaturist to wield the symbolism of both myths in his visual assault.

Ganymede-Leda is helmed in a red phrygian cap and assumes the allegorical status of Marianne, while the eagle symbolises the Napoleonic regime, an extension of the Bonapartist claim to the heirdom of Julius Caesar and the Roman Empire. By combining elements of the two myths together, the caricaturist is able to create a symbolic melange that reflects contemporary French society, of Marianne seduced by the Napoleonic eagle, of France deceived by a Bonaparte. As with the caricature of Gambetta above, published just a month before the plebiscite, the print likely refers to the upcoming referendum, characterised here as Napoleon's attempt to waylay or distract the French people. In this symbolic mixture, antique myth is worn as a cloak to confound government censors and Job enters into a banalisation of the guarded forms of cultural production and antiquity which he exploits. This interpretation is supported by the article inside. This tongue-in-cheek text imagines a brief dialogue between M. Prudhomme and his son, admiring the caricature in the Louvre:

> - Mon fils, cette demoiselle est un autre Léda…
> - Mais, papa, le volatile est un aigle, - et pas un cygne.
> - Vous vous trompez, mon fils: c'est un cygne… des temps.[143]

This quote possesses a number of significations beyond its simple play on words. The pun of *cygne - signe* abases the venerable myths of Ganymede and Leda, reducing them to the mere butt of a joke. It is also a reference to Victor Hugo's 1862 masterpiece *Les Misérables*, where we find a similar example of paronomasia ('les cygnes comprennent les signes').[144] Towards the end of the novel, as the city of Paris is engulfed in revolution, Hugo refers to the plight of Gavroche's urchin brothers, who are lost and starving in a park. While there, they spot a bourgeois man and his son. The son complains about his brioche and spits it out. His father chides him for not being kind to animals, and gets him to throw the unwanted bread to the swans of the park lake. Though Hugo never specifically refers to the man as M. Prudhomme, Monnier's famous parody of the Parisian middle-classes, he presents him as being highly concerned with issues of prudence. Monnier's M. Prudhomme derived its name from a verbal pun with these concerns of *prudence* and *pruderie*, becoming 'a parody of practical sagacity… only capable of uttering received ideas'.[145] *L'Éclipse*, in elucidating the metaphor, brings the article and the caricature with which it interacts more clearly into the realm of social commentary.[146] It showcases the cold ignorance of the

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[143] Star., 'Jeune Phrygienne'.
[144] Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables* (Paris: 1862), tome 5, chp. xvi.
[145] Wechsler, pp. 117-8.
[146] see Wechsler, pp. 112-8.

bourgeoisie and implicates the bourgeoisie in criticism of the Second Empire through the vessel of M. Prudhomme.

The pun itself suggests that the caricature was intended to reflect current French society and primes the reader to consider temporality. This close reference to time is also apparent in the caricature itself, which depicts Ganymede/Leda as wrapping a wreath of flowers around the eagle's neck. This function is normally fulfilled by an olive wreath or laurel wreath, and we might compare it to the crown of golden laurels that Napoleon I wore for his coronation.[147] The text, however, makes clear that this is not the case, and we read 'celle-ci caresse, - celui-là becquote, - les liens qui les unissent sont de fleurs printanières'. This replacement of laurels, evergreens, with *fleurs printanières* has much symbolic importance. This metaphor of spring flowers characterises the relationship between the eagle and the *jeune phrygienne*, which symbolise the Napoleonic regime and France respectively, as a seasonal fling. In the heat of the moment, it may appear durable, even eternal, but it is ultimately revealed to be ephemeral. It is doomed to evaporate with the same surety as does spring give way to summer. It thus inscribes into both word and image the Napoleonic regime's impossibility to endure. It recognises the fickleness of public opinion on which the Second Empire depended for longevity, and signals that Napoleon III can only maintain his charade before the people for so long. This metaphor of seasonality ultimately derives its significance as an exercise in counter-discourse from the inherently corporeal mode of monarchist reproduction, under which paradigm issues of political continuity become issues of dynastic continuity, and firmly linked to questions of bodily health and fertility. How these issues of temporality and the physical durability of the Empire are broached without directly employing the body of the Emperor forms the core of the section below.

1.1.2 Seasonal Metaphor as a Means of Attacking Imperial Durability and Reproduction

The deployment of seasonality in caricature was a common instrument in their challenge to the symbolic authority Bonapartist government, and derived its subversive capacity from the way it exposed the Second Empire as temporary, malleable, destructible, so grappling with imperial discourses of durability and reproduction. As hereditary monarchy's long-term political prospects derived from the physical and reproductive health of its rulers, suggestion that the Empire was contingent necessarily implied an attack on the body of its Emperor, and we briefly consider other similar attacks on Napoleon III and his family towards the end of this section. The prevalence of seasonal metaphor in caricature and its ease of

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[147] see Jacques-Louis David, *Sacre de l'empereur Napoléon Ier et couronnement de l'impératrice Joséphine dans la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris, le 2 décembre 1804* (1805-7), <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jacques-Louis_David_-_The_Coronation_of_Napoleon_(1805-1807).jpg >.

comprehension among the *L'Éclipse*'s readership can perhaps be grounded in the phenomenon of rural migration to Paris discussed in the introduction. The pace of rural life is determined by the particular season, the year dancing to the cyclical rhythm of the winter thaw, the spring rebirth, the summer sun and the autumn harvest. Even in an urban environment, in a time before climate change and modern global food supply chains (through which seasonal foodstuffs can be imported from halfway across the globe regardless of month), seasonal variation, and thus its metaphorical valency, was likely more pronounced in the nineteenth century than it is today. More generally, caricature in the period seems well attuned to the passage of time, taking advantage of occasions such as the New Year, *la fête des rois* and the Day of the Dead to engage in topical social and political commentary.[148]

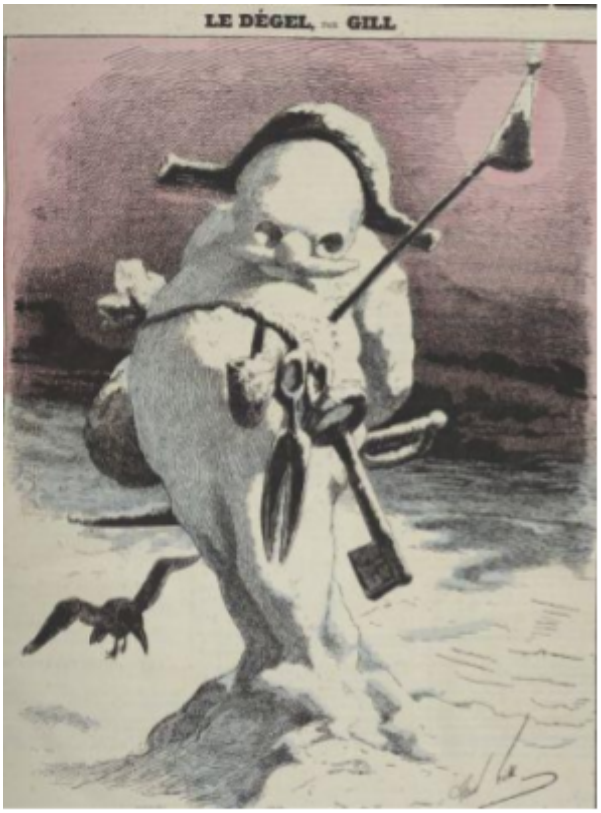

Figure 1.9: Gill, 'Le Dégel', *L'Éclipse*, 2/99 (12 December 1869), accessed online via *BnF*.

The next caricature that concerns us appeared in print in the winter of 1869, when the liberalisation of the regime was accelerating and exposing the tension between freedom and authoritarianism inherent to the regime. The print, coming at such a fraught time for the Empire, was entitled *Le Dégel*, referencing the impending spring thaw, and is a symbolically-dense and semiotically-charged piece [Figure 1.9]. Though Gill does not explicitly draw Napoleon, effortlessly evading censorship rules by disguising him as a snowman, it is clear from its Napoleonic bicorne and prominent nose and moustache that it is none other than the sovereign himself. A pair of scissors, the keys of heaven and a sabre are depicted hanging from the snowman's belt, while an eagle flies nearby. Respectively, these signifying censorship, religiosity,

[148] Gill, '1870', *L'Éclipse*, 3/102 (2 January 1870), p. 1; Gill, 'Le gâteau des rois', *L'Éclipse*, 3/103 (9 January 1870), p. 1; Gill, 'Le jour des morts', *L'Éclipse*, 4/158, p. 1.

order and, reinforced by the snowman's bicorne, the Bonaparte dynasty. As we discussed above, these were central facets of how Bonapartist rule was maintained, either as the pathways by which imperial ideology was legitimised or as the means through which discursive submission was materially encouraged and enforced. In incorporating this imperial discursive framework in his attack, giving them visual representation, Gill denudes them of their ideological protections of invisibility. He further undercuts these symbols by the inclusion of the *éteignoir*, a common satirical device signifying a backwards sentiment,[149] tarring these aspects of the regime with the charge of reaction. It also calls into question the validity of the government's newfound commitment to liberalisation, as the *éteignoir* was the natural enemy of light, a symbol of freedom and progress. That the symbolic apparatus of the regime is criticised alongside Napoleon-as-snowman is suggestive of the dual governmental-individual nature of the assault. As in the caricature by Job above, the true engine of its symbolic attacks lies in the theme of seasonality. Gill portrays the Napoleonic regime as though a snowman before the coming of Spring, seemingly robust but quick to melt when exposed to the illuminating rays of the Spring sun. It is ephemeral, not infinite, an empire whose only hope of durability lies in its coercive and symbolic legal instruments.

The caricature's meaning is partially diffused in an article inside, written by none other than Victor Hugo, the indomitable republican and opponent of the regime, from his exile in Guernsey.[150] Hugo quotes a recent speech by the Emperor, purporting to desire liberty. Hugo rubbishes this claim, and proceeds to further attack the Napoleonic administration's programme of liberalisation. He addresses freedom directly, as though a friend, employing the 'tu' form rather than the 'vous' form to convey a sense of familiarity and intimacy. Hugo writes:

> Non, tu ne meurs pas, Liberté! un de ces jours, au moment où l'on s'y attendra le moins, à l'heure même où on t'aura le plus profondément oubliée, tu te lèveras!

Hugo contrasts the thawing, ephemeral Napoleonic regime as depicted by Gill with the flowering and eternal nature of liberty. Liberty, though seemingly at its lowest ebb, is fated to throw off its chains and rise once more. Hugo likens *Liberté* to a sun, melting ice and snow. '[C]ette plaine dure et blanche', representing as it does Napoleon III's rule, will fall away before this unstoppable force of nature. Elsewhere in Hugo's writing, seasonality and nature are common themes, and appear often in his treatment of Napoleon I. We might refer to *Les Misérables*, where the rising and setting of the sun appears as a metaphorical shorthand for Napoleon I's waxing and waning fortunes.[151] That we find the inverse here, a rising sun signifying the weakening of Napoleon III's rule, is suggestive of Napoleon III's

[149] Goldstein, 'Censorship', p. 77-8.
[150] Victor Hugo, 'Le Dégel', *L'Éclipse*, 2/99, p. 2.
[151] Hugo, *Les Misérables*, tome II, book 1, chp. xxii.

inadequacy compared to his more successful uncle who, though disliked by Hugo, was readily recognised as a great man. Between them, Hugo and Gill identify and give clear form to the contradictions facing the Second Empire as it embarked on its supposed programme of liberty. They cast doubt on the Napoleonic state's embrace of freedom, and instead locate freedom within the unravelling of the Second Empire itself. In doing so, they oppose narratives of imperial durability with symbolism of its inevitable decline and participate in symbolic resistance to the regime.

These ideas of waning dynastic and imperial fortunes are furthered by another of Gill's caricatures, and this elaborates on the connection between seasonality, the body and political authority *Le Garde rural* was published on 22 May 1870, two weeks after the validation of the Empire's programme of reform through popular suffrage [Figure 1.10].[152] It contains a number of similarities to *Le Dégel* discussed above. *Le Garde rural* depicts a figure wearing a Napoleonic bicorne with a sabre on his back, the same as the snowman in *Le Dégel*, and it is apparent that Gill intended both *Le Dégel* and *Le Garde rural* to exist within the same story, the latter continuing the former. Unlike in the former, the viewer's perspective is trained on the back of the figure, preventing Napoleon III's visage from being seen, but his identity is nonetheless reconstructible from his attire. The snow has melted, the thaw has arrived and the figure walks towards a rising sun and a field of spring flowers. The caricature is accompanied by a poem, which appears as its subtitle:

> Bon vieux garde! Il triomphe; il rit, il a vingt ans!
> Son ami le plus cher, son sabre, l'accompagne!
> Son empire est un champ; vive donc la campagne!
> Rien ne vaut, voyez-vous, la nature au printemps![153]

The first line of this verse references Napoleon's elite troops, *la Vielle Garde*, a comparison that is also made by the caricature itself. Its depiction of Napoleon III, necessarily obscured through censorship, is entirely conducted through the means of gesture and attire, which, as corporeal attitudes, imply bodily criticism of the Emperor. Napoleon's portrayal in a bicorne and with one hand placed inside his pocket is reminiscent of caricature from the Second Republic, which honed in on the personal relationship between Napoleon I and III with the aim of framing the latter as a pathetic imitator of his more illustrious forebear.[154] The poem's mention of the regime's age, 'il a vingt ans!', roughly coincides with Napoleon's 1851 coup d'état, whose significance as an attack on the symbolic and political authority of the regime we considered in the previous sub-chapter. This meaning is reinforced by reference to 'son ami le plus cher, son sabre', which serves to highlight the Napoleonic state's recourse to violence in the name of

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[152] Gill, 'Le Garde rural', *L'Éclipse*, 2/122 (22 May 1870), p. 2-3, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1067352r/f2.item> [accessed 18/03/2021].
[153] Ibid.
[154] Scully, 'The Cartoon Emperor', p. 150.

order. In the third line, Gill mounts a strong attack on the edifice of the Bonapartist monarchy. He defines the empire as a purely rural phenomenon, lacking support in the cities. Lastly, the poem's final line calls back to *Le Dégel*, and is also faintly reminiscent of *les fleur printanières* in Job's caricature. It underlines the theme of seasonality throughout these caricatures, now explicitly anchored to the empire's own temporality, and ascribes to the regime a finiteness, even an immediacy of collapse.

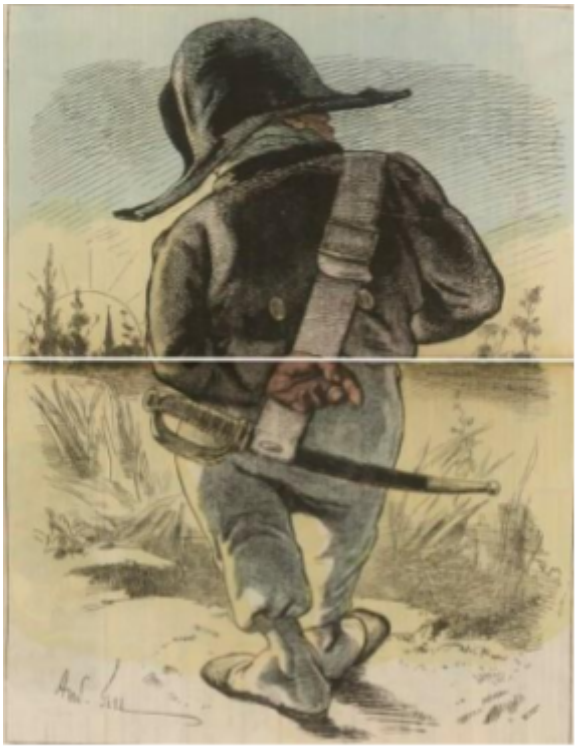

Figure 1.10: Gill, 'Le Garde rural', *L'Éclipse*, 2/122 (22 May 1870), accessed online via *BnF*.

In these three caricatures discussed above, metaphors of seasonality are used to signify the Napoleonic state's ailing fortunes, the strengthening of the liberal and republican opposition and even an urgency to the regime's fall. While these are all inherently disruptive messages to the authority of any regime, they gain particular strength in relation to hereditary monarchy, under which questions of political continuity become questions of familial endurance and vice versa. Suggestions of the kingdom's fall are thus also suggestions of the ruler's demise. This general trait of hereditary monarchy was amplified by the personal anxieties of Napoleon III to maintain the legacy of his uncle. This relationship was both a wellspring of symbolism by which to shore up his authority and a great burden, with Louis-Napoleon being driven by a filial compulsion to perpetuate his uncle's dynasty.[155] Indeed, such a dynastic link is referenced in two of the caricatures we have seen, through the appearance of the bicorne, sabre and hand-within-pocket, with the aim of highlighting Louis-Napoleon's deficiencies relative to his progenitor of his dynasty. These can be integrated into more general concerns over the Second Empire's genetic continuity: Napoleon's supposed impotence, his wife's apparent infidelity and his son's illegitimacy. We might refer to Rimbaud's short poem in the Album zutique, *Vieux de la vielle*, written about a year after Napoleon III's abdication. Beyond portraying the Second Empire as a distinctly rural phenomenon, Rimbaud's poem portrays Louis-Napoleon's son as a bastard-heir and points to a faithlessness on the part of the empress,[156] offering an explicit critique against Napoleon's dynastic authority. These caricatures and poems make their own symbolic contributions to picking away at this key component of imperial ideology and political continuity.

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[155] Price, *French Second Empire*, p. 44.
[156] Steve Murphy, 'Naître et paraître', in *Rimbaud et la ménagerie impériale* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1991), para. 5-13.

1.1.3 Political Allegory during the Referendum of 8 May 1870

These biological, personal and constitutional aspects of kingship coincided also in the matter of the liberalisation of the regime, which was the overarching political context in which the above caricatures were published. Indeed, in light of the pseudo-liberalism of the regime purported to be exposed in *Le Dégel*, the Empire's existence was depicted at odds with the inevitable cry of freedom. More generally, republicans saw this policy, culminating in the constitutional referendum of 8 May 1870, as an opportunity to pick away at the foundations of the Second Empire,[157] and we consider here how republican caricaturists deployed political allusion around this plebiscite to resist the political discourses of the regime and assert their own visual authority against the symbolic authority of the Emperor.

We have already discussed the counter-discursive significance of attack against plebiscite, but it is useful to elucidate those aspects which are particularly relevant here. Its corrosive aspect *vis à vis* the ideology of the Second Empire derived from its general entanglement of the institution of plebiscite with the Napoleonic state's history, current anxieties and future opportunities. For Napoleon III, the instrument of plebiscite was a tether to the past, present and future. It represented a link to his uncle, whose claim to imperial rule was legitimised through plebiscites in 1800, 1802, 1804 and 1815, a link which was carefully cultivated by the regime and was so fundamental to its being as to go without saying. Popular referendum was also inseparable from the origins of Napoleon III's own rule. Indeed, it was through two plebiscites in late 1851 and 1852 that a veneer of popular volition was applied to the 1851 *coup d'état* which toppled the Second Republic, 'an appeal to popular sovereignty [that] was to be a characteristic of the new regime'.[158] It also signified his imperial prerogative, his present ability to go beyond parliament and directly consult his people. Beyond this, it offered the promise of dynastic continuity, a means to exchange the 'short-term expedient' of authoritarianism for the more durable legal-political foundations of liberalisation.[159] Undermining the utility and sanctity of these referenda was thus an attack on a central pillar of Bonapartist ideology, the history from which it derived its legitimacy, and its political means of perseverance.

The Napoleonic state was further fraught with tension and it was witness to a precarious balancing act between order and democracy, tensions that were in some part illustrated in Gill's *Le Dégel* above. Indeed, the vacillation of the emperor and his inner circle between these two directions indicates the tense

[157] Price, pp. 390-3.
[158] Ibid, p. 34.
[159] Ibid., p. 51.

nature of this approach.[160] Plebiscites were a way of mediating these two, seemingly paradoxical concerns, sidestepping the staunchly reactionary representative assemblies and allowing the Emperor to commune directly with his people.[161] This had the effect of further personalising the connection between the regime and the people beyond the individualisation of power already innate to the dual public-private body of hereditary monarchy, linking it irrevocably to the sole character and physicality of the emperor. This has important implications for the attack on the institution of plebiscites by republican caricaturists discussed below, as plebiscite's nature as an instrument of the Emperor's personal power necessarily transformed rebuke of referenda into a reproach of Napoleon's singular claim to represent democracy and the will of the sovereign people of France.

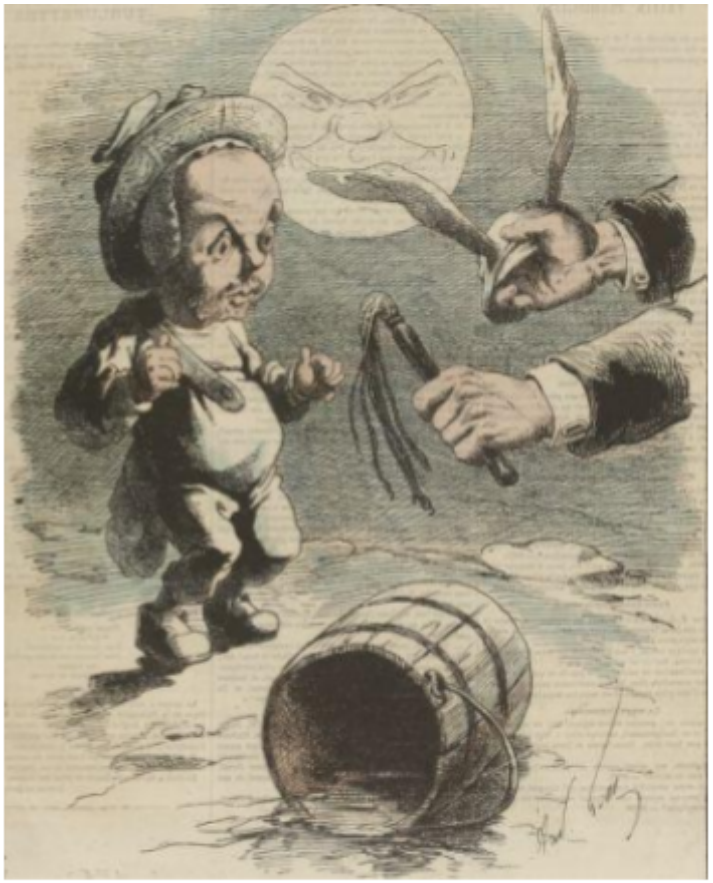

Figure 1.11: Gill, 'Actualité', *L'Éclipse*, 3/118 (24 April 1870), accessed online via *BnF*.

This uneasy peace between security and democracy was teased out by André Gill a fortnight before 8 May, in a caricature entitled *Actualité* [Figure 1.11]. This caricature depicts a voter being confronted by a rod on one side and a winged hat on the other, being thrust towards them by disembodied hands. This effectively dichotomises the referendum as a choice between order (the rod) and liberty (the winged cap), handed down to the people from a position of authority. That is to say, no choice at all. Indeed, that the referendum represents only an illusion of choice is suggested by the caricature's subtitle 'Choisis???', conveying the imaginary voter's scepticism. This is typical of republican documents from the referendum

[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

campaign, which emphasise the undemocratic nature of the institution of plebiscites. The *Manifeste de la Gauche*, signed by representatives of the republican movement on 20 April 1870, argued that the supposedly liberal constitution offered by Napoleon 'will not destroy personal government; it will conserve its most formidable prerogatives intact'.[162] It went on to reference Napoleon's 2 December 1851 *coup d'état*, likening the despotism inherent in the overthrow of the Second Republic to Napoleon's use of plebiscite. By the act of its own founding, the Bonapartist government had rendered itself illegitimate. Napoleon's push towards liberty is attacked by his earlier recourse to repression and order and is shown to be a mere extension of that same disciplinary regime.

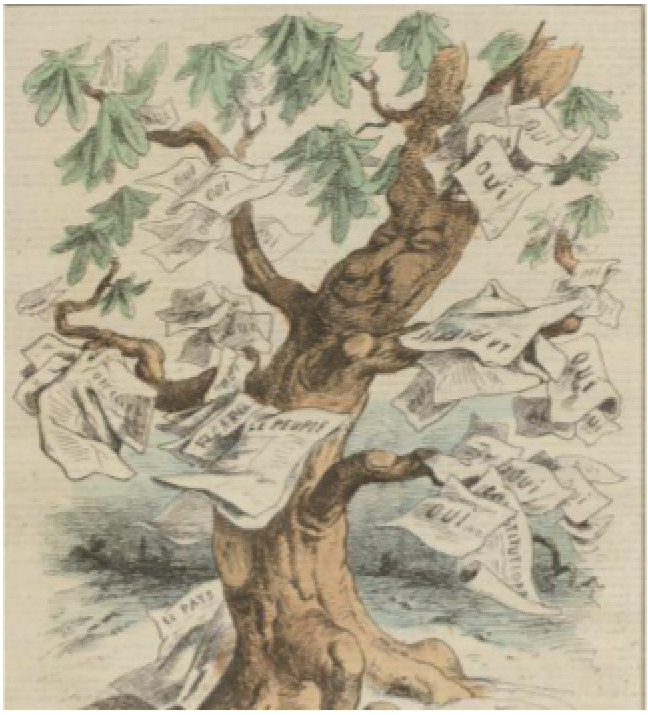

Figure 1.12: Gill, 'Le Marronnier du 8 Mai', *L'Éclipse*, 3/120 (8 May 1870), accessed online via *BnF*.

Humour was a powerful arsenal in the republican campaign against the referendum, with the satirist's ability to make a reader laugh coming into conflict with the Emperor's ability to cultivate sovereignty through the instrument of plebiscite. Léon Bienvenu's article which accompanies Gill's caricature mocks Napoleonic referenda in this fashion. Referring to the constitutional referendum, the article takes the opportunity to resolve some of the most pressing issues facing the French nation 'par la voie plébiscitaire'.[163] These issues include the closure of the *Bibliothéque impériale*, rat-catching in the streets of Paris and the retirement of M. Koenig from the Paris opéra. The article concludes with some self-deprecating humour, with the author proposing two referendums to the reader, 'Avez-vous lu cet article? OUI' and 'Si c'était à refaire, le liriez-vous? OH NON!'. The incessant switching between Yes and No in the article presents a similar dichotomy to the one in Gill's caricature. Overall, it strips plebiscites of their solemnity, trivialises them and voids them of their legitimacy as a political process.

[162] Various, 'Manifeste de la Gauche', in *Documents on the Second French Empire, 1852-1870*, trans. and ed. by Roger Price (London: Palgrave, 2015), p. 228.
[163] Léon Bienvenu, 'Petits Plébiscites', *L'Éclipse*, 3/118, p. 2.

L'Éclipse continued to circulate such jokes as the referendum grew closer. A set of caricatures on the opening of a new railway line in Belgium and seized the opportunity to attack the referendum.[164] One vignette wondered if the free exchange of goods offered by the new line would include 'un de ses jolis produits qu'on s'appelle: *Liberté*'. Another snapshot depicted two top hat-wearing bourgeois men having a conversation where one asks the other if he plans on abstaining in the upcoming referendum. His collocutor replies that 'je m'abstiens si peu que je vais souscrire pour dix mille actions de oui au chemin de fer', exploiting the self-disciplinary as well as political dimensions of the verb *s'abstenir*. Across these caricatures, the satirist blends social criticism with political allegory of the referendum, attacking the societal effects of unfettered industrial capitalism and bourgeois financial caprice, all while using the opening of the railway line as an opportunity and cover for attacking plebiscite.

We see a similar process of banalisation in Gill's caricature on 8 May, the very day of the referendum [Figure 1.12]. Gill's drawing depicts the constitutional referendum as a *marronnier*, a chestnut tree. The tree is adorned with ballot slips marked OUI and Bonapartist media mouthpieces like *Le Pays*, *Le Peuple* and *Le Journal Officiel*. The message here is that to support the referendum is to support these right-wing elements of the press. But there is also a further meaning. In French media jargon, *marronnier* has the same meaning as its English counterpart, and as one might refer to 'that old chestnut', *marronnier* signifies a news item which, like chestnuts on the trees, resurfaces at the same time every year. It is a filler story and could be written in advance. This is supported by the little jingle in the subtitle, based on a folk song, 'Joli mois de Mai, quand reviendras-tu?'. It uses the Bonaparte family's history of plebiscites against them to contend that they have become so overused as to the point of triviality. There is also a suggestion of a less-than-honest procedure, that the outcome is known in advance. The referendum is merely a rubberstamping, an elaborate demagogic pageantry in support of a foregone conclusion, for which the articles write themselves. The caricature gains additional significance from its propitious timing, and appears as a last attempt to persuade voters as to the inutility of the referendum. The republican movement was divided in its stance towards the referendum, with some extending cautious support, others advocating a No vote, and others still calling for mass abstentionism to avoid giving the process the dignity that either a Yes or No vote would offer.[165] The caricature should be interpreted, in light of this campaign, as advocating abstention among its readers. We have already discussed the centrality of plebiscite as a source of Napoleon's legitimacy, and Gill's attack is elevated in importance as a result. By attacking Napoleonic plebiscites, he was undermining a key apparatus of the state, which was at once political and symbolic in nature. In other words, Gill and Bienvenu above were engaged in a process of contesting the conventional basis of the emperor's authority, that is, after Kojève, his ability to act on another. This was achieved through the satirists' own authority over their readers, their ability to

[164] Anon., 'Chemins de fer du sud-est Belge', *L'Eclipse*, 3/121 (1 May 1870), p. 4.
[165] Price, pp. 389-90.

make them laugh through mockery. This laughter, being directed as it was against plebiscite, the crossroad on which the risk and promise of the Second Empire met, thus brought the authority of the humorist into direct collision with the authority of the emperor.

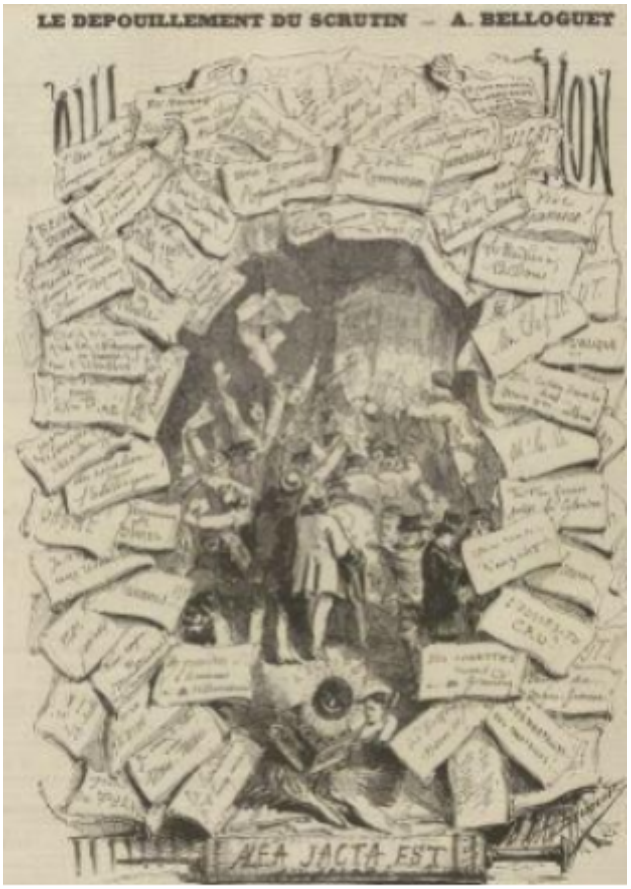

Figure 1.13: André Belloguet, 'Le Dépouillement du scrutin', *L'Éclipse*, 3/121 (15 May 1870), accessed online via *BnF*.

Indeed, the issue of plebiscite presented caricaturists with an opportunity to assert themselves as an authority contrary to that of political power, the *citoyen-caricaturiste* holding the government to account. This is illustrated by André Belloguet's caricature *Le Dépouillement du scrutin*, which appeared on the last page of *L'Éclipse* a week after the Napoleon regime's successful referendum and depicts the counting of the ballots [Figure 1.13]. The satirical print presents a wreath of what appear to be ballot papers, with a large OUI on the upper left corner and a large NON on the upper right. On closer inspection, however, one notices that these are not votes cast, but rather receipts, advertisements for bicycles and braces, personal notes and jokes. One of these rubbishes the process, with a play-on-words involving the X which one marks to express an electoral preference: 'Je vote pour EX-Pire!'. These jokes not only further belittle referenda, but also suggest electoral fraud through ballot stuffing. It is a twofold rejection of the plebiscite's validity, that the process is unworthy of respect and that it is an inaccurate representation of the people's will. The caricaturist shines a light on these matters, exposing the truth. *L'Éclipse*'s mascot, a moon eclipsing the sun, appears in the drawing, rays of light emanating from it in a literal and figurative illumination. It makes a similar appearance in Gill's *Actualité* of 24 April 1870, surveying the voter

confronted by the rod and the cap. In Gill's earlier drawing, the mascot appeared as a passive observer of the process. In Belloguet's post-referendum print, however, it appears as an active agent exposing the truth. It recalls Tillier's conception of the *caricaturiste-citoyen* under the Third Republic as the authoritative arbiter of truth and justice, and exploits caricature's innate ability to embody alternative notions of visual reality in order to realise this claim.

This counter-discursive challenge is directly levelled at the emperor's political authority, an attack signalled by and executed through an assault on his personal body. At the bottom of Belloguet's caricature we find a clyster (a sort of primitive enema resembling a syringe), in which the inscriptions 'plebiscitum', 'alea jacta est' and '1870' are visible. After Napoleon's abdication on 2 September 1870, the clyster would become a mainstay of anti-Bonapartist caricature, signifying his physical decrepitude and drawing attention to his illness.[166] It is interesting that we find this same trope in the early half of 1870, with Napoleon III still in power and the regime of censorship against caricature still in force, anticipating these later attacks. Though the emperor does not appear in the caricature, a common thread in all the drawings we have thus far considered, the thrust of the attack is nonetheless indicated in his absence.

After its scatalogical nature, offensive to bourgeois visual and cultural norms of cleanliness, it amounts to an eye-catching image and drags the viewer's attention to the utterances inscribed on it. The inscription 'alea jacta est' makes reference to one of the most enduring aspects of the symbolic repertoire of Bonapartism, that is the claim to be the heir of Caesar.[167] This famous phrase was apparently uttered by the Roman general when he resolved to cross the Rubicon with his legions and topple the Roman Republic. This quote did not only possess antique connotations, but also bore a more recent resonance. Louis-Napoleon was alleged by journalist Eugène Ténot, editor of the anti-Bonapartist *Le Siècle*, to have written the word 'Rubicon' over the plans for his 1851 *coup d'état* on the midnight before he toppled the Second Republic.[168] We saw above that this coup was seen as the Second Empire's foundational sin by republicans, which two plebiscites in 1851 and 1852 had been unable to expiate. The inscription on the clyster serves as a reminder of this. The relationship between this original sin and the constitutional referendum of 8 May is signalled in an indexical manner, by their spatial contiguity on the page. The syringe thus condenses all these elements in a powerful tincture, bringing together the regime's initial despotism and the more recent plebiscite of 1870, which are underscored by Napoleon's physical weakness. In this way, attack on the empire's political and symbolic apparatus goes hand-in-hand with

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[166] Tillier, 'Le Corps de l'empereur', para. 5.
[167] Helena Rosenblatt, *The Lost History of Liberalism: From Ancient Rome to the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 159.
[168] Eugène Ténot, *Paris in December 1851, or, The Coup d'État of Napoleon III*, trans. S. W. Adams and A. H. Brandon (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870), p. 91.

attack on the body of the emperor, the latter serving as a means to delegitimise the former. We will examine in greater depth the connections between biological decrepitude and the political or moral decline of the nation in the final chapter. These bonds featured heavily in later *fin-de-siècle* narratives of decadence and depravity against the Second Empire and bourgeoisie, seeking to tie the latter to the ignominy of the former.

1.2 Conclusion

Conscious of the centrality of the Emperor's image in the public eye to the survival of the Second Empire, the regime erected formidable ideological and coercive barriers around his physical body. Towards the end of the 1860s, however, as the Empire embarked on a project of liberalisation as a means to perpetuate the regime, satirists developed a number of semantic and metaphorical strategies to bypass these protections and implicate the physical and political body of the Emperor in their critique. These tactics were as varied in their form as they were in their operation, but all participated in the shared arena of discursive struggle. Classical and folkloric allusion allowed caricature to evade some of the discursive limitations imposed by censorship to attack Napoleon III's origins and character without directly conjuring him on the page, while seasonal metaphor proved conducive to symbolic assault on the Empire's political and biological endurance and reproduction. Such concerns were profoundly linked through the corporeal qualities of hereditary monarchy, by which power was quite literally embodied in the individual physicality of the Emperor and his family. Political allegory surrounding the 8 May 1871 referendum attained its counter-discursive significance from its exhibition of the structural and personal disquietudes of Empire and Emperor like a raw nerve. It called into question Napoleon III's personal connection to his people and sought to supplant him from his role as 'spirit of the nation incarnate' through their alternative claim as *citoyens-caricaturistes*.

This was made possible by what Ernst Kantorowicz has described as the dual nature of kingship, possessing both a natural and metaphysical quality. Through this, Napoleon III's presence went without saying, and could thus be omitted without fear of disconnection in meaning of the caricature. As with the shift from political caricature of Louis-Philippe to social caricature under the July Monarchy's regime of censorship, the absence of the Emperor's physical body drove caricaturists' towards more subversive and inventive attack on the discursive structures of the Second Empire themselves. Through this, the political and symbolic apparatus of the regime was denuded of its ideological protections and exposed directly to a withering barrage of satire.

It is nonetheless important not to overstate the efficacy of these attacks on the physical-political durability and institutional apparatus of the regime. The referendum returned an overwhelming majority in support of *l'Empire libérale*, with opposition restricted to Paris and other urban-industrial centres. Republicans, once viewing the affair as the last gasp of an illegitimate tyrant from whence might come the first breath of a new republic, now perceived it as a triumph of order over liberty.[169] It would not be until September, first by Prussian arms at Sedan, and then on the streets of Paris, that Napoleon III would be brought low. What has hopefully been demonstrated here, however, is the diverse contexts and forms in which satirical deployments of the body can provide insight into issues of symbolic resistance in the Second Empire and reveal the ways in which Napoleon III's authority was tested but not shattered in the last years of his reign. Even this defeat did not spell the end of political Bonapartism in France, and Napoleon III's continued presence in caricature under the Third Republic forms part of our investigation in the next chapter, which explores how the political battle for the survival and identity of the Third Republic was carried out by caricaturists on the visual terrain.

[169] Price, pp. 393-4.

2.0 Bodies of Monarchy and Republicanism in the Early Third Republic (1871-1873)

Though Napoleon's defeat at Sedan on 2 September precipitated the proclamation of a restored Republic in Paris, the forces of monarchy did not disappear overnight and threatened the Third Republic's survival for almost a decade.[170] The first legislative elections held under this new Republic on 8 February 1871, in an inauspicious sign for its long-term prospects, returned a massive monarchist majority. To secure this victory, royalists had framed themselves as the defenders of peace and liberty against the *guerre à outrance* favoured by the dictatorial republicans, a discourse through which the Republic became synonymous with disorder.[171] The eruption of the Commune a month later threatened to confirm this conflation in the eyes of some republican elites, based at Versailles.[172] These elites included Adolphe Thiers, who filled a leading executive role under the new Third Republic and whose fidelity to the republican project as a former prime minister under the July Monarchy was not yet clear. Such uncertainty, compounded by his role in the Prussian armistice, featured heavily in caricature before and during the Commune, and his leadership caused some republicans to lament 'la république sans les républicains'.[173] When Thiers proved too closely-aligned to the Republic, monarchists under the Orleanist duc de Broglie engineered his removal and replaced him with Patrice MacMahon in November 1873. Though crisis threatened the Republic later in the decade, culminating in the 1877 *crise du seize mai*,[174] we are concerned here with the period between 1871 and 1873, so as to better locate the symbolic struggles considered below around the turmoil of the collapse of the Second Empire, the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune. The above narratives around the Commune and Thiers reveal that the Republic's supporters in the period did not just express anxieties about its survival, but also about the extent of its republican character. In this chapter and the next, I contend that satire, and the alternative ways of thinking about corporeality that it implies, provides a useful lens for considering the early years of the Third Republic, with the deployment of the body both in text and in art giving a valuable insight into the symbolic struggles for republican survival and identity. Alongside the previous chapter, it points towards the general reformulation of authority that was present in this period and in which newspaper satire was an active participant.

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[170] For an overview of this period, see R. D. Anderson, *France 1870-1914: Politics and Society* (London: Routledge, 1977), pp. 5-11; Odile Rudelle, *La république absolue* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1982), pp. 11-103; Lehning, *To Be a Citizen*.
[171] Rudelle, '1870-1875: La république du provisoire', in *La république absolue*, para. 13-7.
[172] Adolphe Thiers and others, 'Proclamation du gouvernement', quoted in *Le Rappel* (19 March 1871), p. 2.
[173] see de Frondat, 'Les coulisses du Grand Théâtre de Bordeaux: la loge de clarisse', in *The Franco-Prussian War and the Commune*, plate 90; Pilotell, 'L'Éxecutif', in *Franco-Prussian War and the Commune*, plate 98; Émile Thirion, *La république sans les républicains: épître aux monarchistes* (Senlis: Librairie de E. Payen, 1871); Eugène O'Ddoul, *Rien ! rien, rien ! ou L'Entier du tiers: président de la république… sans républicains* (1872).
[174] Anderson, *France 1870-1914*, pp. 10-1.

This chapter considers the role of the monarchist body in visual satire in the early Third Republic, as a means to embody indignity in the pretenders to the French throne, to attack the ideology of hereditary monarchy and to challenge contemporary narratives around order and disorder. The first section of this chapter looks at caricature of the three pretenders during the formative years of the Third Republic, with special attention given to how criticism of the ex-Emperor could be held against the idea of monarchy as a whole. We refer more often to the direct physicality of monarchists as conveyed, deformed or effaced by caricaturists in this chapter than previously. Many of the frameworks deployed in the previous chapter remain greatly instructive here, particularly those of Tillier, Terdiman and Wechsler. Under these frameworks, given new context through the changing regime of censorship, the caricatural assault on the bodies of the individual pretenders, and especially of Napoleon III, operated as a means of attacking hereditary monarchy as an institution, portraying it as capable of sowing only chaos and dysfunction.

This is seen most clearly in the second section of the chapter, where we consider caricatural representation of a collective yet divided monarchist body. The increasing fusion of monarchist factions, first through informal electoral pacts and later through a compromise aimed at reconstituting the comte de Chambord's candidature as a unifying agent amongst monarchists,[175] presented both a problem and an opportunity for republican caricaturists. Portraying the forces of monarchy as marching in lockstep would risk presenting monarchists in a position of strength and ideological cohesiveness, but would allow the physical and moral blemishes of one faction, particularly those of the Bonapartists, to be held against the other groups. The solution arrived at by caricaturists was to portray the monarchists as united in the same broad goal of restoration, but whose fatal contradictions in programme always erupted at crucial junctures. The body of the Republic is visible in contrast to this monarchist body, often conveyed through the sole figure of Marianne. Through this form, the Republic's initial precarity but also later triumphs are given visual form by caricaturists. Such satirical art served to create a symbol of republican unity to oppose monarchist division. This tied into a wider republican campaign to supplant the governing regime, reframing monarchists as disorderly and establishing the Republic as the true defenders of order in the public eye.[176] In forwarding this critique, satirists were not strictly engaged in the reformulation of discourses around order *per se*, that its pursuit was necessary at all, but rather sought to unpick preconceived ideas about which form of government best represented it by exposing as hollow the claims of *l'ordre morale* to engender social stability.

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[175] Jacques Gouault, *Comment la France est devenue républicaine: Les élections générales et partielles à l'Assemblée nationale, 1870-1875* (Paris: 1954), pp. 59-61; John Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 15-6; Anderson, p. 9.
[176] Stephen E. Hanson, 'The Founding of the French Third Republic', *Comparative Political Studies*, 43/8-9 (2010), pp. 1045-6.

The struggle to cultivate a discourse of republican order in this period was as much directed inwards against other aspects of the republican tradition as it was trained externally against the forces of monarchy. This internal battle is considered in the final part of the chapter. James R. Lehning has examined this two-fold foundational battle of the Third Republic through the lens of political culture and highlights the discursive dimensions of this, whereby the implicit assumptions around what constituted acceptable republican practice and attitude were renegotiated.[177] Republican elites emphasised electoral politics, organised around the identity of the citizen, as the sole legitimate basis of mass participative politics. In order to project this type of participation as a guarantor of social stability, these elites sought to prune other republican traditions, most notably that of the Jacobin 'crowd' and its perceived successor through the Commune. The tensions between these traditions was played out equally through republican institutions and on the field of cultural production, and is reflected in the caricatures below. While explicitly lashing out against the prospect of royalist resurgence, many of these satirical drawings intervene in the early discursive realignment of republican political culture. Special attention is given to the corporeality inherent to these sources and how the ideal body of the Republic was constructed in opposition to monarchist bodies. As we shall see, what constituted a desirable political culture was not universal among republican satirists and there were many competing ideas in the period, differing by degree in how exclusionary they envisioned the new Republic to be. This section readily connects to the third chapter of this thesis, where we examine how discourses around gender, discipline and corporeal and national decline were mobilised against the bourgeoisie to exclude them from the new Third Republic and to respond to the particular discursive needs of anti-Commune republicans in Paris in the aftermath of *la Semaine sanglante*.

2.0.1 Sources

In this chapter, we refer primarily to *L'Éclipse*, but caricatures expressing similar themes are found in *Le Grelot* and *Le Charivari* and are called upon where relevant. This wider source base proves particularly useful towards the end of the chapter, where we consider how corporeal symbolism mediated the reconsideration of republican political culture, allowing us to espy disagreements among caricaturists. It reveals the complexity of the debate at hand, with no single viewpoint achieving universal purchase in the period.

Though censorship was reintroduced by the conservative government under Thiers, the adjustment in regime opened up new avenues for satire that had previously been closed and imposes less restrictions on our understanding of symbolic struggle than in the previous chapter. It is important not to downplay the

[177] Lehning, *To Be a Citizen*, pp. 2-13; Rudelle, 'La république du provisoire', in *La République absolue*, para. 1.

role of censorship in the period, however. Censors continued to frustrate the attempts of republican satirists to intervene in the war for the public mind. Indeed, as Goldstein notes, in the period with which we are concerned here, around a quarter of Gill's drawings were censored by the government.[178] Republican caricaturists were nonetheless able to persevere and we find a much greater body of caricature of monarchist physicality than under the Second Empire, forming the basis of our consideration below.

2.1 Corporeality, Symbolic Authority and Discourses of Republican Survival and Identity

2.1.1 Attacking Monarchy through Individual Corporeality

Though in the early years of the Third Republic the Bonapartist faction, necks weighed down by the heavy albatross of Sedan, struggled to sustain a political challenge against both republicans and rival monarchists,[179] caricature of Napoleon III remained popular, surviving the ex-Emperor's own death in January 1873,[180] and presented the possibility of painting all monarchists with the same brush of revulsion. In comparison to Napoleon III, there is markedly less caricature concentrating solely on the comte de Chambord, the Legitimist pretender to the throne. What little does exist typically seeks to undermine collective monarchist intrigues by attack on the individual character of the so-called Henri V. In one print, entitled *Les Prétendants*, Gill undercuts the comte's claims to temporal greatness by exaggerating his physical corpulence [Figure 2.1]. In another, the caricaturist engages in the complete voiding of Bourbon symbolic authority by depicting the pretender as almost being impaled in the backside by his own heraldry [Figure 2.2]. That the Gallic *coq* of Orleanism is featured in both caricatures alongside the Bourbon fleur-de-lys links the

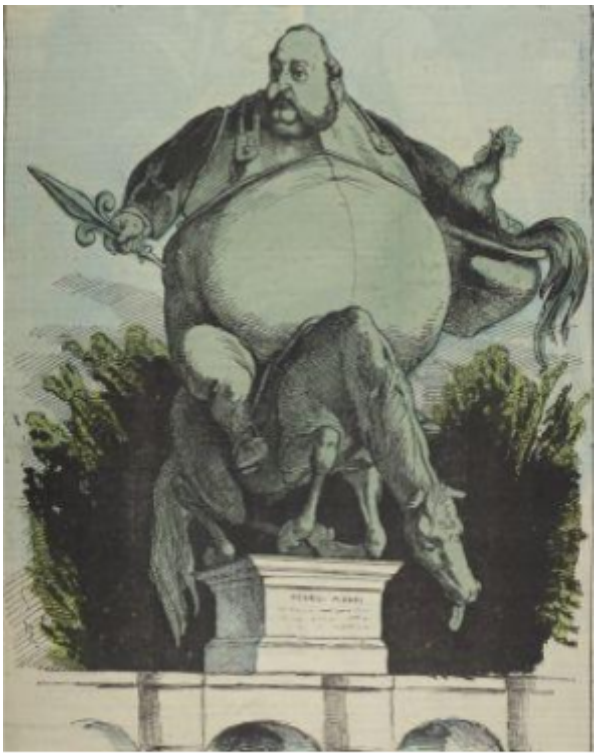

Figure 2.1: Gill, 'Les Prétendants', *L'Éclipse*, 4/153 (1 October 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

[178] Goldstein, 'Censorship', pp. 82-3.
[179] Rothney, *Bonapartism*, pp. 62, 64-5.
[180] see Gill, 'La tour, prends garde!', *L'Éclipse*, 6/243 (22 June 1873).

two dynasties together and demonstrates how symbolic attack on one claimant could be extended to another.

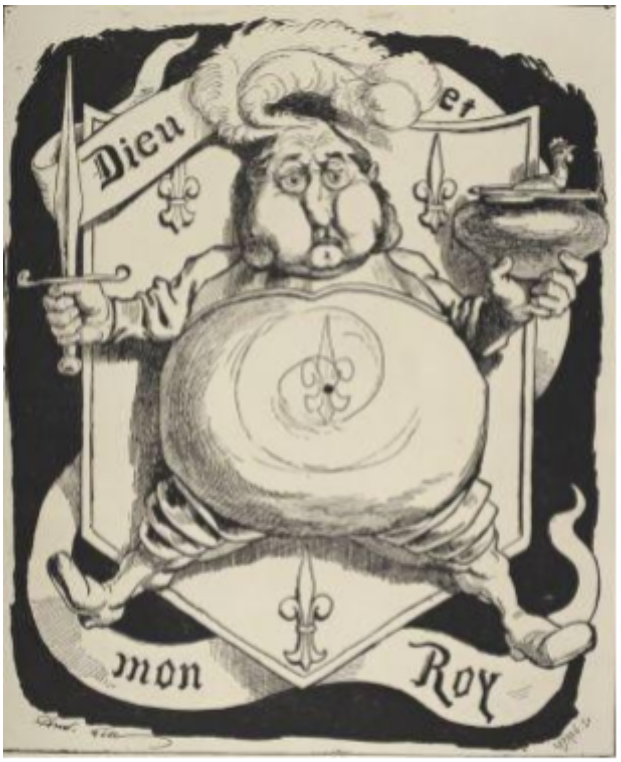

Figure 2.2: Gill, 'L'Enseigne du grand monarque', supplement to *L'Éclipse*, 4/149 (3 September 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

Satirical art lampooning Henri V's Orleanist counterpart, the comte de Paris, meanwhile, is virtually nonexistent,[181] and there is little more for his uncle, the duc d'Aumale. This is very surprising given that both Legitimists and Orleanists posed a far more pressing threat to the existence of the Republic than the Bonapartists, who maintained only a marginal presence in parliament until later in the decade.[182] This quantitative disparity of caricature dealing with individual pretenders reveals the wider importance of satirical representations of Louis Napoleon in the 1870s to questions of political authority. It suggests the greater ease with which Napoleon III could be caricatured relative to his fellow royalists. A series of tropes had been built up over the course of his life, stretching back to the Second Republic, some of which we encountered in the previous chapter. Satirical art of Louis Napoleon could draw from a vast and venerable semiotic network, unequalled by the other pretenders but attributed to them by association with the ex-Emperor.

It is equally indicative of the particular resonance of Napoleon III's rule among the French public, which made him an attractive target for caricaturists seeking to disestablish monarchist narratives of order and strength. Barely a year had passed since Napoleon's abdication in 1871. One had to call back to 1830 to find a Bourbon on the French throne. Thus, while Bourbon restoration may have been the more immediate threat, Bonapartist rule represented a more immediate memory. This memory was all the more potent in the symbolic struggles of the early Third Republic due to its intersection with the national trauma around the Franco-Prussian War and the dislocation of the Commune. The particular psychological atmosphere of France in the post-war years was informed by a shared shame of a defeat. The French public, having at first called for war with Germany, now sought a scapegoat in the form of Napoleon III.[183] Caricature partook in this collective assuaging of national guilt, Sedan becoming

[181] The comte de Paris appears in only one drawing from *L'Éclipse* from 1871-3, though as a minor figure alongside other pretenders, see Gill, 'Ruiné!', *L'Éclipse*, 6/235 (27 April 1873); he is also featured in a caricature from around the time of the Commune, see Anon., 'Les trois grâces', in *The Franco-Prussian War and the Commune*, plate 92.
[182] Gouault, *Comment la France est devenue républicaine*, pp. 237-41.
[183] Rothney, pp. 64-5.

indicative of the poverty of Napoleon III's political project and of monarchism as a whole. As we shall see later in this chapter, Bonapartism often featured in caricature dealing with monarchy as a generality, and so its symbolic degradation through attack on Napoleon III's body here informed its capacity to sap the other monarchist houses of their legitimacy.

Much caricature of Napoleon III after the Commune focused on his exile in Chislehurst, with this very remoteness from power functioning as a self-sustaining argument for his lack of legitimacy. Such satire descended from a caricatural heritage established in the aftermath of Sedan, which often brought attention to Napoleon's time in Prussian captivity.[184] Alfred le Petit's *Le 15 août à Chislehurst* is one example of this invocation of exile [Figure 2.3]. Napoleon is depicted holding court, giving pronouncements to his right-hand man and the leader of Bonapartists in parliament, Eugène Rouher. Napoleon's authority is undercut by his imperfect imperial regalia. In place of a sceptre, a symbol intimately linked to the legitimisation of power, the ex-Emperor impotently brandishes a finger-pointer, while his imperial crown bears testament to his failure at Sedan. These visual indications of authority are turned on their heads and used to signal the feebleness of the Bonapartist faction. To add insult to injury, a dog is pictured relieving itself on his throne, a powerful visual and biological metaphor of disgust and degradation.

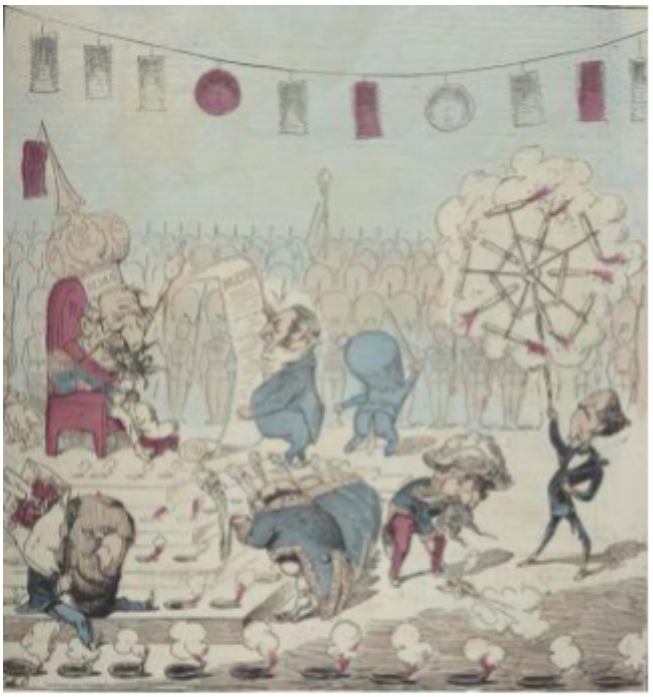

Figure 2.3: Alfred le Petit, 'Le 15 août à Chislehurst', *L'Éclipse*, 4/147 (20 August 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

Napoleon's corporeal infirmity accompanies and confirms his political weakness. Aside from his visage and facial hair, which undergo severe manipulation, the ex-Emperor is depicted with a badly-swollen leg that rests limply on a stool. Swelling of this sort can stem from a number of conditions, but is likely intended here to signify acute renal dysfunction, a common preoccupation of anti-Bonapartist caricature. We have mentioned previously how specific patterns of the face and body were thought to reveal one's moral character. After this fashion, Napoleon III's political and moral flaws are transmitted to his cousin, Prince Napoleon or 'Plon-Plon', who is given the same grossly-exaggerated nose as the ex-Emperor. Further, as 'Plon-Plon' was not a mere distant relative of Napoleon III, but rather second-in-line to the imperial title, this corporeal transfer points to hereditary monarchy's tendency to reproduce biological,

[184] see Flambart, 'Venez voir le seul et unique dans son genre! Allez musique' (1870), in *The Franco-Prussian War and the Commune*, plate 33; De Frondat, 'Souvenirs et regrets', in *The Franco-Prussian War and the Commune*, plate 38.

moral and political failure. The institution of hereditary monarchy is brought into question more generally as a result of this bodily manipulation. It testifies to the diverse uses of the body in caricature, which, apart from providing a powerful image of political impoverishment, could also pick away at the legitimacy of institutions of political continuity.

Alfred le Petit would return to some of these subjects a couple of weeks later in *Le Coup d'État du 4 Septembre 1871*, published in *Le Grelot* under the pseudonym Caporal [Figure 2.4]. The caricature was published almost exactly a year after Napoleon's abdication and served as a reminder of the weakness of his authority. Le Petit exploits caricature's dual pictorial and textual forms to raise the matter of Napoleon's exile, originating in the friction between the drawing, its title and accompanying articles. The satirist draws the scene as a stage, calling upon the semiotic network around theatre: of things being rehearsed and staged, or carefully managed to deceive the audience and maintain their suspension of disbelief. Napoleon III and his family are drawn quite literally as waiting in the wings, ready to resume their part in France's developing drama.

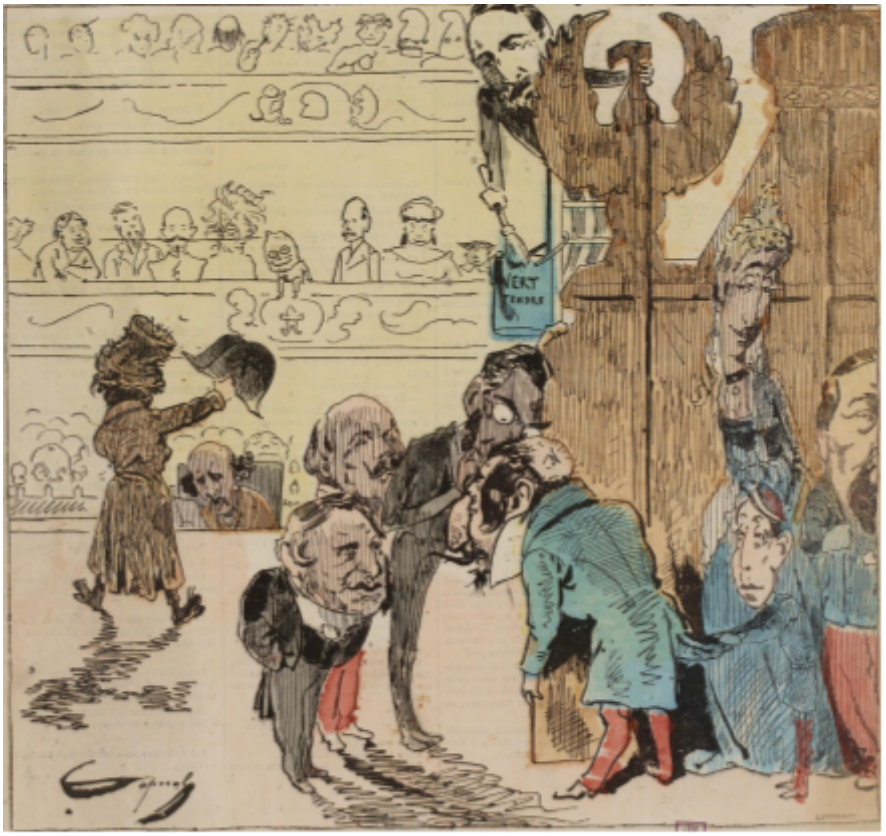

Figure 2.4: Caporal (pseudonym of Alfred le Petit), 'Le Coup d'État du 4 Septembre 1871', *Le Grelot*, 1/21 (3 September 1871), accessed online via *Paris Musées Collections*.

The immediacy of the threat posed by this metaphor however is quickly undercut. The drawing's perspective is placed behind the stage and purports to show an insight into the reality of the Bonapartist faction, denuded of the smoke and mirrors of royal legitimisation. To use a more fitting metaphor, it gives the viewer a peek behind the curtain of power (or, more fittingly, powerlessness). These dramatic

metaphors feature commonly in discussions of Napoleon III's initial seizure of power, with Marx using a recurrent image of theatre, comedy and masks in his treatment of Louis Napoleon's rise to power.[185] They point to the importance of the careful stage management of Napoleon III's public appearance in securing and sustaining his rule, a discursive structure which is attacked through le Petit's use of a fake play. The caricature further depicts Napoleon III in a state of physical decrepitude, hunched over and balding. The ex-Emperor's appearance without either a bicorne or a crown makes for a striking image, and his bald state highlights this absence and his removal from power. What is being revealed is his political demolition, but this weakness is most visibly inscribed on his body.

In contrast to the portrayal of Bonapartist political and biological dysfunction, the title and articles which accompany the caricature imagine a fictitious coup of 1871 and a glorious return to power for the Bonapartists. This satirical news item is reported on as a statement of fact and in great detail. The article raises the issue of Napoleon's exile in Chislehurst, but ascribes it to Thiers instead. The chasm between the absurd alternative imagined by *Le Grelot* and reality, reinforced by the theatrical setting of the caricature discussed above, only serves to magnify Napoleon III's lack of power. It draws attention to the transitory nature of royal power. That which was the reality a year prior had become an impossibility, only fit for a play. This theatricalisation of history suggests that not only is the representation of power dependent on its subject, but that power is in turn sustained by its own processes of symbolic production.

While the ex-Emperor is the star of the show, a large cast of supporting actors accompany him. These include Ratapoil, a relic dredged up from the symbolic sediment of the Second Republic,[186] and Napoleonic officials such as François Canrobert, Émile Ollivier and Paris Joachim Pietri. The imperial family also makes an appearance. The Prince Imperial, Napoleon's heir and issue, is portrayed as quite literally holding onto the ex-Emperor's coattails, which, though not corresponding to a French expression as in English, acquires meaning through a strictly visual metaphor of directionality: where go the coattails, so goes the one holding them. In any case, the presence of the Prince Imperial again implicates monarchist political reproduction, the institution of dynastic inheritance, in symbolic assault. The critique of authority, first lodged against Napoleon III and his immediate family, is given a more general purchase as a result.

Metaphors and puns around food and cuisine, which often penetrate deep into language, were popular among caricaturists as a means of broaching issues of political identity and survival.[187] One relevant example of this phenomenon is a caricature by Gill published in *L'Éclipse* under the title *Le parti*

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[185] Marx, 'Eighteenth Brumaire', pp. 63-4.
[186] see J. Durandin, *La république rudement menée par Ratapoil et par Casmajou* (1851).
[187] see Samuel, 'Carottiers, pavés et radicaux', *L'Éclipse*, 5/172 (11 February 1872); Gill, 'Conserves', *L'Éclipse*, 6/248 (27 July 1873).

Bonapartiste? [Figure 2.5]. This drawing depicted the Prince Imperial and Rouher as cabbages, about to be chopped up and stewed in the pot of the Republic. The caricature invokes a hallowed line of politicians being portrayed as foodstuffs, dating back to Charles Philipon's depiction of King Louis-Phillipe as a pear.[188] A certain redundancy is baked into the caricature to guard against any loss of transmission, with the joke being helpfully explained in the subtitle, 'il échoue'. *Il échoue* ('it's run aground/it's a dud' - in this case, referring to Bonapartism) is homophonous with *il est chou* ('he's a cabbage'). The homophony of sound described above gives rise to a double polysemy of meaning, intensifying the already dense semantic load of caricature and participating in the shift between the aural and the visual described by Mitchell. Gill exploits the diverse meanings of the word *échouer*, which aside from suggesting failure also signifies reproductive miscarriage. This link to miscarriage gains further significance in relation to other caricature depicting the young Louis Bonaparte as an aborted foetus, or that cast aspersions on his paternity and ability to survive into adulthood.[189] It thus operates within a context of not simply political failure but also of biological foundering, straddling the line between the natural and political kingly bodies. In a wider sense, this fixation on monarchical reproduction brings the idea of inherited rulership into question. The word *chou* is similarly varied, employed in phrases such as *faire chou blanc* ('to hit a brick wall') and *avoir les oreilles en feuilles de chou* (roughly 'to have Dumbo ears'). Indeed, after this fashion, Gill portrays the Prince Imperial with protruding ears, engaging in his bodily deformation. The young pretender's depiction as a cabbage further enters into his dehumanisation, his portrayal as a vegetable being suggestive of a vegetative unconsciousness. This again unites political and corporeal degradation under a single polysemous banner, which is then raised in protest at Bonapartist royal authority and, through the inclusion of the Prince Imperial, attack on hereditary monarchy as a whole.

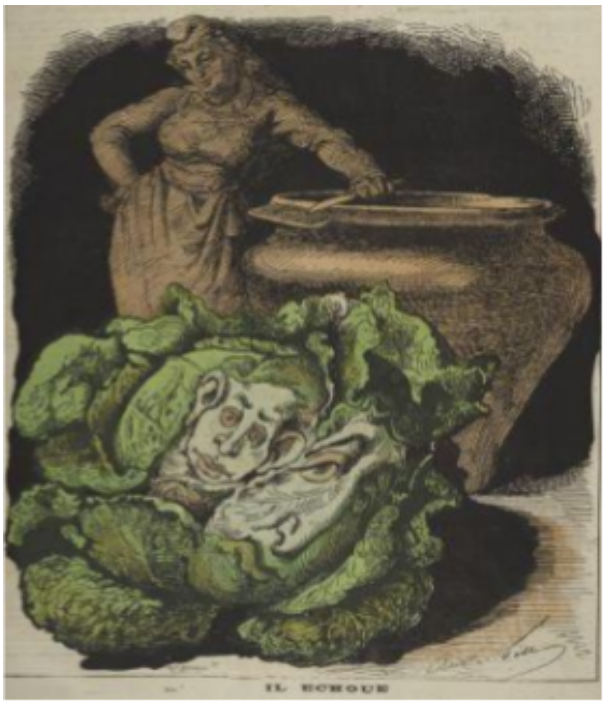

Figure 2.5: Gill, 'Le Parti Bonapartiste?', *L'Éclipse*, 4/156 (22 October 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

Despite the political poverty of the Bonapartist faction, Napoleon III remained a prime target for caricaturists seeking to void monarchy of its symbolic authority, though the other pretenders could also be attacked. Signs of political power were hollowed out and the bodies of royal figures were subjected to deformation or exaggeration to demonstrate their political infirmity. This fragility, at once bodily and political, was not

[188] Philipon's portrayal was quickly expanded on by other caricaturists, see Honoré Daumier, 'Les poires', *Le Charivari*, 3/17 (17 January 1834), p. 3. The semiotic significance of this portrayal is spelled out by Sandy Petrey, see Sandy Petrey, 'Pears in History', *Representations*, 35 (1991), pp. 52-71.
[189] Tillier, 'Le corps de l'empereur', para. 16-8.

simply contained to the individual pretender, but extended to their attendants and those of their opposing dynasties more generally through attack on the corporeal mode of monarchist succession. By drawing attention to hereditary dynasticism's tendency to reproduce failure, these caricatures called the concept of royal birthright into question and point to the symbolically-corrosive significance of individual monarchist figures, especially Napoleon III, in caricature of the collective monarchist body considered below.

2.1.2 Embodying Disorder in The Monarchist Collective

Satirical portrayals of the monarchist political body as a collective provides a crucial insight into the struggle over symbolic authority in the early Third Republic and into the formation of political discourses on the survival and nature of republicanism. The monarchist body was often depicted as internally fractious, united only in their shared antipathy for the Republic and propensity for failure. In simple terms, such narratives acted to recategorise monarchy as a threat to public peace so as to displace the implicit assumptions that had taken root in the early months of the Republic that framed republicanism as disorderly. They equally presented a platform on which the political and cultural reformulation of republicanism could be conducted and debated, to exclude or include radical or revolutionary republican voices in the body of the Republic.

The political trajectory of the forces of monarchy in the first decade of the Third Republic can be summarised by a tendency towards fusion, though internal division could at times make itself known.[190] Political polarisation in the wake of the Second Empire's collapse and fears of that perennial bogeyman of the forces of reaction, socialism, pushed Legitimists and Orleanists into coalition under the banner of *gens d'ordre* on 8 February 1871.[191] Bonapartists were largely excluded from this initial monarchist success, though some imperial candidates were elected on these unified lists of *gens d'ordre*.[192] Such alliances were extended in the by-elections scheduled for 2 July 1871, in which the editors of the Parisian right-wing press organised themselves as *l'Union parisienne de la presse*.[193] This common front in electoral campaigns was also accompanied by a parliamentary one, and monarchists voted more or less as a bloc in all of the major legislative confrontations between 1871-5.[194] This reactionary coalition was put on a more permanent footing with the so-called fusion of the Legitimist and Orleanist dynasties, under which the Orleanist pretender the comte de Paris was adopted as the heir of the childless comte de

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[190] Anderson, pp. 1-2, 8; Gouault, pp. 17-8; Hanson, pp. 1032-3, 1042, 1045-6.
[191] Robert R. Locke, *French Legitimists and the Politics of Moral Order in the Early Third Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 16-7.
[192] Rothney, pp. 12-4.
[193] *La Liberté* (2 July 1871), p. 1.
[194] Gouault, pp. 17-8.

Chambord.[195] Additionally, France was governed by a broad coalition of monarchist factions for the majority of the period between May 1873 and November 1877. In this fashion, French monarchists in the 1870s could be said to have constituted a more or less indiscrete body.[196]

This monarchist union supplied republican caricature with a bountiful harvest, allowing satirists to paint each faction in the same brushstroke and dissolve the ideological boundaries between them. This can be seen in a caricature by Gill, which directly intervenes against *la fusion* of the monarchist houses [Figure 2.6]. Gill characterises this union between houses as a three-armed candelabra, each candle headed by one of the pretenders. This print includes Napoleon III in the monarchist alliance, notable in light of the Bonapartists' meagre role in parliamentary wranglings, and goes so far as to present him as its core. In doing so, it welds the other two houses to his physical and moral failure. These wax heads are in the process of melting, participating in the general facial effacement and deformity for which caricature was well-known. It has further symbolic meaning. The sun looms behind these pretenders, battering them with its rays. It resembles the seasonal metaphors deployed against the Napoleonic regime which we considered in the previous chapter and presents the monarchists as running out of time. The prospect of monarchist unity is vital in Gill's execution of this, allowing narratives of weakness to be embodied in all three royal houses.

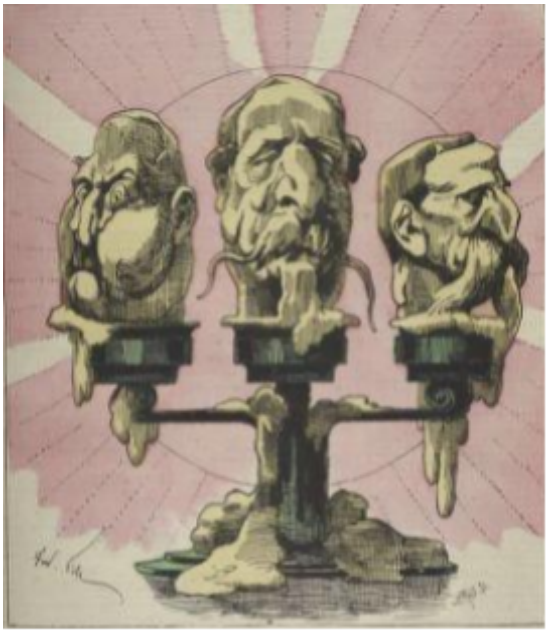

Figure 2.6: Gill, 'La Fusion', *L'Éclipse*, 5/194 (14 July 1872), accessed online via *BnF*.

Depictions of monarchist alliance could also be the cause for problems, however, in that unity could be synonymous with strength. This was particularly true in the early years of the decade, when the monarchist bloc was in the ascendancy and the new Republic was threatened on all sides. After the

[195] Anderson, p. 9.
[196] Ibid., p. 2.

dissolution of the Commune, republican caricaturists quickly turned their attention and that of their readerships to the threat posed by a unified monarchist front. The spectre of the Commune proved useful to republican caricaturists in their attempts to neutralise this threat, as it allowed them to tar the monarchists with the brush of disorder and also disown the politically-damaging revolutionary associations of Paris. Adrien Marie raised this topic in the first issue of *L'Éclipse* after it resumed production following the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune [Figure 2.7]. He depicts Marianne as being menaced by four hounds. These four dogs each correspond to a specific manifestation of the danger facing the Republic: the revolutionary tradition of the Commune, the noble privilege represented by Legitimism, the ascendancy of the *haute bourgeoisie* offered by Orleanism and the misery of Bonapartism. The depiction of these four factions as fierce and violent clearly conveys their malignant intent and ability to follow through on this. Yet, the symbolic strength the monarchists could hope to derive from this is diverted from in a number of ways. The anthropomorphisation of republicanism can be compared favourably to the bestial character ascribed to monarchism. Through the vessel of Marianne, the Republic is depicted as proud and defiant, menaced but unbowed in the face of this animalistic rage. Indeed, the subtitle accompanying the drawing states as much, 'ses malheurs n'avaient point battu sa fierté'. Suggestion of monarchist strength is further undermined by the title, 'les aboyeurs'. This phrase, translating into English as 'the yappy dogs' or 'the hecklers', carries the inference that the monarchist spectre, while loud and aggressive, is ultimately all bark and no bite.

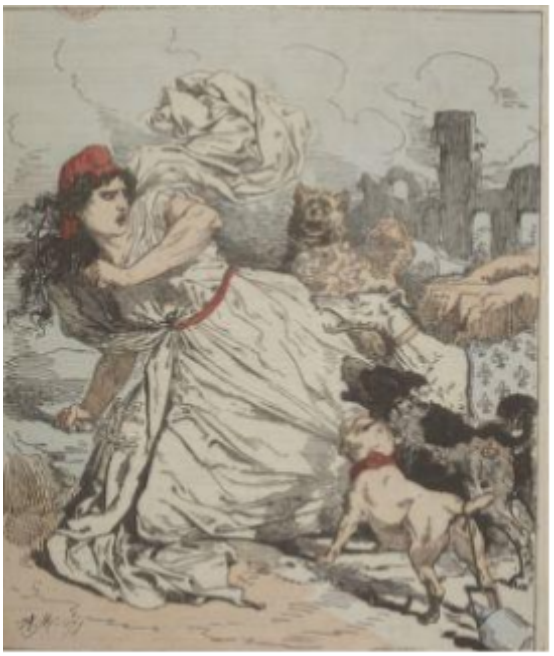

Figure 2.7: Adrien Marie, 'Les Aboyeurs', *L'Éclipse*, 4/140 (June 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

The conflation of the Commune and monarchy serves to disrupt royalist claims to incarnate order, and broadly parallels the accusations of Versaillais complicity in France's turmoil considered in the next chapter. The inclusion of the Commune in this attack on monarchy also demonstrates how satirical critiques of royalism could feature in the reorganisation of the republican body. The revolutionary

traditions underpinning the Commune are constituted as an 'Other' to Marianne, the corporeal form of the Republic, and are thus excluded from the political culture of the new regime. The extrication of the Commune from republican political culture, and its association with monarchist chaos, was elsewhere signalled directly through physical metaphor. This is evident in a caricature published in *Le Charivari* in the beginning of 1872 [Figure 2.8]. This print depicts a canister of petrol (representing the Commune - and a particularly violent and rhetorically-charged image of it), a Napoleonic eagle and a Legitimist fleur-de-lis as rubbish on the ground, linking them both together through their spatial and categorical contiguity. This rubbish is being swept away by the feminine figure of the Republic, which participates in a similar disassociation of the Commune from the republican body as above. The presence of '1872' on the centre of the page, with the debris of the Commune and monarchy being pushed off page to the left of the year, suggests that they are both backwards and in the past. It is at once a wish and a presentation of reality, with the caricaturist applying the medium's capacity for alterity to render the defeat of monarchy as real as the demise of the Commune.

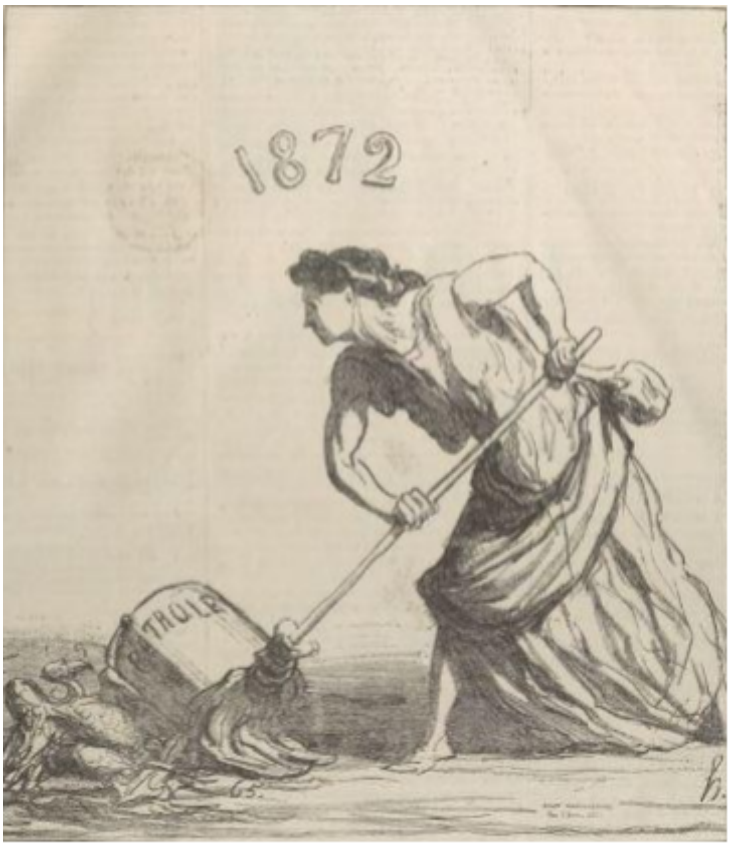

Figure 2.8: 'Actualités', *Le Charivari* (11 January 1872), accessed online via *RetroNews*.

We have previously considered the role of the courtly process, theatre and cuisine in caricature of Napoleon III. Other deployments of cultural activity played a role in highlighting monarchical division and giving form to the reworking of republican political culture, and include chess and poker.[197] Chess and poker similarly occupy an extensive semantic nexus, whose expressions pepper everyday vocabulary

[197] le Petit, 'Échec et Mat', *L'Eclipse*, 4/155 (15 October 1871); Stop, 'Un jeu ou l'on gagne en écartant les rois', *Le Charivari*, 41 (20 January 1872), p. 3.

('checkmate' or 'busted flush' are common figures of speech). They further possess a specific royal terminology that proved favourable to caricature in its critique of monarchy, with the concision offered by this visual shorthand allowing for immediate comprehension of semantically-dense metaphor. Le Petit's *Échec et mat* illustrates the versatility and semiotic density offered by visual representation of these culturally-ingrained forms of leisure, conveying in a relatively simple drawing and a couple of lines of text what would easily take hundreds of words to express through written word alone [Figure 2.9]. Le Petit draws the reader's attention to the crumbling façade of monarchist unity by marrying the semiotic network found in chess with a close reference to France's parliamentary battles between republicanism and monarchy. The caricature shows the queen piece, represented by Marianne, putting the king, depicted as the comte de Chambord, in check. The visual homonymy offered by the French word *échec*, also signifying 'failure', further crystallises the representation of monarchist weakness. The portrayal of the duc d'Aumale and Rouher as a *chevalier* (whose glorious aspect is deformed by the fact that he rides a toy horse and brandishes a wooden sword) and as a *fou* contribute to two unflattering narratives for their respective royal houses, one of military weakness and the other of inherent patheticism. They are further presented as active participants in the comte de Chambord's failure, preventing him from manœuvring out of the way and allowing for his defeat at the hands of the Republic. Through this depiction of monarchist disarray, the device of the chess board creates and sustains a discourse of royalist disorder, aimed at supplanting the prevailing narratives of republican chaos.

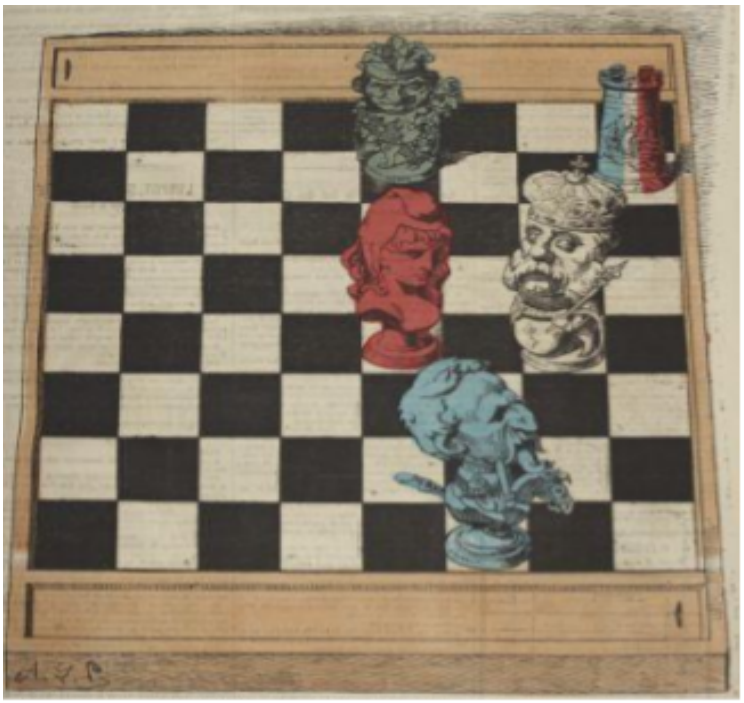

Figure 2.9: Le Petit, 'Échec et mat', *L'Éclipse*, 4/155 (15 October 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

Le Petit's treatment of Paris in the drawing is revelatory of how the discursive conflicts around the Republic were conducted both inside and outside the republican family. Here, the city appears in the form of a *tour*, coming to the Republic's aid, and is crucially adorned with the tricolour. We can contrast this

image of Paris under the tricolour to the image of Paris under the Commune. W. Alexis, for example, depicted Paris anthropomorphised in a female figure, broadly bearing the red flag [Figure 2.10]. Paris' endowment with the tricolour becomes significant in light of such earlier portrayals of its urban body, as it firmly identifies the city with the present Third Republic and not with *le drapeau rouge* of the Commune. Through this, its urban landscape is rehabilitated, reconstituted from an unruly outpost of the Jacobin mob to a stalwart bastion of republican moderation. We can link the city's symbolic recuperation to the wider 'taming' of the French capital in the early decades of the new Republic.[198] Le Petit is therefore engaged in a two-pronged discursive foray, directed both outwards towards the Republic's monarchist opponents, and inwards as a way of influencing the political culture of the new Republic.

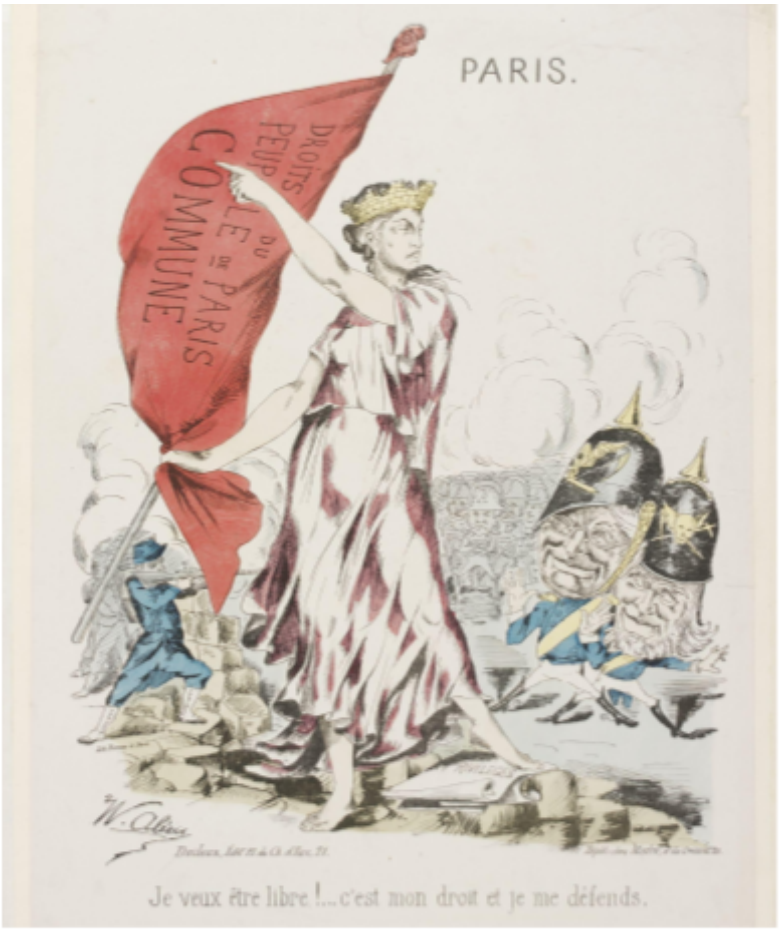

Figure 2.10: W. Aléxis, 'Paris' (1870-1), accessed online via *Victoria & Albert Museum Collections*.

Before we consider the Republic's symbolic civil war further, it is useful to consider caricature of the bodies of monarchist politicians and journalists. In reinforcing negative portrayals of the monarchist figures whom they supported and allowing them to spill forth into the parliamentary and mediatic realm, they played an important part in the corrosion of monarchist visual authority. Depiction of these individuals allowed the body of the representative of the pretender to function as a proxy for the pretender's own body, saddling them both with physical, political and moral ignominy. Caricatures of

[198] Lehning discusses more widely how this process was achieved through public ceremony in the late-1870s and 1880s, see Lehning, pp. 58-86.

politicians drew importance from the particular nature of the politics and press of the Third Republic. The parliamentary character of the conflict over the future of France forced the cause of monarchist restoration to operate through the structures and institutions of the Republic. The parliamentary arena of the 1870s was of a highly-individual nature and party organisation existed in an embryonic form, only reconstructible through reference to the later voting patterns of parliamentarians.[199] The press further sharpened the relevance of such satire by fixing public attention on the parliamentary arena. The French press itself exhibited a strongly independent streak, similar to that of parliament, the phenomenon of 'one-man' newspapers being characteristic of French, and particularly monarchist, journalism in the period.[200] In such a context, individuals could become avatars for the corporeal health of their broader political movements, providing caricaturists with a bodily canvas onto which allegiances could be mapped and through which collective portrayals of symbolic weakness could be made manifest and debated.

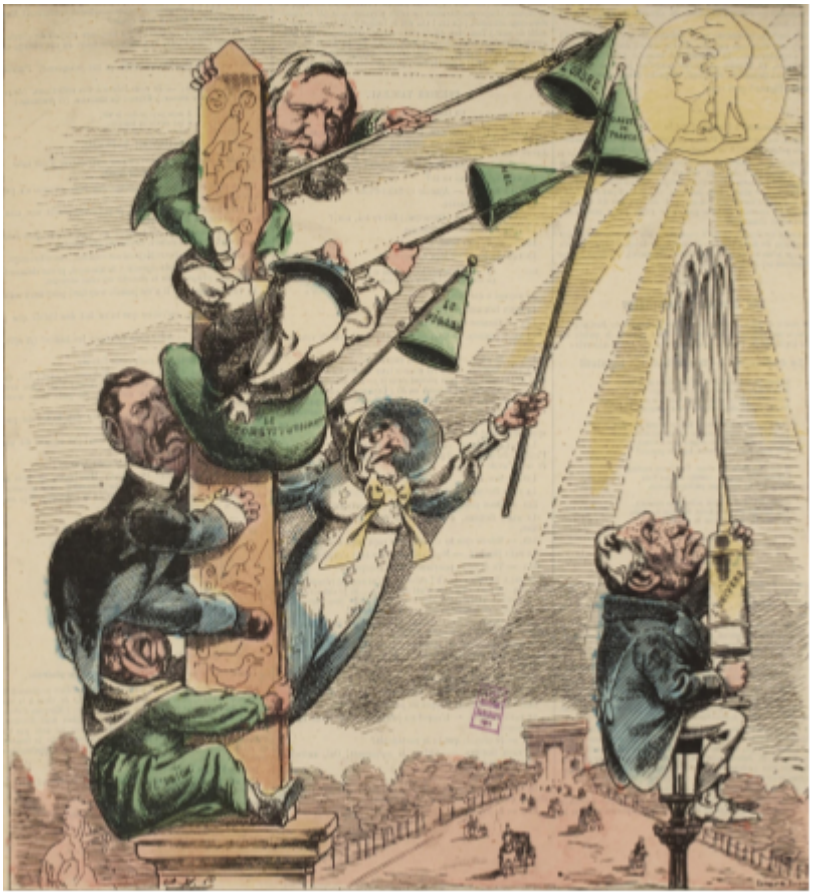

Figure 2.11: Le Petit, 'Le Soleil', *Le Grelot*, 1/35 (10 December 1871), accessed online via *Paris Musées Collections*.

Indeed, satirical print attacking the conservative press counted among the most common subjects of caricature in the period. Monarchist newspapers are often treated as a collective, with little distinction made of their support for differing royal families and all are subjected to the same withering criticism. Alfred le Petit's *Le Soleil* demonstrates the collective dimensions such caricature could assume [Figure

[199] Anderson, pp. 69-70; Gouault, pp. 16-9.
[200] Anderson, pp. 85-7.

2.11]. This print depicts the editors of various Legitimist- and Bonapartist-supporting newspapers as forming a united barrier to progress. They are portrayed as armed with a common symbol for reaction, the *éteignoir*, striving to extinguish the sun of freedom. It thus identifies monarchy as a whole with political backwardness and tyranny. In particular, the reader's attention is drawn to Louis Veuillot, the editor of the Ultramontane Catholic and Legitimist *L'Univers*, who is separated from the mass of monarchist figures, though still involved in their fight against liberty. Veuillot is portrayed as syphilitic and pockmarked, his somewhat spotty complexion heavily-exaggerated in caricature. Whether an act of deformation or effacement of Veuillot's original representation, le Petit creates a subversive and alternative image of this man, through which he becomes associated with promiscuity. Such sexual proclivity was troubling by contemporary standards of masculinity,[201] but becomes doubly disruptive in light of Veuillot's deeply religious character. These implicit sexual references are made explicit by the ejaculatory imagery which surrounds the editor, in the form of water erupting forth from the syringe which he holds. The syringe further recalls Napoleon III's enema. It points to the symbolic fluidity of the period, not just of meaning, but also of attribution, by which signifiers of Bonapartist corporeal weakness could be transferred to other monarchist factions. This semiotic disorder allows for Veuillot and, by extension, the worldview which he supports, to become associated with obscenity and bodily decline. Viewing satire of these individuals purely through the lens of monarchy denudes them of much of their historical value and the corporeal deformation of right-wing journalists further expresses the willingness of republican caricaturists to take their counter-discursive combat to the locus of ideological production of their opposing ideology. It equally betrays the insular and inward-facing nature of newspaper satire in the period, overly-concerned with the very mediatic landscape to which it belonged and amplifying the importance of this discursive structure.

2.1.3 The Conflicting Corporealities of Marianne in the Symbolic Renegotiation of Republican Political Culture

While the collective monarchist body could serve as a site for symbolic combat within republicanism, this could equally be achieved without reference to an oppositional monarchist body, through corporeal representation of different republican traditions. The defeat of the Commune gave context to this situational struggle, inscribing on the bodies of the revolutionary and "moderate" Marianne the particular iconographic and moral physiognomy of France's recent civil conflict. This can be evidenced in an anonymous print in the aftermath of *la Semaine sanglante* entitled *Règne du Terreur, 1871* [Figure 2.12]. Here, we see republicanism constructed as two separate bodies, each underpinned by its own visual and political assumptions. The revolutionary body of the Commune, associated with the red flag, the phrygian

[201] Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, pp. 59-67.

cap and fictitious *pétroleuse*, lies vanquished atop the ruined edifice of Paris, surrounded by decrees purporting to show its inherent tyranny. This red republicanism is portrayed in a state of semi-undress, signalling towards supposed sexual immorality and political excess. It echoes the sentiments of counterrevolutionary critics of the 'living allegories' of Liberty during the French Revolution,[202] a historical connection which is strengthened by the caricature's title, invoking the Jacobin *Règne du Terreur*. These allegories were typically, though not exclusively, recruited from among working-class actresses and singers, who did not subscribe to the more conservative fashion mores of bourgeois women. They were often associated with the basest of vices as a result and slandered as prostitutes by opponents of Revolutionary symbolism. By contrast, in the caricature above, the Republic of *le tricolore* is made to incarnate political moderation through its corporeal practice of modesty. Its framing as a victorious force, standing above the vanquished Communarde, both visually records the Versaillais triumph in Paris and symbolises the death of revolutionary republicanism, its supplantation by the modest Republic. It showcases how corporeal modes intervened in the delegitimisation and exile of certain facets of the republican tradition. These changing discourses of republicanism were many and contested, however, and did not attain ubiquity among satirists in the period.

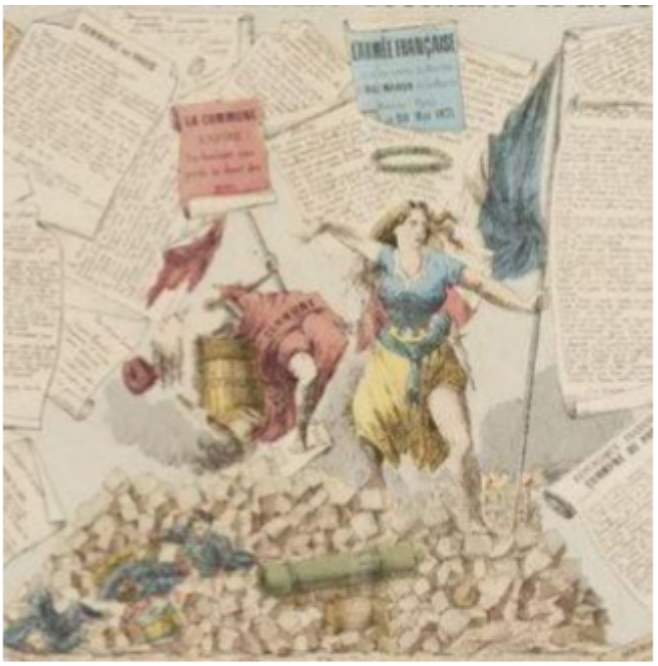

Figure 2.12: 'Règne de la Terreur, 1871' (1871), accessed online via *Victoria & Albert Museum Collections*.

Indeed, some caricaturists lamented the dichotomisation of these republican bodies, le Petit among them. In a caricature for *Le Grelot* on 28 January 1872, the satirist presented two visions for the Republic as distinct corporealities [Figure 2.13]. They are characterised respectively as 'la République honnête' (also 'au carton' and 'réactionnaire') and 'la République rouge' (or 'pétroleuse'), with these positive and

[202] Agulhon, 'Apuntes para una arqueología de la república', pp. 122-3.

negative traits captured in their physical attitudes. The first is depicted as modest and unassuming, but the quivering of her lip and her peasant guise points to a meek, even timid nature, and her belonging to the perceived reactionary mass of the French hinterland. Her opponent, the Republic of the 1793 and 1871, meanwhile is ascribed a violent, bellicose nature, but is equally presented as strong and forthright, associated with the patriotic military iconography of the French Revolution. As Jean Garrigues observes, this two-form presentation of republican corporealities, exhibiting both positive and negative traits, speaks to the caricaturist's inability to choose between the two traditions.[203] Le Petit is not so much arguing for the exiling of either tradition, as lamenting that these two republican corporealities can not be reconciled to each other.

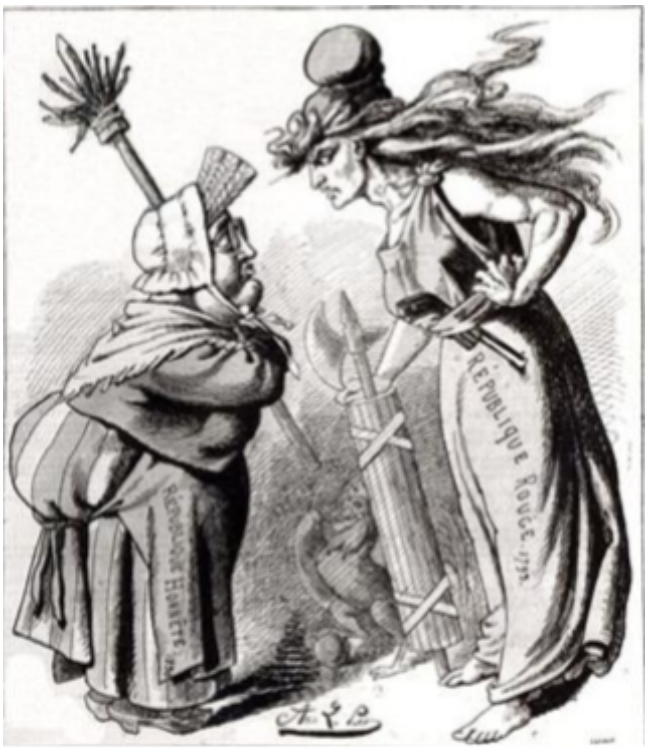

Figure 2.13: Le Petit, 'Les deux Républiques', *Le Grelot*, 2/42 (28 January 1872), public domain, accessed online via *Wikimedia Commons*.

Nor were these republican traditions exclusively presented as oppositional figures in caricature. If le Petit despaired over the seeming inability to accommodate differing republican visions, Gill showed how these 'rouge' and 'blanc' republicanisms could be reunited. In *Le vin de 1872*, the caricaturist depicted Thiers carefully pouring red and white wine into a barrel [Figure 2.14]. The caption, '[n]i trop de blanc, ni trop de rouge! Mélangeous…', suggests the need to temper the radical elements of the Republic with its more conservative aspects, with Thiers depicted as broker in this deal. It lends legitimacy to *la République conservatrice* seen in other caricatures, where Thiers is often positively framed as a parental figure to the

[203] Jean Garrigues, '« Les deux Républiques », par Alfred Le Petit, Le Grelot, janvier 1872', *Parlement[s], Revue d'histoire politique*, 16/2 (2011), pp. 113-17.

new Republic.[204] Yet, in arguing that both 'rouge' and 'blanc' republican traditions should be incorporated into the Republic, Gill envisages republicanism as a more inclusionary political force than the prints above. It complicates our understanding of the nature of symbolic combat in the period and shows that the discourses which underpinned republicanism were constantly being renegotiated between caricaturists. Republicans (at least those who had not been slain or expelled after *la Semaine sanglante*) were in broad agreement that republicanism had to moderate itself, but disagreed on how that moderation should be achieved. Caricaturists such as Gill and le Petit desired a more inclusive Republic, which could accommodate radical and conservative republican traditions, while other satirists strove to exorcise entirely the spectre of the Commune from the body of France. The two Mariannes were often the site of this reconfiguration of what signified the Republic, testament to the body's role in symbolic struggle in the period.

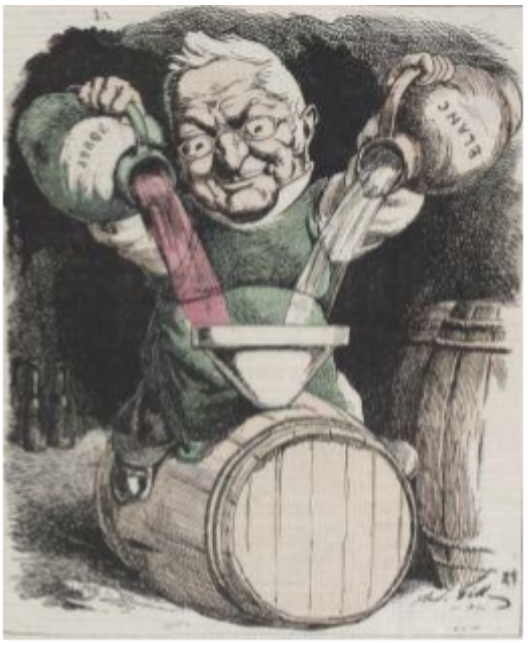

Figure 2.14: Gill, 'Le Vin de 1872', *L'Éclipse*, 5/204 (22 September 1872), accessed online via *BnF*.

2.3 Conclusion

The role of corporeality in the iconographic war over symbolic authority in the early years of the Third Republic is clear. Caricature of the physicality of individual royal figures, most commonly Napoleon III, allowed for a general attack on hereditary birthright to come through assault on the personal bodily and moral failings of these figures. Royalism was also conceived of as a collective force, through which both

[204] This was linked to Thiers' successful negotiation of government loans, through which the war indemnity to Germany was paid off and the return of large swathes of occupied French land was secured. Thiers was seen by some republicans, previously suspicious of him, as having put the Republic on firmer ground and confounding monarchist attempts at restoration, see Gill, 'La délivrance', L'Éclipse, 5/197 (4 August 1872); Gill, 'Un bon père', L'Éclipse, 5/216 (15 December 1872); Édouard Lockroy, 'L'Emprunt', Le Rappel, 880 (24 July 1872).

the ideological unity and division of separate monarchist factions could be exploited by satirists to degrade the visual authority of the whole and embody disorder in monarchy. This monarchist body was often opposed to Marianne, and satirical deployments of the body intersected with discursive struggles around republicanism, in which republicans sought to unpick implicit assumptions that maintained that the Republic was synonymous with chaos and instead transfer these assumptions to monarchy. This marriage of corporeality, visual authority and counter-discourse can also be seen in the renegotiation of republican political culture whose locus was the two corporealities of Marianne. The manner in which this reinterpretation should be achieved was not unanimous among satirists, and though some desired to excise the radical body of Marianne from the Republic, others lamented the oppositionality of republican traditions or else portrayed them as readily compatible. It textures our understanding of the symbolic strife in the period, showing that it was not a simple matter of republicans against monarchists, but also assumed internal dimensions. This symbolic civil war among republicans can further be seen in the attempts by some Parisians satirists to exclude the bourgeois *fuyard* from the new Republic in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune, which we now consider.

3.0 The Social Body in Satirical Criticism of the Bourgeoisie in Post-Commune Paris (1871)

The criticism of the bourgeoisie in the republican satirical press for their perceived dereliction of duty during the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune provides a crucial lens of examination for the body's deployment in the symbolic struggles of the late Second Empire and early Third Republic. In the months following Napoleon III's abdication, Parisians found themselves invested first by Prussian troops and later by the Versaillais. The seemingly selfish conduct of the Parisian bourgeoisie during this turbulent period was seized upon by satirists to undermine the pretensions of the *haute bourgeoisie* to the national leadership of France and exclude them from the new Republic, implicating this period in the struggles over the nature of republicanism which we saw in the previous chapter

Though the Paris Commune enjoyed popular support, this was not unanimous and there was a continuous if ineffectual resistance movement among some middle-class republicans whose fear of 'l'hydre de l'anarchie' outweighed their suspicions of the quasi-monarchist tendencies of the government at Versailles.[205] Among these rebels were journalists of satirical republican newspapers such as *Le Grelot*, and to a lesser extent, *L'Éclipse*. Many others reacted to the eruption of the Commune by fleeing the city, following calls by Adolphe Thiers.[206] This included newspapers such as *Le Gaulois*, whose relocation to Versailles attracted the rancour of journalists who had remained behind.[207] This mass exodus strengthened the ranks of those who had previously left during the Prussian siege, with the overall effect being that around 700 000 Parisians had left the capital in the course of the Siege and the Commune.[208] Though many wealthy Parisians chose to stay in Paris, given the seemingly vast sums of money the *fuyards* spent to aid their escape,[209] it is likely that the well-to-do composed a large part of those fleeing the city. The divide between those who had fled and those who remained in the city assumed social dimensions as a result. The tensions between these two groups erupted with the return of the *fuyards* after the Commune's brutal end, and the reactions by the journalists of *Le Grelot* and *L'Éclipse* to the returning bourgeoisie forms the basis of this chapter. With the triumph of the Versaillais, Paris was construed as a hotbed of disorder and anarchy, narratives which made little distinction between Communard and anti-Comunard. The Parisian resisters to the Commune were thus marginalised and branded as cowards and criminals for

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[205] Gordon Wright, 'The Anti-Commune: Paris, 1871', *French Historical Studies*, 10/1 (1977), pp. 157-8. On the Commune's popular support, see Robert Tombs, *The Paris Commune: 1871* (New York: Pearson, 1999), pp. 109-114; David A. Shafer, *The Paris Commune* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 68-9.
[206] Shafer, *The Paris Commune*, p. 68-9.
[207] Le Gaulois, 'À nos lecteurs', *Le Gaulois*, 4/1059 (1 June 1871), p. 1; Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles', *Le Grelot*, 1/8 (4 June 1871), p. 2.
[208] Shafer, *The Paris Commune*, p. 68-9; Wright, 'The Anti-Commune', p. 150. This massive sum is supported by contemporary sources, see A. J. Dalsème, *Paris pendant le siège et les 65 jours de la Commune* (Paris: 1871), p. 360.
[209] Wright, pp. 150-1; Dalsème, *Paris pendant le siège*, pp. 359-60.

having disobeyed Thiers calls to leave the city.[210] The sources below carry the imprint of this. Backed into a corner between their opposition to the Commune and new opposition from Versailles, these republican satirists sought to resist their marginalisation through the only means possible to them: their readerships. Lacking political power, they conducted their combat on the symbolic terrain by mobilising dominant notions around gender, sanitation and national decline against the bourgeoisie. Through these concepts, individual physical and sexual health and morality were indistinguishable from the wider health of the nation, and the bourgeoisie's improper embodiment of masculinity, femininity and domesticity were thus wielded as cudgels to undermine their position in the new republican order.

While previously we have looked at the institutional, physical and collective body of monarchy in caricature, in this chapter we consider the social body of the bourgeoisie. Recent scholarship has revealed the extent to which gendered bodies, physical bodies and national bodies were bound up as categories in nineteenth-century France.[211] This correlation is palpable in the aftermath of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the attendant eruption of the Paris Commune. These two events threatened traditional class and gender hierarchies and spawned narratives of national degradation, in which moral, corporeal and political explanations for France's decline were inextricably linked.

Attempts to shore up the traditional structures of society in the wake of the Commune involved a programme of martial and bodily discipline, primarily administered against the "unruly" masses and women of Paris.[212] Such programmes of discipline, according to Foucault, seek to reconstruct individual bodies as the docile instruments of power.[213] Later feminists scholars have highlighted how discipline is deployed in gender-specific forms as a means of inscribing dominant notions of femininity on the female body.[214] This is supported by Robert A. Nye, who found in his extensive study of masculinity in the nineteenth century in France that 'sex [in nineteenth-century France] thus appears to have operated ideologically or normatively to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of the social order by disciplining individuals who have stepped outside or challenged the boundaries of their gendered roles'.[215] The regimentation of bodies and gender thus went hand-in-hand in the relevant period. Gender identity, as a mutable category, was experienced and expressed differently in the past from how it is today. In the nineteenth century in France, sex attained a 'natural quality', expressed through the body

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[210] Wright, 'Anti-Commune', p. 168.
[211] Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, 'Introduction', in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics,* eds. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 2-3.
[212] Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, p. 217; Gay Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 191-217.
[213] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. 135-69.
[214] Angela King, 'The Prisoner of Gender: Foucault and the Disciplining of the Female Body', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 5/2 (2004), pp. 29-39; Angela Trethewey, 'Discipline Bodies: Women's Embodied Identities at Work', *Organization Studies*, 20/3 (1993), pp. 423-50.
[215] Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, p. 6.

and its gestures, which were 'as corporeal in their lived reality as the sexual anatomy'.[216] In this way, the body is necessarily implicated in the discussion of gender and the regulation of gender in our period.

Examination of the chastisement of the Parisian *haute bourgeoisie* by the anti-Commune republican satirical press for the former's flight from Paris to Versailles in the face of approaching combat has been absent from studies of the re-ordering of society immediately after the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune.[217] This gap in the scholarship is notable given that the regulation of gender roles was central to the function of these texts as symbolic forays against the bourgeoisie and they express similar explanations for France's abasement as above. The findings of Nye, Judith Surkis, Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe can show us how the bourgeoisie's alleged incapacity to incarnate republican ideals of masculine and feminine being (expressed through the intensely gendered claim of sexual immodesty in bourgeois women and cowardice in bourgeois men) were rooted in nineteenth-century conceptions of the body and employed to undermine the bourgeoisie's position within the society of the new republic.[218] This is explored in first and second sections of this chapter, which consider the respective rhetorical uses of traditional notions of femininity and of masculinity against the bourgeoisie. These texts' mobilisation of gender complicates our understanding of their counter-discursive nature. Though the satirists below seek to deprive the *haute bourgeoisie* of legitimacy in the public eye, unravelling discourses of bourgeois morality and domesticity, they exploit and thus reinforce the dominant discourses around sexual difference to do so. It becomes a matter of resignification of what things means, a reinterpretation of who embodies discourses rather than of the discourses themselves. It speaks to some of the limitations of newspaper satire in the period, that they reproduce some dominant discourses in the process of undermining others.

In the sources below, particularly those immediately following the Commune, bourgeois belonging is primarily identified through a moral, social and cultural framework rather than an economic one.[219] Léon Robert comes closest to providing an economic basis for the class character of what he describes as 'journaux de décadence', remarking that their sanguinary gentrification would restrict Paris to those possessing ten thousand francs in rent.[220] Though the sources consulted below do not explicitly mention the bourgeoisie, it is nonetheless clear from reference to social activity such as *la promenade* and cigar-smoking that they are taking aim at the Parisian *haute bourgeoisie*, those sufficiently and

[216] Ibid., p. 7.
[217] To my knowledge, only Wright has considered, if in passing, anti-Communard textual resistance in the aftermath of the Commune, see Wright, pp. 170-2. Wright described these interventions as rare, but here we see them forwarded by well-read republican satirical newspapers, *L'Éclipse* and *Le Grelot*.
[218] see Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*; Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870-1920* (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 2006); Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, *French Masculinities*.
[219] Nicolas Flammèche uses the term 'bourgeois' to attack the *fuyards* in an article from 1872, see Nicolas Flammèche, 'Les Deux Nuits'.
[220] Léon Robert, 'Drelin!... Drelin!...', *Le Grelot*, 1/10 (18 June 1871), p. 2.

independently wealthy to engage in such leisure. This is further reinforced by the use of the archetype of M. Prudhomme in caricature.[221] We can situate this social basis of class amid ideas circulating in Paris at the time, with Jules Vallès having distinguished 'la bourgeoisie travailleuse' (also 'la bourgeoisie ouvrière) from 'la bourgeoisie parasite' in order to take aim at the latter.[222]

Aside from leisure, this social strata was identified in terms of spatial and social differentiation, which was given visual form in caricature. One caricature by Gill in *L'Éclipse* depicts Paris and Versailles, represented by a worker and a member of the upper-class respectively, engaged in a tug-of-war over the embodied essence of France itself [Figure 3.1]. In a different caricature in *Le Charivari*, we see Versailles associated with people wearing bourgeois dress [Figure 3.2]. As Terdiman informs us, these contrasting attires of embodiment, alongside representations of physicality, mannerism and recorded speech, can capture 'class- and situation-specific utterances [which] carry the image of the satirised world'.[223] In serving as markers of social difference, they necessarily prime the reader to interpret France's internal conflicts through the lens of social struggle.[224] The spatial metaphor inherent to this type of geographical corporeality is thus compounded with a social one: it is not simply a matter of mere geography, but also visually inscribes the competing nexuses of political belief, cultural habitude and societal standing which these two locales are seen to represent. In the eyes of republican satirists at the time, Versailles represented the latent conservatism of the upper echelons of French society, while Paris encapsulated a popular republicanism. Bourgeois belonging is thus conveyed through these sources as a primarily cultural or political construct, rather than an expressly economic one, and as a signifier of negativity.

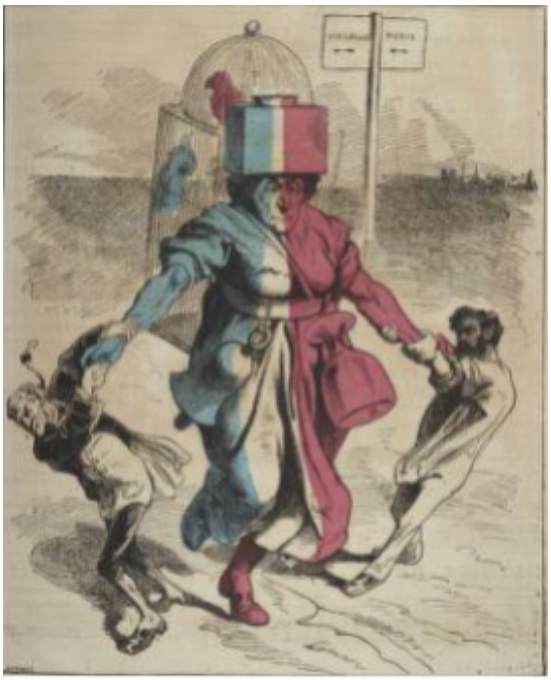

Figure 3.1: Gill, 'Actualité', *L'Éclipse*, 4/146 (13 August 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

This rhetorical construction of the bourgeoisie aligns with Sarah Maza's identification of use of the term between 1750 to 1850 as a Barthesian myth of the French 'social imaginary', providing an "Other" to rail against as a cautionary tale of what not to do and how not to be.[225]

[221] A. Darjou, 'Revue du mois de mai', *Le Grelot*, 1/8 (4 June 1871), p. 4.
[222] Vallès, 'Paris, Ville Libre', *Le Cri du Peuple* (22 March 1871), 1/1, p.1.
[223] Terdiman, pp. 183-4.
[224] Ibid., pp. 179-80.
[225] This approach was set out in the introduction to Maza's impressive but controversial book *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, see Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: an Essay on the Social Imaginary* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 10-13. For some of the reviews of this book, in some cases offering a strong rebuttal to Maza's view, though all conceding its historiographical value, see Cissie Fairchilds, review of Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie* (2003), *The Business History Review*, 78/1 (2004), pp. 159-161; John R. Hall, review of Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie* (2003), *American*

Considered in this light, satirists for *Le Grelot* and *L'Éclipse* were setting out their vision through which to reformulate French society after the Second Empire in contrast to those undesirable behaviours and associations thought to typify the Parisian bourgeoisie. These undesirable behaviours were grouped under the title of decadence and expressed in bourgeois cowardice and paranoid violence. This terminology of decadence appears as the primary means for satirists to signal their targets to the reader, referring to 'ô Parisiens de la décadence' in one case and 'certains journaux de la décadence' in another.[226] These charges of decadence and national decline, in so far as they collide with individual and social corporeality, form the basis of the final section of this chapter. Through such criticisms, republican satirists sought to corrode the symbolic authority of the bourgeoisie as the natural leaders of the French nation and excise them from its newly republican body. This was reinforced by the vocabulary around bourgeois antisocial cowardice and choleric violence. These were grounded in a lexicon of corporeal dysfunction which was shared by Napoleon III, a rhetorical link which undermined the bourgeoisie by further associating them with national disgrace and decline. The bodily dysfunction of the bourgeoisie, expressed through their paranoid violence was rendered a mark of distinction, categorising them as a social "Other" to be expelled from society.

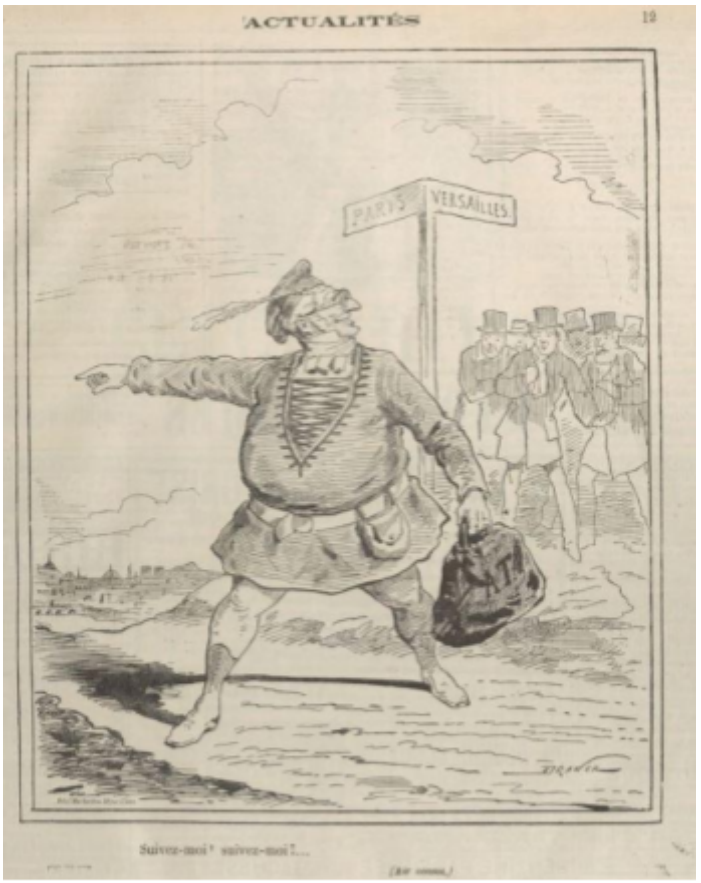

Figure 3.2: Draner, 'Actualités', *Le Charivari*, 41 (17 January 1872), accessed online via *RetroNews*.

This was sharpened by two contemporary historical processes, one in the long term and one in the immediate term, which had great implications for the strength of the French nation and for the close attention given to the individual vigour of those who composed it. The logic of the French Revolution, interrupted in 1799, again in 1851, but confirmed in 1870, imposed on France the shift from a hierarchical-prescriptive society of the feudal age to a democratic one, raising the problem of how to inculcate courage, formerly seen as the preserve of the nobility, in the mass of the French people, through a regime of discipline. Secondly, France's defeat to Germany exposed the demographic and martial

Journal of Sociology, 109/4 (2004), pp. 1042-44; John Smail, review of Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie* (2003), *Enterprise and Society*, 5/1 (2004), pp. 136-8.

[226] Nicolas Flammèche, 'La Semaine des obus', *Le Grelot*, 1/8 (4 June 1871), p. 2; Robert, 'Drelin!... Drelin!...'.

superiority of Germany. The issue of declining birth rates meant that in future military engagements, France would have to meet German quantity with Gallic quality.[227] It is in this context, that the satirical efforts to prune the antisocial elements of cowardice and uncontrollable violence in the bourgeoisie which are discussed below operated. These seemingly contradictory attributes, flight from Paris in the wake of conflict, choleric violence against suspected Communards on their return, are in fact two sides of the same coin: a symbol of the incompatibility of the traditional bourgeoisie *vis à vis* the new Third Republic.

3.0.1 Sources

This chapter refers primarily to the issues of the republican satirical magazines *Le Grelot* and *L'Éclipse*, published in the days, weeks and months after the fall of the Commune. Though constituting a relatively narrow source base, these newspapers derive their capacity to speak about wider issues of counter-discursive or symbolic resistance from the context in which they were published. As we saw in the introduction, these news outlets boasted considerable readerships, assuring an audience of several tens of thousands for their symbolic attacks. Additionally, the very conditions in which these texts arose invite analysis along symbolic lines. These issues were published amid the backdrop of the fall of the Second Empire and of the Commune, which so dangerously challenged the social and economic order of French society. It was thus a period of transition in which notions of authority were still incredibly vulnerable to attack or reformulation. The authors themselves note a change in content following the turmoil of the preceding months. For example, citing the grim shadow of war, *Le Grelot*, in its first issue after *la Semaine sanglante*, declared itself incapable of lightheartedness.[228] The articles within are devoid of the obscuring and even self-mystifying tongue-in-cheek quality of some satire, condensed into a counter-discursive polemic against their targets, and we can be more confident in interpreting them as a result.

Further historical value can be found by situating these sources within longer term historical processes. Bertrand Taithe has described Paris during and after the Siege and the Commune as a 'city of fractious masculinities' and as the locus of a 'crisis of masculinity'.[229] Such fragilities in the structures of masculinity, already defined by their permeability and capacity for deformation,[230] are apparent in the sources discussed below and gender fulfils a potent role throughout. This is particularly true of the first and second sub-sections of this chapter, which look at the symbolic implications of the charge of sexual impropriety in bourgeois women and of cowardice in bourgeois men. Yet, while anxieties at the

[227] Nye, p. 217.
[228] *Le Grelot*, 1/8 (4 June 1871), p. 1.
[229] Bertrand Taithe, 'Neighborhood Boys and Men: The Changing Spaces of Masculine Identity in France, 1848-71', in *French Masculinities*, pp. 73, 79-81.
[230] Ibid., p. 68

breakdown of masculinity generally revolved around Communards, working class men and the deleterious effects of urban modernity on maleness, we see an altogether different articulation of this problem in the sources below, towards the Versaillais, bourgeois men and provincial luxury. They thus serve to complicate the dominant expression of the crisis of masculinity in this period, whose reverberations as concern gender politics in the Third Republic are apparent for decades after.

The sources consulted below defied the formal norms of newspaper culture and provide insight into the counter-discursive operation of republican satire in the wake of the Commune. As was mentioned in the introduction, the newspaper was an institution of discourse, and newspaper satire was thus forced to articulate its resistance through a form which was by definition committed to reinforcing and propagating the dominant. Terdiman has identified the newspaper's 'anti-organicist mode' of discursive construction (in which the articles exist as disconnected blocks of text on the page and do not feed into a common narrative) and its 'sale of space' (most nakedly through direct advertisement, but also through the less evident, more insidious commercialisation of the *fait divers* and newspaper editorials) as its two defining attributes in the period.[231] We find these aspects deformed in the issues below, the satirists entering into the counter-discursive subversion of the 'naturalised protocols' of social representation.[232] In the issue of *Le Grelot* for 4 June 1871 (its first after *la Semaine sanglante*), the articles exhibit a remarkable degree of thematic unity, focusing either on the vanquished Communards or on the return of the bourgeois *fuyard*. Nicolas Flammèche, one of the newspaper's principal journalists, begins a tirade against the bourgeoisie which spans multiple articles (even returning to it in an issue from the following year).[233] Though nominally distinct, these articles come together as a narrative which challenges the role of the bourgeoisie in Parisian society. In the same issue, framed as a letter from the reader to the editor, Flammèche writes that his planned satire excoriating the Commune has now been rendered unnecessary by its defeat. He thus enters into a mockery of the editorial advertisement integral to newspapers in the period, unmasking its commodified nature. More generally, *Le Grelot* and *L'Éclipse* both made minimal use of advertisement. This limited commercialised space was relegated to small sections on the last or penultimate page of the newspaper and often advertised the works of other caricaturists rather than expressly commercial enterprises. The space which would typically be reserved for *les annonces* and *les réclames* was wholly or partially taken up by caricatures, a radical act in an environment in which the newspaper itself was the commodity. In later months, *L'Éclipse* fell victim to newspaper culture's abiding logic of profit-value and the space of its issues was progressively colonised by advertisement.[234] This

[231] Terdiman, pp. 122-5.
[232] Ibid., p.
[233] Flammèche, 'Les Semaine des obus'; Flammèche, 'Les Catins', p. 3; Flammèche, 'Les Deux Nuits', *Le Grelot*, 2/50 (24 March 1872), pp. 2-3.
[234] One can compare the issue of L'Éclipse printed on 8th October 1871 to those printed afterwards for an illustration of this change, see *L'Éclipse*, 4/154-160 (8 October - 19 November 1871). We see the same change in *Le Grelot*, and we can perhaps point to the doubling of tariffs on postage and the return of the dreaded *cautionnement* in the second half of the year as driving this commercialisation.

illustrates not the ingenuousness of *L'Éclipse*'s commitment to counter-discursive struggle, but rather the capacity of dominant discourse for the blunting of subversive activity and the natural limitations of satire as counter-discourse.[235] This is however less true of our period, and the subversion of implicit assumptions around the bourgeoisie's place in society operated first on formal grounds in the newspapers considered in this chapter and invites a counter-discursive reading of their contents, though one complicated by their deployment of the discourses around gender.

3.1 The Social Body: Gender and Decadence in Criticism of the Bourgeoisie

The perceived degradation of social order wrought by fall of the Second Empire and the eruption of the Commune informed the capacity of the below texts to contest symbolic authority through deployments of corporeality. The Paris Commune represented a twofold transgression of the conservative social order, a 'revolt against deep forms of social regimentation', particularly as concerned the role of workers and women in society.[236] The extent to which the expansion of social space enjoyed by the Communard*e* was thought to emperil the regulation of gender boundaries can be seen in the fictitious, paranoid image of the *pétroleuse*, popular in anti-Commune caricature, which often ascribed a masculine or even bestial quality to Parisian women, existing between man and woman, human and beast, recalling the 'virilised' women described in post-Revolutionary pseudoscience.[237] The writings of the journalists of *Le Grelot* and *L'Éclipse* discussed below should be read as an attempt to reinforce the traditional patriarchal ordering of social space, which can be seen in the gendered and misogynistic nature of texts. This bolstering of the dominant discursive structures governing gender in the period are aimed towards sapping the bourgeoisie of their symbolic authority and challenging their status in post-Commune society. This is also seen in these texts' treatment of the Second Empire through the lens of its supposed excesses, decadence and responsibility for the outbreak of and defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. The traditional bourgeoisie are seen as supporters of this failed regime, longing for its return, a fact which justifies their exclusion from French society. Further, while the alleged sexual immodesty of bourgeois women abounds in these texts, it is accompanied by the charge of bourgeois male cowardice, seen in the nineteenth century as equally indicative of a vicious existence.[238] These charges of sexual immodesty, cowardice, the accompanying vice of idleness, and their signifiers (coterminous with bourgeois social activity) serve to create a division

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[235] Terdiman, pp. 185-6.
[236] Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp 5, 15-7. While many restrictions on women's political and social status remained under the Commune, the opening up of Communal space has been well noted, see Kathleen Jones and François Vergès, '"Aux Citoyennes!': Women, politics, and the Paris Commune of 1871', *History of European Ideas*, 13:6 (1991), pp. 711-732; and Carolyn J. Eichner, *Surmounting the Barricades: Women in the Paris Commune* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).
[237] Gullickson, *Unruly Women*, pp. 159-190; Shafer, pp. 179-182; Nye, pp. 59-60.
[238] Nye, pp. 59-60, 66-7.

between the virile Parisian, tempered by conflict, and the decadent Versaillais, degraded by cowardly luxury. By advocating for the removal of these signs of antisociality through rhetorical imposition of bodily discipline or social hygiene on the streets of Paris, these texts become about reshaping the forms of social regimentation so threatened by the Commune towards a desired outcome: the creation of a more virile, masculine Republic. The exclusion of the decadent bourgeoisie was both a prerequisite for and the result of this goal. This suggests a symbolic contestation of the traditional bourgeoisie's superordinate societal role in which the body is central, originating in the *haute bourgeoisie*'s inability to realise an opposed but complementary masculine and feminine social ideal.

3.1.1 Female Impropriety and Moral Filth in Criticism of the Bourgeoisie

How these sources portray bourgeois women is crucial to the aims of this chapter, as the supposed misbehaviour of bourgeois women was a means to undermine the position of the wider bourgeoisie in society. The importance of this charge of impropriety, mostly, but not exclusively, of a sexual nature, against the bourgeoisie originated in contemporary views on gender, sanitation and shame. It in turn intersects with the charge of bourgeois male cowardice, discussed later in this chapter, and they both provide insight into how the maintenance of sexual difference could be symbolically weaponised against the bourgeoisie as a whole.

The suggestion of impropriety, often, but not always, of a sexual nature, on the part of bourgeois women is a recurring aspect of these texts. In *Les Catins*, an article by the journalist Nicolas Flammèche, published in *Le Grelot*'s first issue after *la Semaine sanglante*, the author seizes upon an excerpt from a recent news story in *Le Gaulois* about a group of bourgeois women and men, the famous courtesan Blanche d'Antigny among them, whose extravagant behaviours seemed in blatant disregard for the sombre atmosphere of May 1871 and offended public morality. This affair forms the basis of Flammèche's assault on the bourgeoisie, and the article is thus particularly useful as a source for the role of claims of improperly embodied womanhood in wider critiques of the bourgeoisie. This is often explicitly signalled through misogynistic language, with these texts referring to 'catins', 'coquins', 'coquettes' and 'prostituées' and advising the bourgeoisie to 'passe au dispensaire', presumably to treat a sexually-acquired malady.[239] There is also the accompanying charge of 'crevés' (a now obsolete term denoting an effeminate man overly concerned with fashion) lodged against the bourgeois men who socialise with these 'catins'. These accusations of sexual transgression derive their importance from the role that sexual proclivity was thought to have in collapsing sexual difference according to popular

[239] Flammèche, 'La Semaine des obus'; Flammèche, 'Les Catins'; Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles', *Le Grelot*, 1/8, p. 2.

beliefs surrounding the body at the time. Under such a system, sex was thought to effect physiological changes in its participants. In men, excessive sexual activity was a pathway to impotence and a compromised virility; in women, it was a mode of virilisation and a compromised femininity.[240] The categories of 'catins' and 'crevés' above mirror these anxieties around the blurring of lines between man and woman. The social implications of such excessive heterosocial mixing can be seen where Flammèche writes about the necessity of ejecting the bourgeoisie from 'nos boulevards', which they have transformed into 'des lupanars où les étrangers [referring to the returning *fuyards*] viennent se fournir'. We will discuss the significance of this opposition of the Parisian, to whom '*nos* boulevards' belong, with the bourgeoisie, constructed as a foreign entity, later in this chapter. What is important to note here is Flammèche's invocation of the 'lupanars' of ancient Rome, which reduces the boulevards of Paris, the public arteries of bourgeois social and economic life, to sites of sexual scandal and delegitimises the bourgeoisie's continued circulation within them. The use of the word 'se fournir' is also interesting, as it is unclear whether the exchange to which it refers is of a commercial or sexual nature, dissolving the barriers of distinction between bourgeois sexual and non-sexual behaviour.

Even when not discussing sexual acts, the authors seek to abase bourgeois women's behaviour in public spaces to the level of immodesty. In one case, bourgeois women are reproached (almost to the point of violence) for eating and laughing too loudly in spite of the air of public mourning after the execution of the Archbishop of Paris. In another, bourgeois women are chastised for dancing in the streets of the ruined city. Such misbehaviour is described as a flagrant display of 'imbécilité' and 'impudence', 'pas seulement honteux, [mais] effrayant'.[241] They recall the moral outrage and policing of public dances under the July Monarchy, where 'pudeur' was the watchword.[242] These appeals to public morality are significant as they imply immodesty even in implicitly non-sexual acts. It is equally important that this criticism is expressed through the prism of women's comportment in the public eye.

Indeed, while these criticisms serve to highlight the estrangement of the Versaillais bourgeoisie from the emotional orbit of the Parisian people, that they are articulated primarily against women is suggestive of the role filled by the policing of gender boundaries in wider criticisms of the bourgeoisie. For Flammèche, the former group of banqueters is illustrative of the broader flow of people returning from Versailles, and the actions of the few justify the exclusion of the whole. Of particular note is the state of moral degradation which Flammèche inscribes into their very existence:

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[240] Nye, pp. 59-60, 66-8.
[241] Flammèche, 'Les Semaine des obus'; Flammèche, 'Les Catins'.
[242] see Surkis, 'Carnival Balls and Penal Codes: Body Politics in July Monarchy France', *History of the Present*, 1/1 (2011), pp. 61-3.

> Ah! Nous savons qu'ils sont nombreux. Nous savons que les ombrages de Versailles et la terrasse de Saint-Germain vont de nouveau *vomir* dans nos rues ces *immondes* personnages[...][243]

Here, the return of the bourgeoisie from their comfortable self-exile in Versailles and Saint-Germain-en-Laye is tackled in language designed to offend bourgeois cultural and linguistic mores. Treatment of their actions is tailored to elicit disgust through accompanying reference to bodily emissions. They are characterised as literal ejecta, waste matter voided onto the streets of Paris which one might trod underfoot. As Peter Stallybrass and Allon White summarise the prevailing bourgeois sentiment towards the proximity of the slums and bourgeois quarters inherent to the city landscape, that 'the orifices of the poor opened to contaminate bourgeois space',[244] we might say that Flammèche expresses a similar sentiment through this image of *vomir*, but that it is rather the orifices of the suburban bourgeoisie which open up to contaminate Paris. The repulsive character this imparts to the *fuyards* makes for a powerful symbolic attack and justifies their expulsion. This is furthered by the use of the word *immondes*, deployed in all its senses here, attributing a moral, as well as physical, repulsion to the bourgeoisie. Later in the passage, Flammèche speaks of the shame which the idea of the scented perfume of bourgeois women mixing with the stench of unburied corpses during their touristic strolls around the ruined urban landscape should inspire. This not only creates an unpleasant olfactory imprint on the reader as might a grotesque caricature produce a visual one, but the spectre of disgust which it raises serves as a means of social delineation, separating the insulated suburban *fuyard* from the long-suffering Parisian.[245] This social and spatial delineation is crucially achieved here through reference to primarily female bourgeois consumption and habitude.

This reference to the reader's sense of smell is doubly important given its connection to contemporary ideas around contamination and civilisation. Foul smells represented an intolerable transgression. The cadaverine malodour described above becomes not simply an olfactory offence, but 'assault[s] notions of proper behaviour and cleanliness, both 'dirty' crimes against civili[s]ation'.[246] By nature difficult to contain, the corruptive influence of smells could extend far beyond the reach of those emitting them, penetrating into the private life of the bourgeois home.[247] We might compare this anxiety to the specific contempt that Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, a hygienist active during the 1820s and 1830s, held for courtesans. These women, due to the veneer of respectability that they maintained, were unable to be contained through the regular administrative measures in place against prostitutes, and so threatened to

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[243] Flammèche, 'Les Catins'; emphasis my own.
[244] Peter Stallybras and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 133.
[245] Stallybras and White similarly conclude that smell and disgust were agents of class differentiation, though between the poor and the bourgeoisie , see Stallybras and White, p. 139.
[246] Daniel J. Walther, 'Race, Space and Toilets: "Civilization" and "Dirt" in the German Colonial Order, 1890s-1914', *German History*, 35/4 (2017), pp. 555.
[247] Ibid., p. 139.

'erode the moral and sexual code of the bourgeoisie from within'.[248] This frames Flammèche's use of the impropriety of upper-class women (who, as we saw, he refers to as prostitutes) as the basis of his animus against the returning bourgeoisie. The proximity of these *fuyard* women to the foul stench of the Parisian dead corrupts them (and those who associate with them) morally as well as biologically. It is an act of symbolic inversion, turning dominant notions around cleanliness on their head through the repurposing of vocabulary typically reserved for the masses against a section of the bourgeoisie.[249] Such mixings of embodied or performed filth and moral blemish recur throughout these texts, and are revelatory as to how corporeality, particularly of the female body, was deployed and engendered in acts of symbolic resistance against the bourgeoisie.

This discursive deployment of the language of dirt, cleanliness and disease can be further understood in the light of a prevailing hygienist logic in nineteenth-century France and Europe, which shaped public policy towards health in the period.[250] As David S. Barnes writes of the changing views on sanitation during and after the July Monarchy, there was 'an increasingly widely recognised sanitary imperative, which regarded the reordering of both the physical (especially urban) environment and the moral underpinnings of French society as equally and simultaneously urgent'.[251] This new hygienist paradigm had the effect of rendering urban sanitation a collective, not individual, matter. Proposals to combat ill-health and low morals included the aeration of public spaces and bodily separation through the removal of slums, and the spatial segregation of industries thought harmful to public wellbeing. Filth was therefore no longer a mere sign of personal ignominy, but a threat to the moral fabric of urban society and demanding of intervention. This conclusion spawned new norms around natural bodily functions and a concomitant sense of shame in actions which violated these norms. Cleanliness acquired both a physical and performative aspect, that to be "clean" implied the performance of proper behaviour, and civilised bourgeois identity accordingly came to be defined through this performance of cleanliness, in opposition to the filthy behaviours of the inhabitants of urban slums and rural farms.[252] We can connect this intellectual and behavioural turn to issues of corporeality and Foucauldian discipline, as if cleanliness is a performance, then it is ultimately one which can be imposed on individuals in society through their reconstruction as docile bodies.

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[248] Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 27.
[249] One can compare the language in which Flammèche upbraids these upper-class Parisians with the vocabulary with which Louis-René Villermé referred to the working-class inhabitants of the Lille slums, see David S. Barnes, *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle Against Filth and Germs*, pp. 96-101. See generally, Stallybrass and White, pp. 128-33.
[250] For the evolution of attitudes towards public health in France in this century, see Barnes, *The Great Stink*, especially pp. 65-104. For similar developments in Germany, see Walther, 'Race, Space and Toilets', pp. 551-567.
[251] Barnes, p. 68.
[252] Walther, p. 555; Barnes, pp. 92-3. See also Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, pp. 125-6, 139.

Flammèche's tirade speaks to these concerns with public hygiene and the health of the social body. The journalist talks of purifying the air and cleaning the streets of 'notre ville avilie et souillée'. Having already equated the boulevards, the extensive cultural network of the Parisian bourgeoisie, with ancient brothels, he further compares them to the sewers, saying 'on nettoie les égoûts, qu'on nettoie les boulevards'.[253] Flammèche's metaphor of the sewer, alongside other appeals to collective public health management ('la Ligue de la santé publique', 'dispensaire'), invokes the apparatus of public sanitation which arose to combat moral and physical degradation of society. His grammar of disgust, targeted towards *fuyard* women, recalls that of earlier hygienists and writers. The boulevard's dual valence as a brothel and a sewer locates the origins of its filth in the body of the *fuyard* women, and Flammèche joins other nineteenth-century writers, Baudelaire among them, in associating the female sexual body with excrement.[254] In particular, Flammèche echoes the vocabulary of Parent-Duchâtelet on the social and physical ills of prostitution.[255] Parent-Duchâtelet's investigation of prostitution in Paris in the 1820s and 1830s was conducted as the logical extension of his research into the Parisian cloaca. Like Flammèche after him, Parent-Duchâtelet regularly likened prostitutes to sewers ('a sewer of another kind') and proposed their geographical segregation through means similar to the containment of sewage.[256] In this light, Flammèche's evocative vocabulary characterises the bourgeoisie and their behaviours not only as filth, but crucially of a kind which must be altered or spatially removed for the sake of Paris' wellbeing. Indeed, his description of the need to clear the ruined, sullied city of Paris resembles a *levée-en-masse*, a collective military endeavour similar to that during the Siege of Paris. He additionally speaks of 'le devoir de tout homme honnête [...] de châtier les drôles et les drôlesses qui seraient assez osés pour venir étaler leur imbécillité et leur impudence', and in language faintly reminiscent of a religious purgation, lashing and whipping them, Flammèche declares the need to drive out the bourgeoisie. These attacks derive their symbolically corrosive nature from undermining the dominant bourgeois self-image of cleanliness and propriety and by challenging the position of the *fuyards* in post-Commune Parisian society, going so far as to demand their physical, even violent, expulsion or correction. That these criticisms originate in alleged female sexual and moral transgression points to the role that the perceived failure of bourgeois women to properly embody femininity played in these conflicts over symbolic authority, the gendered body serving as a site of this combat.

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[253] Flammèche, 'Les Catins'.
[254] Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, pp. 1-2; Peter Dayan, 'Baudelaire at his latrine: Motions in the petits poèmes en prose and in George Sand's novels', *French Studies*, 48/4 (1994), pp. 416-24.
[255] see Barnes, pp. 68-81, 96-100; and Bernheimer, pp. 13-19.
[256] Bernheimer, pp. 15-6.

3.1.2 Bourgeois Cowardice and Idleness in Narratives of Emasculation

Accusations of improper behaviour in bourgeois men similarly functioned as instruments of symbolic resistance against the wider *haute bourgeoisie* in the aftermath of the Commune, and were also grounded in contemporary logics which rendered bourgeois misbehaviour a collective, not individual, ill. Through the charge of cowardly or idle behaviour in bourgeois men, satirists exploited masculine social norms to challenge the moral authority of the bourgeoisie. These claims of cowardice and idleness were perceived as so socially corrosive as they implied a physical as well as national degeneration. The bourgeois *fuyard* was held singularly responsible for France's recent martial failures due to this intersection of individual and public health. This image of the decadent bourgeois or Versaillais *fuyard* could be contrasted with the vision of the virile Parisian. This juxtaposition fulfilled a doubly-useful rhetorical role: on the one hand, constructing the bourgeoisie as a social "Other" as a means of their exclusion; on the other hand, projecting an embodied ideal of male behaviour on the new Third Republic. It thus participated in a broadly similar reconsideration of republican political culture to that which we encountered in the previous chapter.

How masculinity was constructed by contemporaries demonstrates the full symbolic potential of these charges of cowardice and idleness against the bourgeoisie, as courage was central to bourgeois conceptions of male honour. The French pharmacist and medical vulgariser Joseph-Julien Virey's book *De la femme*, locating men and women within a system of biological equilibria, linked sexual debauchery in women to cowardice in men: 'la chasteté devient, pour la fille, l'extrême force de sa vertu, comme la vaillance est celle de l'homme; et *l'impudicité devient pour elle un vice aussi vil, aussi dégradant que la lâcheté l'est pour l'homme*'.[257] Though printed in 1825, the book was republished in 1835 and appeared in bibliographies in 1827 and 1864, suggesting that its ideas enjoyed wider currency throughout the nineteenth century.[258] Bourgeois male cowardice was thus perceived as the counterpart of the female immodesty which we considered above, and courage and modesty, properly embodied, were prerequisites to attaining masculinity and femininity. The similarities between sexual impropriety and cowardice were not only in these direct linkages, however, and they were thought to exhibit similar society-wide effects. Insufficient displays of courage were a major vehicle for male loss of honour, honour being central to a masculine, and a particularly bourgeois masculine, existence. These dishonourable actions necessitated shaming, which performed a key societal role of promoting cohesion at the expense of the honourless individual or group. This masculine existence was thus not simply a private, individual matter, but

[257] J.J. Virey, *De la femme, sous ses rapports physiologique, moral et littéraire* (Paris: Crochard, 1825), p. 87; emphasis my own.
[258] J.B. Monfalcon, *Précis de bibliographie médicale* (1827), pp. 292-3; M. le C. d'I***, *Bibliography des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour, aux femmes, au mariage* (Paris: Jules Gay, 1864), p. 57. Nye has similarly noted that manuals on male impotence from the 1820s continued to circulate and influence thinking up to fifty years later, see Nye, *Masculinity*, p. 68.

reflective of a public and collective culture.[259] The shame of cowardice necessitated the expulsion of bourgeoisie from the new Republic taking shape in Paris as a means to maintain the integrity of the whole of society, so battered by a terrible year of conflict.

The extent to which masculinity was collectively, socially mediated, how bourgeois cowardice and sexual impropriety were seen to pose a threat to societal cohesion, and the readiness with which contemporaries linked the moral and bodily decline of individuals to national degradation, come to the fore in Flammèche's juxtaposition of Parisians of *virilité* with those of *décadence*. While Flammèche begins by lamenting the destruction of Paris, he sees within the ruins of the city a blueprint for societal rejuvenation and the collapse of 'la vielle société'.[260] He expresses the necessity for change, that from amid ash and rubble might arise 'une race forte, un peuple viril'. The author then goes on to call out those Parisians who have been materially and emotionally unaffected by the conflict, the bourgeois *fuyard* who we saw above. He refers to these people as 'Parisiens de la décadence', accusing them of turning Paris into 'un but de promenade, une occasion de spectacle'. We will discuss the significance of this critique of bourgeois leisure activity shortly, and instead focus here on the two exclusive categories that Flammèche creates: Parisians of virility and Parisians of decadence. The significance of this juxtaposition as a tool of symbolic resistance derives from the many other contrasts and oppositions which were nestled inside it. It operated under many guises: *honnêtes gens* against the shameless bourgeoisie, the brave against the cowardly, the hardworking against the idle, the detractors of the old Empire against its colicky supporters. It acted as a vehicle to exclude the bourgeoisie from the new society, categorising them as a depraved and dishonourable social "Other" wholly responsible for France's failures.

The extent to which such contrasts operated as an engine to expose bourgeois responsibility for social decline, and particularly for the supposed deformation of Parisian masculinity, is illustrated in the first issue of *Le Grelot* after the fall of the Commune. In this issue, a journalist under the pseudonym Le Grincheux records an apocryphal exchange between a French soldier and an anonymous bourgeois man returning from Versailles. This clash between the national guardsman and the cowardly bourgeois expresses a division which bears great similarities to that between *virilité* and *décadence* above, which can be seen in the historical context of Paris under siege. As Bertrand Taithe points out, during the Siege of Paris, 'the uniform [of the national guard] became the attire of masculinity' as a result of the almost universal participation (at least among those who remained in the city) of the Parisian male population in the conflict.[261] Here, the caricature on the frontpage of *Le Grelot* for the same issue as Le Grincheux's article proves useful [Figure 3.3]. In depicting a national guardsman sweeping away the detritus of the

[259] Nye, pp. 9-10.
[260] Flammèche, 'La Semaine des obus'.
[261] Taithe, 'Neighborhood Boys', p. 79.

Commune (incarnated in the revolutionary Marianne discussed in the previous chapter), it expounds a military, republican masculinity, centred on Paris and given collective purchase through the common struggle which the uniform implies. The uniform becomes a social marker of the collective masculine victory of the Parisian people over the Commune. The framing of the national guardsman and returning Versaillais as opposites in this exchange therefore directly contrasts Parisian courage with Versaillais cowardice. It undermines the returning bourgeoisie by associating them with dishonour. Further, by denying the Versaillais a stake in the triumph over the Commune, Darjou resists marginalisation by the post-war rhetoric which held Communard and Parisian as synonymous.

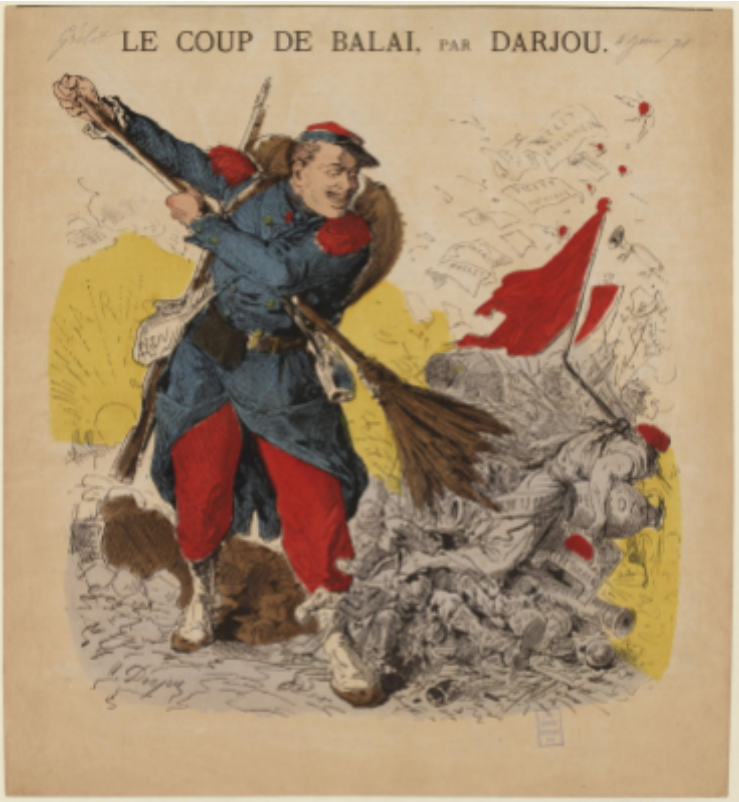

Figure 3.3: A. Darjou, 'Le coup de balai', *Le Grelot*, 1/8 (4 June 1871), accessed online via *Paris Musées Collections*.

Examining the text more closely illustrates how the disavowal of bourgeois masculinity suggested by this opposition functioned as means of social exclusion and to combat the above rhetoric. The bourgeois speaker is depicted as trembling on his return to Paris, worried about the structural integrity of the wine cellars and the safety of the city streets. These concerns are dismissed by the soldier, who states plainly 'le courage a terminé sa besogne', contesting the idea that the victory over the Commune was shared between the Parisian anti-Communards and the Versaillais *fuyards*.[262] The Versaillais perceives this as impugning on his honour, and he attempts to "prove" his courage by referring to his second-hand witnessing of the conflict, which is rejected by the national guardsman. It is interesting that the exchange does not erupt into a duel, which was the accepted procedure for settling matters of wounded masculine

[262] Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles'.

honour in the nineteenth century, particularly in Paris.[263] Instead, the Versaillais simply accuses the soldier of boring him to death. We can imagine that a reader would pick up on the bourgeois man's decision not to seek recourse through a duel as a sign of reduced virility. It represents a sort of social death worse than the physical demise that one might suffer in a duel and demands expulsion.[264] The extent to which the charge of cowardice deforms the bourgeois man's masculinity can be seen in the national guard's parting shot to his interlocutor, in which he calls the Versaillais and his ilk 'jeunes crevés', whose significance as a marker of emasculation we saw earlier. By painting the bourgeoisie as cowards, Le Grincheux excludes them from the new martial, republican masculinity that we saw above. It adds further texture to the image of Paris as a 'city of fractious masculinities', fittingly described by Taithe.[265] Most contemporary sources focused on the threat to masculinity posed by the boyish exuberance of the Commune,[266] yet here we see these anxieties over Parisian masculinity lodged against the bourgeoisie. These can be best understood as a means of resisting the prevailing notions around Paris in the aftermath of the Commune. The newspaper's journalists were writing for a faction that, in spite of their opposition to the Commune, had remained proudly Parisian. It betrays a specific, perceived need to repair the city's fractured masculinity without implicating the average Parisian in a charge of invirility, with criticism of the bourgeoisie acting as a convenient vessel for achieving this.

These charges of cowardice against bourgeois men, and those of sexual immodesty against bourgeois women that we saw above, further acted as important symbolic tools against the bourgeoisie, as they implicated, among other things, the bourgeois self-image as custodians of the family. Indeed, the emphasis placed on family life by the bourgeoisie has been noted by historians, to the extent that domesticity was perceived as a uniquely bourgeois trait among some quarters.[267] Deviation from this family norm risked dishonouring oneself and one's family, and acts which called one's honour into disrepute also very publically endangered one's masculinity.[268] Further, though concerns over sexual impropriety were present in every sphere of society, they acquired particular accent due to the interconnectedness of bourgeois economic and family life, and 'bad behaviour was deplored not so much for its sinfulness as for the dangers it posed for families'.[269] These texts derive their value as acts of symbolic resistance from their exposure of the bourgeois inability to live up this family ideal, the very engine of bourgeois social reproduction and capitalist accumulation, and their own expression of masculinity.

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[263] Nye, p. 186.
[264] Ibid, p. 182.
[265] Taithe, p. 73.
[266] Taithe, pp. 79-80.
[267] Jerrold Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France, and Germany since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 339-40; Nye, p. 9.
[268] Nye, p. 9.
[269] Ibid., pp. 341-4.

The moral blemish of cowardice is specifically linked to the bourgeois abandonment of Paris at least once in the sources we are considering. Émile Blondet, satirising the returning Versaillais, writes about an indignant individual who, in attempting to rebuff such accusations of desertion, in fact implicates himself in the far worse crime of having left his wife and children alone in Paris.[270] By referring to this individual in his wider criticism of bourgeois cowardice and idleness, Blondet unites the bourgeois abandonment of their own family with their abandonment of Paris during the siege. Failings of a personal variety are thus given national importance, exposed through the vessel of the bourgeois family. The bourgeois family is implicated in the wider societal crimes of the bourgeoisie in another instance. Flammèche, describing the bourgeois tourists who gawked at the ruins of the city, specifies that they brought their women and children along with them.[271] As we saw above, this emotional distance from the suffering of the average Parisian, expressed through this example of disaster tourism, was the direct result of their non-participation in military struggle, and thus expressed a lack of virility.

In basing their attack against the institution of the bourgeois family primarily on the apparent inability of the bourgeois male to realise his masculinity, these sources simultaneously express support for a male-dominated family structure. The subversive potential of these texts is realised through the mobilisation of the discourses around masculinity, deployed alongside those around femininity, which strips away the bourgeois self-image of domesticity to expose the poverty of the actually existing bourgeois family within. The comparison of the bourgeois family with the family of the French nation above encourages us to see France and Paris as social organisms akin to familial bodies. Judith Surkis has identified the conjugal family as a metaphor for social integration during the Third Republic, as an idealised motor of civil progress and as a vehicle of moral reform of the citizenry.[272] Under this system, which placed a premium on conjugality, 'developments that effaced the difference between men and women were hence seen as signs of atavism and decadence.'[273] Surkis' findings complement those of Robert Nye. Nye, noting the coincidence of the "discovery" of sexual "perversions" by psychologists with France's defeat in war and the birth of a new Republic, has argued that these attacks on non-reproductive sexual activity were attempts to bolster the bourgeois family, whose health 'became indissociable from the health of the nation'.[274] Appearing immediately after the Franco-Prussian War and the fall of the Commune, these sources occur at the very moment at which we might expect to see, and indeed do see, these later Third Republican anxieties around a fractured virility and social disintegration take root. The sexual immodesty in bourgeois women and cowardice in upper-class men attacked in our sources can be seen as placing the bourgeoisie on the wrong side of this conjugal ideal, the bourgeoisie's

[270] Émile Blondet, 'Gazette rétrospective', *L'Éclipse*, 4/140 (June 1871), p. 3.
[271] Flammèche, 'La Semaine des obus'.
[272] Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen*, pp. 1, 3-4.
[273] Ibid., p. 1.
[274] Nye, p. 98.

estrangement from the ideal social body of the family acting as synecdoche for their estrangement to the rest of the social body of the nation, and for the deleterious effects of their leadership on the nation. In sapping *haute bourgeois* symbolic authority, republican newspaper satire operated both discursively and counter-discursively. As we saw above, satire in this period was often counter-discursive in form, striving to evade the institutional norms of the newspaper. It could also be counter-discursive in function, seeking the destabilisation of predominant narratives around the *haute bourgeoisie*, of their status in society, that they embodied domesticity. Yet, to prosecute this attack, satirists engaged in the reinforcement of dominant discourses around masculinity, femininity and the family. Societal discourses were loosened in some sense, retrenched in others, and it reminds us that the period was one of symbolic continuity as well as change. There was a reinterpretation of who incarnated certain discourses, but the discourses themselves could prove remarkably durable.

Close textual translation of markers of social difference, including habits, corporeal attitudes or linguistic customs, brings satire to life and necessarily encourages the reader to consider the social domain. Such hallmarks of bourgeois being, including the promenade and eating at outdoor cafés, are a recurring basis of the satire of the Versaillais deserters who returned to Paris in their droves after the end of hostilities in June 1871.[275] These social markers are recreated faithfully in the texts, even to the extent of naming the specific type of cigar which the bourgeois smoke (the 'londrès', or Cuban cigar) and the novel cocktails that they drink (the 'Cora Pearl', named after the famous courtesan). Though they appear only in textual sources, these faithful translations project a vision of the bourgeoisie that is almost as potent as in caricature. We can imagine that a reader might have been able to smell the perfumed smog of the *londrès*, picture its dim embers lighting up a terrasse on the streets of Versailles from where the city of Paris burns not twenty miles away. The powerful image this creates acts as a means of unfavourably contrasting the life of leisure enjoyed by the Versaillais *fuyard* with the eight months of hardship endured by those who remained behind.

This is demonstrated by the aforementioned article by Le Grincheux, which juxtaposes the national guardsman with the bourgeois man. Through the careful translation of social behaviour (including the peculiar phrases the bourgeois uses, like 'grands dieux'), these two individuals are transformed into the representatives of wider social forces, through which symbolic struggles can be litigated. The former says to the latter that '[p]endant nous risquions de nous faire fusiller comme Chaudey […] vous promeniez vos cocottes aux Réservoirs',[276] referring to Gustave Chaudey, a journalist executed in the last days of the

[275] Flammèche, 'La Semaine des obus'; Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles', p. 2; Flammèche, 'Les Catins', p. 3; Darjou, 'Revue du mois de mai'; Émile Blondet, 'Gazette Rétrospective', *L'Éclipse*, 4/140 (June 1871), p. 3. This focus on bourgeois social activity is also found in Commune sources, see Eugène Pottier, 'La Commune de Paris', in *Chants Révolutionnaires: Anthologie musicale* (Ligaran Editions, 2015), pp. 178-180.
[276] Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles'.

Commune for his perceived role in the repression of 22 January 1871.[277] Here and in other sources, the bourgeois promenade is singled out, and the disruptiveness of attack against it derives from its polyvalent character. The act of promenading through city streets was at once a form of leisure and ceremony, involving a highly-visible ritual demarcation of class boundaries, based around shared education, ownership of property and possession of free time.[278] Criticism of the bourgeoisie through the prism of the promenade thus transcends mere pastime, and calls into question the legitimisation of the bourgeoisie in the public cultural sphere. In a broader sense, idleness had a long history as an instrument of criticism against the bourgeoisie. Radicals during the French Revolution spoke of the bourgeois aristocracy, and association to the *ancien régime* was primarily identified through a lens of privileged laziness.[279] Saint-Simon and his disciples would make a similar case after the Restoration, dividing society into the *oisifs* and *industriels*.[280] *Le Grelot* echoes these historical criticisms, opposing, we might say, 'désœuvrés' and *assiégés*, with these distinctions assuming a unique character in relation to perceived bourgeois misconduct during the Franco-Prussian War.[281] Thus, by contrasting the sufferance of Parisians with the promenades of the Versaillais, writers for *Le Grelot* and *L'Éclipse* were engaged in a similar cultural delineation to the Saint-Simonians, based on a shared experience of war, siege and terror, a categorisation of the citadine post-siege order from which the bourgeoisie are excluded.

Negative treatment of the bourgeoisie in text was reinforced by portrayal in visual caricature. One drawing depicts M. Prudhomme, the same bourgeois archetype encountered in the first chapter, who mournfully contemplates how he will entertain himself after the cessation of social activity due to the war effort [Figure 3.4]. This portrayal testifies to the perceived egotism of the Parisian bourgeoisie during and after the Commune, employing a well-known caricatural trope to do so. Through both textual and visual satire, these bourgeois deserters are portrayed as self-absorbed ingrates, more concerned with the integrity of Parisian wine cellars than the human toll of the conflict, or worse, as stealers of valour, attempting to place their secondhand experience of the conflict before the immediate suffering of those directly involved.[282] Their own insulation from the collective suffering of Paris renders them unfit to lead France and it is made clear that they share no part in the final triumph. Quite conversely, through their initial act of desertion, they share a certain culpability for 'l'orgie sanguinaire des hommes de la

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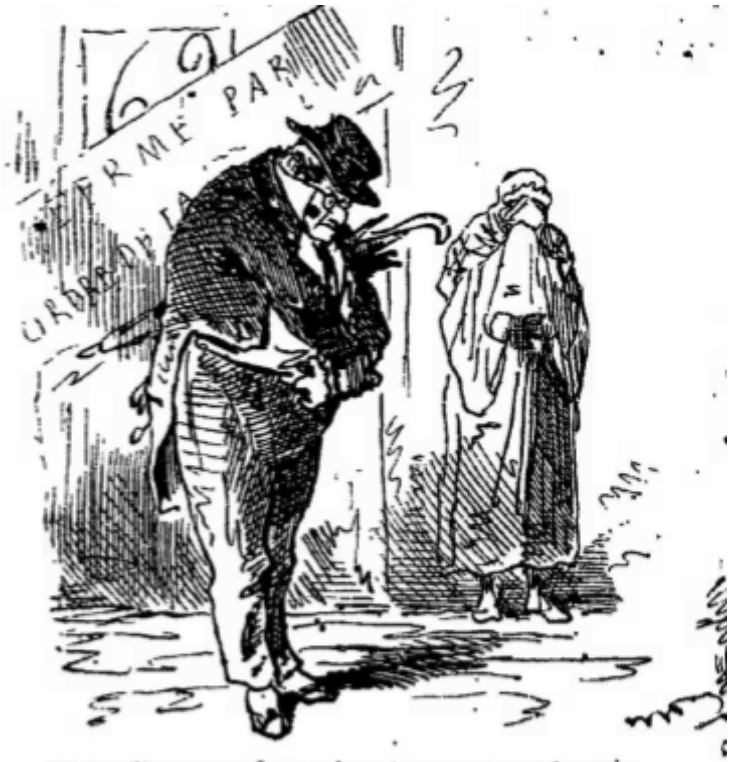
[277] Shafer, p. 92.
[278] Though specifically referring to an American context, David Scobey situates the American expression of bourgeois culture in reference to more international socio-economic and historical trends. His observations can therefore provide a more general insight into bourgeois sociability, see David Scobey, 'Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York', *Social History*, 17/2 (1992), pp. 203-6, 209-11.
[279] Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life*, p. 103.
[280] Ibid., p. 108; Gilles Jacoud, 'Économie politique et nouvelle organisation industrielle : la priorité à l'intérêt général dans l'analyse des saint-simoniens', *Astérion*, 17 (2017), para. 1-2.
[281] Flammèche, 'La Semaine des obus'.
[282] Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles', Émile Blondet, 'Gazette Rétrospective'.

Commune'.[283] This culpability in the eruption of the Commune is extended to their cowardice in the face of the German advance during the Franco-Prussian War and is used as evidence of a wider dereliction of duty by the bourgeoisie. Le Grincheux cautions those returning from Versailles to comport themselves less proudly, finishing his polemic with 'un peu de pudeur, vous, les complices!'.[284] The bourgeoisie's apparent lack of 'pudeur' does not simply suggest that they are overproud, but also introduces an element of impropriety on their part, similar to the appeals to shame and modesty which we discussed in the previous section. They are also accorded a certain complicity in France's recent turmoil. Elsewhere, as the antithesis of *les francs-tireurs*, a para-military force that played a valiant role in the initial stages of the Siege of Paris, harassing the Prussian lines and striking such fear into German hearts and minds as to provoke brutal and often indiscriminate reprisals from occupying forces, these bourgeois are labelled 'francs-lâcheurs'.[285]



M. Prud'homme. — La morale y trouve son compte, mais, moi, où vais-je passer mes soirées, maintenant?

Figure 3.4: Darjou, 'Revue du mois de mai', *Le Grelot*, 1/8 (4 June 1871), accessed online via *BnF*.

Bourgeois desertion is presented not simply as a passive act of cowardice, but rather as actively deleterious to the French war effort, amounting to a fifth column of loungers and idlers. As with bourgeois idleness, the suggestion that the bourgeoisie constituted a foreign body within the nation was by no means a new avenue through which to express animus. Indeed, the Abbé Sieyès had argued as

[283] Le Grincheux, 'Retour de Versailles'.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Émile Blondet, 'Gazette Rétrospective'; for information on *les francs-tireurs*, see Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 237-8.

much for the nobility in 1789 on account of the royal privilege they enjoyed, and radicals during the French Revolution often conflated the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie due to their shared receipt of royal patronage. Later, in the 1820s and 1830s, these linkages were continued and the bourgeoisie were seen by some commentators as representing a new aristocracy, separate from the mass of the French people.[286] We saw a similar lack of fidelity to *la patrie* ascribed to the bourgeoisie in Flammèche's article above.[287] Indeed, Flammèche goes so far as to describe them as 'étrangers'. It signals towards their misalignment with the new Republic and the French nation. In Flammèche's eyes, aided by predominant images of the bourgeoisie which identified them spatially with the locales of Versailles and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the bourgeoisie are foreign because they are not truly Parisian. The presence of these Versaillais deserters allows for the articulation of a similar critique and contributes to the "Othering" of the Parisian bourgeoisie. They are castigated for their desertion which is as much an expression of connivance as of cowardice, as much a failure of morality as of morale, and through which they forfeit a share in the triumph of order after the Commune.

The counter-discursive dimensions of these accusations of bourgeois cowardice and complicity do not simply derive from their historical pedigree, and their full symbolic significance is intensely entwined with contemporary views around masculinity and physical and national degeneration. Physicians and psychologists from the period sought biomedical explanations for courage and cowardice. This interest revolved around fatigue studies, with fear and cowardice seen as a manifestation of bodily fatigue. Much effort was directed towards countering such fear and the national decline thought to accompany it through a moral and physical revival.[288] Nye expresses this intersection succinctly, stating 'the corporeal economy became, in short, a metaphor for the larger problem of the vitality and prospects of the industrial order'.[289] We can compare this to Taithe's assertion that, in the aftermath of the Commune, 'the failings of individual men were associated with pre-existing concerns about the French race, and later fed a more general interpretation of decadence in the fin de siècle.'[290] As we saw above with issues of public sanitation, matters of individual bodily decrepitude thus assumed a collective, national and moral character under this paradigm. This compulsion towards moral reform, though given a new urgency by France's calamitous experience of 1870-1, had its roots in the Second Empire, with whose spectre the charge of decadence in the Third Republic from the 1880s onward was often associated.[291] This intersection of physical decrepitude, immorality and decadence surfaced in the bourgeoisie's supposed longing for the Second Empire, a vital charge in satirists' attempts to undermine their position in society.

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[286] Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life*, pp. 101, 103, 108.
[287] Flammèche, 'Les Catins'.
[288] Nye, pp. 217-25.
[289] Ibid., p. 222.
[290] Taithe, p. 80.
[291] Surkis, p. 4; Nye, p. 91.

3.1.3 Imperial Indigestion: Bodily Dysfunction, Uncontrollable Violence and the Second Empire

In the previous chapters, we considered how the body operated to corrode the symbolic basis of the authority of Bonapartism and, more generally, the institution of monarchy itself. Even in the absence of direct visual representations of corporeality, the body functioned to ground suggestions of monarchist weakness in a contemporary biomedical reality and provided an alternative to the establishment projections of martial strength found in royal sculpture and portraiture. The body was equally important to symbolic interventions against the bourgeoisie in post-siege Paris, tying them to the disgrace of the Second Empire through shared physical malady. In implicating the alleged bodily inadequacies of the bourgeoisie in the political misfortunes of France, this link with the past justified their exclusion from the national leadership of the present. Such attacks anticipate fin-de-siècle critiques of bourgeois decadence by some ten years wherein the bourgeoisie are often associated with the political and moral ignominy of the Second Empire.[292] The sources below similarly emphasise the bourgeoisie's past and present support for the Second Empire as a reflection of their physical and moral failings. Unlike later commentators who deployed these social myths of decadence, these journalists could refer to the smouldering ruins of Paris and continuing Prussian occupation of wide swathes of the French homeland as very real symptoms of a national decline.[293] The myth was therefore not that there was a decline, but rather that Napoleon III and these so-called Parisians of decadence were its sole architects. We can again refer to Rothney's description of the psychological atmosphere of France after the Franco-Prussian War which made the French public receptive to a scapegoat in the form of the ex-Emperor.[294] It was Napoleon III, backed by idle and decadent members of Parisian high society, who was to blame for France's troubles. We can tie these myths of corporeal and national degradation back to questions over symbolic authority, as they allowed for the simultaneous disintegration of the authority of the old Bonapartist order and the exclusion of the *haute bourgeoisie* from the new Republic which arose from its ashes.

Though *la Semaine sanglante* crystallises the violence at the tail-end of the Commune, denunciations and calls to violence against those suspected of having participated in the Commune continued in the weeks after its collapse. Attempts to link the moral and physical failings of the bourgeoisie to those of Bonapartism can be perceived in republican journalists' response to these recriminations. The edition of *Le Grelot* published on 18 June 1871, though featuring a caricature depicting the 'millipede of the Internationale' scuttling off in exile to London, also fixes its attention on reactionary journalists, recently

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[292] Nye, p. 91.
[293] The historical myth of decadence in *fin-de-siècle* Europe as an explanation of social decline is discussed by Mary Gluck, see Mary Gluck, 'Decadence as Historical Myth and Cultural Theory', *European Review of History*, 21/3 (2014), pp. 349-61. See also, Nye, p. 91.
[294] Rothney, pp. 64-5.

returned from Versailles, who participated in the above atmosphere of uncontrollable violence.[295] In one of the articles inside, written by Léon Robert, the newspaper attacks the paranoid denunciations leveraged by these journalists against Paris in the wake of the Commune.[296] Through mathematical contortion and deception, these journalists imagined a vast network of one hundred thousands socialists still at-large in the city and urged their execution.[297] Robert is unequivocal in his condemnation of these journalists' desire to purge Paris. In a darkly humorous turn, by no means detracting from the severity of the message, Robert quips that these denunciators would gun down their own fathers in the street in their quest for order. He calls this drive 'une colique monstre, une peur atroce', highlighting the irrational fear at the basis of this impulse. The specific employment of the term colic invokes an element of bodily dysfunction, arguably of a scatological nature given its relationship to the colon. Robert links the corporeal flaws of these journalists to the Second Empire, writing that that which these journalists desire above all is a return to the Second Empire and 'la tranquilité de digestion' that it brought them. This link between mental state and digestion can be situated within predominant conceptions of the body at the time, which conceived of the stomach as a sort of second brain, other emergent ideas such as autointoxication, which linked mental disturbances to toxins in the bowels, and the general concept that the one's physicality bore the marks of one's morality.[298] These corporeal notions are mobilised against these journalists to undermine their symbolic authority, associating them with dysfunction.

As described by Dorothy Johnson, images of poor digestive health were often employed to rail against royalty in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French satire, 'revealing the distress of the body politic […] through metaphors of [...] malfunctioning digestive systems'.[299] We see similar comedic devices unleashed against Napoleon III. *Le Sire de Fisch-ton-Kan*, a song popular among Parisians during the Prussian Siege and the Commune, recalls these earlier trends. This song (its title a pun on *fiche ton camp*, 'clear off') poked fun at Napoleon III's troubled digestions and colicky disposition, going so far as to invoke the ex-Emperor's flatulence as a means to degrade his authority.[300] The Emperor's digestive health is linked to his military adventurism, implicating his intestinal problems in France's martial failures and

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[295] Bertall, 'Le Mille-Pattes Internationale', *Le Grelot*, 1/10 (18 June 1871), p. 1; Léon Robert, 'Drelin!... Drelin!...', p. 2; Gringoire, 'La Consultation', pp. 2-3.
[296] Republican caricature also poked fun at the Red Scare which developed after the Commune, such as le Petit's *Le Procès de l'Internationale*, where the viewer is left to wonder whether *l'Internationale* refers to chained-up spectre of socialism or the international monarchist alliance prosecuting it, see le Petit, 'Le Procès de l'Internationale', *L'Éclipse*, 4/152 (24 September 1871).
[297] Robert, 'Drelin!... Drelin!...', p. 2. This reign of violence in Paris after the Commune is discussed by the Communard Prosper-Olivier Lissagaray, who similarly identifies reactionary journalists as cheering on the bloodshed, Prosper-Olivier Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Brussels: 1876), pp. 432-3.
[298] see Bertrand Marquer, 'The "Second Brain": Dietetics and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century France', in *Gut Feeling and Digestive Health in Nineteenth-Century Literature, History and Culture*, eds. Manon Mathias and Alison M. Moore (2018); Emilie Taylor-Brown, 'Being "Hangry": Gastrointestinal Health and Emotional Well-Being in the Long Nineteenth Century', in *Gut Feeling and Digestive Health*; and Manon Mathias, 'Autointoxication and historical precursors of the microbiome–gut–brain axis', *Microbial Ecology in Health and Disease*, 29:2 (2018).
[299] Dorothy Johnson, 'Food for Thought: Consuming and Digesting as Political Metaphor in French Satirical Prints', in *Gut Feeling*, pp. 85-7, p. 106.
[300] Burani, *Le Sire de Fisch-ton-Kan*.

undermining his official image as a great general which, as we saw in the first chapter, was central to the Second Empire's symbolic authority. We can compare this to Napoleon III's recurring renal weakness as a theme of anti-Imperial textual and visual satire immediately after his abdication, particularly as concerned its role in the French defeat at Sedan.[301] The ailing body of the ex-Emperor was seen in the ailing body of France itself. In this context, these above references to peaceful digestion can be interpreted in a sarcastic light, tying these Versaillais journalists to the impoverished authority of the old order through shared corporeal weakness. This corporeal explanation for Versaillais violent paranoia intersects with purported biomedical sources of the gendered categories of virtue and vice, as such violent urges were thought of as signs of excessive masculinity, seen as equally damaging to the contemporary gender equilibrium as a lack of virility.[302] Above, we saw how the political decline of the nation was identified with the physical decline of the individuals who led it. This is greatly significant given common perceptions of the bourgeoisie's role in society, which due to its disproportionate influence in the political elite of post-Revolutionary France, 'came to identify its destiny as a class with the fate of the nation'.[303] In a similar way that the body of Napoleon III could be superimposed on the body of France, the ills of one expressed as symptoms of decline in the other, the body of the bourgeoisie and the nation were shackled together.

If we refer to Maza's conception of the bourgeoisie as a category of beliefs and behaviours to avoid, this repudiation is directed both ways. Robert's emphasis on the violent, chaotic impulses of bourgeois Parisian journalists serves as a rejection of their place in the new order established in Paris immediately after the Commune and also of the Second Empire whose return they are thought to yearn for. These sentiments are expressed in Flammèche's aforementioned 'Les Catins', which references the lupanars, the brothels of ancient Rome. Arthur Rimbaud, in his poem *L'Orgie parisienne*, written as an immediate response to the massacre of the Communards during *la Semaine sanglante*, similarly invoked the classical bordello, as a means to subvert ideas around a return to an old order that the Versaillais conquest of Paris was said to represent.[304] Flammèche is involved in a broadly similar contest of authority here, rejects a return to the "old order", which he associates with the *haute bourgeoisie*. Like Robert, Flammèche attacks their allegiance to the Second Empire and tethers them to its failures, calling them 'ces misérables [qui] nous aient livrés à la risée et au mépris du monde entier'.[305] The moral degradation that they represent, accompanied by a physical decline expressed in the "filth" considered above, is dismissed as vociferously as is the revolutionary chaos represented by the Commune. In its place, a new republican order is propounded, virile, reserved, in touch with the common people. The symbolic

[301] Tillier, 'Le Corps de l'empereur', para. 6-8.
[302] Nye, pp. 59-61, 222-5.
[303] Ibid., p. 71.
[304] Whidden, *Authority in Crisis*, pp. 112-3.
[305] Flammèche, 'Les Catins'.

implications of Robert's and Flammèche's articles originate in identifying the bourgeoisie and the Second Empire as the cause of France's decline and embodying this failure in them, showing the importance of the body as a site of symbolic struggle in the period.

3.2 Conclusion

These republican satirists were ultimately unsuccessful in their endeavour to invert notions of the role of the bourgeois *fuyard* in republican society and avoid marginalisation under the rhetoric of the post-Commune years. The dominant perceptions of the anti-Commune in the mid-1870s continued to be one of ineffectual resistance, if not it was not ignored entirely, with all Parisians of 1871 treated as revolutionaries.[306] Their lack of success, however, does not detract from the aim of the thesis, which argues that corporeality, symbolic authority and discourse, taken together, enables and enriches our understanding of challenges to power in the 1860s and 1870s in France.

These texts openly and proudly contest the traditional bourgeoisie's authoritative position in French society and from this derives their roles as literature of symbolic resistance. The body was crucial to the struggles over symbolic authority in Paris after the Prussian Siege and the Commune. Its centrality derived from contemporary ideas around the inseparability of individual corporeality from the national wellbeing and collective morality, found in both the regulation of public health and of gender. Indeed, if the refrain of 'not simply private, but public' riddles this chapter, it is precisely because of this conceptual unity of the personal body of the individual with the social body of the nation which was paramount in the period, the overwhelming context in which the contents of the chapter above should be considered. The inseparability of the individual body from the social body of the nation informed a rhetoric of expulsion against the bourgeoisie which sought to undermine their place in society.

Under this paradigm, the bourgeoisie's improper embodiment of masculinity and femininity threatened to collapse sexual difference and spell disaster for the French nation. The apparent failure of the bourgeoisie to properly embody masculinity and femininity was further deployed by satirists to expose the bourgeois inability to incarnate a family ideal. This put them at odds with a conception of the family which acted as an engine for social cohesion in the early decades of the Third Republic, and further marked them out as a threat to the health of the French nation. This was also located in the bourgeoisie's violent and paranoid nature in the weeks after the Commune, which was given grounds in corporeal dysfunction of the bowels and resembled contemporary attacks on Napoleon III, linking them to his political disgrace and misfortune.

[306] Wright, pp. 170-2.

In their attempts to expel the bourgeoisie from the new republican society, republican satirists deployed the dominant discourses around gender, public sanitation and corporeality. They thus participated in a simultaneous act of discourse and counter-discourse, reiterating and strengthening some discourses while challenging presumptions around bourgeois morality, domesticity and leadership. It demonstrates some of the discursive limitations on republican newspaper satire in the period, certain discourses inscribing themselves on the satire itself.

4.0 Conclusions

The final years of the Second Empire and the early years of the Third Republic witnessed an intense war of images, symbols and signs, which played out alongside political and martial conflicts between republicanism and monarchy and within republicanism itself. Satire, and especially caricature, possessed an array of features which made it conducive for the litigating of this symbolic war. The thesis above set out to demonstrate that the body, symbolic authority and discourse enlarges our understanding of newspaper satire in the period, allowing us to better perceive their participation in the fracturing, reconfiguration and retrenchment of moral authority.

In the first chapter, I argued that caricature in the late Second Empire should be contextualised against the discursive frameworks of the Bonapartist regime and prevailing conceptions of the body. The market logic of newspaper culture, ultimately separate from but also reinforced by a regime of censorship, imposed certain limitations on the republican satirical crusade against Napoleon III and shaped the particular expression of satirical print in the period. Caricaturists, foremost among them André Gill, were nonetheless able to challenge the Napoleonic system in dialogue with the dominant notions of royal corporeality. The body of the monarch was constructed both as a physical entity and a political one, a theory advanced by Ernst Kantorowicz in the context of medieval kingship and expanded and applied more recently to the Second Empire by Bertrand Tillier. Influenced by this paradigm, and integrating it with Seth Whidden's observations on literary authority in nineteenth-century France, I demonstrated how caricaturists exploited this two-form body to challenge the underpinnings of the Empire without Napoleon III's direct inclusion in satirical print, an exigency demanded by the imperial authorities. Through allusion, caricaturists attacked the origins of the regime, its form of biological and political reproduction and contested the idea that liberty was in Napoleon III's gift. This confrontation between Emperor and caricaturist was ultimately a symbolic clash, allowing for the pen of the *citoyen-caricaturiste* to contest the moral authority of the Emperor's sceptre.

The second chapter turned towards the collective bodies of monarchy and republic during the Third Republic's infancy. Reflecting changes in the discursive institution of censorship, physical caricature of royalist figures was able to come to the fore. The frameworks developed in the first chapter continued to find purchase here, but were influenced by the particular expression of satirical art in the period. Despite the collapse of the Bonapartist regime in the last months of 1870, caricature of Napoleon III remained popular, outstripping caricature of the other pretenders, and assault on his individual corporeality acted as a means of attacking the institution of monarchy as a whole. Monarchy was also attacked as a collective body, featuring all three pretenders, but also monarchist figures in the press and in parliament. By

opposing this collective monarchist body to the collective body of the Republic, caricaturists participated in the renegotiation of discourses around which political system best embodied order. Referring to James R. Lehning's study of the political culture of the early Third Republic, I further showed that the external and internal political struggle to define the nature of the new Republic was also visible in caricature in the period. Republican satirists participated in the reconfiguration of internal republican political culture, with the two corporealities of Marianne, radical and moderate, acting as sites for this debate. This section revealed the diversity of thought among republican satirists and there was much disagreement on how inclusionary or exclusionary the Third Republic ought to be.

The final chapter considered the social body in newspaper satire in the wake of the Commune. In this chapter, the inseparability of individual corporeal from the health of the nation was key, and informed the symbolically corrosive nature of satirists' attack on the bourgeoisie immediately after the Commune. Dominant discourses around gender were mobilised the bourgeoisie, with charges of a failure to embody masculinity and femininity reflecting the bourgeoisie's incompatibility with the rest of the French nation. Criticism of the bourgeoisie also called upon a lexicon of corporeal dysfunction, which was thought to be reflected in the paranoid violence following the Commune.

Throughout this thesis, it was also argued that newspaper satire can be interpreted within a framework of discourse and counter-discourse. Visual and textual satire in the period often adopted a counter-discursive form. Under the Second Empire and the Third Republic, caricaturists engaged in an inventive evasion of the regime of censorship. Republican satirists further sought to avoid the commercial logic which dominated the form of the newspaper, disrupting the formal norms of this discursive institution. Yet, satirists in the period were never able to entirely escape the pervasive influence of discourses and their discursive structures. The perceptions around the body on which caricaturists and satirists relied were discursively-mediated, from the idea that one's physicality reflected moral being to predominant expectations of masculinity and femininity. Republican satirists employed these dominant discourses around the body to undermine imperial and monarchist pretensions to represent order and demolish the bourgeois self-image of domesticity and prudence. These express some of the limitations of newspaper satire as exercises in counter-discourse, which shaped the form and function of their critiques.

While caricature's mode of production, transmission and distribution made it a useful source for the above inquiry, its form can also impede our understanding of the period. This is particularly true of caricature's ephemerality, which is rooted in the context of symbolic struggle and in the functionality of the medium itself. In general terms, due to their discursive mode of reinforcement and spread, systems of meaning are contingent on the specific contexts in which they arise. This was compounded by the factors specific to caricature set out in the introduction, namely the semiotic density stemming from the

interaction of word and image inherent to its form and heightened in times of crisis. Further, the logic of profit to which caricature was compelled to adhere drove it to innovate artistically, thematically, to capture modernity and to reflect the ever-expanding limits of human ingenuity and culture. When obstacles to transmission occur and the link between the moment of cultural production and reception is severed (whether through censorship or the simple march of time), the symbolic meaning in these prints can only be teased out with great difficulty or indeed becomes completely irrecoverable.

In the introduction, we saw that Séverine argued against caricature's categorisation as cultural ephemera, but her very argument presupposes the contemporary recognition of caricature's temporary existence. We see in the memorialisation of Gill by Séverine and others a certain bias developing, which reflects the very fleetingness of the medium. Gill's contributions against monarchy under the Third Republic were steadily forgotten in favour of remembrance of his struggle against the Second Empire. This was not absolute, Carjat, for example, recalling Gill's interventions in the Seize Mai crisis of 1877. Partial explanation can be found in the historical context: many of Gill's admirers had spent the 1870s in exile for their role in the Commune and accordingly did not experience first-hand this part of his career. But it is only that, a partial explanation. This forgetting became more acute after the consecration of Gill's tomb in 1887 and of the Rue André Gill in 1894, and it is striking that a poem by Clovis Hugues, dedicated to Gill's memory, dominated how people thought of the caricaturist in these later years.[307] It points to the ephemerality of caricature compared to other forms of cultural production: the poems about the caricatures were remembered, the caricatures themselves less-and-less. Caricature is a versatile source, and, alongside the frameworks of discourse and symbolic authority set out above, allows us to glimpse at a subterranean contest of authority in the period, but its benefits must be counted alongside its limitations.

These limitations are not absolute, however. In some cases, the alliance between word and image present in caricature can help bridge these gaps in transmission. The captions and articles accompanying the caricatures can point the modern reader towards the satirist's intended meaning just as effectively as for the reader of bygone years. Additionally, as we saw in the first chapter, caricature could ride on the coattails of more durable artistic forms, such as sculpture and portraiture, to forge a long-lasting critique of power. There are also textual references to certain symbols and dictionaries of mythology, and I have tried where possible to integrate my above analysis of caricature with close reference to such sources.

This thesis did not set out to discuss the ultimate effectiveness of these symbolic critiques in achieving political or social aims, but rather the contexts in which they were made meaningful and the frameworks which facilitate our understanding of their form and function. Future study could be carried out on these lines to establish how effective these critiques were. We briefly saw in chapters one and two how

[307] see Fontane, vol. 2, pp. 274-329; for Hugues' poem, see pp. 299-300.

caricatural critique of monarchy related to republican electoral strategy. Was satire, and particularly caricature, a key means by which this strategy was executed and disseminated? There were also temporal limitations imposed on the thesis. The Franco-Prussian War and the Commune were greatly important events in the period. Their exclusion above is not meant to suggest that they were unimportant in the symbolic reconfiguration of the period, but rather reflects that there was simply not enough space to devote to them here, each deserving a thesis of their own. As a result, we only briefly touched on the satire from this period. Further study could be done to see if the findings here are reflected in satire during these events, and give the frameworks a wider historical applicability.

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