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French Social and Political Caricature during the July Monarchy and the Second Republic (1830–1851)

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Summary

After the July Revolution of 1830, Charles Philipon founded two new satirical newspapers: "La Caricature" and "Le Charivari". Honoré Daumier, Cham or Gavarni worked for them. Both titles soon became famous for their political caricatures. After the tightening of censorship and the closure of "La Caricature" in 1835, the artists turned to more social themes. In particular, they ridiculed the French bourgeoisie for its stupidity, pettiness and greed.
In 1848, Daumier or Gustave Doré – Philipon's discovery – supported the Second Republic. However, they rejected the socialist and feminist ideas of the time. They also strongly condemned the Parisian workers' uprising of June 1848. Daumier and Philipon saw the threat to the Republic posed by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, but were ultimately unable to prevent the coup of 1851.

Keywords: caricature, July Monarchy, French Second Republic, Daumier, Philipon, Doré, Cham, Gavarni.

Streszczenie

Francuska karykatura społeczna i polityczna w okresie monarchii lipcowej i II Republiki (1830–1851)

Po rewolucji lipcowej 1830 r. Charles Philipon założył dwie nowe gazety satyryczne – "La Caricature" oraz "Le Charivari". Rysowali dla nich m.in. Honoré Daumier, Cham czy Gavarni. Obydwa tytuły szybko zasłynęły z ostrej karykatury politycznej. Po wzmocnieniu cenzury i zamknięciu "La Caricature" w 1835 r. artyści skoncentrowali się na satyrze społecznej. Kpili przede wszystkim z burżuazji, wskazując na jej głupotę, małostkowość czy skąpstwo. Za jej pośrednictwem uderzali jednak znowu w monarchię lipcową.
W 1848 r. Daumier czy Gustave Doré – kolejne odkrycie Philipona – wspierali republikę. Jednocześnie w swoich rysunkach odrzucali pojawiające się koncepcje socjalistyczne czy

feministyczne. Potępili robotniczych powstańców z czerwca 1848 r. Dostrzegali wprawdzie zagrożenie, jakie stanowił dla II Republiki Ludwik Napoleon Bonaparte, jednak zamachowi stanu nie potrafili zapobiec.

Słowa kluczowe: karykatura, monarchia lipcowa, francuska II Republika, Daumier, Philipon, Doré, Cham, Gavarni.

Political caricature has been known in France since at least the 16th century[1]. During the Great Revolution, when the politically uneducated classes entered the political arena, caricature began to play an important political role. Caricature served as a means to influence the poorer, less-educated masses of the French people. As Antoine de Baecque writes, it served to supplement the pamphlets and newspapers which were then widely distributed (and often read aloud in public)[2]. However, as the historian acknowledges, they were of a poor quality in both artistic and technical terms[3]. Additionally, the printing was still comparatively expensive. Throughout the Napoleonic era and the Bourbon Restoration, the situation remained largely unchanged, and the caricature suffered from another fatal factor: strict censorship.

The significant shift, or rather, revolution, in both politics and caricature (or, more widely, satirical drawing) took place in 1830. Multiple factors contributed to this transformation. Firstly, technical advancements such as the widespread and gradual improvement of lithography, a method that was developed at the end of the 18th century. Secondly, article 7 of the Constitution of 1830, which stated that "the French had the right to the publication and printing of their opinions in accordance with the law". Preventive censorship of newspapers was effectively abolished with the statement "Censorship shall never be restored". In addition, a new generation of talented young artists emerged. They finally found someone who could recognise their talent and present it to a wider audience on the threshold of their careers.

Lithography was invented by Aloys Senefelder in 1796. It soon became popular in France[4]. With Godefroy Engelmann's technical improvements in the 1820s,

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1 A. Duprat, *Les regalia au crible de la caricature du xvi^e^ au xviii^e^ siècle*, "Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles" 2005, no. 2, http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/296 (accessed: 16.07.2023).

2 A. de Baecque, *La caricature révolutionnaire*, Paris 1988, p. 19.

3 *Ibidem*, p. 14. De Baecque describes a collection of six hundred caricatures from 1789 to 1792.

4 J. de Marthold, *Histoire de la lithographie*, Paris 1898, pp. 15–18.

which increased the precision of drawing, lithography became important for books and then newspapers.

Following the fall of the Bourbon Monarchy, the early months were marked by complete freedom of speech and print. Nearly all forms of preventive censorship ceased to exist. However, publishers were still legally obligated to submit a deposit or stamp duty ('timbre'). Additionally, as per the law of 29th November 1830, they were required to face legal consequences for defaming "the royal dignity, the order of succession to the throne, the rights received by the king at the will of the people". During the initial months of Louis Philippe's reign, those who violated "his constitutional authority, the inviolability of his person, the powers and authority of the two Houses" could be punished with a fine of 300 to 6,000 franc[5] and imprisoned for three months to five years. However, these regulations were enforced quite leniently[6].

Significantly, there was one notable figure who was able to make effective use of the new circumstances. Charles Philipon, born in Lyon in 1800, founded the satirical weekly "La Caricature morale, religieuse, littéraire et scénique" with Balzac at the beginning of 1830, later renamed "La Caricature politique, morale, religieuse, littéraire et scénique" in 1832. Philipon was well aware that "caricature had become a power in France as well as in England"[7]. His aim, in turn, was to give his readers "a vivid, appealing history of customs and politics"[8]. While the first issues of the magazine did indeed focus on manners, very soon explicit criticism of the July Monarchy became its identifying feature. As he emphasised, this originated from his disappointment:

> when I witnessed deceitful advisors trampling on our aspirations for liberal institutions, when I saw a new press law as harsh as during the reign of Charles X, […] when I saw the public good thrown to the mercy of extraordinary salaries and illegal market machinations, when I saw every minister placing the cousins of his great-uncles in lucrative posts, […] when I saw these people betraying the cause of our friendly peoples, cowardly abandoning our Polish brethren in their time of need, when I saw a government abandoning the principles and people by which it came into being, […] when I saw a government founded on the principles of freedom take more legal action against the media in a single year than in the entire 15 years after the restoration of the monarchy; when I saw France, which should have been the proud leader of other nations, reduced and shamed, pathetically pleading for the peace it could have enforced on the world stage; when I saw commerce ruined by fear, collapsing without the support of a strong and courageous government, and when I saw the opponents of the

5 "Le Moniteur Universel" no. 335, 01.12.1830, p. 1.
6 G. de Broglie, *La monarchie de Juillet 1830–1848*, Paris 2011, p. 57.
7 *Prospectus*, "La Caricature" 04.11.1830.
8 *Ibidem*.

> Revolution remaining in the ministries, the judiciary, the customs, the army, in all the departments connected with security, when I saw all this, I confess I felt the whip of caricature tremble in my hand[9].

This "whip of caricature" quickly brought repression down on the editors: according to Champfleury, the authorities brought 54 lawsuits against them within a year[10]. Philipon, however, was not concerned about the trials or the fines. In fact, the success of "La Caricature" was so rapid and obvious that already in 1832 he established another similar title, this time a daily newspaper, "Le Charivari". The newspaper had a remarkable future, as it was published until 1937, with Philipon running it for the first six years and it would play an important role in French intellectual and political life. Although its circulation was not impressive (in 1846 there were only 2740 copies)[11], the impact of the paper was so widespread that – as Bronisław Geremek writes – over time the very word "charivari", meaning mess, noise, clamour, came to be associated above all with political and social caricature[12].

However, this success would not have been possible without a whole plethora of outstanding editors, illustrators and artists of the younger generation that Philipon attracted to the editorial board of "La Caricature" and "Le Charivari". They included (at various times) Alcide-Joseph Lorentz, Gaspard-Félix Tournachon (known as Nadar), Jean-Jacques Grandville, Eugène Forest, Charles Vernier, Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Achille Devéria, Alfred Grévin, Henri Monnier, Clément Pruche, Charles-Joseph Travies, André Gill, Gustave Doré, Paul Gavarni, Amédée de Noé and – last but not least – Honoré Daumier[13]. It is the last four, perhaps the most outstanding of those mentioned, that I will focus on in this text.

If Philipon's newspapers between 1830 and 1835 "played for the July Monarchy, with more wit and merriment, however, the same role [of ridicule – RD] that 'Le Figaro' played for the governments of the Restoration period"[14] – this

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9 *Cour d'Assises. Procès du n. 35 de la Caricature. Audience du 14 novembre 1831*, "La Caricature" 17.11.1831.

10 Champfleury [Italian: Jules François Félix Husson], *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, Paris 1885 , p. 276

11 *Histoire générale de la presse française*, eds. C. Bellanger et al., vol. 2: *De 1815 à* 1871, Paris 1969, p. 146.

12 B. Geremek, *"Le Charivari. Actes de la table ronde organisé à Paris (25–27 avril 1977)", publiés par Jacques Le Goff et Claude Schmitt, Paris 1981 : [review]*, "Historical Review" 1983, no. 1 (74), p. 162.

13 *Le Charivari*, "Petite Presse", http://petitepresse.medias19.org/index.php/titres/fiche/613 (accessed: 28.05.2021).

14 E. Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française*, Paris 1866, p. 382.

was largely due to Honoré Daumier. Daumier and Philipon belonged to the same generation, growing up during the Napoleonic period – although Daumier, born in 1808, was eight years younger than Philipon. Their collaboration began with the first issues of "La Caricature". Notably, the two young men also shared similar views at the time: republicanism and the conviction that the July Revolution of 1830 had been "stolen" from its proper hero, the people. This is evidenced by Daumier's drawings published in 1830, still off the pages of newspapers – *Il a raison l'moutard* or *Le patrouillotisme chassant le patriotisme du Palais-Royal* (fig. 1). The latter refers to the authentic events of October 1832, when Louis-Filip, having moved from the Palais-Royal to the Tuileries, ordered part of the Tuilerian garden to be closed to the public.

Fig. 1. H. Daumier, *Le patrouillotisme chassant le patriotisme du Palais-Royal*, in: E. Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française*, Paris 1866, p. 382

Daumier's subsequent lithographs, published in Philipon's newspapers, were becoming on the one hand artistically better, and on the other, more and more malicious. It was no longer just a matter of seizing on the effects of the Revolution, but a total picture of the Orléans Monarchy, devoid of grandeur and based, according to Daumier, on shenanigans, selfishness and corruption. On 23rd August 1832, Daumier's drawing *La cour du roi Pétaud (The Court of King Pétaud)*

appeared in "La Caricature" (fig. 2). The term, according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, meant "a place or house where everyone wants to command, where there is only disorder" or "a meeting where everyone wants to speak at once"[15]. Daumier was thus clearly suggesting the complete lack of authority of the king (not even shown in the picture). The depiction of other figures, on the other hand, made it clear that they expected certain favours from the ruler. It was also not difficult to guess the (mischievous) nicknames given by Daumier and Philipon[16]. E.g. "Nasico d'egout" – meaning "sewer nose" – was Antoine d'Argout, Minister of Trade.

Some time earlier, "La Caricature" had published another lithograph by Daumier with similar undertones. *Gargantua*, depicting Louis-Philippe as a character from a 16th-century novel, was published on 15th December 1831. He swallowed the fruits of the people's labour, digested them and discharged them as aristocratic titles and medals to his minions. The meaning of *Gargantua* was therefore the same as that of *King Pétaud*: Daumier accused the July monarchy of corruption and financial fraud based on the exploitation of the poor. This time, however, the cartoonist had to pay for his bold drawing: in 1832, the court sen-

Fig. 2. H. Daumier, *La cour du roi Pétaud*, "La Caricature politique, morale, religieuse, littéraire et scénique" 23.08.1832

15 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, vol. 1, Paris 1835, p. 432.

16 Daumier was usually responsible only for the graphic side of his lithographs. The texts were added by Philipon himself or other collaborators; R. Escholier, *Daumier et son monde*, Nancy 1965, p. 161.

tenced him to a fine of 500 francs and six months' imprisonment. It is said that he drew *Gargantua* again in Sainte-Pélagie prison; later, thanks to Philipon's help, he was transferred from prison to an asylum for the mentally ill, where he served the rest of his sentence[17].

Daumier accused the king and his ministers not only of greed or corruption, but also of duplicity and pettiness. One of the more successful 1834 lithographs, *Enfoncé Lafayette* (fig. 3), exemplifies this. Created after the death of the 'hero of two worlds', it shows Louis-Philippe in the foreground, dressed in the costume of an undertaker, folding his hands in a gesture of prayer for the deceased, but at the same time clearly delighted with his death. The work perfectly reflected the king's ambivalent attitude towards Lafayette. The monarch had been indebted to the marquis since July 1830. At the same time, however, their visions of the state were quite different. This is why Louis-Philippe accepted Lafayette's resignation from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard on 25th December 1830 with undisguised joy. Their final dialogue of the day, moreover, perfectly matches the mood of Daumier's later drawing. "What would Your Majesty have

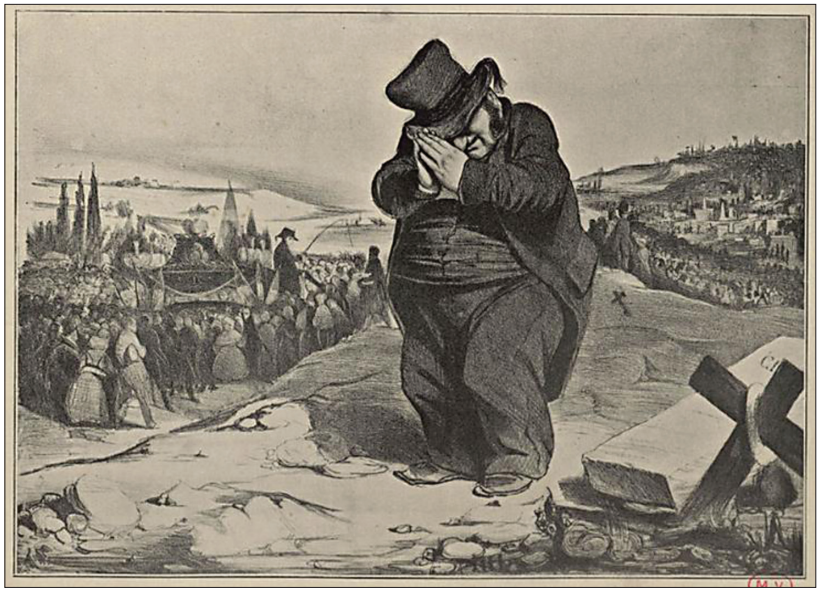

Fig. 3. H. Daumier, *Enfoncé Lafayette*, Princeton University Art Museums collections online, https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/5573 (accessed: 1.03.2022)

17 S. Le Men, *Daumier et la caricature*, Paris 2008, p. 37.

done without my popularity? – If you had returned to La Grange? Well, I would leave you there"[18].

The unifying element in many of Daumier's political drawings from this period was the… pear (appearing in *Cour du roi Pétaud*, in *Gargantua* and many others). This fruit was associated with perhaps the most famous political caricature of the Daumier – Philipon duo, and perhaps the most famous political caricature of the period in general. *Les Poires* (*The Pears*, fig. 4) originally appeared in Philipon's version in a supplement to "La Caricature" on 24th November 1831, and was subsequently published again, in its final version by Daumier in "Le Charivari" in 1834. The impact of this simple drawing was immense. It is said that Philipon drew the original version during one of his many trials to show that it was the reader, not the author, who had identified the king with the pear. The reader, not the author, had therefore committed the offence[19].

Fig. 4. H. Daumier, *Les Poires*, "Le Charivari" 17.01.1834

18 G. Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, Paris 1994, p. 638.

19 S. Le Men, *Gravures, caricatures et images cachées : la genèse du signe du roi en Poire*, "Genesis (Manuscrits-Recherche-Invention)" 2004, no. 24, p. 54.

Pears quickly gained enormous popularity, going far beyond mere caricature. The fruit became a kind of trademark of the king and began to live a life of its own: it appeared on walls as graffiti, in subsequent drawings, in conversation. Significantly, the pear clearly found its way into both the bourgeoisie and the lower classes, being drawn by Victor Hugo and simple workers alike[20]. And, of course, Daumier again, in *Le Cauchemar* (*Nightmare*)[21] from 1832. Lafayette, depicted in this drawing, is said to have remarked, in reference to the work, that "the July pear is already ripe"[22], which was a barely concealed threat against the king. "La Caricature" and "Le Charivari" also published political drawings by other authors, but their tone was similar. It is worth noting that two figures that had previously been practically absent appeared in them – Liberty (or Marianne) and the People. A typical example may be another of Daumier's famous drawings – *Ne vous y frottez pas!* (*Don't touch!*)[23], which shows the People in the form of a young worker, upholding the freedom of the press.

In addition to the Republican ones, there were also satirical legitimist titles ("Le Revenant" and "Le Brid'Oison"), and Orleanist ones ("La Charge" and "Le Figaro"[24]) in this period. Their circulation did not exceed 1000 copies[25], none of them lasted more than three years, nor did they reach the technical and artistic quality of the drawings from "La Caricature". It seems, moreover, that the last two titles in particular suffered from a fundamental difficulty stemming from an always somewhat morally ambiguous alliance with the authorities.

It was not monarchist competition, however, but the new regulations adopted in 1835 that posed the real threat to republican political caricature. Officially, they were a response to the attempted assassination of Louis-Philippe on the 28th of July, 1835[26], it can be assumed that the assassination was merely a convenient

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20 F. Erre, *Le "Roi-Jésuite" et le "Roi-Poire" : la prolifération d' "espièglerie" séditieuses contre Charles X et Louis-Philippe (1826–1835)*, "Romantisme" 2010, no. 4 (150), pp. 109–127.

21 H. Daumier *Le Cauchemar*, "La Caricature" no. 69, 23.02.1832.

22 F. Erre, *Le "Roi-Jésuite" et le "Roi-Poire"*, p. 116.

23 H. Daumier, *Ne vous y frottez pas!*, " L'Association mensuelle" mars 1834.

24 It refers to "Le Figaro" published between 1826 and 1834; not to be confused with the famous title published from 1854 to the present day.

25 F. Erre, *Les discours politiques de la presse satirique.* Étude *des réactions à l' "attentat horrible" du 19 novembre 1832*, "Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle" 2004, no. 29, https://journals.openedition.org/rh19/694 (accessed: 31.05.2021).

26 On that day, the King intended to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the July Revolution. He went with his sons and an extensive entourage to Bastille Square. An 'infernal machine' exploded at the boulevard du Temple, placed there by the republican (and petty crook and police informer) Giuseppe Fieschi. Miraculously, no Orléans were hurt, but 18 people from

excuse to get them introduced. They were quickly passed by parliament and introduced on 9th September that year. The first two laws made minor changes to the criminal justice system. The most significant was the third, which made it a criminal offence to insult the king, undermine the state system or preach republican views. The publication of separate drawings and engravings henceforth required the prior consent of the authorities. The deposit paid by newspaper publishers was also raised[27].

"La Caricature", which stopped being published almost immediately, was one of the first victims of the new regulations. Philipon rightly felt that the new law was mainly aimed at his paper, and he could not imagine working with the approval of the censors[28]. The "Charivari", on the other hand, continued to come out. There was a new owner, the press tycoon Armand Dutacq, and the king was depicted only in the form of a pear or… from the back – to avoid being accused of insulting the majesty. In practice, however, political caricature was then increasingly giving way to moral and social caricature. This did not necessarily mean a change for the better for the July Monarchy.

The best example again was Daumier. In 1836, he began to draw Robert Macaire, a fictional figure: a swindler, a crook and a thief. He adapted this character from the theatre and by 1848 he had drawn about 120 "Macaires", creating a kind of collection of all the financial abuses of which officials and supporters of the Monarchy were accused. Thus appeared Robert Macaire the banker, Robert Macaire the trader, Robert Macaire the heir, Robert Macaire the calculating fiancé, etc. (fig. 5). Baudelaire later claimed that Robert Macaire represented a breakthrough – thanks to him the caricature was not only concerned with politics, but with society as a whole[29]. Daumier himself was not much fond of Macaire, but he devoted his subsequent series of drawings to social and moral issues. Their protagonists were usually representatives of the bourgeoisie. Daumier mocked – sometimes good-naturedly, sometimes maliciously – their pretentiousness, naivety, complacency or ignorance. Lawyers were one of his all-time favourites – perhaps no one has better captured the specificity of the legal world through drawing alone.

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the ruler's immediate entourage were killed and 42 injured; G. de Broglie, *La monarchie de Juillet*, p. 113.

27 *Ibidem*, p. 123.

28 Ch. Philipon, *Aux abonnés de la Caricature*, "La Caricature" 27.08.1835.

29 Ch. Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, Paris 1868, p. 414.

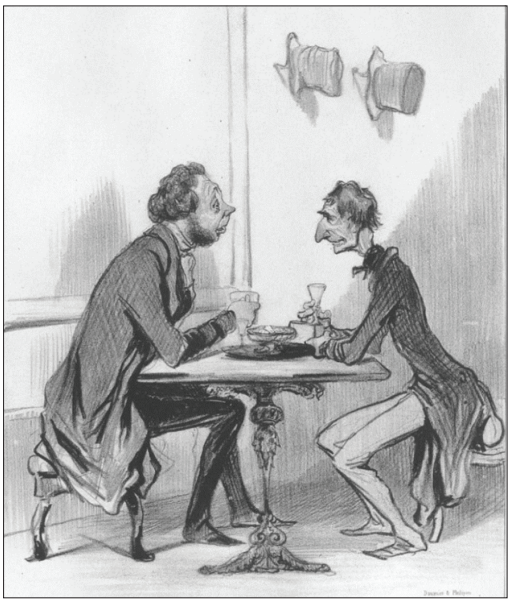

Fig. 5. H. Daumier, *Argument Irrésistible (Irresistible argument*), series : *Robert Macaire*

" – But your future [wife] doesn't want you!…
– It's true, I told my father-in-law, but he is giving me 100,000 fr. more.
– And, that's different! … but they say that she loves another and that … you must marry her immediately.
– That's true, but it is what I also told my father-in-law, and he's giving me another 100,000 fr. more.
– And, it's completely different! Completely different!"
(H. Daumier, *Album comique*, vol. 1, Paris, n.d.)

By the 1840s, Daumier already had a team of outstanding illustrators working with him. One of them was Gavarni (Italian: Sulpice-Guillaume Chevallier). Born in the year of Napoleon's coronation, he belonged to the same generation as Philipon or Daumier. He began with technical drawings and from 1829 sketched costumes in Émile de Girardin's "La Mode". Finally, from 1837, he collaborated with "Le Charivari". Apart from the period of the Second Republic, Gavarni consistently avoided political subjects. His protagonists, as well as Daumier's, were primarily representatives of the petit bourgeoisie. A large proportion of his drawings dealt with questions of morality: marital relations, students in Paris, bachelor life, and so on. However, some of Gavarni's works also contained explicit criticism of a society based on materialism and self-interest. According to the Goncourts, who were close friends of the artist,

> Gavarni did not meet the honest and pure part of the bourgeoisie; the course of life brought him into contact with the other corrupt part of the petty bourgeoisie. Gavarni recounted to them all of the sordid and compromising situations he had witnessed and experienced, all of the disgraceful stories he had had to live through. Some of his lithographs served as glimpses into these situations[30].

These memories and resentment of the bourgeoisie were clearly reflected in his drawings. So we find characters whose entire lives are based on calculations of profit and loss. Miserly individuals who deny even the last penny to the families (fig. 6). Property owners who would do anything to meet the property qualifications to stand for parliamentary elections. Uneducated fools. Notably, although infrequently, Gavarni also depicted poverty in the 1840s Paris – beggars, destitute individuals and the declassed bourgeoisie (fig. 7).

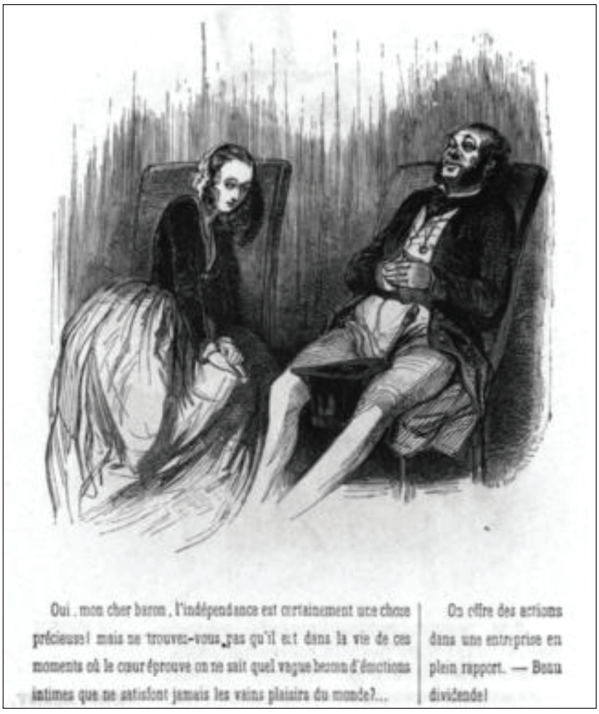

Fig. 6. Gavarni, *Traduction en langue vulgaire*

> "[She]: Yes, dear Baron, independence is certainly a precious thing. But don't you think that there are moments in life when the heart feels a vague longing for intimate feelings

30 E. and J. de Goncourt, *Gavarni, l'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris 1926, p. 100.

that cannot be satisfied by the vain pleasures of this world?
[He, in thought]: They are offering shares in a fully affiliated company. Beautiful dividend !!!"
(Gavarni, *Oeuvres choisies*, Paris 1864).

Fig. 7. Gavarni, *Les gens de Paris*

„[Signature in the form of an advertisement:] On the street corner. Warehouse of German chemical matches"
(Gavarni, *Oeuvres choisies*).

In 1843, another outstanding talent, younger than those already mentioned, joined "Le Charivari": Amédée de Noé, born in 1818 and known as Cham. He was the only one of these artists to come from an aristocratic background (Philipon and Gavarni were from the petit bourgeoisie of Lyon and Paris respectively, Daumier was the son of a glassmaker from Marseille). His illustrations also featured familiar social motifs – the bourgeois disdain for education, the exploitation of workers, or the pursuit of school rewards for children (fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Cham, *L'Éducation est une bonne chose* (*Education is a good thing*)

"So you are a graduate in literature, a doctor of sciences, that's very good! But we're full of scientists, I can only offer you a position as a customs officer… It's always 400 francs a year, not all PhDs get that much!"
(Cham, *Turlupinades, contrariétés et autres amusements négatifs*, Paris, n.d.).

It is worth noting that the social and moral drawings of Daumier, Gavarni or Cham mainly revolved around the bourgeoisie. They did not, therefore, sketch a picture of the entire society of the July Monarchy – the workers or peasants did not appear in them, or they only featured as a background for the representatives of the bourgeoisie. This was probably due to several reasons. Firstly, the readers of Philipon's newspapers and the buyers of the lithographic albums were mostly representatives of the bourgeoisie. The world depicted in the drawings was their world, the world they knew and understood. Secondly, the bourgeoisie was in many ways an exceptionally interesting social class, rapidly growing and changing, extremely resilient and energetic. This was accompanied by a multitude of mistreatments, deceptions and comical situations resulting from a rapid social advancement or changes in manners. Indeed, the artists seem to have succumbed to the peculiar charms of the class they criticised so much – Balzac did so at the same time. If, in *The Human Comedy*, the representatives of the bourgeoisie were

often the most despicable characters, or at least the most antipathetic, there is no denying that it was the bourgeoisie that was in Balzac's work the most resilient, the busiest, the most enterprising and ultimately the most interesting social class. Hence Baudelaire was true when he wrote: "It is right to describe the works of Gavarni or Daumier as complements of the *Human Comedy*. I am convinced that Balzac himself would have been close to this idea. It seems all the more relevant because the genius of the artist who paints customs is a mixed genius: it contains a good deal of literature"[31]. Incidentally, the aforementioned artists, as well as Balzac, attacked the July monarchy through bourgeoisie, the class which, according to Louis-Philippe himself, was the basis of his power, and thus they contributed to its downfall.

The end of the July Monarchy and proclamation of the Second Republic created new opportunities for "Le Charivari". The provisional government's decree on 6th March 1848 abolished censorship that had already ceased to exist for a fortnight. This led to a surge of political caricatures, which at first inevitably continued to target the former ruler[32]. Daumier complained at the time that he was tired of drawing Louis Philippe. Today, however, his view of the 1848 revolution and the nascent republic is far more fascinating. A significant drawing was made on 4th March 1848 depicting *Parisian Children in the Tuileries* (*Le Gamin de Paris aux Tuileries*, fig. 9), referring to the moment when the people of Paris broke into the royal palace. The artist drew the boys loitering around the throne with evident sympathy, but also with a certain fear of revolutionary violence.

He was also concerned about the communist doctrines clearly present in the clubs and newspapers at the time. On 5th May 1848 "Le Charivari" published his illustration from the series *Tout ce qu'on voudra* (*Whatever one wants*). A simple man, most likely a French peasant, asks the mayor of his town: "Tell me, Sir … what are these Communists?". The mayor replies: "Pierre, they are people who want the French to have common money, common work, common land". To which Pierre, seemingly echoing Daumier himself, replies, "In my opinion, they lack common sense to begin with!".

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31 Ch. Baudelaire, *Le peintre de la vie moderne*, in: *Œuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire*, vol. 3, Paris 1885, p. 57.

32 An example is Daumier's drawing *Tout est perdu, fors la caisse* ("All is lost except the cash register") depicting a distraught Louis-Philippe coming off a ship in England; National Gallery of Art, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.183120.html (accessed: 01.03.2022).

Fig. 9. H. Daumier, *Le Gamin de Paris aux Tuileries*

"Bloody hell! How can you get caught up in this!!!"
("Le Charivari", 04.03.1848).

Daumier's view of the republic, moreover, corresponded to the attitude of the entire editorial board of "Le Charivari" Cham published two volumes of *Proudhonians* in 1848 and 1849[33]. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was one of the theoreticians of the emerging socialist movement, a radical critic of the mid-19th century capitalism. Cham in his drawings mocked "St Proudhon" and his doctrine, although there is much to suggest that he had a relatively poor understanding of it. He ridiculed Proudhon's well-known declaration that "property is theft", as well as the alleged concept of doing away with the conventional family (which, in Proudhon's instance, was completely false)[34]. It is significant that Cham's satire, through Proudhon, essentially attacked the whole of emerging socialism (fig. 10).

[33] Cham, *Proudhoniana ou les socialistes modernes*, Paris 1848. These drawings were also previously published by "Le Charivari".

[34] For more on Proudhon's doctrine, see: R. Dobek, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, Poznań 2013.

Fig. 10. Cham, *Proudhoniana* series

"Mr Proudhon, they sent you all of them while you were away, and they will send you more in the evening. Since the family has been abolished, parents no longer want to keep them"
("Le Charivari" 20.08.1848).

The attitude of the newspaper and its associated artists towards the so-called June Days Uprising was also an interesting matter. After the government of the Republic dissolved the National Workshops, a workers' uprising broke out in Paris on 23rd June 1848, bloodily suppressed by the army under the command of General Louis-Eugène Cavaignac[35]. "Le Charivari" printed a majestic portrait of Cavaignac on 6 July, then a series of illustrations under the common title "Recollection of June 1848", mainly depicting the heroism of the army, and finally, on 17th July, a no less dignified portrait of General François de Négrier, an officer killed on 25th June (fig. 11). All these images contrasted sharply, for example, with the "Types of insurgents" published on 27th July (fig. 12), depicting ugly figures in rags. In the June Uprising, the newspaper thus very clearly sided with the government and the army. While this attitude in itself cannot be the basis for any kind of claim or accusation, the complete lack of any attempt to understand the other side is likely to be. Moreover, the newspaper does not mention the repressive measures

[35] More in: M. Gribaudi, M. Riot-Sarcey, *1848, la révolution oubliée*, Paris 2009, pp. 187–263; Ph. Vigier, *La Seconde République*, Paris 2001, pp. 38–44.

that followed the uprising. Meanwhile, according to Philippe Vigier's estimates, at least several thousand workers were killed, more than 1,500 were probably shot immediately after being arrested, and 25,000 were arrested, of whom 11,000 were subsequently sentenced to prison or deportation[36].

Fig. 11. Anonymous, *Lieutenant General Négrier*, "Le Charivari" 17.07.1848

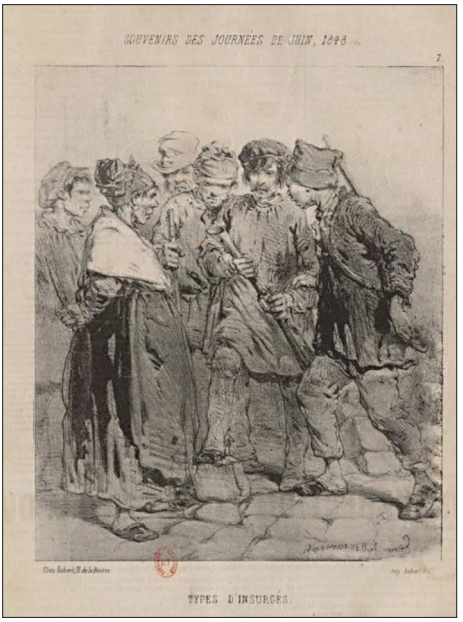

Fig. 12. Ch.-E. de Beaumont, *Types d'insurgés* ("Types of insurgents"), "Le Charivari" 27.07.1848

The "Journal pour rire", established in December 1847, adopted a similar political line. This was yet another creation by Philipon, who once again engaged skilled artists, notably Gustave Doré, a mere 16-year-old newly arrived in Paris. Unlike "Le Charivari" magazine devoted most of its pages to illustrations, and was characterised by short drawing stories, in which Doré, among others, excelled. Most likely influenced by Philipon[37], the young artist published in July 1848, just after

[36] Ph. Vigier, *La Seconde République*, p. 42. Gribaudi's and Riot-Sarcey's estimates are somewhat different – 4,000 insurgents killed in battle, 1,500 shot later, 11,000 imprisoned; M. Gribaudi, M. Riot-Sarcey, *1848*, p. 255. The exact numbers are, of course, impossible to determine today.

[37] By then, however, Philipon was already a somewhat different figure than he had been in his early thirties. According to Doré's biographer, "Doré left an oil portrait of his discoverer,

the uprising, a story entitled *Communism in Drawings*[38] depicting on two pages a tale of four characters: one a rich rentier, and three poor workers. After the communists take control, they divide the wealth of the first man equally among everyone, with the result that everyone has very little. The ex-bourgeoisie swiftly goes bankrupt, being incapable of doing anything. The two workers face a comparable fate – one because of his laziness, the other because of his many children. The third worker is the only one to become rich, but in his old age he becomes a rentier who categorically rejects any idea of a new, fairer distribution of capital. In other drawing series, Doré in turn mocked club speakers or the politicking of the people.

All in all, Cham, Daumier, Philipon, Doré the other creators of "Le Charivari" or the "Journal pour rire" in 1848 and 1849 were clearly in favour of the republic, however its conservative version, based on property and social order. If, as Samuel Hayat writes brilliantly, June 1848 represented a clash between two visions of the republic – one moderate, based primarily on elections and parliament, the other more social, closely linked to the people of Paris[39] – then the artists mentioned above definitely sided with the former. Their drawings often depicted the military in a favourable manner, viewed as a safeguard of the social order. On the other hand, socialists like Proudhon, Pierre Leroux or Louis Blanc were portrayed as madmen, acting contrary to common sense. At the same time, it is difficult to assess the impact of these drawings unequivocally. The circulation of both magazines was relatively small, not exceeding 3,000 copies[40]. The number of recipients of the drawings must have been larger, but not enough to significantly influence public opinion. It appears that the caricatures created by Daumier or Doré aligned with a common perception of the early socialists among the bourgeoisie. While they may have strengthened this view to some extent, they were not the determining factor. Furthermore, they did not impede the gradual growth of left-wing ideas, particularly the followers of Proudhon Furthermore, left-wing political clubs who were targeted by "Le Charivari" attacks were able to respond

painted certainly in the early 1850s. The Philipon of this period was no longer an exalted activist. The Republic had triumphed – at least Philipon still thought so-so Doré painted a placid, now-wise rebel with a face covered in wrinkles"; Ch. Leclerc, *Gustave Doré. Le rêveur éveillé*, Paris 2012, p. 33.

38 G. Doré, *Le Communisme en tableau*, in: Ch. Philipon (dir.), *Album du journal pour rire*, Paris 1848.

39 S. Hayat, *Quand la République était révolutionnaire. Citoyenneté et représentation en 1848*, Paris 2014.

40 *Histoire générale de la presse*, p. 146.

effectively, as evidenced by multiple instances of the editorial office having its windows smashed during this period[41].

In contrast, the limits of the influence of the republican satirical press were clearly indicated by the presidential election campaign of 1848. Both the "Le Charivari" and the "Journal pour rire" came out unequivocally against the candidacy of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, de facto supporting his main rival, Cavaignac. "Le Charivari" published, among other things, a drawing of Cham a month before the election, showing a female figure (the Republic) trying on a Napoleonic cap in front of a mirror. The figure behind her, however, hinted: "Believe me, dear lady, this hat does not suit you. Do not listen to people who intend to abuse their power over you". It was the untranslatable play on words that was important here: Cham used the word "empire" meaning "power", which also refers to the First French Empire, not coincidentally written with a capital letter. The allusion was clear: behind the candidacy of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte there was the threat of the death of the republic and the return of the empire. Cham's work, dated 7 December 1848, in which Bonaparte scatters coins in front of a personification of the Republic, only to behead her with more certainty, was similarly suggestive (fig. 13).

Fig. 13. "Hush, hush, hush… If she falls for it, I'll get her!", Cham, "Le Charivari" 7.12.1848

41 R. Escholier, *Daumier et son monde*, p. 138.

There were also drawings which clearly emphasised the ridiculous nature of the nephew in comparison to the greatness of Napoleon I, if only because of the notoriously oversized hat[42]. The message of the "Journal pour rire" was very similar, but with an additional element – the alleged stupidity of Louis Napoleon. Thus, on 25th November 1848, the anonymous author depicted a group of Bonaparte's voters turning towards him. However this time a donkey's head was hidden under a bicorn…[43]

However, as observes Eric Anceau, Napoleon III's biographer, the criticism of newspapers such as the "Le Charivari" and the "Journal pour rire" not only proved ineffective, but probably won Louis Napoleon votes. It helped him to campaign by portraying himself as the one outside the system, even victimised by it. It also drew voters' attention to him[44]. In the end, Bonaparte won 74.5% in the first round of voting and became the first (and only) president of the Second Republic. However, this did not significantly change the line of both journals. They continued to point to the imperial threat[45]. Expecting a coup d'état, "Le Charivari" nevertheless counted on the reaction of the people. Ten days before the coup, the newspaper published a drawing by Daumier entitled *What would happen if one tried to cross the Rubicon again* (fig. 14). It shows two figures in the Seine, thrown there by the people watching them from above. The third figure – the president – is merely suggested by a floating hat[46].

It was soon to become clear how much Daumier had miscalculated. On 2nd December 1851, contrary to his hopes and calls, the Parisians did not rush to the aid of the Republic, and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte set up a dictatorship without much resistance, and within a year it was transformed into an empire. Strict cen-

42 E.g. "Napoleon's Ship" in "Charivari" on 2 December 1848.

43 For more on the attitude of the "Journal pour rire" Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, see : M. Lo Feudo, *De président à empereur : Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte dans Le Journal pour rire*, "Sociétés & Représentations" 2013, no. 2 (36), pp. 35–50.

44 E. Anceau, *Napoléon III. Un Saint-Simon à cheval*, Paris 2012, p. 141.

45 For example, "Le Charivari" on 4 September 1851 presented readers with an "imperial egg ready to hatch". On the other hand, the "Journal pour rire" on 11 April 1851 contained an illustration showing Louis Napoleon Bonaparte asking his uncle (standing on the Vendome column in Paris) what to do next. The column replies that, for "his own honour and safety", his nephew should do nothing.

46 "Le Charivari" 22.11.1851. Similar significance had Daumier's drawing published four days earlier depicting a court of fighting dwarfs – Louis Napoleon and Adolphe Thiers, the main representative of the conservative majority in parliament. Above them stood a much larger figure of a worker, while the caption read: "The people count the blows"; "Le Charivari" 18.11.1851.

Fig. 14. H. Daumier, *Ce qui adviendrait si l'on voulait tenter de nouveau le passage du Rubicon*, "Le Charivari" 22.11.1851

sorship was reintroduced. Although both newspapers continued to be published, political caricatures disappeared completely from their pages during this period, only to return gradually in the sixties.

The republican caricature thus suffered an undeniable defeat in its confrontation with Bonaparte. It could not prevent his victory in the presidential elections in 1848 or the (expected) coup d'état in 1851. Moreover, Philipon, Daumier, Doré, Cham and others, along with the entire moderate republican party, were partly responsible for this defeat. In 1848 they had explicitly supported the bloody repression of the protesting workers of Paris; three years later they expected the same workers to support a state that had just fired at them. There could be no reconciliation of the one with the other. Even if they were aware of the errors and shortcomings of the Second Republic, they underestimated their importance and were not in a position to prevent them. In doing so, they shared the illusions of many republicans, which ultimately led to the coup d'état in 1851.

There was, however, one area of social life during this period where the influence of illustrators proved to be effective, lasting and, unfortunately, negative. The year 1848 was an important date in the history of the feminist movement in France. From the very first days, the provisional government received a large number of petitions and proclamations signed by women, mostly on social mat-

ters but also containing the first political demands[47]. In March 1848, the newspaper "La Voix des femmes" was published. It called for better access to education for women, full equality between the sexes, including political rights, better working conditions for women and an increase in their wages. There were two women in particular behind the title: Eugénie Niboyet, born in 1796, and Jeanne Deroin, almost 10 years younger. When the magazine ceased publication in June 1848, the two women set up another, "La Politique des femmes", and later "L'Opinion des femmes". Meanwhile, in May 1848, they also set up a revolutionary women's club[48]. In 1849, Deroin decided (against the law) to run for parliament. The number of votes she received was… 15. It was an undeniable defeat for Niboyet, Deroin and the whole burgeoning women's rights movement.

"Le Charivari" and the "Journal pour rire" presumably contributed to this. From the outset, both journals took an explicitly anti-feminist stance. In August and September 1848, Daumier published in "Le Charivari" a series of drawings under the common title "Les Divorceuses" ("The Divorcees")[49]. The significance of these drawings, however, touched on a much wider issue than the right to divorce (which Niboyet or Deroin actually demanded); it concerned the general presence of women in public life. The first of the illustrations was already very characteristic (fig. 15). It showed a women's club in the midst of a heated debate. The female speaker – with distinctly masculine features – was shouting dramatically: "Women citizens… They are supposedly going to refuse us a divorce! Let us therefore accept the permanence of the deliberations and declare the homeland in danger!…". Daumier's drawing already contained several elements that were to become part of the collective imagination, not only in France. Firstly, the association of the feminist with a woman without beauty, implicitly unwanted by men. Secondly, the belief that women's emotionality (as evidenced by their overreac-

47 Historian Michèle Riot-Sarcey writes about a petition by workers in the haberdashery industry (24.03.1848), seamstresses (30.03.1848), women of the 10th district of Paris, unemployed workers (08.04.1848), washerwomen (10.04.1848), patients of La Salpêtrière hospital (14.04.1848) and, the most political text by "artists, workers, writers, teachers" of 16.03.1848. And she emphasises: "Their [women's – RD] public presence was widely perceived"; *eadem*, *Émancipation des femmes 1848*, "Genèses" 1992, no. 7, p. 195).

48 M. Riot-Sarcey, *Deroin, Jeanne Françoise*, in: *Dictionnaire biographique Le Maitron. Mouvement social, mouvement ouvrier*, https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article29854 (accessed: 23.02.2022).

49 The word "divorceuse" in the context used by Daumier has no exact equivalent in Polish (or English), because it does not refer to a "divorcee", as dictionaries suggest, but to a supporter of the right to divorce. The term "divorcee" seemed to me the closest to the understanding of the time.

tion) prevents them from participating rationally in politics. Thirdly and finally, the assumption that women are incapable of their own judgement and political independence, associated with the behaviour and words copied from the Great Revolutionary period.

Fig. 15. H. Daumier, *Les Divorceuses,* "Le Charivari" 4.08.1848.

In contrast, the next drawing in the series, dated 12th August, suggested a sphere specific to women. It again showed two matrons looking at a mother sitting nearby with a child on her lap, much prettier than themselves, and commenting maliciously: "Here is a woman mindlessly caring for her children at this solemn hour… How many stupid and backward creatures there are in France!". The cartoonist, in this case echoing the exact line of the magazine, was sending women back to the domestic sphere, the only one he considered appropriate for them.

Very similar in tone was another series by the same artist, this time devoted to socialist women (*Les femmes socialistes*). Here, too, Daumier juxtaposed the domestic sphere, which was naturally assigned to women, with the public sphere,

which was more appropriate to men. This is exemplified by the drawing of 7th May 1848 (fig. 16). It shows a young married woman in the arms of an older woman. Her surprised husband stands beside her, holding the baby. The child's mother is visibly angry: "Ah, he says he won't let me go to meet the eight hundred brothers at the gate of Maine. Ah, I must punish such insolence!!!". The elder, equally indignant, replies: "Stop it, Eglantine, please leave this tyrant alone with his conscience". The clearly frightened child is extremely important to the meaning of the picture – an image of maternal duty contrasted here again with male public activity. Similar figures (mother, father, frightened infant) appear in the drawing of 23rd May 1849, this time of Jeanne Deroin – an agitated woman grotesquely threatening to throw her husband out of his own home. Daumier's portrayal of her husband, on the other hand, evidently suggested that men tend to be too weak and submissive.

Fig. 16. H. Daumier, *Les femmes socialistes*, "Le Charivari" 7.05.1849

The "Vesuvian" Legion of the National Guard became an entirely separate subject of caricature. Relatively little is known about it, and even less is about how it actually operated. Certainly, on 1st–2nd March 1848, Daniel Borme, a 26-year-old

chemist, pinned on the walls of Paris an appeal to his "sisters in the Republic", announcing that he had asked the provisional government to enlist women in the National Guard under the name of "Vesuvians". A little later, an anonymous political pamphlet, *Vésuvienne, ou Constitution politique des femmes par une société de françaises* (*Vésuvienne, or Political Constitution of Women by a Society of Frenchwomen*) was published in Paris[50]. There is almost nothing known about the fate of the Vésuvienne after this date. The authors of Borme's biography state that they were briefly based in Belleville and had a post in rue de Rivoli[51]. All other information concerning the legion seems highly questionable.

Much more can be said about the reaction to their alleged actions. As Laura Strumingher writes in an article dedicated to them: "Between 21st March and the end of November, the Paris press devoted eighteen articles and twenty-five satirical drawings to the Vesuvian women. With the exception of one, all the articles were pure fiction and made a mockery of the fighting women"[52]. "Le Charivari" or "Journal pour rire" were no exception. As early as on 26th March, the former published two drawings by Cham dedicated to the Vesuvian women. However, the author of the most famous illustrations was another editorial cartoonist, Charles-Edouard de Beaumont. Beaumont sketched more than a dozen drawings in which he invariably depicted them as graceful, beautiful young ladies. The source of the comedy was usually the juxtaposition of such stereotyped femininity with the military life and its customs. Beaumont's "Vesuvians" thus, they took care of the stereotypically feminine elements: clothing (mostly), appearance, music. At the same time, they awkwardly imitated the military manner and lifestyle. Added to this were already mentioned motifs – such as young children left at home. Some of Beaumont's drawings also had quite explicit sexual overtones – such as the one depicting two female guardsmen getting dressed in their bedroom. One says to the other: "Come on, Clorinda, try on your uniform… I've brought you a brand-new percussion cap gun" – with a rather clear reference to the male penis and ejaculation (fig. 17).

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50 L.S. Strumingher, *Les Vésuviennes : les femmes-soldats dans la société de 1848*, in: *La caricature entre République et censure [Texte imprimé] : l'imagerie satirique en France de 1830 à 1880, un discours de résistance?*, eds. Ph. Régnier et al., Lyon 1996, on-line http://books.openedition.org/pul/7952 (accessed: 22.02.2022).

51 M. Constant, A. Rustenholz, *Borme Daniel* in: *Dictionnaire biographique Le Maitron. Mouvement social, mouvement ouvrier*, https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article182626 (accessed: 23.02.2022).

52 L.S. Strumingher, *Les Vésuviennes*.

Doré also sketched a series similar in tone for the "Journal pour rire" – he also featured young girls in ridiculous male costumes, awkwardly attempting to play a military, implicitly male role (fig. 18).

All the drawings about Vesuvian women were a part of a strategy to ridicule and discredit feminism. The discussion on the role of women in society was reduced to ridiculous phantasmagoria. The same applies to other anti-feminist cari-

Fig. 17. Ch.-E. de Beaumont, *Les Vésuviennes*, "Le Charivari" 10.06.1848

Fig. 18. G. Doré, *Les Vésuviennes et autres folies*, in: Ch. Philipon (dir.), *'Album du journal pour rire'*, Paris 1848

catures published in "Le Charivari" between 1848 and 1849, all of which created an image of the 19th century world upside down, which is what feminists supposedly aimed for. Instead of a real discussion about the issue of divorce and marital tragedies, usually female, the drawings offered a vision in which women took on the role of father of the family relegating men in turn to the role of mother. Instead of a conversation about women's basic rights – there prevailed a distorted vision of a politicised woman. In essence, Daumier, Cham, Beaumont or Doré saw the role of women in society in exactly the same way as Napoleon and his Civil Code, written almost half a century earlier and still in force at the time. Her destiny was solely domestic and family life; before she married she was to … appeal to men above all. Moreover, she remained financially and legally dependent on her husband or father – almost as much as a child. Moreover, in the works of Beaumont, Cham or Doré, women were mentally little different from children.

It is impossible to determine the exact impact of these caricatures. However, as Lucette Czyba writes in a text dedicated to them, they fitted perfectly into the mentality and attitude of the majority of society – reinforced by the talent of Daumier or Doré. As a result, they undoubtedly contributed to ridiculing and discrediting women's demands for many years.

These observations can be extended to the French political and social caricature of 1830–1851 in general. Its strength was the result of a combination of factors. First, there was the emergence of a whole group of extremely talented artists. Daumier and Doré, for example, are now considered to be among the most outstanding French artists of the 19th century. The latter also gained recognition as an excellent book illustrator[53]. The quality of their drawings, combined with interesting ideas and clever texts by the authors themselves or Philipon, produced an exceptional effect. This would not have been possible without the technology that even then allowed printing in sufficient quality, including colour. Gavarni, Noé, Daumier and Doré were fortunate enough to have Philipon, a man who recognised and encouraged their talent. The last piece of the jigsaw was the readers – above all the French bourgeoisie, which was on the rise. It was the bourgeoisie, or petit bourgeoisie, who made up the audience for "Le Charivari" or "Journal pour rire". The criticism of Louis-Philippe's rule represented the views of a large section of this social group. The political caricature of the 1830s therefore reflected the mindset of a part of public opinion as much as it shaped that opinion and the French political vision. *The Pears* are an excellent

[53] His illustrations to the *Divine Comedy*, *the Bible* or (above all) *Don Quixote* are now classics of the genre.

example of how they both conformed to and shaped the existing image of the monarch.

The same combination produced excellent results in social caricature. Cham, Gavarni, Doré or Daumier knew the bourgeoisie of Paris and other cities very well, with all its strengths and vices. They were able to portray both aspects very effectively, which in turn allowed their readers to see themselves in their drawings as in a distorted mirror. Moreover, the image they created was so expressive that it is still an important part of how we imagine French life in the 19th century. Certainly, this mental connection between artists and their audiences also had a negative side, clearly visible during the Second Republic. The artists, as it turned out at the time, were unable to move beyond the mindset of their audience, based on private property and the social order. They therefore lacked understanding and empathy for the protesting workers. The authors of anti-worker caricatures thus, in a way, legitimised the repression following the uprising in June1848. However, they had little influence on the working classes themselves and so could not affect their movement. The situation was different with the emerging feminism of the time. Using caricature as an extremely dangerous political weapon, Doré and Daumier again participated in and reinforced the conventional view of women's roles in domestic and public life. In doing so, they exploited clichés still strongly present in public sphere. They created images that have unfortunately permanently contributed to the French view of women and feminism – confirming both the power of their own talent and the growing political and social importance of caricature as such.

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