

Slanging the Emperor:

Honoré Daumier's *Le Monde illustré* Caricatures of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*

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Abstract

The staging of the greatest spectacle of Napoléon III's Second Empire, the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, did not go uncontested. In a series of wood engravings produced for the conservative magazine *Le Monde illustré*, and which stand as testimony to the power of images, the caricaturist Honoré Daumier challenged the Emperor's World's Fair and the *Fete Imperiale* rhetoric it espoused. Two caricatures realized from the *Le Monde illustré* series evidence Daumier's subversive strategies to circumvent Napoléon III's censorship and fashion a defiant political criticism of the régime. Foremost amongst these I argue is Daumier's deployment of slang or *argot* --the "unofficial" language of the streets and associated with suppressed members of the working classes under the Second Empire--prostitutes, ragpickers, and *ouvriers*. Daumier's caricatures set these marginalized *argot* voices into collision with the "official" rhetoric of the Emperor's World's Fair. Drawing on Bakhtin's concepts of Menippean satire and the 'carnavalesque' this thesis also explores how Daumier's images mock and ridicule representations of authority and dogma. Crucially, however, stepping past the practice of a satire of negation, Daumier's caricatures can be understood as refashioning the utopian promise and regenerative dimension of laughter derived from the ancient past into something more distinctly modern. The Second Empire was not only a time of class conflict but an era characterized by a lost revolutionary possibility. Indeed, it was the brutal reality of the unrealized ambitions of large segments of the working classes crushed in June 1848 that permeates the history of this time. Daumier's World's Fair images were produced at a shifting historical moment in the mid 1860's of increasing political consciousness of the working classes. Glimpsed in this context, Daumier's caricatures can be read at one level as "counter images" to the Exposition, disarming the politically anesthetizing phantasmagoria of the Napoléon III's Fair, rooted in Saint-Simonian notions of progress. However, at another level they can also be understood through their mobilization of the voice of *argot* and the hidden suppressed language of the working classes as refashioning the fearless utopian promise of laughter as a weapon of class struggle.

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Dedication

“...to my father for gifting me with the love of knowledge and the arts ... and to my mother for her inspiring love of humanity...”

Introduction

Some fifteen years into Louis Napoléon's reign as Napoléon III, Emperor of the French, Honoré Daumier published a caricature that situated the viewer directly in front of the entranceway to what was arguably the greatest spectacle of the Second Empire – the *1867 Exposition Universelle*.¹ (Figure 4.1) In the center of the image stands a well-dressed bourgeois whose gleaming silk top hat, well-cut suit, and wide girth, evoke a member of the middle classes who has prospered during the course of the Emperor's reign. In the line behind the stout figure is a throng of finely dressed and manicured individuals, all attempting to enter the grounds of the World's Fair. Towering above the tightly packed crowd are the large imperial arches of the Exposition's signature architectural structure - the Grand Pavillon. In this atmosphere of excited anticipation we can spot only one seeming impediment and spoiler to the festivities - a gruff, thin, and unshaven security officer who is blocking the entrance to the Fair.² The uniformed agent has grabbed the photo identification that dangles from a ribbon around the neck of the well-dressed and rotund bourgeois. With some deliberation, the security officer scrutinizes the picture to compare the figure in the photograph with the individual

¹ DR 6023, published in *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, June 15, 1867, p. 16. Accessed through, Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 9 August 2009, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=6023>>.

² The figure resembles one of Daumier's well known characters – Ratapoil. Originally modeled by Daumier before Louis Napoléon's coup as an eighteen-inch clay statuette, Ratapoil (literally “Rat Hair”) was a bony, sharp-edged shiftless henchman who exuded violence from every pore. Though tall and scarecrow-like, and touched up with a false sense of the debonair, Ratapoil's facial features - mustache and beard – strikingly resembled the features of Louis Napoléon himself. As a fictional persona, Daumier's Ratapoil was an inversion of Cervantes' Don Quixote. Ratapoil was also the collective embodiment of a contemporary social type, the *lumpenproletarian* which lay at the core of Louis Napoléon's “benevolent” Society of December 10th. Colonel Ratapoil disappeared from Daumier's work following the imposition of the censorship which was instituted after Louis Napoléon's coup. Oliver Larkin, *Daumier: Man of his Time* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966) pp. 102 –103. Also see, National Gallery of Canada, *Daumier 1808 – 1879* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1999) pp. 276 – 287; and T. J. Clark, *Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) p. 105; pp. 116 - 117.

standing before him. Growing anxious with the continuing delay, the caption indicates that the stout man has cheerfully volunteered to lift his top hat and remove his glasses in order to allow the officer to more easily confirm his identity. The caption reads, “*EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE. - L'inspection des photographies aux tourniquets. Les chauves doivent ôter leur chapeau et les myopes leurs lunettes,*” or, “At the Universal Exposition – Security Check at the Entrance: the Bald Need to Lift their Hats, and the Short-sighted Need to Remove their Glasses.” Behind Daumier’s amusing and seemingly innocent quip one can find veiled political insight. Set on the threshold of the 1867 World’s Fair, Daumier’s caricature is in some respects emblematic of a historical contradiction that ran through the entire era of Napoléon’s III’s Second Empire. In order to achieve their “prosperity,” the bourgeoisie of France had to blindly and unashamedly surrender themselves to living in a police state.

This thesis focuses on the mobilization of visuality and voice as a way of mocking Napoléon III’s regime, and the increasingly spectacular, consumerist, and class-based imperialistic culture which figured in the 1867 World’s Fair. My analysis will be centered on a small series of wood engraving caricatures authored by Honoré Daumier on the topic of the *Exposition Universelle* for *Le Monde illustré*, a conservative illustrated publication launched a decade earlier to compete with *L’Illustration*.³

³ Originally started in 1857, by the time of the Exposition *Le Monde illustré* was owned by Paul Dalloz who was also the owner of *Le Moniteur Universel*, the paper which held the monopoly contract for publishing government reports. Dalloz’s daily was, in some respects, the official newspaper of the Second Empire. All his newspapers were conservative and supported the government, although *Le Monde illustré* was itself officially classified as ‘apolitical,’ meaning that it, unlike its rival *L’Illustration*, it was not subject to a special levy charged to the political press; Colette E. Wilson, *Paris and the Commune 1871 - 78: The Politics of Forgetting* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007) p. 34. Also see, Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004) p 45.

The 1867 *Exposition Universelle* which is evoked so ironically in Daumier's caricature took place in France a decade and a half after Louis Napoléon's coup d'état.⁴ It was the latter of two Parisian World's Fairs during the Second Empire, and it attracted more than 11 million visitors.⁵ However, it differed critically from its British counterpart the 1851 Crystal Palace exposition in that although private financing was involved, the 1867 French World's Fair was actually controlled by the government from beginning to end.⁶ In fact, the *Exposition Universelle* can be understood as a piece of political rhetoric - an embodiment of what Matthew Truesdell refers to as Napoléon's III *Fête Impériale*, a cohesive politics advancing the régime's domestic political agenda through the use of stage-managed public spectacle.⁷ In becoming the first World's Fair to invite other

⁴ As a result of Louis Napoléon's coup d'état on the 2nd of December, 1851, 26,000 French citizens were placed under arrest; Paula Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques, et les Parades, New Biographical and Political Functions for a Nineteenth Century Myth* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1981) p. 150. Among those said to have been seized in the massive roundup was the caricaturist Honoré Daumier himself; *ibid.*, 150. Also see, Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 44; 57. Interestingly, both Harper and Childs cite the same comment made by Etienne Carjet at Daumier's Père Lachaise reburial which was recorded in police archives to the effect that the caricaturist had been arrested during the coup, "au 2 décembre...fut emprisonné par les décembreiseurs." Childs suggests this reference to the decemberists of Louis Napoléon's coup was Republican myth. Although Daumier was not ultimately imprisoned during the coup, or forced into exile as were some 15,000 of his fellow citizens, for the next two decades of the self-proclaimed Second Empire, the caricaturist found himself living under an authoritarian régime in which visual imagery was subject to strict and direct laws of censorship. Article 22 of the "February Decrees" of 1852 codifying censorship required illustrated papers to submit a proof of every image for police inspection; Irene Collins, *The Government and Newspapers in France - 1814-1881* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) pp. 118 -122. Accordingly, Daumier was now effectively forbidden by French law from making any caricature related to French politics; Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, pp. 36 - 38.

⁵ Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," PhD Thesis, New York, Columbia University, 1997, pp. 20 - 21.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849 - 1870* (New York, :Oxford University Press, 1997) p. 3.

countries to build their own national pavilions, the 1867 Exposition was formulated to champion the Emperor's doctrine of the '*Politique des Nationalities*' or 'Principle of Nationalities,' that purported to promote national groups seeking autonomy from empires.⁸ The construction of the Fair's largest architectural feature, the immense oval Grand Pavilion, was designed by the engineer and social scientist Frederic Le Play, a trusted viceroy to the Emperor, to resemble a globe.⁹ It was an overwhelming spectacle, an annihilation of space and time resonating with the myth of progress.¹⁰ Here, six years before the publication of Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*, Napoléon III offered his citizens nothing less than the opportunity to circumnavigate an orderly 'peaceful' planet, in microcosm. Yet, at the same time, he was engaged in policies of imperial subjugation in regions as far apart as North Africa, Mexico, Vietnam, and China, and involved in liaisons with Egypt.¹¹

⁸ Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," p. 29. Also see, William. E. Echard, *Napoléon III and the Concert of Europe* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983) pp. 162 – 166.

⁹ Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play: Engineer and Social Scientist* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1970) pp. 60 – 63. Le Play had reputedly 'salvaged' the 1855 Exposition after being brought in following its troublesome start to act as Commissioner-General. Prince Napoléon, the Emperor's cousin, had written to Le Play as early as the middle of 1863 instructing him to begin planning for the 1867 Exposition.

¹⁰ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, pp. 101 – 103.

¹¹ The French had invaded Algeria in 1830, successfully initiating what would be a seventeen-year war of occupation. During the Second Empire Algeria was a French colony; Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1986) p. xvi. However, following the defeat of an 800,000 person strong 1871 Algerian rebellion, the Third Republic launched a policy of officially assimilating the colony into France; Martin Evans, *Empire and Culture: The French Experience, 1830 – 1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) pp. 10 - 12. With respect to Napoléon III's designs on Syria, Tunisia, and Egypt see Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," pp. 38 – 40. Imperial expansion extended to other areas of the globe. At one point during the Second Empire Napoléon III had 24,000 of his best troops stationed in Mexico. In 1864, following a two year military campaign, he installed Austrian aristocrat and member of the Hapsburg family, Maximilian, to power.

Visuality and Voice - Daumier as a Subversive Artist

Daumier's caricature with which I began this introduction – the inspection of the photo identification of a fairly prosperous bourgeois – was one of six wood engravings he produced in 1867 for *Le Monde illustre*. Of these, two specific images, both of which portray everyday scenes at the 1867 Exposition, lie at the heart of my analysis in this thesis. The first depicts a French family of three walking past a large tomb mural inside the Fair's ancient Egyptian pavilion.¹² (Figure 4.2) The second shows an industrial felt hat maker holding aloft a rabbit, while surrounded by a crowd inside the grounds of the Grand Pavilion's Machine Gallery.¹³ (Figure 4.3) These two wood engravings have been largely ignored by scholars: only a very brief analysis published about the “Egyptian

However, after the end of the American Civil War in 1865, Napoléon III was forced to withdraw his troops. Maximilian, though, refused to leave. He would later be captured by Mexican forces and executed by firing squad. The news reached the World's Fair in Paris at the beginning of July, 1867. See Kristine Ibsen, “Spectacle of Spectator in Édouard Manet's Execution of Maximilian” *Oxford Art Journal*, 29 Feb. 2006, p. 223. Asia was also a goal. French military ships sent by Napoléon III first attacked Indo-China in 1858, and by 1862 they had taken control of three of the six provinces in South Vietnam; Thank Nguyen, “Vietnamese Buddhist Movement for Peace and Social Transformation 1963 – 1966” PhD Thesis, Saybrook Graduate School San Francisco, 2006, pp. 86 – 90. In his extensive and broad overview, Christopher English argues that with respect to China, one of Napoléon III's strategic motivations for entering that country was to establish, coordinate, and maintain an entente with Great Britain. English asserts that Napoléon III subordinated the interests of domestic commercial groups in China, the Catholic Church and its missionaries in the region, and even the French Military in his attempt to convince the British of France's good political faith. See Christopher John Basil. “Napoléon III's Intervention in China 1856 – 1861: A Study of Policy, Press and Public Opinion” PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1972.

¹² DR 6028, published in *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, October 26, 1867, p. 16. Also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 9 August 2009, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=6028>>.

¹³ DR 6024, published in *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, July 27th, 1867, p. 16. Also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 9 August 2009, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=6024>>.

pavilion” caricature,¹⁴ and nothing that I have been able to find to date has discussed the “felt hat maker” image. There appear to be several reasons for this lack of scholarly attention. The first, I would argue, is due to the publication venue for these caricatures – *Le Monde illustré* – which places them outside the realm of the more familiar engagement afforded Daumier’s images found in the satirical and liberal-Republican leaning *Le Charivari*.¹⁵ Secondly, *Le Monde illustré* was a conservative magazine. Generally speaking, the caricatures Daumier produced for *Le Monde illustré* appear, on the surface at least, to comment on the everyday activities of Parisian citizenry or visitors, and thus to be less engaged with a political subject matter when compared to the more charged images concurrently being published in *Le Charivari* - such as the well known caricature that figures Galileo gingerly tiptoeing around a globe filled with protruding bayonets.¹⁶ However, as I will argue in the following pages, the apparent conventionality of the caricatures in *Le Monde illustré* is in many ways exactly why they are interesting and why they should be engaged with and studied. As a caricaturist, Daumier was an intense and committed social critic who, in a highly contentious era of official state

¹⁴ Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 179.

¹⁵ DR 6001 – 6034, within the context of the over 4000 lithographs and 1000 wood engravings Daumier created during his more than four decade professional life, his total number of caricatures produced for *Le Monde illustré* amount to just thirty-four, with only six of these - DR 6023 – 6028 - being on the subject of the 1867 World’s Fair. Accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 9 August 2009, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werklist.php?lingua=en&search=intro>>. On *Le Charivari* see James Bash Cuno. “Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820-1840” or, David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture 1830 – 1848*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

¹⁶ Delteil 3556, *Le Charivari*, Paris, 21 Feb. 1867. Also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 8 August 2010 <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3556>>. By the time of Daumier’s Galileo satire, it had already been announced, through the publication of a diagrammatical map detailing the global geographic layout of countries, that the patrons of the Fair would be able to symbolically circumnavigate the planet by parading around the outside of the Exposition’s one and a half kilometer circumference Grande Pavilion; *L’Illustration*, Paris, 26th, Jan. 1867. Thus, the Galileo planet walking bayonet satire is a mocking reference to the Fair’s Grande Pavilion which was nicknamed the “Temple of Peace.”

repression, deployed a multitude of strategies to fashion his political criticism of the régime of Napoléon III.¹⁷ This six image series, realized on the subject of the greatest spectacle of the Second Empire - the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* – affords, at one level, an opportunity to get a view of the numerous subversive strategies that Daumier deployed while working for the conservative and institutionally restrictive venue of *Le Monde illustré*. Chief among these I argue was the artist’s use, within his caricatures, of street slang or *argot*. Although his utilization of slang has been referenced occasionally within scholarship in the discussion of some of his images,¹⁸ as a consistent conceptual strategy within his caricature, Daumier’s deployment of *argot* has largely been ignored. Similarly and significantly, so too has the very meaningful implication of the construction of images using the voice of the street and working classes during mid-nineteenth century France, a time which was characterized by intense class struggle. As the work of French literary historian Brett Bowles has shown, language and the use of “*bon français*” during the Second Empire was a highly politicized issue.¹⁹ As my thesis will demonstrate, the régime of Napoléon III took calculated steps to suppress “unofficial language,” which included the *argot* of the working classes, and the potential challenge it posed to bourgeois cultural hegemony.²⁰

Another area I will pursue with respect to Daumier’s caricatures in *Le Monde illustré* is a reading of this imagery within the context of laughter as a form of cultural expression. Here, the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and his concept of the utopian nature of

¹⁷ Clark describes Daumier as “partisan,” T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artist and Politics in France – 1848 – 1851*, p. 102.

¹⁸ Delteil 83, see Childs’ discussion of the multiple meanings of the term *magot* for Daumier’s caricature of Louis-Philippe in “*Magot del la Chine*,” or “A treasure from China;” Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 128. Also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 20 Aug. 2012, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=83>>.

¹⁹ Brett Bowles, “Delvau's Dictionaries: Vehicles of Lexical and Sociocultural Change in Second Empire Paris,” *The French Review*, December, 1997, p. 213.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 213.

laughter will be central to my argument. Using the Early Modern French author Rabelais as a fulcrum, in *Rabelais and his World* Bakhtin traces the shifting forms and meaning of laughter over the course of the millennia from the time of the ancients through to the modern era.²¹ While not specifically citing Daumier, Bakhtin does connect the satire and mockery of the nineteenth century to the older forms of laughter such as Menippean satire,²² the carnivalesque,²³ and specifically to its breakthrough into the realm of official

²¹ Mikhail Bakhtin, “Rabelais in the History of Laughter,” *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) pp. 59 – 144.

²² Bakhtin argues Menippean satire derived from the Socratic dialogue, which itself was initially saturated with a folk-carnivalistic sense of the world; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. & trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) p. 109. The Socratic dialogue was not a rhetorical genre but a method of dialogically revealing the truth. It was a form in which truth was understood to arise not “officially” and “ready-made” but “between people” through a collective search and interaction. In this respect Bakhtin notes that Socrates referred to himself as a “midwife,” *ibid.*, p. 110. However, according to Bakhtin in a relatively short period of time the Socratic “genre” became official, dogmatic, and degraded into a form of catechism; *ibid.*, pp. 110 – 112. As a result of this degeneration a number of new forms of discourse came into existence including Menippean satire, whose name it should be noted derives from the third century B.C. philosopher Menippus of Gadara; p. 112. Though not a pure product of the Socratic genre, Bakhtin argues Menippean satire is “genetically” linked to it. The first manifestation of the Menippean form are said by Bakhtin to have been written by Antisthenes, who was a pupil of Socrates and an author, himself, of a number of Socratic dialogues; pp. 112 – 113. Other examples of the Menippean were written by a contemporary of Aristotle’s, Ponticus; p. 113. The fullest and most representative forms of the genre are the satires of Lucian, and Apuleius’ *The Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)*, in which the character of Lucius is magically turned into a donkey. For Bakhtin, Menippean satire is one of the main “channels and carriers for the carnival sense of the world;” *ibid.*, p. 113.

²³ According to Bakhtin, as a cultural expression the carnival is to be understood not as a literary phenomenon but as “syncretic” ritualistic pageantry; *ibid.*, p. 122. It is a realm of symbolism and expression linked to the sensuous physical experience of both large masses of people and individual gestures. Bakhtin describes the carnival as a “pageant without footlights and without a division into performers and spectators ... in carnival everyone is an active participant, everyone communes in the carnival act.” *ibid.*, p. 122. However, crucially, it is also a social time when “life is turned inside out” and laws and prohibitions and “inequality and distance between people” are suspended; *ibid.*, p. 123. Here the quintessential carnivalesque act is the mock crowning and decrowning of the carnival king, often with the figure of the fool being thrust onto the throne; *ibid.*, p. 123. Thus, the carnival with its “deep roots in the primordial order” is a festival linked to “a

“higher” culture in the Early Modern period where it fuses with humanist scholarship to create “the expression of a new free and critical historical consciousness.”²⁴ Crucially, Bakhtin points to how the understanding and use of humour was ultimately shifted after the era of the Early Modern period by both the Enlightenment and the events surrounding the French Revolution. Citing the writings of Ginguene, Bakhtin points to how, by the nineteenth century, an understanding of the carnivalesque’s “ambivalent wholeness” of laughter had now been lost and had been replaced by a misunderstood reading of the grotesque forms of the past as simply negative political satire.²⁵ It is particularly noteworthy that, although aspects of Bakhtin’s language theory have been raised in regard to Daumier,²⁶ the scholarly application of the theorist’s ideas with respect to the history of laughter has been surprisingly absent within the literature. Whether it is in the conscious placement of a pig’s head on the body of a God as in the caricature referencing the “Egyptian pavilion” (Figure 4.2), or the idea of rendering a mass-produced commodity of a felt hat into *gibelotte*, (or rabbit stew) (Figure 4.3), my analysis in this thesis will bring to light Daumier’s proclivity for deploying grotesque realism to mock, ridicule, and de-crown various forms of hierarchy, authority, narrow rationality, and dogma. In this respect, a key focus of my study will be on the way Daumier specifically pivots what Bakhtin terms the “objective memory” of both

living (collective and utopian) sense of world” in which the annihilation of all and the renewal of all is ambivalently celebrated in the “purified” “seriousness” of laughter; pp. 122 – 126.

²⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, “Rabelais in the History of Laughter,” *Rabelais and His World*, pp. 72 – 73.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 119 - 120. For a figure like Victor Hugo (a contemporary of Daumier’s and an opponent of Napoléon III’s régime) laughter had become, according to Bakhtin, mostly a negation, a degradation and a destroying principle; p. 128. Also see, Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, pp. 106 – 133.

²⁶ For example Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, pp. 18-19.

Menippean satire and the carnivalesque against the rhetoric of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, the régime, and the figure of the Emperor.²⁷

Another important consideration of this thesis will be in its orientation to history. Here, the Second Empire will be understood not just as an era of class struggle and class conflict but above all, as an epoch characterized by a lost revolutionary possibility. I argue that it is the unrealized ambitions of large segments of the working class who had been defeated on the June barricades of 1848, that permeates the history of this period. As such, Daumier's caricatures in *Le Monde illustré* will be understood to have arisen at a particular moment in the historic arc of the Second Empire - a time when the idea of political consciousness of the working classes, as a revolutionary weapon, was coming to the fore. Accordingly, my thesis posits the great imperial "stage set" of the *Exposition Universelle* as having been enlisted to play a pivotal role in this historic drama. Drawing upon the work of both Walter Benjamin,²⁸ and Susan Buck-Morss' interpretation of his *Arcades Project*,²⁹ I will argue that the Fair was consciously designed for the Emperor by the engineer and social-scientist Frédérick Le Play to drive home to the working classes a belief in the Saint-Simonian myth of 'progress,' or the possibility of achieving mass prosperity within an industrialized global economy *without* the need for revolution.

²⁷ Bakhtin uses the term "objective memory" while attempting to characterize the relationship between Dostoevsky's nineteenth century writings, such as *The Dream of a Ridiculous Man* and *Bobok*, and the ancient forms of Menippean satire; "Does this mean that Dostoevsky proceeded *directly* (the italics are all Bakhtin's) and *consciously* from the ancient menippea? Of course not. In no sense was he a *stylizer* of ancient genres. Dostoevsky linked up with the chain of a given tradition at that point where it passed through his own time ...Speaking somewhat paradoxically, one could say that it was not Dostoevsky's subjective memory, but the objective memory of the very genre in which he worked, that preserved the peculiar features of the ancient menippea. The generic characteristics of the menippea were not simply reborn, but also *renewed*, in Dostoevsky's work." Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, p. 121.

²⁸ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

²⁹ Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

However, I will further argue that Daumier's *Le Monde illustré* caricatures not only posit themselves as mocking "counter images" to the Saint-Simonian myth of progress and the "political" anesthetizing phantasmagoria of Napoléon III's *Exposition Universelle*, but that they are also the embodiment a wider and more ambitious vision. In the construction of these images, Daumier sets the bottled-up revolutionary energy of working class *argot* loose upon history.³⁰ In other words, Daumier's caricatures will not only be shown to be mocking negations of the hell that was the Second Empire, but also active ammunition for engendering the political consciousness necessary to seize hold of the future and change the world.

Methodology - Caricature as a Text and the Issue of Argot

Here, for a moment I want to ask a very basic question: How do we make sense of humor? What methodologies can we employ to dissect and analyze Daumier's complex, multi-level comic images? In her 2004 study, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, Elisabeth Childs reaches back to the language theory of Mikhail Bakhtin and to concepts he employs with respect to novelistic discourse, including that of

³⁰ In a 1935 essay on the nature of language Walter Benjamin makes a pointed connection between *argot* and class consciousness. He begins by quoting directly from Alfredo Niceforo's book *Génie de l'argot*, "The vernacular as used by the common people is, in a sense, a class characteristic that is a source of pride for its group. At the same time, it is one of the weapons with which the suppressed people attacks the ruling class it set out to displace." "In the hatred which finds expression in the vernacular more than in other contexts, the whole pent-up strength of the common people bursts forth. Victor Hugo said of Tacitus that his language has a lethal power of corrosion. But is there not more corrosive power and more poison in a single sentence of the language of the lower orders (sic) than in all the works of Tacitus?" Then speaking and summarizing the argument for himself Benjamin states, "In Niceforo, therefore, the vernacular appears as a class characteristic and a weapon in the class struggle.... Niceforo's contribution was that he recognized the function of argot (in the broader sense of the term) as an instrument in the class struggle." See Walter Benjamin, "Problems in the Sociology of Language" *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 3 – 1935 – 1938*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Howard Eiland, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings. Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006.

heteroglossia.³¹ Bakhtin posits heteroglossia as the base or contextual circumstance grounding the function of meaning within speech and discourse.³² In Bakhtin, all ‘utterance’ takes place within a concrete heteroglot environment, against a living framework of contending socio-ideological language systems.³³ Heteroglossia is thus seen as the moment-by-moment existent condition of the inter-animation of (national) languages which assures (crucially) the primacy of context over text.³⁴ “Dialogism” is the term Bakhtin uses to describe the ‘epistemological mode’ within this condition of heteroglossia in which a gesture or utterance is understood to derive its particular meaning from its polyphonic connection with the greater context, or heteroglot whole.³⁵ However, in understanding Honoré Daumier to be a satirist, Childs, through Bakhtin, zeros in on the fact that the basis of the comic or satirical form is its self-conscious conflicting deployment of its own inter-textuality.³⁶ In other words, as applied to Daumier and his caricatures, it is not the unity of the discourses present in his work, but rather their conflicting diversity that serves as the generator, so to speak, of his satirical

³¹ Elizabeth C. Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*), pp. 18-19. Here, it is important to underscore that while Childs invokes Bakhtin’s scholarship in regard to the nature and structure of language she makes no mention of his seminal theories with respect to the carnivalesque, the grotesque, and the history of laughter, which I draw up in relation to Daumier’s caricature in the present study,

³² *ibid.*, p.18. Also see, M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed Michael Holquist. trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981) p. 428.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 263; p. 428.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 428.

³⁵ For Bakhtin, this condition of interaction is one that is constant, fluid, ongoing, and which allows for the potential of all meanings, at any moment, to change and qualify each other; *ibid.*, p. 426. Also see, M. M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, trans. Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) p. 105.

³⁶ Elizabeth C. Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 18. Also see, M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, p. 428.

meaning.³⁷ Childs thus focuses on using Bakhtin's theories of language in order to identify shifts in meaning arising in Daumier's work in relation to the cacophony of voices within the arena of journalism. Here, timing in the publication of newspaper articles, drawings by other satirists, as well as Daumier's own sequence and serialization of caricatures are all understood to contribute, within a Bakhtinian dialogized framework, to altering the 'cumulative parodic effect' of an image.³⁸

There are, however, further significances to Bakhtin's theories of language which are usefully brought into play in relation to Daumier's caricatures published in *Le Monde Illustré* in 1867. Bakhtin conceives of language not as a 'system of abstract grammatical categories,' but rather, as a living 'ideologically saturated' 'world view' which has 'developed in vital connection with' the sociopolitical and cultural forces underpinning historical development.³⁹ Thus, according to Bakhtin what is revealed in the comic moment are the latent suppositions submerged within the different socio-ideological belief systems which, once set into conflict, "are unmasked and destroyed as something false, hypocritical, greedy, limited, narrowly rationalistic, and inadequate to reality."⁴⁰ The Second Empire was itself stratified by a living heteroglot of language systems both deriving from, and connected to, a vast field of different social groupings with regard to class, region, religion, gender, profession, and others. Some of these languages were associated with the era's epic historical developments such as industrialization, the crystallization of the new consumer society, and imperialism. Others, such as the massive and ongoing rhetoric of the (Napoléon III) state, were official in nature. Still

³⁷ As Bakhtin states, "Comic style (of the English sort) is based, therefore, on the stratification of common language and on the possibilities available for isolating from these strata, to one degree or another, one's own intentions, without ever completely merging with them. *It is precisely the diversity of speech, and not the unity of a normative shared language, that is the ground of style,*" *ibid.*, p. 308.

³⁸ Elizabeth C. Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, pp. 18 – 19 and *passim*.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 270 - 271.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 311 - 312

others originated from a vast sea of unofficial voices, such as those of the suppressed social strata including the ragpickers, prostitutes, and workers who, as a condition of history, had largely been pushed from public view. In applying Bakhtin's concept of satire as a deployment of deliberately conflicting historically saturated texts, I want to demonstrate how Daumier's 1867 *Le Monde illustré* wood engravings sought to humourously pit many of these Second Empire language systems against each other in order to realize critical commentaries about the social and political circumstances of the epoch.

Crucially, where my argument will differ from past scholarly approaches to caricature is in the recognition of slang or *argot* as an important, and at times decisive component in the conceptual mix of these language systems. In this sense, my reading of Daumier's caricatures will attempt to recover a level of meaning which has been obscured and lost by a historical privileging of the visual over voice within the scholarship surrounding caricature. This is not to deny the absolute importance of a complete and thorough reading of the visual texture of the image. Rather, it is to recognize that for Daumier, the idea of the image was conceived as something wider and larger than its simple visuality. In fact, this thesis will demonstrate that Daumier's *Le Monde illustré* caricatures were constructed at times as a fluid unrestrained interweaving of the fabric of visuality and voice. Further, with respect to *argot*, it is important to remember that within the era of Napoléon III's Second Empire, the voice of the working class and others living on the margins of society was often prohibited and suppressed within the policed historical circumstance, from making an official appearance.

Daumier and Le Monde illustré

The six different caricatures Daumier published in *Le Monde illustré* on the subject of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* were in keeping with the tenor of the images he had produced for the magazine over the previous five years.⁴¹ (Figures 4.1 thru 4.6)

⁴¹ See Introduction, footnote #15. This first image published for *Le Monde illustré* marked only the third public caricature issued by Daumier in a newspaper since his firing

As a series, they depicted a range of seemingly everyday encounters between people and events, only this time the setting was on the grounds of the World's Fair. Like the representation of the security officer scrutinizing the photo identification of the respectable bourgeois gentlemen at the gates of the Exposition with which I began this introduction, these caricatures were generally in keeping with the images that claimed to be *après nature* or eye-witness accounts that were associated with the wood engravings found in mid-nineteenth century illustrated magazines.⁴² As noted earlier, in contrast to nearly all of the images Daumier was simultaneously producing for *Le Charivari*, none of his *Le Monde illustré* caricatures appear on the surface to be either overtly political or even polemical in nature. As such, they do not reference as do those in *Le Charivari*, Prussians peddling armaments, and interestingly, at a time of threatening conflict, they make no obvious mention of the issues of war and peace. *Le Monde illustré* was owned by the conservative Paul Dalloz who had significant connections to the government of Napoléon III.⁴³ And the mass audience that read Daumier's *Le Monde illustré* caricatures, which reached a weekly Saturday circulation of 30,000, was generally less liberal and more conservative than were the readers of *Le Charivari*.⁴⁴ Thus, in addition to the state censorship to which he, and everyone else in France was subject, in formulating this *Le Monde illustré* series, Daumier was now also restricted in his approach to the subject of the World's Fair by the very nature of his clientele. Of course, this is not to say that Daumier always saw eye to eye with his editors at *Le Charivari*.⁴⁵

from *Le Charivari* in March of 1860; National Gallery of Canada, *Daumier 1808 – 1879*, p. 555.

⁴² Colette E. Wilson, *Paris and the Commune 1871 - 78: The Politics of Forgetting*, p. 3.

⁴³ See Introduction, footnote #3.

⁴⁴ Colette E. Wilson, *Paris and the Commune 1871 - 78: the Politics of Forgetting*, p. 39.

⁴⁵ Clark notes the differences between Daumier and *Le Charivari* over the June Days massacre and the caricaturist's publishing silence on the topic; T. J. Clark, *Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848 – 1951*, p. 99. Clark also references this particular observation with regard to Daumier's publishing silence with respect to June

However, these differences were contested within a much narrower ideological range in a newspaper dedicated to social and political satire. In fact, at *Le Charivari* there was remarkable consensus on some issues.⁴⁶ The eighteen different caricatures Daumier authored for the satirical newspaper on the subject of the 1867 World's Fair, such as the image of a Statue of Peace being constructed for the *Exposition Universelle* (which resembled a soldier going off to war)⁴⁷ demonstrated a tenacious commitment to exposing the event as a tool of Napoléon III's *Fête Impériale* and his foreign policy.⁴⁸

Days to Osiakovski's PhD thesis. In other words Clark drew the powerful insight on Daumier directly from Osiakovski; *ibid.*, 200. To this very point of Daumier's silence Osiakovski writes, "while Daumier is eloquently silent and not a single lithograph of his is published or allowed to be published in the hour of the workers defeat by the editors of *Le Charivari*, the latter print (sic) in those days of white terror on the front page of the paper of the ... manifesto by the victor over these workers..." Stanislav Osiakovski, "Some Political and Social Views of Honoré Daumier as Shown in His Lithographs," PhD Diss. University of London, 1957. pp. 156 – 158.

⁴⁶ Osiakovski notes, "in the case of Ireland, as in regard to Poland, the editorial policy of *Le Charivari* was completely in line with Daumier's attitude;" *ibid.*, p. 375. He then goes on to point out that this was a political understanding within *Le Charivari* that stretched back decades; *ibid.*, p. 375.

⁴⁷ Delteil 3547, is captioned, "*Projet de Statue de la Paix pour l'Exposition Universelle*," or, "Project for the statue of peace at the Universal Exposition;" *Le Charivari*, Paris, Jan. 5th, 1867. Also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 8 August 2010 < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3547>>.

⁴⁸ Of the seventy-two separate images he produced for *Le Charivari* during 1867, eighteen of the images, with some interpretation, can be said to either have depicted, mentioned, referenced, or seem to be set in what amounts to a World's Fair-like situation. These caricatures are almost entirely overt with their political and anti-militaristic concerns. Most of the images attempt, in some way, to link the peace rhetoric of the Fair to the threat of war, which at the start of the exposition, given Prussia's victory over Austria at the battle of Koniggratz just a year before, was a real and pressing possibility. However, it should also be noted that, in the context of the February Press laws (1852), these lithographs are all very carefully constructed by Daumier so as not to directly appear to be criticizing the policies of Napoléon III. Delteil - 3547, 3549, 3553, 3556 – walking on globe, 3559, 3560, 3566 – standing on globe, 3571, 3574, 3578, 3579 – visitors at some sort of exhibition – 3581, 3583, 3585, 3588 – award given - 3593, 3609, and 3610; accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 8 August 2010, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werklist.php?search=intro>>.

However, in working for the bourgeois and conservative *Le Monde illustré*, Daumier would now have to find a way to articulate the concerns he was simultaneously expressing in another newspaper, from within this politically restrictive, yet visually expansive and entertainment-driven vehicle. Here, it is important to point out that as an artist, the wood engraving process in *Le Monde illustré* offered Daumier access to a visual medium that was far more striking and detailed than the process of lithography he was used to when working for *Le Charivari*.⁴⁹ Finally, it also should be noted that

⁴⁹ With respect to newspapers, the invention of lithography originally freed the reproduction of images from the long and costly process of engraving; James Bash Cuno, “Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820-1840,” PhD thesis Harvard University, 1985, p. 92. In doing so it allowed visuality to keep pace with movable-type printing; Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility – Second Version” *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Volume 3 – 1935 – 1938*, p. 102. During the late 1820’s and early 1830’s, Daumier’s first employer Charles Philipon was a pivotal figure in the application of this technology to newspapers, and his influence was fundamental to the construction of the illustrated newspaper experience. A lithographer and a caricaturist himself, in 1829 Philipon co-founded *La Silhouette*, the first newspaper to give equal weight to prints, illustrations and text; James Bash Cuno. “Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820 -1840”, p. 92. At the time, “serious” newspapers considered images to be frivolous and generally did not include them within their pages; Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) p. 151. Terdiman has suggested that the satirical newspaper which Philipon had formulated was the first medium of “institutionalized counter-discourse,” to systematically ridicule the bourgeoisie and the regime; *ibid.*, p. 151. Yet, despite the form’s oppositional status, the stunning financial triumph that Philipon’s new visual commodity had attained by the late 1830’s, as James Cuno has detailed, was something that, within this era of capitalism and investment, could not be overlooked; James Bash Cuno. “Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820 -1840”, p. 135. Thus, in 1843, *L’Illustration* (*Le Monde illustré*’s forerunner) began publishing as a magazine dedicated to the mass distribution of images. However, in adopting the new format, it should be noted that *L’Illustration* eschewed lithography for the wood engraving process, perhaps hoping that through this distinction it could separate its own images from those of Philipon’s, which had come to be associated with the taint of protest and critique; Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France*, p. 152. Reciprocally, this shift to the illustrated magazine also speaks to the moment when mass visuality took on the quality of fetish. My point is that in the 1840’s, the arrival of the illustrated magazine which demarcated a new era in the visual news media, followed as a direct historical

Daumier's work for *Le Monde illustré* was considerably more lucrative. While he received only forty francs apiece for his *Le Charivari* lithographs, he was paid one hundred francs for each wood engraving.⁵⁰ In this sense, Daumier's situation at *Le Monde illustré* was very modern – he was provided access to a higher quality technology and paid a greater amount of money, yet in an immediate sense, he was granted less freedom to express himself.

consequence of the illustrated satirical newspapers of the previous decade; *ibid.*, p.152. Accordingly, in this 'new' form of magazine, visuality must be grasped as the historical antithesis to the earlier deployment of radical visual satire found within Philipon's newspapers. In this sense, it is also important to note that the illustrated newspaper emerged in France as a form in the midst of the 'September Laws' of 1835, that is, during a period of intense state censorship.

⁵⁰ Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 50.

The French Family at the Ancient Egyptian Pavilion

In the Saturday October 26th issue of *Le Monde illustré* a caricature in Daumier's World's Fair series was published just above the games (chess and rebus) and ads sections, taking up in size about two thirds of the back page.⁵¹ (Figures 4.2 & 4.7) The wood engraving depicts a French family of three passing through a massive stone archway into the Temple of Philae in the Egyptian section of the *Exposition Universelle*.⁵² Gazing up at an imitation of an ancient tomb mural, the family spies a series of gesturing deities whose human bodies have been fused with the heads of various animals – among them a stork, an elephant, and a jackal. The caption reads, “*À l'Exposition Universelle. – Section Égyptienne – Vrai! Les anciens Égyptiens n'étaient pas beaux,*” or “At the Universal Exposition, Egyptian section – Indeed! The ancient Egyptians were certainly not good looking.” (my translation) A quick assessment of the

⁵¹ DR 6028, *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, 26th October 1867; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, The Daumier Register, 9 August 2010, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=6028>>.

⁵² Differences exist in scholarship with regard to which temple served as the model for the ancient Egyptian pavilion at the 1867 World's Fair. Celik contends that the exterior is a replica of the Temple of Philae with an added “Avenue of Sphinxes” providing a sacred path into the complex; Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) p. 115. However, Nikou suggests that the structure was a composite of the discoveries of French scholars and of Egyptian archeology. Though, he does state that the World's Fair Champ-de-Mars temple was indeed mostly derived from the Temple of Philae, which he points out, was dedicated to the Goddess Hathor; Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," PhD Thesis, New York, Columbia University, 1997, p. 330. Nikou's hybrid supposition seems the most convincing and is supported by the published writings of Egyptologist August Mariette-Bey, a seminal figure in the choice, design, and construction of the Temple; M. August Mariette, *Exposition Universelle de 1867: Description du Parc Égyptien* (Paris: E. Dentu, Libraire, Palais-Royal, 1867) pp. 9-14. However, as *Le Monde illustré* does in the captions of their one-page July 13th 1867 illustration, Childs too refers the Temple as Edfou; *Le Monde illustré* (Paris, 1867) July 13th, p. 24. Also see, *Elisabeth Childs, Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004) p. 179. Given Nikou's hybrid argument, the idea of a singular reference for the structure is misleading. Accordingly, lacking a better alternative, I've decided to cite the name Philae as the Temple's 'problematic' title.

caricature's humour seems to have it turning upon a question of aesthetics. Does the lack of good looks refer to the depictions of ancient figures from another culture? Or does it lie with the fair-going family, whose faces are angled so as to better display their slightly gnarled, work-worn profiles? Of particular note in Daumier's composition is the key deity of the back wall hieroglyphic, a figure who, standing snapped to attention, looks out towards the French family, adorned with the head of a pig.

Historiography

In the only critical commentary concerning this caricature which I have been able to locate, Elisabeth Childs interprets the French family within the Egyptian temple in light of her larger thesis with respect to the artistic and cultural phenomenon of nineteenth century European "exoticism." In her 2004 book-length publication *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, Childs' posits exoticism as a charged aesthetic of both real and imagined difference that arose in response to Europe's "encounter, appropriation, and assimilation" of non-European peoples and their cultures.⁵³ With respect to Daumier, she argues exoticism was a condition of cultural conventions and stereotypes, some of them racial, through which the caricaturist approached the subject of the non-European other.⁵⁴ Interpreted from this perspective, Daumier's Egyptian caricature can be understood as an image which mocks the inability of the French to appreciate foreign cultures. Regarding the family that is gazing up at the hieroglyphic deities and announcing, "*Les anciens Égyptiens n'étaient pas beaux*," Childs claims, "they stand within inches of a powerful foreign tradition of artistic expression that they can interpret in no terms other than their own."⁵⁵ In other words, Daumier's caricature is an indictment of the "blindness" of the French bourgeoisie with regard to

⁵³ Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 3 – 4.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 179.

other peoples.⁵⁶ Though loosely discussed in connection with the Emperor Napoléon III's Suez Canal venture, the actual World's Fair pavilion in which the scene from the caricature takes place is also explained as a vicarious way for the French to experience the exotic without ever having to leave Paris.⁵⁷ However, what Childs leaves out of her reading of Daumier's caricature is an attention to details within the image which might take her analysis and argument in another direction. The most obvious of these is the inexplicable, incongruous, and frankly, provocative presence of the pig's head within the ancient hieroglyph, which Childs mentions in but a single word without any further commentary.⁵⁸ It is, in fact, this very striking detail of the pig's head which will serve as my own entry point for a more in-depth critical reading of the October 26th *Le Monde Illustré* caricature.

The Pig's Head Deity

Certainly, by the time of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, and as evidenced by the elaborate museum and visual display housed within the ancient Egyptian pavilion, there existed within France a popular awareness predicated upon the archaeological science of the day, that many of the divine figures of ancient Egypt were hybrid creations, often adorned with heads of animals. For example, both representations of Anubis, the God of the underworld, who bore the head of a dog or jackal, and Horus, the God of hunting and war who was represented with the head of a hawk or falcon, could be found within the walls of the Fair's Temple of Philae.⁵⁹ However, by fusing the head of a pig onto the shoulders of a God, Daumier's caricature exploits the conventions of Egyptian hybrid

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵⁹ Mariette references the presence of several Gods within the Temple complex; M. August Mariette, *Exposition Universelle de 1867: Description du Parc Égyptien, 1867*, Horus, p. 17; p. 20; Anubis, p. 63; the God Ra is shown with the head of a hawk and the body of a human, p. 75.

figures to effectively mock the representation of power and authority. Here, it is important to point out that the meanings of Daumier's 1867 *Exposition Universelle* caricatures are not only grounded in the social and political events that characterized both the World's Fair and the Second Empire, they are also firmly rooted in the history of laughter as a form of cultural expression.⁶⁰ As such, through this gesture the caricaturist can be understood to have directly deployed the objective memory of both Menippean satire and the carnivalesque. As with the figures of the donkey and the ass, the pig is one of the historically persistent animal symbols of "grotesque bodily degradation and regeneration," which Bakhtin argues is one of the utopian features lying at the (historic) center of "laughter" and its victory over terror and fear.⁶¹ During the Medieval period, the representation of the pig was one of the forms through which gluttony and drunken orgies, which characterized the local carnivalesque medieval folk fairs such as "the feast of fools," crossed over into collective rituals parodying the liturgy of the Church."⁶² Though the laughter of these rituals, the intolerant seriousness of the official (controlling) church ideology was challenged.⁶³ The story of "The Pig's Will," told within the sub-genre of the epitaph, was one of a host of parodies of religious liturgy that characterized the time.⁶⁴ During the Early Modern period, Rabelais, in his story of the "Sausage Wars," used the figure of a gigantic pig as a parody of a Trojan horse which, housed and moved an army of cooks as they headed into battle.⁶⁵ In many respects the pig is the inherited Menippean and carnivalesque emblem of unbridled gluttony par excellence. An emblem of the lower bodily strata, the pig is an animal that voraciously eats, but which is also greedily eaten. Within this spirit, Daumier's grafting of a pig's head onto the

⁶⁰ See Introduction, footnotes #21 – 25; 27.

⁶¹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) p. 78; p. 90.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 74 – 83.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 194.

shoulders of a God is an act which simultaneously crowns and decrowns, thus undercutting the hierarchy of power by turning a figure of authority into its opposite. This ritual act of decrowning a King (here a God) is one which Bakhtin posits as lying at the very center of the all-annihilating and all-renewing communal carnivalesque sense of the world.⁶⁶ However, Daumier is a satirical author whose images are firmly rooted in exploding the machinations of his own time.

The Fête Impériale and the Cult of the Military

In Daumier's caricature, the juxtaposition of the pig's head with the striking pose taken on by the deity - its arms and palms stiff, straight and standing to attention – serves to direct mockery to a very specific myth of the Second Empire. The stance of the pig-headed figure which is conspicuously different from that of all the other deities depicted on the tomb mural wall, recalls that of a soldier, and effectively evokes the cult of the military which lay at the center of Napoléon III's *Fête Impériale*, or spectacle of power. Indeed, nothing was more typical of the Second Empire than the presence and parade of large numbers of soldiers.⁶⁷ In fact, during the *Exposition Universelle*, legions of troops were assembled and reviewed by visiting sovereigns on virtually a daily basis.⁶⁸ However, through the connection of its representation to Egyptian archeology, the pig's head deity is also set into conflict with the "glory" of France's military past, as conceived within the *Fête Impériale*, particularly with respect to Napoléon I. The figure references among other things, the events surrounding Louis Napoléon's uncle - the first Emperor and his 1798 expedition and conquest of Egypt, which were frequently evoked to bolster

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 123 – 124; also see Introduction, footnote #23.

⁶⁷ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849 – 1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) p. 136.

⁶⁸ In one instance on June 6th, 1867, Truesdell notes that 60,000 troops arrived and were assembled in one hour, whereupon they were reviewed by not only, "the Emperor, but also the Russian Tsar, the King of Prussia, and numerous other officers including Otto von Bismarck," all of whom were there to visit the World's Fair; *ibid.*, pp. 142 – 143.

Napoléon III's régime.⁶⁹ In 1798, shortly before battle with Mameluke forces, Napoléon I gestured towards the pyramids and proclaimed to his troops to, "remember that from these monuments, forty centuries look down upon you."⁷⁰ In actual fact, it was this same invasion of the region by Napoléon I that led to the systematic survey and scientific appropriation of ancient Egyptian culture by France through the Napoléonic *Commission des sciences et arts d'Égypte (1809-1828)*.⁷¹ The singular discovery by his soldiers of the Rossetta Stone resulted in the eventual translation of Egyptian hieroglyphs in Paris in 1822.⁷² In this sense, the knowledge underpinning the formulation of the Egyptian pavilion at the 1867 World's Fair was itself a trophy of imperialism. Significantly, many of the regions which were showcased at the 1867 Exposition, including Egypt, didn't yet conceive of themselves as nations.⁷³ It would be European architects and French

⁶⁹ Truesdell notes that as early as 1850, then President Louis Napoléon began to supplant the imagery of the 1848 French Republic with the narrative of ancient Egypt and Napoléon I's 1789 Exhibition. During a May 4th celebration at the Place de la Concorde, Louis Napoléon had the obelisk surrounded with huge statues of pharaohs and sphinxes. Where just two years before there had been the curvaceous statues of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, now an Egyptian motif was underscored with the words, "*Bonaparte, général en chef de l'expédition*," along with names of the principle battles in the campaign; *ibid.*, pp. 25 – 27.

⁷⁰ There is a slight difference between Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 180, and J. Christopher Herold, *Bonaparte in Egypt* (London: Harper & Row, 1962) p. 95, in the cited quote from Napoléon I. While Childs has the quote as, "Remember that from these monuments, forty centuries look down upon you," Herold has only, "Soldiers, forty centuries look down upon you."

⁷¹ Edward Said traces the modern construction of Orientalism from the date of Napoléon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, and shows how the accumulation and framing of cultural knowledge within a learned field of study over the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries laid the groundwork for Europe's political authority over the region; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) p. 42. Also see, Irene A. Bierman, *Napoléon in Egypt* (London: Ithaca Press, 2003) p. 161. Also see, Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," p. 129.

⁷² Irene A. Bierman, *Napoleon in Egypt*, p. 161.

⁷³ Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," p. 6.

Egyptologists such as Mariette-Bey, who would imagine and formulate the major three Egyptian Pavilions at the Fair.⁷⁴ The Ancient Temple which Daumier referenced in his depiction was in fact more an artistic summary of the archaeological knowledge of well-known discoveries by French scholars such as Mariette-Bey, than a direct reproduction of a single given edifice.⁷⁵ The plan of the fairground structure was based upon a small temple design referred to as Mammisi and exemplified by structures found at Dendera, Philae, Abydos, and Edfou.⁷⁶ However, it must be noted that the Second Empire's conception of Egyptian architecture in terms of its emphasis on the region's connection to its ancient past had an underlying and current imperialistic motive. In the context of the Emperor's foreign policy of the "Principle of Nationalities"⁷⁷ this focus was undertaken as a way of severing Egypt's identity from the Ottoman Empire and its connection to

⁷⁴ Mariette was originally sent by the Louvre to purchase manuscripts. However, he stayed in Egypt and began excavations. After sending some of the treasures he had found back to Paris the Louvre encouraged him to remain, whereupon he was appointed Director of Egyptian Antiquities in 1858 and established the Bulaq as the place where he could exhibit his new findings; *ibid*, pp. 323 – 333. Also see, *Zeynep Celik, Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, p. 115. Also see, Irene A. Bierman, *Napoléon in Egypt*, p. 162.

⁷⁵ Nikou points out that all the exterior and interior walls of the temple gallery and sanctuary were covered with hieroglyphic paintings. The exterior walls were executed in the New Kingdom style, and the interior ones were rendered in the Old Kingdom style based on a tomb in Memphis; Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," pp. 329 – 332. The interior of the Ancient Temple (in which Daumier set his caricature) was actually an anthropological museum hosting exhibits from the Bulaque Museum; Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, pp. 115 – 116. Mariette-Bey declares the "Ancient Egyptian Temple Park to be primarily a museum," then provides an exhaustive catalogue of its collection of art; M. August Mariette, *Exposition Universelle de 1867: Description du Parc Égyptien*, p. 10.

⁷⁶ Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," pp. 329 – 332.

⁷⁷ See Introduction, footnote #8.

Islam.⁷⁸

The Empress' Cousin and the Suez Canal

Egypt also held direct and immediate economic as well as political significance to both France and Napoléon III himself. The Empress Eugénie's cousin, Ferdinand de Lessep, headed the company which had been created to build the Suez Canal.⁷⁹ Digging on the waterway had actually commenced on April 25th, 1859.⁸⁰ Over 21,000 French backers, the majority of whom were small investors such as teachers, lawyers, engineers, merchants, and civil servants held fifty percent of the purchasable shares in the venture, and Napoléon III had stepped in to directly support the project as of October 1859.⁸¹ In fact, the Suez Company had its very own pavilion just across from the Ancient Temple at the World's Fair - Isthme de Suez – which displayed huge models of the current state of

⁷⁸ Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," p. 7.

⁷⁹ Most people knew Ferdinand de Lesseps was the cousin of the empress of France, but few knew exactly "what that meant." Consequently, "the uncertainty was a boon for De Lesseps;" Zachary Karabell, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal* (Westminster, MD: Alfred A. Knoph, 2003) p. 124. Karabell states some figures at the time accused De Lesseps of openly exploiting his relationship with the Imperial family, noting that in 1856, while attempting to obtain backing for the canal project, Lesseps was continually invoking the emperor's name; *ibid.*, p. 131. According to Karabell, while Napoléon III officially countered that Lesseps "didn't speak for him," the general impression was that the Emperor supported the project and wanted the canal to be built; *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁸⁰ Lord Kinross, *Between Two Seas: The Creation of the Suez Canal* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1969) pp. 122 – 123.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 115; 132. Also see, Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," p. 120. Interestingly, Daumier produces his first caricature on the canal only after Napoléon III stepped in to support the project; Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 175; p. 185. Delteil 3222, created in November 1859 for *Le Charivari* but never published; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 15 Aug. 2012, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3222>>.

Ferdinand de Lessep's work.⁸² However, key to the financing of the project was a disastrous contract, which Egypt had signed with de Lesseps, that amounted to the purchase of forty-four percent of the Company's capital stock.⁸³ It totalled eighty-five million francs, and was a figure the country of Egypt could not afford.⁸⁴ As the scholar Mehrangiz Nikou has shown, Napoléon III forced Egypt to pay its debts to the Suez Canal Company despite a collapse in the price of cotton, Egypt's major export, following the end of the American Civil War in April, 1865.⁸⁵ Accordingly, having been forced to take out a rapid series of loans in increasingly disadvantageous terms, Egypt's debt rose at a rate unequalled by any other country in the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Ultimately, in paying off de Lesseps' Company which was half owned by French investors, the Egyptian government was driven into bankruptcy.⁸⁷ As such, it is important to remember that the conception of everything Egyptian at the time of the Fair - Egyptomania⁸⁸ - was loaded with a financial and political significance which was simultaneously connected to the representation of the Emperor and his régime. Thus, Daumier's grafting of a gluttonous pig's head onto an Egyptian deity standing at attention sets this implicit subtext into satirical collision. However, this analysis only deals with a portion of Daumier's caricature.

⁸² Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, pp. 57 – 59.

⁸³ Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," p. 190; p. 196.

⁸⁴ Lord Kinross, *Between Two Seas: The Creation of the Suez Canal*, p. 117.

⁸⁵ The sum Egypt had to pay was a total of 50 million francs; Mehrangiz Nikou, "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern Nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867," pp. 189 – 191.

⁸⁶ Loans taken in October 1864 and late 1865 were with the French financier Oppenheim; *ibid.*, p. 191.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 191.

⁸⁸ Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, pp. 178 - 179.

Determining the Class of the French Family

Another added level of complexity found within Daumier's *Le Monde illustré* wood engraving of the ancient Egyptian temple is engendered in the visual element of the strolling French family. In her analysis of Daumier's October 26th caricature, Elisabeth Childs identifies the family as bourgeois.⁸⁹ However, I would argue that based on their attire and demeanour this kinship grouping appears to be far removed from middle class or the elite layers. For example, within the realm of the five other World's Fair images Daumier created for *Le Monde illustré*, there are numerous examples of fashionable bourgeois figures whose clothes and style contrast sharply with those worn by this fairground family. A number of the female figures from Daumier's other caricatures resemble those from the engravings of Heloise Leloir and Adèle-Anais Toudouze's and featured in the women's magazine *Le Mode illustré* which had helped to accelerate the pace of the development of the era's sense of fashion.⁹⁰ The hats of Daumier's women, small and ornamental in nature, are coupled with elaborately tied buns and braided hairstyles. There are several examples of dresses with feathery textures and decorative ribbons which reference, in some cases, the fashion style of *Chinoiserie*.⁹¹ Many of the men depicted by Daumier wear refined clothing of high quality material which has been cut and tailored precisely to their bodily form.⁹² As well, in a number of instances, the

⁸⁹ *ibid*, p. 179.

⁹⁰ Shane Adler Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar: The Commodification of Late-Nineteenth-Century France," *Art Journal*, Spring, 1989, pp. 85 - 89.

⁹¹ Childs points out the bourgeois couple passing through one of Daumier's 1867 World Fair caricatures (DR 6027) is dressed in the fashion "*à la mode Chinoise*," Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 95. DR 6023 – 6027, also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 9 August 2009, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/login.php?startpage> >.

⁹² DR 6025, *ibid.*; the male bourgeois figure being pick-pocketed in Daumier's image is very elegantly dressed. DR 6023, *ibid.*; the middle class figure getting his photo identity checked as he enters the World's Fair is also well attired.

men's top hats gleam with a smooth polished shine that appears to be silk.⁹³ The ostentatiousness of these various figures evokes a Parisian bourgeoisie that has crossed over into the realm of the modern consumer.⁹⁴

In contrast, the family Daumier depicts visiting the Egyptian pavilion does not emanate the aura of attention to dress or even conspicuous consumption that was characteristic of the range of ranks among the bourgeoisie. Instead, the clothes worn by these figures are shabby, rumpled, poorly fitting, and far from the realm of a fashion magazine display. In fact, this particular family is likely to hail from outside of metropolitan areas of France; indeed as provincials or rurals they are perhaps even of the peasant or farmer class (*paysans*). Daumier had, on previous occasions, depicted *paysans* whose mannerisms and customs clashed with the manifestations of urban city life. A reading of the identity of this family in these terms is supported by the close match of their clothing and physical appearance with a lithograph Daumier had produced just three years earlier and which was part of a series of ten lithographs entitled, "*Croquis Pris au Théâtre*."⁹⁵ In this earlier image, a couple can be seen sitting in a Parisian theater after having witnessed what has clearly been a large stage production. However, the seats around the pair have almost entirely been emptied, and it appears that they have been sitting in a nearly vacant auditorium for some time. The man, with his back almost directed towards us, seems to be obstinately refusing to budge from his (expensive) seat.

⁹³ DR 6023, DR 6024, DR 6025, *ibid*.

⁹⁴ In his discussion of 1860's Paris, T. J. Clark talks not only about the rise of "consumerism" and the invasion of commodities in "whole new areas of social practice which had once been referred to as everyday life", but also the crystallization of capital (as spectacle) into an image; T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984) p. 9.

⁹⁵ Delteil 3312, was a part of series of ten lithographs created between January 30th, 1864 and June 12, 1865 for *Le Charivari* entitled *Croquis, Pris, au Théâtre*, or "Sketches from the Theatre." In fact, this particular image was one of two caricatures from that series that actually went unpublished. Accessed through the Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *Daumier Register*, 1 Oct. 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3312> > see sub-catagory within 3312 website reference - "background details."

Finally, his wife leans over and makes an impatient appeal, “Come on now, Joseph, it’s over, everybody is leaving.” Unmoved, her stubborn husband refuses to turn away from the empty stage, “Just a moment, I want to make sure this is not just a sham to clear us out, since we are rural folk” (*paysans*, being the actual French term that is used).⁹⁶ Interestingly, the clothes these self-described *paysans* are wearing in the 1864 image are strikingly similar to those worn by the figures in the 1867 Egyptian *Le Monde illustré* engraving. The women share the same nondescript style of baggy dresses with minimal cloth caps, reminiscent, in some respects, of Millet’s paintings of peasants, or the figures in Daumier’s own 1864 canvas *The Third Class Railway Carriage*.⁹⁷ As well, the frayed top hats from the *Croquis Pris Au Théâtre* series image and that of the Egypt section caricature are a close match. Even the physiognomy of the two sets of characters is reminiscent – all have the same haggard look, which borders on the grotesque, etched on their faces - a look that is presumably reflective of lives of physical labour. As such, it would seem that the peasant couple from the 1864 image has been brought forward and into the realm of 1867 World’s Fair by Daumier as a ‘type.’ Incidentally, the motif of the uncomprehending foreign family adrift in Paris during a World’s Fair was one which Daumier had employed before. During the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*, he had depicted a stupefied English middle class couple and their children who, despite clutching their guidebook, find themselves standing open mouthed with gapped teeth, completely uncomprehending before the most obvious works of art and famous monuments in the French Capital.⁹⁸ However, in the case of the family depicted in the 1867 *Le Monde*

⁹⁶ Delteil 3312, *ibid.*; “*Mais viens-t'en donc, Joseph, c'est fini, tout le monde est parti. - Minute! j'veux m'assurer que c'est pas une frime pour nous voler parce que j'sommes des paysans.*”

⁹⁷ Delteil 3299, *ibid.*; Daumier produced numerous renditions of the *Third Class Railway Carriage*, including a satirical lithograph with Monsieur Prod’homme; accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *Daumier Register*, 15 Oct. 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3299> >. Interestingly, as a social and class contrast, Daumier also produced versions of both a second and first class carriage. Bruce Laughton, *Honoré Daumier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) pp. 110 – 113.

⁹⁸ Delteil 2673, the caricature’s caption narrates the family’s confused word play standing before one of the monuments, “*C’été Molière qui été sur ce monumente.... - Non, c’été LA FONTAINE. Yes..... Molière sur la fontaine.*” or, “It was Molière on this

illustré caricature, the tension has been switched from one based upon the perceptions of foreigners in the city to that of an urban-rural dynamic.

It is through this “threshold dialogue” between the provincial and even rural family and the multiple discourses imbued within the surrounding murals of ancient Egyptian tomb art and hieroglyphics that an element of the broader humour and meaning of the caricature comes into focus.⁹⁹ On the face of it, these provincials could be supposed to possess a more intimate knowledge of animals which would most certainly have included hogs, pigs, and swine.¹⁰⁰ Yet, their lack of worldliness leaves them simultaneously speechless and defensively recoiling, umbrella at the ready, in front of the frescoes from the past here rendered with hybrid human-animal forms. Daumier underscores the bleak caricature of the father figure by turning his hat into a scaffold through compositionally overlaying its black form with one of the dangling feet of one of the anonymous deities depicted just behind him on the mural of the tomb wall. However, Daumier also mocks the father by placing a phantom Rorschach like-image of an animal on the right side of the man’s own face. Looking carefully, the father’s dangling hair,

monument... - No, it was La Fontaine! - Yes, Molière on the fountain.” Note Daumier’s caption deliberately confuses the English family’s use (and misuse) of the French word *c’été* for the word *c’était*; accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2673> >.

⁹⁹ Bakhtin points out that the Menippean genre of the “threshold dialogue” was widespread in the Middle Ages, with peasants arguing at the gates of heaven. He also suggests that the “dialogues of the dead” which were widespread in European literature into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were connected to this genre; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. & trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1984) p. 116. The concept of being on the “threshold” also proceeds from the Socratic dialogue of the “extraordinary situation,” which would force a person to reveal the “deepest layers of his personality or thought.” *ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁰ Plessis notes that an official survey carried out in 1872 of the living conditions of peasants within France concluded that in 46 *départements*, “animals sleep intermingled with men, women and children;” Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire, 1852 – 1871*, trans. Jonathan Mandelbaum (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p. 111.

beard, and ear flip and turn into the eye and projected snout of a pig.

France's Rural Classes

Through the lens of pastoral distance, Rousseau wrote in the eighteenth century that it was “the rural people who make the nation.”¹⁰¹ Yet, following the French Revolution, and throughout the nineteenth century, the relationship between this class and the nation had now become less of an uncomplicated certainty, and accordingly a subject of satire. Conflicts over language, religion, regional loyalties and education placed the rural population and peasants at odds with the demands and requirements of the developing national state.¹⁰² As such, the process of the re-making of this population into modern citizens was an ongoing historical project during the nineteenth century, and something to which Daumier played witness.¹⁰³

In fact, the family Daumier depicts wandering through the Exposition may have been perceived by readers of *Le Monde illustré* as an example of a group of more affluent rural citizens or even upwardly mobile *paysans* visiting the Egyptian pavilion in their Sunday best clothes. After all, they had been able to afford the expense of traveling to

¹⁰¹ James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p. 12.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 13; with respect to peasantry and France, Lehning cites conflicts over the language of Patois. He discusses the regional loyalties of peasants, p. 3; and control of their lives by the church, as opposed to the national state, p. 176. In the latter example, he uses an interesting image to describe the historic transition, citing the replacement within the lives of peasants of the crucifix by the tricolor on p. 178. Lehning also cites the struggles within the regional classroom, pp. 130 – 156. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870 – 1914* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976) remains a classic in this field of studies.

¹⁰³ Lehning argues that in some respects in the mid nineteenth century, “French civilization, and the French nation, becomes defined as the counter to the savagery of the countryside;” *ibid.*, 20.

the capital to visit the World's Fair.¹⁰⁴ It should be remembered that many in the city were only themselves a generation or less removed from the countryside.¹⁰⁵ In fact, a favorite Daumier motif was the encounter between rural parents and their newly dandified urban offspring. In one particular caricature¹⁰⁶ a seemingly newly established bourgeois son, shocked and ashamed of his peasant lineage, chooses to answer his *sabot-*shod father's sudden open embrace and excited cries on a Paris street with an indifferent and cold, "*Connais pas!!*" or, "Don't know you!!"

Examined within this context, the caricature takes on a deeper historical and political significance if we view the rural family's presence and demeanour as clashing, not so much with the manifestation of ancient Egyptian art, but with Napoléon III's *Fête Impériale* - the spectacle of the Fair and the political power that lay behind it. In fact, the French peasantry made up the most populous class within the Second Empire.¹⁰⁷ As a group, it was they who had by and large approved of Louis Napoléon's coup, and it was also they who had also buttressed the creation of the Empire through their participation in

¹⁰⁴ In fact, the same new railroad tracks that brought them to the World's Fair also resulted in a short-term prosperity for the country's peasantry and rural farmers. The construction of the railway networks during the Second Empire had nurtured a brief agrarian boom by encouraging commercial specialization; Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 – 1914: The Bourgeois Century* (London: Fontana Paperback, 1983) pp. 174 – 175.

¹⁰⁵ T. J. Clark, *Image of the People; Gustave Courbet and the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 147 - 52.

¹⁰⁶ Part of a series entitled *Émotions Parisiennes*, the entire caption reads, "Oh here you are, my poor dear ... darn it, how handsome you are! Come and give your father a kiss." The son who has educated his senses in Paris, replies: "*Connais pas!!*" or, "Don't know you!" Delteil 712, accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack Daumier, *The Daumier Register*, 5 July 2011, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=712>>.

¹⁰⁷ Plessis cites statistics from 1856 showing the number of citizens living in towns under 2000 was 26,190,000, or 72.7% of the total French population; the number of those dependent on agriculture was 19,140,000, or 53.1%; Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire, 1852 – 1871*, p. 105.

numerous national referendums.¹⁰⁸ As a class, it was furthermore the peasantry and not the country's urban and town labourers, who provided the régime with its early and ongoing popular support.¹⁰⁹ With regard to this historical turn of events, Karl Marx is particularly disparaging in his analysis of the peasantry's attachment to Louis Napoléon. Of the French peasantry, Marx said that they were "potatoes in a sack," and that they "cannot represent themselves, they must be represented."¹¹⁰ He then went on to declare,

Historical tradition gave rise to the belief of the French peasants in the miracle that a man named Napoléon would bring all the glory back to men. And an individual turned up who presented himself as that man because he bore the name of Napoléon ... the fixed idea of the Nephew was realized, because it coincided with

¹⁰⁸ Magraw argues the initial support of the régime by the peasantry was not entirely as one-sided as the large affirmative vote cast in Louis-Napoléon's referendum might suggest. He characterizes the resistance in the countryside to the coup as an "insurrection;" Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 -1914: The Bourgeois Century* (Oxford: Fontana Paperbacks, 1983) p. 144. Magraw also notes that the régime subsequently established its tight control over parts of the countryside with a wave of terror and arrests in which 5400 peasants were prosecuted; Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 -1914: A Social History* (Harlow: Longman, 2002) p. 137. As such, Magraw states that, "the massive Bonapartist vote in 1852 (referendum) owed much to fear and intimidation; 31 departments remained (at the time of the vote) under a state of siege;" *ibid.*, p. 138. He also states that effectively, the countryside had become a Bonapartist "police state;" *ibid.*, p. 139. Also see Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, (New York: International Publishers, 1963 (first published 1852)) p. 123; p. 126. Marx notes that peasant uprisings did take place in half of France in response to the coup; *ibid.*, pp. 125 - 126. Also see Pamela M. Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814 - 1871* (London: MacMillan, 1995) p. 245. Pilbeam argues the plebiscites, which were revived from Napoléon I's era, were detested by republicans as a denial of democracy, "they offered no choice, no alternative, but merely an opportunity to affirm the decisions of the emperor." For a broader overview of the institution of universal (male) suffrage among the peasantry see James Lehning, James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 179 - 203.

¹⁰⁹ Clark, *Image of the People*, pp. 86 - 88. Also Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, p. 123.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 124.

the fixed idea of the most numerous class of the French people.¹¹¹

According to Marx, it was not the revolutionary peasantry, those who wanted to join forces with the urban populations, but the conservative peasantry, who, in their allegedly stupefied seclusion and desire to consolidate their small land holdings, had formed Napoléon's base support.¹¹² For Marx, it was this class' supposed ignorance and superstition, which he characterized as a "modern Vendée," that led them to embrace Bonapartism.¹¹³ Writing in early 1852 only months after the coup,¹¹⁴ Marx went on to prophesize the deterioration of agriculture and the progressive indebtedness of the peasantry under Emperor Louis-Napoléon's régime.¹¹⁵ Interestingly, this prediction did not come to pass since, over the course of the Second Empire, conditions for the peasantry generally improved.¹¹⁶ The construction of railway networks in fact nurtured a brief agrarian boom by encouraging commercial specialization, enabling some peasants (perhaps even the family depicted in Daumier's caricature) to participate in a wider market economy.¹¹⁷ Accordingly, what must ultimately be considered in the attempt to

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 124 – 125.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 125.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 125. Lehning too references the characterization of the Vendée peasants, found in nineteenth century historian Jules Michelet's (1847 – 53) *Histoire de la Révolution française*, as a "blind and ignorant people ... a barbarian army ... savages;" James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century*, p. 18. Also see, Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion, 1880 (first published 1847)).

¹¹⁴ Marx's notes, "it will be seen that the present work (*The Eighteen Brumaire*) took shape under the immediate pressure of events and its historical material does not extend beyond the month of February (1852);" Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 126.

¹¹⁶ Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 – 1914: The Bourgeois Century* (London: Fontana Paperback, 1983) p. 174.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 174 – 175. As a result of the railway, peasants in Leon, for example, could now send garden produce including strawberries to large markets in Paris, and after 1860,

explain the peasantry's support for the régime, and in whose eyes empire and prosperity appeared to coincide, was the reality of high prices for such things as grain and wine.¹¹⁸ Yet, that the course of history took another direction does not negate the importance of Marx's observations with respect to the political dimension of the peasantry's alleged stupefied and unworldly character. In fact, his harsh assessment of the peasantry was shared by both contemporaries and later scholars.¹¹⁹ Lehning notes that for Balzac in *Les Paysans* (1844), peasants were not only unenlightened, they were in fact barely human.¹²⁰ However, with respect to this thesis, the salient aspect of Marx's argument is his suggestion that the peasantry's "ignorance" was one of the very pillars of Napoléon III's

to Britain; Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 106. Plessis goes on to describe the mid 1860's as "an unusually favourable period for agriculture, as bumper crops coincided with high prices;" *ibid.*, 110.

¹¹⁸ Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 – 1914: The Bourgeois Century*, p. 179. Weber quotes one small town mayor (Courgis from Yonne) as stating, "the people ... were satisfied with the new constitution of 1852, the more so since their wines were selling reasonably well." Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870 – 1914*, p. 254

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 3 - 6; Weber paints a grim picture of the nineteenth century French peasantry as existing in a state of ignorance and "savagery," and as "hardly touched by civilization." The peasantry and the countryside were, he notes, "intellectually several centuries behind the enlightened part of the country." Although referencing Weber's observations of the peasantry's way of life, one steeped in isolation, poverty, superstitions and violence, Magraw is critical of what he refers as the historian's (Weber's) broad "generalizations." Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 – 1914: A Social History*, p. 125.

¹²⁰ James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century*, p. 19. Eugen Weber had also quoted Balzac's *Paysans* (1844) to begin his own study of the French countryside some twenty years before: "You don't need to go to America to see savages," mused a Parisian as he strolled through the Burgundian countryside of the 1840's. Here are the Redskins of Fenimore Cooper." Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870 – 1914*, p. 3. Weber notes that the French literary figure Stendhal in 1830 referred to the area between Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Valence, as a place where "people believe in witches, don't know how to read, and don't speak French;" *ibid.*, p. 6. The historian Eugene Bonnemere thought the differences so great between the city and the country that in his 1856 history of the peasantry he speculated that the two peoples would eventually evolve into two distinct races; *ibid.*, p.10.

régime of power.

In his caricature of the Egyptian pavilion, Daumier fuses this historically grounded manifestation of supposed rural ignorance with the spectacle of the World's Fair and all its ensuing baggage of the legacy of French militarism, imperialism, archeological appropriation, Suez Canal nepotism, and financial shenanigans. The irony of the misapprehension of these rural people is that when they say, "The ancient Egyptians were not good looking," the ugliness they reference speaks not so much to Egypt or the past, as to the current French régime and the Emperor's policies. Furthermore, the genius of their depicted ignorance is that it allows the viewer and ourselves the possibility of glimpsing a 'truth' – at least from Daumier's perspective – through turning the ruse of the Emperor's World's Fair phantasmagoria comically upside down. And, once again, through this gesture we also witness the resurfacing of older carnivalesque and Menippean-infused traditions of the feast of fools and "clowning wisely," in which victory is achieved over forms of authority, hierarchy, and seriousness through the strategy of laughter.¹²¹ However, the nagging suspicion that Napoléon III himself is at the heart of this caricature becomes clearer if we step beyond a simple visual analysis and examine another form of representation Daumier employed within this image to mock the *Exposition Universelle*.

Argot and the term Égyptien

As the work of the French literary historian Brett Bowles has pointed out, in 1863 and 1865 Parisian litterateur and Republican Alfred Delvau published two dictionaries on *argot*, or slang, - the *Dictionnaire érotique moderne* (1863) and the *Dictionnaire de la langue verte: argots Parisiens comparés*. (1866)¹²² Delvau issued these texts to make

¹²¹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 60.

¹²² Brett Bowles, "Delvau's Dictionaries: Vehicles of Lexical and Sociocultural Change in Second Empire Paris," *The French Review*, December, 1997, p. 213. Bowles scholarship revolves around using Delvau's writings on *argot* to discover new layers of meaning behind what appears to be the "impenetrable, illogical text" of Baulelaire's prose poem *L'Horloge*; *ibid.*, 219. Bowles demonstrates how the terms used in the poem, such as *chinois* (Chinaman) *Céleste Empire* (China) and *gamin* (street urchin), can be understood

direct attacks on the state-sponsored academic institutions which sought to define and fix the boundaries of language.¹²³ As Delvau notes, *argot* was the voice of the *ouvriers* (workers) as well as the street.¹²⁴ It was perverse, scatological,¹²⁵ and Delvau's publication of *argot*'s forms was part of a concerted effort to undermine the cultural hegemony of the bourgeois and the elite bourgeois upon which Napoléon III's power rested.¹²⁶ It is worth noting that the 1863 publication was actually banned.¹²⁷ Indeed, any copies that could be found were confiscated and destroyed, and the publisher was fined for violating public morals.¹²⁸ Daumier brings this *argot* - the prohibited, marginalized, and persecuted language of the labouring classes and the street - into his

to mean, respectively, penis, vagina, and a sexual position which places a woman on top of her partner. In other words, by using *argot* Bowles reveals Baudelaire's *L'Horloge* to be a poem not about clocks or the country of China, but about the sexual act; *ibid.*, pp 219 – 220. Interestingly, Walter Benjamin cites Delvau as been a confidant of Baudelaire's, "Delvau, Baudelaire's friend and the most interesting among the minor masters of the feuilleton, claimed that he could divide the Parisian public according to its various strata as easily as a geologist distinguishes the layers in rocks;" "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire," Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Verso, 1983) p. 39.

¹²³ Brett Bowles, "Delvau's Dictionaries: Vehicles of Lexical and Sociocultural Change in Second Empire Paris," p. 213.

¹²⁴ "Delvau identifies over forty different sub-categories of Parisian *argot* including ... *prostituées* and *voleurs*," *ibid.*, p. 216.

¹²⁵ Crucially, Bakhtin cites "profanation" as a category within the carnivalesque, which included "blasphemies," "debasings," and "carnivalistic obscenities linked with the reproductive power of earth and the body;" Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, p. 123.

¹²⁶ Brett Bowles, "Delvau's Dictionaries: Vehicles of Lexical and Sociocultural Change in Second Empire Paris," p. 213.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 215.

¹²⁸ In June of 1865 a Tribunal condemned the *Dictionnaire érotique moderne* for "outrage à la morale publique et aux bonnes mœurs," *ibid.*, p. 215.

caricatures.¹²⁹ For example, the term “*Égyptien*,” which is a part of the caricature’s caption, actually carries the slang meaning of “*mauvais acteur*” or “bad actor.”¹³⁰ An awareness of this significance immediately leads to the question: Who exactly is being referred to as a bad actor? In the context of the *Fête Impériale*, the most likely culprit is the current Emperor himself, Napoléon III, known for his appropriation and mimicry of his uncle Napoléon I’s achievements. It is ironic that Marx himself had pointed out in the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, published after Louis Napoléon took power in the December 2nd 1851 coup, that indeed, “all great world-historic facts and personages appear, so to speak twice ... the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce.”¹³¹ As such, Marx had already pegged the ‘nephew’ as a bad actor playing on the achievements of his ‘uncle.’ Interestingly, the French slang term for *Égyptien* most likely arose as a derogatory reference likening the stiff on-stage technique of a bad actor to a hieroglyph. With this in mind, we might again wonder if Napoléon III isn’t in fact represented within this caricature. At the time when it was still forbidden by decree to make any direct representations of the Emperor and the Imperial family, could the swine-headed deity and the larger tomb mural in fact be a coded hieroglyph of the Emperor and his régime?¹³²

¹²⁹ Interestingly, in a lithograph calling card of what appears to be a make believe New Year’s party of thirty plus members of *Le Charivari*, published January 2 - 3d, 1867, Daumier and an “A. Delvau” are pictured together making music; National Gallery of Canada, *Daumier 1808 – 1879* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1999) p. 559. In others words, Daumier and Delvau may have not only know each other, but worked together at *Le Charivari*.

¹³⁰ “*Mauvais acteur, - dans l’argot des coulisses*,” Alfred Delvau, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte: Argots Parisiens Comparés* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1866) p. 152. *Please note, the 1883 version of Alfred Delvau’s *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte* which was published in Paris by C. Marpon & E. Flammarion, cites – “*mauvais acteur*” - on p. 144.

¹³¹ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, p. 15.

¹³² Helene Toussaint argues that at the 1855 World’s Fair Courbet crossed this censorship boundary through his depiction of Napoléon III, dogs and all, in the artist’s *L’Atelier du Peintre*, which was exhibited in Courbet’s own gallery (The Pavilion of Realism) just outside the Exhibition; Helene Toussaint, “Le Dossier de L’Atelier de Courbet,” in *Gustave Courbet (1819 - 1877)* (Paris : Ministère de la Culture et de l’Environnement, 1977) p. 258. Apparently, Daumier also recognized the presences of Napoléon III in Courbet’s painting. In an 1855 caricature published in *Le Charivari* - Delteil 2675 -

Significantly, in two caricatures produced more than thirty years earlier, Daumier had actually employed the motif of ancient Egyptian art to create a satirical image of a previous French leader - Louis-Philippe.¹³³ In these earlier images, published before the imposition of September Laws of 1835 and their strict censorship, the citizen-king Louis-Philippe was twice depicted in the form of a hieroglyphic-laden sarcophagus. In one image the caption reads “*Jugement après la mort,*” or, “Judgement after death.”¹³⁴ The possibility that during the Second Empire Napoléon III may have been similarly judged within the *Le Monde illustré* caricature becomes a bit more likely if we widen our reading of the image, particularly in connection to its use of slang.

The Tomb Mural

In broadening this analysis to consider not just the pig’s head deity but the entire tomb mural and the expansive series of hieroglyphics and fused animal/human figures facing the tourist provincial family, a number of additional caricatural elements come into play, some of which can be read through the prism of *argot*. Yet, unlike the term *Égyptien*, which appears written in the caption, these references derive from discrete visual components within the image. Accordingly, both their delineation as examples of slang, and their subsequent interpretation is necessarily more speculative. However, their elucidation seems to support the supposition that *argot* informed not just the caricature’s text, but at least some of its visual composition. For example, the elephant deity that Daumier depicts on the mural as using his hands to play his long trunk the way one

Daumier depicts a crowd gazing up at Courbet’s *L’Atelier du Peintre* and shouting aloud, “This Mr. Courbet makes far too vulgar faces, ... in real life no one is half as ugly as this!” In the midst of that very same crowd Daumier also places a small figure that looks striking like that of Napoléon III himself; accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 4 July 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2675>>.

¹³³ Delteil 5047, accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 5 May 2012, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=5047> > Delteil 5047, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=229>>.

¹³⁴ Delteil 229, *ibid.*

would a horn or musical instrument is also a figure, I would argue, that implicates the Emperor. *L'éléphant joue sa trompe*, visually pushes the pun on the meaning of the words *trompeter* and *trompe* - trumpet and trunk.¹³⁵ However, the definition found in Delvau's *Langue Verte* for the word *trompeter* is, in popular slang, "*Divulguer, publier une chose qui devait être tenue secrète,*" or to "disclose, and publish something that should be kept secret."¹³⁶ In *argot* both *trompette* and *trompe* mean *nez* or nose.¹³⁷ However, *trompe* also has the additional meaning, *qui prennent l'homme pour un proboscidien*, or "taking a man for a proboscis" – or elephant trunk or big nose.¹³⁸ Napoléon III, of course, was known to have had a long nose, which prior to the imposition of censorship, became the subject of caricature by satirists such as Daumier.¹³⁹ So, framed within these *argot* meanings is the concept of a gigantic deceitful nose, something which suspiciously reflects the qualities of the Emperor. Interestingly, Daumier had, on a previous occasion, used an elephant's trunk in one of his caricatures to mock the Emperor. In 1859 the caricaturist had deployed the figure of the deposed black Haitian general Soulouque, who had also historically modeled himself on Napoléon I, as a satirical stand-in for Napoléon III, but with black face.¹⁴⁰ In this image, as Soulouque

¹³⁵ Alfred Delvau, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte: Argot Parisiens Comparés* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1866) pp. 485 - 486. * Please note the 1883 version of Alfred Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte*, published in Paris by C. Marpon & E. Flammarion cites "*trompeter* and *trompe*" on p. 476.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 486.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 485 – 486.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 485. *Trompette* also has the secondary meaning of *visage* or face, p. 486.

¹³⁹ Delteil 1756, published a day after his election victory on December 11, 1848, Daumier's *Le Charivari* caricature of the new president being lifted high on a shield by Victor Hugo and Émile Girardin clearly depicts Louis Napoléon's nose as being four to five times larger in proportion to that of either of the other men; accessed through, Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 1 April 2012, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=1756>>.

¹⁴⁰ Delteil 3146, Daumier produced over twenty Soulouque images over the course of the Second Empire; Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 117.

visited the Paris Zoo, an elephant reached out with his trunk from behind the bars of his cage and plucked off the Haitian Emperor's bicorne hat.

In the *Le Monde illustré* caricature, just above the elephant in the mural of the Egyptian temple is the image of a duck, or in French, *canard*, which also has several meanings in *argot*. The first is that of a joke.¹⁴¹ The second extends the idea of the false event a little further. In reference to the sound of criers who used to hawk newspapers on the street, - *et par extension, fausse nouvelle*, "or, by extension, false report," it also takes on the meaning of a hoax.¹⁴²

Immediately to the left of the elephant is the figure of a gesturing deity that is a stork, or in French, a *cigogne*. In the *argot* of *les voleurs* (thieves), *cigogne* referred to *le palais de justice*, or the courthouse.¹⁴³ In fact, the slang meaning for *dab de la cigogne* is *le procureur general*, or the Attorney General.¹⁴⁴ Used pejoratively by thieves, the origin of the *argot* term could have interestingly turned on the perceived resemblance of the slow, deliberate and 'enlarged' ritualistic movements of robed judges and lawyers in a courthouse to that of the awkward extended movements of storks in a marsh or swamp. The long-quilled feathered pens used by judges to scribble notes during testimonies at the time would no doubt also have been taken as resembling the bird's narrow beak. As well, and significantly, Daumier himself had experienced the French legal system early in his career, having been jailed for six months at the age of twenty-four for having depicted

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p. 109. Also see, Alfred Delvau, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte : Argots Parisiens Comparés*, p. 71; "*Imprime crié dans les rues, - et par extension, fausse nouvelle.*"

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 100.

Louis-Philippe as Gargantua.¹⁴⁵ His images of lawyers, which included his important *Les Gens de Justice* series which was produced between 1845 and 1848, were one of the largest caricature types within his repertoire.¹⁴⁶ However, Daumier had no illusions about the roles that lawyers and judges played with respect to the government, and often used the figures of lawyers satirically as surrogates for the state.¹⁴⁷ Within the section of the Egyptian pavilion rendered with Daumier's caricature, one can see multiple depictions of storks that are gesturing, parading around, and berating several unfortunate figures. Daumier's reference to them within the caricature could speak to the figure of justice, which in this case, is more likely than not to have self-servingly sided with Napoléon III's régime.

Stepping back outside the realm of *argot*, there are two other animal-headed deities which can be related directly to the figures of Egyptian Gods that are known to

¹⁴⁵ Delteil 34; Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 28. Also accessed through, Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 1 May 2012, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=34>>.

¹⁴⁶ Delteil 1337 – 1377; *Les Gens de Justice* series consisted of 41 prints published between March 1845 and October 1848; accessed through, Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 7 March 2012, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=1337>> * see *Les Gens de Justice* for series background details. Harper also notes that 130 images of lawyers and courtroom scenes made them the largest single subject category in Daumier's entire oeuvre of drawings and watercolor paintings; Paula Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques, et les Parades New Biographical and Political Functions for a 19th Century Myth* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1981) pp. 4 – 5.

¹⁴⁷ Under the subject heading *La Justice*, Provost lists an entire page of subheadings for Daumier's caricatures related to the administration of justice. Here, listings include, among others, *Les Magistrats, Procès – Tribunaux, Prisons*. Several series are found in this subheading including *Les Avocats et les Plaideurs, Croquis pris au Palais de Justice, Les Divorceuses, Physionomies du Palais de Justice, Les Plaideurs en Justice de Paix*, and *Les Gens de Justice*; Louis Provost, *Honoré Daumier: A Thematic Guide to the Oeuvre*, ed. Elisabeth Childs (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1989) pp. 85 – 86.

have been depicted within the World's Fair pavilion.¹⁴⁸ In the middle of the tomb mural, the form of a dog or jackal's head matches the figure of Anubis, the God of the underworld.¹⁴⁹ Further along the panel, the sharp-beaked bird that seems to be harassing the pig head deity resembles the figure of Horus, the God of war and hunting, who was known to have had the head of a hawk or falcon.¹⁵⁰ Here, the theme of war, which was repeatedly evoked by Daumier in his *Le Charivari* World's Fair lithographs, can now be seen resurfacing as an encoded dialogue with the dead inside the pages of the conservative *Le Monde illustré*.

The Imperial Family at the Ancient Temple

There is a final element to be considered within the Egyptian caricature that provides an additional mocking twist. During the *Exposition Universelle*, the Imperial family of Napoléon III was known to have visited the ancient Egyptian Temple with the region's Viceroy. *Le Monde illustré* published an image of the occasion on July 13th, depicting Napoléon III, the Empress Eugénie, and the couple's eleven year old son, Napoléon, Prince Imperial, standing in the midst of a courtyard known as the Avenue des Sphinxes.¹⁵¹ (Figure 4.8) It was a striking full-page wood engraving. The Emperor was placed at the focal point of the composition and depicted arm in arm with his wife while he acknowledged the lowered head of a member of the Viceroy's Egyptian honor guard. Surrounding the royal threesome were all the trappings of the pavilion's vast trove of art.

¹⁴⁸ Mariette references Horus within the Temple complex; M. August Mariette, *Exposition Universelle de 1867: Description du Parc Égyptien*, p. 17; p. 20, Anubis p. 63.

¹⁴⁹ Geraldine Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology: Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford Press, 2004) Anubis, p. 104; Horus, p. 143.

¹⁵⁰ Mariette notes Horus is the God of the Temple of Edfou; M. August Mariette, *Exposition Universelle de 1867: Description du Parc Égyptien*, p. 62.

¹⁵¹ *Le Monde illustré* (Paris, 1867) July 13th edition, p. 24. Also see description of Avenue of Sphinxes; M. August Mariette, *Exposition Universelle de 1867: Description du Parc Égyptien*, pp. 14 – 16.

From behind the Emperor's family, a series of impressive ancient columns support the archway. From the sides, a group of identical Sphinxes seem to pivot towards the Emperor in an almost animated acknowledgement of his title and power. In the recesses of the space which is shaded by palms, hieroglyphic motifs of soaring wings adorn a supporting wall. Finally, squeezed in amongst the monuments and art, is a large and excited crowd of cheering onlookers. This extraordinary image was clearly composed as a conceit to Napoléon III. As much as the Emperor had invited the whole world to partake in the 1867 *Exhibition Universelle*, this wood engraving provides the very embodiment of Napoléon III's spectacular use of the Fair, returning it to the same world as a mass-media image cleaved around the Emperor's authority and power. Here, the Ancient Temple reveals its modern function as yet another stage set for Napoléon III's *Fête Imperial*. As such, I suggest that, by the time of the publication of Daumier's caricature on October 26th, which was near the very end of the *Exposition Universelle*, the Emperor had already been connected to the Egyptian pavilion within the collective imagination of those viewing *Le Monde illustré*. The Imperial family's triumphant visit and the published full-page image had by now become a part of the discursive dimension of the Ancient Temple. Thus, printed in the same magazine three and a half months later, Daumier's Egyptian caricature engages not just the pavilion, but also the meaning of the site as it had been dialogically altered (in a Bakhtinian sense) through Napoléon III's visit.

It is known that it was at an early point during the Second Empire that Daumier became interested in the subject of the Suez Canal only after the Emperor had decided to step in and publicly back the project.¹⁵² Likewise, it is entirely probable that the ancient Egyptian pavilion had only become a subject of fascination for Daumier after Napoléon III had become directly invested in its meaning. In this sense, I am arguing that Daumier's caricature can be understood at one level as a response to the publication of the July 13th image of the Imperial Family's visit to the Ancient Temple. Crucially, we can now understand how the use of a particular *argot* term became the subversive

¹⁵² Elisabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, p. 175.

fulcrum around which Daumier's caricature was constructed. Above and beyond the polyphony of social-ideological language systems I've outlined in this section, and which were all effectively voices contributing to the satirical conflict created within this image, the linchpin of this caricature is the *argot* meaning of the term "*Égyptien*." The idea of *Égyptien* as *mauvais acteur* is the conceptual key that allows Daumier to transform the July 13th depiction of the Imperial Family promenading through the Avenue of Sphinxes into the mocking image that later graced the final page of the same magazine some three and half months later.

Indeed here, in linking the earlier image of the Imperial Family with Daumier's caricature, one last twist is revealed. The gnarled rural family, bemoaning the ancient Egyptians' lack of beauty - "*À L'Exposition Universelle. – Section Égyptienne – Vrai! Les anciens Égyptiens n'étaient pas beaux*" - can be understood in the final instance as an act of mimicry and a caricature of the Imperial family itself. I suggest it is not by coincidence that Daumier elects to place a family of three in his scene at the Egyptian pavilion, with the lone child, a boy, the same age as the young prince. As in the July 13th full page engraving, the couple is also depicted arm in arm, though the exquisite cane Napoléon III was holding has been replaced, like his expensive clothes, by the well-worn material of a cheap umbrella. Here, in a supreme act of uncrowning, Daumier has whittled the Emperor and his family down to a group of provincial visitors. Indeed, the *mauvais acteur* has been given another role to play. In an inverted conceit, the figures have all been turned into their own hopelessly unconscious political power base. That is, while promenading through an ancient Temple tomb at the 1867 Exposition, the rural family admires, in a stupefied fashion, a vision of their very own handy work in creating the *Fête Imperial*. Simultaneously in a flash of recognition, the group grasps the celebration's uncomfortable underlying meaning. Thus, like the stories of doubles derived from the great fantastic realm of carnivalised Menippean laughter, the decrowned figure of Napoléon III in Daumier's caricature gazes out with his family upon a hieroglyphic doppelganger of himself.¹⁵³ In a moment of epiphany, placed face to face,

¹⁵³ Bakhtin states, "split personality ... the destruction of the wholeness and finalized quality of a man is facilitated by the appearance, in the menippea, of a dialogic

the Emperor sees Napoléon III for what he is revealed to be - a God with a pig's head - and grasps the meaning of the tomb mural as a mocking indictment of the imperial gluttony of his own régime.

relationship to one's own self." Amongst issues of insanity and madness, Bakhtin also discusses the double or doppelganger in reference to the split between a person and their conscience; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, pp. 116 – 117.

The Industrial Hat Maker and the Rabbit in the Machine Gallery

The second caricature in Daumier's World's Fair series I wish to discuss was published in *Le Monde illustré* on July 27th, 1867, once again taking up roughly two-thirds of the back page above the magazine's games section. (Figure 4.3 & 4.9) *Le fabricant de chapeaux de feutre* - depicts an industrial felt hat maker, at a stall inside the World Fair's Grand Pavilion.¹⁵⁴ In front of a huge whirling machine, the hatter points up to a rabbit he is holding aloft by the ears and offers a pronouncement of breathtaking importance. The image's caption reads, "*Voici un lapin vivant que je vais introduire dans ma mécanique, dans dix minutes il en sortira à l'état de gibelotte et de chapeau du feutre,*" or, "Here you can see a live rabbit, which I'm going to put into my machine like this, and in ten minutes he will come out as rabbit stew and a felt hat."¹⁵⁵ Crowding into the scene to witness the industrial process are a group of World's Fair spectators, a least two of whom are themselves adorned with hats in part made from felt.

Mr. Haas' World's Fair Exhibit

Art historical scholarship has not addressed this image nor its relationship to the other wood engravings in *Le Monde illustré* that Daumier produced in reference to the 1867 Exposition. However, it is likely that the artist based this caricature on an actual event that took place during the course of the seven-month fair. In a long and detailed account entitled *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, Eugene Rimmel writes of the existence of a popular stall run by a hatter.¹⁵⁶ At the conclusion of a chapter entitled

¹⁵⁴ DR 6024 - *Le Monde illustré*, Paris, July 27th, 1867, p. 16; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*, 9 August 2009, ≤ <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=6024>>.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*; the entire caption reads, "*A l'Exposition universelle, - le fabricant de chapeaux de feutre - "Voici un lapin vivant que je vais introduire dans ma mécanique, dans dix minutes il en sortira à l'état de gibelotte et de chapeau du feutre."*

¹⁵⁶ Eugene Rimmel. *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867) p. 60. Although a French rendering of the book entitled *Souvenirs de l'Exposition Universelle* was published at roughly the same time, it is likely that

“The Machine Gallery,”¹⁵⁷ which is devoted to the “wonderful achievements of men’s genius” found in the “deafening and nauseous” industrial exhibits housed in the outer rings of the large oval of the Grande Pavilion, Rimmel describes the excited scene of the “constant . . . crowd of curious spectators” that beset “the most attractive stall” in the entire section.¹⁵⁸ It was a display run by a Mr. Haas, a hatter from the French town of Aix, who through an hour-long mechanical process was essentially turning live rabbits – or at least their fur - into felt hats.¹⁵⁹ Rimmel writes that Haas,

Weighs four ounces of rabbit’s hair and places them in a pneumatic apparatus which blows them with great force through a slit over a revolving cone drilled with small holes. By means of an internal aspiration, this hair adheres to the surface of the cone and when the layer is sufficiently thick, it is covered over with a wet cloth, compressed

Rimmel’s *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867* was an original version written by him in English. At the time of the World’s Fair Rimmel, the son of émigré French parents, was a successful perfume businessman in London. By 1860, he had established his “Maison Rimmel” perfume shops throughout Europe and America. At the 1862 London Exposition he served as a judge of perfume, and a few years later he published a book on the subject in English which is cited in the titled credits of *Recollections*; Eugene Rimmel, *The Book of Perfumes* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1867) p. v. Rimmel was not just bilingual, he was bicultural. A friend of both Dumas and Hugo, he wrote extensively, publishing his own highly regarded French translations of Shakespeare’s *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet*; Eugene Rimmel obituary, *The Saturday Review*, London, March 5th, 1887, pp. 334 – 335. Rimmel was also a significant philanthropist within the French community in Britain, supporting the founding of the London’s French Hospital for émigrés; *ibid.*, pp. 334 – 335. Interestingly, the Rimmel perfume brand still exists today with its current website sporting a flashy video of Kate Moss; *Rimmel London* 28 July 2012 < <http://www.rimmellondon.com/ca/>>.

¹⁵⁷ “*Galerie des Machines*,” Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, pp. 44 – 61.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 60.

with a brass mould, taken off and dipped into hot water to make it adhere together. After that it is dried on hot plates, pressed and molded into shape, braided and lined.¹⁶⁰

While he never entirely makes it clear whether the rabbits were actually killed on the spot or not, Rimmel does jokingly remark that Mr. Haas could well have concluded the spectacle by serving them up as a “stew” to the person taking home the freshly fashioned hat.¹⁶¹ Thus, at the very least, for Rimmel, the rabbit’s fate in hat machine’s production process was certainly in question.

The Subject of the Inventor

Daumier had, on several previous occasions, displayed a fascination with the role of the inventor at the World’s Fair. As a matter of fact, in what amounts to effectively a small sub-genre within Daumier’s caricatures, fully five of the forty odd images¹⁶² he produced for *Le Charivari* during the earlier 1855 *Exposition Universelle* employed this theme.¹⁶³ It is impossible to entirely typify the approach the caricaturist takes within these images to the subject, which were all published within a brief two-week period of

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁶¹ In setting up his joke about Haas’ rabbit stew, Rimmel cites the story of a Yorkshire manufacturer who at breakfast time had showed some visitors a sheep eating grass in a paddock. Then later, at dinner time, the manufacturer followed up by offering the visitors a leg of the same animal to eat while also wearing a garment spun, dyed, and woven from its wool; *ibid.*, pp. 60 – 61.

¹⁶² Delteil 2663 to 2703, 2709, published in under the subheading “Exposition,” Daumier produced a series of 41 caricatures of the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* for *Le Charivari* beginning April 9th and carrying through until November 8th; Louis Provost, *Honoré Daumier: A Thematic Guide to the Oeuvre*, ed. Elisabeth Childs. (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1989) p. 110; p. 183. Also accessed through Dieter Noack, *The Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/login.php?startpage>>.

¹⁶³ Delteil 2686, 2687, 2689, 2691, 2692, all these caricatures employ the motif of inventors and inventions during the 1855 World’s Fair; *ibid.*

each other beginning in mid-July. Broadly speaking however, Daumier utilizes the concept of invention to mock a range of figures. For example, in one caricature which clearly satirizes the issue of class, Daumier depicts a bourgeois family – father and son - dreamily marveling at the latest invention in clocks that will allow them in the future to more promptly summon their servants.¹⁶⁴ In another lithograph the remark made by someone in a crowd who is trying to get out of the hot, enclosed summer fair grounds - “No question, the inventor who has my greatest admiration is the one who invented fresh air” – takes direct aim at the staging of the 1855 Exposition itself.¹⁶⁵ However, two other images from that year in which Daumier elects to include a figure of an inventor, more closely approach the configuration of the caricature concerning the rabbit and the felt hat that Daumier would later produce for *Le Monde illustré* with respect to the 1867 Fair. In one of these images, a man in a display stall is depicted lying fully clothed in a large tub of water. The accompanying caption declares that the immersed man’s suit, socks, and hat will need no drying because he is wearing, “absolutely waterproof fabrics.”¹⁶⁶ A group of surrounding World’s Fair spectators gaze at the technological breakthrough with subdued awe. In a second somewhat similarly composed caricature, an inventor within

¹⁶⁴ Delteil 2687, depicts a bourgeois figure telling his son, “*Nouveau système de pendule sonant les heures les domestiques et de la trompe,*” or, “A new pendulum system ringing the hours, the servants, and the Eustachian tube.” *Le Charivari*, Paris, July 25th, 1855; also accessed through, Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2687>>.

¹⁶⁵ Delteil 2692, “*La Sortie: Décidément l’inventeur qui a le plus mon admiration, c’est celui qui a inventé l’air!...*” *Le Charivari*, Paris, August 1st, 1855; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2692>>.

¹⁶⁶ Delteil 2691, Daumier depicts the inventor lying immersed in the tub wearing the waterproof clothes and reading a newspaper through thick glasses. The caricature’s meaning turns on the play of the various associations within the image with the idea of impenetrability – “*Tissus réellement imperméables.*” The inventor’s clothes in the water suggest one physical level of impenetrability, but the newspaper’s text which the bespectacled inventor is attempting to read also presents another level of impenetrability. *Le Charivari*, Paris, July 30th, 1855; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2691>>.

the Exposition is shown dropping a single hook and line from a fishing rod into the middle of a small shallow wooden pail of live trout. The image is captioned, “*Nouveau procédé pour prendre infailliblement des poissons à la ligne,*” or, “a novel method to infallibly catch fish.”¹⁶⁷ Once more, in the background Daumier depicts a crowd of onlookers who have stopped to contemplate the inventor’s bold and “infallible” proposition. Importantly, in the tradition of the carnivalesque, each of these caricatures attempts to undercut the authority of the figure of the inventor by turning both his invention and the seriousness and seeming rationality of his rhetoric back against him.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, all of these caricatures also simultaneously turns the invention and its rhetoric against the World’s Fair crowd itself. One of the most striking examples of this phenomenon can be witnessed through Daumier’s use of Joseph Prudhomme, the self-inflated bourgeois character drawn from theatrical farce within one of his images of the 1855 World’s Fair.¹⁶⁹ Gazing down at the metal cogs of a giant new mechanical rotisserie, a closely packed group of top-hatted bourgeois men, which includes the stock character Prudhomme, are caricatured by Daumier as a flock of poultry. The caption of the lithograph triumphantly boasts that the contraption the figures are effectively clucking around has been designed to “roast chickens using the power of twenty-nine horses.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Delteil 2689, published in *Le Charivari*, July 31th, 1855; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2689>>.

¹⁶⁸ Bakhtin argues that the strong “rhetorical” element that lies within all genres of the serio-comical is fundamentally altered as it passes through the prism of the carnivalesque sense of “*joyful relativity*,” which weakens “its one-sided rhetorical seriousness, its rationality, its singular meaning, its dogmatism;” Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. & trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1984) p. 107.

¹⁶⁹ Originally created in 1853 by Henry Monnier for the theatrical farce, *The Improvised Family*, Joseph Prudhomme was a fictional persona that achieved national stature. Described by Gautier as “a magnificent imbecile ... Never before has human stupidity so richly burst into flower...” Prudhomme became the common property of many caricaturists, including Daumier, during the course of the Second Empire; Oliver Larkin, *Daumier: Man of His Time* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966) pp. 116 -119.

¹⁷⁰ Delteil 2686, captioned, “*Un tournebroche, destine à faire rôtir des poulets de la force de vingt-neuf chevaux.*” *Le Charivari*, Paris, July 20th, 1855; also accessed through

Here, the authority of the industrial pronouncement is mocked by the attention (and caricature) of the very figures who stop to consider its message. In fact, for each of them, the caricature constitutes a reciprocal (and dialogical) mockery.

In 1867, just weeks before the publication of the hat maker caricature for *Le Monde illustré*, Daumier produced two additional lithographs on the subject of the inventor for *Le Charivari*. At the start of the *Exposition Universelle* in 1867 there had been a very real threat of war breaking out between France and Prussia.¹⁷¹ As such, in both of these images we find the subject of the invention, suddenly linked up with the broader nexus of capitalism and militarism, and turned back upon the figure of the inventor. In one caricature Daumier accomplishes this by placing a Mr. Chassepot, the inventor of the *Fusil modèle 1866* breech-loading rifle - a strategic weapon for the French army - directly outside the Bourse, or Paris stock exchange.¹⁷² By the end of May, with the fear of war now subsiding, Chassepot is shown pulling out his hair as he watches the price of his company's stock collapse. However, in the second caricature, Daumier

Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 4 July 2011, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=2686>>.

¹⁷¹ Following the Austrian-Prussian war in 1866, Napoléon III clumsily pressed Bismarck to compensate him territorially for acceding to Prussian actions, after the fact, by allowing France to absorb Luxembourg. Following Bismarck's refusal on April 1st, 1867, "for a week the French Emperor seriously considered war." Conflict was only averted with the signing of the Treaty of London on May 11th; William E. Echard, *Napoléon III and the Concert of Europe* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983) pp. 243 – 257.

¹⁷² Delteil 3572. Throwing a tantrum, Chassepot is clearly upset, while right next to him various well-dressed players in the market are filling their pockets, "*Voilà un inventeur de fusils à aiguille, a qui les nouvelles n'ont pas l'air d'aller beaucoup.*" The 1866 Prussian victory over Austria at Koniggratz was partly due to the superiority of the Prussian's breech-loading needle gun, the same rifle mechanism that Mr. Chassepot manufactured and sold to the French army. However, with a possible war in May between France and Prussia averted, the value of Chassepot's company stocks crashed; Stanislav Osiakovski, "Some Political and Social Views of Honoré Daumier as Shown in His Lithographs," PhD Diss, University of London, 1957: p. 224. Also see, *Le Charivari*, Paris, May 23, 1867; also accessed through Dieter Noack, *The Daumier Register* 8 Aug. 2010, <<http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3572>>.

situates his inventor on the grounds of the *Exposition Universelle*. Here, Alfred Krupp, the Prussian army's main arms manufacturer is depicted sitting upon a display of his cannon balls.¹⁷³ Daumier effectively accomplishes his de-crowning of the thin ghoulish arms manufacturer by comically having one of his beach ball-sized cannon balls dislodge and roll, with its fuse dangling precariously, right out in front of the inventor himself.¹⁷⁴ In addition, Daumier also turns the arms manufacturer's invention back on the encircling French World's Fair crowd, depicting them broadly grinning in a stupefied manner at the display of Krupp's explosive inventory which, in the event of war, would most likely be targeted against them.¹⁷⁵

The Motif of the Conjuror

At one level, the 1867 caricature of the felt hat maker can be thought of as Daumier's attempt to re-explore the theme of the World's Fair inventor in light of Mr. Haas's extremely popular *Exposition Universelle* display. Here, the caricaturist reengages his exploration of the World's Fair's display by simultaneously utilizing two

¹⁷³ Delteil 3574, caption reads, "*Un inventeur qui craint que son fonds ne lui reste sur les bras,*" or, "An inventor who is afraid of getting stuck, sitting on his stock;" *Le Charivari*, Paris, May 31, 1867; also accessed through Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 8 Aug. 2010, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3574>>.

¹⁷⁴ Delteil 3574.

¹⁷⁵ Delteil 3574, what may have promoted Daumier to create this image is the fact that Napoléon III actually awarded Alfred Krupp a prize for best "Cast Steel" in the field of Industry for his display at the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, which included a gigantic fifty-ton breech-loading howitzer; Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*: p. 18. The big gun was designed to be used against Prussia's potential enemies, which of course included the French Army. After viewing the Krupp exhibit, Eugene Rimmel wrote, "if one did not feel tempted to place by the side of these figures the number of human beings these murderous engines are destined to kill, one would express unmitigated admiration for the high finish and ingenious working of these guns;" *ibid.*, p. 168.

overlapping motifs within the same image.¹⁷⁶ The first of these motifs is that of the magic act or conjurer. Certainly, during the time of the Second Empire, there was a popular awareness of the ‘stage trick’ in which a magician pulled a rabbit out of a hat. The Parisian magician Louis Comte, also known as “The King’s Conjurer” for having performed before Louis XVIII and Louis-Phillippe¹⁷⁷ during the first part the nineteenth century, had reportedly unveiled the trick several generations before in 1814.¹⁷⁸ Within Daumier’s caricature, all of the image’s constituent elements are configured to evoke the climatic instant during a performance when the magician surprises his spectators. For example, the long and dangling figure of the rabbit being lifted by the ears for all about to see has been placed front and center at the apex of the caricature’s composition. The entire appearance of the inventor - his uncovered, puffy, light coloured hair, his open white vest suit jacket, as well as the serrated and alternating light and dark patterns falling laterally across his clothing, all suggest the air of a modern stage performer.¹⁷⁹ As well, the background of crosscutting pulleys and most notably the giant swirling wheel that lies

¹⁷⁶ Daumier’s deployment of a clashing “multi-styled hetero-voiced” motif is one of the generic features of the serio-comical realm which speaks to a larger living carnivalized wholeness to life which cannot be contained within the single-styled nature of high rhetoric; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, p.108.

¹⁷⁷ Louis Comte (1788 – 1859) was very influential on the later mid-century French magician Jean Eugene Robert-Houdin (1805 – 1871); Christopher Milbourne, *The Illustrated History of Magic* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973) p.133.

¹⁷⁸ Colin McDowell, *Hats: Status, Style, and Glamour* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997) p. 74. Also see Milbourne’s discussion of “The Great Wizard of the North,” the Scottish Magician John Henry Anderson who lived from 1814 to 1874; Christopher Milbourne, *The Illustrated History of Magic*, pp. 113 – 114. Milbourne argues the rabbit-from-hat trick actually appeared several decades later, having arrived in the programs of magicians in the late 1830’s.

¹⁷⁹ Neck-tie aside, the inventor’s upper attire resembles the open performance tuxedo worn by the French magician Jean Eugene Robert-Houdin (1805 – 1871) in his publicity photos, *ibid.* p. 134; pp. 140 -141. Robert-Houdin is considered to be the father of the modern style of conjuring, opening in his own Parisian theatre *Soirées Fantastiques* on July 3, 1845, *ibid.* p. 131. Also see, Jean Eugene Robert-Houdin, *Robert Houdin: The Great Wizard, Celebrated French Conjurer, Author, and Ambassador*, trans. Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie (Philadelphia: Charles Desilver and Sons, 1859).

directly over top of his figure combine to provide an almost mystical, mesmerizing, wizard-like air and energy to his demeanor. Yet, while Daumier sets the motif of the magician into play, the factual narrative of his caricature holds a decidedly contradictory meaning. We are witness not so much to the surprise of a rabbit being pulled from a hat, but the very instant before a living rabbit is to be tossed into a machine and violently shredded to make a hat. In the light of this harsh reversal we might well ask if caricaturist's reference to the magic isn't imbued with another significance. It appears that Daumier is not invoking the idea of magic in order to affirmatively appeal to its illusionism, spiritualism, or to the larger realm of the occult. The truth is rather quite to the contrary. In the tradition of the carnivalesque, Daumier deploys the representation of magic in order to degrade existing forms of power and dominance within the broad arena of both the World's Fair and the Second Empire.¹⁸⁰ As such, in light of a contextualization within the era of Napoléon III's *Fête Imperial*, it is important to ask at which point do the paths of magician's acts and forms of modern power and violence cross over?

Interestingly, a distant connection between top hats, magic and the politics of the time can be seen through a strange incident which involved the Second Empire and one of its North African colonies. In 1856, Jean Eugene Robert-Houdin, the French magician who is considered to have been the father of modern conjuring, was sent to Algeria as Napoléon III's envoy to perform tricks before the local Marabout chieftains.¹⁸¹ His mission was to help secure colonial rule through intimidation by fooling the natives into believing that French magic and sorcery were more potent than their own. This was accomplished by amongst other things, pulling cannonballs out of a top hat and stopping

¹⁸⁰ Citing Rabelais's approach to both astrology and "natural magic," Bakhtin states that the writer took "neither seriously," but rather sought to set them into collision with medieval hierarchy in order to extract a bodily (grotesque) and materialist meaning linked to "a new concrete and realistic historical awareness;" Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) pp. 365 - 367.

¹⁸¹ Jean Eugene Robert-Houdin, *Robert Houdin: The Great Wizard, Celebrated French Conjurer, Author, and Ambassador*, pp. 371 – 392.

bullets without injury, along with a display of other deceptions that deployed the hidden power of electricity.¹⁸² Notably, in his autobiography detailing the bizarre escapade, magician Robert-Houdin was very explicit that he was not under any misconceptions that he was anything other than a good performer and showman.¹⁸³ Thus, on this hot colonial stage, the world of the magic act and the exercise of power can be seen to intersect precisely on the nexus of illusion. My point is that the motif of the conjurer, a performer who invokes illusion within the context of power towards a specific political end, has a mocking resonance to the figure of Napoléon III and his *Fête Imperial*.¹⁸⁴

The Motif of the Mad Hatter

It is here that the second of Daumier's motifs - that of the hatter's madness - needs also to be brought to light. Hat making and madness were concepts which were closely aligned within the public imagination of mid nineteenth-century France. The use of mercuric nitrate to produce high quality felt from animal pelts for hats for men, had, for a time, been one of the country's commercial secrets.¹⁸⁵ However, its physiological

¹⁸² *ibid.* pp. 381 – 387; also see, Christopher Milbourne, *The Illustrated History of Magic*, p. 148.

¹⁸³ “I felt, I confess, rather inclined to laugh at myself and my audience, for I stepped forth, wand in hand with all the gravity of a real sorcerer. Still, I did not give way, for I was here not merely to amuse a curious and kind public, I must produce a startling effect upon coarse (sic) minds and prejudices, for I was enacting the part of a French Marabout. Compared with the simple tricks of their pretended sorcerers, my experiments must appear perfect miracles to the Arabs;” Jean Eugene Robert-Houdin, *Robert Houdin: The Great Wizard, Celebrated French Conjurer, Author, and Ambassador*, p. 381.

¹⁸⁴ Marx actually invokes the image of conjurer in describing Louis Napoléon political skills at the time of the coup, “Driven by the contradictory demands of his situation and being at the same time, *like a conjurer*, under the necessity of keeping the public gaze fixed on himself, as Napoléon's substitute, by springing constant surprises...” Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1963) p. 135.

¹⁸⁵ Political emigration spread knowledge of the use of mercuric nitrate in the process of felting to England where it was given the name “carrotting;” H. A. Waldron, “Did the

side effects were quite well known. The “carrotting” of the fibers during in the felting process continually exposed hatters to mercury in poorly ventilated rooms and was understood to slowly drive them insane.¹⁸⁶ People had been aware of the psychotic symptoms of mercury poisoning since the eighteenth century when it was used to treat syphilis.¹⁸⁷ Mercury causes paralysis, loss of memory, and eventually death.¹⁸⁸ So well known were the shaking symptoms of the hatter that the term “mad as a hatter” passed into the common language.¹⁸⁹ The Mad Hatter from Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*, which was first published in 1865, was loosely based upon such a phenomenon.¹⁹⁰ The hatter within Daumier’s image not only exudes an air and energy of wizardry, but many of the mannerisms he exhibits, such as his gritted teeth and mesmerizing eyes can also be interpreted as psychotic symptoms of disease. As such, the action of tossing the rabbit into a machine to simultaneously be turned into a hat and a

Mad Hatter have mercury poisoning?” *British Medical Journal*, vol. 287, Dec. 24 - 31, 1983, p. 1961.

¹⁸⁶ Willow Mullins, *Felt* (New York: Berg, 2009) p. 16.

¹⁸⁷ H. A. Waldron, “Did the Mad Hatter have mercury poisoning?” p. 1961.

¹⁸⁸ Willow Mullins, *Felt*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁹ H. A. Waldron, “Did the Mad Hatter have mercury poisoning?” p. 1961.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 1961; H. A. Waldron argues that Lewis Carroll based the caricature of the hatter in *Wonderland* not on a real Mad Hatter but on a known local eccentric named Theophilus Carter. According to Waldon, Carter was in fact a furniture dealer who lectured in mathematics and displayed an exhibit – an alarm clock bed that at the appointed hour would tip its sleeper out of the bed – at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exposition. Carter was also known for always wearing a top hat. Thus, according to Waldon, this was the reason members of his local community had labeled him “the Mad Hatter.” Waldon insists Carter wasn’t actually suffering from any mercury-related disease. However, what Waldon misses is that the term “Mad Hatter” had been ironically shifted onto Carter by those who knew him. Although he wasn’t actually a victim of mercury poisoning and thus a clinical and “real” “Mad Hatter,” the link to Carter validates the idea that the term “mad hatter” had become a discursive phenomenon. Thus, although Lewis Carroll’s Hatter might not have been directly based upon an actual direct case of a mercury-poisoned figure, its meaning was intricately connected with that very history.

stew takes on a decidedly different meaning in light of this reference to madness. However, it should be noted that with respect to *Alice in Wonderland*, the composition of the image does bear a loose, almost perverse resemblance to the scene of the Mad Hatter's tea party, and its four figures of the Hatter, the (whiskered) Dormouse, (the female) Alice, and the March Hare.¹⁹¹ Only in Daumier's caricature, instead of sitting down at a table to have tea, the rabbit (March Hare) is instead turned around and thrown into a machine to make a stew.¹⁹²

Industrialization

Stepping back from the overlay of fictionalized motifs, Daumier's World's Fair hat maker caricature can also be read as setting into conflict several social-ideological language systems arising directly out of historic developments that took place during the

¹⁹¹ Lewis Carroll and Martin Gardner, *The Annotated Alice: The Definitive Edition* (New York: Norton, 2000) pp. 32 – 34.

¹⁹² The link to *Alice and Wonderland* is speculative. Yet, there is another connection with respect to the story's extraordinary imagery of which Daumier could have been aware. The *Wonderland* figure of the ("Off with your heads") Queen of Hearts may herself have been a caricature by Lewis Carroll of Queen Victoria. Daumier had himself mercilessly caricatured the young queen as an "imbecile" and a "brat" years before in the *Le Charivari* image; Delteil 132. The British monarch was also connected to Napoléon III and the earlier Fair, having made a very public trip to the Second Empire's 1855 *Exposition Universelle*. This was the first visit of British royalty to France in 400 years and was considered to have "cemented the Anglo-French alliance then being forged on the battlefields of the Crimea;" Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) p. 72. Also see, Queen Victoria, *Leaves from a Journal* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1961) pp. 73 – 155. Thus, both the round faced, be-ribboned female spectator in Daumier's caricature and the wider *Wonderland* Hatter's tea-party-like motif could be a veiled reference to Victoria, or a wider trope for the endless stream of royal figures who visited the 1867 *Exhibition Universelle* and who appeared week after week in the pages of *Le Monde illustré*. Expected to appear at the Exposition around the time of the Czar's early summer visit, Victoria publicly declined to attend due to her policy of "non-participation in public ceremonies." Upon hearing the news Morford expresses the hope that she might sneak into the Fair "incognito;" Henry Morford, *Paris in '67; or, The Great Exposition, its Side-Shows and Excursions* (New York: Geo. W. Carleton & Co., Publishers, 1867) p. 74.

Second Empire. One of the conflicting systems is industrialization, which profoundly transformed France during this period.¹⁹³ The subject of industrialization enters Daumier's caricature of the hat maker and the rabbit through the background of whirling metal bars and speeding wheels and belts that are partly shaded as a result of the haze of mechanical vapours represented within the *Galerie des Machines*. As well, the concept of industrialization is also underlined by the caricature's caption and the inventor's own declaration that he would now throw the rabbit into a "machine." After creating cloth from animal skins, felt is one of the oldest forms of human textiles.¹⁹⁴ Historically, outside of Asia, the majority of the felt that was made had been in the manufacturing of hats.¹⁹⁵ In contrast to weaving, felting is a process through which a lightweight material is created by matting, condensing, and pressing together fibers such as those from wool.¹⁹⁶ By the 17th century animal pelts were felted through a system called 'carrotting' (alluded to above), to produce a range of top and dress hats for men. However, in the mid nineteenth century this process was mechanized, effectively reducing the cost of labour that was needed to manufacture a felt hat to one tenth of that used in the course of

¹⁹³ While generally agreeing with Markovitch's assessment that the Second Empire marked "the beginning of France's true industrialization" and was the historic moment when industrial production decisively shifted its "centre of gravity from small-scale to large-scale industry," Plessis argues for a more complex, multifaceted, mosaic-like understanding of the industrial development of this period - "A series of uneven advances rather than a genuine 'revolution.'" He states that despite such impressive statistics as the fact that steam engine power in this period increased from 71,000 to 305,000 hp, throughout France, the application of "industrial growth was in no way homogeneous," and that in fact it varied from region to region and sector to sector. Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire, 1852 – 1871*, trans. Jonathan Mandelbaum (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) pp. 93 - 97.

¹⁹⁴ Willow Mullins, *Felt*, p. 27.

¹⁹⁵ The felt "petasus" or "petasos" was a sun hat worn by the Greeks and Romans which was sometimes made of wool felt. Hermes is often pictured wearing a winged petasos; Marie Robinette, "The History of Felt Hats" p. 1, 29 May 2012 <http://www.mafca.com/downloads/Fashions/History_of_Felt_Hats.pdf>. Also see, Willow Mullins, *Felt*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 10 – 11.

the original smaller scale production method.¹⁹⁷ At the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* there were hundreds of new machines displayed within the outer ring of Grand Pavillon.¹⁹⁸ These machines trumpeted the transformation of numerous of industries that ranged from centrifuges for processing beetroot (a form of sugar) to weaving looms for cashmere shawls.¹⁹⁹ In fact, in addition to Mr. Haas, there were other inventors at the 1867 World's Fair who also exhibited mechanized breakthroughs in the manufacturing of felt.²⁰⁰ In this sense, the deployment of felt hat-making within Daumier's caricature serves as a kind of a trope for the larger process of industrialization that was sweeping France during the Second Empire, and which was officially celebrated within the boundaries of the World's Fair as one of the manifestations of "progress."²⁰¹

Saint-Simonianism and the Concept of Progress

A vision of the realization of a universal prosperity through the industrialization of the earth had emerged in part from the early nineteenth century teachings of the

¹⁹⁷ Marie Robinette, "The History of Felt Hats," p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ The signature architectural feature of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, the Grand Pavillon, was constructed with an intersecting grid-like system of seven concentric oval galleries. While art was officially placed in a much less prominent position close to the design's spiritual heart, the displays of new machines were integrated into the Grand Pavillon's much larger outer ring; Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale* pp. 116–118. Also see, Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: the Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) pp. 131 – 132.

¹⁹⁹ The Machinery Gallery within the outer ring of the *Exposition Universelle's* Grande Pavillon actually presented twenty classes of industry including various kinds of mechanical appliances, from carriages to railway stock and marine implements; Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, p. 45.

²⁰⁰ Rimmel begins the chapter on the Machinery Gallery by citing the presence of an "ingenious" felting machine invented by a Mr. Vouillon of Louviers; *ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁰¹ "Progress is the footstep of God himself," announced Victor Hugo in 1855, the year of the first Paris Exposition; Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989) p. 90.

‘utopian socialist’ Henri de Saint-Simon.²⁰² Many of the organizers of the Exposition, including Frédéric Le Play who had designed the Grand Pavilion and laid out the principles behind the display of objects in the *Galerie des Machines*, had links to the Saint-Simonian movement.²⁰³ They were in fact “the secular priests” of progress, having distributed millions of pages of material celebrating industry during a lifting in state censorship in the early 1830’s.²⁰⁴ The Saint-Simonians were idealists who believed that industrial development run by a technocratic elite would lead to a global economy and world peace, never imagining it would result in an age of class struggle.²⁰⁵ For them, “all

²⁰² Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, p.103. Also see, Walter Benjamin, “Grandville, or the World Exhibitions” *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge Mass: Belknap Press, 1999). * Note: Benjamin produced two versions of the same essay, one in 1935 and the other in 1939. This particular reference is cited in both - 1935 Exposé, p. 7; 1939 Exposé, p. 17.

²⁰³ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, p.103; pp. 115 – 120. Also see, Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 198, [G14a,2]. For a brief explanation of Le Play’s role as commissioner general of the Exposition see, Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play: Engineer and Social Scientist – The Life and Work of Frédéric Le Play* (London: Longman, 1970) pp. 60 – 63.

²⁰⁴ Through the mass production of low cost publications, the Saint-Simonians printed 18,000,000 pages between 1830 and 1832; Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, p. 90. Also see, Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 595, [U14,3]. Magraw notes the Saint-Simonians used the relaxation of censorship following the 1830 Revolution to reach workers with a message which sought to “replace the rule of parasites, such as clergy and large landowners, with a technocratic elite committed to industrial expansion.” Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 - 1914: The Bourgeois Century* (Oxford: Fontana, 1983) p. 103.

²⁰⁵ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, p.103. Also see, “Grandville, or the World Exhibitions” Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 7; p. 18. Also see Benjamin’s quote in the *Arcades* from Soviet historian Viacheslav Volgin, “Saint-Simon lingers over the history of the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries, and gives to the social classes of this period a more concrete and specifically economic description. Hence, it is this part of Saint-Simon’s system that is of greatest importance for the genesis of the theory of class struggle, and that exercises the strongest influence on its subsequent development ... Although, for later periods, Saint-Simon emphasizes the economic moment in his characterization of classes and the causes of their growth and decline..., in order to be consistent he would have had to see, in this economic activity, the true roots of the social classes as well. Had he taken this

social antinomies dissolve in the fairyland which *le progrès* projects for the near future.”²⁰⁶ It should be noted that Napoléon III himself was very influenced by Saint-Simonian thinking, particularly with regard to the affirmative role of the state in achieving economic objectives.²⁰⁷

step he would inevitably have attained a materialist conception of history. But Saint-Simon never took this step, and his general conception remains idealist... The second point that is so surprising in Saint-Simon’s class theory, in view of its discrepancy with the actual relations among the classes of the period, is the representation of the class of industrialists as homogeneous ... The manifestly essential differences that exist between proletarians and entrepreneurs are for him external, and their antagonism is grounded in mutual misunderstandings: the interests of the directors of industrial enterprises, in reality, coincide with the interests of the masses... This entirely unfounded assertion resolves for Saint Simon the very real social contradiction, salvaging the unity of the industrial class and, with it, the perspective on a peaceful building-up of the new social systems.” *ibid.*, p.579, V. Volgin, *Über die historische Stellung Saint-Simons*, Marx-Engels Archiv. [U5,2]. (first published in 1924)

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 578 [U4a,1]. Also see Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, p. 91.

²⁰⁷ Napoléon III believed, “with the Saint-Simonians, that economic progress would, to quote the phrase launched by Isaac Pereire back in 1831, bring about “an improvement in the condition of the largest and poorest class...” Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire 1852-1871*, p. 62. In examining this period, it should also be pointed out that Benjamin had argued that the critical function of the notion of “progress,” handed down from the Enlightenment by such figures as Turgot, and which served to highlight retrograde tendencies in history, was in fact decisively eroded [“forfeited”] by Darwin’s doctrine of natural selection. As such, Darwin’s doctrine had popularized the idea of progress as a theory of history that was natural and automatic and could be extended to the whole realm of human endeavors. See, Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 476, [N11a,1]. Also see, Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, pp. 79 – 80.

The New Consumer Society

Another historic feature of the Second Empire that is manifest within Daumier's hat making caricature is the crystallization of the new consumer society, which in some respects literally walks into the image as the clothes worn by the World's Fair spectators themselves. Though slightly obscured by the rest of the crowd, a female figure can be seen to be wearing a flowing full-length skirt as well as a bonnet tied with a wide and perfectly fashioned bow made of ribbon. Also, of particular note are the hats of the two male figures. The smaller melon-shaped derby model worn by the man on the far left of the image is probably manufactured from a grey or light coloured felt. The sheen given off by the second man's top hat suggests that it is at least partly made of a surface layer of silk. Interestingly, although it has a large crown (top), the hat doesn't appear to be big enough to be able to house a rabbit, at least not the one depicted within the caricature.

A new consumer society was promoted under Louis Napoléon's régime. The Second Empire was marked by the simultaneous appearance of department stores, like Aristide Boucicaut's Bon Marché, and modern retailing methods such as fixed prices, narrower profit margins, and advertising.²⁰⁸ Across the giant floors of these new spaces, new forms of consuming were created: shoppers entered the new stores "not to bargain but to look for bargains."²⁰⁹ Strikingly, measuring across a time period nearly equal to the length of the Second Empire itself, total sales for the Bon Marché rose from 450,000

²⁰⁸ Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire 1852-1871*, p. 95. Benjamin's *Arcades* fragments explore whether the street arcades constructed in the early part of the nineteenth century were actually the forerunners of the later department stores; Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, pp. 32 – 61. "Arcades as original department store?" *ibid.*, p. 37 [A2,5].

²⁰⁹ The full quote is, "The Grands Magasins ... were a kind of open stage on which the shopper strode purposefully and the commodity prompted; they invite the consumer to relish her own expertise and keep it quiet – *not to bargain but to look for bargains*, not to have a dress cut out to size but to choose the one which was somehow "just right" from the fifty-four crinolines on show." T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) pp. 56 – 57.

francs in 1852 to twenty-one million in 1869.²¹⁰ The birth of this new consumer based culture also prompted the reciprocal creation of new methods of mass production.²¹¹ In this sense, Mr. Haas's World's Fair machine and its ability to quickly produce (not unlike the rapid multiplication of rabbits) hundreds of hats, is also a direct manifestation of this fresh new world of consumerism. However, the Second Empire was also a society in which class was an ever-present factor of social life.²¹² As such, the clothes one wore were a key signifier of one's class, and the items that the figures in Daumier's caricature are wearing - finely cut and neatly fitting - speak to the fact they are bourgeois. The textured gloves adorning the front male figure's folded hands, which could well have been manufactured as far off as Grenoble, confirm an attention to fashionable detail that supports this reading.²¹³

Gibelotte and Grotesque Realism

It is also true that in Daumier's caricature industrialization, the new consumer society, and class are enmeshed within the central figure of the dangling rabbit. In fact, the salient characteristic of the luckless creature is that it straddles all three worlds. As the raw material of the industrial process, it is the very living substance of the commodity that will soon sit atop a head, helping to denote someone's class and social status. Yet, significantly, in simultaneously highlighting the rabbit's transformation into *gibelotte* - or stew - the figure of the rabbit also debases the representation of these worlds, as well as the one-sided rhetorical seriousness of the inventor and the World's Fair, by bringing

²¹⁰ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 46 [A6,2]. The Second Empire lasted from December 1852 to September 1870.

²¹¹ T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* p. 56.

²¹² *ibid.*, p. 7.

²¹³ Magraw discusses the making of gloves in Grenoble in the context of community being a proto-industrial village, thus offering its workers an autonomy not found in mill towns; Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 -1914: A Social History* (Harlow: Longman, 2002) p. 67.

them into contact with the lower bodily stratum which is represented here by food.²¹⁴ As such, Daumier invokes the tradition of grotesque realism, and once again directly deploys the objective memory of both Menippean satire and of the carnivalesque.²¹⁵ The banquets of the middle ages (such as the Feast of Fools) represented cross-over points in which the official suffocating seriousness of church dogma and its controlling ideology were challenged by forms of parody and laughter centered upon food and the lower bodily stratum emerging from the carnivalesque medieval folk fairs.²¹⁶ As with the previously discussed figure of the Pig's Head in the caricature of the Egyptian temple at the Fair, these images of "grotesque bodily degradation and regeneration" evoked for the medieval populace, an entire living approach to a world imbued with the "contradictory and double faced fullness of life," both in its "negation" and its "affirmation." As such, Bakhtin argues that this was one of the utopian features lying at the (historic) center of "laughter" and its victory (for the medieval person) over fear and the mystic terror of God.²¹⁷ Interestingly, Bakhtin notes that during the sixteenth century, Rabelais had parodied the image of Christ's crucifixion by travestyng his last words upon the cross, "I thirst," or *sitio*, with scenes of gluttony and overindulgence.²¹⁸ However, Bakhtin points to another image from Rabelais, that of tripe, as more precisely uniting the concepts of food and death within the realm of grotesque realism.²¹⁹ Tripe is a food made from the

²¹⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 184.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.184; also see Introduction, footnotes #21 – 25; 27.

²¹⁶ Bakhtin explains that, "The last judicial prohibition of the feast of fools in France was the decision of the Parliament of Dijon in 1552 – more than nine centuries after its first condemnation. During all these nine centuries the feast continued to be celebrated in semi-legal conditions." Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 77. Also see overview of the Feast of Fools, *ibid.*, pp. 74 – 83; Cyprian supper, *ibid.*, p. 84; Pope's Kitchen, *ibid.*, p. 184.

²¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 60 – 62; p. 78; p. 90.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 86.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 162 - 163.

stomachs and the bowels of animals.²²⁰ For this reason, it evokes the double meaning of having been made of the very consumptive swallowing organs connected with defecation, which are themselves being swallowed, consumed, and eliminated from the body. But, tripe is also intricately connected with slaughter and murder since to disembowel an animal is in fact to kill it.²²¹ So, understood from this perspective tripe is a food that evokes, in the context of the sixteenth century laughter, the grotesque carnivalesque image of a destroyer that simultaneously regenerates.²²² In his caricature of the rabbit and felt hat maker Daumier deploys the image of *gibelotte* in a way that is similar to that of Rabelais's use of tripe, but he tilts it toward a distinctly mid nineteenth century satirical end. While not carrying entirely the same significance with respect to bowels as does tripe, *gibelotte* still retains many similar elements with respect to the grotesque. Produced from the immediate slaughter of an animal, as food, *gibelotte* will soon pass through the human digestive track until it is finally excreted from the body. However, Daumier's caricature deliberately conflates the two rabbit by-products of food and the felt derived from Mr. Haas' manufacturing process. Thus, the substance of *gibelotte* that passes through and out of the body crosses purposes (and meanings) with the material of the felt which was fashioned into an emblem of class and status, and was then displayed on the heads of some of the bourgeois onlookers. In other words, the newly manufactured mass produced hats become linked with the image of excrement.

Argot and the term Lapin

However, there remains another important level of representation within this image that is also embodied within the figure of the rabbit. Once again, turning to Delvau's slang dictionary published only a few years before the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, we find several converging meanings for the term 'rabbit.' The *argot*

²²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 162.

²²¹ *ibid.*, p. 163.

²²² *ibid.*, p. 163.

meaning for *lapin*, the French word Daumier uses in the caption for rabbit, calls up the rugged and classed body of the worker - “*homme solide de coeur et d’épaules*,” or “a man of strong heart and shoulders, or further, “*apprenti compagnon*,” or “apprentice mate.” Another *argot* definition for *lapin* within Delvau’s dictionary provides the definition, “*Robuste compagnon, a qui rien ne fait peur, ni les coups de fusil quand il est soldat, ni la misère quand il est ouvrier*” or “a robust companion, who is neither scared by gunshots when he is a soldier, nor misery when he is a laborer.”²²³ Effectively *lapin* in the slang of “*des ouvriers and du peuple*” can be understood to mean *camarade*, or comrade. It is significant to point out here that Daumier chose, in his caption, to use the French word *lapin* as opposed to *lièvre* – effectively rabbit instead of hare. Daumier had used the word *lièvre* in other caricatures involving rabbits.²²⁴ Yet, the use of that term here I want to argue would have resulted in the loss of the *argot* significance of the term *lapin* that can be understood to reference the worker, and further, the working class of the Second Empire.

Reading the figure of the rabbit from this perspective immediately alters our understanding of this entire image. Suddenly and magically materialized within the caricature’s interplay of industry and commodity, class and “progress,” as well as that of the grotesque is the presence the workers (and comrades) who have been the stuff and fodder of Napoléon III’s industrial vision. Effectively excluded from our view by the conservative politics of *Le Monde illustré* and Napoléon III’s state censors, it is the

²²³ An additional definition provided by Delvau with respect to the *argot* meaning for *lapin* reads - “*camarade de lit - dans l’argot des écoliers, qui aiment a coucher seuls*” or “bedfellow - in the slang of schoolboys, who like to sleep alone.” Alfred Delvau, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte: Argot Parisiens Comparés* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1866) p. 272 – 273.

²²⁴ Delteil 3306, shows a hunter with his gun and dog calling over to a small hilltop upon which a distant man is dangling what appears to be a rabbit, “*Ohé! Mon brave homme! Combien votre lièvre? Quatre francs! J’vous en donne cinq ... mais tenez le comme ça et laissez-moi tirer dessus!*” ... “Hello my brave man! How much for your hare? Four francs! I will give you five francs ... but hold it up like that and I will shoot at it from here.” *Le Charivari*, Paris, October 10th, 1864. Also accessed through, Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register* 24 May 2012, < <http://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=3306>>.

working class who Daumier has pulled from a hat, the *argot* of the street making them visible to readers and viewers in the know.

The French Working Class

A comprehensive analysis of the development of the French working classes over the course of the nineteenth century is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, their struggles particularly during the Second Empire and specifically at the time of the *Exposition Universelle* are central to the mockery and meaning found within Daumier's hat making machine / rabbit caricature.²²⁵ Accordingly, it is important to briefly highlight some aspects of the social conditions that the, by definition, the wage earning working classes were experiencing in their day-to-day lives.²²⁶ Here, it needs to be emphasized that the working classes, at this time, were far from a sociologically and ideologically homogenous entity. It is true that average wages, which until 1850 had generally been stagnant, were during the course of the Second Empire, starting to rise.²²⁷ It is also true that by the mid-1850's there were lower levels of unemployment.²²⁸ However, it is important to remember that the work day at this time was often thirteen to

²²⁵ The industrial working class made up roughly 28% of the total population of France over the course of this period; Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 113.

²²⁶ *ibid.*, p.113; attempting to provide a face to the French working classes of the Second Empire, Plessis presents two extreme working class stereotypes. The first is the craftsman in his workshop and the other the worker in large-scale industry. The craftsman was a skilled labourer, well educated, who probably had completed an apprenticeship. He typically stayed out of taverns and his wife didn't have to work. The second is the factory labourer who functioned as a totally unskilled appendage to a machine. His wife worked with him, had to prostitute herself to have enough money, and both had succumbed to alcoholism. Between these two opposite extremes there were a range of intermediary degrees.

²²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 114 – 115.

²²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 114. Magraw notes that despite slumps in 1853-6 and 1867-8, the Bonapartist years were an era of relatively high employment; Roger Magraw, *A History of the French Working Class* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) p. 198.

fifteen hours long, and the work week as long as ninety.²²⁹ As well, any wage gains for workers during this period were at varying times out-paced by a quickly rising cost of living, particularly with respect to food.²³⁰ Workers had to spend a steep two-thirds of their income on food,²³¹ which as a consequence often lead to dietary deficiencies for themselves and their families.²³² Women made up 30% of the work force,²³³ yet as a result of their gender were paid barely half the wages of men.²³⁴ They were also often subject to brutal male foremen.²³⁵ There were horrifying reports of mothers who worked thirteen-hour shifts and who then had to feed their babies opium at night in order to sleep.²³⁶ Despite the phenomenon's prohibition under the 1841 Child Labour Act, close to 10% of the work force was made up of children under the age of sixteen.²³⁷ Of course,

²²⁹ Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, pp. 115 -116.

²³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 114 – 115; due to an increase in the cost of living in the period, real wages actually fell by 20% from 1852 to 1856.

²³¹ *ibid.*, p. 115. Also see, Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 -1914: The Bourgeois Century*, pp. 181 -182.

²³² Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, pp. 114 - 115. Also see, Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 -1914: A Social History*, p. 67.

²³³ *ibid.*, p. 67.

²³⁴ Plessis states that while men might be paid 2.50 francs a day, women would at most be paid 1.50 francs; Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 115. Also see, an extensive discussion by Magraw of a six week 1869 strike by 2000 *ovalistes*, or girls who did the *moulinage* of the silk thread to prepare it for weaving. It provides an excellent overview of the dire conditions working women faced during the Second Empire. Their jobs, which required dexterity, were seen as 'unskilled.' During the strike, the women demanded a 40% wage raise to two francs a day, a cut in the workday to 13 hours, and an end to the surveillance and control of their living conditions. The article notes the inability of the French liberal left to come to terms with and support women's push for a margin of equality. The action did however receive support from the First International. Roger Magraw, *A History of the French Working Class*, p. 212 – 213.

²³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 159.

²³⁶ Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 -1914: The Bourgeois Century*, p.181.

²³⁷ Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 -1914: A Social History*, p. 67.

these children were paid even less, experienced terrible health effects and deformities, and were the frequent victims of industrial accidents for which they rarely received compensation.²³⁸ Over the course of several decades, some were so physically deformed by their living conditions that records show they were deemed unfit for military service.²³⁹ During this period, in the factory town of Lille where 26,000 textile workers lived in ramshackle houses, the average life expectancy was twenty-four years, only two thirds the national average, with large numbers of cases of rickets, syphilis, and gastroenteritis epidemics.²⁴⁰ During the downturn years of the 1860's, unemployment in Lille reached as high as 30%.²⁴¹ Forty percent of the child population died before the age of five.²⁴² My point is that the social conditions of the French working classes, while at times marginally better during the Second Empire, were still effectively grim.²⁴³

²³⁸ Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 -1914: The Bourgeois Century*, p.181.

²³⁹ In the 1850's the proportion of conscripts found unfit for military service actually fell from 16% to 10%. Magraw argues that this is because improved diets meant a smaller percentage of workers were actually physically stunted by their lack of food intake; *ibid.*, p. 181. Plessis cites the same statistics with respect to diet and conscription, although he places them within a wider time frame, between 1839 and the end of the Empire; Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 98.

²⁴⁰ Roger Magraw, *France, 1814 -1914: The Bourgeois Century*, p. 181.

²⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.182.

²⁴² *ibid.*, p.181.

²⁴³ These observations with respect to the working classes resonate with the tone of the preface Victor Hugo had placed at the beginning of his novel *Les Misérables* which was published in 1862 in the midst of the Second Empire. “So long as, by the effect of laws and of customs, social degradation shall continue in the midst of civilization, making artificial hells, and subjecting to the complications of chance the divine destiny of man; so long as the three problems of the age, - the debasement of man by poverty, the ruin of women by starvation, the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual darkness, - shall not be solved; so long as anywhere social asphyxia shall be possible; in other words, and from a still broader point of view, so long as ignorance and misery shall remain on earth, books like this cannot fail to be useful.” Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, trans. Sir Lascelles Wraxall (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1887) preface.

The Revolution of 1848

Significantly, the ability of the French working classes to change these circumstances through political action had by and large been effectively stifled and closed off at this time in history. In a defining event of this period, the February Revolution of 1848, the French working classes had briefly united with the bourgeoisie to sweep Louis Philippe's July Monarchy from power and to install the left-leaning Second Republic.²⁴⁴ This act dramatically ushered in a new epoch which included, among other things, historic gains regarding the right to universal (male) suffrage, freedom of the press, the end to slavery in French colonies and possessions, the abolition of the death penalty, and the right to employment.²⁴⁵ Through their actions, some French workers had

²⁴⁴ T. J. Clark describes the February revolution as “an odd, almost accidental, alliance of classes; made for very different reasons by its various participants ... From the start, then, the 1848 revolution was ambiguous. It was revolution from above, and from below, the two forms curiously distinct.” T. J. Clark, *Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) pp. 9 - 11. Also see Pamela M. Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814 – 1871* (London: MacMillan, 1995) pp. 185 – 209. Marx summarized the divisions between classes within the revolution this way, “The Provisional Government which emerged from the February barricades, necessarily mirrored in its composition the different parties which shared in the victory. It could not be anything but a compromise between the different classes which together had overturned the July throne, but whose interests were mutually antagonistic,” Karl Marx, *Class Struggle in France, 1848 - 50* (New York: International Publishers, 1964) pp. 39 - 43. See also (Karl Marx, *Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850* (Berlin: Glocke, 1895)).

²⁴⁵ In regards to the proclamation of universal suffrage for men over twenty-one, the right to work, and the abolition of slavery see, Roger Price, ed. *1848 in France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975) pp. 68 – 71. With respect to abolition of the death penalty and freedom of the press see, Georges Duveau, *1848: The Making of a Revolution*, trans. Anne Carter (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967) p. 77. For a more detailed explanation of the change in laws with respect to the press see, Irene Collins, *The Government and Newspapers in France - 1814–1881* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) pp. 100 –103. Also see, Pamela M. Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814 – 1871*, p. 188; who notes that the abolition of slavery and the death penalty was motivated by the Second Republics need to distinguish itself from the Terror of the First Republic.

hoped to achieve *la républic sociale* or a social republic.²⁴⁶ However, the 1848 revolution soon split along class lines,²⁴⁷ and just four months into the government, the Parisian working classes which had helped lead the initial revolution rose up against the Republic following the new National Assembly's turn to the right and its closure of the National Workshops (*Ateliers*) program employing tens of thousands.²⁴⁸ Over the course of a five day period, this "June Days" insurrection by the workers of Paris was ruthlessly crushed, resulting in the deaths of thousands.²⁴⁹ My point here is not simply to underline

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 188; p. 202. Also see, Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, p 22. Interestingly, by 1848 the French workers already had the model of the American Republic which continued to uphold slavery. Thus, the call for a social republic was an attempt to avoid the historical outcome of a republic like the USA with an enslaved working population. Roger Magraw, *A History of French Working Class*, p. 149 - 150.

²⁴⁷ Even Daumier's own editors at *Le Charivari* had helped stoke alarmist fears by publishing texts decrying what they called "*Le Système de Louis Blanc*," with Louis Blanc having been one of two representatives of the 'workers' in the Provisional Government; Stanislay Osiakovski, "Some Political and Social Views of Honoré Daumier as Shown in His Lithographs" PhD Diss., University of London, 1957: pp. 139 – 140. Marx also discusses the attempt by the Provisional Government and the bourgeoisie to create a state of panic as to the aspirations of the Parisian workers in the weeks and months before the June Days, launching mass mobilizations of troops based upon rumours of a worker takeover; Marx, *Class Struggle in France, 1848 – 50*, pp. 51 – 53.

²⁴⁸ For a discussion of the politics within the Second Republic behind the closing of the National Workshops see, Pamela M. Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814 – 1871*, pp. 199 to 214.

²⁴⁹ For five days in June (22nd to 26th) fighting from behind thousands of methodically organized barricades, 40,000 to 50,000 workers clashed with forces of the army, as well as the Mobile Guard, Republican Guard, and National Guard units lead by General Louis Cavaignac, who had recently returned from Algeria. It was a battle of unparalleled savagery and brutality on the side of the government in which the 'enemies of society' were 'exterminated' through the use of bayonets, grape-shot, incendiary rockets, and canon shells. The insurrection was eventually crushed by a combined military force on the final day totaling upwards of 100,000 men. Hundreds were killed in the fighting, and in the aftermath 3000 prisoners were executed and 15,000 more were transported without trial to foreign prisons. Karl Marx & Friederich Engels, *The Collected Works of Karl Mark and Frederick Engels, General Works 1844-1895 Volume Seven* (Electronic edition. IntelLex Corporation 2003) p. 124 – 164 (June Revolution). Also see, Marx, *Class Struggles in France, 1848 – 50*, pp. 56 – 57. There are differences amongst

that the period of the Second Republic, and the Second Empire which soon followed and unfolded out of these events, was an era of class struggle and class conflict. Rather, it is also to grasp that this was an epoch characterized above all by a lost revolutionary possibility. It is the unrealized ambitions of large segments of the working classes, which had been defeated on the June barricades, that permeates the history of this period, as well as its rhetoric, its representation, and its art.²⁵⁰

historians with respect to the actual numbers of casualties during the June Days insurrection. Magraw claims a lower number of dead than Marx at 1500 with only 11,000 arrested; Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 – 1914: A Social History*, p. 78. Pilbeam is also skeptical of Marx's numbers suggestion as few as 20,000 workers took part in the insurrection. She argues that key to this lowered number was the fact that the government continued to pay dole through out the conflict to those choosing not to fight. However, Pibleam agrees 15,000 were arrested, though with just 5000 being deported to Algeria; Pamela M. Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814 – 1871*, p. 216. Pointedly, T. J. Clark notes Tocqueville's reaction to the June Days conflict, "I had always thought ... that we should not expect to settle February by degrees, in a peaceful fashion – it would only be stopped all at once, by a great conflict ... it was desirable to seize the first opportunity to give battle." In response to the comment, Clark states, "For men like Tocqueville, what had to be finished was the Parisian working class." T. J. Clark, *Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851*, p. 13.

²⁵⁰ In his essay, "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire," Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Verso, 1983) Benjamin's thesis is that Baudelaire's poetry is a historically unconscious evocation of class struggle which includes the June Days, "after the defeat of the proletariat in the June fights, the protest against the bourgeois ideas of order and respectability was better preserved by the ruling classes than by the oppressed." p. 24. For example, Benjamin interprets Baudelaire's poem 'Abel et Cain,' and its switch of the struggle between the biblical brothers into a struggle between races, as actually being about class struggle; *ibid.*, p.22. For Benjamin the disinherited Cain is in fact an image of the proletariat. Further, the figure of Satan in Baudelaire's cycle of poems entitled *Révolte* who "as the patron saint of the stubborn and unyielding," is understood by Benjamin to be, "the dark head of Blanqui..." pp. 22 – 23. In an oblique way, T. J. Clark makes a similar point with respect to the era, framing it in terms of ideology and a condition of class struggle, "it is hard to avoid the sense of bourgeois ideology actively struggling in the nineteenth century to include, invert, or displace the meanings of those classes the bourgeoisie sought to dominate." T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, p. 8.

The Workers and Napoléon III

The climate of worker harassment and repression that followed the June Days insurrection was further accelerated following Louis Napoléon's coup. Ultimately, this oppressive circumstance set the stage for the Second Empire.²⁵¹ Activists were arrested or exiled, unions were banned, political activities were restricted, and police surveillance was wide-spread.²⁵² As a result of its suppression of working class activism, Napoléon III's régime actually went so far as to boast that it had succeeded in saving France from socialism.²⁵³ This repression took place despite the fact that in the previous decade before his rise to power, Louis Napoléon had portrayed himself as the workers' friend. At the time, through his book *Les Idées Napoléoniennes* first published in 1839, Louis Napoléon had elaborated upon a Bonapartist social policy which sought specifically to aid the working class without infringing on the rights of employers.²⁵⁴ And in a subsequent book, *L'Éxtinction du Paupérisme* published a few years later in 1844,²⁵⁵ the future Emperor attempted to further convince workers of his sincere interest in addressing their social problems by attacking the evils of the factory system, which, according to Louis Napoléon's views of the time, was a system that forced workers to exist in packed,

²⁵¹ After the June Days insurrection, workers tried to advance some political change at the ballot box through their involvement in the *Dem-Soc* (Democratic-Socialist) movement. Magraw argues that fears that they might actually win the 1852 vote lead conservatives to support Louis Napoléon's coup; Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 -1914: A Social History*, p. 82.

²⁵² *ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁵³ Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 160. Also see, David Kulstein, *Napoléon III and the Working Class: A Study of Government Propaganda under the Second Empire* (San Jose, The California State Colleges, 1969) p. 88.

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 23 - 24. Also see Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte, *Idées Napoléoniennes*, trans. James A. Dorr. (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1859).

²⁵⁵ Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte, *Extinction du Paupérisme par le Prince Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte* (Paris: Parnerre, 1844).

crowded and unhealthy neighbourhoods that weakened their bodies and stifled their minds.²⁵⁶

Around seven years into the era of the Second Empire, a change in political fortunes forced the régime to rethink the excessively repressive approach previously pursued with respect to the working classes. At the end of the 1850's, opposition from former conservative supporters of the government with regard to the Emperor's military campaign in Italy and to his tariff policy with Britain (by industrialists), had pushed Napoléon III to look to the left and to workers for new political allies.²⁵⁷ This outreach to the working classes was accelerated following the government's 1863 election set back.²⁵⁸ A number of labour reforms were subsequently enacted which, in 1864, included the right to strike.²⁵⁹ Further attempts to enlist working class support for the régime were taken through an agency of the so-called Palais Royal group, of which Prince Napoléon, Napoléon III's cousin was a prominent member.²⁶⁰ Significantly, with

²⁵⁶ Kulstien further quotes Louis Napoléon as saying ... that it was a disgrace that in the nineteenth century "at least a tenth of the population is in rags and is dying of hunger in the presence of manufactured products which cannot be sold and millions in products of the soil which cannot be consumed." While in prison in Ham, Louis-Napoléon actually presented a copy of *L'Extinction du Paupérisme* to Louis Blanc at the end of the latter's 1844 three-day visit. David Kulstein, *Napoléon III and the Working Class: A Study of Government Propaganda under the Second Empire*, pp. 28 - 29.

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 122. Also see, Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 155.

²⁵⁸ Votes cast against the government as a percentage of the overall total had tripled from 10.84% in 1860 to 26.91% percent in 1863; *ibid.*, pp. 156 -158.

²⁵⁹ Article 1781 of the Penal Code which accepted the employer's word in court over that of an employee, was also abolished; Roger Magraw, *France, 1800 -1914 A Social History*, pp. 84 – 85. Magraw notes that the legalization of strikes had not served to 'normalize' labour relations but instead stimulated an upsurge of disputes; Roger Magraw, *A History of the French Working Class*, p. 195.

²⁶⁰ Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 160. As well, Kulstein offers an excellent overview and analysis of the conflicting make-up of the Palais Royal Group and its relationship to the régime; David Kulstein, *Napoléon III and*

respect to my analysis of Daumier's *Le Monde illustré* World's Fair caricature, it is here where the efforts to placate French workers during the mid 1860's and the staging of the *Exposition Universelle* come together. Prince Napoléon played a leading role in the attempt to create a Bonapartist workers' movement during the 1860's.²⁶¹ In 1862, he had been active, through the Palais Royal Group, in helping to organize and obtain government support for sending delegations of two hundred French workers on a ten day trip to see the London World's Fair.²⁶² During the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* four hundred thousand free tickets were distributed to the workers of Paris and a barracks of more than 30,000 beds was placed at the disposal of labourers who were visiting the Fair.²⁶³

Phantasmagoria and the Exposition Universelle

In his own discussion of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, Walter Benjamin described the world exhibitions as "places of pilgrimage to the fetish commodity. All

the Working Class: A Study of Government Propaganda under the Second Empire, pp. 126 – 136.

²⁶¹ One of the appeals of the Bonapartists of the Palais Royal Group to workers was the memory of the betrayal of working class interests by bourgeois republicans, following the Revolution of 1848; *ibid.*, pp. 124 - 126.

²⁶² Napoléon III would later honor three of the worker delegates with the *Chevaliers* of the Legion of Honor award; *ibid.*, p. 125; p.135 -136. Interestingly, the International Working Men's Association (the International) would be founded as a result of contacts made at the London Exhibition; Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire: 1852 – 1871*, p. 161. Also see, Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, pp. 186 –188, [G7a,3] [G8a,1]. For an account of the organization between Frédéric le Play and Prince Napoléon of the French worker's trip to the 1862 London Exposition see, Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play: Engineer and Social Scientist* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1970) p. 62.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 186 [G7, 5]. Also see, Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, p. 86.

Europe has set off to view goods.”²⁶⁴ Further, he declared the 1867 Fair to be “the most radiant unfurling” of the “phantasmagoria of capitalist culture.”²⁶⁵ It was Marx who used the term phantasmagoria to describe how a commodity conceals the fact that it is a product of human labour.²⁶⁶ Benjamin saw the expositions as places that “glorify the exchange value of the commodity,”²⁶⁷ and where the “use-value of objects,” their actual utility,²⁶⁸ also “receded into the background.”²⁶⁹ As such, for him, the Fairs were vast exercises in mystification, a “phantasmagoria” that people entered “in order to be distracted.”²⁷⁰ It is here where the phantasmagoria of the commodity passes over to take on a larger collective political significance. In her analysis of Walter Benjamin’s *Passagen-Werk*, Susan Buck-Morss puts a sharper point on the matter. She notes that as much as the World’s Fairs displayed a “phantasmagoria of merchandise,” with items and commodities exhibited from around the world, with respect to the working classes, they

²⁶⁴ Walter Benjamin, “Grandville, or the World Exhibitions” *The Arcades Project*, - two version, 1935 Exposé, p. 7; 1939 Exposé, p. 17.

²⁶⁵ This quote only appears in the 1935 version of the Exposé, *ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁶⁶ “It is only the particular social relation between people that here takes on the phantasmagoric form of a relation between things.” T. W. Adorno, “Phantasmagoria” *In Search of Wagner* (London: New Left Books, 1981) p. 85. Also see, Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, p. 81; p. 399. Also see Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume One*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1977(first published 1867)).

²⁶⁷ Walter Benjamin, “Grandville, or the World Exhibitions” *The Arcades Project*, p. 7; 1939 Exposé p. 18.

²⁶⁸ “The usefulness of a thing makes it a use-value.” Here Marx also references Locke’s characterization, “the nature worth of anything consists in its fitness to supply the necessities, or serve the conveniences of human life” and underlines Locke’s use of the term “worth” for “use-value,” Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume One*, p. 126.

²⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin, “Grandville, or the World Exhibitions” *The Arcades Project*, p. 7; in his 1939 exposé Benjamin switches from using the phrase, “receded into the background” to using “use-value becomes secondary,” p. 18.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 7; p. 18.

were also constructed to create a “phantasmagoria of politics.”²⁷¹ The intent here was in fact to use the Fairs to convince the working class of the promise of social progress, and that peace, class harmony, and abundance were possible without the need for revolution.²⁷² Far from teaching workers about the “anarchy” of the production process, these festivals perpetrated the myth of automatic historical progress in order to prevent the proletariat from deriving the necessary revolutionary lessons.²⁷³

Interestingly, at the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, the line separating the display of the commodity and the display of labour involved in its actual production had begun to blur. Within the Machine Gallery there was a conscious attempt on behalf of the Fair organizers, to blend the presentation of mechanical production with the exhibition of human labour.²⁷⁴ A twenty-five foot high walkway²⁷⁵ built over top of the gallery provided spectators with what Mathew Truesdell has called a “panorama of human work.”²⁷⁶ What Mr. Haas’s felt hat making spectacle demonstrated was that some of the exhibitors, as a part of the dramaturgy of their respective presentations and as a result of Le Play’s Saint-Simonian influenced configuration of the Fair, were able to present aspects of the labour used to produce their respective commodities as an added dimension

²⁷¹ Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, p. 86.

²⁷² *ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁷⁴ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, p. 118.

²⁷⁵ Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, p. 45.

²⁷⁶ “It was here (in the machine gallery) that the spectator could see not only working machinery... but also the machinists and craftspeople performing the procedures they performed in the factories and workshops that employed them,” Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, p. 118.

of entertainment.²⁷⁷ So, far from concealing the actual act of human labour, the display of work at the Fair was placed front and center as a part of the attraction and engagement of the Exposition. In fact, when we also include the raw materials, such as our rabbit, it was a pageant of the totality of production in microcosm.²⁷⁸ Of course, what the World's Fair denied in its configuration was the very existence of class antagonisms.²⁷⁹ Here, crucially, is where the pointed mockery and satire of Daumier's wood engraved image intersects with the phantasmagoria of politics that lies at the heart of the Fair. The caricature of Mr. Haas' felt hat making machine, centered upon the figure of the rabbit, was constructed by Daumier, in some respects, as a kind of "counter image" to the Exposition, and an attempt to unmask its rhetoric of mystification.²⁸⁰

Cannibalism and the Bourgeois

I have argued that the decision to caricature Mr. Haas' popular World's Fair felt hat making exhibit was predicated upon Daumier's intuitive and highly politicized grasp of the multiple dialogic connections that could be set into satirical conflict through the use of the figure of the rabbit. In this respect, the motifs of the World's Fair inventor, the magic act, and the hatter's madness are important elements in the construction of the image's overall meaning. However, in the case of the previously examined Egyptian wood engraving, I would argue that the linchpin of Daumier's World's Fair hat making caricature is formulated around his deployment of *argot*. In this case, it is the mid nineteenth century slang meaning for *lapin* as *ouvrier* or *camarade* – effectively, worker

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 118; also see, Walter Benjamin, "Grandville, or the World Exhibitions" *The Arcades Project*, p. 7; p.17.

²⁷⁸ Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale*, p. 118.

²⁷⁹ Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, p. 86.

²⁸⁰ Buck-Morss argues Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk* was in part a search within "the trash" of history for what she refers to as "counter images that rubbed harshly against the grain of the semantics of progress," *ibid.*, pp. 92 – 95.

or comrade - that provides the conceptual key allowing Daumier to turn a popular affirmative spectacle at the 1867 Fair into something representing its opposite. Here, the caricaturist's deployment of grotesque realism serves as a particular case in point. When the figure of the worker is combined with that of *gibelotte*, the caricature comes to represent not just an image invoking the debasement of the Fair, industrialization, mass production, and class through a representation of the close connection of food to excrement, but one which effectively crosses over into a depiction of cannibalism. In other words, Daumier's caricature becomes arguably even more grotesque, while also simultaneously highly politically charged. As such, the bourgeois are understood to consume not just small dishes of rabbit stew, but individual workmen along with the entire working class. Clothes worn by the fashionable *Exposition Universelle* onlookers to evoke their own class – the well stitched gloves, the beautifully formed ribbons, and precisely fashioned hats – are now presented by Daumier as evidence of a vast array of social crimes. Accordingly, the worker/rabbit being tossed into the machine is the very fodder of this class' pleasure, wealth, and entertainment. Read as an image of class cannibalism, the depiction of the figure of the industrial inventor as a mad conjurer becomes here an exceedingly pointed motif. However, it should be noted that Daumier's caricature also simultaneously strikes a pose of joking ambivalence to the atrocity. As a nearly full-page image published in the conservative weekly magazine *Le Monde illustré*, Daumier's *Exposition Universelle* felt hat making caricature was, of course, itself a form of that bourgeois entertainment. Yet, at the same time, it was an image also constructed by its author to accomplish another objective.

Towards Class Consciousness

In an incident just a few years before the publication of Daumier's caricature, a group of French workers published a document that came to be known as "The Manifesto of Sixty."²⁸¹ While it rejected class conflict, it revealed that the signers believed they

²⁸¹ Kulstein cites the 1864 Manifesto as one of the most significant statements in the history of the French working class; David Kulstein, *Napoléon III and the Working Class: A Study of Government Propaganda under the Second Empire*, pp. 162 -164.

had their own distinct class interests were not satisfied by the present economic and social order.²⁸² It also challenged the claim that France was a classless society.²⁸³ And furthermore, the document specifically demanded basic social reforms.²⁸⁴ The Manifesto was indicative of just the kind of working class consciousness that the political phantasmagoria of the Fair was formulated to prevent.²⁸⁵ For the working classes, consciousness of themselves as a class was their primary revolutionary weapon.

Illuminated through the prism of *argot*, we can see that Daumier's hat making caricature represents just such a moment of class consciousness. Materialized through the help of the vernacular of that working class itself, it is an image which clearly lays out for all to see who is being eaten by whom.²⁸⁶ Furthermore, it accomplishes this magic historical awakening through the simultaneous perverse negation of the mystifying phantasmagoric veil of the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, which was itself predicated on the semantics of progress. However, this consciousness also arrives enwrapped in an ambivalent (carnivalized) laughter, effectively releasing its possessor from a state (and chains) of fear and terror.

As noted earlier, the entire era of the Second Empire was one that was characterized by the lost revolutionary possibility of the 1848 June Days defeat of the

²⁸² *ibid.*, p.163.

²⁸³ *ibid.*, p.163.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.164.

²⁸⁵ The "faithful" conduct of worker delegates at the *Exposition Universelle* was later contrasted in government propaganda to the subsequent "radical schemes" proposed by orators in the period after the Fair. "Good Workers," declared another newspaper, refused to accept "the strange and subversive theories" proclaimed in their name at the public meetings," *ibid.*, pp. 164 – 165.

²⁸⁶ See Introduction, footnote #30.

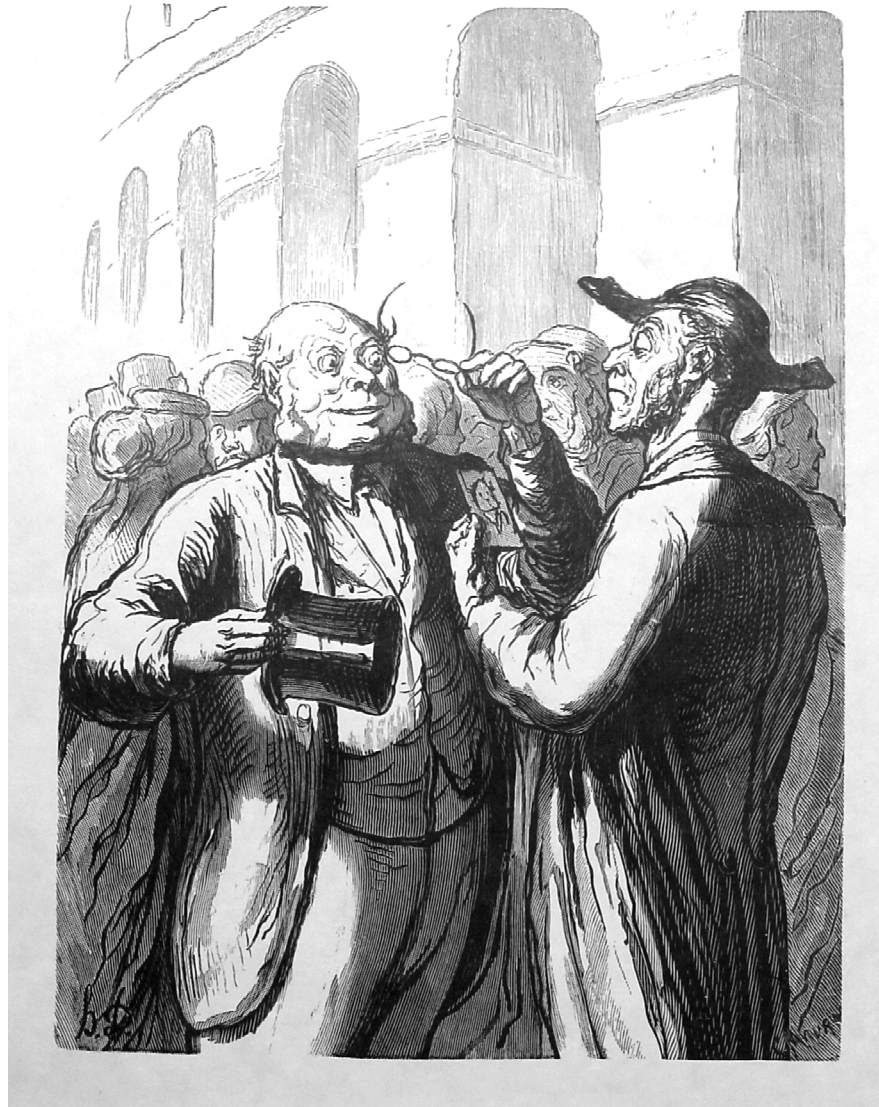
French working class.²⁸⁷ Daumier's subversive "counter image" represents an example of the way in which the consciousness of the submerged revolutionary possibility managed to survive in the unofficial language of the working class itself. Daumier's gift was to enable this historically disembodied voice to laugh ambivalently at the hell of the Second Empire while imagining the possibility of its own revolutionary future.

²⁸⁷ See Chapter Two, footnote #250, with respect to Walter Benjamin's essay - "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire."

List of Figures

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www.daumier-register.org



“EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE. - L'inspection des photographies aux tourniquets. Les chauves doivent ôter leur chapeau et les myopes leurs lunettes,” or “At the Universal Exposition – Security Check at the Entrance: the Bald Need to Lift their Hats, and the Short-sighted Need to Remove their Glasses.”

Figure 4.2

DR 6028 - Daumier, October 26th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* – wood engraving - courtesy of Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*. www.daumier-register.org



“À L’Exposition Universelle – Section Égyptienne – Vrai! Les anciens Égyptiens n’étaient pas beaux,” or “At the Universal Exposition, Egyptian section – Indeed! The ancient Egyptians were certainly not good looking.”

Figure 4.3

DR 6024 - Daumier, July 27th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* – wood engraving
- courtesy of Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*.

www.daumier-register.org



“Voici un lapin vivant que je vais introduire dans ma mécanique, dans dix minutes il en sortira à l’état de gibelotte et de chapeau du feutre,” or
“Here you can see a live rabbit, which I’m going to put into my machine like this, in ten minutes he will come out as rabbit stew and a felt hat.”

Figure 4.4

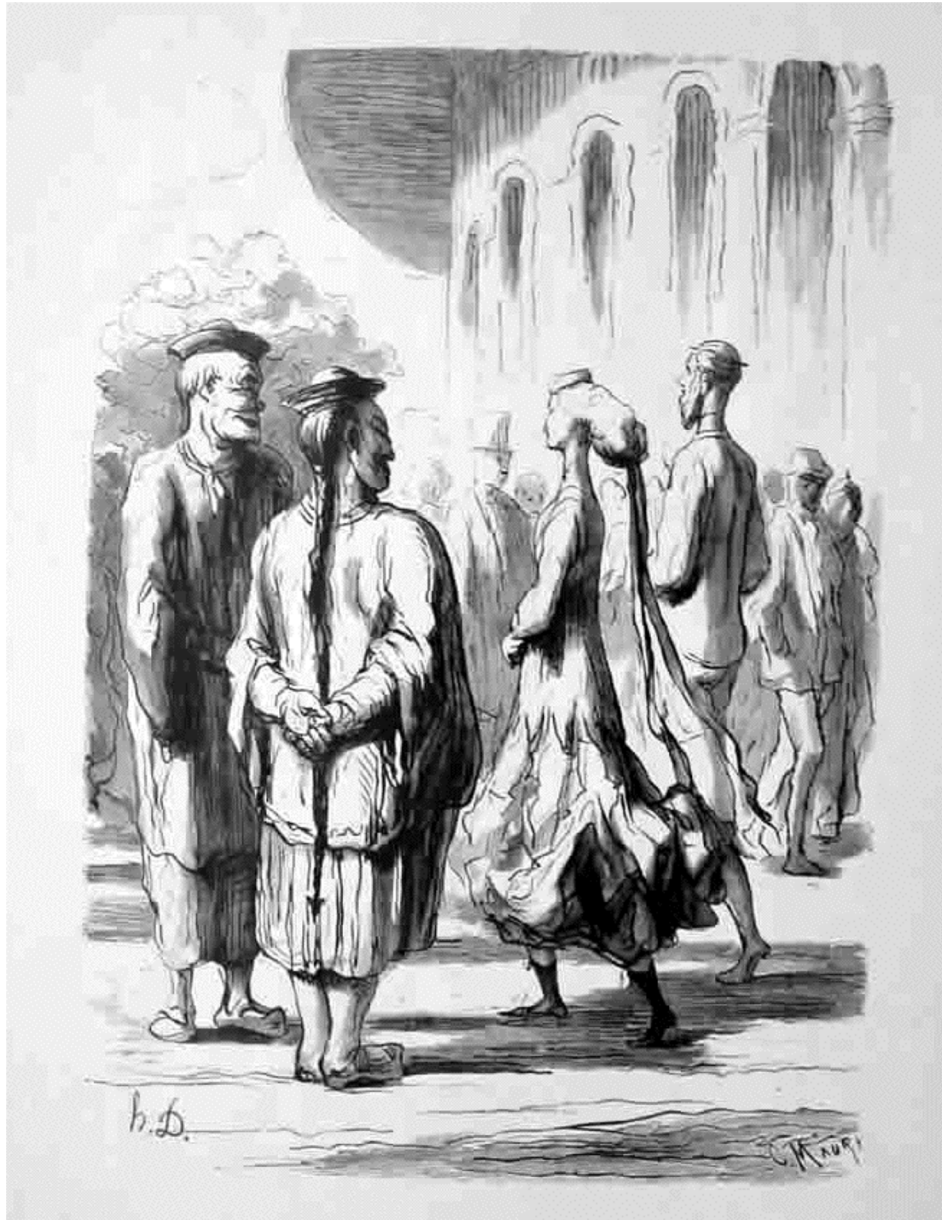
DR 6025 - Daumier, August 24th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* – wood engraving - courtesy of Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*. www.daumier-register.org



“A L’ Exposition Universelle. Un Vrai Cicerone” or *“ At the Universal Exposition. The perfect guide.”*

Figure 4.5

DR 6027 - Daumier, October 12th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* – wood engraving - courtesy of Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*. www.daumier-register.org



“A L’Exposition Universelle, “Quels sont les plus Chinois?” or “At the Universal Exposition - Which are the most Chinese?”

Figure 4.6

DR 6026 - Daumier, August 31st, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* – wood engraving - courtesy of Dieter Noack and Lilian Noack, *The Daumier Register*. www.daumier-register.org



“ A L’Exposition Universelle – L’Étranger trouve toutes les facilités désirables pour retourner a son hotel” or *“At the Universal Exhibition – The visitor will easily find any means of transportation to return to his hotel.”*

Figure 4.7

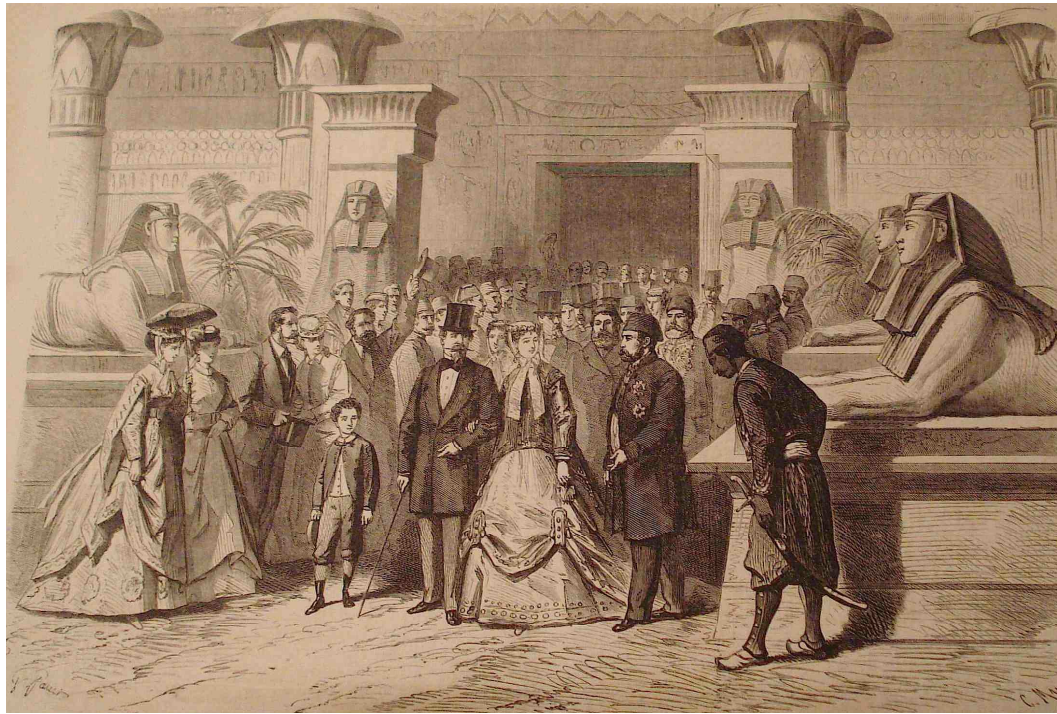
Daumier, October 26th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* - page view - "Reproduction by Russell Stephens."



DR 6028 - "À L'Exposition Universelle – Section Égyptienne – Vrai! Les anciens Égyptiens n'étaient pas beaux," or "At the Universal Exposition, Egyptian section – Indeed! The ancient Egyptians were certainly not good looking."

Figure 4.8

Liardo, July 13th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* -wood engraving -
“Reproduction by Russell Stephens.”



“Exposition Universelle: The Imperial Family visiting the Ancient Egyptian Temple”

Figure 4.9

Daumier, July 27th, 1867, *Le Monde illustré* - page view - "Reproduction by Russell Stephens."

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et élégante vitrine ont été achetées par les plus illustres souveraines en passage à Paris; telles que la robe Égérie, toute fleurie de bouquets miniatures, s'éffleurant en pétales de fleurs; la robe impératrice d'Autriche, colorée de larges paquerettes noires sur fond gris perle; le foulard reine de Portugal, fleuri de branches de jasmin d'Espagne; le foulard princesse de France, coloré de roses naturelles; le foulard Rossi, illustré de motifs de masque; le foulard Sultan, avec médaillon et palmettes de cachemire; le foulard miniature, avec tout petits bouquets variés. — Que sais-je? sans compter tous les foulards unis, et les véritables tissus de l'Inde, dits Tasson et Kivab, dont la Mlle des Indes a plus de vingt tentes différentes dans chaque nuance. Il suffit de demander à la *Mlle des Indes* sa collection complète de foulards illustrés et de foulards unis, passage Verdeau, pour la recevoir franco. Il n'y a plus de distance aujourd'hui. La province, c'est Paris. Un deuil douloureux frappait dernièrement une de nos grandes familles de province, et des amis officieux et intelligents ont averti immédiatement la Religieuse, qui s'est rendue immédiatement auprès de la famille éplorée, pour lui épargner les sous-douleurs et pénibles de l'organisation d'un grand deuil. En quelques jours tout arrivait au château de ***. La Religieuse avait tout prévu et rien n'avait été oublié. Le très-grand deuil est assujéti à des lois rigoureuses d'étiquette, de devoir, et de convenance, dont on trouve les statuts dans le code des deuils publié par la Religieuse, et qu'elle envoie à toute personne qui le désire.

Quant au deuil de fantaisie, qu'on peut appeler demi-deuil, il est coupé, seyant et charmant, plutôt couleur de violette, que tout noir, La Religieuse a confectionné pour les bains

de mer des costumes complets, tout noir ou violet, noir et blanc, blanc et tout blanc. Ses confections et ses coiffures ont un goût parti.

La Religieuse revient à ravir les chapeaux brodés de jais ou fleuris de violettes et de paquerettes. Ses autres accessoires ont peut-être du talent.

Plus d'une fois elle se fait couler par la Religieuse, rue de Valenciennes, place de la Madeleine, pour faire partie de la confrérie des chapeaux. (Qui vous dire autrement?)

Une utilité, un avantage économique pour servir tous vos besoins et toutes vos fantaisies pendant la saison d'été. C'est de jeter dans M. Delestre, à la parfumerie du Monde élégant, un sachet approuvé, et vous le rendrez dans sa boîte brevétée.

Ce sachet ne reste pas dans la catégorie de la parfumerie — mais l'hygiène.

Quant aux produits de la parfumerie du Monde élégant, la chose n'est pas à nos lectrices les moins inconnue de longue date et elles nous ont écrit de gracieux remerciements pour leur avoir fait connaître le *L'Éclair*. C'est avec ces lettres de remercîment que nous sommes parvenus à donner au *tenir à la mode* de la rue de Valenciennes, tout en rafraîchissant la peau. Et l'*Eau de Cologne* Grand-Corail que nous portons sur toutes nos têtes aux eaux de Cologne, France et d'Allemagne.

C'est avec ces lettres de parfums spéciaux que M. Delestre a obtenu sa réputation européenne. La parfumerie du Monde élégant a pris pour devise la devise suivante: Comme matière première oblige. C'est pourquoi elle a édité les savons bouillonnés, les savons souverains, le bouillonné du Monde élégant, bouquet des fleurs, avant des semaines de bain coupé, et l'*Eau de Cologne* violette de France. On peut devenir riche en adoptant un produit préféré.

Vos DE BENEVOLE

Exposition universelle. — Le fabricant de chapeaux de feutre. (Dessin de H. Daumier.)

— Voici un lapin vivant que je vais introduire dans ma mécanique, dans dix minutes il en sortira à l'état de gibelotte et de chapeau de feutre.

ÉCHECS

SOLUTION DU PROBLÈME NUMÉRO 251 NOUVEAU

peut en notation dans le numéro du 6 juillet.

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2. T 6 B
3. F 7 C, échec et mat.

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REBUS

EXPLICATION DU DERNIER REBUS
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DR 6024 - "Voici un lapin vivant que je vais introduire dans ma mécanique, dans dix minutes il en sortira à l'état de gibelotte et de chapeau du feutre," or "Here you can see a live rabbit, which I'm going to put into my machine like this, in ten minutes he will come out as rabbit stew and a felt hat."

Conclusion

I have argued in this thesis that Daumier's humorous *Le Monde illustré* caricatures which addressed the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* set a polyphony of social-ideological Second Empire language systems – including those of Egyptomania, the cult of the military, magic, consumerism, and class – into satirical conflict. The particular focus has been on two caricatures and the argument at the heart of this study is that these images inverted and challenged a range of rhetorical forms that were key to the 1867 World's Fair. Thus, just months following the publication of a stunning full-page wood engraving in the prominent and conservative illustrated magazine *Le Monde illustré* representing the highly staged visit of the Imperial Family to the Fair's ancient Egyptian temple as part of the *Fete Imperiale*, Daumier's caricature (Figure 4.2), set within the same pavilion at the *Exposition*, makes a dialogical mockery of the spectacularized media event. In turn, Daumier's caricature of the hat maker turning a rabbit into an affordable felt hat (Figure 4.3) ridicules the dramaturgy of a well known product demonstration of a popular invention, which took place within the "*Galerie des Machines*" or Machine Gallery showcase of the Fair's Grand Pavilion as part of the government's celebration of new technologies.

One of the key elements within Daumier's caricatures that underscored these images as a form of 'uncrowning' or dethroning of official discourses— with all their dogmatic, narrowly rationalistic, and authoritative associations — was Daumier's deployment of what Bakhtin has termed the 'objective memory' of Menippean satire and the carnivalesque. Here, Daumier's use of the devices of the doppelganger, which, in the caricature set within the Egyptian pavilion, figured the Emperor in terms of bodily deformation as a *paysan* double-gazing at himself as an Egyptian God but topped with a pig's head, or the ironic pun which conflated mass-produced hats displayed in the Grand Pavilion as *gibelotte* or rabbit stew complete with references to defecation, can be understood to derive directly from the history of laughter as a cultural expression. However, what emerges as key to the formulation of the satire within the two caricatures discussed above and in the pages of this thesis, is Daumier's use of slang or *argot*.

Alerted by Alfred Delvau's controversial dictionaries of slang that were published and censored during the Second Empire, I have attempted to show that an understanding of the *argot* terms -- "Égyptien" as *mauvais acteur* and "lapin" as *ouvrier* or *comarade* -- alters and adds social complexity to readings of these Daumier images at a number of levels.

There is, however, a further point to be made. This deployment of *argot*, I would argue, has an additional and important significance that can expand our conception of the nature of Daumier's caricature as a whole and extend our understandings of the complex resonances of satirical representation. Daumier's images published in the conservative *Le Monde illustré* and referencing the *Exposition Universelle* not only activate visual tropes, cues and puns, but also rely on and demonstrate an unrestrained, fluid and freewheeling interweaving of the instrument of voice— in all that term's connotation of the rhetorical politics of both speakers and signifying systems. Significantly here, the presence of the *argot* of the street and the working classes within these caricatures reveals a larger agenda within Daumier's work: the identification and materialization of a vast sea of hidden subjects who had been pushed from public view under Napoléon III's régime. In other words, it is through *argot* that the repressed social strata of the Second Empire are - like magic - suddenly made to appear both on the grounds of the *Exhibition Universelle* and within the pages of the conservative *Le Monde illustré*.

One result is that Daumier's caricatures under discussion do not simply rely on a satire of negation. Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque hinged on an understanding of laughter's utopian regenerative dimension which provided humans with victory over terror and fear. As such, grotesque and degrading forms of laughter were once understood to contain an "ambivalent wholeness" that, in the modern era, have become largely lost or misunderstood. However, posing the question from a dialectical perspective, one can wonder whether the utopian aspect of laughter has vanished or alternatively, within the modern context, has it transformed into something else? In the introduction to this thesis I evoked Walter Benjamin's *Passagenwerk* which constituted in part a search for counter images within the era of the Second Empire and the time of

the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*. Susan Buck-Morss has argued that these counter-images, “rubbed harshly against the grain of the semantics of progress.”²⁸⁸ Interestingly, within Benjamin’s “convolute” classification system which was used to organize the mammoth body of material of the *Passagenwerk* project, Daumier was provided his own brief section.²⁸⁹ Although Benjamin does not discuss any of the particular Daumier images I have addressed in my study, it is possible to see that, in a number of respects, the caricatures in *Le Monde illustré* contain something approximating what Benjamin was looking for. Daumier’s caricatures of the Imperial family as disheveled *paysans* plodding uncomprehendingly through the Fair’s Egyptian pavilion (Fig 2), and a worker (rabbit) being shredded to be served up as rabbit stew or *gibelotte* to a group of bourgeoisie during a product demonstration in the Grande Pavilion (Fig 2), play a subversive role (I will argue in a more extended and later study that others in the series of six addressing the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* published within the conservative *Le Monde illustré* do as well). These caricatures not only mock and degrade the régime of Napoléon III, but also work to disarm the politically anesthetizing phantasmagoria of the World’s Fair and the Saint-Simonian notion of progress which permeated the event.

Here it is important to stress that animating my reading of Daumier’s caricatures has been an understanding of the Second Empire as not just a time of class struggle and conflict but above all, as an era of lost revolutionary possibility. Indeed, it is the grim reality of the unrealized ambitions of large segments of the working class crushed in June of 1848 that permeates the history of this time. As referenced with respect to the

²⁸⁸ See Chapter Two, footnote #280.

²⁸⁹ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999) pp., 740 – 743. Benjamin also discusses Daumier in a 1937 essay on Eduard Fuchs entitled, “Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian,” Walter Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 3 – 1935 – 1938*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Howard Eiland, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006) pp. 260 – 302. “For Fuchs, no figure came as vividly to life as Daumier. The figure of Daumier accompanied him throughout his career, and one might almost say that this made Fuchs into a dialectical thinker. Certainly, he conceived of Daumier in all the latter’s fullness and living contradiction.” P. 281.

Manifesto of Sixty of 1864, which historian Kulstein cites as one of the most significant statements in the history of the French working classes,²⁹⁰ Daumier's 1867 *Exposition Universelle* caricatures were produced at a particular moment in French history when the issue of the political consciousness of the working classes, as a revolutionary weapon, was coming to the fore. The very existence of the working class language of *argot* presupposes the existence of members of the working classes as historical subjects, and is no doubt part of the reason, as I have argued, that the régime of Napoléon III sought to override and inhibit reference to its existence and use. Daumier's caricatures not only utilize and champion this subversive counter language, but they also turn its energy back into history by taking aim squarely at the rhetoric of Emperor and the World's Fair. As such, the *argot* of the street and the working class is mobilized within Daumier's caricatures as an agent that can effectively engender the very political and revolutionary consciousness of the suppressed class itself. And here, finally, within the modern context, we can recognize that the utopian dimension of laughter has not been lost but remains very much alive. In Daumier's wood engravings, humour has been refashioned as a weapon of class struggle – one that enables the repressed to achieve victory over the fear and terror of the forbidden with an uninhibited laughter rooted in an ambivalent wholeness and celebrated – to evoke Bakhtin – in a purified seriousness.²⁹¹ Thus Daumier's wood engravings within *Le Monde illustré* not only underscore the power and potency of caricature and the complexity of visuality and voice; they also and simultaneously give birth to the vision and consciousness needed to seize hold of the future.

²⁹⁰ See Chapter Two, footnote #281.

²⁹¹ See Introduction, footnote #23.

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