

At ten o'clock on the morning of 2 March 1848, a large crowd of 'cinq mille citoyens, journalistes, écrivains, gardes nationaux, élèves des écoles, etc.' assembled on the place de l'Hôtel de Ville in central Paris.¹ The procession wound its way towards the eastern suburbs of the city, moving down the rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine and the avenue de Vincennes before reaching its destination at the cemetery of Saint-Mandé. The crowd had gathered to commemorate the journalist Armand Carrel, a founding editor of *Le National*, the leading opposition newspaper under the July Monarchy and a central figure in the republican movement during the early 1830s. Gathered around David d'Angers' bronze statue of Carrel, the assembled crowd listened as Armand Marrast, current editor of *Le National* and a member of the Provisional Government of the newly-established Second Republic, paid tribute to 'un homme qui a voulu le gouvernement républicain, qui a consacré sa vie au service de cette grande cause.'² No sooner had Marrast finished than another speaker began his oration: Émile de Girardin, editor of *La Presse*. That Girardin sought to speak at all undoubtedly surprised many of those in attendance. After all, it was Émile de Girardin who had put Armand Carrel in his grave in 1836, having fatally wounded him in a duel. Girardin's speech emphasised the profound sadness he felt over Carrel's death: 'on ne doutait ni de la sincérité, ni de la durée du deuil que, dans une autre circonstance, je n'avais pas hésité à rendre public.' He concluded his oration with a passionate plea to the Provisional Government to ban duelling. Baroness Bonde, the Anglo-Irish, Paris-based aristocrat, commented on the planned tribute in a letter of 2 March, noting that 'today is the grand demonstration in honour of Armand Carrel. I am told that E. de Girardin, who shot him, is to speechify and gush... which, I was told, was in the best of taste.'³ Just over nine months later, the republican caricaturist Nadar recalled Girardin's heartfelt tribute in a cartoon published in the illustrated satirical journal *La Revue comique à l'usage des gens sérieux*, featuring Girardin in an acrobatic costume literally performing on the tomb of his victim (Fig. 1).⁴ The image bluntly suggested that Girardin's gushing oration was hollow and

insincere: a self-aggrandising trick, intended to curry favour with the republican leaders of the new regime. Nadar's depiction of Girardin as the kind of man who would sink to such depths in the name of ambition is indicative of his portrayal in the French satirical press.

Girardin is known as a crucial figure in the history of the French newspaper press. His creation in 1836 of *La Presse*, France's first affordable daily newspaper, is seen as a major step in the emergence of the modern newspaper: a cheap, lively challenge to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century *journaux d'opinion* that were 'didactique, incolore, réservé à une élite'.⁵ This study, however, concerns his treatment as a subject of satire over the course of 1848, exploring how Girardin and his politics were represented and ridiculed in republican caricature and satire. The period from the July Monarchy to the Second Republic is frequently seen as a golden age for French caricature, thanks to the emergence of influential illustrated satirical journals like *La Caricature*, *Le Charivari* and, later, *Le Journal pour rire* and *La Revue comique à l'usage des gens sérieux*.⁶ During the first years of the July Monarchy, *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* played an integral role in the republican opposition press, risking censorship, fines, and prison sentences with cartoons and articles attacking King Louis-Philippe and his regime. The republican campaign conducted by these satirical papers was also intimately bound up with the struggle for press freedom.⁷ The February Revolution of 1848 saw the relaxation of the strict press laws imposed in 1835, resulting in the resurgence of political caricature in France. However, the revolution also transformed the role of the leading caricature journals. During the July Monarchy, 'satire was dangerous because it embodied instability.'⁸ The coming of the Republic reversed that political role, as papers like *Le Charivari* and *Le Journal pour rire* deployed caricature and satire in order to support, rather than destabilise, the government of the day.

The choice of Girardin as a prime subject for ridicule following the revolution of 1848 in republican satirical periodicals like *Le Charivari* and *La Revue comique à l'usage des gens sérieux* may have been, at least in part, sharpened by a longstanding displeasure at Girardin's commercialisation of the press – and a degree of jealousy. *La Presse* enjoyed considerable success: its subscription fee was half that of other daily newspapers, thanks to a reliance on advertising revenue, and it attracted readers by publishing a *roman-feuilleton*, or serialised novel, on its front page.⁹ This presented a challenge to the pricing structures and circulation figures of *La Presse*'s rivals, which tended to follow an explicit political line. During the July Monarchy, some of the leading lights of the republican opposition press saw Girardin's innovations as tawdry and downmarket. Three weeks after the first issue of *La Presse*, Armand Carrel described Girardin as having “reduced the noble mission of the journalist to that of a vulgar news-merchant.”¹⁰ As Thackeray astutely observed, for the republican press Girardin's ‘one great crime’ was his commercial ambition.¹¹

Girardin's career had already established him as a target for the republican satirical press during the July Monarchy. This satire tended to focus on his reputation as a “swindler *par excellence*”, a reputation he had acquired by virtue of his involvement in several disastrous investment schemes.¹² With Girardin widely perceived as ‘the most speculative of speculators’, as Thackeray put it, he was now ‘fair butt for the malice of the caricaturists.’¹³ It has been argued that Girardin was the partial inspiration for one of the most celebrated creations in the graphic satire of the July Monarchy: Robert Macaire. Developed on stage by the actor Frédéric Lemaître, Macaire was ‘the quintessential con artist, habitually on the make.’¹⁴ Charles Philipon, founder of *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*, collaborated with his leading caricaturist, Honoré Daumier, to transform Macaire into an embodiment of the July Monarchy's ‘get rich quick’ mentality. Although Macaire is frequently associated with Louis-Philippe himself,

several of the early images in the Robert Macaire series produced by Philipon and Daumier between 1836 and 1838 explicitly referenced Girardin's various enterprises and speculations. The most controversial of these was an investment project involving the mines of Saint-Bérain, with which Girardin was tangentially connected through his friend, the entrepreneur Auguste Cleeman. In the summer of 1838 Cleeman and his associates were convicted of fraudulently selling shares in the mining enterprise in excess of the actual value of the business.¹⁵ Girardin had heavily advertised the shares in *La Presse* and his monthly periodical, the *Journal des connaissances utiles*.¹⁶ This was enough, in the eyes of his enemies, to implicate him in the scandal. By virtue of his relationship with Cleeman, Girardin was seen as 'un macaire.'¹⁷ Daumier and Philipon's comment on Saint-Bérain was a caricature depicting Robert Macaire in typical huckster mode, addressing a crowd from a carriage while his erstwhile sidekick, Bertrand, beats a drum marked 'Annonces' (a reference, perhaps, to the importance of advertising revenue to *La Presse*).¹⁸ This image of Girardin as a speculative gangster would recur again in the caricature and satire produced during 1848.

The main reason for Girardin's resurgence as a satirical target in 1848, however, was political: specifically, his sudden turn to opposition to the new Republic in March 1848. Apolitical though *La Presse* may have claimed to be, Girardin had long cultivated political ambitions. Like many of his fellow journalists he held a seat in the Chamber of Deputies during the July Monarchy. Despite being essentially a centrist conservative with occasionally progressive ideas, his political convictions tended to change according to what he perceived as the dominant public mood.¹⁹ In the immediate aftermath of the February Revolution of 1848, Girardin lent support to the Provisional Government – but rapidly changed his tune, and soon became one of the most vocal critics of the government of the Republic. This political *volte-face* sparked a wave of attacks on Girardin in the republican satirical press. There is something

very modern, however, about Girardin's apparent lack of political principle in 1848. His rise to prominence as a commercially-minded press baron (as opposed to the traditional political journalist or editor, motivated by political principle and/or idealism) reflects the shift towards a mass-market press that began in France during the July Monarchy – a process pioneered by *La Presse*. In this context, Girardin's talent for controversy and self-aggrandisement arguably put him in a better position for commercial success than the purely political press. The satirical attacks launched on Girardin in 1848 can therefore be read as representative of a conflict between differing visions of the press and its political purpose. The republican satirical journals discussed in this article were hardly non-profit entities – the prevalence of advertising on the back page of *Le Charivari* in 1848 is proof of that – yet they continued to be imbued with a sense of carrying on a particular political mission.

The revolution of 1848 is also a significant moment in this process of transition from the 'principled' political press to one driven by the demands of mass circulation. The Second Republic was a regime established and led, at least in its initial phase, by key figures in the republican opposition press. The principles they expounded in newspaper columns during the July Monarchy were put to the test when faced with the stark reality of political power. The implications of this shift from opposition to power can be traced in the republican caricature and satire produced during 1848. Over the course of that year, caricature journals like *Le Charivari*, *La Revue comique* and *Le Journal pour rire* reflected both the challenges faced by the new Republic, and the attempts made by those in power to respond to those challenges. It was in this context that Girardin - a high-profile critic of the Provisional Government and its successor, the Executive Commission, armed with a powerful weapon in the form of *La Presse*, and already a recognisable figure in French satire – would become a central target for cartoonists and satirists in 1848. This article examines the satirical campaign against Émile de

Girardin as an example of how republican caricature responded to what supporters of the new regime saw as attacks on the Republic itself. It shows how satirists in 1848 drew on Girardin's established satirical persona, and used him as a figurehead for a diverse group of supposed opponents of the Republic. However, it also demonstrates that the shortcomings of this satirical campaign against the so-called 'prince de la presse' echo the wider difficulties experienced by the Second Republic in effectively responding to dissenting voices.

I

With the February 1848 uprising, Girardin intervened directly in the political crisis. It was he, according to both his own memoirs and to Lamartine's *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, who urged Louis-Philippe to abdicate in favour of a regency led by the duchesse d'Orléans. Lamartine's account of Girardin's arrival at the Tuileries in the midst of political chaos emphasised Girardin's opportunistic nature and his desire to intervene even in areas where he had no expertise. Girardin 's'était précipité dans l'événement où il y avait danger, péripétie, grandeur', Lamartine wrote, 'il était accouru de lui-même sans autre mandat que celui de sa propre impulsion.'²⁰ Other commentators were scathing in their evaluation of Girardin's intervention in the fate of the July Monarchy. The editor's version of events was called into question in a satirical pamphlet published in 1849, and purportedly written by a disgruntled investor in one of Girardin's failed businesses. It claimed to lay bare the sordid truths of his life. The anonymous *actionnaire* wrote: 'Ce n'est point, à coup sûr, une des moindres curiosités de la vie de M. de Girardin que de voir cet homme qui, la veille, attaquait avec toute l'amertume de sa plume trempée de fiel un ministère...pénétrer sans façon chez le roi...causer familièrement avec sa Majesté...et lui guider en quelque sorte la main pour lui faire signer son abdication.'²¹

Despite the ultimate (if unexpected) triumph of the Republic over his plan for regency, the editorials Girardin published in *La Presse* during the Second Republic's first days and weeks promoted a message of support and encouragement for the new regime. On 25 February he urged France's citizens to have 'Confiance! confiance!' in the new Republic, and to lend their support to the Provisional Government in the name of 'l'ordre et la liberté.' Unity, Girardin emphasised, was key: 'Sans l'unité: - autorité nulle part, confusion partout.'²² He repeated this message in a series of articles published over successive days, telling the triumphant revolutionary *peuple* on 26 February to reap (in an orderly fashion) what they had sown on the streets of Paris, rather than letting their achievements slip away as in 1830. The revolution of 1830 was, he stated, glorious – but sterile: 'il faut que la revolution de 1848 soit féconde sans être moins glorieuse.'²³ The next day, Girardin explained in rather flowery prose why 'we love the Republic': 'c'est qu'elle oblige la France à être une grande nation, la nation qu'elle doit être.'²⁴

In supporting the Republic, Émile de Girardin was following the prevailing wind in the post-February press. As Henri Avenel observed, 'in the early days of the Revolution, the press appeared unanimous in propagating ideas of moderation, conciliation and respect for the Provisional Government.'²⁵ It was not long, however, before Girardin's fulsome support for the Republic began to waver. Keen to ensure that the Republic acquire a democratically-elected government as quickly as possible, in early March the more moderate factions in the Provisional Government decided that elections to the National Assembly would be held on 9 April, to allow the newly-elected representatives to meet for the first time on 20 April. The decision precipitated a heated debate between moderates and left-wing republicans about the wisdom of holding the elections so quickly, with the left expressing concern that the new voters' comparative lack of political education left them susceptible to being unduly influenced by the

conservative forces of ‘landowners, employers and Roman Catholic clergy.’²⁶ As the election date approached, Ledru-Rollin, in his capacity as Minister of the Interior, issued two *circulaires* to the *commissaires* who had been sent into the French provinces to take over local administration immediately after the February Revolution.²⁷ The circulars emphasised the *commissaires*’ duty : ‘éclairez les électeurs’ in advance of the crucial vote: ‘L’éducation du pays n’est pas faite ; c’est à vous de la guider...Pas de transactions, pas de complaisances. Que le jour de l’élection soit le triomphe de la révolution.’²⁸ This apparent attempt to influence the outcome of the elections provoked a degree of panic, and resulted in severe criticism. References in the *circulaire* to the ‘unlimited powers’ of the *commissaires* appeared to resurrect the ghosts of the 1790s, when the revolutionary *représentants en mission* were sometimes associated with violent excess like Joseph Fouché’s repression of an insurrection in Lyon in 1793.

La Presse responded rapidly to the controversial *circulaires*. On 13 March the paper published an article by Alexandre Weill that explicitly criticized Ledru-Rollin’s instructions to his *commissaires*. Weill’s article highlighted the increasing problem of accommodating diverse political opinions - and of defining exactly what constituted a ‘republican’ - in the aftermath of the February Revolution. Affirming that he had ‘toujours été républicain, plutôt trop que trop peu’, Weill accused Ledru-Rollin and the Provisional Government, in tandem with the newspapers associated with the government, *Le National* and *La Réforme*, of using the severest language possible to exclude those ‘qui n’étaient pas de son parti’: ‘*Le National, La Réforme et la Démocratie* déclarent *traître à la patrie* quiconque n’est pas républicain.’²⁹ Weill continued by implying that the republic of 1848 was a far less tolerant regime than the Orleanist monarchy it had replaced. At least under Louis-Philippe, he argued, diverse political opinions were accommodated: ‘il y avait des républicains dans la chambre, et dans une République il

serait défendu à un membre de l'assemblée nationale d'être monarchiste !' Worse, the Second Republic was a regime without a popular mandate : 'Mais, souverains nouveau-nés, votre République n'est pas même sanctionnée par la majorité du peuple français !' Reflecting the anxiety aroused by the potentially inflammatory language of Ledru-Rollin's circular, Weill argued that 'la terreur commence. Non la terreur de la guillotine, mais celle de la suspicion et de la dénonciation.'³⁰

Weill concluded on a note of support for the Republic, stating that if 'tout le monde soit libre d'être tout ce qui lui plaira', it would not be long before 'tout le monde sera républicain, sans secousse ni violence.' Girardin had concerns about publishing the article, fearing the consequences of publishing such a critical piece at such an early stage – especially one that could be read as nostalgia for the July Monarchy. Having initially attempted to stop its publication, however, Girardin relented. Weill's article appeared, and was received with particular enthusiasm in the provinces.³¹ Despite his initially negative response to Weill's piece, within a matter of days Girardin began to exploit what he saw as a strong current of dissatisfaction and disharmony in the young Republic. The articles and editorials he published in *La Presse* began to stray from the supportive message of unity and order that he had enthusiastically propagated during the immediate post-revolutionary period. Echoing Weill's criticism, Girardin insisted that his ire was not directed at the Republic itself, nor at the glorious *peuple* which had brought it into existence, but rather towards the men of the Provisional Government. In his rather sympathetic biography of Girardin, Pierre Pellissier suggests that there was a degree of self-interest in this political turn. His outbursts in the columns of *La Presse* were, Pellissier argues, undoubtedly linked to the fact that 'le gouvernement provisoire ne fera jamais appel à Girardin.' Frustrated by what he saw as a lack of recognition, as well as a seeming denigration of the value of his opinions by men who, for the most part, were also

journalists, ‘Girardin, sans illusion depuis le début mars, patiente quelques jours encore. Puis rompt. Rupture brutale, sans appel.’³²

With *La Presse* as his ready-made platform, Girardin railed against what he saw as the abuses and excesses already manifest in the workings of the Provisional Government. In ‘La dictature, l’arbitraire’, his editorial of 24 March, he argued that the Republic was committing the same crimes as the monarchy, albeit under a different guise:

Trône et Charte ont été brisés et déchirés;
Rois et ministres ont été emportés.
L’Abus est resté !
Seulement, il a changé son nom.
Hier, il s’appelait Corruption !
Aujourd’hui, il s’appelle intimidation !
...
Hier, il se drapait dans le manteau de la Royauté !
Aujourd’hui, il s’enveloppe dans le manteau de la République !³³

Following the line of argument begun by Alexandre Weill’s incendiary article of 13 March, Girardin argued that most of this ‘corruption’ and ‘intimidation’ was to be found among the ranks of Ledru-Rollin’s *commissaires*. Girardin described these men as ‘dictateurs’ in the making, and argued that the only possible response to them was outright resistance. He openly acknowledged his abrupt turn from supporting the government to encouraging the people to resist the Provisional Government’s unsavoury plans:

Après avoir, les premiers, avec élan crié le 25 février: CONFIANCE! CONFIANCE ! nous crierons tous les matins : RÉSISTANCE ! RÉSISTANCE !
Et tout ce qui sera sensé battra des mains ; tous ce qui voudra que la République ne soit pas le chemin qui nous conduise pour la deuxième fois au Despotisme ; tout ce qui voudra que la Révolution du 24 février soit une solution.³⁴

II

By speaking out against the actions of the Provisional Government, Girardin appeared to threaten ‘un pouvoir hésitant, fragile.’³⁵ His explicit criticism of the Provisional Government

ran counter to the message of solidarity and unified support for the Republic encouraged by both the government itself and promoted in the press in the weeks following the February Revolution. Satirical and non-satirical newspapers alike drove home the message that the success and stability of the Republic depended on unanimous support.³⁶ The republican satirical press, which strongly supported the Provisional Government, attempted to negate the threat posed by Girardin's criticism by making him a regular target for both graphic and textual satire. *Le Charivari* led the way.

By 1848 Charles Philipon was no longer in charge of the paper, having recently established the weekly satirical paper *Le Journal pour rire*, but *Le Charivari*'s republican credentials remained impeccable. Indeed, in early March 1848 the paper's editor, Michel Altaroche, was selected by Ledru-Rollin as one of the *commissaires* to be sent to the provinces.³⁷ Given these close connections between the major producers of satire in France and the Provisional Government, it is unsurprising that the major organs of French caricature and satire supported the new regime. Early cartoons and articles published in *Le Charivari* and *Le Journal pour rire* sought to rally support for the Republic, emphasising the fraternal union between worker, bourgeois and soldier and the peaceful ease with which the revolution had been accomplished.³⁸

Within a matter of weeks, however, these tactics began to change, and a new satirical strategy was deployed. After all, successful satire depends on having an appropriate target to rain opprobrium upon. By late March, the emphasis in republican satire had shifted dramatically: from promoting the positive aspects of the revolution and the republican regime, to 'persuad[ing] readers that all was well by systematically targeting those who dared to challenge or openly critique the republican status quo.'³⁹ The targets for this satirical campaign

were diverse, ranging from the elite divisions of the National Guard (who, in March 1848, had protested at their dissolution), to feminists demanding the right to vote, and even to those who dared to express a more general sense of unease about the republican future.⁴⁰ Ironically, this use of caricature and satire to isolate supposedly ‘unrepublican’ factions from the maternal bosom of the Republic directly mirrored the process of exclusion that Alexandre Weill had described in his controversial article for *La Presse*. Reflecting the fractures in the republican state that would become apparent over the spring and summer of 1848, French caricature and satire had begun to separate the ‘indivisible Republic’ into acceptable ‘republicans’ and undesirable ‘others’. The fraternal *union du peuple* depicted with such sincerity in journals like *Le Charivari* and *Le Journal pour rire* had not lasted long.

The satirical attacks on Émile de Girardin should be read as part of this process of using caricature and satire to define various groups and factions as ‘unrepublican’. Between March and June 1848 an unrelenting stream of articles appeared in *Le Charivari*, mocking Girardin, *La Presse* (and thus, by extension, the man himself), or both. The timing and tone of these pieces, coupled with *Le Charivari*’s unwavering support for the Provisional Government and the moderate republic, make it clear that they were largely inspired by Girardin’s rejection of the republican consensus. Although motivated by political concerns, this satirical criticism of Girardin also attempted to undermine his politics by rehashing themes and tropes from the criticism levelled at him during the July Monarchy. Echoing the none-too-subtle references to him contained in Philippon and Daumier’s Robert Macaire series, the Girardin that populated the pages of *Le Charivari* in the spring and early summer of 1848 was characterised by his enormous greed, insincerity, and desperate ambition. In this respect, too, Girardin’s treatment in republican satire echoed the campaigns against other ‘unrepublican’ elements, with both the

elite National Guardsmen and *les peureux* – the ‘fearful people’ – ridiculed in similar fashion for their ambition and self-interest.⁴¹

By reviving the character of Girardin as the 1830s speculator, republican satire in 1848 emphasised the distance between his Macaire-esque, quintessentially July Monarchy *enrichissez-vous* mentality and the honourable, virtuous republican values that lay at the heart of the new regime and were embodied in the decency of the republican *peuple*. Initially, *Le Charivari* couched its satirical criticism of Girardin’s political *volte-face* in derisive commentary about his attempted innovations in the pages of *La Presse*. Reinforcing the identification of the man with his newspaper, *Le Charivari*’s critiques of *La Presse* constituted thinly-masked attacks on Girardin’s personal politics. Articles such as ‘Le journal de tous’, published on 13 March, and ‘Autre idée nouvelle’, which appeared just over a week later, dismissed the popularity of Girardin’s paper and poked fun at his attempts to encourage readers to submit their own ideas and suggestions for *La Presse*.⁴²

However, it was not long before *Le Charivari* began to attack Girardin’s political stance. At first glance, an article entitled ‘Transformation de la *Presse*’, published on 1 April, appeared to simply rehash *Le Charivari*’s usual mockery of Girardin’s supposedly hare-brained attempts to garner publicity at all costs, suggesting that the editor was about to turn *La Presse* into a kind of public spectacle. Underlining Girardin’s hucksterism by harking back to Daumier’s 1836 cartoon of Macaire and Bertrand offloading their shares in the mines of Saint-Bérain, the article described how ‘monté sur une voiture découverte traînée par deux chevaux...M. de Girardin parcourra les rues, les places et les boulevards en faisant diverses stations pour déclamer ses articles.’⁴³ Unfortunately for Girardin, *Le Charivari* concluded, the people of Paris would be decidedly unimpressed by his newspaper-on-wheels. ‘il ne doute pas que la

population ne s'empresse sur son passage,' wrote *Le Charivari*, unable to resist a dig at Girardin's inflated ego, 'il s'attend à des cris d'enthousiasme, à être porté en triomphe. Mais qu'arrive-t-il? On lui rit au nez.'⁴⁴

This suggestion that *le peuple* would reject and ridicule Girardin's innovations in the media implied a rejection of his politics, especially when this article is read as part of the wider corpus of republican satirical material produced in the early weeks of the Second Republic. Reflecting the heroic depictions of *le peuple* in the iconography of 1848 more broadly, satirical journals like *Le Charivari* and *Le Journal pour rire* regularly used *le peuple* – visually depicted as a working-class man – as a balanced and morally-astute commentator on current events.⁴⁵ For example, in 'La veille et le lendemain', an anonymous cartoon published in *Le Journal pour rire* in late March, a working-class revolutionary looks at the reader and comments with a bemused expression on the false conversions of certain politicians and civil servants to the Republic.⁴⁶ *Le Charivari*'s reference in 'Transformation de la Presse' to the people of Paris laughing in Girardin's face therefore suggested a broader rejection by the heroic, republican *peuple* of the editor's political opinions, his aspirations to political power, and his calls for 'Résistance!' against the actions of the government. 'Le peuple,' the article stated plainly, 'ne croît pas à la Presse' – and, by extension, in Émile de Girardin. After all, how could they trust someone who persistently dared to suggest that the fledgling republic was in trouble, at a time when most newspapers – satirical or not - continued to insist on the importance of believing in the regime? 'La confiance renaît,' *Le Charivari* concludes, reinforcing once again the paper's message of reassurance, 'mais non pas en ce qui concerne ce journal.'⁴⁷

The result of the elections to the National Assembly, held on 23 April, appeared to confirm *Le Charivari*'s perception of the public's attitude towards Girardin. Standing as a

candidate in the Creuse, Girardin obtained 13,455 votes – but, with the quota set at 15,000, he was not elected.⁴⁸ On 1 May *Le Charivari* responded to the news of Girardin’s defeat by suggesting that this was a moral triumph. The newly-enfranchised voters of France had proven that they could not be taken in by Girardin and the ‘calomnies’ being propagated in the pages of his newspaper. ‘On peut faire prendre le change à cent cinquante personnes,’ *Le Charivari* jeered, ‘mais on n’abuse cent mille individus.’⁴⁹ The deception referred to in this case was multiple, referencing the investors duped by Girardin’s fraudulent speculations as well as his attacks on the Provisional Government and its policies – but equally important in explaining his electoral failure, at least in the eyes of *Le Charivari*, were his unpleasantly bourgeois, even capitalistic, personal qualities. According to this article, the qualities represented by Girardin – and rejected by the voters – were ‘le charlatanisme, l’avidité, l’amour-propre, l’ambition tracassière et personnelle, l’envie’. These, *Le Charivari* concluded, ‘ne trouveront jamais des partisans en France.’

III

Girardin’s electoral failure in April did not deter him from seeking political office. In mid-May 1848, he announced his candidature for the June by-election in the department of the Seine. Pellissier claimed that partisans of the recently established Executive Commission – the five-man committee that acted as head of state between May and June 1848, composed of François Arago, Alphonse de Lamartine, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, Pierre Marie and Louis-Antoine Garnier-Pagès – were actively involved in conducting a smear campaign against Girardin in the weeks prior to the June election. These ‘séides du pouvoir’, in Pellissier’s words, were responsible for painting the word *réactionnaire* on Girardin’s campaign posters, erasing

his name from other posters plastered across Paris, and even publishing a defamatory pamphlet attacking Girardin.⁵⁰ Girardin's candidacy unleashed a fresh wave of criticism in the pages of *Le Charivari*. A short, untitled article purported to contain 'les litanies quotidiennes du citoyen Girardin', which hinted at real fears about the damage his brand of politics could do to the fragile republican regime: 'À la ruine du commerce. À la misère. À la banqueroute. À la guerre civile. Au pillage. Au massacre. Au despotisme.'⁵¹

Strikingly, however, republican satire now transformed Girardin into the leader of a motley crew of candidates in the upcoming by-election, united by their apparent disaffection with the Executive Commission and the moderate republicanism they represented. Composed of Girardin, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Weill and a changeable supporting cast of characters, the group was referred to variously as the *parti-Girardin*, *parti-Weill*, or the *parti-Pompier*. This was not, as one might assume, a reference to bad art – that usage dates only from the 1880s – but to the invasion of the Chamber of Deputies on 15 May 1848. On 29 May the front page of *Le Charivari* was dominated by a spoof advertisement proclaiming the establishment of the 'Société en commandite pour l'organisation du parti-pompier', with Girardin, Hugo and Weill as the founding members and a mysterious 'pompier du 15 mai' as the president of the society. The new group's stated aim was to ensure the election of Girardin, Hugo and Weill to the National Assembly in the impending Seine by-elections.⁵² Two days earlier, *Le Charivari* had published an article detailing Victor Hugo's efforts to establish this curious electoral alliance by bringing together the *pompier* with Weill and Girardin's supporters, the 'marchands de lorgnettes' or spyglass merchants.⁵³

The complex satirical references now being deployed by *Le Charivari* in discussing Girardin and the *parti-pompier* are a challenge for the twenty-first-century historian. Why were

opera glasses merchants, the *marchands de lorgnettes*, repeatedly cited as Girardin and Weill's main supporters? This was an anti-Semitic joke, with *marchands de lorgnettes* a well-known racial stereotype: in Flaubert's *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, which he began during the Second Republic, the entry for 'Jew' reads 'Son of Israel. All Jews are spyglass merchants.'⁵⁴ In the context of anti-Girardin satire, the target of the joke was Alexandre Weill. Born Abraham Weill in the town of Schirrhoffen in Alsace, Weill had been sent to Frankfurt as a young man to train as a rabbi. In ridiculing Weill, *Le Charivari* drew on standard tropes of contemporary anti-Semitism, reflecting the prevalence of an immediately recognisable 'Jewish' stereotype in nineteenth-century French popular culture.⁵⁵

The mysterious *pompier* was, as noted above, an allusion to the events of 15 May 1848, when left-wing demonstrators invaded the National Assembly and attempted to dissolve the government.⁵⁶ 15 May was, as Maurice Agulhon put it, 'enigmatic', though others – most notably Henri Guillemin – have argued that the day's events were a 'huge trap for the revolutionaries', designed to deprive the extreme left of its leadership.⁵⁷ In the aftermath of the failed *journée* left-wing leaders, among them Blanqui, Barbès, Raspail and Louis Blanc, were arrested and subsequently tried. What, then, of the *pompier*? In his description of the chaotic scenes inside the Palais-Bourbon that May afternoon, Alexis de Tocqueville recalled a peculiar presence at the *tribune*. As the demonstrators tried to decide on a course of action, Tocqueville noticed a 'fireman in uniform' making his way to the podium, determined to "“tell them what's what”".⁵⁸ However, the mysterious *pompier*'s courage failed him – having reached the *tribune*, 'he did not say a word, and in the end he was chased off the rostrum.'⁵⁹

This peculiar incident was a gift to the satirists at *Le Charivari*, who rapidly appropriated the *pompier* as the central figure in the paper's mocking commentary on the

events of 15 May. A series of articles speculated as to the fireman's identity, wondered about his whereabouts and, eventually, stated that the *pompier* himself had been in contact with *Le Charivari* to explain the significance of his helmet in the invasion of the National Assembly.⁶⁰ The creation of the *parti-pompier* allowed *Le Charivari* to draw together this more recent satirical narrative with the paper's longstanding campaign against Girardin and other critics of the Executive Commission. Intriguingly, this union of the extreme left republicanism of 15 May, embodied in the figure of the *pompier*, with Girardin and Hugo's more conservative dissatisfaction with the course of the Republic bears a strong resemblance to the suspected 'Carlo-republican' conspiracy that caused much concern to Louis-Philippe and his governments during the early years of the July Monarchy. This alleged plotting by legitimist and republican interests against the Orleanist regime was depicted in the pages of the pro-government (possibly government-run) satirical journal *La Charge* in February 1834, in a cartoon that showed 'un marquis' and 'une citoyenne' preparing together for a ball in the Parisian catacombs.⁶¹ Although Amy Wiese Forbes has noted that the 'collusion between legitimists and republicans' expressly represented in this image constituted a 'terrifying prospect' for Louis-Philippe's regime, this cartoon can also be read as an attempt to discredit the various factions set up in opposition to the July Monarchy.⁶² In 1848, *Le Charivari* found itself in the perhaps unexpected position of adopting a similar satirical tactic to *La Charge*'s efforts of the early 1830s, as it now sought to discredit the various 'enemies' of the Republic – while recognising the reality of opposition to the Executive Commission – by lumping them together in one conspiratorial group.

As usual, *Le Charivari* attempted to neutralise the political opinions of the *parti-pompier*'s members by presenting the entire group as buffoons, bringing together the tragicomic aspects of the *pompier*'s brief intervention on 15 May with the ongoing criticism of

Girardin's ambition and greed. After Girardin and Weill were defeated in the 4 June by-election – Hugo was elected, along with Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte – *Le Charivari* claimed that the paper's offices at the Hôtel Colbert had been invaded by a gang of *marchands de lorgnettes*, led by the *pompier*. *Le Charivari*, the *pompier* claimed, was responsible for the electoral defeat of Girardin and Weill – and now the fireman and the spyglass merchants were hell-bent on revenge. Bursting into the paper's editorial offices, the *pompier* stands on a table and finally finds the voice that failed him on 15 May. In a pronounced Germanic accent, a standard trope in nineteenth-century French portrayals of Jewish stereotypes, he proclaims the dissolution of *Le Charivari*: 'Fous afez embêché l'élection d'Alexandre Weill...Fous êtes tissous...vive le citoyen Émile Chirardin!' ⁶³ The attempted coup was eventually quashed, *Le Charivari* reported, by the ever-reliable National Guard. However, the comic potential of Girardin's defeat and the *parti-pompier* had not yet been exhausted. 'L'erreur de M. de Girardin', published on 10 June – and, unusually, featuring a cartoon of Girardin and his fellow party members on the front page – detailed how Girardin's devoted followers had been forced to create the illusion that he had, in fact, not been beaten in the elections, in order to spare his overwhelming vanity. ⁶⁴ Such was his self-importance, *Le Charivari* argued, that a complicated ruse was required to ensure he did not discover the truth about the election results. The *parti-pompier* and employees of *La Presse* are forced to dance and sing about his 'election', before conducting a ludicrous ceremony involving the crowning of each party member by Victor Hugo with a fireman's helmet. In typical fashion, Girardin falls for the elaborate pretence. When one of his associates, concerned about Girardin's reaction when he eventually discovers the truth, asks him 'supposons pour un instant que vous n'avez pas été élu', the editor rapidly puts him right: 'La supposition est inadmissible; la France sait trop bien qu'elle ne possède qu'un citoyen d'initiative... Vous croyez donc que la France est tout à fait folle?'

Ridiculous though the *parti-pompier* may have seemed, this particular satirical trope was underpinned by real fears about the fragility of the Republic at a time of increasing crisis and division. The creation of the *parti-pompier* by *Le Charivari* can be read as both a condemnation of the stance taken by Girardin *et al.*, and as a more subtle acknowledgment of the threat that these dissenting voices on both left and right posed to the young Republic. As Samuel Hayat has noted, 15 May was ‘une véritable épreuve’ for the regime.⁶⁵ Despite its depiction of the *pompier* as a buffoon, it was clear that *Le Charivari* took the events of that day very seriously indeed. Increasingly, it appeared that mockery had come to mask fear: as the *pompier* popped up as a comic character in article after article, the paper commemorated the invasion of the Assembly with a large, reportage-style print – not a cartoon – depicting the chaos that had swept into the Assembly.⁶⁶ In associating Girardin and others who even vaguely shared his disaffection with the attempted dissolution of the Assembly – the democratically-elected body of *représentants du peuple* – *Le Charivari* perhaps unwittingly acknowledged that it took the *parti-pompier* more seriously than it cared to admit.

IV

Le Charivari's satirical focus soon shifted from Girardin and the antics of the *parti-pompier*, as the June insurrection in Paris heralded the rise of socialism as a central target for moderate republican caricature and satire. Girardin's criticism of General Cavaignac, the architect of the repression of the June Days, resulted in his imprisonment in the Conciergerie and the suspension of *La Presse*, which only resumed publication in August.⁶⁷ By the late autumn of 1848, papers like *Le Charivari* and *Le Journal pour rire* had yet another fruitful target for their satirical ire, as Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as a candidate for the presidency of the Republic. Louis-Napoleon rapidly came to dominate contemporary caricature and satire. Like

Girardin and many others, he was depicted as both a comic character, notable for his stupidity, and as an embodiment of all that was ‘unrepublican’.⁶⁸

November 1848 saw the appearance of a new illustrated satirical journal, specifically founded to mount a satirical campaign against the Bonapartists. Established by the journalist and critic Auguste Lireux, *La Revue comique à l’usage des gens sérieux* featured illustrations by prominent cartoonists like Bertall, Nadar and Quillenbois, as well as text by Lireux himself and the poet Gérard de Nerval. It was not long, however, before Girardin and his comrades in the *parti-pompier* would return as part of anti-Bonapartist satire. In September 1848 Victor Hugo’s *L’Événement* was the first newspaper to come out in favour of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte as a possible candidate for the presidency of the Republic. *La Presse* followed it in due course.⁶⁹ That Girardin’s paper, and a key member of what the satirists had already styled as the *parti-pompier*, endorsed Louis-Napoleon was a gift to satirists. In late November *Le Charivari* noted that ‘l’ancien parti-Pompier s’étant dissous à la suite des événements de juin, le parti des penseurs lui a succédé.’⁷⁰ *La Revue comique*’s description of the Bonapartist coalition was rather less generous than *Le Charivari*’s, describing the group (which now included Adolphe Thiers) as ‘le parti Crétin’, a reference certainly to Louis-Napoleon himself but also to his supporters.⁷¹

The members of the *parti-penseur* and the *parti crétin* were subjected to the same forms of mockery and ridicule many of their number had endured earlier in 1848, with an emphasis placed on their excessive ambition, egotism and *amour-propre*. In late November *Le Charivari* suggested that the *parti-penseur*’s figureheads had already begun to divide out the ministerial portfolios, with Hugo expecting to be named ‘ministre de la pensée’ and Girardin as ‘ministre des postes’.⁷² The support of these prominent ‘enemies’ of the Republic for Louis-Napoleon

allowed satirical journals to strengthen and develop the attacks being levelled at the Bonapartist campaign, by broadening the range of targets for mockery to include Bonaparte's supporters as well as the man himself. Having been sidelined in order to concentrate on attacking socialists and the radical left, by October 1848 Girardin, Hugo *et al* had once again become core figures in contemporary satirical discourse.

Significantly, his emergence as a key figure in the cast of characters attacked in anti-Bonapartist satire meant that Girardin increasingly appeared in graphic, as well as textual satire. Most of the ridicule already meted out to him since the spring of 1848 had been in textual form. In early December, Daumier depicted Girardin alongside representatives of other 'journaux napoléoniens', looking disconsolate in their bicorne hats as they left the National Assembly following the vote 'qui déclare que le général Cavaignac a bien mérité de la patrie.'⁷³ Girardin appeared again in one of Daumier's best-known cartoons from the campaign against Louis-Napoleon, in which Girardin and Victor Hugo desperately try to lift Louis-Napoleon into office on the back of a shield.⁷⁴

Girardin appeared twice in Nadar's anti-Bonapartist comic strip 'Les Aventures illustrés (si non illustres) du Prince pour rire', published in *La Revue comique* between 25 November and 2 December 1848. Reflecting his image in republican satire as "le Robert Macaire de la presse"⁷⁵ – and, perhaps, pre-empting the emergence of the figure of Ratapoil as the embodiment of Bonapartism in graphic satire – Nadar depicted Girardin as a rat-like figure in typical Macaire costume. Later, in a panel that played on republican fears that Louis-Napoleon would be little more than a puppet for an anti-republican coalition of the right, Girardin was shown with Hugo and Adolphe Thiers, counting the takings for a puppet show held 'au bénéfice de trois journaux dans le besoin – *La Presse, Le Constitutionnel,*

L'Événement', while the puppet Louis-Napoleon batters the Republic to death.⁷⁶ Two weeks later, with Louis-Napoleon now elected president, a new comic strip by Nadar appeared in the pages of *La Revue comique* – this time with Girardin as its star. The 'Vie politique et littéraire de Vipérin, journaliste et industriel' depicted Girardin's life story, from his uncertain origins to his (hoped-for) demise.

Girardin's prominent role as a supporter of the Bonapartist campaign undoubtedly influenced the decision by Nadar and *La Revue comique* to single him out for satirical treatment, but the strip also served to draw together the themes and tropes already long established by *Le Charivari*. For *La Revue comique*, too, the choice of Girardin as a target was as much about his status as a huckster on the make as his politics. As the name given to its lead character suggests, the 'Vipérin' strip condensed the more long-term satirical discourse to depict Girardin as the very essence of greed, trickery, thievery and malevolent ambition. Opening with a panel showing how 'Vipérin vint au monde tout seul', as a small snake in the gutter, Nadar reiterated the longstanding satirical relationship between Girardin and Robert Macaire by depicting the conman as the infant Girardin's guardian angel. Before long, Vipérin/Girardin has donned a harlequin costume – a common satirical device in 1848 and after, intended to represent Girardin's remarkable ability to leap from one political opinion to another – and is ready to sell himself and his views to the highest bidder, as he poses beside a sign that reads 'Homme à vendre'. Unsurprisingly, Girardin's failed money-making enterprises and implication in the Saint-Bérain mining scandal feature heavily in Nadar's strip, with one panel showing Girardin escaping from the collapsed mine with bags of money while investors are trapped underneath. Elsewhere, two panels depicted willing investors crowding into the offices of *La Presse*, before leaving bereft and empty-handed.

The strip continued with the advent of the February Revolution, when Vipérin/Girardin's shameless ways not only continued, but also arguably worsened. The caption for Nadar's panel depicting Girardin turning tricks on Carrel's grave (Fig. 1) captured his political flip-flopping in the new regime's first weeks: 'La révolution vint, et Vipérin débuta par le plus brillant et le plus inattendu des exercices sur un tombeau.' Nadar's image depicts Girardin at his most crass, highlighting his use of Carrel's legacy to literally perform a hollow allegiance to the Republic, in order to enhance his own political prospects in the new regime. In the next panel, Vipérin/Girardin appears as a baker, preparing small rolls for an oven. His venomous forked tongue, however, suggests that the bread rolls – each intended to represent one of Girardin's many ideas – are loaded with the same poison he has always spouted. As the caption notes, this may be a 'four d'idées', but 'c'est toujours de la même farine.' Another panel in this early *bande dessinée* depicted Vipérin/Girardin as a snake, still clad in his harlequin costume. He is shown sharpening his fangs on a metal file topped with a Phrygian bonnet and obviously intended to represent the Republic (Fig. 2). A reference to La Fontaine's fable of the snake and the file, the cartoon sent a pointed message to Girardin about the folly of his venomous criticism of the government. La Fontaine's original tale was addressed to seventeenth-century critics, the Girardins of their day: the '*messieurs*/Of little talent, who, with biting slur/Attack at every turn.' Their 'brash harangues' were in vain, however, as their 'critic-fangs/Do nothing to the works you spurn.' Over a century and a half later, Nadar used the fable to remind Girardin that his sniping at the Republic was futile. Like the file in La Fontaine's story, the Republic was strong and durable, unyielding in the face of such attacks: 'Solid as diamond, tough as steel and brass.'⁷⁷ Eventually, Nadar's Vipérin meets a sorry end. After prostituting himself and his paper to various political leaders and enduring a prison term – where his poison proves strong enough to kill off the 'autres animaux malfaisants et vénimeux'

sharing his cell – a vignette entitled ‘Conclusion pleine de moralité’ shows the snake being trodden on.

V

In spite of his efforts as one of Louis-Napoleon’s most important supporters in the media, the new president did not reward Girardin when he assumed office. As usual, this perceived snub was met with yet another of Girardin’s political *volte-faces*: this time, he flirted with the radical left and was eventually elected as a *démoc-soc* deputy for the Bas-Rhin in 1850. For a time, Girardin could even call himself a ‘Montagnard’.⁷⁸

Girardin’s established satirical persona, coupled with his ambition, relentless self-promotion and vocal opposition to the Provisional Government and its successors, made him a relatively easy target for republican caricaturists and satirists in 1848. However, the satirical campaign against Girardin also offers a revealing insight into how the Second Republic’s supporters tried to deal with challenges to the new regime. Faced with the reality of dissent and discontent after what Marx described as the ‘*beautiful* revolution’ of February, republican caricature responded by mocking those who – like Girardin – appeared to question the republican status quo.⁷⁹ In this campaign of exclusion through ridicule, the highly identifiable figure of Girardin was a convenient symbol around whom to group a motley coalition of the Republic’s ‘enemies’ – at least, until the rise to power of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte. Satirical papers like *Le Charivari* and *La Revue comique* used this ridicule of Girardin, and others, in an attempt to paper over the increasingly obvious cracks in the regime.

As the rapid demise of the *quarante-huitard* republican dream proves, however, this tactic of attempting to undermine dissenting voices like Girardin’s through a process of satirical

exclusion was ultimately ineffective. Republican satire's strategy of responding to criticism with ridicule mirrors the general failure of the *quarante-huitards* in power to engage meaningfully in the spring and summer of 1848 with those who questioned the course the Republic was following. This failure also reflects the powerlessness of the traditional, 'principled' political press – whether satirical or non-satirical – against the rise of a mass-circulation press and politics. Louis-Napoleon's landslide victory in December 1848 was, after all, secured in part by a well-oiled, populist propaganda campaign.⁸⁰ Lacking in political principle though he may have been, Girardin was the embodiment of this new populism in the press – and, as such, was much more in tune with the new reality of Louis-Napoleon's mass politics.

¹ 'Hommage à la mémoire d'Armand Carrel', *La Presse* (3 March 1848).

² *Ibid.*

³ H.E.F. Bonde, *Paris in '48: letters from a resident describing the events of the revolution by Baroness Bonde* (ed. C.E. Warr; London, 1903), 26.

⁴ 'Vie politique et littéraire de Vipérin, journaliste et industriel', *La Revue comique à l'usage des gens sérieux* (16 December 1848).

⁵ Josette Page Young, 'Émile de Girardin, le "journal à deux sous" et la littérature romanesque à l'époque romantique', *The French Review* 56 (1983), 869.

⁶ On French caricature during this period, see D.S. Kerr, *Caricature and French political culture: Charles Philipon and the illustrated press, 1830-1848* (Oxford, 2000), A.W. Forbes, *The satiric decade: satire and the rise of republicanism in France, 1830-1840* (Lanham, MD, 2009), and Laura O'Brien, *The republican line: caricature and French republican identity, 1830-52* (Manchester, 2015).

⁷ On the question of censorship and caricature in nineteenth-century France, see R.J. Goldstein, *Censorship of political caricature in nineteenth-century France* (Kent, OH and London, 1989).

⁸ Forbes, *The satiric decade*, 24.

⁹ Robert Gildea, *Children of the revolution: the French, 1799-1914* (London, 2009), 176.

- ¹⁰ Cited in Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/counter-discourse: the theory and practice of symbolic resistance in nineteenth-century France* (Ithaca and London, 1985), 131
- ¹¹ W.M. Thackeray, *The Paris Sketch-Book* (London, 1870), 250.
- ¹² H.P. Trimbi, 'Daumier's Robert Macaire and Melville's Confidence Man', in Christopher Sten (ed.), *Savage eye: Melville and the visual arts* (Kent, OH and London, 1991), 194.
- ¹³ Thackeray, *The Paris Sketch-Book*, 250.
- ¹⁴ O'Brien, *The republican line*, 27.
- ¹⁵ See the account of the opening of the trial in *Le Censeur, journal de Lyon* (23 June 1838).
- ¹⁶ Pierre Albert, 'Le Journal des connaissances utiles de Girardin (1831-1836...) ou la première réussite de la presse à bon marché', *Revue du Nord* 66 (1984), 740.
- ¹⁷ E. Pascallet (ed.), *Revue générale biographique, politique, et littéraire* vol. 3 (Paris, 1842), 262.
- ¹⁸ *Le Charivari* (7 October 1836).
- ¹⁹ For more on Girardin's political ideas, see Guy Thuillier, 'Les idées politiques d'Émile de Girardin', *La Revue administrative* 12 (1959), 134-43.
- ²⁰ Alphonse de Lamartine, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* tome 1 (Paris, 1849), 124-5.
- ²¹ *Girardin dévoilé, par un de ses actionnaires. Biographie véridique, avec portrait et caricatures* (Paris, 1849), 24.
- ²² Émile de Girardin, 'Confiance ! confiance !', *La Presse* (25 February 1848).
- ²³ Émile de Girardin, 'Au peuple', *La Presse* (26 February 1848).
- ²⁴ Émile de Girardin, 'La république', *La Presse* (27 February 1848).
- ²⁵ Henri Avenel, *Histoire de la presse française depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1900), 388.
- ²⁶ William Fortescue, *France and 1848 : the end of monarchy* (London and New York, 2005), 99-100.
- ²⁷ On the *commissaires*, see Paul Haury, 'Les commissaires de Ledru-Rollin en 1848', *La Révolution française* 57 (1909), 438-74.
- ²⁸ Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, 'Instruction circulaire adressée comme Ministre de l'Intérieur aux commissaires de la République dans les départements' (12 March 1848) in *Discours politiques et écrits divers* vol. 2 (Paris, 1879), 12.
- ²⁹ Alexandre Weill, 'Une question de vie et de mort', *La Presse* (13 March 1848).
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ Pierre Pellissier, *Émile de Girardin : prince de la presse* (Paris, 1985), 195-7.
- ³² Pellissier, *Émile de Girardin*, 194.
- ³³ Émile de Girardin, 'La dictature, l'arbitraire', *La Presse* (24 March 1848).
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ Pellissier, *Émile de Girardin*, 197.
- ³⁶ See O'Brien, *The republican line*, 62-3.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 61-72.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.
- ⁴⁰ For a full discussion of the satirical treatment of these three groups, see *ibid.*, ch. 3.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 95-7.
- ⁴² 'Le journal de tous', *Le Charivari* (13 March 1848) ; 'Autre idée nouvelle', *Le Charivari* (21 March 1848).
- ⁴³ 'Transformation de la Presse', *Le Charivari* (1 April 1848).
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ O'Brien, *The republican line*, 70 and 220.
- ⁴⁶ Anonymous, 'La veille et le lendemain', *Le Journal pour rire* (25 March 1848). See also O'Brien, *The republican line*, 63-4.

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- ⁴⁷ ‘Transformation de la Presse’.
- ⁴⁸ Émile de Girardin, *Journal d’un journaliste au secret* (Paris, 1848), 13.
- ⁴⁹ *Le Charivari* (1 May 1848).
- ⁵⁰ Pellissier, *Émile de Girardin*, 214.
- ⁵¹ *Le Charivari* (13 June 1848).
- ⁵² *Le Charivari* (29 May 1848).
- ⁵³ ‘Le citoyen Victor Hugo et le pompier’, *Le Charivari* (27 May 1848).
- ⁵⁴ Gustave Flaubert, ‘Dictionary of Accepted Ideas’ in *Bouvard and Pécuchet* (trans. Mark Polizzotti; Champaign, IL, 2005), 308.
- ⁵⁵ See Julie Kalman, *Rethinking antisemitism in nineteenth-century France* (New York, 2010).
- ⁵⁶ On the events of 15 May, see Peter Amann, ‘A “Journée” in the making: May 15, 1848’, *Journal of Modern History* 42 (1970), 42-69.
- ⁵⁷ Maurice Agulhon, *The republican experiment, 1848-1852* (trans. J. Lloyd; Cambridge, 1983), 52-3.
- ⁵⁸ The *pompier* was later identified as Paul Degré. He appears alongside the other *accusés du 15 mai*, wearing his fireman’s helmet, in a print presumably produced prior to their trial in 1849. See ‘Les accusés du 15 mai 1848’ (1848), available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530141796>
- ⁵⁹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections* (trans. G. Lawrence, eds. J.P. Mayer and A.P. Kerr ; London, 1971), 150.
- ⁶⁰ ‘Correspondance’, *Le Charivari* (21 May 1848).
- ⁶¹ See O’Brien, *The republican line*, 171-2 and Forbes, *The satiric decade*, 21-2.
- ⁶² Forbes, *The satiric decade*, 24.
- ⁶³ ‘A nos concitoyens’, *Le Charivari* (8 June 1848). On the use of Germanic accents for stereotypically ‘Jewish’ characters in nineteenth-century French theatre, see Kalman, *Rethinking antisemitism*, 2.
- ⁶⁴ ‘L’erreur de M. de Girardin’, *Le Charivari* (10 June 1848).
- ⁶⁵ Samuel Hayat, *1848. Quand la République était révolutionnaire* (Paris, 2014), 250.
- ⁶⁶ *Le Charivari* (20 June 1848). In both tone and style, this print pre-empted the series *Le Charivari* published to commemorate the June insurrection, ‘Souvenirs des journées de juin 1848’. See O’Brien, *The republican line*, 142-7.
- ⁶⁷ Girardin wrote *Journal d’un journaliste au secret* during his detention.
- ⁶⁸ On the satirical campaign against Louis-Napoleon, see O’Brien, *The republican line*, ch. 6.
- ⁶⁹ André-Jean Tudesq, *L’Élection présidentielle de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, 10 décembre 1848* (Paris, 1965), 83.
- ⁷⁰ ‘La Tragaldabie’, *Le Charivari* (24 November 1848).
- ⁷¹ ‘Le parti Crétin’, *La Revue comique* (18 November 1848).
- ⁷² ‘La Tragaldabie’, *Le Charivari* (24 November 1848).
- ⁷³ Honoré Daumier, ‘Les journaux napoléoniens sortant de l’Assemblée nationale après le vote qui déclare que le général Cavaignac a bien mérité de la patrie’, *Le Charivari* (5 December 1848).
- ⁷⁴ Honoré Daumier, ‘MM Victor Hugo et Émile de Girardin cherchent à élever le prince Louis sur un pavois...ça n’est pas très solide!’, *Le Charivari* (11 December 1848).
- ⁷⁵ Cited in Roger Bellet, *Presse et journalisme sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1967), 192.
- ⁷⁶ Nadar, ‘Les Aventures illustrés (si non illustres) du prince pour rire’, *La Revue comique* (2 December 1848).
- ⁷⁷ Jean de La Fontaine, ‘The snake and the file’, *Fifty more fables of La Fontaine* trans. Norman R. Shapiro (Urbana and Chicago, 1998), 46-7.
- ⁷⁸ H. Schaeffer, ‘L’élection d’Émile de Girardin député du Bas-Rhin’, *Revue d’histoire moderne* 12 (1937), 36-56.

⁷⁹ Karl Marx, 'The June Revolution' in *The Revolutions of 1848*, ed. David Fernbach (London, 2010), 131.

⁸⁰ Robert-Pimienta, *La propagande bonapartiste en 1848* (Paris, 1911).