

Introducing Monsieur Mayeux: The Hunchback of the July Monarchy

Amanda L. Peters



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

This Thesis was Presented to the Department of the History of Art in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for a B.A. with Honors in the Subject of the History of Art

University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI
2016

Advisor: Howard Lay

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements
3

List of Illustrations
4

Epigraph
8

I. Introduction and Statement of Purpose
9

II. Mayeux and the July Revolution
15

III. Repression & Censorship
20

IV. Mayeux, Rabelais, and the Ladies
27

V. Mayeux, the Pear King, and Poiricide
33

VI. Mayeux Bonaparte
38

VII. Mayeux's Demise and Afterlife
41

VIII. Conclusion
46

Bibliography
48

Figures
51

Acknowledgements

Howard— thank you for your ceaseless dedication, patience, and guidance. Your commitment to the thesis project as a whole is inspiring. Thank you for both believing in and challenging me as a writer. Finally, thank you for sharing your love of French art and history. I will be forever grateful for sitting in 271 on my first day of college. *Merci mille fois.*

Mom & Dad—thank you for your endless support in whatever endeavors I take on. Thanks for always believing in me. Dad, sorry this isn't medicine, but I hope you're impressed!

Anna—thanks for always listening.

Ross—thanks for sharing your passion for art and *life* with me. I will (almost) miss the late nights of coffee, commiseration, and talking more than we worked.

Thank you to all of my friends who pretended to listen to me (quite convincingly) ramble on about a fictional hunchback. Academia is weird. Thanks for encouraging me, and keeping me on track with the constant greeting of "How is your thesis going?" Great! It's done. Special shout out to Mackenzie, Omar, and Audrey.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Hippolyte Robillard, *Mr. Mayeux dessiné d'après nature*, 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.

Figure 2. C. J. Traviès, *Charles, Louis, Philippe, Henry Dieu-donné, MAYEUX. <<né à Paris le 7 Fructidor an 2, décoré du lys et de la croix de Juillet, membre du caveau moderne et de plusieurs autres Académies savants>>* “Born in Paris on 7 Fructidor Year 2, decorated with the fleur-de-lis and the July cross, member of the *caveau moderne*, and of several other learned Academies.” 1831. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52/53.

Figure 3. Ancienne Maison Julienne, *Les Aventures de Monsieur Mayeux*, c. 1835. Colored lithograph. Marseille, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée.

Figure 4. Advertisement for silk hats. <<*Il faut le voir pour le croire.*>> “You have to see it to believe it!” Undated. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.

Figure 5. C.J. Traviès. *Le Mayeux* statue, 1832. Papier mâché, wood, leather, metal, paint, molding. Bourges, Musée des Arts décoratifs.

Figure 6. Unsigned, *Mayeux à la défense des Barricades pendant la journée du 28. <<F... il y a trop long-temps que ces gendarmes m'offusquent>>* “Fuck it, these *gendarmes* have offended me for too long.” 1830. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Collection Vinck.

Figure 7. C.J. Traviès, <<*D'aplomb, ...! et solide au poste tonnerre de D...!*>> “Steady...! and solid at my post goddammit!” c.1830. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 8. Unsigned, <<*Vous n'êtes pas grand, mon cher!*>> “You're not great/tall, my dear!” 1832. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf 70a.

Figure 9. Signed Ch.d.S., *Mr. Mayeux aux frontières <<Qui vive!—République—Tonnerre de D... on ne passe pas! aux armes!>>* “Who goes there! –The Republic—Goddammit... You cannot pass! To arms!” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.

Figure 10. Hippolyte Robillard, <<*Au feu cochons d'artistes!... Au feu Canailles!... Au feu nom de D... au feu gredins. Au feu!!!...>>* “Into the fire you filthy artists!... Into the fire scoundrels!... Into the goddamn fire rascals. Into the fire!!!...” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.

Figure 11. Unsigned. <<*Ces b... d'artistes, çà me croit panade, comme le gouvernement; mais nom... de D... guerre pour guerre!*>> "Those artist bastards, they believe me to be ugly, like the government, but goddammit, I'll fight fire with fire!" 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52/53.

Figure 12. Unsigned. <<*Le Serg—de la caricature on peut se rendre maitre. May.—vous mettez les verroux mais elle à la fenêtre.*>> "Policeman—we can bring caricature under our control. Mayeux—you bolt the door but she is at the window." Undated (c. 1830). Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.

Figure 13. J.J. Grandville <<*Faites donc attention militaire!... il y a un homme devant vous! ...*" proteste M. Mahieu, indigné, et pour cause : un grenadier, occupé à lire les annonces affichées au mur, ne voyant pas ce pygmée, ne se soulage-t-il pas inconsidérément, l'arrosant de façon peu agréable!>> "Hey, be careful soldier!... there is a man before you!... protested M. Mahieu, outraged, and rightly so: a grenadier, busy reading the ads posted on the wall, does not see this pygmy. He should not relieve himself thoughtlessly, watering him in such an unpleasant way, should he?" 1830. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 14. Image from *Les Douze journées erotiques de Mayeux*. <<*Tonnerre de D... je les foutrai toutes trou!!*>> "Goddamn, I will fuck all these holes!!" Paris, 1830. Lithograph. Christie's.

Figure 15. Pierre Numa Bassaget, *Les Modistes no. 1, Le lever des modistes*. 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Dc. 229.

Figure 16. C. J. Traviès, *Facéties de M. Mayeux no. 30, Mayeux Charcutier*. <<*Qu'en dites vous, la petite chatte, est-y beau celui là?>> "What do you say, little pussycat, isn't this one here handsome?" 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf 53.*

Figure 17. Michel Delaporte, *M. Mayeux Valsant*. <<*Ah! nom de D... quelle délicieuse position.*>> "Oh! Damn, what a delightful position to be in!" c. 1830. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 18. Signed P.Z. *Une Galanterie de Mr. Mayeux*. <<*Oh fortuné Mayeux, quelles belles couleurs, que des charmes qui s'offrent à ma vue, nom de Dieu!!*>> "Oh fortunate Mayeux, what beautiful colors, so many charms that offer themselves to my sight, goddamn!" Lithograph. 1831. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.

Figure 19. Nicolas Lancret, *Fastening the Skate*, c. 1741. Oil on canvas. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

Figure 20. Charles Philipon, *Les Poires* from *Le Charivari*, 1832. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 21. C.J. Traviès, *Le Diable emporte les fruits*. <<Adam nous a perdu (sic) par la pomme et Laffayette (sic) par la poire.>> “Adam screwed us over with the apple and Laffayette (sic) with the pear.” c. 1833. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 22. C.J. Traviès, <<Ah scélérate de poire pourquoi n’est-tu pas une vérité.>> “Oh wicked pear, why are you not the real one/truthful?” 1832. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 23. Michel Delaporte, <<Le Poiricide et le... ou comme on va de fil en aiguille.>> “The ‘poiricide’ and the ... or how the needle is threaded/where one thing leads to another.” Lithograph. 1832. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 24. C.J. Traviès, *Facéties de M. Mayeux no. 33*. <<Je suis le poiricide Mayeux, t... de D...! vends moi ton éventaire que je le f... à l’eau!!!>> “I am the poiricide Mayeux, goddammit! Sell me your entire stock so I can fucking destroy it” 1832. Colored lithograph. The British Museum.

Figure 25. Unsigned. *Histoire complète (sic) de Mr. Mayeux no. 35*. <<-Tonnerre de D... comme je lui ressemble.>> “Goddamn! I look just like him.” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.

Figure 26. Unsigned. No. 14 of a series chez Fonrouge. <<-Tonnerre de D...! j’peux bien rester ici, je vois tant des gens qui ne sont pas à leur place.>> “Goddamn! I’d really like to stay here. I see so many people who are not in their place.” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.

Figure 27. C.J. Traviès, No. 2 of a series chez Fonrouge. <<- Tonnerre de D... j’crois qu’ils se f... de moi, avec leur République, je ne la vois pas.>> “Goddamn! I think they’re fucking with me with their Republic. I don’t see it.” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.

Figure 28. Signed Em1, *Maladie de Françoise Liberté*. <<Mayeux docteur ‘-elle est bougrement malade T... de D...’>> “Blast it all, she is really fucking sick!” c. 1830. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 29. C. J. Traviès, *Mayeux et Robert Macaire no. 1—Entrevue de deux grands hommes*. <<C’est vrai, mon vieux, je vous ai dégommé pourtant il y avait du bon dans votre système: vous vous adressiez au beau sexe... polissez!... moi je suis voué à l’industrie, mais la société n’est pas raisonnable! croiriez-vous qu’on me fait des difficultés? devenez mon auxiliaire. Le nigaud de Bertrand vous servira de page. Parcourez les boudoirs: emparez vous des femmes!... j’ai mon plan?>> “It’s true, my old man, I have excelled over you, yet there was some good in your system: you were

addressing the fairer sex... naughty!... I am dedicated to industry, but society is not reasonable! Would you believe that that makes trouble for me? Become my assistant. The idiot Bertrand will serve as your page. Browse through the boudoirs: I'll grab you some women!... Do we have a plan?"1839. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Dc. 200.

Is there anything stranger than the figure of Mahieux,¹ thrown into the middle of our serious political questions, mixed into editorial discussions, and becoming in some way the only popularity of our time?

Where does this come from? What is this man? The living satire of our century? What can be said of this dwarf carrying a heavy rifle, this exaggerated soul in this frail body? Why does this force of passion lead only to a grotesque? What does Mahieux represent? The House, the July Revolution, the entirety of France, maybe?...²
-*Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 1835

¹ The spelling of Monsieur Mayeux's name varies from text to text. Various spellings include Mayeux, Mahieux, and Mahieu. For consistency, aside from quotations, I will use the spelling Mayeux.

² *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux* (Paris: Chez Lebaillly, 1835), 17. <<N'est-ce pas quelque chose d'étrange que cette figure de Mahieux, jetée au milieu de nos graves questions politiques, mêlée aux discussions de la tribune, et devenue en quelque sorte la seule popularité de l'époque? D'où vient cela? quel est cet homme? est-ce la satire vivante de notre siècle? que veut dire ame (sic) exagérée dans ce corps frêle? pourquoi cette vigueur de passion, pour n'aboutir qu'au grotesque? que représente Mahieux? la chambre, la révolution de juillet, la France tout entière peut-être?...>>

I. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

An 1831 pamphlet, *Du nouveau... Attention, nom de D...! MAYEUX*³ speaks of a hunchback who was a “plebian, ... a philanthropist, that’s to say, a friend of man,” one who “was continuously sad, despairing for the freedom of France.”⁴ The author claims that at the outset of the July Revolution, this man was joyous about the future. His mood soon blackened, however, at the decision to offer Louis-Philippe the throne. “Never will this people know how to be free...” he lamented.⁵

In this thesis I will be examining the fictional character of Monsieur Mayeux as a popular “type” born of the political turmoil of the Revolution of 1830 and the early years of Louis-Philippe’s reign. While used most often as a spokesman for those discontented with the July Monarchy, he was also appropriated to voice the opinions of those with various political leanings. Mayeux was not created in a vacuum. We can trace him back to the history of carnival in which clowns and jesters (who, like Mayeux, differed from the physical “norm,” whether naturally or through costume) were able to mock the serious, generate laughter, and bring down to a human plane that which was previously held “sacred.”⁶ This thread of

³ The name of this paper harkens back to the revolutionary radical republican journal *Le Père Duchesne* with its vulgar language. Just as *Le Père Duchesne* confronted the reader with *foutre*, *MAYEUX* favors *nom de Dieu*. The foul language extends beyond just this journal. In most Mayeux prints, the captions feature phrases such as *tonnerre de Dieu*, *nom de Dieu*, and *foutre*. This slang allows for a shock and laugh, but also speaks to the lower-class vernacular. These words are almost always censored, though, unlike in *Le Père Duchesne*, which was most likely done in order for the publishers to avoid censorship and press repression, ensuring the opportunity for profit. This raises the question: how radical was the character of Mayeux, really? I will explore this issue further.

⁴ Auguste Mie (imprimeur). *Du nouveau... Attention, nom de D...! MAYEUX*, Premier Pamphlet. (Paris, 1831). <<plébéien, était philanthrope, c’est-à-dire, ami des hommes>>; <<était continuellement triste, désespérant de la liberté en France>>, 1.

⁵ <<Jamais ce peuple ne saura être libre...>>

⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 20-21.

Rabelaisian humor will be expanded upon throughout this thesis as many lithographs strengthen my point.

I would also argue that Mayeux was a nineteenth-century French version of a literary Trickster.⁷ As such, he was a compendium of opposites: quarrelsome, but good-natured; bad mannered, but funny; rebellious, but staunchly patriotic. He was both a prankster and a malicious destroyer. He used vulgar language and acted out sexually. He constantly questioned and mocked authority.

Tricksters are impossible to pigeonhole, and Mayeux accordingly gave rise to multiple narratives. Articles and novels disagreed on everything from his first name to his origin story. Ambiguity, in other words, was his most consistent characteristic. In any case, it kept the public engrossed in his exploits. Interestingly, nearly half of the three hundred lithographic prints in which he appeared were left unsigned.⁸ Articles were often times signed by the hunchback “himself”—which allowed the real authors to impart their anti-monarchal political convictions, while avoiding the ire of the authorities.⁹ Primarily in 1831 there was a mass proliferation of materials concerning Mayeux, which included lithographs, political pamphlets, vaudeville, and even novels.¹⁰

⁷ In general, the Trickster possesses conflicting characteristics. He is a prankster, a fool, a malicious destroyer, a folkloric scapegoat, and an outsider figure. He makes up for physical weakness or deformity with subversive humor. He uses vulgar language, engages in lustful behavior, and mocks authority. He is impossible to pigeonhole, and operates as both the deceiver and the deceived. He is a transformer who creates order out of chaos. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

⁸ Elizabeth K. Menon. *The Complete Mayeux: Use and Abuse of a French Icon*. (Berne: European Academic Publishers, 1997), 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁰ This brings me to the limits of my study. They include the wide amount of material (there were nearly three hundred prints of the hunchback) paired with a relatively short time period in which to work, and the inadequate access I had to these materials since I conducted my research in the United States.

His portrait appeared in the press in 1831 (fig. 1). We can see his apish face, mischievous grin, and emblematic hunched back. Despite the illustrator Robillard's claim that this image of Mayeux was "drawn from life," he did not actually exist, at least not in flesh and blood. However, the idea that Mayeux lived was propagated both as means of avoiding press repression, and as means of entertainment. According to an article in an 1835 anthology of texts about Mayeux, people would supposedly claim to spot the hunchback or even dine with him, because they "believe that the only mark of distinction is to see a celebrity; and they are anxious to meet a hump, if that hump is illustrious."¹¹

His notorious hump, or *bosse*, was sometimes thought to embody all of humanity's vices. On the one hand this made him a sort of Christ-figure—one who carries all of our sins.... on his back, if you will.¹² On the other hand, this rendered him a mischievous character that was more ridden with inequities than the average human. Most often, though, his hump was believed to symbolize greatness, since he was situated within a long line of hunchbacked celebrities. An 1831 article entitled "The Meeting of the Hunchbacks" argued, satirically of course, that everyone from Alexander the Great, to Chateaubriand, to Villemain, and even to Napoleon possessed prestigious humps.¹³ An 1835 pamphlet held that Mayeux was "none other than Aesop, the Phrygian," the famous fabulist who apparently had a hump of his own.¹⁴ C.J. Traviès, the artist of the majority of signed Mayeux prints,¹⁵ plays

¹¹ *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 21. <<parce qu'il y a des gens qui croient que c'est un mérite personnel que de voir une célébrité; et qui tiennent à connaître une bosse, si la bosse est illustre.>>

¹² Menon, 74.

¹³ "La Rencontre Des Bossus" *Le Figaro*. February 15th, 1831, 2.

¹⁴ *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 21.

¹⁵ Traviès may have also "created" Mayeux. However, art historians have found no definite proof of this claim.

upon the idea of the hunchback's "greatness" in his *Charles, Louis, Philippe, Henry Dieu-donné, MAYEUX* (fig. 2). These names sardonically align him with both the Bourbon and Orléans families, while simultaneously mocking the royals by associating them with tiny grotesques.

But how did *this* hunchback act? He had a penchant for wearing gaudy clothing and he wore a top hat to appear taller—not a bad idea since he was only four feet, nine inches tall. As a notorious seducer of women, the opposite sex was his weakness. He smoked, drank, and swore in a high-pitched, wavering voice.¹⁶ In both prints and texts, Mayeux wore many hats. An eight-paneled 1835 image is a perfect example of the different roles that the hunchback adopted (fig. 3). In the upper left pane, he is in a state of drunken debauchery, knocking over his hat and chair while dancing. He then loses his leg during the *Trois Glorieuses* for the sake of liberty, becomes a republican, defends the Polish, gussies up for a night on the town, dresses up as a bourgeois man tormented by a dog, acts as a master of arms, and finally performs as a troubadour, attempting to enchant women. Tricksters, after all, are boundary-crossers.¹⁷ From lower class drunkard to pompous bourgeois, the hunchback fluidly moved across social boundaries, something that was much more easily done in text or image than in real life.

He traversed across media, as well. Beyond books and cartoons created for entertainment and political discussion, he was also used in advertising (fig. 4).

¹⁶ *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 22-23.

¹⁷ Lewis Hyde. *Trickster Makes This World: Mischief, Myth, and Art*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Grioux, 1998), 7.

Mayeux collectables, such as statues, pitchers, and plates were available (fig. 5).¹⁸ He appeared regularly in vaudeville and puppet theatre. Elizabeth Menon, an art historian who has done extensive research on Mayeux, noted that for the first half of 1831, there was a performance that featured his character open to the public almost every night—with titles such as *The Week of a Hunchback* and *Mayeux or The Fashionable Hunchback*.¹⁹ Mayeux material was widely distributed. Before contemporary copyright laws, the same articles often appeared in multiple newspapers. Since Traviès worked for both *La Maison Aubert* and *Hautecoeur Martinet*, two competing publishing houses, his work was more broadly disseminated.²⁰

His character was so well known that diverse political factions adopted it for use. An 1831 article written by the aptly named F.F. Legrand d'Orléans tells of a debate between the selfless (*désintéressés*) “true” patriots and the selfish (*toutpourmoi*) “false” patriots under the mediation of Monsieur Mayeux.²¹ He sides with *les désintéressés* who condemn the false patriots that instigate uprisings in the guise of attaining a republic. According to the author, these *toutpourmoi* really desire to incite a civil war. In the text, the hunchback reminds those gathered that he fought for freedom, the same freedom that installed King Louis-Philippe in 1830. This version of liberty consists of “obedience to wise laws, respect for good morals,

¹⁸ Menon, 24.

¹⁹ Ibid., 23.

²⁰ Ibid., 83.

²¹ F. F. Legrand d'Orléans. *La Grande Dispute du Philosophe Mayeux avec les Citoyens Désintéressé (Vrai Patriote), Toutpourmoi (Faux Patriote) au sujet des troubles qui ont eu lieu dans Paris ; suivie du Poison que personne ne peut éviter : stances* (Paris : Chez L'Auteur, 1831), 3.

and protection for all citizens.”²² The article insists that the perfect equality for which the republicans (“false” patriots) strive does not exist in nature, and cannot, therefore, be implemented. Happiness for the true Frenchman, (and “true” patriot), is only obtained by means of the constitutional charter and the “Citizen-King.” Mayeux is only too eager to promote these views, while condemning the texts that depict him as a republican as despicable slander.²³ This article is a bizarre anomaly in a pool of texts and images that render this character at least anti-monarchal, if not staunchly republican. Its existence speaks to the prevalence of his person in that even Orleanists utilized him for their own propagations.

In this thesis, I intend to first explore the historical framework in which the hunchback “lived,” including his supposed involvement in the July Revolution. I will then investigate the culture of press repression and censorship, and the ways in which Mayeux’s creators critiqued and snuck around these restrictions. I will examine different categories of prints: those depicting themes of Rabelaisian humor, those involving the “Pear King,” and those engaging with the Cult of Napoleon. Finally, I will consider the demise of the character, and hypothesize potential reasons for it. Overall, I will argue that Mayeux was a voice of subversion that was created during a period of social turmoil. He was a channel through which artists and authors expressed their political and social persuasions. In order to begin this examination, I would like to now turn to the historical and political context that generated the hunchback’s existence and fame.

²² d’Orléans, 5. <<*mais j’entends par liberté l’obéissance aux lois sages, respect aux bonnes moeurs, protection à tous les citoyens*>>

²³ d’Orléans, 6.

II. MAYEUX AND THE JULY REVOLUTION

The Revolution of 1789 put into motion a stream of complex political changes. The Revolution overthrew the Bourbon monarchy, and installed the First French Republic. This famously led to the Terror, which in turn resulted in the Thermidorian Reaction, followed by the Directory, and then the Consulate. What was left of the Republic dissolved into Napoleon's empire, which led to the Bourbon Restoration. In 1830, the Bourbons were again overthrown during the July Revolution, and their cousins, the Orléans family, led by King Louis-Philippe, ruled as a constitutional monarchy.

This incredible governmental turnover, spanning a mere forty-two years, caused much political division. Louis-Philippe found it necessary to appease republicans, who wished for a democracy, as well as Bonapartists, who were still loyal to Napoleon and his family. The recently deposed Bourbons were inconsolable. Louis-Philippe's ruling authority, neither ordained by God, nor chosen by "the people," was necessarily precarious. What right did he have to the French throne? Any dissent had to be stifled. The press was a major threat, and repression and censorship were the orders of the day.

It could be said that Mayeux was "born" out of the July Revolution. Catalysts for revolt included famine, as well as discontent over Bourbon king Charles X's Four Ordinances. The Ordinances suspended the liberty of the press, purged the government, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and excluded the commercial middle class from future elections. King Louis XVIII's Charter of 1814 had promised

the freedom of the press. This stipulation, however, was abandoned.²⁴ Accordingly, this turmoil prompted major change, and Mayeux played quite the role in it.

An 1830 image depicts the hunchback defending the barricades. “Fuck it!” he exclaims, “These gendarmes have offended me for too long,” referring to the state-deployed troops²⁵ (fig. 6). Dressed as a National Guardsman, he mans the barricade with his rifle aimed at the royal troops. We can see the working-class man next to him as a reminder that the success of the revolution depended on the participation of the lower classes. Pasted to the wall is one poster calling for *liberté*. The other is perhaps the proclamation summoning the National Guard to fight, or the proclamation that named General Lafayette as a part of the provisional government.²⁶

Traviès depicts a rosy-cheeked Mayeux guarding the barricades in an 1830 image (fig. 7). He proudly declares, “Steady...! and solid at my post, goddammit!”²⁷ His confidence appears unwavering despite the fact that the rifle is twice his size. A French flag hangs in reverse above the rubble.²⁸ The image is even more amusing when placed next to the text of *Les Exploits de M. Mahieux aux Trois Journées (Racontés par lui-même)*, a first-person narrative²⁹, in which he leads the fighting,

²⁴ Andre Jardin and Andre-Jean Tudesq. *Restoration and Reaction, 1815-1848*. Translated by Elborg Forster. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Ch. 5.

²⁵ <<F... il y a trop long-temps que ces gendarmes m'offusquent>>

²⁶ *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieu*, 39;44. features a scene on *mercredi* in which Mayeux and his companions read aloud two proclamations: one calling the National Guard to arms, and the other released by Lafayette, noting his return to public office.

²⁷ <<D'aplomb, ...! et solide au poste tonnerre de D...!>>

²⁸ This may have been an error on the part of the printer in the process of reversing the image.

²⁹ The utilization of the first-person in *The Exploits of M. Mahieux during the Three Days (As told by himself)* fits into the history of revolutionary narratives in France. *Le Père Duchesne* also used the first-person, as well as more familiar parlance. Both publications were intended to be read aloud and shared.

prompting working class men to join in the rebellion.³⁰ At one point, the men believe that crossing a heavily guarded bridge is impossible. We can then imagine this Mayeux heartened by the words of *le jeune homme* who reassures the men, “Impossible! You know well that that word is not in our vocabulary.”³¹ Surely, then, the hunchback can shoot a rifle twice his size.

It was hoped that the *Trois Glorieuses*, or July 27th, 28th, and 29th of 1830, would lead to what was a more democratic political system. Louis-Philippe’s father was a Jacobin who was guillotined following the first revolution, earning his family a more progressive reputation.³² Politically speaking, Louis-Philippe’s so-called *juste-milieu*, or middle ground, was created as a “happy compromise” between monarchal and republican systems of government. But as his rule continued, republican hopes for a more democratic system waned. The so-called “Bourgeois King” broke his promise of an expanded franchise. Suffrage doubled under his reign, but it still only included the wealthiest sector: less than 1% of the population.³³ This constitutional monarchy benefitted only the upper class and the *grande-bourgeoisie*.

Since Mayeux was usually depicted as belonging to the working class or the petty bourgeoisie, he was adamantly against the July Monarchy in many of his manifestations. An 1832 image comments on the disillusionment that the Left felt a few months into Louis-Philippe’s reign (fig. 8). The hunchback, disguised as a tailor, measures the length of King Louis-Philippe’s back. <<*Vous n’êtes pas grand, mon cher!*>> he proclaims, looking slyly at the spectator. The French word “*grand*” means

³⁰ *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 35-44.

³¹ <<*Impossible! tu sais bien que ce mot là n’est pas français.*>>

³² Jardin and Tudesq, Ch. 5.

³³ Menon, 136.

both “tall” and “great.” The king, then, is neither as tall nor as great as he thinks he is. Upon recalling the prestigious lineage of celebrated humps (Aesop, Napoleon, Mayeux, etc.), we can see that, in this case, the king’s upright stature signifies that he is not a man of greatness. Thus, Mayeux represents here the realization that in effect, the highly anticipated July Revolution had left the French with a king behaving much like the one he had just replaced.

By 1831, Louis-Philippe had secured the loyalty of the National Guard.³⁴ An 1831 lithograph depicts Mayeux once again dressed as a National Guardsman, but he is now on the side of the king (fig. 9). While protecting the French border, he is shocked to see the allegory of the French Republic attempting to enter. “Who goes there! – The Republic—Goddammit, you cannot pass! To arms!” the hunchback cries, bayonet poised.³⁵ The character of Mayeux is used here to mock the “short stature” of the French. This is reminiscent of the narrator in *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux* who laments the emasculation, militarily, of the post-Napoleonic French. “When will we stop being four feet nine inches?” he questions.³⁶ In the image, the difference in both size and valor is accentuated by the Republic’s massive scale, spear, and battle-axe. What chance does the puny Mayeux and the National Guard have at keeping the undercurrent of republican ideals quelled? For the Republic stands giant and armed against the short July Monarchy. Her return is an inevitability. Therefore, this image pokes fun at the hypocrisy (but apparent

³⁴ Jonathan M. House. *Controlling Paris: Armed Forces and Counter-revolution, 1789-1848*, (New York: NYU Press, 2014), 41.

³⁵ <<Qui vive!—République—Tonnerre de D... on ne passe pas! aux armes!>>

³⁶ <<Quand cesserons-nous d’avoir quatre pieds neuf pouces? >>

pragmatism) of the “King of the Barricade’s” reign. The government was willing to sacrifice the very liberty that generated its naissance.

III. REPRESSION & CENSORSHIP

Mayeux's very "existence" depended upon press laws. His "life" was a precarious one indeed. The censorship of caricature in France was reinstated in 1822 by King Louis XVIII, and continued almost unremittingly until 1881.³⁷ Since the reasons behind a particular act of censorship were often arbitrary, censors could claim that a previously approved image had not received their blessing. This, in turn, could prompt fines, trials, and even jail sentences.³⁸ The clearest criteria for censorship appears in an 1829 message from the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects, stating that images could be censored if they attack religion, good mores, public or private life, or legitimate authority.³⁹ The censors' word was absolute, no matter that the only thing consistent in censorship was that it reflected the political bias of the day.⁴⁰ If the current political leader feared anti-governmental caricature, it was in their power to instate censors who they hoped would crush it.

Interestingly, the printed word did not seem to generate this same level of anxiety. Throughout the history of French printing, the written word has rarely been subject to censorship. Since the majority of the population was illiterate prior to the twentieth-century, this makes sense. The length of time it takes to read and absorb the printed word, as well as the location in which one does so: normally alone in the private sphere, apparently rendered text as a more benign threat.⁴¹ In contrast, drawings were believed to be capable of speaking to the lower classes, since no

³⁷ Robert Justin Goldstein. *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France*. (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1989), viii.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

literacy was needed to digest at least some of their meaning. This is not to say, however, that text repression was not a fear. The fact that the authors signed so many political articles “by Mayeux” speaks to a desire to publish, and thereby garner profit. The adoption of this nom-de-plume also revealed the desire to if not stop, at least hinder, the censors tracing the article back to the actual writer. Caricature, however, was much more public. Since it was pasted to walls, displayed in the windows of publishing houses, and sold by hawkers, it allowed for a greater and quicker dissemination than text.⁴²

The supposed instantaneousness in which an image can be processed played into the government’s fear of insurrection. In 1829 the French Minister of the Interior lamented that, “engravings or lithographed images act immediately upon the imagination of the people, like a book which is read with the speed of light.”⁴³ The instantaneity and the low literacy rates needed to understand caricature were linked to the lower classes, which led to a “demoralization” of caricature. The authorities lumped it in with pornography and obscenity, in an attempt to lower its status and associate it with the “rabble.”⁴⁴ This did not sit well with the artists, who felt that the attack on images (rather than the printed word) was an assault on their craft.⁴⁵ The authorities had their work cut out for them given the large number of caricaturists active in the early years of the July Monarchy.

We must note that while the repression of caricature was pervasive from 1830-1834, censorship, in fact, was *not* legal. Under Article 7 of Louis-Philippe’s

⁴² Ibid., 4.

⁴³ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 3.

Charter of 1830⁴⁶, Charles X's previous censorship of images was rejected. It clearly stated that Frenchmen have "the right to publish," and that "censorship can never be reestablished."⁴⁷ These provisions, however, were almost immediately overturned.

A series of laws written in 1830 imposed severe restrictions on caricature. The October 8th law allowed for post-publication prosecutions by jury. The November 29th law penalized publishers and artists for attacks against "'royal authority,' the 'inviolability' of the king's person, the order of succession to the throne, and the authority of the legislative chambers."⁴⁸ The *lése majesté*, or the assault on the king's person, harkens back to absolutist beliefs in the "inviolability" of the body of the king. This law, then, attempted to reconstruct the sacrality of the bourgeois king's body, both physical and political. Which, as we will see later, the caricaturists had no problem viciously dismantling and desacralizing.⁴⁹ Playing on the fear of an immediate reaction to images, the December 10th law forbade all public postings, except those done by governmental officials. The December 14th law reintroduced security deposits on the press, further disgruntling publishers. The July Monarchy condemned the same use of text and image that had cleared the way for its rise during the July Revolution.⁵⁰ A logical move, however, when remembering the relative impermanence of French political bodies. Louis-Philippe's grasp on power was tenuous, and insurrection was a constant threat.

⁴⁶ The Charter of 1830 established the constitutional monarchy.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Childs. "The Body Impolitic: Censorship and Caricature of Honoré Daumier." Edited by Elizabeth C. Childs. *In Suspended License: Censorship and the Visual Arts*, edited by Elizabeth C. Childs. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 154.

⁵⁰ Goldstein, 123.

Those who wrote under Mayeux's name, and thereby Mayeux "himself," were not silent on press repression: they pushed back against it. A meta-image by Robillard portrays a frazzled Mayeux, with an extremely prominent hump, burning caricatures of himself (fig. 10). "Into the fire you filthy artists!... Into the fire scoundrels!... Into the goddamn fire rascals. Into the fire!!!..." he exclaims.⁵¹ In many texts and images he, in keeping with his status as a Trickster, plays both the deceiver and the deceived. So he is understandably angry with the artists here, because they had grossly misrepresented him. They seem *always* to misrepresent him. In a letter published in the satiric journal *Le Corsaire* in 1830, Mayeux complains, "Have you seen the [head] they gave me? The head of an animal, the head of a beast, a head which does not in any way look like the head of a man... and they call it humor!"⁵² Unhappy with his treatment in the press, he plays the role of the governmental censor. He uses caricature as effigies for the artists, tossing them into the fire. Only when the artists can no longer work will the anthropomorphized Mayeux and the press authorities find rest.

Mayeux retaliates against the artists by becoming the artist himself (fig. 11). "Those artist bastards, they believe me to be ugly, like the government, but goddammit, I'll fight fire with fire!" he cries.⁵³ In this image, the hunchback looks out at the spectator in disgust while painting a picture of one of his artists. That Mayeux would retaliate against his own creators plays into the propagation of his

⁵¹ <<Au feu cochons d'artistes!... Au feu Canailles!... Au feu nom de D... au feu gredins. Au feu!!!...>>

⁵² "Réclamation de M. Mayeux." *Le Corsaire*, December 8th, 1830. 3. <<Et à propos de tête, avez-vous vu celle qu'ils me donnent? Une tête d'animal, une tête de bête fauve, une tête enfin qui n'a jamais ressemblé en rien à une tête d'homme... Et l'on appelle cela de la bonne plaisanterie!>>

⁵³ <<Ces b... d'artistes, ça me croit panade, comme le gouvernement; mais nom... de D... guerre pour guerre!>>

“existence,” which increases the humor surrounding the character. He is “real,” therefore he can confront not only those who depict him, but the government at large. It is not the illustrator who calls the constitutional monarchy ugly, but Mayeux himself. This allows the artist to criticize the government, and its repressive measures, while maintaining some form of anonymity. The hunchback, then, operates as a sort of conduit for voices of opposition. His back is bent from carrying the weight of the people’s unhappiness.

An 1830 image portrays Mayeux and a policeman walking past a jail cell secured with five locks (fig. 12). The cop brags that by literally imprisoning caricaturists, “we can bring caricature under our control.” Mayeux, with a sly grin, points upward, stating, “you bolt the door but she is at the window.”⁵⁴ A little allegory of caricature escapes, perhaps a miniature Polichinelle, proof that no matter whom you jail, caricature will endure.

The endurance of caricature grew more precarious, however. An attempt on the king’s life was made on July 28th, 1835, which spurred an increase in press repression. This culminated in the September Laws of 1835, which re-imposed censorship, returning to the precedent set in 1822. The creators of the September Laws claimed that the freedom of the press that was laid out in the Charter only applied to words, because words merely expressed opinions, rather than *actions*. This was contrary to drawings and plays because they were viewed as something more concrete that could incite deed. Until the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848, all images had to be authorized by the Minister of the Interior, where they were subject

⁵⁴ <<Le Serg—de la caricature on peut se rendre maitre. May. —vous mettez les verroux mais elle à la fenêtre>>

to often arbitrary and unclear condemnations. Artists and publishers faced fines, jail time, and the seizure of their material if they were found guilty of violating censorship laws.⁵⁵ This led to an emphasis on seemingly nonpolitical caricature, which explored social class, and critiqued social mores. This will be typified by the creation of Mayeux's successor, Robert Macaire. Political caricature⁵⁶ still existed, though the meaning of certain images became more cleverly masked.⁵⁷

An examination of the censorship of images prompts us to question just how large a threat caricature was to the stability of the government. Louis-Philippe even went far enough to back away from his rejection of censorship completely by 1835. Surely, those in political power must have truly feared it, given the repressive measures they enacted. On the one hand, we can appreciate the governmental perspective: that caricature appeals to the "masses," and can therefore make them question the legitimacy of those in power. In the worst case, it can lead to physical action. At the 1835 trial of the satiric journal *Le Charivari*, it was said that "before overthrowing a regime, one undermines it by sarcasm, one casts scorn upon it."⁵⁸ The radical republican journalist Jules Valles even claimed that "caricature is a weapon of the disarmed."⁵⁹ If a readily accessible form of dissenting political expression that uses laughter to cut across social classes views the government as

⁵⁵ Goldstein, 10.

⁵⁶ One must question the effectiveness of political imagery under censorship. How could the general populace grasp the meaning of these prints, if even the censors could not? For the period of the July Monarchy, the creation of *Le Croquis de Moeurs*, or images that depicted the lives and social mores of the bourgeoisie seemed innocent enough. But it must be remembered—by critiquing the social class benefitting from the "Bourgeois King," one is not too far from critiquing the monarch himself.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

their common punching bag, or even enemy, what happens when these people mobilize?

On the other hand, there exists a chasm between activism on the page and action in the streets. The publisher Philipon's defense attorney, Etienne Blanc, held that "the laughter caricature provoked might even divert discontent from more dangerous channels,"⁶⁰ and that prints served as "mere safety valves for the release of political tension."⁶¹ Caricature, from this perspective, is an attack on the government, yes, but it is also a concession that the government makes in order to prevent more literal assaults on their authority. Perhaps without the release of political frustration through the crayon, the anger could manifest itself more violently.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ibid., 136.

⁶¹ Childs, 179.

⁶² See section V for further discussion of this issue.

IV. MAYEUX, RABELAIS, AND THE LADIES

Russian literary critic, Mikhail Bakhtin's, 1965 examination of the sixteenth-century writer, François Rabelais, set the framework for Rabelaisian humor. Rabelais's work was filled with themes of comic and grotesque imagery. This imagery often existed in bodily manifestations, rendering figures doing relatable, humorous, and simply human things—eating, drinking, defecating, urinating, having sex, and giving birth.⁶³ Rabelaisian humor is often of a scatological nature. It generates laughter at the expense of everyone. Its intended audience, however, is usually the lower classes.⁶⁴

It would be too easy to write off this type of humor as lowbrow. However, it allows for a breaking down of pretense, since “the grotesque,” Bakhtin argues, “liberates man from all the forms of inhuman necessity that direct the prevailing concept of the world.”⁶⁵ His claim is that this grotesque realism leads to degradation, or the lowering of the high or abstract into the material plane. If something that was once sacrosanct is degraded (take for instance, Daumier's degradation of King Louis-Philippe in *Gargantua*), the status quo can no longer be taken at face value, since that which was once mighty is brought down to a merely human level.⁶⁶ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White argue that this process is generative, since “to degrade is to bury, to sow, and to kill simultaneously, in order to bring forth something more

⁶³ Bakhtin, 21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 49. That “prevailing concept” being the dominant discourse.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

and better.”⁶⁷ The hope is that the degradation of institutions and social classes would create a vacuum in which a new world could be instated.

Many prints of Mayeux fall into the French national tradition of Rabelaisian humor. An 1830 Grandville lithograph portrays a National Guardsman gazing at posters on the wall in front of him (fig. 13). These *affiches* tell of Mayeux’s place in the theatre (“Theatre: My Uncle, the Hunchback”), and in print culture (“History of Mr. Mayeux with Twelve Lithographs by J.J. Grandville”). The sign proclaiming “*Montagnes Françaises Belleville*” may be in reference to one of the world’s earliest roller coasters, *Les Montagnes Russes à Belleville*, built in Paris in 1817.⁶⁸ The substitution of the word “Russian” for “French” perhaps speaks to the way in which Mayeux’s hump becomes the new *montagnes françaises*. The curve of his back mimics the hills of the roller coaster, further emphasizing the “distortion” of his body. The vast contrast between the guardsman’s and Mayeux’s respective heights are accentuated by the size of the National Guardsman’s hat. The two figures are cordoned off from the rest of the image by the mirroring of the soldier’s sword and Mayeux’s walking stick. He stands almost level with the soldier’s genitals, while a visible stream of urine is released onto Mayeux’s coat.⁶⁹

While in the process of consuming a representation, the Guardsman accidentally urinates on the “real” M. Mayeux. The caption reads:

⁶⁷ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White. *The Poetics and Politics of Transgression*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 21.

⁶⁸ Robert Cartmell, *The Incredible Scream Machine: A History of the Roller Coaster* (Fairview Park and Bowling Green: Amusement Park Books, Inc. and the Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987), 21.

⁶⁹ See *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 23. for a scene that similarly mocks Mayeux’s short stature. He picks a fight with a bodyguard, and notes angrily how the guard’s testicles keep hitting him in the eyes. He says that he will bite his knees in retaliation.

Hey, be careful soldier!... there is a man before you!... protested M. Mahieu, outraged, and rightly so: a grenadier, busy reading the ads posted on the wall, does not see this pygmy. He should not relieve himself thoughtlessly, watering him in such an unpleasant way, should he?⁷⁰

This image is a play on representation. The soldier is preoccupied with the manifestations of Mayeux in posters, failing to notice the hunchback beside him. There are three layers of representation: the Mayeux in the *affiches*, the “real” Mayeux that confronts the soldier, and the Mayeux (and soldier) in the physical lithograph. The spectator becomes a victim of the joke-- they are jarred out of a grand illusion. Despite the propagation to the contrary, there is no *real* Mayeux.

The hunchback, here, plays both the protagonist and the victim. The laughter of carnival, and the laughter of Rabelaisian humor is directed at everyone—no one can escape the mockery.⁷¹ Just as the viewer is checked in their belief in Mayeux’s existence, the hunchback, so often mischievous, is too put in his place

In the tradition of Rabelais, our hunchback had a large sexual appetite and many willing partners. According to an 1831 book, Mayeux is said to have “erotic capabilities” and an “amorous vocation.”⁷² In a colored lithograph from the pornographic book *The Twelve Erotic Days of Mayeux*⁷³, the hunchback sits in a brothel surrounded by four naked prostitutes (fig. 14). “Goddamn, I will fuck all these holes!!” he exclaims.⁷⁴ In many pornographic prints, the large size of his

⁷⁰ <<Faites donc attention militaire !... il y a un homme devant vous !... proteste M. Mahieu, indigné, et pour cause : un grenadier, occupé à lire les annonces affichées au mur, ne voyant pas ce pygmée, ne se soulage-t-il pas inconsidérément, l'arrosant de façon peu agréable !>>

⁷¹ Bakhtin, 11.

⁷² F.C.B. *Histoire véritable, facétieuse, gaillarde, politique, et complète de M. Mayeux*. (Paris : Terry Jeune, 1831), 6-7. << des caprices érotiques... la vocation amoureuse>>

⁷³ *Les Douze journées érotiques de Mayeux*.

⁷⁴ <<Tonnerre de D... je les foutrai toutes trou!!>>

genitals humorously contrasts with his short stature. Such prints offer an explanation for his sexual appeal.

When it came to sex, social class was of minute importance to the hunchback. Many prints reveal that Mayeux was a particular favorite of the *grisettes*, or young working class or petty-bourgeois women who “dated” bourgeois men in order to make ends meet.⁷⁵ In Numa’s *Le lever des modistes*, two half-undressed *modistes*⁷⁶ get ready for the day (fig. 15). The spectator is allowed a voyeuristic angle from which to view the women. The appearance of the tiny print of the *bossu* framed on the wall disrupts the easy eroticism of the image. The spectator’s power as voyeur is challenged since it is not he, but Mayeux, who can best service these women. This print establishes the *grisette*’s supposed love for the hunchback, while also pointing to the proliferation of Mayeux material. Here, he acts as a grotesque intervening into an idealized rendering of the young working-class woman. The erotic pleasure one could take from the image is fractured by this reminder of the grotesqueness of humanity.

Mayeux was not only a lover of *grisettes*, but a sexual partner to wealthier women as well. An 1831 Traviès image depicts him in the disguise of a pork butcher, flirting with his upper middle-class customer (fig. 16). Wielding a large, erect sausage he asks, “What do you say, little pussycat, isn’t this one here handsome?”⁷⁷ The phrase “*la petite chatte*” can be read in two ways. On the one hand, it can be

⁷⁵ Menon, 145.

⁷⁶ *Modistes* were a form of *grisette* who generally worked in women’s fashion stores. In this image, we can hypothesize that these women are hat makers or sellers, judging by the mannequin head with the ornate hat sitting on the dresser.

⁷⁷ <<Qu’en dites vous, la chatte, est-y beau celui là? >>

used as a term of endearment, perhaps hinting that the hunchback and the woman have had a previous history. On the other hand, the phrase has the same connotations as “pussy” in English, mirroring the sausage’s insinuation of genitalia. Either way, Traviès uses the hunchback’s sexual prowess as means in which to debase the bourgeoisie. The image insinuates that if even Mayeux can transgress social class, perhaps the barriers are not as durable as previously hoped. The woman regards him with a small, sly smile-- further propagating the myth of bourgeois types seeking out working-class partners for better sex. If those of higher classes cannot even “protect” their women from the seductions of lower-class men, how can they assert their dominance? The vulnerability of the social hierarchy is revealed.

Similarly, in a Delaporte image Mayeux is seen waltzing with an upper-class woman (fig. 17). Two gossiping ladies seated on either side center the couple. He is dressed in his finest, with one claw-like hand clasped around the woman’s waist, and the other clutching his top hat. He stands on the balls of his feet, still only reaching her breast. “Oh! Damn, what a delightful position to be in!” he exclaims, leering.⁷⁸ The woman’s face is serene, and she makes no attempt to hide her petite partner. Once again, Mayeux secures the attentions of women beyond his class, further chipping away at the dominance of those higher up on the social ladder.

In some images the *bossu* expressed his sexual appetite through his own voyeurism—he had a penchant for peeping. In an 1831 print, the artist, P.Z., cites the 1741 Nicolas Lancret painting of a man fastening the clasp of a woman’s skate

⁷⁸ <<Ah! nom de D... quelle délicieuse position.>>

(figs. 18 & 19). The hunchback adopts the role of the gentleman. Well, not *quite* the gentleman. While tying a woman's shoe, he uses the opportunity to look up her skirt. "Oh fortunate Mayeux, what beautiful colors, so many charms that offer themselves to my sight, goddamn!" he exclaims, his tongue hanging out of the side of his mouth.⁷⁹ While the figures exhibit perfect posture in Lancret's image, in the print, both the hunchback and the woman are bent over, her hand on his hat to balance herself. She untidily clutches a handkerchief in her right hand, all points degrading the propriety of the original image. P.Z. vulgarizes the soft eroticism of the Rococo painting. Even the medium brings down the Rococo idealization: the oil painted "high art" is reduced to lithography. The 1831 print fits into the framework of Rabelaisian humor, since it directly degrades an image associated with the upper classes.

⁷⁹ <<Oh fortuné Mayeux, quelles belles couleurs, que des charmes qui s'offrent à ma vue, nom de Dieu!!>>

V. MAYEUX, THE PEAR KING, AND POIRICIDE

The publisher Philipon went on trial on November 14th, 1831 due to the controversy over his print *The Replastering*, which depicts the king as a mason, covering up his former promises. During his defense, he challenged how far the authorities would go in prosecuting resemblance by creating the now famous series of images of Louis-Philippe's head slowly transforming into a pear (fig. 20).⁸⁰ While operating as a commentary on the king's jowls and muttonchops, a pear, or *poire* in French, is also slang for someone who is naive or idiotic. The pear became a pictorial stand-in for the French king. It carried the benefit of eschewing direct representation, while simultaneously mocking the king's bulbous head.

Mayeux was immersed in pear-related politics. In *The Devil Carries the Fruit*, the hunchback stands with a pear in one hand and an apple in the other (fig. 21). Notice how he holds the latter in his palm, but barely grasps the stem of the former in disgust. "Adam screwed us over with the apple and Laffayette (sic) with the pear," he cries.⁸¹ This speaks to the Chamber's dismissal of General Lafayette as the leader of the National Guard in 1830.⁸² His removal was a blow to republicans who saw him as a protector of liberty against monarchical control. Mayeux operates here as a blasphemous surrogate to St. Michael's weighing of the souls in Christian mythology. He devilishly balances the failures of both mankind and France. He is a vendor of sorts, tempting people with the two most "sinful" fruits: the apple, which brings about the downfall of humanity; and the pear, which oversees the downfall of

⁸⁰ Childs, 155-156.

⁸¹ <<Adam nous a perdu (sic) par la pomme et Laffayette (sic) par la poire.>>

⁸² Menon, 232.

liberty. Playing the role of the serpent in a modern Garden of Eden, the hunchback entices us with the symbolic incarnation of the July Monarchy. Louis-Philippe represented a compelling political option in 1830. But it was one that ultimately exiled the French from the “paradise” of the republic, that is, for the next eighteen years.

Where pears were concerned, Mayeux’s disrespect could take a more violent turn. In an 1832 Traviès lithograph from *La Caricature*, the hunchback holds a *poire* at arm’s length, with a look of disgust on his face (fig. 22). He presses a knife to the “neck” of the fruit, exclaiming “Oh wicked pear, why are you not truthful?” Or, “Oh wicked pear, why are you not the real one?”⁸³ Here, Mayeux, harkening back to the king’s earlier promise: “*la Charte est une vérité*,”⁸⁴ laments that Louis-Philippe was not truthful in his promises of upholding the freedom of the press and expanding suffrage. He also regrets that it is not the real king, but a pear that he is close to beheading.

Images of pears became so closely associated with the monarchy, that the word “poiricide” was used as an equivalent to regicide—kill the pear, kill the king.⁸⁵ An 1832 print published in *La Charge*, depicts Mayeux nearly assuming the part of malicious destroyer, a typical guise of the Trickster (fig. 23). He creeps up behind Louis-Philippe, who is recognizable by his bouffant and mutton chops. The king, who’s face is hidden, appears to stare at the French flag, ignorant of the deranged hunchback behind him, and of the bourgeois men in the background who run

⁸³ <<Ah scélérate de poire pourquoi n’est-tu pas une vérité. >>

⁸⁴ “The Charter [of 1830] is the truth.” Menon, 259.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 258.

toward him in warning. A wild-haired Mayeux clutches a dagger, ready to strike. He is poised to commit regicide. In the left foreground, a poster illustrating an act of “poiricide” appears on a small kiosk. In the meta-image, we can see a knife piercing a pear. A dog relieves himself on the poster, watching the act about to come to fruition in front of him. I am uncertain about the overturned hat in the foreground, but it appears to hold a document upon which a Phrygian cap appears, thereby pointing to the republican nature of this lithograph.

“The Poiricide and the (regicide), or how the needle is threaded.”⁸⁶ This caption self-censors the word “regicide,” but allows the viewer to make the connection: “poiricide” and regicide go hand-in-hand, like a needle and thread. “Threading the needle” is also an idiom for where “one thing (in this case, “poiricide”) leads to another (regicide).” This lithograph takes *poire* imagery to a new extreme, since a figurative “poiricide” is here embodied by a “genuine” regicide.⁸⁷

The theme of murdering the king reappears in an 1832 Traviès’ print (fig. 24). Here, an extremely disgruntled Mayeux, decked out in blue, white, and red (the colors of the French flag), confronts a young fruit vendor. She displays her tray of pears, regarding the hunchback with amusement. “I am the poiricide Mayeux, goddammit! Sell me your entire stock so I can fucking destroy it!”⁸⁸ he exclaims. He is angry with the woman for figuratively furthering the king’s administration. Interestingly, the vendor wears both a cross and a Phrygian cap—the respective

⁸⁶ <<Le Poiricide et le... ou comme on va de fil en aiguille.>>

⁸⁷ Ibid., 259.

⁸⁸ <<Je suis le poiricide Mayeux, t... de D...! vends moi ton éventaire que je le f... à l'eau!!!>>

symbols of the Catholic Church and the Republic. Perhaps Mayeux is enraged at her hypocrisy. She supports both Church and king, yet still claims to be a republican. She is, then, a contradiction reminiscent of the July Monarchy's *juste-milieu*.

How great a threat was “poiricide?” Richard Terdiman’s reading of discourse and counter-discourse is helpful in this regard. Discourses, in his mind, are “complexes of signs and practices which organize social existence and social reproduction.”⁸⁹ He defines the “dominant discourse” as something that is all pervasive, hard to nail down, and that “goes without saying.”⁹⁰ Counter-discourse accordingly responds to dominant discourse by raising awareness of alternatives outside of the norm. But it must be remembered that discourse itself (dominant or oppositional) takes the form of images and texts, rather than insurrection. Counter-discourse always exists within the structures already determined by dominant discourse.⁹¹

The prints of the “Poiricide” Mayeux can, at face value, seem dangerous. They unabashedly depict the murder of the king. The repression, and eventual censoring of such images seems inevitable, especially after the attempted assassination of Louis-Philippe on July 28th, 1835. Surely, the government would argue that such pictures incite violence. Were they right? Under Terdiman’s theory, this is too great a simplification. These images compose a counter-discourse to King Louis-Philippe’s

⁸⁹ Richard Terdiman. *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory of Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) 54.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 57-61. A current day example would be the complacency with which we view homelessness. Despite growing awareness for the plight of the poor in the United States, most do not question the fact that people live on the streets. It is normal to walk past panhandlers, and the furthest aid given is spare change or the number of a shelter. Homeless people have always existed, and therefore their condition must be “normal.”

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

reign—they lash out against the “given” of his constitutional monarchy. But we must remember: all works that go against the dominant discourse are created within the dominant discourse.⁹² How radical, then, can these caricatures be if they exist in a world that is defined by the dominant? Without manifest rebellion, the images are merely feeding into a system in which counter-discourse cannot, by definition, have the upper hand.

Caricature can be used as means of letting off steam. If Traviès satiated his “murderous” tendencies toward the king through image rather than through actuality, the freedom of the press actually protected the government. Just as carnival can serve as a way of putting pressure on the dominant structure, I would argue that Mayeux was used in text and image as a way of expressing discontent (often humorously, as in carnival). This helped to prevent actual regicide and paradoxically preserved the dominant-discourse—at least until the Revolution of 1848.

⁹² Ibid.

VI. MAYEUX BONAPARTE

Before revolution was even on the horizon the July Monarchy began to systematically celebrate the triumphs of the Napoleonic empire, distinct from political Bonapartism. At face value such a policy would seem almost nonsensical. Why would a constitutional, non-imperial, bourgeois monarchy desire to revive the memory of a past ruler; particularly one who still had contemporary followers? This is where the power of historical memory comes in. The time period from the Great Revolution to the July Monarchy was fraught with rapid political change. Louis-Philippe had a choice—he could either ignore the former political entities (as all previous governments had) in order to suppress discontent, or he could embrace them. The king did just that by opening the Museum of French History at Versailles in 1837. The republic, the empire, and the restoration were thus represented as episodes in the national past that led, seemingly inevitably, to the July Monarchy. By invoking Napoleon, Louis-Philippe hoped to bring Bonapartists onto his side, while also exhibiting dominance in that he was unconcerned with any potential uprisings.⁹³ Most importantly, however, Napoleon's symbolic resurrection alluded to national strength and unity, while at the same time serving as a distraction from the questionable actions of the current governmental system.

A connection was made between Napoleon I and Mayeux—initially because of their short statures. In an unsigned 1831 image, Mayeux, dressed in military garb, regards himself in a mirror while looking at a statue of Napoleon (fig. 25).

⁹³ Stanley Mellon. "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth." *Yale French Studies* no. 26. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960) 71-73.

“Goddamn! I look just like him!” he realizes.⁹⁴ Perhaps their likeness is deployed in this caricature as means of mocking both the Bonapartists (who still revere Napoleon) and the Orléanists (who memorialize the emperor for their own political gain). Once again, Rabelaisian degradation is in play. The artist takes that which is sacred (the mythic Napoleon) and equates him with a lower class, deformed, drunken womanizer. If the king was not too hallowed to mock, nor then was the former emperor.

Napoleon had erected the Vendôme Column in 1810 to commemorate his success at Austerlitz. A statue of his likeness was placed at the top. Despite his elevated position, unbeknownst to him, the monument would become a contested space throughout the nineteenth-century. The Restoration government replaced the statue with a fleur-de-lis, and in 1833, Louis-Philippe had a new statue of Napoleon installed.⁹⁵ This latest statue substituted the emperor’s Roman toga for a corporal’s uniform in order to emphasize his military accomplishments rather than his Caesarism.⁹⁶

Predictably enough, if Napoleon was to mount the column, naturally Mayeux would as well. In an unsigned 1831 lithograph, Mayeux looks out angrily over the city from atop the monument⁹⁷ (fig. 26). “Goddamn! I’d really like to stay here, I see so many people who are not in their place.”⁹⁸ The image speaks to his role as a social

⁹⁴ <<-Tonnerre de D... comme je lui ressemble.>>

⁹⁵ “French Moments: Place Vendôme, Paris,” last modified 26 November 2012. <http://frenchmoments.eu/place-vendome-paris/>.

⁹⁶ Menon, 266.

⁹⁷ This image may anticipate Napoleon’s return to the column in 1833. The lithograph was published in 1831, with Mayeux standing in for the statue. It prompts one to question how long talk of returning Napoleon to his post occurred before it actually happened.

⁹⁸ <<-Tonnerre de D...! j’peux bien rester ici, je vois tant des gens qui ne sont pas à leur place.>>

commentator. As a fictional character, Mayeux is an observer that is free from repercussions. He watches the political and social interactions in the city from above, where he can criticize the government and the rising bourgeoisie without fear.

In a second Vendôme Column lithograph, Mayeux sits on a ledge underneath the tricolor flag (fig. 27). “Goddammit!” he says, squinting through a telescope. “I think they’re fucking with me with their Republic. I don’t see it.”⁹⁹ Here, the hunchback has usurped Napoleon’s position atop the monument. The flag and Mayeux are directly connected to the absence of Napoleon. The hunchback comments on the “republican” nature of the July Monarchy. Even from a lofty height and with the help of an optic aid, neither a revived Napoleon nor a contemporary Mayeux can find the democratic ideals of 1793. Despite the French flag that flies proudly above, it is evident to the *bossu* that the promises of the July Monarchy do not align with the reality.

⁹⁹ <<- *Tonnerre de D... j’crois qu’ils se f... de moi, avec leur République, je ne la vois pas.*>>

VII. MAYEUX'S DEMISE AND AFTERLIFE

Louis-Philippe, of course, did not die by “poiricide.” He would not abdicate the throne until 1848. It was the hunchback who perished. Between 1832 and 1842, he had nearly disappeared.¹⁰⁰ For the anthropomorphized Mayeux, his decline in the public eye was due to either his “retirement” or “death.” As hopes for a more democratic political system diminished, he stopped being humorous. The July Monarchy had grown progressively more violent. On June 5th and 6th of 1832, governmental forces viciously crushed a republican uprising in Paris.¹⁰¹ In 1834, the Second Canut revolt saw the violent suppression of striking silk workers in Lyon.¹⁰² Outrage at this injustice quickly spread to Paris in April 1834. At no. 12 rue Transnonain, the National Guard slaughtered nineteen noncombatant men, women, and children amidst the chaos of the unrest.¹⁰³ Any confidence in an immediate political upending was being systematically dismantled, and the hunchback retreated accordingly.

A cache of material lamenting his demise was issued after 1832. According to a pamphlet published under the nom de plume, Jean Chrysostôme Barnabé Mayeux,¹⁰⁴ the hunchback was killed by the plague (presumably the 1832 cholera

¹⁰⁰ Menon, 340.

¹⁰¹ As famously memorialized in Victor Hugo’s 1862 novel, *Les Misérables*. Jill Harsin. *Barricades: The War of the Streets in Revolutionary Paris 1830-1848*. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 58.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 84-85.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 90-93.

¹⁰⁴ Various first names were given to Mayeux. John Chrysostom was a fourth-century saint who was vocal in his denunciation of the abuse of authority by religious and political leaders. St. Barnabas evangelized with St. Paul during the first century, and is often invoked as a peacemaker.

epidemic).¹⁰⁵ In a letter to the editor, he is remembered as a brave fighter who, during the *Trois Glorieuses*, mocked the bravado of the governmental troops by trampling on “flags and lys.”¹⁰⁶ The author laments that the hunchback had no sons to carry on his legacy.

Published in *Le Corsaire* in 1832, Mayeux “wrote” a letter to the king, as a final plea. “Sire, I will not hide from you that I am greatly offended by everything that has taken place! I love you, Sire, because I love all that is great and generous... However, I also love France, dear God! France! Dear God! France! Damn it, France! I would gladly be cut up into thirty-six pieces for her!”¹⁰⁷ Mayeux remained patriotic until the end.

The *Exploits and Adventures of Monsieur Mayeux* lamented that, “everything tires, even glory”. The narrator tells us that he stood at Mayeux’s four-and-a-half-foot long bed, and begged him to fight for the republic. “Ah! Goddammit!” he replied, “enough with the barricades, already: I can’t take it anymore!”¹⁰⁸ The hunchback had given up.

An image signed by Em1 places Doctor Mayeux at the bedside of the allegory of the French Republic—recognizable by her Phrygian cap (fig. 28). He holds her hand, while tears stream down his face, “Blast it all, she is really fucking sick!”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Jean Chryostôme Barnabé Mayeux (published after the original manuscript by M.A. Neuville, a Belgian captain). *Épisode de l'histoire de France: oeuvres de feu M. Mayeux,...* “L’Éditeur aux manes de M. Mayeux.” (Paris: *Chez les Marchands de nouveautés and Chez Vidard et Jullien, libraires*: Nancy, 1832), 28-30.

¹⁰⁶ <<Il foule aux pieds drapeaux et lys. >>

¹⁰⁷ “Lettre de Mayeux au Roi” *Le Corsaire*, August 12th, 1832, 2-3. <<Sire, je ne vous cacherai pas, sacredieu! Que je suis prodigieusement offusqué, de tout ce qui se passé! Je vous aime, Sire, car j’aime tout ce qui est grand et généreux... Mais j’aime la France aussi. Dieu! la France! Ah, Dieu! la France! Sacredieu, la France! Je me ferais couper pour elle en trente-six morceaux!>>

¹⁰⁸ *Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux*, 26-27.

¹⁰⁹ <<Mayeux docteur ‘elle est bougrement malade T... de D...’>>

According to the journalist, Basin, Mayeux “died of boredom, sadness, and waste. Of a consuming and undetermined illness to which doctors, who are always clever enough to qualify that which they cannot cure, have given the name of ‘suppressed revolution.’”¹¹⁰ In other words, Mayeux “died” alongside this ailing allegory.

Despite the political stagnation throughout the late 30s and early 40s, Mayeux was resurrected to a smaller extent in 1842. He became a popular figure in literature. In Adrien Delaville’s *l’Epopée*, he is satirically rebranded as classical hero, of sorts, who rejected romantic love and self for the greater good.¹¹¹ The author traces his “genealogy,” which contains such illustrious figures as Nostradamus, Merlin, King Arthur, Gargantua, the Republic, and *les trois glorieuses*.¹¹² Of course, this text is outlandish. But as in the Orléanist manifestation of Mayeux cited in my introduction, he is once again stripped of his original republican and lower class associations, and, here, refinished as an epic French hero. Mayeux endured quite the journey of near constant re-appropriation by whoever desired to utilize him.

We see another rebirth of the character in 1848—fittingly, like in 1830, at a time of political turmoil. The hunchback found the perfect setting for his return with the ousting of Louis-Philippe in February, and the election of Louis-Napoleon to the presidency of the Second Republic. An 1848 newspaper called *Mayeux de 1848*, a continuation of the 1831-32 republican journal *Nouveau, attention nom de D...* *MAYEUX*, celebrated a return to the republic.¹¹³ This Mayeux was supposedly an

¹¹⁰ A. Bazin. “Nécrologie,” *Paris ou le Livre des Cent-et-un*, vol. 3 (1831), 361-362. <<Il est mort d’ennui, de tristesse, de consommation, d’une maladie dévorante et indéterminée, à laquelle les médecins, toujours savants pour qualifier ce qu’ils ne peuvent guérir, ont donné le nom de ‘révolution rentrée.’>>

¹¹¹ Menon, 342.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 344.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 347.

ancestor of the July Monarchy hunchback. He assures the reader that he is a republican: "I will always cry 'LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC!' And I will ask you to do the same and also cry out words dear to my ears: 'LONG LIVE MAYEUX!'"¹¹⁴ Here, Mayeux stands as an incarnation of French liberty. The short-lived paper soon criticized Louis-Napoleon's restrictions of the press, which presumably led to its censorship.¹¹⁵

A new popular figure had emerged to unseat Mayeux and his fierce republicanism: Robert Macaire. Born out of the theatre, and soon becoming a frequent feature in caricature, Macaire was a notorious swindler. He was depicted in typical upper middle class jobs, extorting money, and happily acquiescing to Louis-Philippe's government.¹¹⁶ He made fun of the bourgeoisie by scamming them, while simultaneously revealing their lack of ethics. His character was a commentary on the abuses of capitalism and the bourgeoisie who benefited from the July Monarchy, however, he was not as controversial as Mayeux often was. Macaire's was mainly a social critique, not a consummate political one.¹¹⁷

The last known prints of Mayeux featured the two popular figures together, in the 1839 six-image *Mayeux et Robert Macaire* series by Traviès. In the first of these prints, *The Meeting of the Two Great Men*, the hunchback and Macaire converse over coffee, while the swindler's sidekick, Bertrand, drinks wine in the background (fig. 29). Macaire admits that he has "replaced" Mayeux, but he asks him

¹¹⁴ Edited by P. Dufour. *Mayeux de 1848*. 17-19 June, 1848, 1. <<Le cri que je proférerai perpétuellement sera VIVE LA RÉUBLIQUE! Et je vous engagerai à le pousser chaque jour avec moi, et à y joindre cette autre acclamation si douce à mon oreille: VIVE MAYEUX!>>

¹¹⁵ Menon, 348.

¹¹⁶ Stanislaw Osiakowski. "History of Robert Macaire and Daumier's Place in It." *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 100, No. 669 (London: The Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., 1958) 390.

¹¹⁷ Terdiman, 165.

for help. If he will become his assistant, Macaire will give him his pick of women—assumedly referring to the image of ladies that hangs off of the table. In the series, Macaire uses the *bossu's* weakness for women and his naiveté to manipulate him. Like a presidential candidate choosing a well-liked running mate, Macaire desires Mayeux for the likeability that the former lacks. Throughout the series, the poor hunchback becomes a victim of Macaire's schemes, and the triumph of the vicious bourgeois pretender over the impressionable dwarf is secured.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Menon, 360.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Surprisingly, there has been little research done on Monsieur Mayeux. I hope that through this thesis, I have contributed to the understanding of this complex character. I have examined the fictional hunchback in order to better understand why materials regarding him were so widespread, and how they were utilized to speak about the early years of the July Monarchy. I have traced his presence in caricature, novels, vaudeville, and political journals in order to examine how his figure was used for both entertainment and debate.

I have resituated Mayeux into the context of the tumultuous political climate of nineteenth-century France. Art is never apolitical, and the creation of the *bossu* coincided with a particularly unstable moment: the July Revolution of 1830. Fictional characters are often invented during times of unrest in order to be a voice for the voiceless. Although he was sometimes appropriated for commercial and conservative political use, overall he stood as a representative of those at odds with the July Monarchy. He operated as a humorous, but profound commentator on the fallacies of yet another government that failed to serve everyone.

Mayeux invoked traditions of Rabelaisian humor, revealing how the grotesque could be used to degrade the “sacrosanct.” The hope is that the humanizing of the “sacred” would create a space in which one could generate something *new*. By utilizing a bawdy hunchback, these artists deployed cultural forms that both produced laughter, and chipped away at bourgeois society.

Mayeux prints that dealt with Louis-Philippe and Napoleon revealed the intimate way in which the hunchback was immersed in politics. Although these

prints could be seen as seditious, the likelihood of their directly changing the reality of the world was slim. However, the press authorities had a unique relationship with caricature that fluctuated between censorship and a permissiveness that created a release in order to avoid literal revolt. After all, in the government's mind, it was much better to stab a lithographed pear than the actual monarch.

The use of a hunchbacked dwarf as the torchbearer for revolutionary fervor seems like an odd choice. When compared to elegant, classical incarnations of the Republic, Mayeux, quite literally, stood short. However, we are brought back to the notion of the carnivalesque. During carnival the world could be turned upside down. The poor could be made rich; the weak could be made great. In this spirit, a grotesque is the perfect voice for the discontented. Both carnival and Mayeux prints may have only been examples of carefully orchestrated releases of displeasure within an unchanging dominant structure. However, perhaps Mayeux played a small part in a long process of change. He pointed the way to the Revolution of 1848... it was now up to the French to follow.

Bibliography

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Bazin, A. "Nécrologie," *Paris ou le Livre des Cent-et-un*, vol. 3, 1831.

Cartmell, Robert. *The Incredible Scream Machine: A History of the Roller Coaster*. Fairview Park and Bowling Green: Amusement Park Books, Inc. and the Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987.

Childs, Elizabeth. "The Body Impolitic: Censorship and Caricature of Honoré Daumier". In *Suspended License: Censorship and the Visual Arts*, edited by Elizabeth C. Childs. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Cowan, Bainard. "Walter Benjamin's Theory of Allegory". *New German Critique*, No. 22, Special Issue on Modernism. Durham: Duke University Press, 1981.

d'Orleans, F. F. Legrand. *La Grande Dispute du Philosophe Mayeux avec les Citoyens Désintéressé (Vrai Patriote), Toutpourmoi (Faux Patriote) au sujet des troubles qui ont eu lieu dans Paris ; suivie du Poison que personne ne peut éviter : stances*. Paris : Chez L'Auteur, 1831.

Dufour, P., editor. *Mayeux de 1848*. June 17-July 10, 1848.

Ernst, Waltraud. *Histories of the Normal and the Abnormal: Social and Cultural Histories of Norms and Normativity*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.

F.C.B. *Histoire véritable, facétieuse, gaillarde, politique, et complète de M. Mayeux*. Paris : Terry Jeune, 1831.

Forbes, Amy Weise. "The lithographic conspiracy: how satire framed liberal political debate in nineteenth-century France". *French Politics, Culture and Society*. New York: Berghahn Books, Inc., 2008.

Furet, François. *Revolutionary France 1770-1880*. New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995.

Goldstein, Robert Justin. *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France*. Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1989.

Harsin, Jill. *Barricades: The War of the Streets in Revolutionary Paris 1830-1848*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

House, Jonathan M. *Controlling Paris: Armed Forces and Counter-revolution, 1789-1848*. New York: NYU Press, 2014.

Hyde, Lewis. *Trickster Makes This World: Mischief, Myth, and Art*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Grioux, 1998.

Jardin, Andre, and Andre-Jean Tudesq. *Restoration and Reaction, 1815-1848*. Translated by Elborg Forster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Mayeux, Jean Chryostôme Barnabé (published after the original manuscript by M.A. Neuville, a Belgian captain) *Épisode de l'histoire de France: oeuvres de feu M. Mayeux...* "L'Editeur aux manes de M. Mayeux." Paris: *Chez les Marchands de nouveautés and Chez Vidard et Jullien, libraires*: Nancy, 1832.

Mellon, Stanley. "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth." *Yale French Studies* no. 26. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.

Menon, Elizabeth K. *The Complete Mayeux: Use and Abuse of a French Icon*. Berne: European Academic Publishers, 1997.

Menon, Elizabeth Kolbinger. "The cultural history of M. Mayeux in nineteenth-century French art and literature Volumes I-IV." PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1994.

Menon, Elizabeth K. "The Image that Speaks: The Significance of M. Mayeux in the Art and Literature of the July Monarchy." In *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture Under the July Monarchy*, edited by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg, 37-57. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Menon, Elizabeth K. "The Utopian Mayeux: Henri de Saint-Simon Meets the Bossu à La Mode." *Saskatoon: Canadian Journal of History*, 1998.

Mie, Auguste (imprimeur). *Du nouveau... Attention, nom de D...! MAYEUX*. Paris, 1831.

Osiakovski, Stanislav. "History of Robert Macaire and Daumier's Place in It." *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 100, No. 669. London: The Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., 1958. 388-393.

Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White. *The Poetics and Politics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Terdiman, Richard. *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory of Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Weisberg, Gabriel P. "In deep shit: The coded images of Traviès in the July Monarchy". *Art Journal* Vol. 52, Issue 3. Date: 10/01/1993 pg. 36-40.

Exploits et Aventures de Mahieux. Paris: *Chez Lebailly*, 1835.

French Moments. "Place Vendôme, Paris." Last modified 26 November 2012.
<http://frenchmoments.eu/place-vendome-paris/>.

"La Rencontre Des Bossus" *Le Figaro* February 15th, 1831.

"Lettre de Mayeux au Roi" *Le Corsaire*, August 12th, 1832, 2-3. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, *The Art of the July Monarchy France 1830-1848*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990.

"Réclamation de M. Mayeux." *Le Corsaire*, December 8th, 1830.

Figures



Figure 1. Hippolyte Robillard, *Mr. Mayeux dessiné d'après nature*, 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.



Figure 2. C. J. Traviès, *Charles, Louis, Philippe, Henry Dieu-donné, MAYEUX*. <<né à Paris le 7 Fructidor an 2, décoré du lys et de la croix de Juillet, membre du caveau moderne et de plusieurs autres Académies savants>> “Born in Paris on 7 Fructidor Year 2, decorated with the fleur-de-lis and the July cross, member of the *caveau moderne*, and of several other learned Academies.” 1831. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52/53.

LES AVENTURES DE MONSIEUR MAYEUX:



Figure 3. Ancienne Maison Julienne, *Les Aventures de Monsieur Mayeux*, c. 1835. Colored lithograph. Marseille, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée.

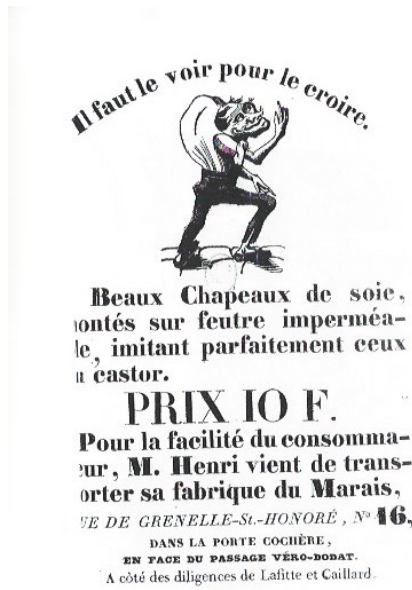


Figure 10
 Unsigned. Advertisement for silk hats.
 For full caption, see the illustration list, above.

Figure 4. Advertisement for silk hats. <<*Il faut le voir pour le croire.*>> “You have to see it to believe it!” Undated. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.



Figure 5. C.J. Traviès. *Le Mayerx* statue, 1832. Papier mâché, wood, leather, metal, paint, molding. Bourges, Musée des Arts décoratifs.

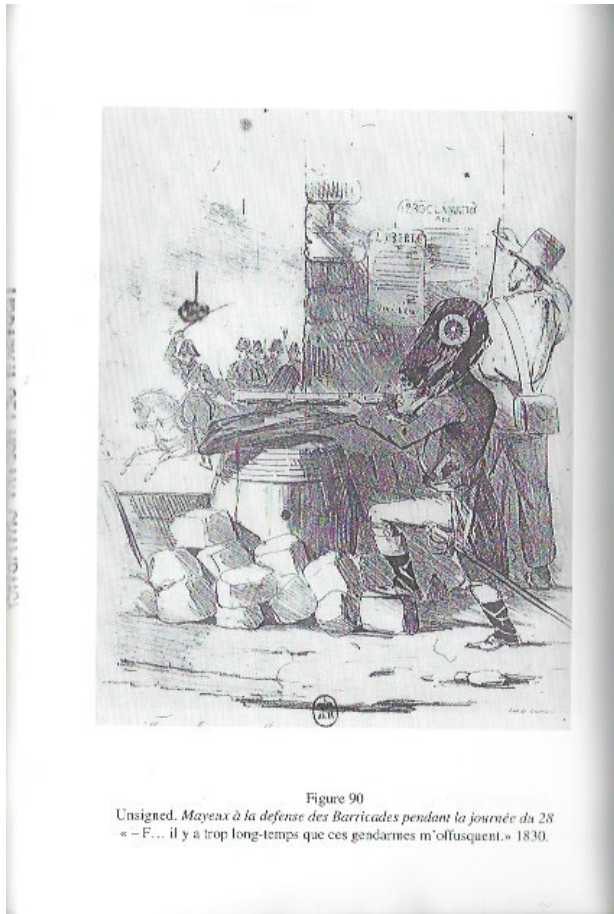


Figure 90
Unsigned. *Mayeux à la défense des Barricades pendant la journée du 28*
« - F... il y a trop long-temps que ces gendarmes m'offusquent. » 1830.

Figure 6. Unsigned. *Mayeux à la défense des Barricades pendant la journée du 28*. <<F... il y a trop long-temps que ces gendarmes m'offusquent>> “Fuck it, these gendarmes have offended me for too long.” 1830. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Collection Vinck.



Figure 7. C.J. Traviès, <<D'aplomb, ...! et solide au poste tonnerre de D...!>> “Steady...! and solid at my post goddammit!” c.1830. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 102

Unsigned. « – Vous n'êtes pas grand, mon cher! » 1832.

Figure 8. Unsigned, <<*Vous n'êtes pas grand, mon cher!*>> “You’re not great/tall, my dear!” 1832. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf 70a.

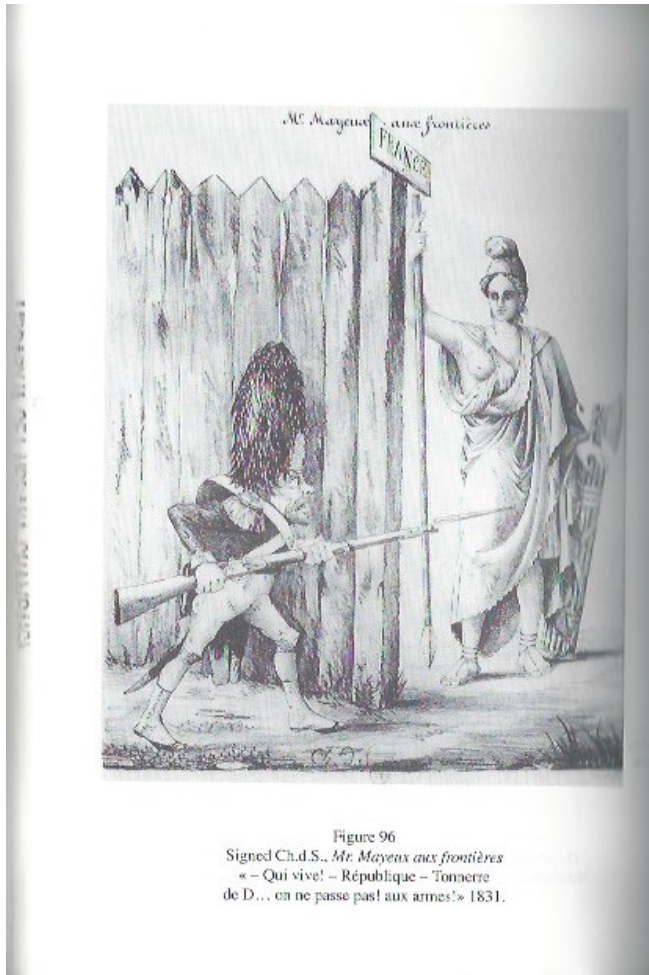


Figure 9. Signed Ch.d.S., *Mr. Mayeux aux frontières* <<*Qui vive! – République – Tonnerre de D... on ne passe pas! aux armes!*>> “Who goes there! –The Republic— Goddammit... You cannot pass! To arms!” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.



Figure 34
Hippolyte Robillard, «Au feu cochons d'artistes!... Au feu Canailles!...
Au feu nom de D... au feu gredins. Au feu!!!...» 1831.

Figure 10. Hippolyte Robillard, <<*Au feu cochons d'artistes!... Au feu Canailles!... Au feu nom de D... au feu gredins. Au feu!!!...*>> “Into the fire you filthy artists!... Into the fire scoundrels!... Into the goddamn fire rascals. Into the fire!!!!...” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.



Figure 35
Unsigned. «Ces b... d'artistes, ça me croit panade, comme le gouvernement,
mais n... de D... guerre pour guerre!» 1831.

Figure 11. Unsigned. <<*Ces b... d'artistes, ça me croit panade, comme le gouvernement; mais nom... de D... guerre pour guerre!*>> “Those artist bastards, they believe me to be ugly, like the government, but goddammit, I’ll fight fire with fire!” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52/53.



Figure 3

Unsigned, «Le Serg – de la caricature on peut se rendre maître. May. – vous mettez les verroux mais elle à la fenêtre» Undated (c. 1830).

Figure 12. Unsigned. <<*Le Serg – de la caricature on peut se rendre maître. May. – vous mettez les verroux mais elle à la fenêtre.*>> “Policeman – we can bring caricature under our control. Mayeux – you bolt the door but she is at the window.” Undated (c. 1830). Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.



Figure 13. J.J. Grandville, <<*Faites donc attention militaire!... il y a un homme devant vous! ...*" proteste M. Mahieu, indigné, et pour cause : un grenadier, occupé à lire les annonces affichées au mur, ne voyant pas ce pygmée, ne se soulage-t-il pas inconsidérément, l'arrosant de façon peu agréable!>>

"Hey, be careful soldier!... there is a man before you!... protested M. Mahieu, outraged, and rightly so: a grenadier, busy reading the ads posted on the wall, does not see this pygmy. He should not relieve himself thoughtlessly, watering him in such an unpleasant way, should he?" 1830. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 14. Image from *Les Douze journées erotiques de Mayeux*. <<Tonnerre de D... je les foutrai toutes trou!!>> "Goddamn, I will fuck all these holes!!" Paris, 1830. Lithograph. Christie's.

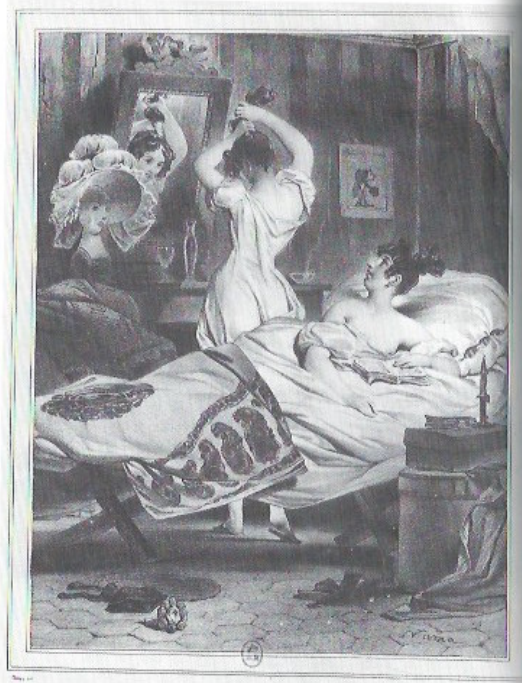


Figure 61
Pierre Numa Bassaget (called Numa).
Les Modistes no. 1, Le lever des modistes. 1831.

Figure 15. Pierre Numa Bassaget, *Les Modistes no. 1, Le lever des modistes*. 1831.
Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Dc. 229.

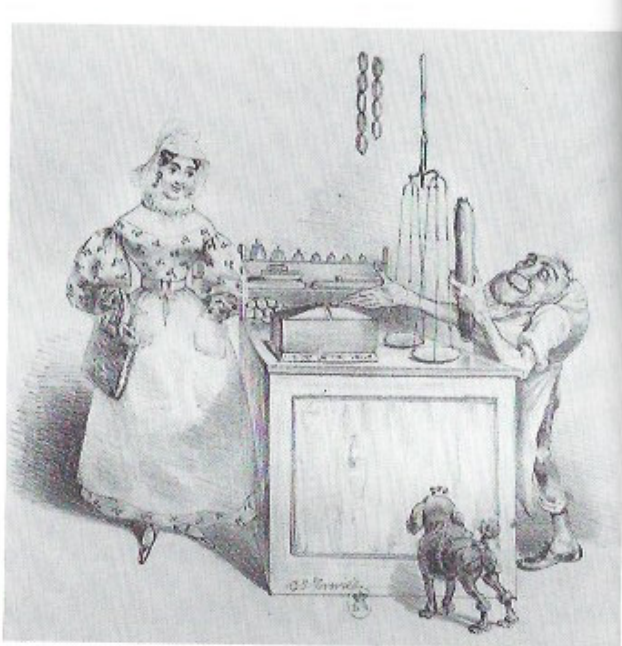


Figure 57

C. J. Traviès, *Facéties de Mr. Mayeux no. 30, Mayeux Charcutier*
«— Qu'en dites vous, la petite chatte, est-y beau celui là? » 1831.

Figure 16. C. J. Traviès, *Facéties de M. Mayeux no. 30, Mayeux Charcutier*. <<Qu'en dites vous, la petite chatte, est-y beau celui là?>> “What do you say, little pussycat, isn't this one here handsome?” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf 53.



Figure 17. Michel Delaporte, *M. Mayeux Valsant*. <<Ah! nom de D... quelle délicateuse position.>> “Oh! Damn, what a delightful position to be in!” c. 1830. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 18. Signed P.Z. *Une Galanterie de Mr. Mayeux*. <<Oh fortuné Mayeux, quelles belles couleurs, que des charmes qui s'offrent à ma vue, nom de Dieu!!>> “Oh fortunate Mayeux, what beautiful colors, so many charms that offer themselves to my sight, goddamn!” Lithograph. 1831. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 52.



Figure 19. Nicolas Lancret, *Fastening the Skate*, c. 1741. Oil on canvas. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

LES POIRES,

Faites à la cour d'assises de Paris par le directeur de la CARICATURE.

Vendues pour payer les 6,000 fr. d'amende du journal le *Charivari*.

Sur la demande d'un grand nombre d'abonnés des départements, nous donnons aujourd'hui dans le *Charivari* les poires qui servirent à notre défense, dans l'affaire où la *Caricature* fut condamnée à six mois de prison et 2,000 fr. d'amende.

Si, pour reconnaître le monarque dans une caricature, vous n'attendez pas qu'il soit désigné autrement que par la ressemblance, vous tombez dans l'absurde. Voyez ces croquis informes, auxquels j'aurais peut-être dû borner ma défense :



Ce croquis ressemble à Louis-Philippe, vous condamnerez donc ?



Alors il faudra condamner celui-ci, qui ressemble au premier.



Puis condamner cet autre, qui ressemble au second.



Et enfin, si vous êtes conséquents, vous ne sauriez absoudre cette poire, qui ressemble aux croquis précédents.

Ainsi, pour une poire, pour une briochette, et pour toutes les têtes grotesques dans lesquelles le hasard ou la malice aura placé cette triste ressemblance, vous pourrez infliger à l'auteur cinq ans de prison et cinq mille francs d'amende!!
Avez, Messieurs, que c'est là une singulière liberté de la presse!!

Figure 20. Charles V, *Les Poires* from *Le Charivari*, 1832. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 21. C.J. Traviès, *Le Diable emporte les fruits*. <<Adam nous a perdu (sic) par la pomme et Laffayette (sic) par la poire.>> “Adam screwed us over with the apple and Laffayette (sic) with the pear.” c. 1833. Colored lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



« Ah ! scélérate de poire pourquoi n'es-tu pas une vérité ! »

Figure 22. C.J. Traviès, <<Ah scélérate de poire pourquoi n'est-tu pas une vérité.>>
“Oh wicked pear, why are you not the real one/truthful?” 1832. Colored lithograph. Paris,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 23. Michel Delaporte, <<Le Poiricide et le... ou comme on va de fil en aiguille.>> “The ‘poiricide’ and the ... or where the needle is threaded/where one thing leads to another.” Lithograph. 1832. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 24. C.J. Traviès, *Facéties de M. Mayeux* no. 33. <<Je suis le poiricide Mayeux, t... de D...! vends moi ton éventaire que je le f... à l'eau!!!>> “I am the poiricide Mayeux, goddammit! Sell me your entire stock so I can fucking destroy it!” 1832. Colored lithograph. The British Museum.



Figure 121

Unsigned. *Histoire complete (sic) de Mr. Mayeux no. 35*
« - Tonnerre de D... comme je lui ressemble. » 1831.

Figure 25. Unsigned. *Histoire complete (sic) de Mr. Mayeux no. 35*. <<-Tonnerre de D... comme je lui ressemble.>> "Goddamn! I look just like him." 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.

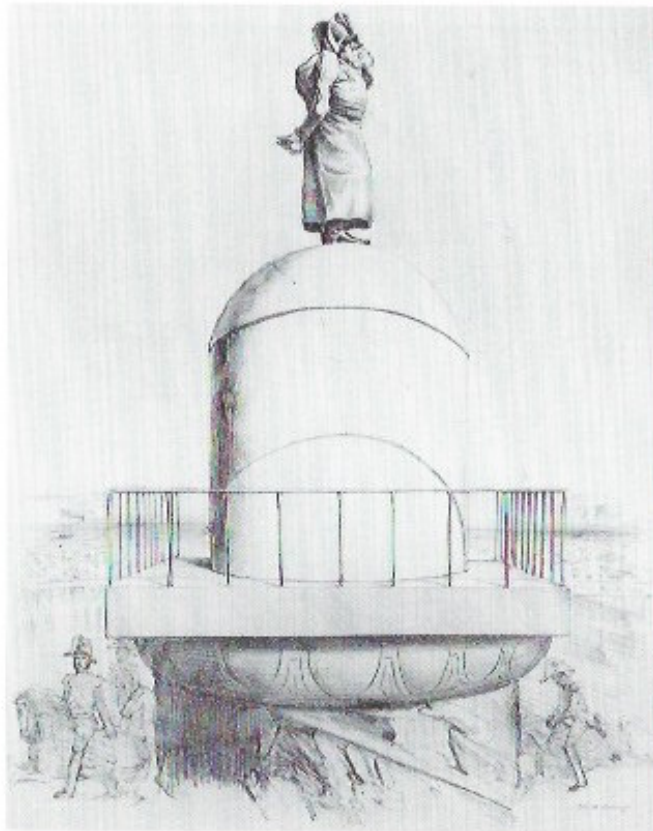


Figure 122
Unsigned. No. 14 of a series chez Fonrouge
« - Tonnerre de D...! j'peux bien rester ici, je vois tant de gens
qui ne sont pas à leur place.» 1831.

Figure 26. Unsigned. No. 14 of a series chez Fonrouge. <<-*Tonnerre de D...! j'peux bien rester ici, je vois tant des gens qui ne sont pas à leur place.*>> “Goddamn! I’d really like to stay here. I see so many people who are not in their place.” 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.

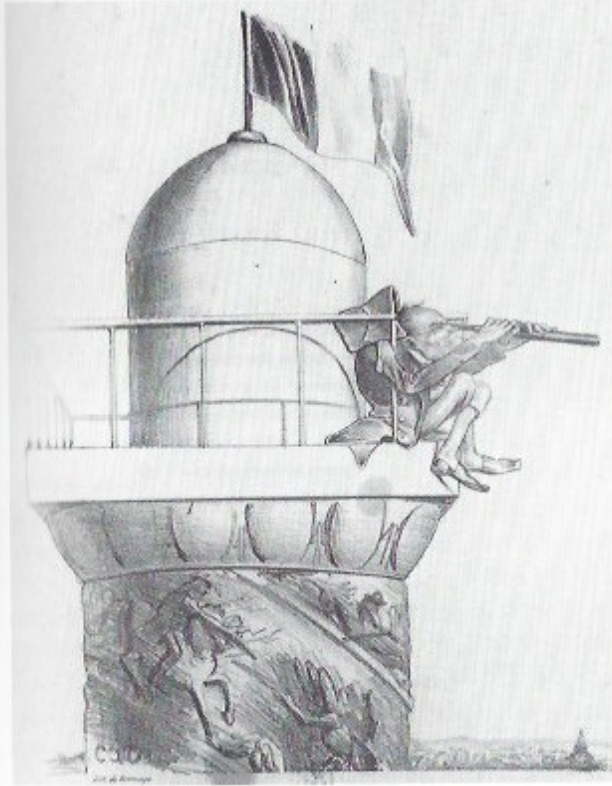


Figure 123

C. J. Traviès, No. 2 of a series chez Fonrouge

« - Tonnerre de D... j'crois qu'ils se f... de moi, avec leur République,
je ne la vois pas. » 1831.

Figure 27. C.J. Traviès, No. 2 of a series chez Fonrouge. <<- *Tonnerre de D... j'crois qu'ils se f... de moi, avec leur République, je ne la vois pas.*>> "Goddammit! I think they're fucking with me with their Republic. I don't see it." 1831. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf. 53.



Figure 99
Signed Em1, *Maladie de Françoise Liberté*
Mayeux docteur « - elle est bougrement malade T... de D... »
Undated (ca. 1830).

Figure 28. Signed Em1, *Maladie de Françoise Liberté*. <<Mayeux docteur ‘-elle est bougrement malade T... de D...’>> “Blast it all, she is really fucking sick!” c. 1830. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 124
 C. J. Traviès, *Mayeux et Robert Macaire no. 1*
 – *Entrevue de deux grands hommes*, 1839.
 For full caption, see the illustration list, above.

Figure 29. C. J. Traviès, *Mayeux et Robert Macaire no. 1—Entrevue de deux grands hommes*. <<C’est vrai, mon vieux, je vous ai dégommé pourtant il y avait du bon dans votre système: vous vous adressiez au beau sexe... polisson!... moi je suis voué à l’industrie, mais la société n’est pas raisonnable! croiriez-vous qu’on me fait des difficultés? devenez mon auxiliaire. Le niguard de Bertrand vous servira de page. Parcourez les boudoirs: emparez vous des femmes!... j’ai mon plan?>> “It’s true, my old man, I have excelled over you, yet there was some good in your system: you were addressing the fairer sex... naughty!... I am dedicated to industry, but society is not reasonable! Would you believe that that makes trouble for me? Become my assistant. The idiot Bertrand will serve as your page. Browse through the boudoirs: I’ll grab you some women!... Do we have a plan?” 1839. Lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Dc. 200.