

Leseprobe

Flaneurs & Idlers

Louis Huart: *Physiologie du flaneur* (1841)

&

Albert Smith: *The Natural History of the Idler
upon Town* (1848)

Introduced and edited by
Margaret A. Rose

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John Leech, "The gentleman who has been to Paris,"; from Albert Smith, "Physiology of the London Idler" III: "The Haunts of the Regent Street Lounger", in *Punch* 1842, vol. 3, p. 14.

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I. Flâneurs & Idlers: a ‘panoramic’ overview

Margaret A. Rose

1. Introduction.

According to Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) in his *La fille aux yeux d’or* (“The girl with the golden eyes”) of 1835, flâneurs were the only really happy people in Paris.¹ Balzac’s claim is echoed in Louis Huart’s comic *Physiologie du flaneur* of May 1841, in which Huart (1813-1865) writes that the flâneur is the only happy person existing on earth (“le seul homme heureux qui existe sur la terre”).² Balzac’s statement on the flâneur had followed one in his “physiology of marriage” of 1826 on *flânerie* as a “science”³ as well as the publication by others of humorous works on the flâneur, such as the articles “Le flâneur parisien” and “Le flâneur de province”, which were

¹ See Balzac, *l’Histoire des Treize*, III. *La fille aux yeux d’or* of 1835 in Balzac, *Etudes de mœurs: Scènes de la vie parisienne, La comédie humaine*, vol. 5, Paris 1977, p. 1053: “[...] des flâneurs, les seuls gens réellement heureux à Paris”. Karlheinz Stierle suggests in his essay “Baudelaires ‘Tableaux parisiens’ und die Tradition des ‘tableau de Paris’”, in *Poetica*, vol. 6/3, July 1974, pp. 285-322, p. 290 that earlier references to the flâneur as observer in Pierre Jouhard’s *Paris dans le dix-neuvième siècle ou Réflexions d’un observateur*, Paris 1809 were more negative than those of later works such as Aldeguier’s *Le Flâneur, ou mon voyage à Paris* of circa 1825. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, however, notes in her essay “The Flâneur on and off the Streets of Paris” (in *The Flâneur*, ed. Tester 1994, pp. 22–42; pp. 26 f.) how the 32-page pamphlet *Le flâneur au salon ou M. Bon-Homme: examen joyeux des tableaux, mêlé de vaudevilles* of 1806 has been overlooked. (Comedies about the flâneur were also staged in 1825 ff.)

² See Louis Huart, *Physiologie du flaneur*, Paris 1841, p. 82 and Ferguson *op. cit.*, p. 29, and see also Huart 1841, p. 125 on the characteristics of the flâneur of “gaiety, reflexion, observation, originality, and mobility”.

³ See Balzac, *Physiologie du mariage* in Balzac, *La comédie humaine*, vol. 11, Paris 1980, p. 930 (Méditation III. De la femme honnête): “Flâner est une science”. Auguste de Lacroix, “Le flâneur”, in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, ed. L. Curmer, vol. 3, Paris 1841, pp. 65–72; p. 69 also mentions Balzac’s *La physiologie du mariage* of 1826.

published in *Figaro* on the 13th and 14th of November 1831 respectively,⁴ and the essay “Le flâneur à Paris” “by a flâneur”, which was published in volume 6 of *Paris, ou le Livre des Cent-et-un* in 1832.⁵

In the first of the aforementioned *Figaro* articles (“Le flâneur parisien” of November 13, 1831) the flâneur is described as one who visits all those events he can observe for free as a *spectacle gratis*.⁶ In addition to this he is said to use the street as his *salon* or sitting room and its shop window displays of jewellery and engravings as his “furniture”:⁷

La rue est le salon du flâneur. Ses meubles sont les montres de bijoutiers, les étalages de marchands de gravures, enfin toutes l'exubérance des murs de Paris.

For the poet, journalist and friend of Balzac,⁸ Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), writing from Paris in December 1841 in articles later published in his *Lutezia* of 1854, the flâneur was not only one who could be used to report on the latest window displays of engravings and lithographs, but a figure (like Heine himself), who was able to foresee the tragedy that might follow the “comedy” of bourgeois life.⁹

⁴ See the article “Le flâneur parisien” in *Figaro*, 13 November, 1831, p. 2 and “Le flâneur de province”, in *Figaro*, 14 November, 1831, pp. 1-2.

⁵ See “Le flâneur à Paris”, in *Paris, ou le Livre des Cent-et-un*, Paris 1831-34; vol. 6, 1832, pp. 95-110.

⁶ See *Figaro*, November 13, 1831, p. 2: “Tout leur est bon: les polichinelles, les cours de philosophie, la Morgue, la chambre des députés, le jeu du tonneau, les saint-simoniens”.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Balzac’s works also contain several references to flânerie and the flâneur after 1841: see, for example, his “La cousine Bette” of 1846 and “Le cousin Pons” of 1847.

⁹ See Heine’s *Lutezia*, Article 37 of December 11, 1841 on the “gewöhnlicher Flaneur” and Rose, “Der Kunstkritiker als Flaneur. Heines Betrachtungen über die bildende Kunst in *Lutezia*”, in *Zu Heinrich Heines Spätwerk „Lutezia“*. *Kunstcharakter und europäischer Kontext*, ed. Arnold Pistiak & Julia Rintz, Berlin 2007, pp. 117-147. Heine had earlier used the verb “flanieren” in his *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* of 1834 to refer to the Paris “Dandy” (see *Heinrich Heines Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Dr. Ernst Elster, Leipzig & Wien, 1887-1890 [hence-

To Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), writing in his *Peintre de la vie moderne* (*Painter of modern life*) of 1859-1860 (a work published first in *Figaro* towards the end of 1863, over thirty years after the appearance of the ironic “Le flâneur parisien”), the flâneur could be many things: an observer of the apparently trivial details of life as well as an artist like Constantin Guys, who was able to merge with and depict such details.¹⁰ Later, in 1929 – as in a turn full-circle of the panoramas so beloved of the 19th century flâneur –, Franz Hessel (1880-1941),¹¹ the translator with Walter Benjamin of Proust, but also (like Benjamin) of Balzac, will represent the flâneur as a figure who can teach modern (20th century) citizens how once again to remember and appreciate their cities and how (like Balzac’s flâneur of 1835) to be happy.¹² In yet another beginning for the flâneur as the source of new fictional as well as theoretical works, Hessel’s friend Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) will then reinterpret the flâneur of 19th century Paris as a complex and problematical figure, whose life

forth referred to as Elster], vol. 4, p. 175 & *Heinrich Heine Sämtliche Werke*, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. Manfred Windfuhr, Düsseldorf 1973-1997 [henceforth DHA] vol. 8/1, p. 21), and the composite “umherflanieren” in his *Ludwig Börne* of 1840 to ironically describe a walk in Paris with Baron James Rothschild as “ganz famillionär” (see Elster 7, p. 34 & DHA 11, p. 28), but in 1841 uses the *Flaneur* himself as a persona to comment on both the light and dark sides of Paris. Balzac too can be said to have developed the figure of the flâneur into one associated with the darker as well as the lighter sides of the city in works of the 1840s; see also John Rignall, *Realist Fiction and the Strolling Spectator*, London & New York, 1992; Chapter 4, “Balzac. The alienated gaze”, pp. 37 ff.

¹⁰ See also our Section 6 on the connections between Guys, Leech and the London flâneur or “idler” of the 1840s.

¹¹ See *Franz Hessel. Sämtliche Werke: in fünf Bänden*, ed. Hartmut Vollmer & Bernd Witte, Oldenburg 1999. See also (on Hessel) Rüdiger Severin, *Spuren des Flaneurs in deutschsprachiger Prosa*, Frankfurt am Main, Bern & New York, 1988, Eckhardt Köhn, *Straßenrausch – Flanerie und kleine Form. Versuch zur Literaturgeschichte des Flaneurs bis 1933*, Berlin 1989, the essays in the volume „Genieße froh, was du nicht hast.“ *Der Flaneur Franz Hessel*, ed. Michael Opitz & Jörg Plath, Würzburg 1997, Harald Neumeyer, *Der Flaneur. Konzeptionen der Moderne*, Würzburg 1999 and Anke Gleber *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flânerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture*, Princeton, 1999.

¹² See Franz Hessel, *Spazieren in Berlin*, Leipzig & Wien 1929.

on the streets with its advertisements, commodities and crowds of consumers shows him to have been on the brink of being overwhelmed by darker aspects of the modern metropolis.¹³

2. Louis Huart's "*Physiologie du flâneur*" of 1841.

Although the majority of Benjamin's comments on the flâneur were made in the context of his analysis of Baudelaire and his time, they had also been based on theories of alienation and reification developed after the flâneur's appearance in the early 19th century, and may be said (for that as well as other reasons) to have failed to do full justice to the satiric and ironic character of the essays and *physiologies* in which the flâneur had first featured.¹⁴

One of the most significant of these, Louis Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur*, had appeared in Paris on May 29, 1841 in the popular and cheap 1-franc edition that was to make its figure of the flâneur so well known to readers and writers of the 19th century.¹⁵ Apart from writing the texts for several ironic "Physiologies",¹⁶ Louis Huart (born January 1, 1813, died December 10, 1865) was from 1835 onwards a contributor to the Paris *Charivari*. A prolific as well as a humorous author,¹⁷ Huart also wrote the text of Jean-Pierre Dantan's *Musée Dantan. Galerie des charges et croquis des célé-*

¹³ See Walter Benjamin, "Der Flâneur" in "Das Paris des Second Empire bei Baudelaire", in *Charles Baudelaire. Ein Lyriker im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus* in *Walter Benjamin. Gesammelte Schriften*, (henceforth cited as "Benjamin GS"), ed. Rolf Tiedemann & Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main 1974, vol. I.2, pp. 537 ff. and the *Passagen-Werk* "Exposé" of 1935, "Paris, die Hauptstadt des XIX. Jahrhunderts", in Benjamin GS, V.1, p. 54.

¹⁴ See also our Section 5 on Benjamin and the Parisian flâneur.

¹⁵ Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* was republished in 1850 and 1869. Köhn 1989, p. 33 (see also his note to Claude Pichois, "Le succès des 'Physiologies'", in *Etudes de presse, nouvelle série*, vol. IX, No. 17, 1957, pp. 59-66; p. 60) notes that 10,000 copies were initially printed of its first edition in 1841 and that it was one of the most successful examples of its genre.

¹⁶ See also A. Lhéritier, "Les Physiologies", in the journal *Etudes de presse, nouvelle série*, vol. IX, No. 17, 1957, pp. 1-58.

¹⁷ See also the parody *Le Puff*, written by Carmouche, Huart & Varin in 1838, in which figures such as "Madame La Blague" appear.

brités de l'époque, avec texte explicatif et biographique of 1839¹⁸ and captions for Honoré Daumier's *Les Cent-et-un Robert Macaire*. Daumier's work (also of 1839) was based on ideas and texts by Philipon and published by Philipon's brother-in-law Gabriel Aubert (1789-1847), the publisher of *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* as well as of Huart's (and others') comic *physiologies*.¹⁹ In addition to his satirical works, Louis Huart wrote on Heine and other Germans living in Paris in an essay of 1844,²⁰ which was republished in the volume *Les étrangers à Paris*.²¹

Huart's *Physiologie du flaneur* of 29 May 1841 was a work illustrated by M.-A. [Menu] Alophe (1812-1883), Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), and Théodore Maurisset (fl. 1834-1859).²² Like other of Huart's "physiologies",²³ it parodied the style of natural philosophers²⁴ and (like Dr. Johnson in *The Idler*²⁵) of philosophers seeking

¹⁸ See also Huart 1841, p. 96 on Dantan and Janet Seligman, *Figures of Fun. The caricature-statuettes of Jeanne-Pierre Dantan*, London, New York, Toronto, 1957, pp. 91-92 on Huart and Dantan.

¹⁹ See H. Daumier, *Les Cent-et-un Robert Macaire*, with texts by Maurice Alhoy and Louis Huart, Paris 1839 and Huart 1841, p. 29. Aubert was also the publisher of and Huart a contributor to *Le Comic Almanack. Keepsake comique* of 1842 and 1843, the title of which echoes that of *The Comic Almanack* of 1835-1853, which was contributed to by Albert Smith.

²⁰ See Lucienne Netter, *Heine et la peinture de la civilisation parisienne. 1840-1848*, Frankfurt am Main 1980, pp. 263 and 384 on Huart's contribution to *Le Compilateur* No. 33 of June 15, 1844.

²¹ Huart wrote of Heine in the essay "L'Allemand" (see *Les étrangers à Paris*, Paris [1844], ed. Louis Desnoyers, ill. Gavarni, Th. Frère, H. Emy, Th. Guérin, & Ed Frère, pp. 163-180; pp. 171 f.): "La littérature allemande a depuis douze ans un représentant à Paris: – c'est Henri Heine, le célèbre poète et romancier, qui, par suite de ses opinions politiques, aime beaucoup mieux habiter la France que sa patrie".

²² There is also a reference to the caricatures of Daumier and Gavarni in Huart's *Physiologie du flaneur* of 1841, p. 96.

²³ See those listed in the Bibliography.

²⁴ See Severin, p. 7 and see also Hans-Rüdiger van Biesbrock, *Die literarische Mode der Physiologien in Frankreich, 1840-1842*, Frankfurt am Main 1978, pp. 44 ff. on the medical physiologies of the early 1800s, and pp. 349 ff. on the parody of such works in the *physiologies* of the 1840s. Ludwig Börne (1786-1837) had also written a satiric "natural history of the post" in 1821 in his ironically entitled "Monographie der deutschen Postschnecke.

to give a universal definition of man.²⁶ Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* of May 1841 begins, moreover, with an illustration showing a group of people looking into the window of the publisher of the illustrations of Huart's work, *Aubert et Compagnie*,²⁷ which ironically appears to put ourselves as readers of Huart's work into the position of flâneurs observing flâneurs observing themselves.²⁸



Louis Huart, *Physiologie du flâneur*, ill. Alophe, Daumier & Maurisset, Paris 1841, Chapter I, p. 5. (Compare also P.N. Bergeret's *Les Mursards de la rue du Coq* of circa 1805.)

While this sketch also functions as an advertisement for Huart's publisher,²⁹ it reflects ironically, in a 'meta-artistic' manner, on the

Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte der Mollusken und Testaceen" ("Monograph on the German Post-snail. A contribution to the natural history of the molluscs and testaceans"); see *Ludwig Börnes gesammelte Schriften* of 1899, vol. 1, pp. 50-70.

²⁵ See Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), *The Idler*, No. 1 of 15.4.1758 in *The Idler* in 2 volumes, London 1761, pp. 2-3. (Johnson had also published *The Rambler* in 1750-1752.)

²⁶ See Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur*, Chapter 1, which starts p. 5.

²⁷ *Aubert et Compagnie* (Passage Véro-Dodat 2, Paris) provided the illustrations for approximately 36 *physiologies* as well as for other comic works and Aubert was also proprietor of the *Galerie Véro-Dodat* (see also Antoinette Huon, "Charles Philipon et la maison Aubert [1829-1862]", in *Etudes de presse*, nouvelle série, vol. IX, No. 17, 1957, pp. 67-76).

²⁸ See also Huart, p. 114 on how a flâneur (so often the 'observer in the picture') might end up looking at d'Aubert's caricatures for hours. One other ironic aspect of the caricatures of the flâneur observing the caricatures in the window of Huart's publisher in Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* of 1841 is that the self-reflective character of such ironic sketches is 'mirrored' in the image of the self-reflecting arcade shop window.

²⁹ The first illustration to Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* shows specifically flâneur-like figures, but was also used in some other of the *physiologies* produced by Aubert. (See also Richard Sieburth, "Same Difference: The French Physiologies, 1840-1842", in Norman Cantor [ed.], *Notebooks in Cultural Analysis*, vol. 1, Durham, N.C. 1984, pp. 163-200; p. 178.)

irony and artifice used to construct the figure of the flâneur, who is both the subject of Huart's tract and of the caricatures published in it and an ironic projection of the reader of the work in which he appears.³⁰ The group standing in front of Aubert's windows may, in addition, be taken to be symbolic of mankind itself, for not only does the opening illustration to Huart's work show a gathering of citizens of both genders³¹ and of various ages and classes, but Huart's text begins, as already indicated, with a reflection on the various philosophic definitions of man as representative of human nature. This starts with a list of philosophers who had allegedly attempted such a task, including the ancient philosophers Aristotle, Plato and Socrates as well as the recently deceased de Bonald and still living philosopher Victor Cousin. It concludes, moreover, with its own ironic definition of man as a flâneur – "*un animal à deux pieds, sans plumes, à paletot, fumant et flanant*"³² – as "an animal with two legs, without feathers, in a thick coat, smoking and

³⁰ See also the end of Huart's work in which he refers ironically to its cheapness and affordability for the flâneur. Meta-humour in the form of ironic parody and self-parody is characteristic of several other *physiologies* (see too Huart's *Physiologie de la grisette*, pp. 86 f.). An ironic *Physiologie des physiologies*, illustrated with 9 vignettes by Emy was also published by Desloges (the other publisher of *physiologies* at that time) on 11 September 1841. (And see Philipon's ironic comments on his brother-in-law Aubert's *physiologies* in his *Physiologie du floueur*, ill. Daumier, Lorentz, Ch. Vernier & Trimolet, published by Aubert in Paris on April 30th, 1842.) Smith's *Natural History of the Idler upon Town* of 1848 continues the tradition with a reference (on Smith 1848, pp. 43 f.) to the "do-nothing" idler reading about himself in Smith's work in a shop window. (Smith's idler also likes being looked at and looking at himself: see Smith, pp. 23 & 34.)

³¹ It has been suggested that Huart did not consider females to be flâneurs (see also Huart, p. 115, where women are said to understand idling only when it concerns fashion). It is clear, however, from Huart's opening chapter that there at least he is including – if also ironically – all mankind in his 'physiological' definition of man as flâneur. Later, in distinguishing the "true" flâneur from other idlers (see e.g. Huart, pp. 21 ff.), he will also speak, if again with some irony, of the "petites flaneries de famille".

³² See Huart's *Physiologie du flaneur*, p. 8. (This is also an ironic extension of the definitions on p. 6.)

flâneuring”.³³ Huart parodies here not just natural histories of animals and the “physiognomies”, which scientific minds of the 19th century following Lavater and others had made popular in the early 1800s,³⁴ but philosophic attempts to define man in general by one or other of his apparently in-born characteristics, which had at the same time suppressed or missed other important as well as apparently not so important traits.³⁵ Having ironically reduced man to the characteristics of the flâneur – of smoking and walking out of doors in his coat – Huart sets about to categorise the various species and sub-species of that character as the several different ‘species’ of *flâneurs*, *badauds* and *musards* that might be found in the streets and *passages* (arcades) of Paris. Occasionally the distinctions between these various types appear tenuous and to break down, but they will generally allow Huart to make a variety of humorous

³³ There is no word commonly used in English for the adverb *flânant* that is strictly equivalent to it. The *OED* (the *Oxford English Dictionary*), 2nd Edition, Oxford 1989, vol. V, p. 1003 defines the verbs “flane”, “flâne” or “flané” as “to saunter” and the noun “flânerie” as “idling”. “Idling”, “strolling” or “sauntering” could be used to translate *flânant* into English, although with some loss of its connection to the *flâneur*. In German, *flânant* has been translated as “flanierend”. The verb “begaffen” is used by Heine in his *Lutezia* (see article 37 of 11 December 1841) and the word “angaffend” in the account of London’s Cheapside in his *Englische Fragmente* of 1828, in which he describes himself as a *badaud*-like (“angaffend”) observer of its wares, although without mention of either the *badaud* or the *flâneur*. “Bummler” (from “bummeln”) was sometimes used to describe the *flâneur* in mid-19th century Germany, but also developed a more political meaning after the revolutions of 1848; see also Köhn, pp. 87 ff.

³⁴ Huart’s *Physiologie du flâneur* even appears together with an advertisement for a “new translation” of Lavater’s *La Physiognomie*.

³⁵ None of the philosophers named by Huart in his ironic definition of man as a *flâneur* (including the Hegelian Victor Cousin [1792-1867]) are taken so seriously, that they might, as in Benjamin’s uses of post-Hegelian Marxian philosophy in his analyses of the flâneur as an alienated figure, be taken to represent any serious key to an understanding of the flâneur and his activities. Rather they are listed ironically, as thinkers whose more serious definitions of man have missed recognising a supposedly universal human love for *flânerie*.

comments on the places and inhabitants of his city by contrasting one type with the other.³⁶

The Parisian flâneur was already known as one who enjoyed visiting the sights *gratis*³⁷ and he continues to do so in Huart's work. When visiting museums the *badaud étranger* (the foreign *badaud* from 'out of town') is also shown to use an exhibition catalogue from the previous year, rather than purchase a new one, so that he becomes confused by the present exhibition and cannot find any of the works listed in his out-dated book.³⁸ Huart's visiting *badaud* is then shown counting the steps of the *Vendôme* column and demanding to see the inside of the by then unstable *Obélisque*, all sights which amusingly illustrate his mania for gaping at public monuments *gratis*.

Despite his comic misadventures (see, in particular, Chapter XII on "Les petits malheurs de la flanerie") Huart's flâneur is shown to be a free – if not too smart – spirit, who is never seriously or permanently distressed. Although the visiting *badaud* is also humorously described as having got a migraine from searching the museum for the works of art listed in his out-of-date catalogue³⁹ and to have been unpleasantly surprised by the attentions of an elephant looking (like himself) for "divertissement" in the *Jardin des Plantes*, he too survives to continue on to further comic adventures.⁴⁰ Even when admiring prints (possibly – ironically enough – of himself) in the window of *Aubert & Co.* whilst having his pocket picked,⁴¹ Huart's flâneur and his like remain (like Balzac's figure of 1835) cheerful. If

³⁶ Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* also mentions *le batteur de pavé* (see also Albert Smith's mention of this type in his *Natural History of the Gent* of 1847, p. 38), *le flâneur militaire* and *les gamins*. Lacroix distinguishes between the *flâneur* (stroller) and the *badaud* (gaper). Although the *musard* (dawdler or trifler) is described by Huart, p. 32 as a "faux" or false flâneur and on p. 123 as the "caricature" of the flâneur (the *musard* is also drawn in caricature in Huart's work), Huart had already described all mankind as flâneurs in his ironic definition of man at the beginning of his book.

³⁷ See, for example, the article "Le flâneur parisien", in the *Figaro* of 13 November 1831, p. 2.

³⁸ See Huart, pp. 41 f.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

a darker side is shown in Huart's work, it too is made the stuff of humour. The use of caricature in Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* of 1841 further emphasises the humorous nature of the *flâneur* and his adventures.

Although Benjamin would later dismiss such works as “harmless”, they were a popular and important part of the growth and development of the illustrated satire, which was to contribute in various ways to the critical analysis of the social and political life of the city by illustrators of the *physiologies* such as Daumier.⁴²

3. Heinrich Heine's Parisian *flâneur*

The German poet, essayist, journalist and émigré to Paris from 1831 to his death there in 1856, Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), first appears to have used the word “*flâneur*” in print in December 1841,⁴³ just some months after the appearance of Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* on May 29 of that year. Walter Benjamin was later to comment on how Heine too had seen a darker side to Paris,⁴⁴ but for Heine, like Huart, it is the folk standing next to the *flâneur*, rather than the *flâneur* himself, who represent the more sombre aspects of Parisian life. Heine writes of the idle (“*müßigen*”) *flâneur* observing the display of presents for the New Year in the 37th article, of December

⁴² Despite criticising the *physiologies* as “harmlos” (harmless), Benjamin comments in his essay “Eduard Fuchs, der Sammler und der Historiker” of 1935-37 in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* of October 1937 (see Benjamin GS, II.2, pp. 465-505) on how caricature was also a mass form of art.

⁴³ See also Rose, Berlin 2007.

⁴⁴ See Walter Benjamin on Heine on “das Grauensvolle” in Paris in *Über einige Motive bei Baudelaire* (VII) Benjamin GS, 1.2, p. 629 and V.1 (“Aufzeichnungen und Materialien zum *Passagen-Werk*”), “Konvolut M” [“Der Flâneur”], p. 565. Benjamin admitted to not knowing Heine's works as well as he would have liked and asked for further information on them from Werner Kraft (1896-1991) in a letter from Paris of January 30, 1936, in which he also mentions reading Heine's prose relating to “*französische Zustände*” (“French conditions”). (This appears to be a reference to Heine's *Französische Zustände* of the early 1830s, but could also refer to Heine's *Lutezia* reports from Paris of the early 1840s.) See *Walter Benjamin. Briefe*, ed. Gershom Scholem & Theodor W. Adorno, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1966, letter no. 274, pp. 704-706.

11, 1841, of his *Lutezia*, just prior to speaking of the “true” flâneur:⁴⁵

Jetzt, wo das Neujahr herannaht, der Tag der Geschenke, überbieten sich hier die Kaufmannsläden in den mannigfaltigsten Ausstellungen. Der Anblick derselben kann dem müßigen Flaneur den angenehmsten Zeitvertreib gewähren; ist sein Hirn nicht ganz leer, so steigen ihm auch manchmal Gedanken auf, wenn er hinter den blanken Spiegel-fenstern die bunte Fülle der ausgestellten Luxus- und Kunstsachen betrachtet und vielleicht auch einen Blick wirft auf das Publikum, das dort neben ihm steht. Die Gesichter dieses Publikums sind so häßlich ernsthaft und leidend, so ungeduldig und drohend, das sie einen unheimlichen Kontrast bilden mit den Gegenständen, die sie begaffen, und uns die Angst anwandelt, diese Menschen möchten einmal mit ihren geballten Fäusten plötzlich dreinschlagen und all das bunte, klirrende Spielzeug der vornehmen Welt mitsamt dieser vornehmen Welt selbst gar jämmerlich zertrümmern [...].

The idle flâneur is described by Heine as enjoying the exhibitions of goods put out for the New Year in the shops, but also (“if his brain is not quite empty”) as being concerned by the contrast of the luxuries on show with the impatient, threatening looks on the faces of those standing next to him, who ogle (“begaffen”) the goods before them with clenched fists, as if they might suddenly hit out at and destroy the bright toys of the world of rank and fashion as well as that world itself.

Heine then merges himself with the figure of the “true flâneur”,⁴⁶ standing still on the Boulevard Montmartre to observe a “lion of an

⁴⁵ See Elster 6, pp. 277 f. & DHA 13/1, p. 139.

⁴⁶ Heine speaks in the French text of December 11, 1841 (see DHA 13/1, pp. 269 ff.; p. 272) of “vrais flâneurs”. Huart, pp. 120 ff. also refers to the “vrai” or “true” flâneur in ironically claiming that “*le vrai flaneur*” (the true flâneur) does not know much Greek, Latin or science, but does know all the streets and boutiques of Paris. Previously Huart had also referred to the “*véritable flaneur*” as “vrai” in order to distinguish him (again with some irony) from other apparently idling part-time walkers (see Huart, Chapter 3, “On the people who are very falsely called flâneur”, p. 17 on “*cette classe éminemment oisive*”), and see also Huart, p. 63.

engraving” – a *Kupferstichlöwe*⁴⁷ – of the *Fishers* by Léopold Robert, which had been put on show by the ever expanding print firm of Goupil & Rittner:⁴⁸

[...] als echte Flaneurs wollen wir auf dem Boulevard Montmartre vor einem Bilde stehen bleiben, das dort die Herren Goupil und Rittner ausgestellt haben, und das gleichsam als der Kupferstichlöwe der Saison alle Blicke auf sich zieht. Es verdient in der That diese allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit: es sind die Fischer von Léopold Robert, die dieser Kupferstich darstellt.

Heine continues the reports published in his *Lutezia* of 1854 with several more accounts of engravings as well as with what appear to be ironic references to Huart’s “physiology” of the flâneur of 1841. In echoes of Huart’s satirical portrait of the *badaud étranger*, Heine compares, for example, a work in the Salon of 1843 (a depiction of William the Conqueror) to a figure of the *garde nationale*⁴⁹ and also seems to have confused pictures from one exhibition with those of another in describing other paintings in the *Salon* of that year.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See Elster 6, p. 280. Heine’s *Kupferstichlöwe* (DHA 13/1, p. 141: “Kupferstich-Löwe” & p. 272: “le lion des gravures”) can be seen as an ironic play on the term *Salonlöwe* (*salon-lion*), as well as on the *Salon* exhibitions of the time, but also evokes the ironic “zoology” of Parisian types in Louis Huart’s *Muséum parisien. Histoire physiologique pittoresque, philosophique et grotesque de toutes les bêtes curieuses de Paris et de la Banlieue*, Paris 1841, which had included a study of the “Paris lion”.

⁴⁸ The Parisian firm of Goupil & partners was so successful in the 1840s that it was able to open a branch in New York in 1846; see also William H. Gerdtts, “»Die Düsseldorf Galerie«. »Die Düsseldorf Gemäldesammlung bildete eine Ära der amerikanischen Kunst«, in *ViceVersa. Deutsche Maler in Amerika. Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland 1813-1913*, ed. Katharina and Gerhard Bott, München 1996, pp. 44–61.

⁴⁹ See Huart, pp. 41 f., where the *badaud étranger* finds the painting of a member of the National Guard when seeking the portrait of a countess listed in his old guidebook. (Huart had also satirised members of the National Guard in his *Physiologie du garde national* in February 1841 and himself been caricatured as one by Dantan; see Seligman, p. 137.)

⁵⁰ Heine speaks, for instance, of a *Flagellation* by Henri Lehmann in the Salon of 1843 that had in fact been exhibited in 1842; see also Rose, Berlin 2007.