The *Cercle des Hydropathes*:

A Critical Re-evaluation of a Liberal Culture in the Early Third Republic

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Alexandra Marie Trott, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

This thesis proposes an original interpretation of the *Cercle des Hydropathes* (1878-1880), a poetic, musical society active in Paris during the early Third Republic. It provides a focused critical study of the Hydropathe club, examining it in relation to its wider social, political, and cultural contexts, and is the first critical monograph of the collective.

Although largely neglected in art historical studies, there remains a firm, albeit fragmented basis of Hydropathe scholarship. In Chapter one I collate and compare the critical material in order to create dialogue that is currently lacking, and to help make the Hydropathe club a field of study in its own right. I also argue the case for distancing the Hydropathe club from *Fumisme*, offering a new perspective that serves as the basis for the rest of the thesis.

Chapter two takes a largely historicist perspective, and demonstrates the club's affiliation with liberal Republicanism. It thus examines the club as a cultural institution that functions in accordance with the Republican state, active in reimagining Parisian society according to liberal values.

The final two chapters look in greater detail at the two forms of the club's cultural discourse: its twice-weekly *séances*, and its journal, *l'Hydropathe.* In Chapter three my aim is not to perform a close literary analysis of the club's texts, but rather to address how these texts, and the club's ritualistic practice helped construct a united collective. I address the notion of agency at the club, arguing that it encouraged a passive form of consumption.

The final chapter examines *l'Hydropathe*, focusing closely on the use of caricature, while also considering the publication alongside contemporaneous innovations with the written word, and subsequent experiments with the journal as an autonomous cultural outlet.

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Introduction

'La société a réussi pleinement; on y dit des vers, on y chante, il y a du bon et du mauvais, en somme haute entreprise'.[1]

(The society is a complete success: here we recite verse, we sing, both good and bad, in sum a quality enterprise.)

Alphonse Allais

Part One
An Introduction to the *Cercle des Hydropathes*

Introduction

The *Cercle des hydropathes* was a 'literary, musical, philosophical and artistic' society of poets, artists and students, founded in Paris in 1878.[2] Soon after its first meeting in the autumn of that year, the club boasted over three-hundred members from its local community in the Latin Quarter.[3] Assembling in a private venue each Wednesday and Friday evening, it provided a platform for its members to perform original creative works, and offered a convivial, artistic environment in which to socialise. They called the meetings 'séances'; and opposed to the term 'soirée' that signified communal festivities or spectacle, a 'séance' denoted (in addition to a performance) an assembly of members to deliberate a

[1] Alphonse Allais, *Le Biographe*, vol. IV (1880), cited in Émile Goudeau, *Dix ans de bohème*, p.315.

[2] Edmond Deschaumes described the club as a 'Société littéraire, musicale, philosophique et artistique'. 'Chacun son tour', *L'Écho de Paris* (19 November 1884).

[3] The numbers of participants vary between different accounts, but all accounts agree that within the first few months the crowd at the séances reached into the hundreds.

given topic.[4] As such, their meetings were not just a gathering point for an organised event, but also a community of people assembling to discuss and further a given cause. For the *Cercle des Hydropathes*, this cause seemed to have little to do with the world outside its door. In contrast with the previous generation of artists that had been actively engaged with political dissidence against Napoleon III's Imperial regime, the Hydropathes explicitly rejected any association with France's socio-political causes.[5] To many commentators, the Hydropathe club had seemed to represent a moment of repose in the French arts; and the club's stated interest in little other than its own aesthetic concerns is considered a celebratory reflection of the new freedoms offered by the Third Republic. With the left having achieved considerable victories in the government and legislature by the late 1870s, the arts were emancipated and artists became free to focus on aesthetic pursuits, without the distraction of, and suppression from, censorship or political subjugation.

This thesis seeks to challenge this assumption. I question to what extent the club's 'cause' was truly dissociated from its socio-political environment, and aim to show how, despite its apparent transcendence into aesthetic inquiry, the club's practices reveal a manifestation of liberal republican ideals. It was a cultural institution that provided a means of engagement with a utopian vision of contemporary modernity; one that would be made possible by the emergent liberal republic. If the club's praise of individual creativity and rejection of academic hierarchy paralleled liberal republican values, then its overt rejection of contemporary socio-political issues nevertheless created a neutral meeting ground for the public. Instead of preaching contentious ideologies and recruiting politically-motivated individuals, the club promoted republicanism indirectly, such that its participants need not even acknowledge any political affiliation.

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[4] The term 'soirée' was commonly used to describe twentieth-century Dada spectacles, as well as general literary events and society gatherings.

[5] Gustave Courbet is a notable example, who was imprisoned and then forced into exile due to his part in the Paris Commune. Hydropathe caricaturist, André Gill, had also been an active and outspoken opponent against the Second Empire.

In examining the club's two main outlets, the séances, and the journal *l'Hydropathe*, I show how its collective ideals were reproduced through a consistent reinforcement of an 'ideal' Hydropathe – a persona that was affirmed through participation in these cultural outlets. Through undertaking this examination, I consider the inherent conflict in the foregrounding of individual freedoms through a club that encouraged – and in some cases necessitated – submission to the collective identity.

Émile Goudeau and the Latin Quarter

Émile Goudeau was the club's leading figure, having conceived the idea of the séances, where he was then elected president by the society's members. The club lasted until the summer of 1880, and the following year Goudeau co-founded the 'Chat Noir' cabaret with Rodolphe Salis, which was based upon the kind of community and performance that he first established with the Hydropathes. The Chat Noir's popularity with artists and public alike made it one of the most enduring symbols of 'bohemian' Montmartre of the 1880s and 90s. It established Goudeau as an influential entrepreneur and visionary, who took advantage of Montmartre's commercial, as much as its cultural, environment.[6]

In 1878, at the age of twenty nine, Goudeau was working as a bureaucrat at the Ministry of Finance, after having served as second lieutenant (*sous-lieutenant*) during the Franco-Prussian war.[7] In the period after the Second Empire, and once the Paris Commune had subsided, Goudeau built his reputation as a poet, and published his

[6] Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (John Hopkins University Press, 1999).

[7] Bertrand Millanvoye, *Anthologie des Poètes de Montmartre* (Paris: Librarie Paul Ollendorff, 1909), p.173.

'masterpiece' *Fleurs de bitume,* in 1878.[8] By this time Goudeau was so well-connected in Paris's literary and artistic networks, that he was described by Camille de Saint-Croix as 'prince of the youth' (*prince de la jeunesse*) of the Latin Quarter.[9] More recently, Goudeau's poetic talents have been considered less important, as his entry in the *Dictionnaire universel des littératures* might suggest: 'Bohème et marginalité littéraire; Cafés et dîners littéraires'.[10] Mary Shaw has also argued that even Goudeau's most famous poems of *Fleurs de bitume*, such as 'Le sentir de souvenir' (The Path of Memory), 'lack formal interest,' and are not 'particularly worth "saving"'.[11] However, newspaper reports in the 1870s suggest that his poetic oeuvre was admired in his time:

> With verve, a spirit and extraordinary brilliance, Mr Émile Goudeau spoke of contemporary poetry and gave the audience a taste of his next volume, the *Ironic Poems*. We are not deceived in thinking that this young and original poet will have equal success to his previous works; the reception at this reading by an elite audience that gathered to applaud this spiritual orator signals a sure guarantee.
>
> Readings of Bitume, Deux Voitures, Polonais, Lendemains de fête, Triolets de misère, gave many different styles, at times mad jokes, at times sobs of suffering and despair; with his lyre he successively inspired vibrations of diverse notes, but all equally brilliant and crowned with unanimous applause. Bravo! is our final word, as that was the last impression that was taken away by all from this wonderful evening.[12]

Goudeau's talent as a poet and orator was further confirmed in 1882, when the *Le Gaulois* described him as, 'the great success of the evening [....], with diction equal to his talent as a poet'.[13] *Le Gaulois* published a number of positive reviews of Goudeau's recitals, which is notable for the fact that the newspaper had been 'staunchly' opposed to the Commune and

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[8] Jean-Émile Bayard, *Latin Quarter Past and Present*, trans. by Percy Mitchell (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1926), p.51.

Émile Goudeau, *Fleurs de bitume, petite poèmes parisiens* (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1878). The title of the work makes an obvious reference to Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal*. For a discussion of Baudelaire's influence on Goudeau's poetry, see James F. Patty, 'From Les Fleurs du mal to Fleurs de bitume: Baudelaire and Émile Goudeau,' Romance Quarterly, vol.52, 2 (Spring 2005), 149-158.

[9] Camille de Sainte-Croix, 'Émile Goudeau', *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, 364 (Paris: L. Vanier, 1890), p.173.

[10] *Dictionnaire universel des littératures*, ed. Béatrice Didier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994).

[11] Mary Shaw, 'All or Nothing? The Literature of Montmartre,' in *The Spirit of Montmartre*, p.130.

[12] Reporter, 'Le Reportage,' *Le Gaulois*, 21 December 1880, p.2. See appendix A for the original French text.

[13] Un Domino, 'Nos Echos', *Le Gaulois,* 18 March 1882, p.1. 'le grand succès de la soirée [...], avec un talent de diction égal à son talent de poète'.

the subsequent calls for amnesty of exiled Communards.[14] Furthermore, just a few years earlier it had criticised the 'aggressive tone' and 'indecent subject matter' of Hydropathe Jean Richepin's radical poetry.[15] That Goudeau was accepted by the conservative press therefore suggests that the poet was not considered a radical exponent of the modern arts. A similar conclusion could also be made of the Hydropathe séances, whose convivial atmosphere was largely testament to Goudeau's amicable nature and capacity for leadership. As Léo Trezenik recalled: 'His southern charm, his unexpected and always amusing interventions, the liking he enjoyed everywhere, made him an amazing president, who sometimes had to thunder, but who was always listened to and was capable of calming storms'.[16] While Goudeau appears to have been admired by young artists attending the séances, he was at times arrogant and condescending. As Genova asserted: 'his attitude towards the hordes of often unruly young artists, poets and students can come across as paternalistic and patronizing, especially given that he himself often appears no more mature than the rest of the group he attempts to lead'.[17] That Goudeau published his extensive memoirs while still in his thirties would also attest to an air of conceitedness, yet it was this attitude and self-belief that made him a competent leader able to inspire and control the club meetings.[18]

These meetings brought together a large coterie of Parisian youth, which had previously been impossible to organise due to persistent restrictions on public assembly. In

[14] Its writers had also launched a 'surprisingly sympathetic' defence of Impressionist aesthetics, which had been accused of hiding 'coded references to political subversion'. See Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle: 1848-1871* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p.750.

[15] Richepin's *La Chanson des gueux* provoked a particularly strong reaction when it was published in 1876. See Howard Sutton, *The Life and Work of Jean Richepi*n, (Paris; Geneva: Ambilly-Annemase, 1961), p.13.

[16] Léo Trezenik, trans. by Mary Gluck, *Popular Bohemia,* p.114.

[17] Pamela Genova, *Symbolist Journals: A Culture of Correspondence*, (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002). p.64.

[18] Goudeau, *Dix ans de bohème*.

1834, the *loi du 10 avril* limited social assembly to a maximum of twenty people.[19] Cultural gatherings had invariably continued; and it was in the face of curfews, as well as long working hours, that mid-nineteenth-century Paris began to resemble the 'sleepless' modern city, as urban centres turned into 'nocturnal' havens.[20] Singing societies known as *Goguettes* contributed to the city's nightlife. The culture had long been popular with diverse social classes and, regardless of restrictions and curfews, numbered over five hundred in the mid-nineteenth century. Obligations imposed by the state nonetheless had an impact on the character of traditional cultural assemblies; and while the *Goguettes* had certain similarities with the Hydropathe séances – not least in their encouragement of communal singing – limited as they were to a select group of twenty, they were notably different in style, atmosphere and outreach.[21]

The *Cercle des Hydropathes* was created by the first generation to benefit from the relaxation of laws following the increasing influence of liberal republicanism at the end of the 1870s. The club was characterised by its popular appeal, and ironically the hire of its original venue stipulated a *minimum* of twenty men.[22] The proprietor's concerns about loss of revenue must quickly have been laid to rest since the group's numbers quickly 'snowballed'.[23] In comparison with the first meeting that comprised just a handful of the founding members' acquaintances (each agreed to bring along at least eight friends), after

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[19] Alan R.H. Baker, *Fraternity Among the Peasantry: Sociability and Voluntary Associations in the Loire Valley, 1815-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.37. The *loi du 10 avril* served to tighten article 291, originally established in 1810. It was not repealed until 1901, under article 21 of the *loi du 1ere juillet 1901.*

[20] David Garrioch, 'Sounds of the Modern City: The Soundscapes of Early Modern European Towns,' *Urban History*, no.1, vol.30, (May 2003), 5-25, p.23. The working day for those in the lower classes in Paris remained as long as sixteen hours, from 6am-10pm, which was partly due to the increasingly widespread availability of street lighting.

[21] Raymond de Casteras, *Les Hydropathes*, (Paris: Messein, 1945), p.35-6. The *goguettes* once again became more popular in the liberal Third Republic during the 1880s and 1890s, and Hydropathes artists such as Jules Jouy became well-known for their performances as *chansonniers* at the local Montmartre *goguettes.*

[22] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.185.

[23] Fernand Incres, cited in Casteras, *Les Hydropathes*, p.54. 'Ils ont grandi rapidement comme une boule de neige'.

only a few months the club boasted a weekly crowd of several hundred participants.[24] Such growth required several relocations, including the first, spontaneous move between two venues on the rue Jussieu, as the unexpectedly large turnout was unable to fit in the original hall.[25] By March 1879, continued growth necessitated another move to a larger room with a stage, which was thus 'more theatrical' than the previous halls.[26] Finally, they moved to a fourth venue, beneath a café on the corner of the Quai Saint-Michel. Despite the upheaval, it was at this final location that, as Jules Lévy described, the group passed its 'most wonderful times'.[27] Today, the first location on the rue Jussieu is a block of contemporary flats, the venue on the rue Cujas is a hotel, and it is testament to how inconsequential the club is perceived to be that neither address is recognised by a plaque; the likes of which – perhaps more obscurely – commemorate the opposite hotel as the place in which Gabriel Garcia Marquez wrote the novella, *El coronel no tiene quien le escriba* (No one Writes to the Colonel, 1961), and the one-time home of the Hungarian poet, Miklos Radoti.

The Latin Quarter, of course, still remains known as Paris's university district, which it has been, albeit with substantial changes, since the University of Paris was founded in the twelfth century.[28] Located here, the *Cercle des Hydropathes* grew in a neighbourhood also known for its links to the bohemian cultures epitomised by Henri Murger. Based on his own experiences living as an impoverished poet in Paris, Murger's seminal novel, *Scènes de la vie de bohème* (1851), immortalised the destitution of Paris's bohemians.[29] The *Cercle des Hydropathes* emerged with a self-awareness of these ancestral roots, and the free-spiritedness of the society's practices sold this romanticised image to its local population. Similar to the way that Montmartre cabarets in the 1880s and 90s offered an experience of its seedy

[24] Casteras, *Les Hydropathes*, p.55.

[25] Félicien Champsaur, 'Le Quartier Latin', *Le Figaro*, 8 October 1879.

[26] Lévy, *Les Hydropathes,* pp.7-8.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Alan D. Schrift, *Twentieth-Century French Philosophy: Key Themes and Thinkers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), p.189.

[29] Henri Murger, *Scènes de la vie de bohème,* (1851). The novel was the basis of Puccini's opera, *La bohème* (1896).

underworld, if only for a night – what Jerrold Seigel has called a 'Bohemia for the bourgeoisie' – the Hydropathes offered an escape to a world of youthful creativity to a middle-class youth otherwise preoccupied with studies in medicine or law.[30] During the 1870s, the area's large student population made for a lively social scene. The *Cercle des Hydropathes* was one of many cultural haunts including bars, cafés, bistros, and nightclubs that catered for their tastes. Another place of note was the *Bal Bullier* that was later frequented by the avant-garde, and canonised by Sonia Delaunay in the early twentieth century. In the 1880s it had already gained a reputation for its lively, 'bohemian' atmosphere.[31] Another important meeting place for influential Parisian writers was the *Sherry-Cobbler*, located on the boulevard Saint-Michel, and later on rue de Vaugirard. A number of Parnassians, including Catulle Mendès, Mallarmé and François Coppée frequented the cafe, along with what Golfier and Wagneur describe as the 'young generation' of poets, including Hydropathes Georges Lorin, Maurice Rollinat, Jean Richepin, Eugène Bataille (Sapeck), and Émile Goudeau.[32] Although the *Bal Bullier* and *Sherry Cobbler* were lively student hubs, what the Hydropathe club offered was different in a number of ways: in addition to having a transient, rather than a fixed location, it aimed to develop its members' artistic talents; and by offering membership to a club it united those members under a collective set of values. These three elements combined to form a cultural institution that was unique in its time: it was seemingly flexible and autonomous, and since it was not associated with any bureaucratic authority it was free to set its own agenda conforming to its own ideals.

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[30] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris,* p.240.

[31] For a contemporary account of the *Bal Bullier*, see André Chadourne, *Le Quartier Latin* (Paris: Dentu, 1884), p.73.

[32] Michel Golfier and Jean-Didier Wagneur, 'Introduction.' In Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.41. Although they are named the 'younger generation,' there was often little or no age difference between them and the Parnassians. This younger generation gathered at the cafe as followers of André Gill, who was instrumental in developing the Hydropathe séances. Donald Crafton, *Emile Cohl, Caricature and Film* (Princeton, N.J; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1990), p.221.

While artistic excellence was appreciated, it was not required, and the crowd who offered nothing other than patronage and their contribution to the general atmosphere was as important to the séances as the well-known performers. Despite Jules Lévy's account that the séances were far more controlled than was usually claimed, the need to keep landlords content through the sale of alcohol might suggest otherwise.[33] (It might also be notable that Goudeau was later known as a heavy drinker, dying in 1906 'ravaged' by alcoholism. The same fate also befell other Hydropathes including Jules Jouy.[34]) Furthermore, the earliest confrontation between the Hydropathes and the police was due to complaints about their noise levels, indicating that the meetings were indeed lively and noisy events.[35] Furthermore still, regardless of Goudeau's claims that the meetings were 'usually peaceful' affairs, and only occasionally tumultuous, it was nonetheless deemed necessary to officially ratify Goudeau's use of a bell to end a performance, and bring order to proceedings if required.[36] Goudeau evidently struggled to maintain the balance between the séances' artistic merit, and their function as a social club for the Parisian youth. This parallels the duality of Goudeau's own role, since on the one hand he was the leader of a free-spirited bohemianesque club, while on the other hand, an authoritarian figure that needed to control its members: 'I avoided any confusion between my ordinary role as a *bon viveur*, and as disciplinarian upon a tumultuous assembly, which imposed upon me a brittle manner, sometimes brutal, but absolutely necessary'.[37] Regardless of the self-assuredness of Goudeau's tone, discipline remained a persistent problem, and by the summer of 1880, it was the society's prominent artists as much as the anonymous crowd that provoked disorder. In June 1880, Hydropathe 'prankster' known as 'the illustrious Sapeck'

[33] Jules Lévy, *Les Hydropathes*, (Paris. Andre Delpeuch, 1928), p.8.

[34] Golfier and Wagneur, 'Introduction,' p. 75.

[35] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* pp.190-6.

[36] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.197.

[37] Ibid., pp.191-2. '...j'évitai toute confusion entre mon rôle ordinaire de bon vivant, et ce que la discipline nécessaire en une assemblée tumultueuse m'imposait de manières cassantes, quelquefois brutales, mais absolument nécessaires'.

(pseudonym of Eugène Bataille) led a small faction of artists (also including Georges Vuidet, Georges Fragerolle, and Alphonse Allais) who set off fireworks during one of the meetings.[38] True to the ambiguity of Fumisme (that I discuss in Chapter one), it cannot be known whether the act was in the name of joviality, or sabotage. Either way it proved the final straw for Goudeau, whose allegiance to the society had already begun to flounder, and this incident marked the end of the Hydropathe meetings.

Hydropathe Art and Artists

Like the Hydropathe club as a whole, many of the artists involved are only slowly re-emerging from relative obscurity. Already in the 1920s, one reviewer's albeit positive response to Jules Lévy's anthology, *Les Hydropathes*, commented of its selection of poets that '[m]ost of them are only names to us now'.[39] In the eight decades since, there remains to be done substantial work to better apprehend the achievements of many neglected artists, for whom the *Cercle des Hydropathes* helped stimulate a formative period with rich and diverse artistic outcomes.

The club occurred in the middle of what Howard Sutton described as a 'period of transition in French poetry, a kind of interregnum between the heyday of the Parnassians and the triumph of the great poets, Mallarmé, Verlaine, and Rimbaud'.[40] The French public, he argues, had not yet acquired its taste for modern forms of artistic expression. The case of the 'vagabond' Hydropathe poet, Jean Richepin, convincingly illustrates this. In 1876 he received a one-month prison sentence, a five-hundred franc fine, and a suspension of his

[38] Ibid., p.338

[39] A. van Ameyden van Duym, 'Review of *Les Hydropathes* by Jules Lévy', *Books Abroad*, no. 1, vol. 3 (April, 1929), 126-7, p.127.

[40] Sutton, *The Life and Work of Jean Richepin* (Geneva: E. Droz; Paris: Minard, 1961), p.55.

civil rights for his 'indecent' publication, *La Chanson des gueux*.[41] The collection of verse was condemned by the left- and right-wing press alike, not only for its depictions of thieves and prostitutes, but also for its 'affront to literary French' by 'employing slang and popular forms of speech'.[42] Following the sentence, which was more severe than Baudelaire's for *Les fleurs du mal*, and pre-empting twentieth-century court cases involving literary censorship, Richepin attacked the courts, claiming they were unqualified to make judgements on the quality of art.[43] It is therefore testament to the rapidly changing cultural climate that the state later awarded Richepin the Legion of Honour for his representations of modern Parisian life.

If Paris was not yet fully prepared for a total rejection of social etiquette and literary convention, the Hydropathes' evident move towards modernist techniques, which all the while remained rooted in traditional forms, was a suitable environment for forward-thinking and conventional artists alike. For instance, Coquelin Cadet's monologues drew on an art form that had been established since the original Greek dramas. Yet the monologue became synonymous with Coquelin's name as he rejuvenated the tradition with modern personality and subject matter. The Hydropathe séances proved a natural home for the *monologue moderne,* which was characterised, among other things, by a 'sympathetic' connection between speaker and audience.[44] Such interaction between audience and performer was frequent at the séances, as speeches risked repeated interruptions, and the audience clapped along with crowd-pleasing songs.[45] Maurice Rollinat and Georges Fragerolle were the group's primary musicians, whose music and song provoked communal

[41] Jean Richepin, *La Chanson des gueux* (1876).

[42] *Le Charivari* was one surprising and notable example of a left-wing paper that stood against Richepin during his trail. Howard Sutton, *Jean Richepin,* p.13-14

[43] Sutton, *Jean Richepin*, p.16.

[44] Robert Langbaum*, The Poetry of Experience: The Dramatic Monologue in Modern Literary Tradition* (New York: Random House, 1957).

[45] La sténographe, 'Séance des Hydropathes', *L'Hydropathe*, 21 (10 November, 1879), p.4. On the first séance of the 'new year' (i.e. after the summer break), Goudeau's speech to the crowd suffered many interruptions from the crowd.

singing helping to unite the group, inspiring its characteristic sense of community. Other notable names include Maria Krysinska and Gustave Kahn, who became seminal leaders of *Vers Libre* in the early 1880s; François Coppée whose poetic style had been satirised in the *Album Zutique*;[46] and Émile Cohl, who later became an early innovator of film animation.[47]

The artists referenced here represent only a narrow selection of Hydropathe members, whose work demonstrates the richness of the club's artistic talent. It also faithfully illustrates the dominance of literary contributions: even artists such as André Gill, who primarily worked in the visual arts, frequently contributed poetic works to the séances and the journal. Indeed, the *Cercle des Hydropathes* is described by many commentators specifically as a *literary* society. I hesitate to allocate such a confined designation, not least because of the club's seemingly conscious intent to broach the obsolescence of such limited cultural spectrums. Charles Cros's poem, 'Proclamons les princip' de l'art' ('Let us proclaim the principles of art'), was a popular piece at the séances:

> Proclamons les princip' de l'art,
> Que personn' ne bouge !
> La terre glais', c'est comm' le homard.
> Un' deuss', quand c'est cuit, c'est rouge.
>
> Proclamons les princip' de l'art !
> Que tout le monde sa saoûle !
> Le plâtre est bien un peu blafard…
> Un', deuss', mais il coul' bien dans l'moule…
>
> Proclamons les princip' de l'art,
> Que tout l' monde s'épanche ;
> Le marbre est un' matière a part :
> Un', deuss', y en n'a pas d'plus blanche.[48]

In response, Goudeau declared the Hydropathes to have defined a modern understanding not of *literature,* but of *art*: 'And we proclaimed the principles of art, with ferocious cries of

[46] Verlaine, P. and A. Rimbaud, *Album Zutique: fac-similé du manuscrit original*, ed. by Pascal Pia (Geneva: Slatkine, 1981).
[47] Crafton, *Émile Cohl.*
[48] Charles Cros, 'Principes de l'art', reproduced in Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.218.

the exasperated Gaulois, and sometimes to add power to the tumult, the poems of Quellien raised the cries of the Chouan: Hou-ou-ou-houh!'[49] It is in part due to such proclamations that the Hydropathe poets and writers can legitimately be referred to as 'artists' (as I do in this thesis), relating less to the medium in which the person worked (painter, poet, musician, etc.), and more to that person's interaction with their cultural environment. There is at play here a conscious realignment of the artist's role in relation to their increasingly liberal contemporary surroundings.

The Hydropathes, of course, did not stand alone in this regard. The Arts Incohérents' declaration, that their first exhibition was one of 'painters who could not paint', is also an important benchmark, and a catchy, cognizant appraisal of cultural realignment after the social devastation brought by the Prussian war and Paris Commune, and following the liberal Republic's instigation of civic freedoms.[50] The Arts Incohérents is one of a number collectives inspired by the *Cercle des Hydropathes*, as were the Hirsutes, the Jemonfoutistes, the Zutistes, the Quat'z'Arts, and the Chat Noir. As I discuss in Chapter one, it is with reference to these later collectives that the Hydropathes are most commonly understood. That the Hydropathe club was an important precedent was acknowledged at the time, yet it has been overshadowed by the groups that followed in its wake. While the club is recognised as an important turning point in the arts, there has been only minimal study into its formations. This thesis focuses on the Hydropathes from the point at which they were founded, examining the Hydropathe club's relationship with its socio-political climate.

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[49] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.218. 'Et l'on proclamait les principes de l'art, avec des cris farouches de Gaulois exaspérés, et, parfois pou ajouter au tumulte, le barde Quellien venait pousser le cri de chouan: Hou-ou-ou-houh!' Quellien refers to Narcisse Quellien, a Breton poet; The Chouan is a reference to the Royalist insurgents, specifically who fought to suppress the first Revolution, and later more generally to Royalist sympathisers.

[50] Catherine Charpin, *Les Arts Incohérents*, (Paris: Syros Alternatives, 1990), p.15. '...*dessins* exécutés par des gens qui ne savent pas dessiner'.

Part Two

Breakdown of Chapters

Chapter One

This thesis is divided into four main chapters. The first offers a literature review that aims to contextualise the Hydropathes in reference to the existing scholarly literature. This sets the scene for the three subsequent chapters that respectively offer three independent, yet interrelated arguments. That the literature review is of a substantial size is commensurate to the importance it has to this thesis. One of the most obvious problems I identified during my research was the lack of dialogue between the existing Hydropathe scholarship. The consequence of this lack of dialogue is that although different interpretations exist in the academic literature, there is little or no recognition of this diversity. One of the reasons for this may be due to the linguistic disconnection between the texts: some are published in French, others in English, with very little available in translation. Another reason may be due to how the club is appropriated in art historical scholarship. The Hydropathe club has only rarely been the central subject of any text. It is presented as an interesting aside, but seldom a case for serious contemplation. There has therefore been little attempt to analyse interpretation offered by the most prominent scholars, including Daniel Grojnowski most notably, and I am yet to discover a text that critiques Grojnowski's readings, rather than merely reproducing them.

Most frequently, the Hydropathe club is considered in the light of 'Fumisme', which, as I will argue, made up just one part of the club that did not emerge until its final months. This thesis therefore does not interpret the Hydropathe club in reference to Fumisme, a position that I further justify in this first chapter. I am, however, not alone in making this move away from a Fumiste reading, and, as I discuss, my thesis relates most closely to some of the more recent scholarship offered by Mary Gluck in her book *Popular*

Bohemia, and, to a lesser extent, Diana Schiau-Botea in her unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Le Texte et le lieu du spectacle de *La Plume* au *Mur*: Stéphane Mallarmé parmi les avant-gardes'.[51] This thesis thus forms part of a growing field of scholarship, which will benefit substantially from a critical analysis that I provide here. Chapter one, therefore, not only performs a functional role for the thesis, but offers an original contribution to knowledge in its own right. It not only collates the most significant Hydropathe literature for the first time, but also offers the most critical account of this literature to date.

Chapter Two

Upon analysis of this dominant literature, a second problem I identified regarded the club's relationship with its socio-political climate. The Hydropathe club was promoted as an apolitical society, which was reflected at the séances through the prohibition of political discussion. While some commentators have accepted claims that the club's interests were contained within itself – thus arguing for its autonomy – others have considered it to be concerned with cultural subversion. I delineate these arguments at the end of Chapter one, and in Chapter two I propose my alternative theory.

I argue that the Hydropathe club was not politically neutral, but that it supported the liberal republican agenda. I thus understand it as being complicit with the liberal republic, which had not yet established its dominance. I aim to demonstrate how the club functioned as an ideological apparatus that, through appealing to the middle-class Parisian youth, was instrumental in establishing republican values in French society.

[51] Schiau-Botea, Diana, 'Le Texte et le lieu du spectacle de *La Plume* au *Mur*: Stéphane Mallarmé parmi les avant-gardes', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2010). Although Mallarmé is the main subject of the thesis, Schiau-Botea dedicates a significant section to the Hydropathes.

Chapter Three

With Chapter two having created the framework for the Hydropathes club's relationship with its wider socio-political environment, Chapter three focuses on the club's internal structures. I examine how the Hydropathe persona was reproduced by means of its imitation by the club's participants. Or, to put it another way, the purpose of this chapter is ultimately to understand the cultural discourse through the involvement of non-artists, an approach I consider fitting of a collective for which mass participation was an unusually important element. Goudeau's Chat Noir may have been largely dependent upon the crowds of tourists in attendance, in that it provided a source of parody, helped to build notoriety by word of mouth, and spent money that kept the cabaret financially viable. However, while the audience played an important role it did not practise the same kind of inclusivity seen at the Hydropathe club. At the Chat Noir there remained a clear distinction between the artists invited into the elite circle, and the guests who attended to spectate and consume. This was exacerbated by the segregation in the Chat Noir of artists from visiting tourists: the cabaret's *Institut* gave its artists a private space for socialising and discussion. In comparison, the Hydropathe séances were conducted in a single large room in which all those in attendance mingled together freely.[52] The openness that was characteristic of the Hydropathe séances provided a greater possibility for the students and amateurs to contribute alongside more established artists, or at the very least for there to be a lessened distinction between the two.

Neither did Montmartre's other cabarets approach the Hydropathes' sense of equality. The atmosphere at both the *Moulin Rouge* and the *Folies-Bergère* was characterised largely by their populist appeal, to the extent that the crowd's influence was significant in

[52] Diana Schiau-Botea, 'Performing Writing', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines. Volume III, Europe 1880-1940, Part I*, ed. by Peter Brooker, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). The 'Institut' was so named as a parody of the French Academy.

the development and success of the culture. The intermingling of performer and audience was a natural element of the cabaret, which is represented on numerous occasions by, for instance, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. This can be seen in his *Au Moulin Rouge* (1890, Figure.0.3), in which the female dancer flings her limbs in exaggerated movement that is provocative in its effervescent and vivacious energy; while her partner, a bourgeois gentleman in top hat and tails, engages in a comparatively contained, yet nonetheless exaggerated bodily motion. However, while the performer and audience often freely interacted in the cabaret's social spaces, engaging in physical unity through dance (if not a more sexual engagement), rarely did they occupy the same role, and little was there the same possibility of crossing between the roles of audience and performer that was characteristic of Hydropathe membership. Indeed, although often outwardly engaged in a similar 'performance' the commoditisation of the women's bodies, which is a constant underlying impression of the social and physical interaction at the cabarets, only helps to confirm the separate positions inhabited by the performing 'artists', and the consuming visitors.[53]

At the *Cercle des Hydropathes*, the crowd was unified by the live environment that encouraged each individual to absorb and perform the collective identity. It created a cultural outlet whereby the member was not only invited to socialise and participate with its poetic works; it also offered a sense of belonging. It is this unique difference that not only makes it legitimate to examine the collective through this perspective – through the crowd, rather than the artists – but *necessary*, in order to develop a more complete understanding of the group's practices, and establish a more thorough field of study.

This line of questioning does, however, present its own problems, not least because of the inherent transience of both key elements outlined above: neither the communal

[53] Ruth Iskin, 'Selling, Seduction, and Soliciting the Eye: Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*', *The Art Bulletin*, vol.77, 1 (March 1995), 25-44.

atmosphere of the live events, nor the collective identity that the members shared can be pinned down or concretely defined. In light of this, I have employed a range of methodological approaches to pursue this examination. I combine historical data, theoretical studies relating to collective behaviour and control of the masses, and analysis of a number of important Hydropathe texts. I will argue that the club encouraged its crowd to be complicit with the club's ideals, and created a collective persona that encouraged a form of passive consumption.

Chapter Four

Chapter four offers a close analysis of the club's second creative outlet, its journal, *l'Hydropathe*, which was published between January 1879 and June 1880. Goudeau was editor-in-chief, along with Paul Vivien who had knowledge and experience of publishing.[54] Goudeau and Vivien also both contributed regular articles, including the biographical information habitually published about each issue's 'featured' Hydropathe. The young writer, Félicien Champsaur, was a notable presence in the journal, along with the poet-*chansonnier*, Jules Jouy, who became a notable figure at the Chat Noir. Any issue would have been incomplete without work from poet-caricaturist, Georges Lorin. Under the pseudonym, 'Cabriol', Lorin designed each of *l'Hydropathe*'s front covers, and in so doing became the group's 'official' illustrator (this role was taken over by Sapeck for the final five issues under its subsequent title, *Tout-Paris*). Lorin also published poetry under both names, and less commonly used the pseudonyms, 'Rirenbois' and 'Balthazar'.

In this final chapter I address how the Hydropathe ideal was translated into a printed format. I aim to show how the journal not only represented the club's ideals, but

[54] Paul Vivien had acted as editor for the journals *Les Écoles*, and *L'Étudiant*.

that it was exploited to develop these ideals into a more concrete concept. I argue this by examining a selection of the publication's content, including illustration, poetry, prose and the use of font type. My scope is inclusive, giving attention to some of the journal's subtle details just as much as the poetry and prose. Despite the breadth of focus in terms of media, the pieces selected are still a small minority of the contributions published in the journal's thirty-seven editions. This narrow focus is necessary given the large number of pieces, and by no means does this chapter attempt an exhaustive survey of the articles published. I analyse pieces that were created specifically for the printed format (such as caricature and illustration), and also pieces that take on new significance when reproduced in the printed form (such as poetry that had previously been recited at a séance, and correspondence written or received by the group's members). Such an analysis is important to this thesis for a number of reasons. First of all, while other studies have mentioned the journal to varying degrees, its caricatures and many other pieces have not been looked at with any critical depth. Some of the texts have not, to my knowledge, been recognised before within academic study, for most of which I present the first English translation.[55] This analysis therefore offers insight in to works so far neglected by academic study.

While this chapter is an original study in this regard, it also contributes to my overall thesis. Building upon the argument in Chapter three, I argue how Lorin's caricatures emphasised the consumability of their art form, by representing the Hydropathes collectively as a simplified image, made for impact and readily expendable.

[55] Unless otherwise stated, all translations throughout this thesis are my own. For accessibility, the original versions of shorter texts are to be found in the footnotes. Original versions of longer texts will be found in the appendix. I fully recognise that certain meanings and word plays have been lost in translation, however, they are intended to be functional, to demonstrate a point to those who do not read French. This is also the case for a number of poetic verses I have presented in translation, and I apologise to all readers who are offended by ugly translations of poetry.

Part Three

Methods and Aims

Methodology

This study is undertaken initially from an historicist perspective. This perspective considers the historical period to be unique, and unequivocally linked, to the text in question; whereby the text is a consequence of the complex relations of social, cultural and political factors, which all played an indispensable role in its existence. By this methodology, the artwork is rooted firmly within its historical framework, and consequently becomes an artefact that is a piece in a puzzle through which to better understand the cultures, conditions, and life of the people in its era. The theoretical repercussion of conceiving of the art object or the literary text as an historical artefact has drawn both criticism and praise in cultural studies. On the one hand, critics have claimed that the dire consequence of such methodology has been to undermine the art work's aesthetic importance: the aesthetic appreciation of the text is relegated for the sake of the historical context that takes centre stage. Critics have also accused historicism of 'denying [the text's] relevance to the present moment, of becoming a methodology so dominant that it has smothered other theoretical approaches, and of forgetting that the formal analysis of deliberately wrought texts is fundamental to [their] analysis'.[56] On the other hand, the value and relevance of considering a text in relation to its socio-historical framework is irrefutable. It provides an alternative to strictly aesthetic critical attention, as well as the liberty to adopt an interdisciplinary approach. I thus consider it to bestow freedom from the narrow boundaries of purist philosophies, and have the potential to challenge dominant modes of thought, thus revealing rich new perspectives previously unconsidered.

[56] Ann Baynes Coiro and Thomas Fulton, 'Introduction: Old, New, Now', *Rethinking Historicism from Shakespeare to Milton* ed. by A. Baynes Coiro and T. Fulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.1.

There is a well-documented idealism in such an approach, in that it conceives of the possibility of temporarily suspending the historian's natural benefit of hindsight, and separating the study from the period in which it is created. As Paul Hamilton asserts, historicists have practiced in full recognition of such idealistic notions: 'On the one hand [...] historicism is suspicious of the stories the past tells about itself; on the other hand, it is equally suspicious of its own partisanship'.[57] However, one of its main benefits is its ability to perceive the subject from the point of view of its own creation, thus highlighting its methods and motivations: conceiving it from its point of conception, rather than by what it inspired.

This is a critical assessment that I consider to be lacking particularly in the Hydropathe scholarly literature, since, as I discuss in Chapter one, the club is little more than an introductory narrative to more dominant subsequent cultures. Two of these cultures, as mentioned above, are Goudeau's Chat Noir, and Fumisme. Neither of these subject areas existed during the two years the Hydropathes were active. The Chat Noir may have taken many cues from the Hydropathe club, but there is a clear distinction between the cabaret practices of the 1880s and 1890s, and those of the 1870s. Fumisme too, was a concept not yet conceived by 1878: the Hydropathes' self-branding of the collective as 'Fumiste' only occurred near the end of the club's activity, and was only fully developed by historians more than a century after it split.

It is important to assert that both angles continue to be relevant, and this study does not attempt to contest the value of either perspective. The few existing studies help to contextualise the Hydropathes invaluably within the cultures of fin-de-siècle cabaret and fumisme respectively, neither of which would have played out the way they did without Goudeau and other influential artists brought together as Hydropathes. Such studies also

[57] Paul Hamilton, *Historicism* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.3.

help to establish the Hydropathes in an art historical trajectory that might otherwise have forgotten them entirely.

Despite this, recognising the current reliance on 'posthumous' labels highlights the validity, if not the necessity of exploring the Hydropathes through other perspectives. To temporarily strip away these established histories leaves an open field, or perhaps a maze of potential historical pathways. The opportunity arises to consider the club's motivations, and the parts of its contemporary culture that influenced the way it worked. By no means, therefore is this historicist angle meant as the end point. Instead it is the starting point of this thesis, from which I then build a broader study, which I hope to be all the more rich with it having been grounded in its unique historical circumstance.

Aims and Arguments

My original contribution to knowledge is first and foremost my original interpretation of the *Cercle des Hydropathes*, which understands the collective as complicit with the aims of the liberal republic. (This is argued in Chapter two.) However, rather than being my end point and conclusion, I use this as a base on which to develop the critical consequences of this interpretation. I aim to demonstrate how the Hydropathe club highlighted the manipulability of its audience, and to question to what extent it can be considered a criticism of bourgeois society.

While this thesis is intended to provide depth that is currently lacking in this field of study, it is by no means meant to be conclusive. Although my arguments offer what I believe to be a convincing original interpretation of the collective, the ultimate aim of this thesis is to provoke further critical interest in this culture; to encourage debate and

disagreement as much as concurrence. Overall, therefore, the aim is not to offer a solution, but, on the contrary, to problematise a field that has been considered unproblematic.

Chapter One

Literature Review

Hydropathe Scholarship: An Introduction

Notable contributions to the currently limited Hydropathe scholarship have been made at irregular intervals since the 1920s. The earliest works mostly offer collections of Hydropathe artists' poetry, alongside largely anecdotal histories of the club. Jean-Emile Bayard's, *Le Quartier Latin Aujourd'hui et hier* (1926), draws on his personal contact with a number of Hydropathe artists.[1] It was published two years after *Les Hydropathes* (1924) by former Hydropathe artist, Jules Lévy, and the same year as Georges Lorin's article, 'Aux origines des Hydropathes' in *Le Figaro*.[2] This demonstrates a brief interest in the club following the efflorescence of Paris Dada – which owed a certain debt to the Hydropathes and Lévy's own *Arts Incohérents*.[3] Yet in the decades following this resurgence, only a handful of texts emerged. These included Raymond de Casteras's *Avant Le Chat Noir: Les Hydropathes, 1878-1880* (1945), and Noël Richard's, *L'Aube du Symbolisme: Hydropathes, Fumistes et Décadents* (1961).[4] More recently, Harold Segel's *Turn of the Century Cabaret* (1987), has described the Hydropathes as an important precedent to *fin-de-siècle* bohemian cabaret;

[1] Jean-Émile Bayard, *Le Quartier Latin Aujourd'hui et hier* (1926). The text is also available in English translation, *The Latin Quarter Past and Present*, trans. by Percy Mitchell (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1926).

[2] Georges Lorin, 'Aux origins des Hydropathes', *Le Figaro, literary supplement*, 6 November 1926.

[3] Charpin, Catherine, *Les Arts Incohérents* (Paris: Syros Alternatives, 1990).

[4] Raymond de Casteras, *Avant Le Chat Noir: Les Hydropathes, 1878-1880* (Paris: Messein,1945). Noël Richard, *L'Aube du Symbolisme: Hydropathes, Fumistes et Décadents* (Paris: Nizet, 1961).

and in *Bohemian Paris: Cultures, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (1986), Jerrold Seigel cites the club in his analysis of commercial bohemian cultures.[5] Alongside these two influential accounts, Daniel Grojnowski and Bernard Sarrazin's anthology, *L'Esprit Fumiste et les rires fin de siècle* (1990), and Grojnowski's *Aux commencements du rire moderne : l'esprit fumiste* (1996), were the seminal critical texts that have been trusted references for all subsequent commentary.[6] François Caradec's significant contributions should also be noted. In his monograph, *Alphonse Allais*, a concise chapter on the Hydropathes contextualised the club within a history tracing Allais's career from the Latin Quarter to Montmartre.[7] Together, these texts provide an extensive analysis of Fumiste movements at the end of the nineteenth century, and the Hydropathe club is generally understood within this context.

A number of further studies have sought to understand the club's practices in terms of modernism and the avant-garde. David Cottington's recent texts are notable examples. The Hydropathes and Fumiste collectives were briefly discussed in *Cubism in the Shadow of War* (1998). Over a decade later, this study was isolated and developed in his article, 'The Formation of the Avant-Garde in Paris and London, c.1880-1915' (2012), in which Fumiste collectives were the central subject of analysis.[8] This represents a shift in the theoretical approach to the club in the past decade. Cottington's contributions sit alongside what I consider as two further important contributions to this emerging field. The first is Mary Gluck's study of Bohemian and Fumiste practices in *Popular Bohemia:*

[5] Harold Segel's *Turn of the Century Cabaret* (New York; Guildford: Colombia University Press, 1987). Jerrold Seigel's *Bohemian Paris: Cultures, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (Baltimore; London: John Hopkins University Press, 1986).

[6] Daniel Grojnowski and Bernard Sarrazin, *L'Esprit Fumiste et les rires fin de siècle* (Paris: José Corti, 1990). Daniel Grojnowski, *Aux commencements du rire moderne: l'esprit fumiste* (Paris: José Corti, 1996).

[7] François Caradec, *Alphonse Allais* (Paris: Belfond, 1994).

[8] David Cottington, 'The Formation of the Avant-Garde in Paris and London, c.1880-1915', *Art History*, vol.35, 3 (June 2012), 596-621.

Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris (2005).[9] The second is the currently-unpublished thesis by Diana Schiau-Botea, 'Le Texte et le lieu du spectacle de *La Plume* au *Mur*: Stéphane Mallarmé parmi les avant-gardes', which is the first to apply established avant-garde concepts – predominantly concerning Mallarmé – to Hydropathe poetry, as it was presented in the journal *l'Hydropathe*.[10] To this list might also be added Pamela Genova's *Symbolist Journals: A Culture of Correspondence* (2005), in which *l'Hydropathe* is a prominent subject of examination.[11]

It is worth noting that collating these texts in such a manner presents a skewed view of Hydropathe scholarship, suggesting it to be more diverse and extensive than it truly is. Although Schiau-Botea and Gluck's texts are evidence of greater analytic consideration, more often the club is reduced to a formulaic silhouette, little more than a shadow in another historical or aesthetic context. Recognising this consistent sidelining, many accounts of the Hydropathe club introduce it as 'little-known' or 'forgotten'. This designation is misleading. Although the collective may be little known in the sense that there is little awareness of them in Anglophone scholarship, this does not mean there is a lack of information.[12] On the contrary, there is an abundance of information readily available concerning the collective. This has resulted in a number of different analytical perspectives; to the extent that I would argue the Hydropathes have become conspicuous by their absence in the history of European modernism. I suggest the continuing lack of awareness of Hydropathe practices and its significance to European modernism is symptomatic of a lack of critical interrogation. Not only does the current body of literature comprise just a fragment of the analysis accorded to other modernist practices, but within

[9] Mary Gluck, *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 2005).

[10] Diana Schiau-Botea, 'Le Texte et le lieu du spectacle de *La Plume* au *Mur*: Stéphane Mallarmé parmi les avant-gardes, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2010).

[11] Pamela Antonia Genova, *Symbolist Journals: A Culture of Correspondence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

[12] In my experiences speaking with scholars at European conferences, there is a greater general awareness of the collective among Francophone academics.

the existing studies are views that conflict so distinctly to have created a field of study notable for its contradictions. One of the key problems, therefore, is the lack of dialogue within the existing body of literature. Analyses of the club's journal, *l'Hydropathe* provide one example; for when Bénédicte Didier, and Schiau-Botea adopt it as a significant part of their studies on *Petite Revues*,[13] and *Symbolist Journals* respectively,[14] neither acknowledges Richard's contradictory assertion that *l'Hydropathe* (and its subsequent title, *Tout-Paris*) had no literary merit since they lacked 'cohesion and depth',[15] nor Seigel's study that dismissed it as a 'miniscule' publication.[16] Of course, the existence of conflicting views is not a problem in itself. Indeed it suggests the depth of the Hydropathe practices, and denotes complexity of thought that it has inspired. Neither does it necessarily signal a fault in the given commentaries, since it is not the obligation of each work to outline a comprehensive literary history. However, the resulting fragmentation is undoubtedly detrimental to the field of study, for if differing analytical positions progress in parallel, but without cross-examination of alternative modes of thought, existing conflicts will never be resolved.

It is in response to the current lack of dialogue that this chapter provides an analysis of the existing literature. I do not, however, intend to provide an exhaustive summary of all texts that reference the *Cercle des Hydropathes*. Instead I have selected texts that present key benchmarks in their critical appraisal. Focusing this scope further, I emphasise the more recent academic texts. While the earlier works, outlined above, are important for factual information about the club, on the whole the later texts offer more

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[13] Bénédict Didier, *Petites revues et esprit bohème à la fin du XIXe siècle (1878-1889)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), p.7. Didier uses *l'Hydropathe* as an introduction to his five main case studies. He states that this journal, as with the others, held a significant place in the field of literature: 'Au-delà d'une provocation et d'une bouffonnerie apparente, ces revues, qualifiées de feuilles grivoises et amusantes dans l'histoire de la presse, ont représenté un secteur significatif du champ littéraire.' In his work on the *Petites revues*, *l'Hydropathe*, along with *Panurge, Le Chat Noir, La Vogue, Le Decadent,* and *La Plume* are introduced as: 'revues originales et marginales dont les titres furent, pour une grande majorité, oubliés'. Didier, *Petites Revues*, p.5

[14] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé parmi les avant-gardes'.

[15] Richard, *L'Aube du Symbolisme,* p.35.

[16] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris,* p.223.

diverse critical perspectives that are of greater significance for this thesis. Although at times I challenge the existing scholarship, it is not my intent to undermine it, as the current studies have been invaluable in bringing light to the collective, increasing knowledge and critical attention. My aim is to offer a critique of ideas that have not been sufficiently afforded it.

L'Hydropathe, and Goudeau's *Dix ans de bohème*

The original source of information about the collective came from the group itself, in its journal, *l'Hydropathe.* From issue five, in March 1879, the journal published a short compilation of works performed at the most recent séances.[17] Entitled *Le Stenograph,* they offered occasional reviews from an anonymous reporter assessing the work's quality and its response from the crowd:

> Victor Zay, Corot and the president Émile Goudeau, recited poetry with lively applause. The hydropathe crowd recognised them as great authors and orators.
>
> We must record the debut as an author and rhetorician from Mr Jules Aubry, who recited some charming Parisian *triolets* with emotion in his voice ... In sum, a success that will not be his last ... Maurice told a joke, a work by his father, – a success for the whole family.[18]

This piece comes from the first and most detailed of the reports whose comprehensiveness and quality soon deteriorated to become, at times, little more than a list of the main contributing figures. At times the anonymous *reportage* (potentially written by a number of authors, possibly accounting for the varying quality) expressed an almost disdainful response to the séances, and the job of reporting them:

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[17] Reports of the séances were published frequently from issue 5, (20 March 1879), p.4. The first was entitled, 'Comte-Rendu des Séances', and the title varied slightly over the following year.

[18] Le Sténographe, 'Compte-Rendu des Séances,' *L'Hydropathe*, 5 (20 March 1879), p.4. 'Victor Zay, Corot, et le président Émile Goudeau, ont dit des poésies vivement applaudies. Les hydropathes les connaissent et comme auteurs et comme diseurs. | Nous avons à enregistrer le début comme auteur et comme déclamateur, de M. Jules Aubry, qui a dit des triolets charmants, parisiens, d'une voix en peu émue ... En somme, un succès qui ne sera pas le dernier ... Maurice a dit une boutade, œuvre de son père, - un succès pour toute la famille'.

> The role of the stenograph could not be more difficult; his post is snipped, a most shorthand law of the concession is forced upon him.
>
> Hence, the monotony of this thin report. This is hardly a list of names.[19]

And again in December of that year:

> Séance of Saturday 29th – The stenograph has little work: a few surly Hydropathes were complaining [...] If he doesn't speak, it's because there is little new on the horizon, few new orators. Then, in the absence of the president, the vice-presidents didn't run the séance into the 'fabulously late hours'.[20]

More frequently, however, the reports demonstrate the more widely-recognised, Hydropathesque enthusiasm for the séances – 'Hydropathes, *for ever* [sic]' – and praise the artistic development of some of the young members:[21] 'Icres's success in a piece entitled *The Witch* should be noted: Icres has made enormous advancement and has definitively won over the hydropathe vote'.[22]

These digests are presented as informative journalism, and offer the most reliable guide to the séances' activities, although remaining an edited account with undoubtedly significant omissions. Bearing in mind the journal's role as a tool to advertise the weekly séances to the local community, it most likely presented what the collective considered the most significant: works by the biggest names are favoured while smaller performances by the large student membership are rarely described. Thus, while the articles offer information about the séances and the communities involved, their bias should be noted and caution taken in accepting their integrity as a comprehensive historical resource.

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[19] Le Sténographe, 'Séance des Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, 11 (12 June 1879), p.4. 'Le rôle du sténographe est on ne peut plus difficile; on lui rogne la place, et on lui fait une loi de la concession la plus sténographique. | D'où, la monotonie de ce mince compte-rendu. Ce n'est guère qu'une liste de noms'.

[20] Le Sténographe, 'Cercle des Hydropathes,' *l'Hydropathe*, 23 (10 December 1879), p.4. 'Séance du samedi 29. – Le sténographe chômait: quelques hydropathes rébarbatifs s'en plaignaient. Il rentre, comme les chambres. | S'il ne parlait pas, c'est qu'il constatait que peu de choses nouvelles apparaissaient à l'horizon, peu d'orateurs nouveaux. Puis en l'absence du président, les vice-présidents n'ouvraient la séance qu'à des heures fabuleuses'.

[21] Le Sténographe, 'Séance des Hydropathes', *L'Hydropathe*, 21 (10 November 1879), p.4.

[22] Le Sténographe, 'Cercle des Hydropathes', *L'Hydropathe*, 23 (10 December 1879), p.4. 'Signalons tout de suite le succès d'Icres dans une pièce intitulée la *Sorcière*: Icres a fait d'énormes progrès, et il a définitivement conquis les suffrages hydropathesque'.

The same should also be said of Goudeau's autobiographical text, *Dix ans de bohème*, another influential resource which was intended, in Goudeau's words, to provide 'a sense of these extraordinary séances'.[23] The text offers anecdotal accounts and personal reflections on the period passed with friends and notable artists of the era. Goudeau offers information about the séances through a list of participants and their performed works. Without recounting this extensive list, some of the artists cited include 'author, actor, composer, singer and pianist',[24] Maurice Rollinat who 'contorted his mouth into a satanic sneer' singing works such as 'Soliloque de Troppmann'. Rollinat's 'incredible success' was achieved, Goudeau adds, by 'torturing the nerves of his audience',[25] attesting to the 'intensely physical' connection between poet and audience.[26] André Gill recited his poetry, including 'L'Horoscope', addressed to a revolutionary youth, warning against the chimera of false triumphs:

> Malgré les larmes de ta mère,
> Ardent jeune homme, tu le veux,
> Ton cœur est neuf, ton bras nerveux,
> Viens lutter contre la chimère.
>
> Use ta vie, use tes voix
> Dans l'enthousiasme éphémère,
> Bois jusqu'au fond la coupe amère,
> Regarde blanchir tes cheveux.
>
> Isolé, combats! Souffre! Pense!
> Le sort te garde en récompense
> Le dédain du sot triomphant,
>
> La barbe auguste des apôtres,
> Un cœur pur et des yeux d'enfant
> Pour sourire aux enfants des autres.[27]

In his differing style, Félicien Champsaur 'murmured' his poetry 'with a weak voice and simple gestures'.[28] And, for the Christmas season, Jean Richepin's faintly blasphemous

[23] Goudeau, *Dix ans de bohème,* p.197.

[24] Ibid., p.198.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Rae Beth Gordon, *Why the French Love Jerry Lewis: From Cabaret to Early Cinema*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), p.101.

[27] Ibid., p.200

song,[29] 'Noël', was accompanied by the music of 'the master musician, the master singer',[30] Georges Fragerolle:

> Noël ! Les amoureux
> Sont bien heureux; car c'est pour eux
> Qu'est fait le manteau gris et brumes;
> Sonnez, cloches! cloches, sonnez!
> Le pauvre diable, dans son nez,
> Entend carillonner les rhumes.
>
> Noël ! Noël ! les bons dévots
> S'en vont chanter, comme des veaux,
> Près de l'âne autour de la crèche....
> Notre homme trouverait plus neuf
> De manger un quartier du bœuf,
> Et dit que ça sent la chair fraîche.
>
> Noël ! Noël ! le prêtre dit
> Que, parmi nous, Dieu descendit
> Pour consoler le pauvre hère....
> Celui-ci voudrait bien un peu
> Boire à la santé du bon Dieu;
>
> Mais Dieu n'a rien mis dans son verre,
> Noël ! Noël ![31]

Special notes are made for the group's vice-presidents: Georges Lorin, who Goudeau criticised for preferring to sketch portraits or 'carve' monologues, rather than exerting any leadership over the group;[32] and Georges Moynet, an architect by trade, who improvised works such as 'Le Canard'.[33] Goudeau's précis of performers and performances continues for over twenty-two pages, indicating the breadth and diversity of work, and also the difficulty in summarising a faithful account of the séances.[34] In the book's appendix (an addition to the recent edition), over 250 artists are named to have been associated with the club.

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[28] Ibid., p.205. 'C'était Félicien Champsaur, qui sobre de gestes, avec une toute faible voix, murmurait...'

[29] Ibid., p.215.

[30] Ibid., p.213. 'le maître musicien, le maître chanteur'.

[31] Ibid., p.215.

[32] Ibid., p.207. 'Lorin présidait peu, il n'aimait pas faire de l'autorité (c'était pourtant nécessaire); il préférait crayonner des *binettes*, ou ciseler des monologues en vers'.

[33] Georges Moynet, 'Le Canard', *l'Hydropathe*, 16 (20 August 1879), pp.2-3.

[34] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, pp.197-219.

Overall, Goudeau presents a favourable impression of the séances, and he concludes his chapter declaring the club's spirited proclamations of the 'principles of art'.[35] However, such favourable views are occasionally undermined. Goudeau complained of the crowd often being too shy to perform their works,[36] criticised the journal's editor for its mismanagement, and club members for their misguided ambitions: for instance, Lorin is described as '*trop libéral ... trop libéral*'.[37]

Goudeau's text is extensive and, written in 1888, it is close enough to the events to potentially offer an accurate account without suffering from its author's loss of memory or bouts of nostalgia. However, that proximity means the work may still be intertwined with the artist's professional ambitions, and one should be aware of the baggage that comes with having the work published at the height of his career. Still, the work is a valuable resource for understanding the collective (regardless of its biased perspective), and its most recent edition includes extensive appendices including press articles, a chronology of Hydropathe activity, and writings by and about Goudeau.[38]

Employing *l'Hydropathe* and *Dix ans de bohème* as key primary resources, current scholarship has most frequently cited the *Cercle des Hydropathes* in relation to art historical contexts including Montmartre cabaret (notably Goudeau's own Chat Noir), Fumiste art (such as the Arts Incohérents), and also, to a lesser extent, the Symbolists and Decadents. While such movements pursued distinct aesthetic and political interests, as components of modernist visual, literary, and performative practices, they were at the same time interconnected by a close network of artists working and socialising together around the

[35] Ibid., p.219.

[36] Ibid., p.171.

[37] Ibid., p.208.

[38] 'Documents', *Dix ans*, pp.276-546.

buttes of Montmartre and the Left Bank. The following sections discuss how the Hydropathe club has been related to subsequent modernist cultures.

Goudeau & the Chat Noir

In 1881, the year after the final Hydropathe séance, Goudeau founded the Chat Noir cabaret with Rodolphe Salis. It became Goudeau's, and the Hydropathe club's most enduring legacy. The cabaret began on the Boulevard Rochechouart in Montmartre, and hosted numerous ex-Hydropathes, who continued performing 'Hydropathe' texts such as Cros's drinking song, 'Chanson des Hydropathes'. In 1883, the piece was published in the journal, *Le Chat Noir*, under the title 'Udadushkhînam – Çruti' and 'offered as a hymn "discovered" by Cros in the Sanskrit *Rig Veda*'.[39] After its demise, the *Cercle des Hydropathes* thus became a thing of myth and legend. If the Hydropathe club lingered in the memories around the *buttes,* it was not least due to the model it had established for communal creativity, and its rejection of academic standards and boundaries between artistic discourses. Despite the close affiliation, the Hydropathe club and the Chat Noir were not unequivocally synonymous. One important distinction was the Hydropathe club's openness to participation from those outside its close-knit networks. This is evident from advertisements in *l'Hydropathe*, which outlined the process for joining the club, and encouraged readers to do so.[40] Membership allowed access to the twice-weekly club meetings, providing a stage to perform their original work, often regardless of its quality. In comparison, the Chat Noir's 'inclusivity' was decidedly more selective. Despite its reputation for communal engagement, inviting passers-by to 'Stop... Be Modern!'[41] ('Passant sois moderne'), in reality there was clear segregation between artists and the

[39] Charles Cros, Udadushkhînam – Çruti', *Le Chat Noir,* 77 (30 June 1883), p.4. Segel, *Turn of the Century*, p.29.
[40] Paul Vivien, 'le Cercle des Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, 6 (5 April 1879), p.4.
[41] Mary E. Davis, *Erik Satie* (London: Reaktion, 2007), p.28.

visiting public. While the paying clientele were insulted by Salis and his staff in the front room of the bar – Salis addressed them as '*mon cochon*' (pig) and '*tas de salauds*' (bunch of bastards) – artists, musicians and writers remained in a 'VIP' backroom known as The Institute (*l'institut*).[42]

Regardless, the self-regulation that helped shape the Chat Noir's artistic output had previously been established, practised and experienced at the *Cercle des Hydropathes*: a direct working precedent and model for the Montmartre cabaret. Although dominated by literary performances, people of all talents were welcomed at the Hydropathe séances, creating a social environment that rejected traditional hierarchies of medium or genre. Furthermore, as Schiau-Botea observes, 'the same absence of hierarchy characterises the textual space of their journal, *l'Hydropathe,* as it juxtaposes literary and non-literary texts, including poetry, anecdotes, sketches, and advertisements, seemingly without prejudice for 'subject' or 'form'.[43] Similarly, encouraged to 'regard the cabaret as their own,' the inner circle of artists at the *Chat Noir* combined their musical, literary and performative skills to produce novel artworks that rejected purist parameters and traditional formal boundaries. The Chat Noir's disregard for conventions and hierarchy, Harold Segel argues, was part of a positive programme, instilled with modernism's utopian vision of the 'new':

> Underlying Salis' plans for the Chat Noir was the Wagnerian concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or the total work of art, which sought a break-down of traditional barriers between the arts for the sake of their mutual enrichment and the creation of the "new" art that would combine the verbal, visual, musical, and choreographical.[44]

It is evident from Segel's statement that it was Salis who inspired the concept behind the Chat Noir, not Goudeau. This contrasts with Seigel's claim that, in comparison to Goudeau, Salis had only a peripheral part in the cabaret's artistic development.[45] For Salis

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[42] Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment and Festivity in Turn of the Century France* (London: Yale, 1985), pp.46-7.

[43] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.54.

[44] Segel, *Turn of the Century,* p.20.

[45] See in particular Seigel, 'Publicity and Cabaret: The World of the Cabarets', in *Bohemian Paris,* pp.215-241.

(a failed painter from a wealthy family), the venture provided a role in the world of Parisian art; and despite his frequent performances, and having been 'a prolific writer', he is viewed as patron, rather than a significant participant.[46] Seigel's position is unusual in *fin-de-siècle* scholarship. Roger Shattuck, for instance, provides a more typical account in his influential text *The Banquet Years*, which describes the Hydropathes as having relocated to Montmartre because of Salis's alluring vision of it as the future of modern Parisian art.[47] Goudeau is barely credited as anything other than a contributor at the Chat Noir, whereas Salis is hailed as the visionary. Contrary to this, Seigel emphasised Goudeau's role above Salis's, and asserted Goudeau's influence to be less involved with his poetic contributions, than his entrepreneurial talents. The commercial success of Montmartre cabarets, in which the 'aura' of the Bohemia lifestyle was packaged and sold to the consumer, is described by Seigel as having been spearheaded by Goudeau, and the 'system of commercialised Bohemia' attributed as his invention: 'Émile Goudeau's idea that a literary cabaret retaining the aura of Bohemia could serve to introduce aspiring writers and poets to prospective consumers of their works was the cultural equivalent of the department store'.[48] Further cementing Goudeau's significance, Seigel argues that he was the 'individual most directly responsible for [the] creation' of Montmartre's bohemian haunts of the 1880s and 1890s.[49]

Seigel's acceptance of the later period's overtly commercial artistic enterprise is stated explicitly, yet not judgmentally. For him, this commercialism is not only accepted as a condition of the period, but one that led to great success and artistic productivity that defined its age: if the new Parisian department stores changed consumerism from a determined act of necessity to one of leisure, Goudeau's literary cabaret provided an

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[46] Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.113. Shaw described Salis as 'a prolific writer', although he is hardly remembered for it'.

[47] Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years. The Arts in France, 1885-1918: Alfred Jarry, Henri Rousseau, Erik Satie, Guillaume Apollinaire* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), pp.22-23.

[48] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris,* p.225.

[49] Ibid., p.216.

analogous form of browsing and casual consumption.[50] Seigel is not alone in asserting the importance of Goudeau's aspiration, as Casteras similarly claims that it was he who, with the *Cercle des Hydropathes*, 'transformed casual gatherings into a grander scale of entertainment' that proved a profitable formula in Montmartre.[51]

In summary then, even the texts that assert Goudeau's leading role (thus stressing the Hydropathe club's influence on *fin-de-siècle* cabaret), state his influence to be less concerned with aesthetic achievements than providing a model for communal art that flourished in the north (rather than the south) of the city. What is at stake here is the degree to which the Hydropathe club, via Goudeau, influenced the Chat Noir's social and aesthetic pursuits. Or whether, thanks to Salis, that development was more closely related to the avant-garde's wider engagement with Wagnerian philosophies during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. It thus might naturally question how far these two projects overlapped: how far Goudeau's project was entwined with artistic aspiration to create the 'total artwork', just as it may have been in the subsequent decades.

Fumisme and the Avant-Garde

To give a brief summary, Fumisme was a prototypical anti-art, using art and 'performance' (loosely defined), to challenge its associated cultural institutions. Fumiste artists responded to the status quo, forcing a sometimes uncomfortable acknowledgement of the principles of bourgeois society. One of Fumisme's other great contributions was in corroding the boundaries between art and life. As Catherine Dousteyssier-Khoze argues, 'Allais, Salis, and Sapeck lived their Fumisme', through which they intended to shock their audience: 'in their endless quest for mystification, for provocation, they undermine and

[50]Ibid., p.255.

[51] Casteras, *Les Hydropathes,* pp.35-45.

transgress certain norms, those of "good taste" and the judgement of others, therein defying society in general and their audience [*public*] in particular'.[52]

Sapeck's Fumiste gestures at the later Hydropathe séances were made as much by his demonstrations in the audience, and his ability to cause disruption in the crowd, as they were by his more formal 'performances'. As Bernard Gendron identifies: 'Sapeck worked his "fumistes" both in the audience by helping organise and sometime contain the catcalls and tirades, and onstage by reading poetry with hands cupped over his nose and mouth, emitting "ghastly sounds capable of rousing a whole neighbourhood from sleep"'.[53] Most notably of the early Fumistes, Sapeck questioned the definition of performance and its spaces, and the differentiation between a performed character and one's natural persona. Sapeck's proto-performance art informed Alfred Jarry's outlandish behaviour that overtly paralleled the bizarre 'pataphysical' experiences of his fictional characters.[54] It may also be related to the mysterious life of Arthur Cravan, for whom fiction and reality collided with an ultimately tragic, if suitably obscure end.[55] Although relatively unknown compared with these more standard figures in the formative history of performance art and the avant-garde, Sapeck's name appears frequently amongst the Fumiste literature for his '*farces et mystifications*'.[56] The most famous of his 'farces' are his attempts to organise a race of women at the Paris racecourse, Longchamps, and his supposed insistence to paint his own head blue to free himself of any negative thoughts.

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[52] Catherine Dousteyssier-Khoze, 'Le rire jaune du Chat Noir', in Catherine Dousteyssier-Khoze & Paul Scott, *(Ab)normalities* (Durham: Durham Modern Languages Series, 2001), 151-161, p.152. 'Allais, Salis, et Sapeck vont en effet *vivre* leur Fumisme, dans leur quête perpétuelle de mystification, de provocation, ils sapent et transgressent certains normes, celles de "bon goût" et de la mesure entre autres, défiant par là-même la société en général et leur public en particulier'.

[53] Bernard Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.54.

[54] Shattuck, *Banquet Years.*

[55] Dafydd Jones, 'To Be or Not To Be ... Arthur Cravan: Subject, Surface and Difference', in *Dada Culture: Critical Texts on the Avant-Garde*, ed. by D. Jones (New York: Rodopi, 2006).

[56] See for instance, G.Albert Aurier, 'Les Farces de Sapeck', *Le Figaro* (12 October 1889).

Thus, although it has fallen into relative obscurity, Fumisme was a crucial influence on the twentieth-century avant-garde. Further links have been made with a number of works whose formal and thematic similarity demonstrate this influence. Sapeck's, *La Joconde fumant la pipe* (1883, Figure.1.1), is perhaps the most frequently-cited example. Sapeck doctored the image of the Mona Lisa, to have her smoking a pipe, playing on the word 'fumisme' (*fumer*, meaning 'to smoke'). This clearly foreshadowed Duchamp's work, *L.H.O.O.Q* (1919, Figure.1.2) that involved similar doctoring and wordplay ('*elle a chaud au cul*'). Moreover, the Arts Incohérents' monochromes, including Paul Bilhaud's, *Combat des nègres dans une cave* (1882, Figure.1.3), and Alphonse Allais's, *Première communion de jeunes filles chlorotiques par un temps de neige* (1883, Figure.1.4), pre-empt the aesthetic subversion of Malevich's *Black Square* (1915, Figure.1.5). Exhibited at the 1883 *Exposition des Arts Incohérents,* the pieces satirised the concurrent state-sponsored Triennial exhibition, which attempted to rejuvenate Salon traditions that were all-but-redundant due to the increasing dominance of modernist aesthetics that were largely hostile to bourgeois institutions and conventions.[57] Such attacks on institutional conventions, which would later characterise Dada, were typical of fumiste parody, and the Fumiste artist was conceived as at odds with the typical man of culture:

> To make someone feel in a large gathering, through a series of words, that he is an imbecile, is characteristic of *l'esprit*. To abandon one's senses and to make him give the quintessence of his imbecility, is characteristic of fumisme. *L'esprit* demands to be paid on the spot with cheering and discreet smiles; fumisme carries its own reward within itself: it is art for art's sake. In order to be considered a man of *l'esprit* it will often suffice to be an ass in a lion's skin; to be a good fumiste it is often essential to be a lion in the skin of an ass. In the former case the effect is direct; in the latter it is once, twice, sometimes ten times removed.[58]

[57] Patricia Mainardi, *End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.110-112. The Incohérents' monochromes also referenced André Gill's *Effet de neige*, a parody of Ludovic Piette's pseudo-impressionist snowy landscape exhibited at the 1868 Salon. Gill's piece, published as part of a satirical review of the Salon, was of a simply white canvas, mocking the painter's adherence to stylistic trends that were supported by the state-sponsored event.

[58] Georges Fragerolle, 'Le Fumisme', *L'Hydropathe*, vol.2, 8 (12 May 1880), pp.2-3. 'Faire sentir à quelqu'un, dans une assemblée nombreuse, par une série de mots, qu'il est un imbécile, c'est le propre de l'esprit. Abonder dans son sens et lui faire donner la quintessence même de son imbécillité, c'est le propre du

The link between Fumisme and the Hydropathes is readily established in this same article, which was published in *l'Hydropathe* and names the Hydropathe artists, Sapeck and Alphonse Allais as figureheads of the movement:

> We possess among us two heads of the Fumiste columns who have produced their scientific-philosophical formula. Sapeck is the philosopher, Alphonse Allais is the theorist. The one more dandy, the other more chemist, they both float high and conquer the banner that cuts the 'proud'homie' sky under which we live. Alas![59]

It is within this context that the Hydropathes have been analysed by Daniel Grojnowski, whose body of work remains the most influential on Fumisme and the Hydropathes. The majority of this research only exists in its original French. The only essay to appear in Anglophone literature is, 'Hydropathes and Company',[60] in Dennis Cate and Mary Shaw's *Sprit of Montmartre*: an edited collection of essays on Fumisme and related bohemian movements of the same period. This much-cited collection offers a comprehensible lineage of Fumiste cultures from the Bon Bock meetings in the 1870s through to Jarry's *Ubu Roi* in 1896, with familiar citations in between to the Chat Noir, the Arts Incohérents, and the *Quat'z'Arts* Cabaret.

Grojnowski's main works therefore discuss the Hydropathes in terms of their satirical jibes and Fumiste spirit. These anthologies are valuable resources that collate the artists' oeuvres. The texts furthermore offer critical analysis of the individual Hydropathe works and the club's collective practices. As such, Grojnowski's studies inform many subsequent accounts, and have profoundly influenced the understanding of the

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fumisme. L'esprit demande à être payé sur-le-champ par des bravos ou de discret sourires, le fumisme porte en lui-même sa propre récompense: il fait de l'art pour l'art. Afin de passer pour homme d'esprit, il suffit parfois d'être un âne couvert de la peau du lion; pour être bon fumiste il est souvent indispensable d'être un lion couvert d'une peau d'âne. Dans le premier cas l'effet est direct, dans le second il est une fois, deux fois, souvent dix fois réflexe'.

[59] Fragerolle, 'Le Fumisme', pp.2-3. 'Nous possédons parmi nous les deux têtes de colonne du Fumisme arrivé à sa formule scientifico-philosophique. La philosophie c'est Sapeck, la science c'est Alphonse Allais. L'un plus dandy, l'autre plus chimiste, ils font tous deux flotter, haute et conquérante, la bannière qui coupe le ciel de proud'homie sous lequel nous vivons. Hélas !'

[60] Daniel Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Company', in Cate and Shaw, *The Spirit of Montmartre*. This article was published as 'Hydropathes et cie', in Grojnowski, *Aux Commencements du Rire Moderne*.

Hydropathes. However, the accessibility and dominance of such Fumiste commentaries may well have swayed interpretations away from alternate characteristics of the Hydropathes' communal oeuvre. While Grojnowski's studies offer an invaluable insight into the complexities of the collectives, I wish to highlight an inherent problem with understanding the Hydropathes in the light of Fumiste philosophy. Fumisme's main philosopher, Sapeck, was a Hydropathe, and it is understandable that the jubilant, satirical mockery that arises in the group's practices can be defined within the 'Fumiste' rubric. However, Sapeck was not involved with the Hydropathe club until its final months,[61] and the term 'Fumisme' does not appear in the Hydropathe journal until 1880. Furthermore, when the term does appear in Fragerolle's article, 'Le Fumisme', the Hydropathes are explicitly stated as *precursors* to Fumisme: 'In this vast and secular/ancient [*séculaire*] way of Fumisme, the Hydropathes are again precursors'.[62] In light of this, I argue that a critical distinction should be made between the Fumistes and the Hydropathes.

That the Hydropathes have been framed within the parameters of Fumisme is also partly an accident of semiotics. The specific dynamics of each collective (also including for instance the Zutistes, the Arts Incohérents, etc.) made each group unique to its own visions, and as time passed Fumisme evolved into as many forms as there were Fumiste collectives. The interplay between each group of contributing artists set the tone for their work, so that the Incohérents, for instance, focused on the *Exposition des Arts Incohérents*, a single annual event that united its members, satirising formal fine art exhibitions. On the other hand, the Chat Noir, with its permanent location in Montmartre had smaller, regular events. Unlike the Incohérents, it was a cabaret-style venture that was the location of artistic collaborations; an inspiration for poetry and art work, as well as their place of

[61] Sapeck was the caricaturist for the Hydropathes only after the journal was rebranded *Tout-Paris* for its final three issues in the summer of 1880.

[62] Georges Fragerolle, 'Le Fumisme', pp.2-3. 'Dans cette voie immense et séculaire du Fumisme, les hydropathes sont encore des précurseurs'.

recitation or exhibition. The point is, for all their philosophical similarities, the exchange between the groups and the 'bohemian spirit' they shared, their approaches to art and their work was markedly different. Fumisme is the strand that connects them all, acting as an umbrella term allowing the groups to be discussed as a collective entity. Indeed, without the term Fumisme, discussion of their humorous and satirical positions becomes problematic. 'Bohemian' art might suffice, but of course this term covers art forms not at all interested in the aesthetic, social and political issues that concern the Fumiste groups. Fumisme is therefore a useful and necessary category for the historian; but it is also emblematic of the reduction in the natural complexities of its cultures, whereby critical differences are synthesised in the attempt to create a simplified, coherent historical analysis. This becomes important for this study once we recognised that Fumiste joviality was not the Hydropathes' starting point, but a concept conceived in the development of the club's collective practices. This process was not uncomplicated, and Goudeau's attempts to control the crowd of Hydropathe artists and students, (as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter two) reveal the internal conflicts and divergences in the society's aesthetic direction.

This begins to demonstrate the problems within the existing Hydropathe scholarship, as briefly registered by Grojnowski who describes Lévy's anthology, and Casteras's monograph as 'disappointing portraits':

> [...] in the sense that they bring together the productions of veteran Hydropathes, whose jokes quickly grew stale, who rendered in verse sentimental pieces that limp [...] Because they lack the euphoria associated with their specific historical and group context, many of these works seem totally foolish. In any case they help us to differentiate clearly between what the Hydropathes represented during their own time in Paris and the interest that they hold for us retrospectively.[63]

It is not entirely clear whether Grojnowski's 'disappointment' stems from what he potentially considered inadequate historical studies, or whether it is the Hydropathe

[63] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.97.

material that is deemed unsatisfactory. Nonetheless, he suggests that the seemingly 'stale' works represent a discrepancy between the Hydropathes' motivations, and more contemporary interests. This highlights what I claim to be one of the key problems faced in the current understanding of the Hydropathes. Because their practices lack 'the euphoria associated with their specific historical period', they do not easily fit within the social and aesthetic contexts commonly expected of late-nineteenth century cultures. (Those which are more readily identifiable in the practises of the Chat Noir, Alfred Jarry, and Arts Incohérents, to name just a few cultures to which the Hydropathes are considered antecedent.) In this instance, instead of the Hydropathe club being promoted in status due to its close connection to the more radical cultures that it inspired, paradoxically, as a relative entity the collective is undermined as but a poorer cousin.

The difficulty in locating the Hydropathe practices on its own ground, rather than in relation to affiliated cultures, I suggest is partly due to the unstable and transitory nature of this period in French history. French society was so changeable that in only a few years the socio-political climate changed significantly. Thus the arts within this period quickly responded to very different conditions. As much has been identified by Grojnowski in comparing the Hydropathes with the early-nineteenth-century bohemians. He claims the Hydropathes represent a more advanced bohemian culture because of the conditions under the liberal Republic, which allowed artists greater freedom of expression:

> The behaviour of the Hydropathes, who arrived on the scene in 1878, was on the one hand similar to that of the Jeune France movement, the Bousingots, and Murger-style bohemians, while on the other hand differing in ways that had to do with the historical moment.[64]

This suggests that while they demonstrate a point of advancement in liberal ('bohemian') cultures, they do not yet represent a fully-fledged avant-garde. Even Lévy's Arts Incohérents, slightly later and more critically self-aware than the Hydropathes, are

[64] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co', p.96.

characterised by Grojnowski as 'une avant-garde sans avancée', essentially criticising their lack of impact. He contemplates that the Arts Incohérents' opposition to socio-cultural institutions was akin to that of the 1920s avant-garde – namely, Dada. Yet, they failed to provoke the public reaction or the rejuvenation in the dominant forms of art production that Dada achieved, because they lacked an equivalent institutional impact:

> Their example illustrates the decisive importance of an audience [*réception*] [...] Thirty years before the scandals provoked by the post-war youth, who around 1920 irreversibly transformed our perception of the work, the *Incohérents*, to a large extent, invented Dada '*avant la lettre*', without having found ... the recognition that would have consecrated their research.[65]

This groundwork laid by Grojnowski has most recently been used by David Cottington in building a more comprehensive picture of the avant-garde formations in the early decades of the Third Republic. The Arts Incohérents' failure to 'recognise the subversive significance of their gestures', as Cottington adds to Grojnowski's statement, also signals 'the absence of an avant-garde consciousness on their part, and of a developed alternative and critical artistic discourse that could have provided a frame of reference for these gestures, and underwritten their subversions'.[66] His argument asserts that the early-, or pre-avant-gardes should be differentiated from the true 'avant-gardes' of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, which can only legitimately be called 'avant-garde' because of the awareness of their art's consequences (whether aesthetic, social, or political). Cottington's argument is not wholly new, but builds on complex discussions around the avant-garde developed since Peter Bürger's 'foundational' work, *Theories of the Avant-Garde*.[67]

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[65] Grojnowski, *Commencements du rire,* pp.255-6. 'Leur exemple illustre l'importance décisive de la réception, qui donne droit à l'existence culturelle d'une pratique … Une trentaine d'années avant que l'éclatent les scandales provoqués par la jeunesse de l'après-guerre, qui, vers 1920, a transformé de manière sans doute irréversible notre perception de l'œuvre, les *Incohérents* ont, pour une bonne part, inventé "dada" avant la lettre, sans avoir trouvé … la reconnaissance qui aurait consacré leurs recherches'.

[66] Cottington, *Shadow of War*, p.39.

[67] Cottington notes the well-rehearsed problems identified in Bürger's work, but remains to count this study as the most significant in its area.

What Cottington calls for, and the aim of his 2012 article, is a reassessment of the 'meanings and history' of the idea of the avant-garde, to correspond, as he states, with its evident re-engagement following the 'intemperate and ideological' abandonment by postmodernism.[68] In building on Grojnowski's understanding of the Arts Incohérents, Cottington argues for greater attention to be paid to what the former has called the 'phases' of the avant-garde. He thus calls for a breaking down of the different periods that have been combined (sometimes falsely) for the sake of accessibility, and creating linear art historical narratives. He furthermore confronts the problem of 'project[ing] the term "avant-garde" back onto groups at a time when the formation did not yet exist'.[69]

In this way, Cottington's argument is paralleled by my own exception (discussed above) to academia's persistent understanding of the Hydropathes solely in relation to Fumisme, or Montmartre cabarets. Just as for Cottington, who argues that Fumisme should be separated from the avant-garde *fin-de-siècle* practices, and twentieth-century art theory, the Hydropathe club, from its point of departure and operation cannot be faithfully coalesced by aesthetic practices that post-dated it. Both arguments take as their point of departure, if not a challenge to, then a questioning of the influence of nominal values upon the theoretical and conceptual understanding of a culture. How far should an art practice be regarded in relation to ideas that were not formed (or at least fully formed) at the time it operated? Cottington questions the legitimacy of the alternative:

> Is this to say that we must prioritise a period's assessment of itself, and use only the terms of its own disclosure? Not necessarily, but we should surely pay attention to those terms (and, if we supplant them, understand and clarify the reason for doing so), and also to when 'avant-garde' began to be commonly applied to artists who were putatively more innovative than others.[70]

[68] Cottington, 'Formation', p.597.

[69] Ibid., p.607.

[70] Ibid., p.607.

While this response does not reject the validity of defining art by later concepts, Cottington appeals to the side of caution. Regardless, such calls are undermined when no such caution is taken when he groups the Hydropathes, along with the Hirsutes and Jemenfoutistes together as Fumiste cultures. In so doing, he brushes over the 'phases' within this period of early 'avant-garde' formations that the argument advocates. The same is true of Grojnowski's essay on the Hydropathes, in which at times the Hydropathes are seemingly interchangeable with the Incohérents and Fumistes. Consequently it is difficult to discern whether or not the arguments about the Arts Incohérents are also meant to extend to Hydropathes and the other 'Fumiste' collectives.

As its starting point, this study seeks to distinguish the Hydropathes from these associated practices in a bid to understand the club from its point of departure. Rather than understanding the aesthetic techniques and tools as the right or territory of the artists who most fully developed it – which thus poses the question: how did the former anticipate the more significant latter? – The interrogation instead should address the ways these techniques were imagined differently in their different circumstances. Do these different conditions and different artists provide alternative ways of conceiving of these techniques? This perspective has the potential of finding value not only in points of similarity with the more fully realised, self-conscious avant-garde movements, but also revealing greater depth in the medium or practice through the differences. It would be to consider that although a practice, idea or technique may have been neglected by avant-garde communities that followed in their wake, that does not mean that it is insignificant, or that it will remain insignificant for all future cultures and societies. If a generation's (re)discovery of an art form breathes new life into it, and presents it with a different guise through a dynamic

relationship between 'art' and the 'consumers' of that art, then what was once rejected as irrelevant by one society, may provide the key to understanding or transforming another.

Autonomy or Subversion?

I previously referred to the Hydropathe scholarly literature as having progressed down a number of parallel, and contradictory paths that are yet to be resolved if a cohesive dialogue is to be established in this field of work. The club's relationship with its immediate socio-political environment is one such area. For some, on the one hand, the club seemingly withdrew from political involvement, becoming concerned instead with matters exclusively geared towards the autonomous potential of the arts in a cultural environment that was progressively liberated from state intervention. For others, on the other hand, the séances' sociability is significant for its direct involvement with the new cultural environment that was created by that social liberation. Illustrating the first perspective, Pamela Genova is clear and direct in her identification of the club as purely artistic, rather than politically-charged: 'under Goudeau's direction, the aesthetes won out, as the club became more centred on purely artistic questions, moving away from the political issues most polemic at the time'.[71] Genova suggests that after generations of struggle for social liberation the club's artists wanted nothing more than to take advantage of their newly acquired freedoms, and focus on the pursuit of artistic purity unhindered by the state's intervention in the arts. Bayard made a similar reading in reference to the club's journal: '*l'Hydropathe* paid no attention to politics; only the things of the intellect interested it'.[72] Contrary to these views, and illustrating the second perspective, Mary Gluck reacts to T.J. Clark's analysis of *fin-de-siècle* bohemia by relating the Hydropathes to a more socially-

[71] Genova, *Symbolist Journals,* p.65.

[72] Bayard, *Latin Quarter*, p.62.

motivated project. Gluck's account does not fail to recognise the club's artistic achievement, asserting more assuredly than most how it gained a 'reputation for serious artistic innovation and intellectual creativity'.[73] Yet her reading also addresses the club as a product of its historical moment:

> Their clearly articulated goal was not to abolish social injustice or to bring about immediate institutional changes in the world, but rather, to transform perceptions and ingrained attitudes to existing realities […] Their hope was to transform modernity on the symbolic and experimental level, making it transparent, accessible, and emotionally expressive for ordinary people.[74]

The Hydropathe club is here described as a mediator in an age of social-liberation, working between institutional factors that initiated change, such as schooling, voting systems, civil laws, and the church, and the ordinary citizen who was subject to these changes. The club is thus functional and responsive, but also active in providing a mode by which citizens could comprehend the burgeoning liberal Republic through personal interaction. Gluck highlights Clark's argument that bohemian inclusiveness was a façade concealing social divisions that remained very much intact, and that the 'charade' in which the clubs and cabarets posed to undermine social hierarchies otherwise served, on the contrary, to 'distract people from their real situation'.[75] Yet, Gluck's interpretation is unquestionably more utopian than Clark's characteristically Marxist reading, in that it argues the Hydropathe séances to have a role in the development of civil equality, the conditions for which are permitted by a non-suppressive state, and embraced by a forward-thinking mass public.[76]

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[73] Gluck, *Popular Bohemia*, p.114 . This argument for the Fumistes as being a high cultural endeavour is also asserted in her Mallarmé and Parody article. Also see Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé'.

[74] Gluck, *Popular Bohemia*, p.125-6.

[75] Ibid., p.125. Clark, Timothy J., 'The Bar at the Folies-Bergères', in *The Wolf and the Lamb: Popular Culture in France, From the Old Regime to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Jacques Beauroy, et al. (Saratoga, CA: Anma Libra, 1977).

[76] This tension echoes twentieth-century debates about the autonomy of abstract art, particularly between Meyer Shapiro, who read abstract expressionism as a political act, and Clement Greenberg, who argued that it represents withdrawal into aesthetic purism. Meyer Schapiro, 'The Liberating Quality of Avant-Garde Art', *Art News,* vol.56, 4 (summer 1957), 36-42. Reproduced as 'Abstract Art', in Meyer Schapiro, *Modern Art, 19th and 20th Centuries* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1978). Clement Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting' (1965),

A third reading, offered by Cottington, sits between these two. Considering the club in the light of Fumisme (what Cottington discusses as a 'pre-avant-garde'), the club responded to its socio-cultural environment through satirical humour. It is thus akin to certain groups in the twentieth-century avant-garde, which employed such tactics as a method of cultural subversion. Satirical, Fumiste jibes on bourgeois cultural institutions produced a proto-anti-art aesthetic. However, unlike their later counterparts any subversion by Fumiste gestures is read as accidental: 'it was in the absence of a public that would have offered them sufficient resistance to have obliged them to focus and develop their projects that, alarmed at their own boldness, they failed to recognise the subversive significance of their gestures'.[77] Here Cottington's reading (via Grojnowski) suggests the artists were so distracted by their pranks and *blagues* not to notice their artwork's subversive capability. If this argument suggests Dada, as the point of comparison to Fumiste gestures, to have responded to influences and provocations from within its ranks as much as those from outside it, here the Hydropathes (as Fumistes in Cottington's account) failed to fully comprehend the new languages that they were writing. This reading suggests that while the atmosphere at the Hydropathe séances displayed a glimmer of the subversive attitudes that were later practised by the avant-garde, without the force the later movements achieved through self-awareness, the Hydropathes' actions were ultimately inconsequential. Cottington recognises the club's potential for cultural subversion, but suggests that the ultimate failure to achieve this was because of the artists' withdrawal into aesthetic concerns. Through isolation from the surrounding socio-cultural environment, the artists, poets and performers that drove the club failed to recognise the power of their art to affect the wider institutions through which it functioned.

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reproduced in *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Francis Frascina and Charles Harrison (London: Harper & Row, 1982).

[77] Cottington, *Shadow of War*, p.39.

My own position is most closely aligned with Gluck's, and I wish to draw out of her argument something which is alluded to, yet not fully articulated: that the Hydropathe séances initiated cultural development by providing the means through which its public could engage with the conditions of a liberal system. In turn then, the club would be an active agent in influencing its audience to favour this way of life. Similarly to Cottington's view, this suggests the club capable of cultural subversion. However, for Gluck this was an intentional pursuit, rather than an unrealised potential, as suggested by Cottington's statement. Furthermore, for Cottington the potential for subversion lay dormant in the artists' text and performances, whereas, following Gluck, the influence on wider society was to be made through the modes in which the club made art 'accessible' and understandable for the masses. While both are concerned with cultural subversion that could be achieved through undermining the conventions of French academic art, Cottington posits this subversion as a destructive, nihilistic tendency, whereas Gluck asserts it to have a positive and affirmative role in the construction of new alternatives.

I aim to build upon Gluck's suggestion that the club was designed as a cultural institution to positively 'transform modernity'. I argue that this was not solely achieved through making it 'accessible' (in other words, that the club demonstrated the change its members wanted to see in the world and thus made it a practical reality), but that that accessibility enabled the club to reach the widest audience possible, through which that change would be achieved in society at large. Although this notion builds upon Gluck's work, I hesitate to conform to her idealistic suggestion that the club renegotiated class divisions for the sake of some kind of greater good, or achieved a form of egalitarian utopia. To explain this exception, it is useful to confront the existing problematic highlighted above and outlined in the given précis of interpretations, in which the club is assumed to be apolitical at the same time that it is seen as an active agent in the progress

toward a liberal utopia. This view of the club is demonstrated in Grojnowski's writing, which summarises, at the end of the following quote, both positions simultaneously:

> After the defeat of France by Prussia, the collapse of the Second Empire, the Paris Commune bloodshed, and the austerity of President Mac Mahon's moral order, the Hydropathes were the first to organise open meetings that were *at once republican, anticlerical, apolitical, and literary*.[78] (My emphasis)

Although it is not asserted, Grojnowski's ordering of the final four characteristics confirms a logical categorisation. The first two terms, 'republican' and 'anti-clerical', might be identified as mutually sympathetic, since the division of church and state was essential to the republican agenda, as it represented the desired separation from established conservative institutions. Similarly the latter two, 'apolitical' and 'literary', both represent withdrawal from institutional practices, intimating certain autonomy from wider cultural concerns. But to what extent is it possible to embody all four of these often conflicting characteristics? Can the Hydropathes be 'republican and anticlerical' *and* 'apolitical and literary'?[79] Can one represent a belief while remaining autonomous of the wider institutions through which it is played out? Is it possible to distinguish between republican beliefs and Republican beliefs? The difference here being that one supports the fragmented Republican parties that fought for state power, while the other symbolises a less tangible belief in the idea of the Republic that may not bear any relation to the legislative policies offered by Republicans. The difference is an important one, and I suspect that it is the latter, more tentative, and less politically active meaning of 'republican' that Grojnowski was offering in his summary of the Hydropathe character. The issue here lies not only in the current failure to recognise, let alone address, the tension between these two standpoints, but furthermore that Grojnowski's description is presented as summative and resolutory: the fact that the club was 'at once republican, anticlerical, apolitical, and literary'

[78] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.96.

[79] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.50. Schiau-Botea recognises Grojnowski's 'formula' as evidence of the séances' 'paradoxical' nature.

was an apparent quirk of the times, and also the locus of the club's uniqueness and point of difference from the previous precedents that it resembled. The failure to confront this tension is one of the significant gaps in the existing Hydropathe literature. To consider this ambiguity as a resolution, as Grojnowski does, or to perceive their apparent inclusivity as a force for good, as Gluck idealistically does, is to an extent to assume republican liberalism to be synonymous with civil liberties, and an unadulterated liberation of the people of France. Or, in other words, it is to reinforce the problematic whereby the utopian ideal of a free republican society is severed from the practical reality that would create the conditions for that ideal.

This is the topic of the following chapter. In examining the Hydropathes in relation to its specific socio-political environment, I develop the argument presented here. I demonstrate not only that the Hydropathe club was not apolitical, as it has been understood, but also how it can be recognised as complicit with the liberal republican agenda that became the dominant ideology in France during the final decades of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Two

The Hydropathe Club as a Cultural Institution

Introduction

What's in a Name?: The Etymological Roots of 'Hydropathe'

The name 'Hydropathe' has many alleged etymological roots. The most sincere of these is outlined in Goudeau's autobiography, in which he explains that the name's undefined meaning was suitable for the club which lacked any 'common programme' at the time it was founded: 'I explained the word's origin, and insisted on the point that since we lacked any common programme, we take a name that wouldn't jeopardise any of the society's future doctrines or possible defections [*apostasies*]'.[1] Goudeau thus anticipated a sustained future, but was still uncertain of its direction. Ambiguity thus allowed the club freedom to evolve without being confined by a name that prior stipulated its practices or ideologies. The peculiarity of this allegedly meaningless name has inspired many interpretations. Many of which were invented by the artists themselves, helping to form an enigmatic aura that Grojnowski has suggested was a tactic to 'ensure the promotion of the

[1] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* pp.185-6. 'J'expliquai ensuite l'origine du mot, et j'insistai sur ce point, que, n'ayant pas de programme commun, nous posséderions un nom inédit qui ne compromettrait ni les doctrines futures de la Société ni les apostasies possibles'.

group'.[2] Nearly all of the various interpretations refer to water, in response to the prefix 'hydro'. They also frequently connote the club's inclination towards the humour and word plays that recur throughout its practices. Goudeau cites two such explanations, relating the term first of all to his own name: Goudeau becomes 'Gout d'eau', meaning 'the taste of water'. Second, published as a 'Blague Hydropathe' in *l'Hydropathe*'s first issue, it is said to refer to the club's meeting place at the *Hôtel Boileau* (*Boire l'eau* meaning 'to drink water'):

- Why did your society take the name Hydropathe?
  Someone asked one of our colleagues.
- Because it has Goudeau, and holds its séances at the Hotel Boileau.[3]

These interpretations also highlight a number of the club's influences, emphasising in the former case Goudeau's dominant role; and in the latter case the centrality of their locale. Although the latter interpretation was pitted as a 'blague' – a quip against an ignorant public that is subtly mocked – it emphasised the social role of their local gatherings in a community imbued with a rich cultural history. Vying, as they were, as nonconformists, the group's nod to Murger's bohemian group the 'Buveurs d'eau' (Water Drinkers) cannot be overlooked. If it is an ironic allusion, it is also telling of the changing nature of Parisian bohemia that while Murger's bohemians were so named because poverty left water the only affordable drink, for the Hydropathes the reference was, on the contrary, for their aversion to it. In claiming water was banned from club meetings because it made them sick, the Hydropathes alluded to the drunken antics that could be found at their séances. Given how closely the group is related to liberal 'bourgeois' bohemia, and the excesses of Montmartre whose frivolity and imagination were infamously fuelled by the taste for absinthe, for many this is the most palpable interpretation of the club's name.

[2] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.99.

[3] 'Blagues Hydropathesques,' *l'Hydropathe*, 1 (22 January 1879), p.4. '- Pourquoi votre société a-t-elle pris le nom d'Hydropathe? demandait-on à l'un de nos confrères: | - Parce qu'elle a Goudeau, et tient ses séances à l'hôtel Boileau'.

Goudeau then offers an alternative interpretation, claiming the name alluded to the 'hydropathen-valsh': a popular German waltz by Hungarian composer, Joseph Gungl, which Goudeau had heard performed in concert.[4] This alludes to the club's involvement with music and performance, as well as offering a perhaps satirical reference to classical traditions. Goudeau describes how Gungl's waltz evoked the image of crystal clear water bottles being carried at thermal spas by nurses, known as 'hydropathes'.[5] Hydropathe musician and composer, Georges Fragerolle, later made a similar reference to the healing power of water, in his cryptic definition of Fumiste art: 'Fumisme is to wit [*l'esprit*], what the opera is to the *opéra-bouffe*, what the joke is to caricature, the prune is to *Hundyadi-János* water. Whoever signs these lines is particularly satisfied with this last comparison'.[6] The salted Hungarian '*Hyunadi-János'* water and thermal spas, targeted primarily at middle-class women, gained increasing popularity throughout Europe and the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. The spa water's mineral content was claimed to 'almost always display the most happy and triumphant effects', and also increase 'the life and elasticity of the animal spirits' of the women who gathered there.[7] The repeated reference to such a peculiar sub-culture of Western bourgeois society is undoubtedly odd, and its recurrence a remarkable enough coincidence to tempt a link with the Hydropathes' own jubilant social gatherings. It also suggests further mockery of bourgeois leisurely pursuits.

The multiple reputed etymological roots of 'Hydropathe' is comparable to the well-documented complexity of the term 'Dada'. In various accounts 'Dada' has been said to reference a baby noise, the revelations of a spectacle ('da da!), as well as various linguistic translations: for example, 'a hobbyhorse' in French, and 'nurse' in Russian. In all these

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[4] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.182.

[5] François Caradec, *Alphonse Allais* (Paris, Belfond, 1994), pp. 100-101.

[6] Georges Fragerolle, 'Le Fumisme', *L'Hydropathe,* vol.2, 8 (12 May 1880), pp.2-3. 'Le Fumisme est à l'esprit ce que l'opérette est à l'opéra-bouffe, la charge à la caricature, le pruneau à l'eau d'Hunyadi-János. Celui qui signe ces lignes est particulièrement satisfait de cette dernière comparaison'.

[7] Charlene M. Boyer Lewis*, Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (University of Virginia Press, 2001), p.77.

cases the name symbolises the movement's international diversity and the refusal of nomenclature, traditions, and cultures of any one given nation. At the height of European nationalism during World War I, the movement's rejection of a definite cultural origin conformed to its renouncement of nationalistic ideologies and identities. More of a sound than a word, it furthermore recalls experimental sound poetry that emphasised the verbal quality of the written word, thus embedding within it the suggestion of performance that encourages its reader into action. As well as the name's association with Dada's avant-garde poetry, it also recalled the movement's nihilistic tendencies. As Tzara enforced in his 1918 *Dada Manifesto*, the word meant 'nothing':

> Dada Means Nothing.
>
> If you find it futile and don't want to waste your time on a word that means nothing ... The first thought that comes to these people is bacteriological in character: to find its etymological, or at least its historical or psychological origin. We see by the papers that the Kru Negroes call the tail of a holy cow Dada. The cube and the mother in a certain district of Italy are called: Dada. A hobby horse, a nurse both in Russian and Rumanian: Dada. Some learned journalists regard it as an art for babies, other holy *jesusescallingthelittlechildren* of our day, as a relapse into a dry and noisy, noisy and monotonous primitivism. Sensibility is not constructed on the basis of a word; all constructions converge on perfection which is boring, the stagnant idea of a gilded swamp, a relative human product.[8]

In confronting the various interpretations, Tzara asserts the falsity of them all, and the futility of *any* interpretation. The name enters into a world in which words abandon semiotic meaning: its 'nothingness' an anarchistic rejection of systematic conventions and centralised institutional values.[9] The movement's artistic and political beliefs are thus paralleled in and by its name.

The same is true of 'Hydropathe'. It describes the practice not through direct semiotic designation, for instance in the way 'Realism' stipulates a conception of an unflinching *reality*, or as 'minimalism' denotes an art work that is stripped down, bare, and

[8] Tristan Tzara, 'Dada Manifesto', (1918).

[9] Andrew Murphy, 'Tolerance, Toleration, and the Liberal Tradition', *Polity*, vol.29, 4 (summer 1997), 593-623. Eric Robertson has also questioned the notion of Dada's singularly nihilistic purpose, asserting it was largely conceived by figures such as Hans Richter and Richard Huelsenbeck during the post-war period. Eric Robertson, *Arp: Painter, Poet, Sculptor* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.15.

minimal in its design. Rather, the term describes its practice indirectly, by alluding to its broader philosophies and ideological foundations. Where in the case of 'Dada' the allusion is to the refusal of national linguistic boundaries, and the (nihilistic) rejection of institutional convention; in the case of 'Hydropathe', it is to the ambiguity of the artist's role within the changing socio-political climate in which they operate.

The given interpretations of the Hydropathe name denote two conflicting images of the club. On the one hand they highlight the club's jovial and carefree spirit, defining it as an autonomous art form, interested in little more than harmless humour. Yet, on the other hand, there is an essence of a satirical, scornful reproach of the bourgeoisie, thus characterising the club as a more aggressive, politically-oriented institution. Both images are evident, for instance, in Grojnowski's reading that associates the Hydropathe name with the mystical serpent, the 'Hydra', 'whose head grows back every time it is cut off'.[10] He first deciphers the name as the 'hydra of revolution, the hydra of anarchy'. His second decipherment reads it as 'the hydra of bourgeois conformity', which is asserted to be a 'less parodical' interpretation.[11] Both readings remain somewhat cryptic, but the impulsion seems to be to balance any reading of the club's aggressive gestures, with a less vicious, parodical alternative, and vice versa.

Thus, similarly to the club name, the *Cercle des Hydropathes*'s cultural discourses defy any fixed meaning or interpretation. The ambiguity in the club's intentions urges its audience or commentator to make a dual reading: one that understands the club to be harmless and carefree, the other that it was seeking subversion through the use of satire. This is not meant to suggest the two are mutually exclusive, since parody and satire are imbued as much with humour as they are confrontation. But if there is nonetheless

[10] Grojnowski, ' Hydropathes and Co.', p.99.

[11] Ibid.

distance between harmless humour, and subversive attacks, the dilemma is where to locate the Hydropathes and their seemingly jovial practices. Confronting this is to broach the question of how much the Hydropathes' original project was concerned with subversive action, or whether it otherwise sought to reject political ideologies to embrace a more autonomous cultural practice; both of which suggest two very different characters. Of course the answers to such questions will not be found in the group's name alone. Yet the diversity of readings is certainly symptomatic of an underlying ambiguity of character and intent, which obscures more than it resolves. The more one is compelled to scrutinise the readings, and deliberate on deeper allegorical meaning, the more futile the activity becomes. With this in mind, if it is accepted that such overarching ambiguity serves to conceal the club's intentions, I wish to broaden the parameters of existing scholarship to consider an interpretation that is not primarily related to the club's humorous guise.

The aim of this chapter is simple. I offer an original reading that identifies the club as complicit with the aims and values of the liberal Republic. Through examining the Hydropathe club in relation to its socio-political environment, I demonstrate first of all how its labelling as apolitical (as discussed in Chapter one) is highly problematic. In the following sections I show how the Hydropathes represented one side of a controversial and tentative divide that was inextricable from the politics of the period. In constructing this argument I employ a number of case studies, which although are not meant to provide a comprehensive picture, are intended as synecdochic models that illustrate the conditions of the given historical period, from 1878 to 1880. The chapter is divided into two parts, the first of which focuses on this historical period, during which the Hydropathe club was founded. I will argue that the club functioned as an ideological apparatus, as abiding by Louis Althusser's terms. In the way that it reproduced the liberal republican ideology through providing a participatory culture conforming to liberalist values. Part two then turns to look more closely at the Hydropathe club itself. To counter Goudeau's claims that

his club was apolitical, it is first of all worth considering that the precarious political environment may have necessitated such an approach. The following section explores just this, considering the impact that continuing civil suppressions had on the social cultures of France.

Part One

The Socio-Political Climate of the Early Third Republic

Censorship and Curfews in the Early Third Republic

The period the Hydropathe club was active was a critical juncture in French politics and society. The earliest years of the Third Republic were characterised by conservative rule under the presidencies of Adolphe Thiers, and Patrice de MacMahon. By the end of the decade, however, under leadership of figures including Léon Gambetta, Jules Simon, and Jules Ferry, the liberal factions of the Republic gained increasing dominance. This led to the widespread restructuring of state institutions, to reflect liberalist values and attitudes. The changes in the education system and the state's relationship with the church exemplify these changes. Schools became free and mandatory, and were also secularised as part of the implementation of *Laïcité*. Civil liberties were also reviewed, resulting in the state removing strict regulations controlling public assembly and the establishment of bars.[12] It was the removal of such rules in 1880 that led to the explosion of the number of bars and cafés in

[12] Susanna Barrows, 'Parliaments of the People: The Political Culture of Cafes in the Early Third Republic', in S. Barrows and R. Room, *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991).

Paris, which numbered over 30,000 by 1895.[13] Anyone with sufficient funding could open a bar, and it was forbidden to close down a law-abiding venue simply on political grounds.[14] Such legislative amendments were motivated not only by socio-political agenda, but also for their financial benefits, assisting the recovery from the worst economic hardship in living memory. In farcical and incompetent dealings with Bismarck in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war, Thiers and his ministers accepted terms that helped put the country into severe debt.[15] At the same time, the Commune had seen much of Paris's populace sacrifice their lives for the republican cause; thousands of French men and women on both sides of the divide were killed during the uprisings.[16] These were bloody and violent times and the loss of life had its consequences on the city's recovery. Politically Paris remained divided, and the Republic's treatment of the Communards remained a point of contention, and amnesty was not declared for its exiles until 1880.[17] On a practical level also, the loss of so many working men meant a reduction in the city's capabilities. Manpower was temporarily reduced, and rebuilding parts of the city destroyed during the Commune and the Prussian siege was a slow process that the government was unable to fund.[18] Many taxes had been suspended due to the fighting, and the local government received only a proportion of the taxes that had been levied before the fall of the Second Empire.[19] However, one of the unlikely results of the Commune was its stimulation of the tourist industry. The ruins of Europe's most modern city still drenched in the blood of its citizens,

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[13] Gabriel Weisberg, 'Montmartre's Lure: An Impact on Mass Culture', in *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture*, ed. by G. Weisberg (New Brunswick, NJ; London: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p.22.

[14] Ibid.

[15] France was ordered to pay an enormous sum of five billion francs, and to relinquish Alsace and Lorraine. Bismarck held France to ransom, threatening that the occupation of Paris would continue until the debt was paid. Edgar Feuchtwanger, *Bismarck* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.179.

[16] During the Commune, the Bloody week, and the period shortly after, civilian deaths are estimated at around 25,000. It is suggested that many of these deaths were likely caused by 'disease and destitution', rather than by the enemy. (p.86). Losses in the French army were substantially less, at 873 deaths during the Commune. However, in the months beforehand there had been an estimated 150,000 troops killed during the Franco-Prussian War. Stephen Badsey, *The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), p.86.

[17] Robert Gildea, *Children of the Revolution: The French, 1799-1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), p.259.

[18] Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, *Paris and her People under the Third Republic* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1919), pp.9.

[19] Ibid., pp.9-10.

many of whom were dead or imprisoned in overseas penitentiaries, made for a bleak yet romantic image for the struggles of modern civilisation. In Paris's summer sun the hotels and restaurants saw thriving trade and the miseries of war were forgotten, as recalled by a British expatriate living in Paris during the period:

> In the summer and autumn of 1871 many Parisians who had quitted their homes the previous year when it became evident that the Germans intended to besiege the city, and who had prolonged their absence – often in some far away province – during the war's terrible aftermath, the Commune, returned once more to their former surroundings – the Boulevards, the Bois, the Champs Élysées and other favourite spots. The hotels were doing good business, for the city was full of foreign and provincial tourists eager to gaze upon the ruins and other traces of strife and destruction which the war, and particularly the insurrection, had left behind them.[20]

The government's priorities when it came to reconstructing the city's public buildings demonstrate the value placed on culture in this period of hardship. Whilst the city hospital was lying in ruins, money was plunged into the completion of Gautier's new opera house, despite the *Opéra Le Peletier* having survived the Communards' burning of public buildings and still being fully functional.[21] After a period of conservatism in the years following the Commune, popular cultures were also encouraged to expand to accommodate the tourist trade, when the 'experience' of foreign cultures became the height of fashion in middle-class leisure. It was the expansion of the middle classes and the ever-increasing ease of travel that helped provoke the growth of bars, cafés and cabarets in bohemian Paris, encouraging the convergence of high and low cultures. At this time, removing restrictions on the right to assemble may seem both natural and logical, not least for the economic benefits it brought to the city, and for contributing to the notion of France as the height of European culture. Still today it is the cafés and bars that dominate Parisian streets; its contemporary culture moulded around traditions of drinking, smoking, and snacking on

[20] Ibid., p.8-9.

[21] Ibid., pp.22-23. In 1873, the Peletier opera house was destroyed by fire.

local foods while watching the urban population pass by.[22] But at the time, removing obstructions to bar ownership, and permitting the local public to freely pass their time there signals a drastic shift in the perception of assembled communities, which had seemed so dangerous throughout the centuries. Cafés, bars, taverns and *auberges* were gathering places of local communities, where people came together to converse, play music, share anecdotes, and discuss the politics of the day. Culture, entertainment, and political discussion were inseparable in the café environment. Music and song were common methods of encouraging support for a cause and spreading propagandist messages, particularly amongst the semi-illiterate peasantry.[23] It is because of their central role in crafting the history of France from the 1789 Revolution onwards that cafés were known colloquially as the 'people's parliament', and unlike the more private, sophisticated restaurants, cafés were 'haunted by police informants'.[24] It was also due to this role that governments had introduced curfews, and gave officials the right to close down establishments with little cause, thus curbing the spread of oppositional thought. Republican liberalisation from the 1880s onwards may have given respite from this tension, and contrasts with the controls enforced by Louis-Napoléon's regime during the Second Empire. However, the founding of the Third Republic in 1870 did not mark these changes. Republican mainly by name in order to restrict opposition to their rule, the Thiers and MacMahon governments were largely dominated by monarchist sympathisers.[25] Both governments retained many controls that were reintroduced during Louis-Napoléon's rule,

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[22] For a fascinating history of the restaurant as a uniquely Parisian culture in the nineteenth century see Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[23] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

[24] Honoré de Balzac, 'Comme quoi le cabaret est le Parlement du peuple', *Les Paysans: Scènes de la vie de campagne* (London: Dent, 1911).

Spang, *Invention*, p.215.

[25] Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times: From the Enlightenment to the present* (New York; London: Norton, 1981), p.225.

some of which were made more severe in response to the Commune and fears of further uprisings.[26]

Active between 1878 and 1880, therefore, the Hydropathe séances occurred at the very turning point between the two political forces. It was founded at the start of the liberal republic, but before the social liberalisation of the 1880s. As such, the *Cercle des Hydropathes* was still subjected to the laws and censorships of the conservative monarchist Republic. In this environment of persistent censorship, the music, singing and social atmosphere at the club would have made it a target. For even when a new law of 1878 loosened official controls over bars, the popular, commercialised singing societies, the *café-concerts*, were exempt from such liberalisation, demonstrating the persistent suspicion over populist events.[27] The Hydropathes may have claimed to reject all political ideology, and have been accepted by most to have worked without any specified doctrine, yet to state, as Grojnowski does, that their practices 'pre-figured' the liberal freedoms that were widespread a decade later overlooks the fact that the club nonetheless functioned in a period before those liberties were fully established.[28] The social environment in which they met only exacerbated the need to deny political affiliation because of the centrality of informal social gatherings in France's revolutionary history. As Barrows argues, it was in the café 'that the spirit of the republic was to be affirmed in the face of MacMahon's self-styled "moral order"'.[29] That the club functioned within an era of continuing suspicion is demonstrated by the problems it experienced with local government prefects. Goudeau had to deal with complaints about the club's noise levels causing disruption in the local neighbourhood.[30] In addition, Goudeau recalled his encounter with a government prefect,

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[26] John Kim Munholland, 'The Republican Order and Republican Tolerance in Fin-de-Siècle France: Montmartre as a Delinquent Community', in Weisberg (ed.), *Montmartre*, p.22.

[27] Gendron, *Mudd Club*, p.54.

[28] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes & Co.', p.100.

[29] Barrows, 'Parliaments of the People', p.88.

[30] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, pp.190-6.

who served to remind him of the law forbidding women to attend their evening events. To this Goudeau responded with the plea that women must be permitted, as the famous actress Sarah Bernhardt was a member:

- [Goudeau]: But, I declared to the head of the 3rd bureau, what if Mme Sarah Bernhardt, who has accepted the hydropathe title, wishes to attend a séance and have it hear her golden voice?
- [Prefect]: Oh! Mme Sarah Bernhardt, said the prefect, pardon me! She's not a woman, she's a great artiste...
- Good, I replied, but if such or such other artistes, such as Mlle Réjane or Mlle Reichemberg, would like to attend, must they have the door closed in their face?
- No, no, without doubt, they are actresses...
- But... the students of the Conservatoire?
- Fine, fine, fine, they are destined for a dramatic career...
- But... but... the young women who are preparing to enter the Conservatoire?
- Quite! Quite! cried the prefect, you are a joyful trickster. Let us conclude: you will receive, under your own responsibility, and with a degree of tolerance on our part, all the women that you would like. But in order that we have the right to crack down in case of scandals, you must add the article: women are not admitted to the Hydropathes.[31]

By this account, women were permitted to attend the séances unofficially, although formal documentation would state the contrary. The anecdote has become one of the club's most frequently cited episodes. For most it demonstrates the group's mocking nature, which is perhaps exacerbated by the way that Goudeau recounts the incident humorously, as a victory against the petty inconveniences of the interfering authorities. Gluck has identified this occurrence as evidence of the government's flexibility in these matters, while suggesting that it also intimates the 'incompatibility' between decadent bohemia and the bourgeois realm.[32] It demonstrates how state interference persisted in civil life, and the necessity of outwitting it to enjoy the freedom to assemble. Such attempts to elude suppressive laws were common, especially where social gatherings were concerned. As

[31] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.195. See appendix B for the original French version.

[32] Gluck, *Popular Bohemia,* p.127.

Barrows demonstrates, instances of proprietors breaking the laws with almost sarcastic defiance were typical. Some would turn back the hour hand of the clock as officials approached the bar after curfew; others would throw bread on to the tables, when drinking was only permitted when accompanying a meal. Minor breaches of the law were an easy excuse for officials to close down premises; however, mocking political systems constituted a more serious form of rebellion. When one proprietor of a village café in the Marne accepted ballot papers for the 1877 elections to *'torcher le cul'*, he was duly arrested and interrogated by police.[33] Such behaviour 'constituted a serious breach of law; with the most trivial infraction of regulations a *cafetier* risked loss of livelihood, fines, and imprisonment'.[34] As the accused in these instances protested their innocence on the grounds that they lacked any political thought – 'I am so politically indifferent that I do not even take a newspaper' – so too did the Hydropathes deny any political association:[35]

> The Latin Quarter, numb from inflexible politics, and from religious questions that are of little interest today, wakes to listen to verse and song. It devises its philosophical-poetic works, allowing fantasy to hover with its wings deployed.[36]

Although the Hydropathes – Goudeau most adamantly among them – explicitly stated their interest in artistic concerns above any political motivation, it appears that distancing the club from politics may well have been through necessity in order for it to continue without interference. I therefore argue that although the *Cercle des Hydropathes* did not directly state their support for the Republican state, a promotion of its values was nonetheless present in the practices.

In making this reading I consciously contradict Goudeau's own description of the Hydropathe meetings, which appears to reinforce Genova's interpretation of the events as

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[33] Barrows, 'Parliaments of the People', p.92.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.324. 'Le Quartier Latin engourdi de politique intransigeante ou autre, et de questions religieuses qui n'ont guère d'intérêt aujourd'hui, se réveille pour écouter des vers et des chansons. On médite des ouvrages philosophico-poétiques, en laissant au-dessus planer toutes ailes déployées, la fantaisie'.

an artistic forum that 'became more centred on purely artistic questions'.[37] Goudeau directly stated as much, denying the exclusivity of the events: 'The Hydropathe club was no small church [*église*], but a sort of forum open to all'.[38] The statements make the case for the club's withdrawal into autonomous aesthetic concerns, explicitly denying the club stood for a common doctrine associated with the nation's socio-political interests. This contrasts with the tensions surrounding, for instance, Realist painting in the previous decades, and also with the exclusivity of the twentieth-century avant-garde for which manifestoes and close-knit networks were instrumental in selecting people and art works that conformed to specified aesthetics and beliefs. Yet, if this was how the Hydropathe club promoted itself, Jules Lévy's description of the club as a 'phalange artistique' that met no less than once a week to share in the '*culte de l'art'*, suggests otherwise.[39]

The Hydropathes' inclusive approach equates to a form of camaraderie that stands as the antithesis of politically-motivated, doctrinal art. However, creating a club that rejected exclusivity is in itself a loaded gesture. What the club's inclusivity symbolised was the rejection of social divisions through its acceptance of all people regardless of gender, background or training. Through its disregard of formal hierarchies it also rejected traditional conceptions of art. While both rejections express political withdrawal, implicitly they are representative of unquestionably liberal ideals. As Rearick has argued: 'Though they avoided explicit political discussion, their revolt can also be seen as a rejection of the moral conservatism fostered by the monarchist and Catholic "moral order" of the 1870s'.[40] In allowing open participation the club simultaneously rejected conservative traditions: the same traditions that the liberal republic sought to overhaul through its dismantling of national institutions. Through encouraging any form of artistic practice it further rejected

[37] Genova, *Symbolist Journals,* p.65.

[38] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.197. 'Ce n'était point une petite église que les *hydropathes*, mais une sorte de *forum* ouvert à tous'.

[39] Lévy, *Les Hydropathes*, p.5.

[40] Rearick, *Belle Époque,* pp.36-7.

academic conventions: the same conventions that symbolised conservative values and promoted a more traditional way of life. The club's existence therefore not only *represented* movement away from the conservative right. Through backing liberal cultural ideals in a persistently conservative republican society, it further perpetuated this progression, helping to entrench the values of the liberal republic that were not yet the dominant ideology in France.

Anticlericalism

As we have already seen, the club's liberal republican agenda can be identified in its egalitarian community of anti-academic performers and amateur poets, which socialised side by side, and performed on the same stage. Its alignment with liberal republicanism might also be evident in its anticlericalism. The claim that the Hydropathes were anticlerical is most candidly made by Grojnowski, and it is through him that subsequent writers have made the same claim:[41] '[the] Hydropathes were the first to organise open meetings that were once republican, anticlerical, apolitical, and literary'.[42] That Grojnowski's authoritative assertion is used by proxy to support the idea that the club was anticlerical is perhaps telling of the lack of evidence to this effect emanating from Hydropathe practices. Thus, the assertion is accepted despite how forcefully Goudeau restricted any political beliefs being voiced through the club. Outside of the Hydropathe circle, however, particularly after the club's close, many of its leading figures were associated with anticlerical discourse. Such views, for instance, surfaced far more overtly in Goudeau's *Chat Noir*, and the church's authority was confronted in the first edition of the cabaret's journal: 'It is high time to correct an error which has weighed down on more than sixty entire generations ... The writing which we call holy – I don't really know why – has done nothing more, to put

[41] See for instance, Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.50; and Soppelsa, *Fragility*, p.286.

[42] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co', p.96.

it politely, than make a mockery of the people'.[43] As Julian Brigstocke argued, in opposition to the Catholic Church's tactical construction of the Basilica de Sacré Cœur, such articles attempted to re-imagine Montmartre as a place characterised by 'anti-clericalism and anti-traditionalism'.[44] While anticlerical views are not so vehemently confronted in *l'Hydropathe*, such beliefs nonetheless occasionally surfaced. In the final few issues of the journal (by this point publishing under the title *Tout-Paris*), a number of advertisements appear for anticlerical publications. Unlike the advertisements for local bars and bookshops that appear in a designated advertising space on the back page, in these cases the promotion of anticlerical literature occurs on the inside cover. They sit alongside the artists' poetry and prose, and the texts are given full endorsement by the Hydropathe club. Publicity for *Le Jésuite Rouge* by Alfred Sirven and Henri Le Verdier appeared on a single occasion in the journal's final issue;[45] and the following promotion of Pompeu Gener's *La Mort et le Diable* was published in four consecutive issues:[46]

> In these times of conflict between the church and the state, between superstition and reason, it is good fortune to find work of a profound analysis of dogmas and religious myths of diverse races and ages, in which the beliefs of theologians are reduced to their meagre value compared to the omnipotent truth of positivist science. It is to this text that we are happy to signal an important work published by Reinwald, with a preface by Littré, and entitled: *La Mort et le Diable: Histoire et philosophie de deux négations suprêmes.* This study, which exposes all the obstacles that man must overcome to extend civilisation on Earth, is due to a young Spaniard, Mr. Pompejo [sic] Gener, member of the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris,* and correspondent member of the Cercle des Hydropathes.[47]

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[43] Jacques Lehardy (Clément Privé), 'Montmartre,' *Le Chat Noir*, 1 (14 January 1882). 'Il est grand temps de rectifier une erreur qui a pesé sur plus de soixante générations complètes. L'Écriture que l'on dit sainte – je ne sais pourquoi, – n'a fait pour parler poliment, que se moquer du peuple'.

[44] Julian Brigstocke, 'Defiant Laughter: Humour and the Aesthetics of Place in Late Nineteenth-Century Montmartre', *Cultural Geographies*, vol.19, 2 (2012), 217-235, pp.220-1.

[45] Alfred Sirven and Henri Le Verdier, *Le Jésuite Rouge* (Paris: Dentu, 1879).

[46] Pompeu Gener, *La Mort et le Diable: Histoire et Philosophie des deux Négations Suprêmes* (Paris: Reinwald, 1880).

[47] *Tout-Paris*, 9-12, p.2. 'En ce temps de haut lutte entre l'église et l'état, la superstition et la raison, c'est une bonne fortune que de trouver une œuvre de profonde analyse des dogmes et des mythes religieux des diverses races et des diverses âges, dans laquelle les conceptions des théologiens sont réduites a leur maigre valeur devant la toute-puissance vérité de la science positive. C'est à ce titre que nous somme heureux de signaler un important ouvrage publié chez Reinwald, avec une préface de Littré, et intitulé: *La Mort et le Diable: Histoire et philosophie de deux négations suprêmes.* Cette étude, qui expose tous les obstacles que l'homme a dû surmonter pour étendre la civilisation sur la terre, est due à un jeune savant espagnol, M. Pompejo [sic] Gener, membre de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris et membre correspondant du cercle des hydropathes'.

Gener was a Catalan writer who was influential in late nineteenth-century Spanish modernism for introducing Nietzschean ideas in the country, before the appearance of authorised translations of Nietzsche's texts.[48] The journal's declaration of Gener as a 'correspondent member of the *Cercle des Hydropathes*', indicates first of all the club's attempts to link with a wider network of European intellectuals, and furthermore, the kinds of artists with whom the Hydropathes wished to associate.[49] As well as being a proponent of Nietzschean ideals, Gener is closely aligned with Positivist theories. The preface for this text was written by Émile Littré himself, the student of Auguste Comte, the founder of Positivist thought.

The growth of Positivism, which offered insight into the habits and behaviour of man in society, was one of the 'major ingredients in the official republican ideology developed during the 1870s and 1880s', having influenced leading figures such as Gambetta and Ferry.[50] Comte established this field of study in the mid-nineteenth century, and his protégée, Littré – who had diverged from 'orthodox' positivism during the 1860s – reawakened contemporary interest with his adapted school of Positivist thought. Although Positivism has been notoriously difficult to define conclusively having developed diverse branches including 'philosophical', 'social', 'Comtean', etc., in many academic fields, its recurrent themes link back to Comte's original ideals that it offer a methodology for understanding the laws of social organisation.[51] In all, Comtean Positivism presented very little in the way of novel thought, but, as Gordon Wright has argued, '[w]hat French republicans found here was a consistent and complete set of ideas, a philosophical substructure, for their materialist and agnostic leanings. It supported their optimistic hope

[48] Paul Ilie, 'Nietzsche in Spain: 1890-1910', *PMLA*, vol. 79, 1 (March, 1964), 80-96, p.8. My thanks to Jordi Larios for discussion regarding this obscure figure connected to Catalan Modernisme (not to be confused with Anglo-Saxon Modernism).

[49] *Tout-Paris*, 9-12 (1880), p.2.

[50] Linda Clark, 'Social Darwinism in France', *The Journal of Modern History,* vol. 53, 1, 'On Demand Supplement' (March, 1981), D1025-D1044, p.D103. Along with, Clark states, neo-Kantian idealism.

[51] Rollin Chambliss, *Social Thought: From Hammurabi to Comte* (New York: Dryden Press, 1954), pp.401-2.

that man, through science, could remake the world'.[52] Far from a conceptual science, practical application was central to Positivist theory. At its centre was the pursuit of social progress, which it hoped to achieve while simultaneously maintaining social order: two inherently contradictory pursuits if one is to consider that 'social order demands stability, whereas social progress depends upon change'.[53] Thus, at a time when there was such significant overhaul of social and political conventions, given the fall of the Empire and the rapid advancement of modernity, utopian Positivist ideals offered pre-emptive solutions to problems of social disorder that, like the unrest of 1871, threatened the potential stability of the new Republic.

Furthermore, for some historians,[54] Comtean Positivism was a source of the idea of *Laïcité*, a term coined in the early 1870s defining 'the principle of separation of civil society and religious society; the state exercises no power over religion, and the church holds no political power'.[55] *Laïcité* referred specifically to the secularisation of the education system, demonstrating, Césari asserts, 'a political application' of Comte's 'Law of Three Stages'.[56] The more general term *Laïcisme* dates back to 1842, referring to 'a doctrine giving institutions a non-religious character', and the difference between the two denotations represents the term's increased politicisation in the early Third Republic.[57] In practical terms, within the context of the 1870s, *Laïcité* represented the idea of *tolerance* of religious

[52] Wright, *France in Modern Times,* p.243.

[53] Chambliss, *Social Thought,* p.392.

[54] Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[55] Guy Bedouelle and Jean-Paul Costa*, Les laïcités à la française* (Paris, 1998), p.11. 'le principe de séparation de la société civile et de la société religieuse, l'État n'exerçant aucun pourvoir religieux et les Églises aucun pouvoir politique'.

[56] Césari, 'Islam', p.234. The 'Three Stages' are Theological, Metaphysical, and Positive/Scientific. See Comte, *The Course on Positive Philosophy*, trans. (and condensed) by Harriet Martineau (London: George Bell, 1896).

[57] Bedouelle and Costa*, Les laïcités*, p.10. 'une doctrine qui tend à donner aux institutions un caractère non religieux'.

faiths,[58] under the precept that they were practiced in the private domain, without interference in the public realm, and renounced all influence upon state institutions:[59]

> Meanwhile, it must ensure that religions remain in the private domain. Private does not mean individual; there is a possibility of private organisations. The public domain, that which the Republic is responsible for, which begins with the school, should be influenced as little as possible by religions.[60]

It was with the introduction of *Laïcité* that Ferry made his name in the late 1870s.[61] The Republicans still held only a minority in the French legislature, yet due to the lack of a formal party system, it was possible for political figures to hold senior positions under an opposition government. Ferry was one such figure, and in February 1875 he was appointed as Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts under the monarchist Republican government. The importance that Ferry placed on culture and education is demonstrated by his choice to continue in the role after he was elected as Prime Minister in 1880, and then again in 1883. Convention dictated that the head of government take the role of Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ferry was the only minister to do otherwise. As part of his responsibilities for the country's cultural institutions, Ferry was involved in the official state Salon. Diverging from the standard, mundane speeches made at the awards ceremony, in 1879 Ferry spoke against the Institute for suppressing modern painters in favour of academic traditions:

> The Institute conceived the plan to force all of French art to submit to its discipline and obey its rules. To this end, the learned society set itself up as the vigilant guardian of the doors of the Salon [...] Contemporary art is at the same time very strong and absolutely

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[58] J.F.V. Keiger, *Raymond Poincaré* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.61.

[59] Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation.*

Ford, *Divided Houses,* p.6.

[60] Claude Nicolet, *Histoire, nation, république* (Paris: O.Jacob, 2000), p.248. 'En attendant, elle doit veiller à maintenir le religieux dans le domaine privé. Privé ne veut pas dire individuel: il y a des possibilités privées d'organisation. Le domaine public, celui dont la République a la responsabilité, et qui commence à l'école, devrait faire la part la plus petite possible aux religions'.

[61] It should be noted that while Ferry had a decisive influence, his views on schooling were not wholly representative of the Opportunist republicans. Jules Simon, for instance, believed in the idea of 'neutral' schooling that never served as a 'director of conscience'. See, Césari, 'Islam', p.234; and, Pierre Chevallier, *La séparation de l'Eglise et l'Etat* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), p.228.

> individual [...] It would be difficult to find it in any traditional schools or influences like those of years past. We might say that right now individualism overflows its banks.[62]

As Mainardi states, Ferry asserted the republican position in favour of art's liberty, championing the French pursuit of individualism.[63] This accords with Tamar Garb's claims that although the diversification of style, genre and the place of exhibition was not new to the Third Republic, it expanded within the liberal democratic system, which promoted the free market economy under the republican 'political credo of individualism'.[64] As Nicholas Green also asserts, the 'independence of artists [...] was actively produced by state sponsorship'.[65] Furthermore, Ferry here aligned the Republic with the avant-garde that he deemed representative of the nation's greatness, and in so doing poses them as allies against the common enemy – the traditionalist gatekeepers that suppressed the arts with 'rules' and 'discipline'.

Ferry's position also placed him in charge of the Republic's educational reforms. In 1879, Ferry submitted two bills to the French Assembly; the first legislated that only schools run by the State could achieve university status, thus increasing the prestige of the state-led institutions, regardless of which political authority held power. The bill passed without opposition. The point of contention, however, came hidden in 'Article seven' of the second bill, which 'prohibited all unauthorised religious orders, such as the Jesuits, to teach or conduct schools'.[66] The proposed legislative changes were ambitious. Ferry sought to simultaneously undermine the dominance of the church in all areas of French culture, while also restructuring the education system around secular, republican values that would

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[62] Jules Ferry speech at the 1879 Salon, reproduced in the 1880 Salon catalogue, pp.v – xiv. Cited in Patricia Mainardi, *End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.61.

[63] Mainardi, *End of the Salon*, p.61.

[64] Tamar Garb, 'Revising the Revisionists: The Formation of the Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs', *Art Journal*, vol.48, 1, 'Nineteenth-Century French Art Institutions (spring, 1989), 63-70, pp.64-66.

[65] Nicholas Green, '"All the Flowers of the Field": The State, Liberalism and Art in France Under the Early Third Republic', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol.10, 1, 'Art and the French State (1987), 71-84, p.71.

[66] Cornelius Buckley, *When Jesuits were Giants: Louis-Marie Ruellan, S.J. (1846-1885) and Contemporaries* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999), p.154.

be instilled in the younger generations, for whom a primary education was soon mandatory. The removal of Jesuits from schools coincided with the rewriting of history books in favour of Republican history, which taught prescribed notions supporting the 1789 Revolution, while tutoring against the need of further uprisings. Instructions to this effect were outlined by Paul Bert in 1880:

> today we have no need of revolution, we have no need of insurrection, we have no need for barricades, we have no need for royal assassinations! What we need in a democracy is a little patience; for, every three or four years, if we have any complaint, it is sufficient for us to deposit a little square of paper in a pinewood box. Yes, that is enough![67]

The country's Revolutionary history was thus intended to 'impress on children' not merely historical events and 'political theory', but also 'the political demeanour appropriate to citizens of the Third Republic, namely contented passivity'.[68]

Regardless of the ground republicans made by restructuring education in favour of a liberal agenda, the monarchists remained a substantial threat, and until his death in 1883 the Catholic Church backed the claims of the Comte de Chambord to assume the throne as Henri V. Therefore, even in the late 1870s, a liberal victory was far from guaranteed, and such reforms to the education system were as much mechanisms for the aspired changes as they were symbols of its victory.

As clericalism and conservatism (in all their fragmented forms), were synonymous during the early Third Republic, so too were the ideas of republicanism and anticlericalism

[67] Paul Bert, 'L'Instruction dans une démocratie', *Le Cléricalisme: Questions d'éducation nationale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1900), p.123. Excerpt from a speech to the Cercle Franklin at Le Havre, 21 March 1880. Translation from Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth,* p.251. 'C'est qu'aujourd'hui nous n'avons pas besoin de révolution, nous n'avons pas besoins d'insurrection, nous n'avons pas besoins de barricades, nous n'avons pas besoins d'assassinats royaux! Ce dont nous avons besoin dans une démocratie, c'est d'un peu de patience; car, tous les trois ou quatre ans, si nous avons à nous plaindre, il nous suffit de déposer u petit carré de papier dans une boîte de sapin. Oui, cela suffit! (*Longs applaudissements*)'.

[68] Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.251. Cubitt's text explores the long-standing prejudice against the Jesuit community in France.

(which were equally fragmented within their ranks).[69] The dominance of the Catholic Church was a fierce point of contention relating to the specific conditions of the period. Yet it was also a renewal of the 'traditional allegiance between the Roman Catholic Church and conservatism', in solidarity against Republicanism, which it had opposed since before the First Revolution.[70] The counter-revolutionary Louis de Bonald had once prophesised Republicanism to have 'apocalyptic' damage on French civilisation: 'a Republic of France will eventually destroy the monarchy throughout Europe, and a Republican Europe will mean the end of the civilised world'.[71] Joseph de Maitre further represented the monarchist view, demonising the republican liberalisers: 'What makes the French revolution a uniquely distinctive event in French history is its radically *evil* nature [...] it represents the highest degree of corruption known to man; it is impurity in its purest form'.[72] Decades later, as a republican leader during the Third Republic, Gambetta promoted the anticlericalist view in the Chamber of Deputies, employing ardent language that recalls the rhetoric of de Maistre and Bonald cited above:

> How is it that bishops, leaving their churches, their role and their mission, directly address themselves to the country's civil servants, mayors, justices of the peace, prefects and sub-prefects, and talk to them about orders and injunctions which they have received from Rome? ... The evil of clericalism has profoundly infiltrated into what is called the ruling class of this country. Those who spread and promote the evil of clericalism have for twenty years taken such good care, whether in the schools which prepare candidates for careers in public administrations or in the spheres of government and administration themselves, to advance both their views and their followers that now they nearly always have, if not the complicity, at least the acquiescence, of a large number of public officials.[73]

Gambetta represents the republican, anticlericalist view that the church was not merely safeguarding its rights to practice its religious orders; the institution was considered 'a firm

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[69] For a discussion of the internal fragmentation of the clericalists and anticlericals in France during the Third Republic, see Sudhir Hazareesingh, 'Chapter 4: Religion, Clericalism, and the Republican State', *Political Traditions in Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.98-123.

[70] Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France, 1970-1940: Conflicts and Continuities* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), p.32.

[71] Louis de Bonald, cited in Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions,* p.106.

[72] Joseph de Maitre, cited in Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions,* p.106.

[73] Léon Gambetta, *Journal officiel de le République française* (5th May 1877), pp.3281-2. Cited in Fortescue, *Third Republic*, p.32.

ally of those political forces which wanted to destroy the Republic itself'.[74] As the conservative elements sought dominance over their republican rivals, institutions such as the Catholic Church played an instrumental role for its ability to influence the mass public. The boundaries of the church reached far beyond religious faith, as acquiescence to Catholic ideology meant conforming to its practices, including courtship and marriages, burial rites, and more prosaic matters including whether work should be permitted on a Sunday.[75] All of which helped to shape the collective moral values of the nation, as 'beliefs were translated into an obsessive concern with questions of ethics and conduct'.[76] The bills that sought to limit the influence of the clerical order, and the attacks made in the Chamber of Deputies represented the dispute between two ways of life. While liberal policies were presented as reformations of the country's education systems, 'the struggle for control in education had ramifications and repercussions far beyond the bounds of education'.[77] Immediately following Ferry's appointment as government minister, 'overnight tired anti-Jesuit harangues and old bromides seemed to appear everywhere', and in the following months the conflict escalated into open and violent prejudice against the Jesuit communities, encouraged by antagonistic Republican policies.[78] Despite the public support for petitions opposing the suppression of Jesuit communities, two decrees imposing the expulsion of the Jesuits from France were signed by President Grévy, and the refusal to comply provoked the government's forceful response:[79]

> At dawn on June 30, members of the Paris police called at various local establishments, broke in, and began ejecting the priests, most of whom were old and infirm. The prefect of police, Andrieux, a Free-Thinker himself, supervised the operation, and left this description: "The clearing of the houses lasted a long time; it was a painful matter for

[74] Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions,* p.109

[75] Ibid., p.101. For more on the 'de-Christianisation of France, and the changing participation in religious rites see, Jean-Marie Mayeur & Madeleine Reberioux, *The Third Republic from its Origins to the Great War, 1871-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), especially 'Chapter 4: Beliefs and Cultures'.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Vuckovic, Milorad N., 'The Suppression of Religious Houses in France 1880, and the Attitude of Representative British Press', *CCHA*, 'Report', 28 (1961), 9-23, p.3

[78] Buckley, 'Jesuits', p.153.

[79] Vuckovic, 'Religious Houses', p.11.

> those responsible for its accomplishment. The police met with passive resistance, and had to turn defenceless priests into the street; their prayerful attitude, their calm, resigned expression contrasted painfully with the use of public force." That same morning, almost at the same hour and in the same manner, the wholesale expulsion of the Jesuits was carried out across France.[80]

While the Jesuits received particular attention at this time, the republican distrust of the church was not limited to these more radical segments. Republicans declared themselves as the liberators of France from suppression by traditional systems dominating the country, but in order to build their influence and entrench liberal values significant sections of French society needed to be sacrificed.

When it is declared that 'the Hydropathes prefigured the freedoms that the Third Republic was preparing to institute', it should therefore be acknowledged that such freedoms were inextricable from the battle between two opposing ways of life. The club's promotion of liberal republican values, whether or not it was widely acknowledged, demonstrates support for one side of this divide.[81] Regardless of whether one's personal views favour republican liberalism, conservative tradition, or otherwise, it is problematic to view this unmistakably liberal position as devoid of political allegiance. I therefore mean to have shown not only that the Hydropathe club was not an apolitical enterprise, as Goudeau claimed, but also to have indicated the problem in understanding this liberalist culture as politically neutral. To do so not only fails to confront the human displacement demanded in the name of republican liberty, it also perpetuates the depoliticisation of the liberal republican agenda by implying that it was a natural condition synonymous with freedom and autonomy.

I argue that the Hydropathes not only benefitted from the state's increasing liberalism, but positively promoted the progression of the liberal state. The club created a means of active participation with liberal values, thus acting as a catalyst for their further entrenchment. It is therefore necessary to consider more closely the club's role as a cultural

[80] Vuckovic, 'Religious Houses', p.15.

[81] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes & Co.', p.100.

institution, understanding it as an active component through which the liberal agenda was constructed and naturalised in French society.

Hegemonic Cultural Institutions

Gambetta's speech quoted above was made a fortnight before the crisis of 16th May, 1877, when President MacMahon dissolved the cabinet for its attempts to abolish the Press Law of 29th December 1875.[82] With republican leaders such as Jules Simon forced to step down, the Left was prompted into a virulent campaign, which ultimately forced MacMahon's resignation.[83] The affair symbolised the profound opposition between the republicans and monarchists, and MacMahon's failure to remain in office for his full term confirmed the rising dominance of the liberal Republic. Goudeau directly relates the founding of the Hydropathe club to the hostility of this time.[84] Referring to the crisis as a 'sad and truly anti-literary moment' due to the suppression of literary journals, he identifies the use of cultural outlets for political gain. Just as the church was instrumental in the pursuit of power, communications were an essential tool for disseminating propaganda to the public, and restrictions stunted republican literature:

> The prefects [of MacMahon's government] fought against the peddling of republican newspapers and pamphlets, applying the law of 1849 which made the hawking of newspapers and printed matter subject to authorisation. By virtue of a decree of December 1851 they shut bars which were subversive spots ... closures of masonic lodges and republican clubs, police-court summonses for press offences by virtue of the law of 1876, and distraints followed one another in quick succession.[85]

In writing of this period, Althusser discussed cultural institutions, such as the Press, as decisive means by which ideologies achieved dominance and sustained influence. He also cited the importance of education, culture, sport, the family, etc., all of which were

[82] Fortescue, *The Third Republic*, pp.33-34.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, p.228

[85] Mayeur and Reberioux, *Origins of the Third Republic,* p.29.

collected under the rubric of 'Ideological State Apparatuses'.[86] What is meant by Althusser's term is the use of institutions to create a system through which values and ideologies are reproduced. This reproduction is – especially in the context of the nineteenth-century nation state that was the basis of Althusser's discussion – in the face of the changing conditions of modernity that produce opposition threatening any dominant ideology. Such threats could come about in a number of forms: the vying for sovereignty with one ruler directly displaced by a rival power. Or otherwise at the hands of the 'exploited masses' that assemble to overthrow its perceived exploiter. Or even against the inevitable development of time that brings with it technological and social 'progress' that naturally renders obsolete the cultures that are too steadfast in their beliefs, and are shattered by their own inflexibility. Indeed it is this flexibility that Althusser asserts to have been the salvation of the bourgeoisie, in its ability to transcend different eras, and expand in systems governed by various ideologies:

> history [...] shows that the bourgeoisie has been and still is able to accommodate itself to political ideological state apparatuses other than parliamentary democracy: the First and Second Empires, Constitutional Monarchy (Louis XVIII and Charles X), Parliamentary Monarchy (Louis-Philippe), Presidential Democracy (de Gaulle), to mention only France.[87]

Similarly, it was the Catholic Church's willingness to adapt to the new Republican systems that ensured its survival. Since the First Revolution, republicans had showed themselves accepting of sections of society 'whose principles conflicted with their own but were willing to compromise', while outwardly condemning those that remained steadfast in their beliefs.[88] As Hazareesingh has discussed, 'Ideological flexibility was [...] an important precondition for survival in a changing social and political environment'.[89] While success of a dominant system requires flexibility, this must crucially be balanced with the more rigid

[86] Louis Althusser, *On Ideology* (London; Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2008).

[87] Althusser, *On Ideology,* p.27.

[88] Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions*, p.77.

[89] Ibid.

defining characteristic of each given ideology: certain central ideals of a culture must be retained in order for it to survive and still be called by the same name.

The Apparatuses have a further role in this regard, for they form the institutions in which the 'citizens' of a nation partake of their everyday lives – such as in the examples already given, of marriage, death, working hours, etc. – and through which the participants develop of sense of 'self': a recognition of oneself, and simultaneously the recognition of the Other through this defined framework. State Apparatuses are therefore the mediating point between dominant ideologies and the masses, and also the common point between the more localised communities.

In her study of the aesthetics of the early Third Republic, Miriam Levin suggests that art theory was an integral means by which the Republic transmitted its ideology, as well as a means through which this ideology was established in civil life.[90] She offers the view that the liberal Republic supported art forms that not only highlighted 'individualism', but also those that were capable of influencing 'public values and economic behaviour'.[91] She thus identifies the Republic as favouring art works that 'created an environment', ones that 'produced an ideal ensemble with which the patron interacted'.[92] Through this interaction the consumer's 'behaviour patterns' would be 'shaped' and 'refined', therein forming 'his perception of the world'.[93] She argues that part of the Republic's strategy in achieving this end was promoting the link between art production and the market:

> Identifying the physical characteristics of works of art as indices of the system which produced them, the Republicans felt it possible to design works which preserved liberal democratic social relationships. As both a symbol of the liberal democratic system and a manufactured commodity which communicated this system from producer to consumer,

[90] Miriam Levin, *Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth Century France* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), pp.1-2.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid., pp.11-12.

[93] Ibid., p.12.

> art appeared capable of integrating new with existing technology to transform human consciousness and behaviour through its impact on human sensibilities.[94]

Finally, by this model, in which the link between production and consumption is revealed, the Republic's 'call for a new style' and the means by which it was integrated into society are argued to have been a 'means of rallying the working classes to participate in their own salvation'.[95]

Levin's assertion that the liberal arts influenced the individual's perception of society, as well as helping to define their place within it, accords closely with my argument about the Hydropathe club's role in promoting engagement with liberal values. However, I argue that the Hydropathes functioned by a different model to that which Levin proposes. Instead of revealing the links between production and consumption, the Hydropathe club concealed those links, instead promoting their autonomy from the market economy and state institutions.

My argument contributes to the revision Nicholas Green called for, against the frequently cited 'caricature', that the victory of political liberalism in 1880 was a 'triumph for autonomy' in which 'art is viewed as a liberating force in opposition to invasive state pressures'.[96] Green opposes this simplified, romanticised notion, asserting that 'there was no simple move here towards deregulation, but rather a complex lateral shift within state apparatuses involving greater intervention in certain areas combined with certain moments with strategic non-intervention in others'.[97] Furthermore, he argues that the avant-garde of this period was less independent and less confrontational than is commonly assumed: 'some of the central ideological characteristics of the avant-garde were not, as so often assumed, precipitated by exclusion from or antithesis to official programmes but were

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[94] Ibid., pp.1-2.

[95] Ibid., p.2.

[96] Green, 'All the Flowers', p.71.

[97] Ibid.

incited by the benevolent 'liberalism' of the bourgeois republican state'.[98] The 'caricatured' vision of Republican liberty has been possible, and perhaps so successful, because of the hidden structures in its state apparatuses. As much was stated by Althusser, for whom the school was such a significant and effective tool because of its declared neutrality. The following statement was made in reference to the liberal reformations in the early Third Republic, the precise time of the Hydropathe club:

> But it is by an apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped in the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class that the *relations of production* on a capitalist social formation, i.e. the relations of exploited to exploiters and exploiters to exploited, are largely reproduced. The mechanisms which produce this vital result for the capitalist regime are naturally covered up and concealed by a universally reigning ideology of the School, universally reigning because it is one of the essential forms of the ruling bourgeois ideology: an ideology which represents the School as a neutral environment purged of ideology (because it is … lay), where teachers respectful of the 'conscience' and 'freedom' of the children who are entrusted to them (in complete confidence) by their 'parents' (who are free, too, i.e. the owners of their children) open up for them the path to the freedom, morality and responsibility of adults by their own example, by knowledge, literature and their 'liberating' virtues.[99]

Like the teachers in Althusser's example, the Hydropathe club opened 'the path to freedom'. The Hydropathes assumed the role of educators, exposing the nation's youth to its great, forgotten literature, aiming, as Goudeau stated, to 'penetrate the minds of the young students [...] with notions of poetry and art, to reveal to them books they don't know'.[100] The artists led by example, through performing of their own modern poetry and exhibiting an inclusive, egalitarian attitude. The club promoted republican ideology, yet in a way that appeared neutral (apolitical). In so doing it concealed its coercive tendencies, acting as, to use a Gramscian term, a hegemonic cultural institution, whose processes are rendered invisible.[101] Or, in short, what Hall describes as a 'taken-for-grantedness': the

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Althusser, *On Ideology*, p.31.

[100] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.220. 'faire pénétrer dans les cervelles des jeunes étudiants [...] des notions de poésie et d'art; leur dévoiler des livres inconnus d'eux'.

[101] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. and ed. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971).

perception of the world that favours the dominant classes that is seemingly naturalised through unconscious codes appearing as 'common sense'.[102]

The club thus abides by a structure that is more coercive than suppressive, so while it may represent liberal ideology (that became dominant in the period immediately after the Hydropathe club partly through its use of ISAs), it is not wholly controlled by it, acting with a degree of autonomy that Althusser also describes of the ISAs. What this means for the *Cercle des Hydropathes* is that, while the club may be closely linked to the liberal ideals of the republican state, it equally functions with a degree of isolation. It is within this element of autonomy that the artists enjoyed space to move, to create and practice their art according to their own imaginations, rather than by the impositions of the state. Or what might be understood as 'negotiation' between the dominant ideology (the values of the liberal republican state) and the people subjected to that ideology by involvement with its cultural institutions. It is within this area of negotiated terrain that the culture was made workable for those participating within it; and also through which the club constructed a utopian version of liberal republican society.

What this model might suggest is that the Hydropathe club pre-empted the hegemonic cultural institutions of the post-war twentieth century. In contrast to the confrontational, anti-institutional avant-garde, with which it is usually equated, it worked *with* the institutional framework of the capitalist state, therefore aligning it more closely with postmodern cultures. This notion is not developed within this thesis, but would be a valuable area for further research.

To summarise the current argument, however, I have focused on the socio-political environment of the 1870s in order to demonstrate that the Hydropathe club promoted the values of the liberal republic, and also to highlight its role in reproducing its ideals. Having

[102] Stuart Hall, 'Culture, Media and the "Ideological Effect"' (1979), in *Mass Communication and Society,* ed. by James Curran, et al. (London: Edward Arnold, 1997), 315-348, pp.325-6.

established this framework, I now focus more closely on the ways the Hydropathe club restricted its members' exposure to conflicting ideologies.

Part Two
A Liberal Republican Community

Restricting Influence

Similarly to the liberal Republic, which assumed the role of modern pioneers at the expense of all inflexible, conflicting sub-cultures of French society, at the Hydropathe club liberty was only granted with compliance to the stated doctrine. This was proven by each individual's character, and their acquiescence to the club's ideals. Various methods were employed to limit the influence upon the club by values that conflicted with its own. Regardless of claims that the society was an open forum, the club operated as an unusually formalised and bureaucratic enterprise. At the first point of entry, its leaders specified certain requirements to gain membership. Potential members applied by a letter, which was sent to the Hydropathe 'headquarters', requiring the names of two 'sponsors', a signature from Goudeau as president, and the stipulation of an artistic talent.[103] Members could come from any part of society, yet to claim, as Goudeau does, that the club was unquestionably inclusive is misleading. This bureaucracy gave Goudeau and the leading Hydropathes the power to reject any applicant demonstrating behaviour or characteristics conflicting with progressive republican values. There are cases of this power of rejection being used to this end. For instance, one Parisian man who was considered by the group to be too 'bourgeois', made several unsuccessful attempts to contact Goudeau directly, and Jules

[103] Bayard, *Latin Quarter,* p.52.

Jouy eventually refused his request in the form of a sonnet. The poem was later published in *l'Hydropathe,* thus promoting its projected ideals to its readership. Entitled 'Les Hydropathes en Sonnets', the sonnet snidely chastised bourgeois pretensions that needed to be abandoned before one was permitted into the club:[104]

> Quitte le restaurant discret où vous soupâtes
> Niniche et toi, bourgeois vide et prétentieux;
> Profitant du lorgnon que le vin sur tes yeux
> Pose, viens avec moi t'asseoir aux Hydropathes.
>
> Pourtant, avant d'entrer, un mot: que tu t'épates
> Ou non, garde-toi bien des mots sentencieux
> Devant ce défilé de profiles curieux;
> L'endroit est sans façon, on n'y fait point d'épates.
>
> Certes ne t'attends pas à trouver un goût d'eau
> Au Parlement criard que préside Goudeau;
> Laisse à ton nez poilu monter l'encens des pipes;
>
> Et moins sot que Louis, aux canons bien égaux,
> Foudroyant les Téniers et leurs drôles de types,
> Du Cercle hydropathesque admire les magots.[105]

It should be noted that while the response was unfavourable towards this bourgeois, it did not outright reject his application on account of his status. On the contrary, it suggests that he would be admitted were he to 'leave [his] pretentions at the door', and urges the gentleman – and the readers of the journal in which the sonnet was published – to do so. It was not the people who were refused, but their values and behaviour, which the club duly attempted to influence. Discrimination against the 'bourgeois' credentials of potential members also demonstrates the care taken to restrict the club's exposure to ideals conflicting with their own.

[104] Ibid., pp.52-53.

[105] Jules Jouy, 'Les Hydropathes en Sonnets', *L'Hydropathe*, 1 (22 January 1879), p.2.

The obligation to display behaviour considered fitting of a 'Hydropathe' was a rule of law that also extended to the group's initiated members. As Bayard states, the Hydropathe 'could laugh and frolic at his ease but he was not allowed on any pretext to infringe the "Republican discipline" of the Club'.[106] This was demonstrated in September 1879, when Félicien Champsaur sparked controversy by publishing an article in the conservative daily newspaper, *Le Figaro*.[107] Several days later, Vivien and Lorin (under the pseudonym Rirenbois),[108] published two consecutive articles in *l'Hydropathe* under the evocative titles 'Une Défection Malheureuse,' [An Unfortunate Defection] and 'Une Catastrophe' [A Catastrophe]. Both condemned Champsaur not so much for the content of his article, but for having published in a conservative paper:

> There are often defections, which inspire no regrets; there are others on the contrary that are unfortunate, as young writers, filled with the future, who fall. Such has been the case in recent days with one intelligent boy, who began to make his name in the world of letters; I am speaking of Félicien Champsaur. An article published in *Le Figaro* has raised a public outcry. How is it that such a fiery orator of the clubs of the rue d'Arras, the valiant writer of *La Lanterne* and *La Marseillaise,* has been so careless with his dignity to have compromised it in a newspaper of prostitutes and given birth to an article of such low flattery regarding the d'Orléans family ... Champsaur has committed a grave error, in believing that he could write even a literary article in *Le Figaro*. He says he is *républican* and a *freethinker*. Here are two words that clash with the *enseigne* of this sheet from the rue Drouot ... I only have one piece of advice. That is to go immediately and take a good bath.[109]

Vivien's passionate language suggests how Champsaur's actions were considered a personal attack on the club; a treacherous deviation from his fellow Hydropathe artists and the

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[106] Bayard, *Latin Quarter*, p.67.

[107] Félicien Champsaur, 'Le Quartier Latin', *Le Figaro*, 8 October 1879. In the subsequent decades *Le Figaro* worked closely with the avant-garde, publishing, for instance, Jean Moréas's 'Symbolist Manifesto', (18 September 1886).

[108] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.240.

[109] Paul Vivien, 'Une Défection Malheureuse', *l'Hydropathe*, 17 (7 September 1879), p.3. 'Il y a souvent des défections, qui ne vous inspirent aucun regret ; il y a d'autres au contraire qui sont malheureuses, lorsque ce sont de jeunes écrivains, pleins d'avenir, qui se tombent eux-mêmes. | Tel a été ces jours derniers le cas d'un garçon intelligent, qui commençait à se faire un nom dans le monde des lettres, je veux parler de Félicien Champsaur. Un article paru dans le Figaro souleva un tollé général. Comment se faisait-il que le fougueux orateur des clubs de la rue d'Arras, le vaillant écrivain de la Lanterne et de la Marseillaise, ait été assez peu soucieux de sa dignité pour se compromettre dans un journal de filles publiques et accoucher d'un article de basse flagornerie à l'égard de la famille d'Orléans … Champsaur a commis une grosse erreur. en [sic] croyant qu'il pouvait écrire, même un article littéraire, dans le Figaro. Il dit qu'il est *républicain et libre penseur*. voilà [sic] deux mots qui jurent avec l'enseigne de la feuille de la rue Drouot. Il en convient maintenant. Mieux vaut tard que jamais. Je n'ai plus qu'un conseil à lui donner. C'est d'aller prendre immédiatement un bon bain'.

common ideals uniting them. It seems that for Vivien, the perceived treachery was all the more disappointing for it being committed by a writer so closely involved with the group. Champsaur's portrait was published in the third issue of *l'Hydropathe*, and he had otherwise exemplary credentials, having published his poetry in Henri Rochefort's resolutely republican journals, *La Lanterne* and *La Marseillaise*.[110] (This is in addition to having also published in Gill's *La Lune rousse*, which had persisted in opposition to Louis-Napoléon's regime despite experiencing severe censorship).[111] Vivien here identifies a correlation between the writer and the cultural institution that they chose to publish with, in that the act of publication created a seemingly meaningful association with the broader views for which the journal stood. As Lorin states, 'to write for *Le Figaro* is to collaborate with *Le Figaro*'.[112] This is irrespective of how favourable its content was, since Champsaur's piece wholeheartedly promoted the *Cercle des Hydropathes*. Vivien's reaction may seem curious since the article was not Champsaur's first for the paper.[113] Yet it is likely significant that the article in question was the first to have the Hydropathes as its subject, and thus the first instance of the club being formally associated with the paper and its values.

The case demonstrates how closely Vivien considered *l'Hydropathe* to be associated with more overtly republican journals (as Rochefort's cited publications presented some of the most radical views against the conservative state), and the degree to which he wished *l'Hydropathe* to be disassociated from journals with more conservative ideals. That the article was published in the paper's main body, rather than its literary supplement, only reinforced Vivien and Lorin's disdain, for it seemed to confirm that Champsaur was associated with the paper's institutional values. Champsaur's response to this public condemnation affirms that republican allegiance was central to the episode. He addressed a letter to 'Mon cher

[110] *L'Hydropathe*, 3 (19 February 1879), p.1.

[111] Didier, *Petites revues,* p.323.

[112] Rirenbois, 'Une Catastrophe', *l'Hydropathe*, 17 (7 September 1879), p.3.

[113] Félicien Champsaur, 'Une Distribution de Paix en 1824', *Le Figaro,* 6 August 1879, p.2.

Vivien', reassuring him of 'the ardour of his republican faith' and his 'devotion to' *l'Hydopathe*: a statement that furthermore alludes to how closely republican values were linked with the Hydropathe identity.[114]

The punishment for actions that questioned a member's republican allegiance was in this case public humiliation and threatened expulsion from the group. It demonstrates how even when one was as integrated as Félicien Champsaur, the slightest deviation from the accepted Hydropathe ideals was enough to (at least temporarily) condemn him. It is thus evident that the club was more than a purely literary soirée comprised of culturally like-minded artists. Even if this was how the club began in the autumn of 1878 – enabling poetry performances with a group with a shared appreciation for the arts – then by the following year it had transformed into a cultural institution that necessitated promotion of its 'shared' values. The artist's obligation to represent these values thus created a moral order, through which a 'Hydropathic' collective identity was created and reaffirmed. In the following chapter I explore more closely this notion of the collective Hydropathe identity; but for the present argument I wish to use this example to reinforce the connection between the Hydropathes and cultural institutions that represented republican values. If by this point, this argument appears to have substantial ground, then Goudeau's response to the dispute between Vivien and Champsaur should seem all the more curious. Soon afterwards Goudeau acknowledged the furore by publishing a formal response to Champsaur's article in *l'Hydropathe,* in which he praised it as valuable support for the club and its young artists:

> As president of the Society of Hydropathes, a purely literary society, where politics is formally excluded, I send all my thanks to *Le Figaro* for the four columns devoted to the *Hydropathes*.
>
> And as Editor-in-chief of our small journal I maintain that politics is the only cause of regrettable misunderstanding. *Le Figaro* has proved that it has not kept to its traditional spirit.

[114] Bayard, *Latin Quarter*, p.66.

> The youth are not supported so much that they can overlook such powerful support. So thank you *Figaro*.[115]

Ultimately resolution is achieved by Goudeau, who uses the incident as evidence of his club's lack of political beliefs. Publication was valuable promotion regardless of the paper it appeared in, and endorsement was an asset, regardless of who it came from. Contrary to Viven's assertion that links with non-republican institutions associated the club with non-republican values, for Goudeau the fact that the Hydropathes published in any paper only demonstrated how little they cared for 'trivial' political discussion. If this signals a certain degree of internal conflict within the club, then Goudeau made sure to pull rank over any adversaries. In the above article, Goudeau asserts his official position as president of the Hydropathes and editor-in-chief of *l'Hydropathe* to maintain *his* conception of the club as the authentic one. This begins to dispel the notion that the club lacked a formal hierarchy. Any divergence from the 'official' Hydropathe concept is neither condoned nor sanctioned by the club, and is proposed as an unfortunate break from the collective's true nature.

If the bureaucratic system helped limit the influences penetrating the club, and attempts to control members' publications regulated institutions with which it was associated, a similar means of control was asserted at the séances in the leadership's adoption of a bell, which was used to halt performances and call the group to order. Just as Goudeau's position as president had been decided by popular vote, so too was his exclusive use of the bell ratified by democratic process. The decree was published in *l'Hydropathe*'s second issue:

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[115] Émile Goudeau, 'Au Figaro', *l'Hydropathe*, 19 (15 October 1879), p.4. 'Comme président de la Société d'Hydropathes, société purement littéraire, d'où la politique est formellement exclue, j'envoie tous mes remerciements au *Figaro* pour les quatre colonnes qu'il a consacrés aux *Hydropathes*. Et comme rédacteur en chef de notre petit journal je tiens à maintenir que cette malheureuse politique est la seule cause de mal entendus [sic] regrettables. Le *Figaro* a prouvé qu'il ne mentait pas à sa tradition d'esprit en les oubliant. Les jeunes ne sont déjà pas tellement soutenus qu'ils puissent négliger un pareil appuie [sic]. Merci donc au *Figaro*'.

> Article I: The assembly of Hydropathes "composes itself" with the bell of president Émile Goudeau
>
> Article II: The above bell is charged with enforcing this decree.[116]

Albeit a crude method of crowd control, the bell gave Goudeau the power to influence the performance and environment at the séances. Although published under the section 'Blagues Hydropathesque', intimating the lack of sincerity behind its purpose, the ability to ratify such articles helped to give the club a sense of formality and integrity. Its ambitious leaders recognised the potential of their organisation that without a defined code might have fallen under the subjugation of a crowd lacking their own artistic aspiration. It might otherwise have succumbed to the disunity and fragmentation that simmered under the surface, which Goudeau consistently struggled to control.

Regardless of the implied the parody within the club's discourses, I therefore suggest that Goudeau's supposedly satirical democracy was not meant as a criticism of the Republican system. On the contrary, the decision to hold elections by popular vote was intended as a working example of republican democracy in which the club's members were encouraged to participate. This reading opposes one proposed by Schiau-Botea, who discusses this system as a satirical attack on the Republican democratic institution. She argues that the decree parodies judicial language, and the published article is imbued with an ambiguity that reinforces it as a satirical gesture:

> The Hydropathes parody legal language [...] the bell was charged with re-establishing silence and order within the group, to impose a certain level of organisation. But this idea is completely distorted by the semantic ambiguity of the verb 'se composer' and the linguistic circularity of the decree that creates a rupture between the written and the theatrical space - the reality that the decree aims for.[117]

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[116] Jules Jouy, 'Décret', *l'Hydropathe,* 2 (5 February 1879), p.4. 'Art. I: L'assemblée des hydropathes se compose de la sonnette du président Émile Goudeau. | Art. II: La susdite sonnette est chargée de faire observer le présent décret'.

[117] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.57. 'Les Hydropathes parodient la langue juridique … La sonnette est chargée de rétablir le silence et l'ordre au sein du groupe, d'imposer une certaine forme d'organisation. Mais cette idée est complètement déformée par l'ambiguïté sémantique du verbe 'se composer' est la circularité linguistique du décret qui installe une rupture entre l'écrit et l'espace théâtrale – la réalité que vise le décret'.

Schiau-Botea also identifies the paradox in Grojnowski's claims that the club was 'republican, anticlerical, apolitical, and literary',[118] (as I discussed in Chapter one), and finds resolution in its 'satirical and self-satirical' nature.[119] The adoption of a democratic system is thus proposed as a satire of French democratic suffrage, and simultaneously a satire of its own practices.

The difference between these two interpretations parallels a discussion Mary Shaw makes in her article, 'Mallarmé: Pre-Postmodern, Proto-Dada'. She writes of her shock upon discovering Grojnowski and Sarrazin's reading of Mallarmé's sonnet, *Ses purs ongles très hauts dédiant leur onyx,* as a parody: 'I, for one, was amazed to find the arcane sonnet [...] classified (without any comment) under the rubrique of parody'.[120] Where Grojnowski and Sarrazin were so certain the sonnet was a parody that the statement was given no justification or explanation, Shaw on the other hand had never considered any alternative but to the poem's sincerity. Shaw finds reconciliation through recognition of what she terms 'reversals' (tropes that simultaneously represent two contradictory readings), the presence of which intimate an inherent and intentional sense of ambiguity in the given work:

> Mallarmé, like many of his lesser known avant-garde contemporaries in proto-dada groups such as the Hydropathes, the Incohérents, and the inner circle of the Chat Noir cabaret, also quite consistently constructed the most striking forms of these reversals for the purposes of, and within the broader framework of, radically new and experimental combinations of poetry with other art forms and of popular entertainment with highbrow culture.[121]

Shaw argues that such reversals demonstrate Mallarmé's belief in the greater capacity of his audience 'to understand and accept the reversibility of extremes of humour and seriousness

[118] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.96.

[119] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.50-51.

[120] Mary Shaw, 'Mallarmé: Pre-postmodern, Proto-Dada', p.47. Shaw has written extensively on Mallarmé and has been incisive in championing a renewed interest in fumisme, having also supervised Schiau-Botea's thesis that presents an extensive analysis of the associations between the Hydropathes and Mallarmé.

[121] Shaw, 'Mallarmé', p.51.

than there has generally been in this century until now'.[122] She therefore understands the ambiguity to be a consequence of Mallarmé's formal experimentation and use of allegorical symbolism. It also indicates the poet's expectation for his work's complexity to be recognised by future generations of readers, who will thereby determine its greater depth of meaning. Shaw thus perceives such 'proto-dada' practices, including those of the Hydropathes, in the context of the twentieth-century avant-garde that undermined the boundaries between high and low cultures, and exploited the connection between art and audience to provoke a higher form of consciousness. Shaw herein argues that the reversals' complexity was intended to be recognised by the audience and, similarly to Schiau-Botea's argument, that the lack of concrete meaning or intent was means by which artists examined their own practices.

These are pertinent points. However, regardless of any apparent 'reversals', when a supposedly satirical gesture begins to reinforce the conditions that it is meant to subvert, then its legitimacy as a satirical act must be questioned. This, I suggest, is the case for the Hydropathes' parody of Republican democracy. Although on the one hand it may seem to underhandedly mock the democratic system, this apparently parodical system nonetheless influenced the club. Through it Goudeau was ratified as the club's leader, who then used his powers to influence how the club functioned and its artistic discourses. Introducing a democratic vote ensured the members retained a sense of control over the society, giving them a sense of ownership and empowerment over its direction. It is with irony, then, that the adoption of this system helped put in place a structure that ultimately undermined the members' privilege. In being elected as president Goudeau's authority was legitimised, enabling him to favour the practices he considered most suitable to promote the ideal, 'authentic' Hydropathe, while suppressing conflicting material and behaviour. The assertion that 'all games of chance [were] severely punished', further affirms the leadership's desire to

[122] Ibid., p.50.

impose order.[123] Thus, the club's practices were influenced by its detailed methods and structures of control, through which it prefigured a larger model of art as a hegemonic cultural institution.

Community and War

By reducing the importance of the cultural text, and promoting engagement regardless of talent, the ideal 'Hydropathe' persona was as achievable for the crowd of untalented students and bureaucrats as much as it was for the artists still remembered today. Furthermore, by neutralising their actions it appealed to an audience that might otherwise have been repelled by an ideology perceived to conflict with their self-image. The club was thus a cultural organ that engaged all demographics of the Parisian youth with an optimistic, positive vision of the republic. Goudeau had previously appealed to the same audience when publishing *Fleurs de bitume*, when his 'fame was established and his artistic tendencies revealed' in 'celebrated' poems such as 'Revanche des Bêtes', and the following piece, 'Vrais Triolets de misère':[124]

> Le Vent:
> Pourquoi pleures-tu, dit le Vent.
> Le Vent d'hiver chargé de plaintes?
> Ton cas est donc très émouvant?
> Pourquoi pleures-tu, dit le Vent.
> Es-tu le seul être vivant
> Qui puisse chanter des complaintes?
> Pourquoi pleures-tu, dit le Vent,
> Le Vent d'hiver chargé de plaintes?
>
> Moi:
> Je répondis au Vent d'hiver :
> Les autres sont joyeux : je souffre,
> Cette existence est un enfer!

[123] Francisque Sarcey, 'Les Hydropathes', *XIX Siècle,* 28 November 1878, p.1.

[124] Bayard, *Latin Quarter*, p.51.

Je répondis au Vent d'hiver :
Le spleen, ce camarade amer,
M'entraîne à grands pas vers un gouffre !
Je répondis au Vent d'hiver :
Les autres sont joyeux : — je souffre!

Le Vent:
N'écoute pas les violons.
Ni les amoureuses antiennes.
Paris a bien d'autres flonflons.
N'écoute pas les violons;
On voit, du trottoir jusqu'aux plombs,
Plus rudes douleurs que les tiennes.
N'écoute pas les violons.
Ni les amoureuses antiennes.

Le Vent:
Ecoute ce que je te dis
En gamme mineure très triste.
Entends-tu la voix des maudits?
Écoute ce que je te dis.
Tu te croiras au Paradis
Dans cette cellule d'artiste.
Écoute ce que je te dis
En gamme mineure très triste.[125]

The poem's sombre mood bears no hint of the Hydropathes' more light-hearted character. With its melancholy tone, Goudeau recognises his generation's need to feel suffering. Following the nation's loss against the Prussian army, and the Republic's subsequent slaughter of its own people, it is understandable how such a poem, with a voice equally sorrowful and outspoken, appealed to the Parisian youth and enjoyed success in the early Third Republic. Regardless of the devastation the Commune wrought on the city, its disruption offered respite from daily routine and regulations. For some this was a short-lived utopia, and the realisation of an 'authentic democracy', which, as Albert Boime asserts, gave way to the Republic's 'inauthentic democracy'.[126] From March 1871, the Commune's brief socialist rule caused a 'cessation of normal work and trade'; and as the

[125] Émile Goudeau, 'Vrais Triolets de misère,' *Fleurs de bitume, petite poèmes parisiens* (Paris: Quantin, 1878).
[126] Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle: 1848-1871* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p.745.

city spaces were used in radically different ways, the population's usual segregation (partly enforced by the long-standing Article 291) temporarily ended:[127] '[The Commune] granted a rare opportunity to working-class men and women to promenade along the boulevards and in the parks and to mingle with other classes during weekdays'.[128] When fighting began with Thiers's forces in May 1871, the communal spirit persisted, as people from all parts of the social hierarchy fought side-by-side defending the barricades. The government's detailed records of the Commune provide an accurate picture of the insurgents' demographic; and the data demonstrates that while a large majority came from the artisanal occupations (63%), over 22% was from the city's middle-class population.[129] These figures only account for the male insurgents, but the active involvement of women in the Commune is well-known. General Félix Antoine Appert later condemned the women's actions:

> All, or almost all, live indecently [...] even the married women [...] The immense majority [...] could easily be won over by the appealing prospect of disorder [...] Idleness, envy and thirst for unknown and ardently desired pleasures all contributed to blinding them. Hence they threw themselves into the revolutionary movement which was to engulf them.[130]

While the conservative right disapproved of female participation, the revolutionary forces embraced it, and the Hydropathes' fight to allow access to female artists and musicians (as demonstrated by Goudeau's encounter with the prefect, cited above) recalls this spirit of unrestricted community. Corresponding to the experience of war in the twentieth century, the shared endurance of atrocities in France and around Europe provoked an idealistic image of the camaraderie of wartime. It allowed what George Mosse described (somewhat

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127 Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). The Article stated, for instance: 'No association of over twenty people whose aim is to meet every day or on particular days to concern themselves with religious, literary political, or other aims may be formed without the authorisation of the government and under any conditions set by the authorities'. (p.27). Article 291 was originally established in 1810, although the mechanisms to properly enforce it were not established until the 1820s. (p.28).

128 Boime, *Civil Struggle*, p.742.

129 Roger Gould, 'Trade Cohesion, Class Unity, and Urban Insurrection: Artisanal Activism in the Paris Commune', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol.98, 4 (January, 1993), 721-754.

130 *Rapport d'ensemble de M. le général Appert sur les opérations militaires relatives à l'insurrection de 1871*, 3 vols (Versailles, 1875). Cited in Eugene Schulkind, 'Socialist Women during the 1871 Paris Commune', *Past & Present*, 106 (February, 1985), 124-163.

superciliously) as 'an escape from the restraint of bourgeois life, giving purpose to purposeless lives', which he identifies in one soldier's writing: 'I had no idea what war meant ... to me it meant freedom'.[131]

To appreciate the freedom that may be the consequence of war is not to condone the politics in the name of which that war is waged, and one did not need to be an advocate of the Commune's radical politics to appreciate the sudden respite from Imperial suppression and routine. Or, in relation to the topic at hand, it was not necessarily the support for Republican politics that inspired engagement with the republican agenda that the club promoted, so much as the search for community.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have aimed to dispel the myth that the Hydropathe club was an apolitical enterprise, and offer the alternative theory that it consistently endorsed liberal republican ideals. I have argued that while the club opposed the conservative Republic that was still dominant when the Hydropathes were founded, it acted in support of the Opportunist liberal republicans that were increasingly dominant by the end of the 1870s.

The Third Republic at that moment is often equated with its introduction of civil liberties – such as the liberation of the Press, the separation of church and state, and the introduction of free, secular schooling. However, I move away from this 'caricature', so described by Nicholas Green, arguing for the importance of recognising that the liberal agenda was pursued through the suppression of cultures and communities not cohering with liberal ideals. Supporting the liberal state at this turbulent time cannot be wholly

[131] George L. Mosse, 'Two World Wars and the Myth of the War Experience', *Journal of Contemporary History,* vol. 21, 4 (October, 1986), 491-513, p.493. For Mosse, this echoes the idea represented in Freidrich Schiller's famous lyric: 'Only the soldier is free'.

separated from the practical reality: the violent and oppressive means by which these liberties were being achieved.

The state increasingly dominated national institutions, notably the education system, to re-educate the French citizenry away from engrained values opposing its ideals. If we are to recognise the Hydropathes' support for the Republic then I argue that the club functioned according to a similar principle of re-education. The club absorbed the liberal republican ideologies into their practice, and, in so doing, resisted articulating them directly. Its values and ideologies, however, were present by praxis, which were depoliticised by prohibition of political discussion. The club thus reproduced this ideology of the dominant class, whilst not seeming to have any ideological basis. That the club was (and is) understood as apolitical represents the normalisation of liberal values (which is achieved through such institutions). It thus conforms to Gramsci's notion of hegemony, in which subordination is the result of 'naturalised' ways of being: a 'common sense' way of perceiving the world that is nonetheless a constructed perspective, and benefits the dominant class.

In its claims to be disinterested in the socio-political sphere, which the club apparently rejected in favour of purely aesthetic concerns, it staked a claim to function as an autonomous cultural institution. If, as I asserted, the club functioned as an Ideological State Apparatus, then by implication it should be understood to function with relative autonomy; the same degree of autonomy that Althusser stipulates of the ISAs. The idea of the Republic that they represented was therefore not strictly defined by the state itself, but rather one that was negotiated, and idealised. By providing a means for this liberated world to be enacted, the Hydropathe community was the realisation of a liberalist institution, before they had been fully realised in the wider public sphere. It not only *represented* the changes in society toward liberal republicanism, but to an extent *created* that change, by

providing the means to participate in the way of life. The club was thus instrumental, all the while attempting comprehensively to seem as though it was withdrawing into purely aesthetic concerns, thus purporting to function by modernism's self-reflexive isolation.[132]

If the club's joviality and inclusivity seemed to confirm its lack of revolutionary intent, this is complicated by the club's parody and satire (such as in their adoption of a mock system of democratic government), through which it appeared to confront state institutions. Schiau-Botea provides an interpretation to this effect, reading this system as a parody, and therein attacking Republican democracy.[133] This perspective would suggest that, although somewhat tame in manner, the club pre-empted the confrontational discourses of the 'revolutionary avant-garde' of the twentieth century. Cottington has understood them in a similar vein, as a 'formative' element of the avant-garde.[134] It might, then, appear as though the club transgressed Bürger's (notably problematic) distinction between 'modernism' and 'avant-garde,' by incorporating elements of both.[135] However, rather than conforming to modernism's withdrawal into 'self-reflexive', autonomous isolation, or the avant-garde's revolution against dominant institutions, I have argued that the Hydropathe club conforms to the liberal agenda.

Perhaps this compliance was a result of the socio-political environment, in which the emerging liberal capitalist government was seemingly more beneficial than the possible alternative, of returning to a monarchist state. Such claims are of course speculative. Yet, as I discussed, the club took advantage of the sentiments of Parisian society after such tumultuous social and political upheaval, as well as the bloodshed during the Commune and Franco-Prussian war. In so doing, they offered an ideal, utopian vision of liberty,

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132 Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. by Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

133 Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.57.

134 Cottington, 'Formation'.

135 Peter Bürger, *Avant-Garde*.

artistic freedom, and innovation, which appealed to students and young bureaucrats: its targeted consumers. The following chapter looks in more detail at this audience, examining forms of spectatorship and consumption at the Hydropathe séances.

Chapter Three

The Hydropathe & Collective Identity

Introduction

Francisque Sarcey and the 'Crowd'

A number of reviews were published during the Hydropathe club's early months commenting on the quality of the performances, and the value of the séances as cultural events. In December 1878, the Symbolist poet and novelist, Georges Rodenbach wrote in *La Paix*: 'What I heard throughout the evening were love songs, works for piano and oboe and violin, remarkably well performed, alternating with recitations of poems and short literary pieces, almost all of them unpublished works performed by the authors themselves'.[1] Then, in February of the following year, the theatre critic Edmond Deschaumes described the atmosphere to be as unusual as it was a notable addition to modern Parisian culture:

> This milieu deserves attention: it is the nucleus of the current Latin Quarter that has produced so many inspired minds and diverse talents. It is a strange meeting, restless and

[1] Georges Rodenbach, *La Paix*, 7 December 1878. Translation cited in Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.100.

> agitated, where meridionals dominate and where one finds hairy bohemian types to whom Murger,[2] if he could return, would say "Brothers!" and ask for some tobacco.[3]

Deschaumes reiterated the peculiarity of the séances when reminiscing several years later: 'I have never seen a group more eclectic, more paradoxical, or more inelegant [*dégingandé*] than the meetings of the *Hydropathes*'.[4] The club's most celebrated (and possibly least biased) review came from Francisque Sarcey, published in the journal *XIX Siècle* in November 1878:[5]

> The young men who united to found the *cercle* are for the most part budding poets, or students of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, or musicians. It is barely five or six weeks since the club was founded, and it already has nearly two hundred members.
>
> It is comfortably installed in a large rented room on the rue Cujas. It is there they meet each evening; the large séances, the formal séances, it is where the members, all and sundry, convene on Saturdays.
>
> There, we speak verse, we make music, we sing and we talk. No drink other than beer is permitted, and all games of chance are absolutely forbidden.
>
> Several young artists have already enjoyed these séances, [those] which are kind and cheerful. Villain (of the Comédie Française) made such great impersonations that everyone was swooning. Coquelin Cadet recited some of his spiritual sketches, which he delivered to perfection, and who has had such success at *salons* and concerts. It is likely that once the institution is known, more artists couldn't ask for better than to be heard in this altogether very intelligent and very friendly environment.
>
> These young people if they needed could be self-sufficient. Many are poets, I mean that they write verse. It is completely natural to be asked to read, and they allow, without much resistance, their arms to be twisted. This large audience will be suitable for sharpening tastes and pointing out their flaws [...]. These coteries guard their windows carefully, closed to the strong winds of public opinion. The insiders breathe a subtle and heady air, where their talent risks languishing. Precious refinements of verse carvers do not reach to the public, and that is why I am not sorry to learn that our young poets can read their new productions here today, before larger audiences.

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[2] The term 'meridionals' relates to persons with Southern French origins. He refers to the fact that very few of the Hydropathe leaders were natural Parisians, most of them deriving from the Southern French provinces.

[3] Deschaumes, 'Les Hydropathes', *Revue Littéraire et artistique* (1 February 1880). 'Ce milieu attire l'attention; c'est le noyau actuel de ce Quartier Latin qui a produit tant d'esprits élevés et de talents divers. C'est une réunion étrange, remuante, agitée, où les méridionaux dominent et où l'on retrouve quelque types bohèmes et chevelus auxquels Murger, s'il pouvait revenir, dirait "Frères!" et demanderait du tabac'.

[4] Deschaumes, 'Chacun son tour'. 'Je n'ai jamais vu rien de plus éclectique, de plus paradoxal, de plus dégingandé que cette réunion des *Hydropathes*'.

[5] Deschaumes and Rodenbach both had a degree of involvement with the club. Deschaumes attended séances, and edited (Secrétaire de rédaction) a number of related journals including Jean de la Leude's *La Plume*. Georges Rodenbach contributed a selection of poems to the club's journal, *l'Hydropathe.*

> I hope that many students will join the club. One of the young men who wrote to me (I suspect he was a poet) remarked, not without bitterness, that amongst the students or law and medicine there are some – the more 'distinguished' – who are still inclined towards classical poetry. Those who since leaving school haven't read anything other than their work books, or now and again the novel of the day, and are ignorant of the great revolution in French verse made by Victor Hugo thirty years ago.
>
> Would they not have some advantage in joining this elite of young artists, some of whom will someday be famous, who will become writers or painters, or musicians of the finest order, like they are destined to walk in the footsteps of Allou or Valpeau!
>
> After all, an evening spent there with family, talking of art and literature, is at least more pleasant and certainly more valuable than lost hours stirring dominoes on a coffee table. It seems to me that if I was twenty one, I would ask to join the Cercle des Hydropathes.[6]

Sarcey was a prominent writer and critic for *Le Figaro* and *Le Temps*, who had gained a reputation for his 'lively spirits and independent ideas'.[7] Despite the Hydropathes' occasional aversion to praise from the more conservative press (as discussed in Chapter two), the club's appreciation of this overwhelmingly positive review is evident by its reproduction in the first issue of *l'Hydropathe*.[8] Regardless of his early support for the club's events, Sarcey later became the butt of ridicule by Hydropathe artists, most notably by Alphonse Allais who wrote a parodical chronicle of the critic in *Le Chat Noir*, including 'L'Aventure de Francisque Sarcey'.[9] Coquelin Cadet also ridiculed him for denigrating the practice of the *monologue moderne*.[10] However, Sarcey's ability to judge the quality and value of such events was elsewhere endorsed by Gustave Le Bon in his influential text *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, in which he names Sarcey as an authority on crowd mentality in cultural events.[11] Le Bon's text, along with Gabriel Tarde's *The Laws of Imitation,* and Georges Sorel's *Reflections on Violence*, was seminal for the discussion of the collective mind

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[6] Francisque Sarcey, 'Les Hydropathes', *XIX Siècle,* 28 November 1878, p.1. I have reproduced the article here in its entirety for it is an important text that attests to the early respect of the club by serious critics. I am not aware of any full English translation of the piece. See appendix C for the original French text.

[7] Thomas Davidson, 'Francisque Sarcey', in *A Library of the World's Best Literature, Vol. XXXII: Eumi-Schérer,* edited by Charles Dudley Warner, p.12825.

[8] *L'Hydropathe*, 1 (22 January 1879), p.3.

[9] For a collection of these articles, see Alphonse Allais, *Autour du Chat Noir* (Paris: Les Quatre Jeudis, 1955). A collection of satires attacking Sarcey was published as a limited run in 2013: see Alphonse Allais, *How I Became an Idiot, by Francisque Sarcey*, trans. by Doug Skinner (San Francisco: Black Scat Books, 2013).

[10] Constant Coquelin and Ernest Coquelin, *L'Art de dire le monologue* (Paris: Ollendorff, 1884), pp.71-80.

[11] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1895), *Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation*, [accessed 5 September 2014].

in the late nineteenth century.[12] He sought to understand the fundamental distinction between individual and mass actions, and the 'mechanisms' that govern the two.[13] In relating his discussion of crowd behaviour to the theatre audience, Le Bon suggests that, regardless of their professional experience, the theatre manager's ability to predict the success of a play is ultimately imbued with uncertainty 'because to judge the matter it would be necessary that they should be able to transform themselves into a crowd'.[14] For Le Bon, the audience's reaction to a text is unpredictable, for it is guided by the individual's visceral reaction to the atmosphere and context in which it is experienced, which comprise more external contributing factors than can be easily controlled.

By this we might deduce that although the performed text is a catalyst for the audience's collective reaction, Le Bon considered the opinions of the individuals that constitute the crowd to be less informed by an intellectual response than by impulse and instinct. Furthermore, the individual response is considered easily manipulable by the masses sharing and contributing to the experience. Le Bon states his inability to expand on the matter in the text, but invites further comment from Sarcey, who is directly noted for his familiarity with 'theatrical matters, and at the same time a subtle psychologist'.[15] Sarcey made no formal reaction to Le Bon's comment, but the following year confirmed his mutual curiosity for culture and psychology in his famous vilification of Jarry's *Ubu Roi* (1896). He condemned the play as a 'filthy hoax which deserves only the silence of

[12] Tarde, Gabriel, *The Laws of Imitation* (Charleston: Bibliolife, 2010). Sorel, Georges, *Reflections on Violence*, trans. by T.E. Hulme and J. Roth (New York: Dover Publications, 2004).

[13] Robert A. Nye, 'Two Paths to a Psychology of Social Action: Gustave Le Bon and Georges Sorel', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 45, 3 (September, 1973), 411-438, p.412.

[14] Le Bon, *The Crowd,* p.26.

[15] Ibid.

contempt', therefore condoning collective inaction as suitable protest against the play's vulgarity.[16]

Sarcey's interest in crowd mentality was developed when, at the age of twenty, he participated in the student unrest at the *Lycée Charlemagne* in Paris where he was enrolled as an honour pupil.[17] There he observed the behaviour of students whose disturbances were, in his opinion, often 'more ridiculous than dangerous'.[18] He also recognised the need for collective organisation and the positive role of the students' communal singing of 'La Marseillaise', which united the crowd while still maintaining order.[19] Thirty years later, Sarcey's review of the Hydropathe séances made a similarly favourable account of communal song and the crowd's lively yet restrained behaviour. He applauded the artists for their influence on the audience, and stated that if he had been a younger man he too would have become a Hydropathe.[20] Sarcey admired the club's inclusive environment that he considered 'suitable for sharpening tastes and pointing out flaws', praising the club for transmitting both artistic and brotherly values to its less talented audience.[21] It was neither the text nor the environment that Sarcey individually praised, but the combination of the two: the accomplished poetic text correctly received in an environment that encouraged the elevation of artistic achievement. The crowd thus provided a positive reinforcement of independent thought which would lead to the heightened consciousness of the individuals

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[16] Translation cited in Keith Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry: A Critical and Biographical Study* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), p.103. 'C'est une fumisterie ordurière qui ne mérite que la silence du mépris'.

[17] Cited in Warner (ed.), *World's Best Literature*, p.12825.

[18] Francisque Sarcey, *Journal de Jeunesse*, p.32: 'Puis on se met à chanter la *Marseillaise*: le tout sans tumulte, ni désordre. Le lendemain, le surlendemain, la même scie recommence, et toujours sans plus de résultats. Tant qu'on s'en tiendrait là, il était évident que ces manifestations étaient plus ridicules que dangereuses'.

[19] Sarcey, *Journal de Jeunesse,* p.31-3. Sarcey wrote to his father during the 1848 uprisings that: 'Les élèves avaient cassé les vitres, les portes, les tables et les maîtres d'études, puis s'étaient rendus, tambour en tête, avec drapeau, *Marseillaise*, demander à Monsieur Carnot [ministre de l'instruction publique] la destitution de proviseur [...] le jour de l'action arrivé, on en revenait toujours à la vieille *Marseillaise*, chantée par le collège, en fort bel ordre, ma foi, et dans un alignement parfait'.

[20] Sarcey, 'Les Hydropathes'. 'Il me semble que si j'avais vingt-et-un ans, je demanderais à entrer au *Cercle des Hydropathes*'.

[21] 'Ce nombreux auditoire vaudra mieux pour leur former le goût et les avertir de leurs défauts'.

who made up the crowd. I suggest that the implications of this assertion should be examined more critically.

In this chapter I question the idea that the club inspired in the audience/participant increased agency and elevated consciousness. Against Sarcey's positive conclusion I instead examine the extent to which the club encouraged a form of engagement that although *physically* active, was *intellectually* passive. In this sense, I consider the participation at the séances to be characterised more faithfully by its crowd mentality (than would perhaps a more involved art collective that might have demanded more creative and thoughtful participation), thus guided less by a sense of individuality and awareness than by its collective submission to the mass. There are two main assumptions to be examined here. First is the implied notion of a collective identity: that the behaviour the masses submitted to was characteristic of a unified 'Hydropathe' persona. The second assumption is that the environment of the live events had an affective influence upon the construction and reiteration of that identity. My aim is not only to discuss these notions as separate entities, but also to examine the connection between the two: how the séances' peculiar environment may have encouraged a form of behaviour that influenced the crowd's actions.

Part One
Collective Identity and Youth Subculture

Collective Identity in the 1870s

While arguably applicable for the study of collective and individual identities in any given era, such notions are particularly appropriate to late nineteenth century collectives

such as the Hydropathes because of the centrality of sociological thought in *fin-de-siècle* France. As Rae Beth Gordon has identified, the year 1878 – the year the Hydropathe club was founded – was pivotal in France for the development of anthropological and ethnological thought, and in particular for the infiltration of contemporary scientific theories within avant-garde performative and visual arts. Focusing on Darwin's evolutionary theories, Gordon explores in detail the impact of biological science, which 'extended from sociology to ethnology, psychology, art history, literature, and even to aesthetics'.[22] Charcot's public demonstrations of hysterics at *La Salpêtrière* are prominent in her study of physical gesture in *fin-de-siècle* arts, and the asylum's influence upon the Hydropathe club will be discussed in more detail below. It was also in 1878 that the *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro* (now the *Musée de l'homme*) was opened in Paris, responding to, and further perpetuating the public's (leisurely) appetite for innovative studies of man in society.[23] It represents the growing dominance of the idea that life could, and should, be better understood by apparently impartial, logical reasoning rather than emotive and intangible systems of faith, and the idealistic notion that through contemporary research the nation would achieve a more informed and enlightened citizenry. The museum was established as part of the *Exposition Universelle 1878* which, like all Universal Exhibitions from Napoléon III through to current day international events (such as the Venice Biennale, and the modern Olympic Games), provided the opportunity to create a self-portrait of the nation. The exposition helped advertise France's role within the international community, and also to affirm to the citizens of the nation their own collective national identity.

Sociological scientific reasoning was therefore a persuasive device; it offered a substitute for religious beliefs, and symbolised the path of modern sophistication and

[22] Gordon, *Dances with Darwin* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), p.1.

[23] Ibid., p.67. Gordon cites Clifford Geetz in stating 'the anthropological study of culture is first and foremost, ethnography', p.1.

wisdom as an oppositional front and alternative to conservative ideology. Darwin's evolutionary theory is an obvious case to represent the widespread impact scientific reasoning had on the general population's education, as it branched out of the privileged, exclusive worlds of art and intellectualism. In the early years in which evolutionary biology emerged as a major branch of Western science, the community of French biologists had been more closely associated with Lamarckian thought, as well as 'Cuvier's doctrine of the fixity of the species', while remaining sceptical of Darwinism.[24] However, Linda Clark has argued that 'especially after 1870 there was a vast amount of discussion of how the theory of biological evolution, whether Darwinian or Lamarckian or some combination of the two, related to human society', and official recognition of Darwin's importance to France's intellectual realm came in 1878 when he was elected to the *Académie des Sciences.*[25] André Gill recognised how widespread the populist infiltration of evolutionary thought was when his 'satirical magazine *La Lune Rousse* [stated] that anyone on the street could cite the central notion of Darwinian evolution: "Man descends from the ape"'.[26] It was at this time that Clémence Royer's French translation of Darwin's text included a controversial extra chapter on the social ramifications of the theory,[27] and Émile Gautier's *Le Darwinisme sociale* (1880), provided a case for anarchist, 'social cooperation'.[28] As Clark has argued, Gautier's case for the social role of Darwinian thought was not confined to radical politics, 'but rather resembled what became a standard package of republican statements about the

[24] Linda Clark, 'Social Darwinism in France', *The Journal of Modern History,* vol. 53, 1, 'On Demand Supplement' (March, 1981), p.D1027.

[25] Ibid., p.D1026.

[26] James Moore, 'Deconstructing Darwinism: The Politics of Evolution in the 1860s', *Journal of the History of* Biology, vol. 24, 3 (autumn 1991), 353-408. Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-1918*). Clark, 'Social Darwinism'.

[27] Darwin later revoked his support for the text. However, the book, which received two subsequent editions, introduced Darwinism to the French audience as a field integrally linked with ideas of the social applications of the theory. See Linda Clarke, *Social Darwinism.*

[28] Emile Gautier, *Le Darwinisme Sociale* (1880). For a concise summary of the various manifestations of Social Darwinism in the late nineteenth century, see Geoffrey Martin Hodgson, *Economics in the Shadows of Darwin and Marx* (Cheltenham: Edwin Elgar, 2006). Especially the chapter 'Social Darwinism in Anglophone Academic Journals', 34-62.

utility of evolutionary biology for social thought'.[29] At the time when secular education was introduced as part of the Third Republic's social reformation, evolutionary theories provided secular alternatives to Christian teachings on the origins of life. It was around 1880 that Darwinian writings (as well as Spencer's 'Transformitism') began to be taught in the national curriculum, representing one of the ways in which secularist science was appropriated in the re-education of the French people, and instrumental in the battle against ingrained clerical doctrine to win the support of the populist mass.[30] As Clark argues:

> The term *science* became a standard republican catchword in propaganda attacks on monarchist and clerical enemies whose alleged hostility to modern science was said to have warped the educational system of the Second Empire and thus contributed to the military debacle of 1870. Republicans paired politics and science by claiming that while the new regime freed Frenchmen from despotism, science freed minds.[31]

Soon after the Franco-Prussian War, this position was demonstrated by Gambetta when he declared that 'the new republic must be scientific or it will not be', thus declaring in a short, imitable sentence the new Republic's secular values.[32] The catchphrase was an adaptation of Thiers's famous speech of 1872 that the 'Republic must be conservative or it will not be', showing also how Gambetta positioned his left-wing faction of the Republic against the more antiquated propositions from the right that promised stability over radical change and modernity.[33]

Both statements were later satirised in *L'Hydropathe* in a piece entitled, 'Formule':

FORMULA:

Two men from Marseille met:

- My friend, he said, THE REPUBLIC WILL BE CONSERVATIVE OR IT WILL NOT *BE*.

[29] Clarke, p.D1026.

[30] Ibid., p.D1031.

[31] Ibid., p.D1029.

[32] Cited in Linda Clark, *Social Darwinism*, p.D1029.

[33] Adolphe Thiers, in a speech to the Assemblée des députés, 13 November 1973. 'La République sera conservatrice ou ne sera pas'.

- No my friend, said the other, THE REPUBLIC WILL BE NATURALIST OR IT WILL NOT *BE*.

A Gascon rushed past; but ironically he said:

THE REPUBLIC WILL BE HYDROPATHE OR IT WILL NOT *BE*.[34]

The incorporation of the tagline into the Hydropathes' satire suggests how widely recognised it was in French society, and the title 'Formula' (*Formule*) hints towards its prescriptive nature. What this simple parody comments on is the apparent attempts to define the new Republic by a fixed identity. Employing forceful rhetoric, both Thiers and Gambetta promoted the need to conform to a stated doctrine for the sake of the Republic, which would perish should it fail to advance down the chosen path of progress and enlightenment. They thus both called for unification to their given cause, and a collective awakening to the new tenets of a national identity. It is notable that in comparing the Hydropathe with these other claims for a new Republican national identity, the piece highlights the club's collectivism, suggesting 'Hydropathism' was an influential doctrine analogous to that of the conservative and liberal factions of republican politics. However, as an explicitly satirical statement, the Hydropathes resist claiming their influence has reached the heights of mainstream national politics. (Indeed, the intention of this direct comparison may well have been to emphasise the absurdity of such an idea). Rather, the ideals of the mainstream political parties are dragged down to the level of the Hydropathes' obscure and puerile jest.[35] It is also worth noting that through this gesture the Hydropathes did not oppose those dominant ideologies, since to do so would undermine the club's

[34] Émile Hola (Paul Vivien, attr.), *l'Hydropathe*, 8 (5 May 1879), p.3. 'Un Marseillais rencontre un autre maucot: | - Mon bon, dit-il, LA RÉPUBLIQUE SERA CONSERVATRICE OU ELLE NE SERA PAS. | - Non mon cer [sic], dit l'autre, LA RÉPUBLIQUE SERA NATURALISTE OU ELLE NE SERA PAS | Un gascon passe, rapide; mais ironique qui dit: LA RÉPUBLIQUE SERA HYDROPATHE OU ELLE NE SERA PAS'.

Mary Shaw sees this echoed in the totality of Salis's view of Montmartre and the *Chat Noir*: *Le Chat Noir* considered Montmartre 'le berceau de l'humanité' and 'le centre de monde,' which was 'autonomous' from the rest of Paris. Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.112, citing Jacques Lehardy, 'Montmartre,' *Le Chat Noir*, 14 January 1882.

[35] The term 'party' is here used in an informal sense, for in France during the late nineteenth century there was as yet no formal party system.

claims of autonomy and political neutrality. Instead it ridiculed attempts to encourage the people of France to absorb these ideologies for the sake of national progress. This example demonstrates how the Hydropathes rejected any intention to construct collective identities through manipulative rhetoric. In contrast, their own collective was identified with satirical and socially-conscious attacks on such rhetoric. By employing satirical tropes they advertised themselves as outsiders who refused to conform to the doctrines that were being promoted nationally, and with such gestures the club attracted an audience that was educated enough to supposedly be aware of the state's attempts to influence the public. The Hydropathe club offered an inclusive community to artists and intellectuals whose autonomy made them independent of, and thus superior to, political and mainstream cultural institutions. However, I argue that herein lies a paradox: the Hydropathes participate within the structures that they purport to condemn. They expose the construction of Republican collective identities, yet in so doing form their own collective identity as an oppositional, yet equivalent alternative. It is dependent upon a similar means of manipulation of the crowd, albeit promoting different values. The club thus demonstrates at this early point in French liberal society what Horkheimer and Adorno considered exemplary of late capitalism – the inescapability of classification as a consumer: 'Something is provided for everyone so that no one can escape; differences are hammered home and propagated'.[36]

There is here an implicit tension between the ideal of individual, libertarian creativity, and the notion of the tightly-woven collective under which these individuals gathered. Such tensions could be identified as a potential, if not inherent problematic of artistic or ideological collectives, which demand its constituent members submit, or at least adapt, their individuality to conform to the broader agenda that the collective stands for.

[36] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), p.98.

Despite the topic's wide reach, I suggest this tension is particularly pronounced with the *Cercle des Hydropathes* because the notion of individuality was one of the club's exemplary characteristics.

Such characteristic 'individuality' was manifested, first, through the performance of poems, songs, or music, since performers had the freedom to recite works of their choosing, without being restricted by rules governing artistic quality or avoiding the trappings of poor taste. Secondly, it also manifested socially, as bourgeois convention and etiquette were explicitly rejected. In being forbidden any drink other than beer, and encouraged to sing, laugh and jest, the middle-class audience registered habits and behaviours that were more commonly associated with the lower classes, indulging in a kind of *nostalgie de la boue*. The intimation is thus that the club's social and artistic elements provided the individual with liberty to act as he (or occasionally she) wished, free from the confinement that they would otherwise be subject to in everyday society. The removal of restrictions would therefore allow the middle-class mass to identify and discover their true 'self', which was otherwise suppressed by the strictures of bourgeois society.

Intellectual Community: Subcultures and Brotherhood

Along with the overall atmosphere of rowdiness and lack of cultural sensibilities, the club proposed an autonomous intellectual and cultural community. This appealed particularly to the young students who were a principal target of the Hydropathe séances. The stereotypical impression of student life in France was dominated by romantic ideals of a metamorphosis from youthful schoolboy into the worldly 'intellectual' (a label that in French society at large has traditionally commanded significant respect).[37] With the

[37] Hazareesingh, 'Chapter Two: The Political Role of Intellectuals', *Political Traditions*, pp.33-62.

dominance of the Parisian university system over other French departments and cities, the expectation on the student, including the person they would become and the life they would lead, was inextricable from the romanticised image of the capital city itself.[38] It has lent to it the idea of the Baudelarian *flâneur* who wanders the streets making the city and all those who fill it his spectacle and his subject; and the 'glorified' coming of age stories 'from the novels of Balzac and Stendhal to the lonely hearts articles of the penny press', and of course Murger's young bohemians in *Scènes de la vie de bohème*.[39] The fictionalisation of the Parisian metropolis and the student life that it offered were an 'enticement' that is comparable to the theatre that the city makes of itself for tourism. Yet this life, as Priscilla Clark asserts, especially within the French universities, remained characterised by non-participation, and for all its benefits lacked any kind of structured community:[40]

> For the student no less than the tourist, the City of Light offers wondrous enticements, but companionship seldom is cited as one of them. On the contrary, documentation of every nature suggests that new students find life in Paris extremely lonely. It has been one of the largest student centres in the world since the late Middle Ages and by the 1880s acquired most of the characteristics considered here.[41]

In offering a lively community that consistently gathered twice a week, the Hydropathes filled this gap for its participants, providing brotherhood and companionship that was otherwise lacking for the youth in France's centre of urban modernity. Furthermore, it offered to this section of society an experience of the city's cultural environment. The expectation on the student was not only to engage with their studies and develop their professional skills; the period, Clark argues, was a '*rite of passage*', during which there was an overarching emphasis on development of character:

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[38] By the end of the century, one in three students in France was enrolled in Parisian institutions. Priscilla Clark and Terry Clark, 'Writers, Literature, and Student Movements in France', *Sociology of Education*, vol. 43 (autumn, 1969), 293-314, p.294.

[39] Clark and Clark, 'Student Movements', p.294.

[40] Ibid., p.296.

[41] Ibid., p.294.

> Moving to Paris is thus no mere change of address; it is a *rite de passage* ... The provincial student knows that when he returns home, he will be expected to act as a Parisian, and consequently must learn his part.[42]

Especially in the city that was perceived internationally as the European capital of culture, the centre of artistic innovation and intellectual progress, the student was faced with the expectation to develop their character, for which cultural endeavour was instrumental. The Hydropathe séances offered a cultural experience that was not only participative, but thoroughly modern. It had all the virtues of Parisian cultural tradition as a literary and musical society, but in a format that was distinctly of the modern generation, instilled with the spirit of republican liberties.

Yet, however idealistic this may have been for the student embarking on their *rite of passage*, for the disillusioned petit-bourgeois the Hydropathe séances offered an escape from the banality of modern everyday life. Goudeau himself was included amongst them, employed as he was at the Ministry of Finance. He represented the growing section of urban society that was to an extent victim of the expanding education system, whose qualifications 'condemned' them to lives working in the growing clerical sector of modern society.[43] Since the reforms of Napoléon Bonaparte, French universities seemed to offer opportunities for social advancement to a broad section of French society. Yet, as Seigel argues, this was little more than 'official propaganda' that provincial families 'naïvely' accepted.[44] Upon graduation hoards of youths found themselves not only 'unfit for manual work', but also 'bereft of the connections required for real success', and thus forced into poorly paid administrative roles that lacked the intellectual stimulation for career fulfilment.[45] Thus, while the *Cercle des Hydropathes* provided a community for this

[42] Ibid., p.294.

[43] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, p.217.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

disconnected youth, it also offered the possibility of regaining the romanticised fiction of an invigorated modern life.

To a certain extent it may seem unjustified to suggest that the Hydropathe character resembled a 'fictional' ideal. Supporting the suggestion would be the way the club played on known stereotypes of the student and the bohemian, both of which had been mythologised in literature and other forms of popular culture, therefore presenting an ideal that had been imagined more often than it had been lived.[46] The Hydropathic persona created at the club played on ideals of creativity, fraternity and freedom, which was then packaged as a consumable entity to be indulged in twice a week. However, counter to this view, it might otherwise be argued that, by means of its imitation, any apparently fictional identity is reified, thus ceasing to be 'fictional'. This counterargument certainly bears some substance in that regardless of whether an identity is purposely conceived, or emerges by more natural processes, once a character is performed by the body it begins to gain a more concrete reality. Nevertheless, on the surface at least, this latter argument does not account for the often indistinct boundaries that separate performance from authenticity. Neither does it resolve the problem of endurance of character (the perhaps unjustified notion that the more frequently a character is 'performed' the more truthful it becomes);[47] nor does it help to differentiate between the acts and gestures that make up the state of *doing*, opposed to the more abstract signifiers that constitute the state of *being*.

The distinction between fiction and reality has been theorised as a principal concern of the avant-garde since the nineteenth century. However, there is a certain affinity in this notion of a youthful cultural gathering that links the Hydropathe movement less

[46] Marilyn R. Brown, *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbour, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985). Flaubert's novel, *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (Paris, (published posthumously) 1881), satirised the intellectual pursuits of young Parisian bureaucrats.

[47] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York; London: Routledge, 1990). Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York; London: Routledge, 1993).

with the exclusive modernist art movements it is most commonly seen to foretell (such as Dada, the Chat Noir, Les Arts Incohérents), and more with the concept of youth counter-cultures that most consciously developed throughout the second half of the twentieth century. This is not, of course, meant to distinguish the two unequivocally, since the boundaries separating the avant-garde from mass cultural movements at times lack definition. Especially in the twentieth century the two became largely indistinguishable, often because of the deliberate intention to create art forms that affect the wider population, as seen for instance with the Situationist International in France. Or otherwise due to once radical, underground movements such as punk, surfacing in the cultural mainstream.

While subcultures are by definition inextricable from the cultural output (in the shape of music, film, literature, and so on), the underlying motivation for those who associate themselves with a given subculture might be said to lie as much in the involvement with a community that accords with one's self-perception. The identification with subcultures is identification with ideologies not promoted by standard mainstream society, and they become sites in which youth may 'selectively construct identity in ways not accommodated by conventional institutions such as churches and schools'.[48] Each is therefore defined by its opposition to society's normalised structures and the rules that govern it, the pursuit of an alternative through cultural output, and the rendering of subversive behaviours and personas. Particularly in the twentieth century, countercultures increasingly functioned with an acute awareness of the contradiction in libertarian individualism functioning as part of a collective identity. This is a problem frequently identified in the area of crowd studies where, as Christian Borch argues, 'the supposedly

[48] William Ryan Force, 'Consumption Style and the Fluid Complexity of Punk Authenticity', *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 32, 4 (autumn 2009), 289-309, p.291.

de-individualising nature of crowds questions the ideal of the constituent liberal subject'.[49] Borch sees this problem most evidently manifest in 'American sociological crowd semantics', that he claims struggles 'to conceive of collective behaviour in ways that do not compromise the ideal of the autonomous liberal subject'.[50] The criticism of the supposedly autonomous subject absorbed into the status-quo is perhaps best summarised by Raoul Vaneigem's notion of 'flirting with nonconformity that conform[s] to the prevailing value system'.[51] This is for Vaneigem – as particularly appropriate to the Hydropathes – evident through black humour, which was 'readily incorporated into the advertising mix'.[52] It also relates to Lefebvre's statement a decade later: 'That which yesterday was reviled today becomes cultural consumer-goods; consumption thus engulfs what was intended to *give meaning and direction*'.[53]

If punk gradually became a 'consumer good' as it was absorbed into the cultural mainstream, it equally came to accept consumerism within its own cultural discourses: whereas records were once reviled as symbols of consumerism,[54] they later became symbols of 'authentic' allegiance.[55] The same can also be said of sartorial adornment, or 'fabricated' styles.[56] For instance, punk's dirty clothing, 'rough and ready diction', and chains symbolised the oppression of the working classes.[57] Yet they combine to little more than 'conventional modes of sartorial discourse – which fit a corresponding set of socially

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[49] Borch, *Politics of Crowds*, p.16.

[50] Ibid., pp.16-17.

[51] Raoul Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oakland, CA: PA Press, 2012), p.157. Originally published as *Traité de savoir-vivre à l'usage des jeunes générations* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), p.157.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (London: Continuum, 2002), p.95.

[54] As Hebdige states, 'in the early days, there was no recorded punk music'. Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London; New York: Routledge, 1979), p.67.

[55] Force, 'Consumption Styles'.

[56] Dick Hebdige, 'Subculture: The Meaning of Style', in *The Subcultures Reader*, ed. by K. Gelder and S. Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), p.134.

[57] Hebdige, *Subculture,* p.63.

prescribed roles and options'.[58] Uniformity of style and behaviour, and the purchasing of merchandise represent authenticity within the counterculture, as much as they represent the infiltration of consumerism that threatened the core values the movement claimed to stand for.[59] Far from being hidden, the movement functioned with acute awareness of structures of capitalist consumerism. Even with a heightened consciousness of the Culture Industry, followers of punk and such countercultures were (and are) not only happy to conform to the stereotyped roles, but embrace the role of finance and consumerism, using it to create a hierarchy confirming the more genuine identities.[60] While records, posters, and items of clothing provided tangible symbols of allegiance, it is also through interaction at live events that one proved an 'authentic' commitment to the culture. The anarchy the punk movement romanticised emerged in its lyrics (Vaneigem's radical Leftist manifesto, for instance, was put to music by the punk band The Royal Family and the Poor ('Rackets', 1880)), and is mirrored in the 'symbolic breakdown of order which seems to occur in the pit'.[61]

Yet regardless of its 'proletarian accents', and its working class 'scruffiness' that 'ran directly counter to the arrogance, elegance and verbosity of the glam rock superstars', as Hebidge asserts, 'punk's rhetoric was steeped in irony'.[62] We might here recognise how Vaneigem's criticism of bourgeois conformity through the consumption of counter-culture was satirised within the punk movement, for instance in the Television Personalities track 'Part-Time Punks' (1978):

> Walkin' down the kings road,
> I see so many faces
> They come from many places

[58] Hebdige, 'Meaning of Style', p.134.

[59] Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason* (London: Continuum, 2004), p.99.

[60] Force, 'Consumption Styles'. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectics of Enlightenment*.

[61] William Tsitsos, 'Rules of Rebellion: Slamdancing, Moshing, and the American Alternative Scene', *Popular Music*, vol.18, 3 (October, 1999), 397-414, p.406.

[62] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture*, p.63.

They come down for the day
They walk around together
And try and look trendy
I think it's a shame
That they all look the same

[...]

Then they go to Rough Trade
To buy Siouxsie and the Banshees
They heard John Peel play it
Just the other night
They'd like to buy the O Level single
or Read about Seymour
But they're not pressed in red
So they buy The Lurkers instead

Here they come
[...]
The Part-time punks![63]

During the nineteenth century an equivalent process of personal development through culture can be located in France's bohemian circles. The 'bohemian' is stereotyped to be free-spirited and unrestrained by the conventions and social etiquettes of wider society. They form a subculture that is inextricable from the society within which they function, but are defined generally by their independence from its standard institutions. The title of Goudeau's autobiography, *Dix ans de bohème* (Ten Years of Bohemia), is testament to how closely the poet considered the *Cercle des Hydropathes* to be associated with bohemianism. While the club is most closely affiliated with the *Montmartresque* bohemian spirit that post-dated it, it emerged and developed in the light of Paris's mid-century bohemians typified by the fictionalised characters of Murger's, *Scènes de le vie de bohème*. Although usually perceived to be autonomous in their life and artistic pursuits, Murger clearly asserted the bohemian to be a temporary role in the artist's development. It was not meant to symbolise a consistent sense of self, or to conclusively define a person's life and art, but was a stage in the individual's personal and artistic development:

[63] Television Personalities, 'Part-Time Punks', (1980).

> We repeat as an axiom: bohemia is a stage in artistic life; it is the preface of the Academy, the Hôtel Dieu, or the morgue [...] Today, as of old, everyman who enters an artistic career without any means of livelihood than art itself, will be forced to walk in the paths of bohemia.[64]

The bohemian is thus perceived as a stage on the journey toward a more standard role in the social order. Furthermore, as Murger's analogy to a 'preface' suggests, the importance of this bohemian stage is undermined to provide little more than context to the 'real' person the artist will become. It was an important process of self-discovery, but still a temporary period that a poet or artist ultimately aspired to graduate from in the inevitable pursuit of a more conventional life, and more accomplished academic art.[65] The Hydropathe club functioned according to a similar structure, acting as a temporary identity for Parisian youth, through which they could play out roles that would sustain them in mainstream society.

My aim here is not to criticise the 'part-time bohemians' for not committing to the genuine bohemian life, and not being sufficiently 'authentic' bohemians. For, as Marilyn Brown has argued, the romantic ideal of an authentic bohemian had always been just that, a romantic ideal: 'the bohemian was bourgeois from the outset and the bohemian myth exhibited a solid constancy within its superficial changes'.[66] What should be noted, rather, is that the bohemian ideal within the collective Hydropathe identity was performed in recognition of its own falsity. For the student members this performance was not meant as a parody of their adopted culture. They accepted themselves as consumers of this ideal, and thus also accepted the commoditisation *of* art and culture, as well as the creation of consumers *through* art and culture.

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[64] Murger, 'Preface', *Scènes de la vie de bohème*, p.xxxvi.

[65] Gluck, *Popular Bohemia*, p.18.

[66] Brown, *Gypsies*, p.100.

Part Two
Collective Persona and the Crowd

Environment & Collective Persona

The Hydropathe sèances took place in a room hired for the purpose. Although led by their ambitious *président*, it seems the club was founded less as an attempt to provoke an innovative cultural movement than it was to provide the kind of welcoming and productive environment lacking elsewhere in Parisian cultural society. According to accounts from Vivien and Goudeau the club was founded out of frustration and distain, because inhospitable local bars reprimanded the poets for their banter, and demanded they quieten their discussion to give precedence to the bars' own mediocre entertainment.[67] In Jouy's account, the poets looked for a quieter place away from the 'debauchery' of the *Boul' Mich'*, and other local bars.[68] In either case, the hire of a private room provided a solution to the poets' lack of control over their environment. The space gave the poets the freedom to socialise and perform amongst a likeminded and knowledgeable crowd without having to compete with the conflicting demands of other social groups. Therefore, from its earliest conception, the club was not only concerned with the type of poetry it produced, shared and performed, but also about the environment in which this occurred. Recognising the constructive correlation between social vitality and experimental artistic productivity, the club was a means of creating a space in which the two were complementary.

[67] Paul Vivien, 'Émile Goudeau', *l'Hydropathe*, 1 (22 January 1879), p.1.

[68] Jules Jouy, 'Les Hydropathes', *Le Tintamarre* (2 February 1879), p.4. For more on the *Boul' Mich'*, see Caradec, *Alphonse Allais*, pp.69-80.

While from the start the séances were open to the local public, it is perhaps due to their novelty that the Hydropathes seemed initially unaware of how popular the meetings would become. To guarantee meeting the landlord's stipulated minimum of twenty men, the organisers all agreed to bring along eight creative acquaintances.[69] Yet such worries of dwindling numbers were soon put to rest. Before long the events' popularity necessitated relocating to a larger venue, and doubling their frequency to two evenings per week.[70] Several months after the first meeting, the numbers in attendance were claimed to surpass three hundred: 'Starting with thirty, they became close to three hundred, and when the room became too small, they established their séances in a larger hall with a stage, close to the Place Jussieu'.[71] Such a large crowd had a more profound effect on the club than merely its venue. First of all the general environment should not be overlooked. It takes little imagination to conjure the stifling atmosphere made by three hundred young men cramped into a relatively small room, and the energy must have been palpable as it was fortified with alcohol. It must not be forgotten that despite the many supposed etymological meanings of the name 'Hydropathe' (as outlined in Chapter two), its most obvious and frequently cited connotation referred to their hatred of water. This thus promoted the club to the young locals as a place of vibrancy and drunken debauchery, and although most accounts of the meetings attempt to emphasise its artistic quality and diversity, judging by the noise complaints that Goudeau contended with, it would seem that the evenings lived up to expectation.[72]

The growth in numbers was further provoked by open invitations to join, as well as the growing sense of identity amongst the community. In this regard, I suggest issue four

[69] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.185.

[70] Félicien Champsaur, 'Le Quartier Latin', *Le Figaro*, 8 October 1879. They took place each Wednesday and Saturday, from 8pm until midnight.

[71] Ibid. 'D'abord une trentaine, ils se sont trouvé bientôt trois cents, si bien que, la salle devenue trop petite, ils ont établi leurs séances dans un local plus vaste, aven une scène, près de la place Jussieu'.

[72] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* pp.190-6.

of *l'Hydropathe* reflects a critical turning point for the club, for it reflects a greater self-awareness and focus of its collective ideals. The issue promoted an increasingly clear notion of the club and its membership, advocating and encouraging stronger allegiance to its guiding principles. Poetic works not only helped develop a sense of united purpose and common goal, but began to read as a call to arms:

> A Messieurs les Hydropathes
>
> Messieurs, c'est un ami qui vous salue.
> On dit
> Qu'au pays de *Murger* enfin on se réveille,
> Que le feu va jaillir des cendres de la veille,
> Et que tout n'est pas mort où la jeunesse vit!
>
> On dit que le Pays-Latin s'agite et vente.
> On trouve qu'il est temps de le ressusciter,
> Que le combat est proche et qu'il faut se compter:
> On n'a pas oublié ceux de mil huit cent trente.
>
> Votre appel à la voix vibrante des clairons;
> It fait qu'au fond du cœur chaque fibre tressaille,
> Car tous nous nous sentons prêts pour cette bataille,
> Et l'espoir radieux éclate sur nos fronts.
>
> Vous voulez réveiller des luttes étouffées,
> Et gagner des combats sans rougir les pavés;
> Vous voyez, à travers les horizons rêves,
> Des resplendissements de gloire et de trophées!
>
> C'est bien! Relevez donc notre jeune drapeau
> Et ne souffrons plus qu'on le foule;
> Il ne fallait qu'un cri de ralliement nouveau:
> Les combattants viennent en foule!
>
> Allons sabrer les noirs fétiches du vieux temps;
> Que la jeunesse entière vienne,
> Et sente remuer son âme de vingt ans
> Dans sa poitrine plébéienne!
>
> L'arène est vaste. – Il faut des combats acharnés;
> Sans merci qu'on trappe et qu'on taille!
> Montrons que la pesante armure des aînés
> N'est pas trop lourde à notre taille!
>
> P.L...
> Pièce dite au *Cercle des Hydropathes*, par M. Paul Vivien.[73]

[73] P.L, *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), p.4.

The poem offers strong words, vision, and direction, yet the most apt summation of the collective beliefs was in Goudeau's 'Aux Hydropathes', which was published in a prominent position on the journal's inside cover, and whose structured points read as proclamations, a manifesto of a new movement:

> On seizing the chair, more or less curule, which is destined for the Editor of l'Hydropathe, I feel my brain bubbling like soapy water, and the bubbles frothing luminously, that burst, they burst!
>
> **First bubble:** The Latin Quarter paralysed from uncompromising politics or otherwise, and religious questions that are of little interest today, awakes to listen to songs and verse. We ponder the works of philosophical poetics, leaving us to soar above with spread wings, the fantasy!
>
> The Hydropathes have given the signal.
>
> **Second bubble:** If in the world there is a plain of Shinar where all the sons of Ham, Shem and Japheth, can reunite without offence or hostility, it is the field of Art, a neutral terrain, flourishing with miraculous flowers. They can later disperse, but they will not have been brothers any less during this united hour.
>
> It is the Hydropathes who have given access to this plain.
>
> **Third bubble:** The good news must be spread among the people of the two banks of the Seine, between the Italians, as the Montmartrists, and the Batignolles, so that they might learn that the Sorbonne's great shadow has hidden a light, which although small, being a beacon can still cause a fire.
>
> The journal, l'Hydropathe was founded. It lives, it grows. I declare with the same joy that it will grow in size and in influence.
>
> All literary opinions will here find an echo; all works can here take a place.
>
> Let the Hydropathes set to work: the field is open![74]

Goudeau laid out his three proclamations, declaring what the group stood for and that which it opposed. In the first he not only pits the group against inflexible political thought and outdated religious inquiry, but furthermore declared their songs to be the antidote to these, capable of rousing the Latin Quarter from its paralysis. In a utopian declaration his second point imagines art as a terrain to unite all voices, and to forget engrained hostilities. In likening art – as the creative, human act – to a plain of Shinar he calls upon the

[74] Émile Goudeau, 'Aux Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), p.2. See appendix D for the original French text.

allegorical significance of a land after the flood had purged the earth of all its evil and sin; and of when the first city built by man spoke only a single language; and the Lord's declaration that for *these* people nothing would be impossible. Goudeau is anticipating dispersal to new lands and the formation of diverse new languages, but the Hydropathic ideals of inclusivity, artistic creation and brotherhood were the starting point and the place of art's rebirth. The stylised quality of his text is poetic, emotional, exaggerated, and slightly crazed in imagery and language. And while specifically a written form structured with bullet points, and no indication that this was spoken at the séance, it still retains an unquestionable sense of oration. With clear sermonic character it employs forceful rhetoric, as readers are called upon to spread the 'good news', and the final, impactful line of each verse elevates *Les Hydropathes* as the Prophets of the true art of the people. The religious undertones and rhetorical style foreground their art as a faith to be followed, fortifying their principles as a manifesto. Although I would not be the first to describe Goudeau's piece as a manifesto, it is a claim that remains to be explored, a project all the more significant since its publication predates Moréas's 'Symbolist Manifesto' of 1886, generally considered to be the first manifesto of European modernism.[75]

As the club adapted to its growing membership, it developed a number of rituals during each meeting, which further encouraged 'punsters, word-game playsters, and word enthusiasts of all kinds who dreamed of shouting or singing in unison'.[76] The most evident and widely discussed of such rituals are the two songs, 'Le Bon Diable' and 'Ronde du Retour', which were both written by Georges Lorin, and sung by the entire congregation at the start of each Hydropathe meeting:

Le Bon Diable

[75] Bayard describes the piece as a 'manifesto' in passing, and with no recognition of the potential significance of this nomination. Bayard, *Latin Quarter*, p.61.

[76] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.99.

Des gens à tres-bonne tête,
Troubleurs de fête,
Troubleurs de fête
Disent de moi, bien du mal,
C'est égal.

Dans mon enfer, on s'amuse,
Du moins, [je la crois],
La grande Reine est la Muse,
L'art est le grand roi...
Je suis bon diable!
Ah! ah! venez avec moi!

La fillette brune ou blonde,
A taille ronde,
A taille ronde,
Chasseuse du noir souci,
Vient aussi.

Pour la mignonne causette
Il n'est pas de loi.
La reine, c'est la bluette
L'amour est le roi...
Je suis bon diable!
Ah! ah! venez avec moi!

Dans mon antre on ressuscite
La réussite,
La réussite,
On n'y chanté point les vers
De travers.

Chacun descend dans l'arène,
Sans peur du tournoi.
La sympathie est la reine,
Le bon sens est roi...
Je suis bon diable!
Ah! ah! venez avec moi!

Chez moi, personne ne grille,
Le punch seul brille,
Le punch seul brille,
Mes flammes ne font des leurs
Qu'en les cœurs.

Accourez, fils de la peine,
Prêtres de la foi,
L'espérance est notre reine,
Le succès est roi...
Je suis bon diable!
Ah! ah! venez avec moi!

Que le diable vous emporte!
Jeune cohorte,
Jeune cohorte!
Souhaitez-le, sans terreur,

Tous en chœur.

Dans ma jeune République,
Venez sans effroi,
La femme est la reine unique,
Tout le monde est roi...
Je suis bon diable!
Ah! ah! venez avec moi![77]

The two pieces have since been described as 'national anthems' and, as this nomination suggests, express the club's principal concerns in a number of ways. 'Le Bon Diable' first of all foregrounds the group's passion for 'art', while simultaneously deriding the prestige of a constitutional monarchy: 'L'art est le grand roi...' (Art is the great king). Secondly, it helps unite the group, creating solidarity through communal engagement in a common task. The poem is simple in certain regards: the lyrics are basic enough to be learned without a written prompt, and its repetitive rhythm makes it catchy and memorable. Yet equally, its various word plays give it complexity and depth and are suggestive of a mischievousness that further characterises the Hydropathe persona. As much has been observed by Schiau-Botea who stresses the role of such rituals in affirming the group persona: 'the text constructs a general image of the group and its meetings, responding to the need to rediscover and reaffirm the collective's identity after a long interruption'.[78] If such customs influenced the actions of the group attending the séance, they simultaneously pre-empted their own legacy by establishing an imitable code of conduct that would be 'implemented in the art practices of their successors'.[79] This was strengthened by Lorin's second anthem, 'Ronde du Retour', which maintained the imaginary Hydropathe ancestry by referencing its obscure and fanciful origins: Lorin's lyrics 'Enfin, voici les amis, tour à tour, | Hydropathes

[77] Georges Lorin, 'Le Bon Diable', *l'Hydropathe*, 2 (5 February 1879), p.4.

[78] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.35. The interruption Schiau-Botea refers to is a short interval of a few weeks during the summer. 'le texte construit une image générale de groupe et ses réunions, répondant ainsi à une besoin de retrouver et de réaffirmer l'identité du groupe après une longue interruption.'

[79] Ibid., p.43. '...il propose donc une image de la communauté idéale, qui sera mise en œuvre dans les activités artistiques qui lui succéderont. Le texte évoque une communauté que la séance est censée refléter par son déroulement'.

| Sans épates, | Sur leurs pattes, | De retour', are an obvious allusion to Goudeau's description of the 'Hydropathe' as 'a fantastical creature with legs (*pattes*) made of crystal'.[80]

Although Hydropathic traits are not directly articulated, they can be perceived through syntactical constructions and verbal acrobatics, and as Lorin builds a reputable image for the community, it is underhandedly mocked.[81] For example, Lorin plays with the double meaning of 'Bon Diable', which could reference a person of good character (*un bon diable*), or conversely, the devil (*le diable*):

> Lorin pretended to take seriously the proper sense of the figurative phrase "a good fellow", commonly meaning an easy-going, good humoured man, on which he based the entire [fiction], while still maintaining at its base the sense of the representation of hell as a place of joy and simplicity [...] Playing on the ambiguity, Lorin offers the figure of the hydropathe as a double paradox [...] and a figure of the hydropathesque community: but the figures are shown as products of a simple word game.[82]

In addition to its narrative and word plays, 'Le Bon Diable' begins to reinforce the group's collectivism through its grammatical structure. Sung in the first person singular ('Je'), Lorin's text forces the audience to recite its stated principles as if they were one's own. It puts the words into the mouth of each man in the crowd, and constructs the illusion that he speaks for himself as he calls for others to join his cause: 'venez avec moi!' (Come with me!). Conversely, in a number of stanzas, the second text, 'Ronde du Retour', employs the first person plural ('nous'), which emphasises the collective to function as a single body:

Ronde du Retour

Enfin, voici les amis, tour à tour,
Hydropathes

[80] Émile Goudeau, *Le Revue moderne et naturaliste* (27 December 1878). Cited in Michel Golfier and Didier Wagneur, p.324. '...des animaux fantastiques à pattes de cristal'. A reference to the same effect is also made by Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.183.

[81] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.35.

[82] Sciau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.33. '...la chanson présente aussi cette communauté comme une fiction due à une manipulation du langage, à une syllepse de sens. Si, d'une part, cette figure appelle sa réalisation, d'autre part, par l'acrobatie verbale, elle est montrée comme une pure construction de l'esprit. Lorin fait semblant de prendre au sérieux le sens propre de la locution figurée "un bon diable", signifiant couramment un homme facile, de joyeuse humeur, sur lequel il fonde tout l'espace de la fiction, en maintenant au fond le sens figuré dans la représentation de l'enfer comme lieu de joie et de simplicité ... En jouant sur l'ambiguïté, Lorin propose à la fois une figure de l'hydropathe comme double paradoxal ... et une figure de la communauté hydropathesque: mais ces figures sont montrées comme des produits d'un simple jeu de mots'.

Sur leurs pattes,
Sans épates,
De retour.

Longues furent vos absences!
De profundis! les vacances.
On voit, fortes,
Vos cohortes,
Par les portes,
Revenir...

Pour sûr, encoure, les bourgeois vont frémir!
Les bonasses!
Et leurs faces,
Très-cocasses
Vont blémir.

Car l'émeute littéraire,
Va regronder dans notre aire,
Et nos fêtes
De poètes
Sur leurs têtes
Vont tonner...

Déjà l'archet guette les violons,
Et l'artiste,
Pianiste,
Suit la piste
Des points ronds!

Adieu donc! les paysages,
Lacs, torrents, ruisseaux, rivages,
Foins, fougères,
Ménagères,
Les bergères,
La grand air...

C'est maintenant au rythme de nos vers,
Qu'on évoque
Mont, bicoque,
Roc baroque,
Ou près verts.

Le président fait sa tête,
Il agite sa sonnette
"Du silence!
Qu'on commence"
Bonne chance

Et grand succès![83]

While the first text makes reference to a republican utopia that is the equal domain of all men – 'Dans ma jeune République, | Venez sans effroi, | La femme est la reine unique, | Tout le monde est roi.'

Regardless of how reactionary the lyrics may seem in isolation, that the group was not reprimanded for politically provocative acts would suggest that these revolutionary words were sung with an air of jest and good will. Yet, if not through provocation to revolt, rebellion against the status quo relies upon the Hydropathes' characteristic unpretentiousness, which is achieved through the simple, repetitive structure and unsophisticated lyrical rhymes. This aesthetic simplicity and lack of sophistication is paralleled and substantiated by the song's boisterous communal performance, and in both ways – through the text, and its performance – the Hydropathe identity is constructed in contradistinction to a more refined bourgeois etiquette and aesthetic tradition. The text and its performance are not only equally important in achieving this end, but furthermore, it is the combination of the two that is essential to its efficacy and completeness. We might see the text as a way of representing the collective and influencing the crowd of its principles, but equally the text's success relies upon the crowd's compliance, for it lacks its intended impact without the collective to sing it. This is a two-way dialogue that should neither be underestimated nor taken for granted, since without the right kind of atmosphere, or the necessary crowd mentality, the song would have fallen flat. It was therefore the camaraderie that further perpetuated the song's meaning and integrity, and the collective identity was built upon the audience's willingness to participate with communal actions. Lorin's songs consistently initiated collective unity at each session, which then continued throughout the meetings as the crowd responded to performances by clapping and singing along. In so

[83] Georges Lorin, 'Ronde du Retour', *l'Hydropathe,* 21 (10 November 1879), p.3.

doing, they fostered fraternal bonds and engagement with performances while breaking the state's 'official monopoly on loud noises'.[84] Such actions demonstrate the kind of solidarity that Champsaur considered exemplary of his generation: 'at present, cohesion and solidarity exists amongst the youth, at the same time that each maintains substantial independence: those who turn to science, those who turn to the arts, all expanding their knowledge'.[85] While the Hydropathes' collectivity is seen by Champsaur, amongst others, as a sign of independence, promoted as symbolic of the individual's intellectual capacity, it is with compliance with the collective that agency could be achieved. It relies upon the overarching presence of a crowd mentality, where it was expected for each individual to cooperate by adopting the behaviours of the group.

The Hydropathes and 'the Crowd'

By this point, I trust I have made clear how central the notion of collectivity was to the club, and have shown that the group meetings were not simply an assembly of autonomous individuals, but a united entity wherein it was expected for each individual to cooperate by adopting the behaviours of the group. I have so far focused on how this was achieved through the use of the texts; considering them as vehicles by which individuals were united through the communal recitation of the club's values. I now aim to look in more detail at the concept of the crowd, specifically relating to the notion that it is characterised by a lessened intellectual capacity.

[84] Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City', p.20. See this text for an interesting discussion of sound in the early modern city.

[85] Félicien Champsaur, 'Le Quartier Latin'. 'À présent, la cohésion et la solidarité existent entre les jeunes, en même temps que chacun garde la plus large indépendance: celui-ci qui se tourne vers les sciences, celui-là vers les lettres, tous agrandissent leur savoir'.

In 1888, the one-time Hydropathe writer, Guy de Maupassant, wrote a short story entitled, perhaps coincidentally, *Sur l'Eau*, in which he described the feeling of being amongst a crowd:

> I cannot enter a theatre nor be present at a public festival. I immediately feel an extraordinary, intolerable unease, a terrible nervous irritation as though I were fighting with all my strength against an irresistible and mysterious influence, and indeed I am fighting against the mood of the crowd which is trying to take over me.[86]

If this was written in reference to the theatre crowd, he later elaborated similar sentiments to apply more generally, as a 'phenomenon [...] produced each time a large number of men are gathered together':[87]

> All these people, side by side, separate, different in mind, intelligence, passion, prejudice, education, belief, all of a sudden, due only to their presence together, produce a distinct creature with a mind of its own, a new communal way of thinking which is the result, defying analysis, of the average of the individual opinions [...] His individual will had been merged with the common will just as a drop of water merges with a river. His personality had disappeared, becoming the minute part of a vast and peculiar personality, that of the crowd'.[88]

Maupassant thus evidently regarded the crowd with suspicion, understanding its effect to manipulate the 'soul' of each individual. If we are to understand the Hydropathe séance as abiding by the definition and characteristics of the crowd as per Le Bon's seminal discussion, its participating masses are likewise condemned to a particularly negative light:

> We see, then, that the disappearance of the conscious personality, the predominance of the unconscious personality, the turning by means of suggestion and contagion of feelings and ideas in an identical direction, the tendency to immediately transform the suggested ideas into acts; these, we see, are the principal characteristics of the individual forming part of a crowd. He is no longer himself, but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will.
>
> Moreover, by the mere fact that he forms part of an organised crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilisation. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian – that is, a creature acting by instinct. He possesses the

[86] Guy de Maupassant, *Sur l'Eau* (Paris, 1888). Translated as, *Afloat*, trans. by Marlo Johnston (London: Peter Owen, 1995), p.76.

[87] Ibid, p.77.

[88] Ibid, pp.77-8.

> spontaneity, the violence, the ferocity, and also the enthusiasm and heroism of primitive beings, whom he further tends to resemble by the facility with which he allows himself to be impressed by words and images – which would be entirely without action on each of the isolated individuals composing the crowd – and to be induced to commit acts contrary to his most obvious interests and his best-known habits. An individual in a crowd is a grain of sand amid other grains of sand, which the wind stirs up at will.[89]

Taking this view, the individual in the crowd is not understood as representative of the greater whole that he identifies with, nor constituent of its agency; it asserts on the contrary that this identification reduces each individual to a submissive component of the collective actions that are beyond their registered comprehension. They are no longer the master of their own will, but conditioned by the overawing passion of the crowd and the conditions that control it, nullifying their conscious sense of rationale. However, despite the overarching condemnation of crowd mentality, Le Bon himself asserts that the crowd need not always act with mindless barbarism, stating that, 'without a doubt criminal crowds exist, but virtuous and heroic crowds, and crowds of many other kinds, are also to be met with'.[90] Furthermore, following Canetti's assertion that within the crowd the person 'becomes free of [their] fear of being touched', it is a place of liberation from the constraints of alienation.[91] Therefore, not to be guided by the intriguing rhetoric of Le Bon's former quotation, it might otherwise be asserted that the crowd represents an idealistic image of modern society, thought of not merely in a positive light, but as the core and central element of a utopian society. Rather than defined by egotistical individualism, the crowd might thus, on the contrary, be characterised by a selfless commitment to the egalitarian pursuits of Socialist ideology. It is at this point that we fall into a terrain of political argumentation, since the notion of the crowd as a democratic mass symbolised for some a utopian ideal, whereas for others it was the realisation of a dystopian hell. Differing views of social organisation was a point of conflict with the nineteenth century's growth of liberal

[89] Le Bon, *The Crowd*, p.17.

[90] Le Bon, *The Crowd*, p.10.

[91] Elias Canetti*, Crowds and Power,* trans. by Carol Stewart (New York, 1984), p. 15.

democracy, during which time 'crowds and mobs' are seen to 'take shape and flourish [...] where they express the raw potentials of mass democratisation and the collective dangers of urban anonymity'.[92] As Jaap van Ginneken describes, although the 'crowd phenomena' had existed 'since the dawn of civilisation', during the nineteenth century it gained a different character and more prominent significance.[93] With rapid population growth came overcrowded urban centres, as technological progress made travel and communication more readily accessible.[94] French uprisings in 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871 are obvious examples of the crowd as a mechanism for social and political advancement. The belief in the power of the crowd is reflected in the foundation and growth of contemporary sociological studies during the century: the elite few studied the behaviour of the many, and regarded it overwhelmingly with suspicion and fear.[95] It was the fear of further uprisings that provoked such suspicion of the crowd during the 1870s. Yet with the number of casualties during the Commune, the Left remained until the following decade without any true leadership that could have organised any real threat to the Republican state.[96]

At the same time, Haussmann's urban architecture encouraged the bourgeoisie onto the streets, while it was equally designed to regulate that crowd's behaviour. Whereas for some nineteenth-century Paris symbolised the rise of modernity and the height of civilisation, for others it was dominated by social alienation and estrangement. For the Impressionists, the aesthetic technique of loosely rendering the crowd into an indiscernible mass emphasised simultaneously the homogeneity of the Parisian public, as well as its beauty. For Baudelaire, the *flâneur* meandered through the streets, absorbing the identity of

[92] William Mazzarella, 'The Myth of the Multitude, or, Who's Afraid of the Crowd?', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 36, 4 (summer 2010), 697-727, p.699.

[93] Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics, 1871-1899* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.3.

[94] Ibid., p.3.

[95] Ibid., pp.2-3.

[96] Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors*, p.9.

the changeable crowd, equally critiquing and celebrating the anonymity of Parisian public life.[97] Later, Seurat's masterpiece *Un dimanche après-midi à l'île de la Grande Jatte* (1884, Figure.3.1) might be considered emblematic of the differing perceptions of the bourgeois crowd in the late nineteenth century. As Paul Smith has discussed, the ambiguity inherent to Seurat's novel aesthetic, combined with the artist's refusal to clarify his position or intent, created prevailing confusion in his work's reception.[98] On the one hand Seurat's paintings seem to represent the serenity of the modern enlightenment. On the other, his *pointillist* technique with its segregated dots hovering in a scientifically-organised stasis, is an allegory for the alienation of Parisian bourgeois society that the Hydropathes are equally understood to have denounced.[99] Despite Seurat's cheerful colour scheme and idealistic social scenes, his 'vacant' bourgeois crowd seemed to personify the loss of individuality in this false utopia, in which the 'amusements of modern capitalism' achieved little more than a mass of compliant consumers.[100]

Without taking the route of classifying one school of political thought as favourable to another, the point here is first of all to question the dichotomy between the sensory, instinctual engagement that characterises the actions of an (impersonal/selfless) crowd, and the rational, intellectual thought of the (enlightened/egotistical) individual. The eighteenth-century philosopher, Alexander Gottileb Baumgarten – who although influential in his time has since been largely forgotten – presents a clear opposition to the sensory/intellectual

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[97] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Crowd', *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863).

[98] Paul Smith, *Seurat and the Avant-Garde* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp.3-4. As Smith asserts, Seurat was more open about his intent and position later in the 1880s when he was more closely aligned with the Symbolists and Wagnerian Idealism.

[99] Such contradictory interpretations arose during the early exhibition of works such as *La Grande Jatte* and *Une Baignade à Asnières* (1883-4). (Smith, *Seurat,* p.5). More recent writing has tended to focus on the less idealistic, anti-bourgeois reading. See for instance, Linda Nochlin, 'Seurat's *La Grande Jatte*: An Anti-Utopian Allegory', in *The Politics of Vision*; Ernst Bloch, 'Wishful Landscape Portrayed in Painting, Opera, Literature', in *The Principle of Hope, vol.2,* trans. by Neville Plaice, et al. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996); Christine Poggi, 'Mass, Pack, and Mob: Art in the Age of the Crowd,' in *Crowds*, edited by Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Matthew Tiwes, 159-202; and Howard Lay, 'Pictorial Acrobatics, in, *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture.*

[100] Bloch, *Principle*, p.814. Poggi, 'Mass, Pack and Mob', p. 169.

polarity by contending that 'human beings could and should not be reduced to either purely rational or purely sensual beings'.[101]

> ...depending on and preconditioned by the circumstances of one's own situation ... To think beautifully, that is, to grasp the object in a way that acknowledges its embedded-ness in the various relations that constitute its specific character, unavoidably presupposes a person in a continual process of developing all his powers and senses, and exploring them in all possible directions.[102]

In Baumgarten's view, rather than pacifying the individual, sensory stimulation has the potential of sharpening the rationale and the intellectual mind, 'active generators of meaning rather than just passive receptors of sensations'.[103] Such a suggestion of course does little to resolve any of the complexity of the sensorial engagement involved in either collective or individual spectatorship, but nonetheless suggests the potential capacity of the individual spectator: rather than being overawed by sensory stimulation and identification with the collective mass, the individual is deemed able to comprehend the sensory and emotional stimulus that works in conjunction with a more intellectual reflection on the performance or object.

Yet such a positive view has remained more difficult to conceive of the individual in the crowd. As Borch described, 'The negative image of crowds is simply so strong that positive counter-images stand out as exceptional'.[104] Even when stated as an essential element of a utopian art form – such as by Antonin Artaud who maintains that 'one cannot separate body and mind, the senses and intellect' – the crowd is still considered to think 'first of all with its senses', and never far from an image of 'hotheaded savagery' and

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[101] Patricia Di Bello and Gabriel Koureas, *Art, History, and the Senses: 1830 to the Present* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p.4. Baumgarten's writings are considered to have had a profound influence on Kant's *The Critique of Pure Reason*. Regardless of this, the first English translation of one of his three major works, *Metaphysics* was not published until 2013. Before the first German translation, the majority of his writing was only available in the original Latin.

[102] Alexander Baumgarten, translated from Latin by S.W Gross, 'The Neglected Programme of Aesthetics', *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 42 (2002), 403-14, pp.411-12.

[103] Di Bello and Koureas, *Art, History,* p.4.

[104] Borch, *Politics*, p.15.

'regression'.[105] Thus the label 'crowd' ought to be confronted as a term preloaded with political, social, and historical implications, and therefore in defining the Hydropathes as a 'crowd' one insinuates a pre-ordained image of the collective audience. The problem with semantics has been frequently acknowledged in this field of study. For instance George Rudé has warned 'against the loose employment of the term "mob"'.[106] Likewise, E.P. Thompson calls for the same caution with the term 'riot'.[107] Borch, furthermore, recognises 'that the definitions pertaining to various problematisations change over time, and this is likely to produce very different ideas of what constitutes crowds, masses, mobs, etc'.[108] Mark Harrison is cited to illustrate the influence of semantics on the how a group of people is understood:

> Those people watching a football match are termed a crowd, but those gathered in the Albert Hall are referred to as an audience. Skinheads are said to roam in gangs, company directors assemble in groups. A large number of pickets behaving in a threatening manner may be termed a mob, but a large number of policemen charging with batons will almost never be so described.[109]

The quotation aptly demonstrates how the categorisation of assembled individuals relates to the wider cultural sphere, and conforms to stereotypes of preordained prejudices. If such stereotyping formed the basis of Le Bon's study of the crowd then it can be understood as much as a sociological study, as an artefact demonstrating nineteenth-century anxieties of urban expansion, and the power of an increasingly organised, (pre)industrial working class.[110] In short, the fear of an unknown modern world.

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[105] Antonin Artaud, 'Theatre and Cruelty', trans. by James O. Morgan, *The Tulane Drama Review*, vol.2, 3 (May 1958), 75-77, p.77.

Mazzarella, 'The Myth of Multitude', p.796.

[106] E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present,* 50 (February 1971), p.76.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Borch, *Politics*, p.13.

[109] Mark Harrison,'*Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns, 1790-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.5.

[110] Henri Mendras, *Social Change in Modern France: Towards a Cultural Anthropology of the Fifth Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See in particular, 'The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Working Class', pp.22-25. Although in Britain, for example, industrialisation began in the eighteenth century, it was not in full

Post-war writings of Lefebvre and Rudé attempted to encourage a less stereotyped vision of the crowd so that it 'may eventually appear not as an abstract formula but as a living and many-sided historical phenomenon'.[111] To achieve this end both Rudé and Lefebvre historicised the crowd, looking at the more detailed motivations behind uprisings, and thus considering crowd mentality from a 'bottom-up' perspective: the crowd not necessarily characterised by involuntary reactions of individuals coerced by a dominant leadership, but rather prompted by conditions and events of which they are fully aware.[112] In a similar vein, Thompson writes of eighteenth-century crowds with sensitivity to the forces that motivate it into action:

> It is possible to detect in almost every eighteenth-century crowd action some legitimising notion. By the notion of legitimisation I mean that the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs; and, in general, that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community. On occasion this popular consensus was endorsed by some measure of licence afforded by the authorities.[113]

Through Thompson's reasoning, the crowd can represent an existing community that is willing to act against an oppressor that threatens its culture. By this perspective, the crowd is moralised, seen not as an animalistic uprising to overthrow a dominant power, but as a defence mechanism against an oppressive force. It thus also remains aware of personal identities outside of the crowd, therefore not displaying the characteristics of the hypnotised, depersonalised 'mob' as described by Le Bon.

By these alternative accounts we might then understand the Hydropathe crowd to gather less as a 'savage' mass, than it is united by common beliefs, tastes and values: by joining the collective one is not submitting himself to the mindless mass, but recognising

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force in France until the early-twentieth century, before which industry was 'small-scale and rural, concentrated in small companies employing fewer than 100 workers'. (p.22).

[111] George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1981), p.15.

[112] Georges Lefebvre, 'Revolutionary Crowds', in J. Kaplow (ed.) *New Perspectives on the French Revolution: Readings in Historical Sociology* (New York: Wiley, 1965). George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

[113] Thompson, 'Moral Economy', p.78.

and acknowledging a part of his own subjectivity. For it should not be forgotten that, in the words of Di Bello and Koureas, 'social and individual identities are created around tastes and preferences at once shared and individualised through dinners, concerts, visual spectacles, social chat, personal hygiene, fashion, and all the changing varieties of social and cultural interactions'.[114] Therefore, rather than sensory stimulation implying loss of intellectual engagement, it might otherwise be argued as one of the essential functions in the development of identity – collective or otherwise. For the Hydropathes this would have been the recognition of one's appreciation for arts, poetry and culture, a desire to take part in unpretentious youthful gatherings, and to participate with a collective that was representative of the liberal spirit of modern Paris: that these things occurred at the séances did not *replace* one's sense of 'self', but *reaffirmed* what was already known.

However, as a final curve in this analysis, if, as I argued in the previous chapter, the Hydropathe séances functioned as an Ideological Apparatus, then we might remain sceptical of such claims for the crowd's individual subjective consciousness. For Foucault, it is in the 'little details' that the mind and the body of man are controlled. Looking beyond the elements one consciously identifies with, it is equally important to locate what he describes as 'coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviours'.[115] What Foucault calls 'disciplines', described as 'the meticulous control of the operations of the body', begin with the 'enclosure' of individuals in a confined, heterogeneous space.[116] A process of normalisation occurs in order that its structures act upon the individual without their conscious awareness. If the communal performance of the Hydropathe anthems was one of the more explicit ways that

[114] Di Bello and Koureas, *Art, History*, p.3.

[115] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p.138.

[116] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* for description of disciplines, see p. 137-8; for heterogeneous space, see p.141.

Hydropathe collectivism was exposed to its performers, the following section explores the more subtle means.

French Beer: Senses & Symbolism

In 1883 Charles Cros published a poem in *Le Chat Noir* as a dedication to the *Cercle des Hydropathes*. Many of the Chat Noir artists had truly begun their artistic careers at the Hydropathe meetings, and Cros's text contributed to the myth surrounding the club after it had ended its activity:

> Hydropathes, chantons en chœurs,
> La noble chanson des liqueurs.
>
> Le vin est un liquide rouge
> - Sauf le matin quand il est blanc.
> On en boit dix, vingt coups, et vl'an!
> Quand on en a trop bu, tout bouge.
> Buvons donc le vin rigolo,
> Blanc le matin, rouge à la brune
> Qu'il fasse (nous souffrons de l'eau)
> Clair de soleil ou clair de lune.
>
> Hydropathes, chantons en chœurs,
> La noble chanson des liqueurs.
>
> Doré des futures aurores,
> La Bière est un liquide amer.
> Il nous en faudrait une mer
> Pour rincer nos gosiers sonores.
> Les bocks font bien dans le tableau
> Buvons la bière blonde ou brune
> Qu'il fasse (nous souffrons de l'eau)
> Clair de soleil ou clair de lune.
>
> Hydropathes, chantons en chœurs,
> La noble chanson des liqueurs.
>
> Le Vermouth, le Bitter, l'Absinthe
> Nous font des trous dans le gésier.
> On ne peut que s'extasier
> Sur l'éclat de leur triple teinte.
> Jaune, rouge, vert, triple flot
> Diaprant la foule commune
> Qu'il fasse (nous souffrons de l'eau)
> Clair de soleil ou clair de lune.

Hydropathes, chantons en chœurs,
La noble chanson des liqueurs.

Quand chacun étreint son amante
Le soir entre deux mazagrans
Nous nous permettons (soyons grands)
La cassis, le Kummel, la Menthe.
L'amour agite son flambeau
Et chacun baise sa chacune
Qu'il fasse (nous souffrons de l'eau)
Clair de soleil ou clair de lune.

Hydropathes, chantons en chœurs,
La noble chanson des liqueurs.[117]

The piece explicitly refers to the amount of alcohol that was consumed at the séances, and despite the poem's assertion that the Hydropathes indulged in an exhaustive array of alcoholic beverages, early accounts of the club otherwise suggest that in its early days, beer was the only drink available. As Sarcey stated in his article that was reproduced in the club's own journal, 'No drink other than beer is permitted'.[118] In the following decades associated cabaret bars followed the same trend. For instance, in the early twentieth century the *Cabaret Zut* opened in Montmartre as an homage to the *Zutistes* – the 1870s collective including Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Hydropathe Charles Cros – and likewise prided itself on only selling beer, suggesting this was a common trope of the earlier collectives.[119] Furthermore, Aristide Bruant's *Le Mirliton* (The Reedpipe), which took over the lease of the Chat Noir's original location on the rue Rochechouart, also only stocked beer.[120]

Given the abundance of wine in French society and its symbolic value to the nation's cultural identity, it is conspicuous by its absence at the early Hydropathe events.

[117] Charles Cros, 'Udadushkhînam – Çruti', *Le Chat Noir,* 77 (30 June 1883), p.4.

[118] Francisque Sarcey, *L'Hydropathe,* 3 (19 February 1879), p.3. 'Il n'y est permis d'autre boisson que la bière'.

[119] Dan Franck, *Bohemian Paris: Picasso Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art*, trans. by Cynthia Liebow (Grove Press, 2003).

[120] Steven Moore Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p.46.

Much is known of the 'cultural landscape of viticulture' in French history,[121] and according to statistics gathered in 1899, wine accounted for over 72% of the country's alcohol intake.[122] A further 22% was made up by spirits, and only 5.5% by beer. This is in contrast with Britain, whose tastes are shown to have been almost exactly opposite, with beer accounting for 72% of total alcohol consumed, and only 2.2% by wine. In 1961 Roland Barthes wrote that wine was so ingrained, so 'obvious' in French society that it had become invisible: 'For', he argued, 'we do not see our own food or, worse, we assume that it is insignificant'.[123] Given this, the choice to sell beer alone is unusual. It might be necessary, first of all, to consider that the choice was influenced by the contamination of phylloxera (otherwise known as the Great Wine Blight), which devastated French wine crops from the 1850s through to the mid-1870s.[124] As is well documented, the aphid caused unprecedented damage to French vineyards, affecting the quality and availability of wine. As stocks ran dry the prices rose, and although the worst of the disease was vanquished by 1875, its repercussions on the industry lasted until the end of the century.[125] The *Cercle des Hydropathes* was active as the cost of a bottle of wine was near its peak, and as the price more than doubled its consumption decreased to less than half.[126] Although these findings might suggest that beer provided a necessary alternative during this difficult time for the French wine industry, I suggest that it may not solely account for the choice, which represents not only historical circumstance, but also symbolic cultural references.

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[121] Kolleen M. Guy, 'Wine, Champagne and the Making of French Identity in the Belle Epoque', in *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking Eating and Drinking in Europe since the Middle Ages,* ed. by Peter Scholliers (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p.165.

[122] David Grigg, 'Convergence in European Diets: The Case of Alcoholic Beverages,' *GeoJournal*, vol.44, 1 (January 1998), 9-18, p.11.

[123] Roland Barthes, 'Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption', in *Food and Drink in History: Selections from the Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, vol. 5, Ed. by R. Forster & O. Ranum, trans. by E. Forster & P. Ranum (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), p.167.

[124] Thomas Brennan, 'Towards a Cultural History of Alcohol in France', *Journal of Social History*, vol.23, 1 (autumn 1989), 71-92.

[125] James Simpson, 'Cooperation and Conflicts: Institutional Innovation in France's Wine Markets, 1870-1911,' *The Business History Review*, vol.79, 3 (autumn, 2005), 527-558.

[126] Simpson, 'Cooperation and Conflicts', p.534.

While the Hydropathes and *fin-de-siècle* bohemian cultures are frequently cited for their consumption of alcohol, rarely is the symbolic significance of their chosen drink considered, nor their effect of these choices on the social environment. For instance, R.D.V. Glasgow's, *The Concept of Water*, that aims to provide 'a systematic account of [water's] symbolic and philosophical significance', briefly considers the changing attitude to water by men of arts and letters, and cites the Hydropathes' collective distaste for water as symbolic of their denigration of 'temperance and dullness'.[127] However, the text continues to make the somewhat laboured point that wine and beer are only 'superficially' 'opposite' to water, since both are fundamentally water-based drinks.[128] For a study that otherwise takes care to identify water's symbolism in a expansive range of international cultures, the point does little to indentify the differing effects of alcoholic drinks, nor exploit the cultural and symbolic differences that his presented research might more naturally suggest.

Writing for the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, Roland Barthes was amongst that group of diverse twentieth-century French semioticians, known collectively as the Annales School, that promoted an interdisciplinary approach to history. What was exemplified by the Annales School has since become a growing field of scholarship. Food histories are one such area of growth, and following Barthes, for instance, who rejected the supposed 'triviality or guilt' associated with so-called 'food histories', food and drink have since received attention as 'cultural sites' at the centre of a community: ones acting as agents to maintain collective identities between generations, or otherwise for estranged communities seeking to re-establish traditional norms amongst foreign cultures.[129] The

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[127] RDV Glasgow, *The Concept of Water* (United States: R Glasgow Books, 2009), p.314.

[128] Ibid., p.315.

[129] Roland Barthes, 'Contemporary Food Consumption', p.167. Barthes wrote of scholars' 'triviality or guilt' when writing on the subject of food, and argued that when eating habits were studied in academia, it was often approached 'indirectly', and usually with greater reference made to 'more weighty subjects, such as life-styles, budgets, and advertising'. Sutton, David E., 'Synaesthesia, Memory, and the Taste of Home', in *The Taste and Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*, ed. by Carolyn Korsmeyer (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p.305. Sutton, discusses food as 'cultural sites', writing specifically about its role in constructing and reinforcing immigrant Greek communities in England. See also Peter Scholliers, *Food, Drink and Identity*.

manner in which food is consumed, and the symbolism of both the substance and the ritual surrounding it are, as Forster and Ranum note, indicators 'of broader social and cultural phenomena'.[130] For Barthes, furthermore, food and drink form part of a communication system that is not only irrevocable from a broader matrix of social structures and signs, it is a system that works beneath the consciousness of those who consume it:

> Substances, techniques of preparation, habits, all become part of a system of differences in signification; and as soon as this happens, we have communication by way of food. For the fact that there is communication is proven, not by the more or less vague consciousness that its users may have of it, but by the ease with which all the facts concerning food form a structure analogous to other systems of communication. People may very well continue to believe that food is an immediate reality (necessity or pleasure), but this does not prevent it from carrying a system of communication: it would not be the first thing that people continue to experience as a simple function at the very moment when they constitute it into a sign.[131]

If, as Barthes suggests, food and drink act as signs that 'communicate' a concealed message to the consumer, I suggest that, whether or not it was the conscious intention of the club's leaders, the consumption of beer implies cultural references more subtle than the obvious connotation to male, working class culture.[132]

One potential cultural reference is to the 'Bon Bockers', an artistic social society that from 1875 met for a lively dinner on the first Tuesday of each month, and continued, rather extraordinarily, for fifty years, with the only break due to the First World War.[133] The name, *Bon Bock*, translates into English as 'The Good Pint', and was named after Manet's well-known work, *Le Bon Bock,* which received critical acclaim at the Salon of 1873 (Figure.3.2).[134] The portrait depicted the engraver Émile Bellot, who was later responsible for organising and hosting the Bon Bock meetings, and who Manet portrayed sat with a glass of beer and pipe, in a style reminiscent of the Dutch Golden Age paintings of

130 Forster and Ranum, 'Introduction', in *Food and Drink in History*.

131 Barthes, 'Contemporary Food Consumption', p.168.

132 See for instance, Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors, Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp.61-72.

133 Cate, 'Spirit of Montmartre', p.3.

134 Ibid., p.2.

Rembrandt and Frans Hals. The Bon Bock group's fraternal air resembled that of the Hydropathe club, and similarly combined arts and music with social interaction. As Félix Galipaux described: 'At this lunch poems were recited, songs were sung, the pianist Ben-Zayoux made a worn-out piano groan [...] It was not easy to become a guest: you had to belong, that is, you had to be involved in literature and the arts'.[135] Amongst this exclusive crowd were Hydropathes including Charles Cros, André Gill, Georges Lorin, and Coquelin Cadet, testifying to how involved the Hydropathes were with Paris's self-professed cultural elite. The name 'Bon Bock' also alluded to the group's own cultural heritage. One of the reasons for the painting's success at the Salon was for its apparently conservative subject matter and style, which united left- and right-wing press and appeared as a form of respite from Manet's previous controversy with 'Olympia' and 'Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe'. Yet this view does not account for the painting's political undercurrent; and Jules Claretie's interpretation that the calm, dignified figure of the man was likely 'a good Alsatian philosopher and patriot, quietly enjoying his tobacco and hops', touches upon contemporary cultural sensitivities.[136] Alsace had long been the main producer of French beer, and the drink may well have been a symbolic allusion to the region, which had recently been lost to Germany following the Franco-Prussian war.[137] The Bon Bock meetings also had strong links with Alsatian roots, held as they were at the Alsatian restaurant 'Krauteimer' on the rue Rochechouart in Montmartre, which before the war was a local haunt of artists and actors of German and Alsatian origins.[138] This Alsatian connection was evident from the first meeting, which was co-organised by the Alsatian

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135 Félix Galipaux, *Les Souvenirs de Galipaux* (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1937), pp.115-6. Translation from Cate, 'Spirit of Montmartre, p.4.

136 Jules Claretie, *Le Soir*, cited in Eric Darragon, *Manet* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), p.217.

'Ce doit être un bon philosophe et bon patriote d'Alsace qui déguste sans bruit son bruit son tabac et son houblon'.

137 Katharina Vajta, 'Linguistic Religious and National Loyalties in Alsace', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, vol. 2013, 220 (March, 2013), p.110. As is well know, the region changed between French and German rule since the Early Middle Ages, but it had been a region of France since the rule of Louis XVI in 1648.

138 Cate, 'Spirit of Montmartre', p.3.

illustrator, Eugène Cottin, during which the caricaturist and photographer, Étienne Carjat, 'recited his "Toast to Alsace-Lorraine," stirring the emotions of all those in attendance'.[139] In light of this, the consumption of beer at the Hydropathe séances, and the titular reference by the Bon Bocks, may well be a symbol of solidarity for the Alsatian region and the communities alienated because of the political agenda.

The implication that beer represented a form of French nationalism might be countered by the drink's simultaneous reference to Germany, in which beer was a prominent element of the national culture. However, its consumption might otherwise symbolise a rejection of standardised, stereotypical national identity, and the pursuit to construct a French persona that was not influenced by official doctrine.[140] In his analysis of the Bon Bock meetings, Cate asserts that fraternity, equality, and joviality belong to a collective search for a French national spirit:

> It was thus under the leadership of Bellot that Bon Bockers searched the depth of their cultural heritage to find a new means to define the French national spirit. They articulated a vision of the true *esprit gaulois* (Gallic spirit) as one specifically equated with the gutsy humour of the sixteenth-century satirist François Rabelais. Standing aloof from the conservative political realities of the day, the Bon Bock promoted a concept of ideal French national identity, one composed of a liberal republican form of government and a Rabelaisian spirit.[141]

Bellot made reference to Rabelais in the group's *Album du Bon Bock,* recalling the image of Rabelaisian coarse humour, exaggerated characters, and carnivalesque spirit: 'beloved brothers, I pray our immortal master, Rabelais, to maintain you in good bodily health and joyous frame of mind'.[142] Bellot also employed Rabelaisian artistic values by promoting the equality and convergence of artistic mediums: 'Literature and the Fine Arts, Music and

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[139] Ibid. Carjat was a journalist, and co-founded the journal *Le Diogène*. He is perhaps best remembered for having produced a number of well-known photographic portraits, including of Charles Baudelaire and Arthur Rimbaud. Cottin produced illustrations for a number of journals, including front-page designs for *Le Grelot, Le Sifflet*, and *Le Chat Noir*.

[140] Grigg, 'Convergence in European Diets', p.11. According to the statistics from Rowntree and Sherwell, in the German Empire, beer made up nearly 50% of all alcohol consumed.

[141] Cate, 'Spirit of Montmartre', p.4-5.

[142] Émile Bellot, 'preface', *Album du Bon Bock* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1878). Translation from Cate, 'Spirit of Montmartre', p.4. 'Sur ce, très chers frères, je prie notre immortel grand maître, Rabelais qu'il vous tienne en bonne santé de corps et joyeuse humeur d'esprit'.

Poetry, hand in hand, forming a magnificent crowd at our meetings'.[143] Therefore, if the Bon Bockers were searching for a contemporary French identity, they found an affinity with historical cultures that seemed to offer a more genuine Gallic persona than could be found in their own changeable society.[144] This thus leads back to Manet's image of Bellot as a rural champion; the rustic brass table, characteristic agrarian clothing, the pipe and beer, all create a timeless image that rejects the temporality of Parisian urbanism and modernity.

Similar symbolism had been used in recent times by the revolutionary Realist painter, Gustave Courbet, who often frequented the Alsatian bar, the *Brasserie Andler*, and in his later life was rarely pictured without his customary stein of beer, pipe and *sabots* (clogs). (Figure.3.3). If, as Richard Sennett argues, the presentation of a stable personality was a nineteenth-century fascination, then for Courbet – who earlier in his career frequently manipulated his public persona through self-portraiture – the beer stein completed his real-life image of masculine, anti-bourgeois 'naïvety'.[145] Just as much as the substance indicated Courbet's cultural roots and 'ideal' French identity, its consumption dictated his behaviour, ideas, the company that he kept, and the physical state of the work that he produced, as TJ Clark describes:

> [Courbet] thrived on [the Brasserie Andler's] mixture of the gross and the intellectual; the others sat and laughed at his hour-long tirades against the Ideal and in favour of Alsatian beer: they laughed but they listened, night after night. Courbet was, in fact as in legend, a *naïf,* almost an illiterate, with wild spelling and disintegrating syntax spilling over page after page. Yet he was also, in his own cantankerous way, a theorist, a doctrinaire. Proudhon himself groaned under the onslaught of the twelve-page letters, beer-stained and crumpled, which greeted his drafts of *Du principe de l'art.*[146]

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[143] Ibid.

Mikhail Mikhaïlovich Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

[144] Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France Between the Wars* (New Have; London: Yale University Press, 1995). Golan looks in detail at representations of the rural landscape, regional cultures, and rustic symbols in art during the modernist period.

[145] Sennett, Richard, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Faber, 1993).

[146] T.J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1982), p.30.

Courbet thus exemplifies beer drinking as a rejection of refined culture and etiquette, and offers a glimpse of a world in which intellectualism, vulgarity and naivety were complimentary, rather than conflicting traits. Similarly for the Hydropathes, the consumption of beer helped distance the club from dominant cultural practices in French society, not least dissociating it from symbolic reference to the Eucharist. They employed beer's wider symbolism not only to create a common identity and environment, but an identity and environment purporting to be ideal *because* of its rejection of the synthetic status quo, and which was more authentically French for having rejected it.

Beyond acting as a cultural signifier, especially where food and drink are concerned, the senses must also be acknowledged, as it is the experience of the substance, of its taste, its smell, the sounds that accompany the consumption of food and drink, that linger longest in the memory. Marcel Proust of course described the *Madeleine* not by its inherent culture, but the peculiar persistence of evanescent experience:

> But when from a long-distant past nothing subsists, after the people are dead, after the things are broken and scattered, taste and smell alone, more fragile but more enduring, more substantial, more persistent, more faithful, remain poised a long time, like souls, remembering, waiting, hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest; and bear unflinchingly, in the tiny and almost impalpable drop of their essence, the vast structure of recollection.[147]

As David Sutton asserts, 'food does not simply symbolise social bonds and divisions; it participates in their creation and recreation'.[148] Just as the exotic sweet smells of the tea rooms, the noise of an orchestra tuning instruments, or the subtle notes of a fine vintage are sensory experiences reserved for certain communities with the correct social standing and education, at the séances social bonds are formed around an identity that is affirmed by the smell of the smoke, taste of the beer, sound of the boisterous crowd, the ringing of the bell keeping order to performances, and the sweat of two-hundred young men cramped

[147] Marcel Proust, *In Search of Lost Time, Vol 1: Swann's Way*, trans. by Terence Kilmartin (London: Vintage, 2005), p.54.

[148] Sutton, 'Synaesthesia', p.315.

into a small hall. They are inhaled and consumed by the participating public, creating an environment that penetrates their bodies and minds through sensory arousal. The collective identity was thus transferred through the body, and the experience of the culture manipulated by the bombardment of multisensory stimulation.

La Salpêtrière: Modern Culture and Mass Manipulation

The notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, pursued in the nineteenth and twentieth century, encapsulated the ideal of an all-encompassing multisensory artwork. The term relates to the pursuit of synthesising the arts into one 'total work of art', and that Wagner coined it following the wave of European uprisings of 1848 attests to how closely related it was to the belief in art's social role.[149] Opposing aesthetic autonomy and believing in the public function of art, it was considered by its proponents to be essential 'in the service of a social and cultural regeneration'.[150] This was to be achieved through the mutual stimulation of the senses, which altered a typically disengaged spectatorship, and created a union between art and life through a more sensitive identification with the performance and its environment. During the interwar years, artists persisted in considering the *Gesamtkunstwerk* the solution for the fragmentation and isolation of modernity that the nineteenth-century avant-garde had consistently critiqued.[151] It is associated with a diverse range of avant-garde artists, including (to demonstrate the inherent diversity of the practice) Baudelaire, Mallarmé, the Bauhaus movement and De Stijl, as well as Salis, who was an advocate for interdisciplinary collaborations, and published in *La Revue wagnérienne*.

[149] Juliet Koss, *Modernism After Wagner* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

[150] David Roberts, *The Total Work of Art in European Modernism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), p.1.

[151] László Moholy-Nagy, *Painting, Photography, Film*, trans. by Janet Seligman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), p.17. For instance, Moholy Nagy wrote in favour of the public function of art with reference to the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Yet the *Gesamtkunstwerk* has retrospectively been regarded with overriding suspicion.[152] As Juliet Koss expresses, the *Gesamtkunstwerk* generally describes 'a seamless melding of a variety of art forms that overwhelms spectators' emotions, imped[ing] the possibility of critical thought, and mould[ing] a group of individuals into a powerless mass'.[153] It has been argued that it is such allusions to totalitarian unity that make twenty-first-century artists reluctant to describe their work by the term, as Mark Alizard stated: 'We would have a hard time finding an artist today who would admit to working on a total artwork. However, we are obliged to observe that contemporary total artworks do exist.'[154]

Koss dedicates her book to dispelling such mistrust, while recognising the persistence of such beliefs: 'Loosely associated with synaesthesia, phantasmagoria, and psychedelia, "Gesamtkunstwerk" often stands for an artistic environment or performance in which spectators are expertly manoeuvred into dumbfounded passivity by a sinister and powerful creative force'.[155] In this sense, certain theories of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* overlap with Le Bon's criticism of the crowd as a being that is naturally susceptible to a kind of hypnotism, which impels it to act beyond its own faculties led by a powerful influence on their mind and sensory organs. Such power of suggestion proved a successful technique in *fin-de-siècle* France, at Jean-Martin Charcot's asylum, the *Hôpital de la Salpêtriére*, where susceptibility to hypnotism was one of the critical diagnostics of hysteria.[156] As I discuss below, Coquelin Cadet alluded to a link between Charcot's practice of hypnotism, and the performance of the *monologue moderne*, such as those recited at the Hydropathe séances.

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[152] For Salis's collaborations see for instance, Mary Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.117. Annette Michelson, '"Where Is Your Rupture?": Mass Culture and the Gesamtkunstwerk,' *October*, vol. 56, High/Low: Art and Mass Culture (spring 1991), 42-63.

[153] Koss, *Modernism*, p.xi.

[154] Mark Alizart, associate director of the Palais de Tokyo, Paris, spoken in an interview with Danielle Follett, 'Form and Reform: An Interview with Mark Alizart', in *The Aesthetics of the Total Artwork: On Borders and Fragments* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 2011), p.144.

[155] Koss, *Modernism*, p.xii.

[156] Julien Bogousslavsky & Thierry Moulin, 'Birth of Modern Psychiatry and the Death of Alienism: The Legacy of Jean-Michel Charcot', in *Following Charcot: A Forgotten History of Neurology and Psychiatry*, edited by J. Bogousslavsky, 'Frontiers of Neurology and Neuroscience', vol. 29 (Basel: Karger, 2011), p.3.

Furthermore, inspired by the *Salpêtrière* demonstrations, Maurice Rollinat incorporated physical contortions and the suggestion of mental instability into his performances that were described to be as captivating as they were unsettling.

The influence of Charcot's work at *La Salpêtrière* was wide-reaching. In the world of medicine, former students such as Pierre Janet and Sigmund Freud developed Charcot's work and ideas to cultivate the school of modern psychiatry that was instrumental for the European avant-garde long before the Surrealists' reading of psychoanalysis.[157] Patients' physical contortions and hysteric fits were well-documented by the hospital's staff in sketches, and photographs that were published in *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière* the year Goudeau founded the Hydropathes (Figure.3.4).[158] By this time photography was thought a 'service' offered by the hospital: photographer Paul Régnard took up permanent residency at the asylum, and its photographic laboratory grew increasingly sophisticated.[159] The result was an extensive catalogue documenting patients in various stages of hysteric fits, as well more general states. Photographic technology was used not merely to document the patients' illnesses. In particular Hippolyte Baraduc worked extensively theorising the meaning of the visual distortions, the glimmers of light that appeared on the photographic plates, publishing his findings in his text *L'Âme humaine* (The Human Soul).[160] Baraduc believed these glimmers of light to be 'veils of life': the visual incarnation of the

[157] Ibid. It was not until the end of Charcot's life that hysteria was reassigned from a branch of neurology to one of psychiatric medicine. During late nineteenth century, it came to be more fully conceived as a psychiatric illness, rather than an 'organic brain disease'.

[158] Désiré-Magloire Bourneville and Paul Régnard, *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière* (Paris: Progrès Médical, 1878).

[159] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, trans. by Alisa Hartz (Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 2003), p.44-45. Régnard was just one of the photographers to work for the Salpêtrière.

[160] Hippolyte Baraduc, *L'Âme humaine, ses mouvements, ses lumières, et l'iconographie de l'invisible fluidique* (Paris, 1896). The text is also available in English translation. Baraduc, *The Human Soul: Its Movements, Its Lights, and the Iconography of the Fluidic Invisible* (Paris: G.A. Mann, 1913).

human aura.[161] In them he saw iconographic symbols, from which could be read the inner truth of the subject's soul, as Didi-Huberman describes: 'In this way he developed a whole photographic and *auracular* iconography [...]: an iconography of contemplation (white and horizontal), of the will ("sparkling beads") or vertical "lines of force", and so on'.[162] His codification (owing much to the ideas of Annie Besant and C.W. Leadbeater) thus assumed the Theosophical concept that each body has its immaterial double that is coloured and shaped, working upon notions of a universal system of form resembling the contemporaneous experiments of Kandinsky, as well as the Bauhaus, Arnold Schoenberg, and Alfred Steiglitz.[163] Baraduc understood this codified language to symbolise his subjects' ailments, thus capturing what was invisible to the human eye, and providing 'the truth of the clinical disorder'.[164] The 'truth' it provided related not only to the person's current state, but was also prophetic: understanding the aura as absolute, the 'veil of life' revealed a person's destined illness that had not yet manifested, thus traversing the fixity of time, telling what *would be*. Baraduc became increasingly obsessed with his practice, and in the end, with 'strangely poetic justice,' his body finally contracted the same hysteric symptoms as his patients.[165]

Rae Beth Gordon has understood the *Salpêtrière*'s photographs to have a close affinity with Parisian populist cultures. She argues the images should be considered equal with the 'wax museum, puppet shows, pantomime, and pre-cinematic devices', for their contribution to the 'new repertory of movements, grimaces, and gestures', employed in Parisian cabaret and early film.[166] Their influence upon the fine arts should also be noted. With their wide availability, the allure of these striking, penetrating images was felt across

[161] Didi-Huberman, *Hysteria,* p.92.

[162] Ibid., p.95.

[163] Marina Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors, and Media into the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.261-2.

[164] Didi-Huberman, *Hysteria,* p.85.

[165] Ibid., p.96.

[166] Rae Beth Gordon, *Why the French Love Jerry Lewis* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), p.1.

Northern Europe. Outside France this was particularly evident in Austria, where Freud's translations of Charcot's books fed this Parisian culture into elite Viennese social circles.[167] For instance, as Christopher Townsend argues, the 'postures and facial contortions' that Egon Schiele 'performs' in such self-portraits as *Male Nude with raised Hands (Self-Portrait*) (1910, Figure.3.5), display striking resemblance to the distorted bodies of the *Salpêtrière* patients.[168] Symbolist painter Max Klinger also encountered the *Salpêtrière* photographs during his travels throughout Europe, and in *Going Under Going Under* (1884, Figure.3.6), he recreated the 'anguished' portrait of an hysterical epileptic, who drowns, choking on water in the solitude of an eerily calm sea (Figure.3.7).[169] Created in 1884, the piece demonstrates *La Salpêtrière* as an important source for the Symbolists' early fascination with mental illness. The study of hysterics at the asylum, which codified the physical effects of mental disturbances for scientific analysis, may seem at odds with the Symbolists' rejection of 'the scientific principle of categorisation based on distinction and difference'.[170] It nonetheless conformed to the movement's disbelief of a concrete reality, and desire to represent the 'dereliction of modern humanity' through subjects psychologically damaged by the alienating effects of modernity.[171] In accordance with Freudian thought that regarded hysteric fits as a 'mnemic symbol' of the repressed memory, they were regarded by Symbolist artists as a corporeal manifestation of a truthful inner being.[172] However, despite the movement embracing symptoms of mental illness as an opposition to rational thought,

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[167] Rodolphe Rapetti, *Symbolism* (Paris: Flammarion, 2005), p.261. Freud published German translations of Charcot's books, which were widely available from the 1880s and 1890s. *Neue Vorlesungen über die Krankheiten des Nervensystems insbesonder über Hysterie*, Von J.M. Charcot (Leipzig and Vienna, 1886); *Poliklinische Vorträge.* Von Prof. J.M. Charcot. I. Band. Schuljahr 1887-88 (Leipzig and Vienna, 1892). See Michèle Pollak-Cornillot, 'Freud traducteur: Une contribution à la traduction de ses propres œuvre', *Revue française de Psychoanalyse* (1986).

[168] Christopher Townsend, 'Remains in Light: Materiality, Identity and Photography in Self-Portraiture', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2001), pp. 62-64.

[169] Rapetti, *Symbolism*, pp.258-259.

[170] Ibid., p.7.

[171] Ibid., pp.11-12.

[172] Agnes Petocz, *Freud, Psychoanalysis and Symbolism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.36. Rodolphe Rapetti, *Symbolism*, pp.11-12.

and as symbols of authentic subjectivity, this alleged 'truth' is brought into question by the theatricality inherent to the *Salpêtrière*'s medical practices. The hospital's affiliation with performance was established and perpetuated by Charcot's twice-weekly public lectures, during which selected psychiatric patients were presented to a crowd consisting of medical professionals and students, among a growing assembly of *Tout-Paris*: the social elite that included, according to one attendee, 'authors journalists, leading actors and actresses, fashionable *demimondaines*, all full of morbid curiosity to witness the startling phenomena of hypnotism'.[173] While the Friday lectures were tightly orchestrated to present completed diagnoses, the Tuesday lessons were less formal, 'impromptu performances', where Charcot demonstrated his analytical skills to the crowd of onlookers.[174] These *Leçons du mardi* were consecrated in the fine arts in André Brouillet's, *Un Leçon Clinique à la Salpêtrière* (1887, Figure.3.8), that portrays a class at the asylum attended by a crowd of medical professionals. Dressed in smart suits the men listen attentively to Charcot's demonstration of "Blanche" Wittman; named 'Queen of Hysterics', Wittman was one of the patients to be propelled into the public eye as one of the *Salpêtrière*'s famous hysterics.[175] After spending sixteen years at the hospital Wittman eventually lived and worked with Marie Curie, and was ultimately killed by her pursuit of truth and understanding: with horrific irony, extensive exposure to radioactive materials left this woman, famed for her beauty and physical gestures, with no legs and only a single arm.[176] The Moulin Rouge performer and muse of Toulouse-Lautrec, Jane Avril, also spent part of her childhood at the hospital; and

[173] Axel Muthe, *The Story of San Michele* (London: John Murray, 1938), p.239.

[174] Gluck, *Popular Bohemia,* p.140.

[175] Per Olov Enquist, *The Story of Blanche and Marie*, trans. by Tiina Nunnally (London: Harvill Secker, 2006).

[176] Enquist, 'The Song of the Amputee', in *Blanche and Marie,* pp.13-42. Wittman was a prolific writer and continued to write with her remaining hand until her death.

the actress and 'honorary Hydropathe', Sarah Bernhardt, was known to pay frequent visits to the hospital to study the hysterics' movements.[177]

In Brouillet's portrayal, an assistant supports Wittman's limp body, and her contorted fists suggest we are viewing the aftermath of an hysteric fit. Her dress is ripped down to the waist exposing her décolletage, and the lighting draws attention to the curves of the flesh. Despite two large windows in the background, the body is lit from above; evoking the image of a spot-lit stage upon which Blanche's body is illuminated for the audience. The scene's theatricality is further emphasised by the painting's stage-like composition and the attendees' physical gestures, and indicates the patients' supposed 'performance' of hysteric symptoms, for which the hospital was severely criticised. Axel Munthe (a physician in attendance) described the performances as 'an absurd farce, a hopeless muddle of truth and cheating', claiming that patients conjured illnesses 'cheating both doctors and audience with the amazing cunning of the hystériques'.[178] Charcot was also criticised for his role in theatricalising and sensationalising the illness, accused of 'bad faith' and having 'single-handedly invented hysteria as a theatrical and artistic spectacle':[179]

> [The women] were always ready to '*piquer une attaque'* of Charcot's classical *grande hystérie, arc-en-ciel* and all, or to exhibit his famous three stages of hypnotism: lethargy, catalepsy, somnambulism, all invented by the Master and hardly ever observed outside the Salpêtrière [...] Hypnotised right and left, dozens of times a day, by doctors and students, many of these unfortunate girls spent their days in a state of semi-trance, their brains bewildered by all sorts of absurd suggestions, half-conscious and certainly not responsible for their doings, sooner or later doomed to end their days in the *salle des agités* if not in a lunatic asylum.[180]

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[177] Nancy Ireson, 'Toulouse Lautrec and Jane Avril: Capturing the Moment', in *Toulouse Lautrec and Jane Avril: Beyond the Moulin Rouge,* ed. Nancy Ireson (London: The Courtauld Gallery, 2001).

Rae Beth Gordon, 'From Charcot to Charlot: Unconscious Imitation and Spectatorship in French Cabaret and Early Cinema', in Mark S. Micale, *The Mind of Modernism: Medicine, Psychology and the Cultural Arts in Europe and America, 1880-1940* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), p.105.

[178] Axel Munthe, *The Story of San Michele*, 12th edn. (London: John Murray, 1936). It should be noted that Munthe had longstanding disagreements with the Charcot family. However Munthe was far from the only individual to make such claims against Charcot's practice. For more on the fall out between Munthe and Charcot see, Jangfeld, *Axel Munthe*, pp.294-297.

[179] Gluck, *Popular Bohemia,* p.137.

[180] Munthe, *San Michele*, pp.228-229.

Whether or not Charcot directly encouraged the patients to falsify hysteric fits, he undoubtedly created a scenario that rewarded the women for displaying the most novel physical gestures. The more exaggerated the patient's symptoms, the more famous they became. For some, including Avril and Wittman, exposure at the lectures was a ticket not only to fame, but also independence, financial security, and a career working with the Parisian cultural elite. Thus, much was to be gained from compliance – performing the recognisable traits of the role society and modern medicine categorised them by, submitting mind and body to the desires of authority figures and audience.

In 1888, Coquelin Cadet published a monologue called 'Hydrothérapie' that, as Gluck notes, 'establish[ed] an intimate link between bohemia and the Salpêtrière, as well as between Goudeau and Charcot'.[181] The piece ends as follows:

> It is not only the artists, the people of liberal professions the only ones who go to the doctor; but a mass of men and women of the world, before and after the winter, in the past to store numerous strengths, later to replenish and to relax. All the nervous people, tired, overworked, all of those who have bad blood circulation, those who see life in grey, the nevropaths saddened with passing neurosis, who feel uncomfortable, they just need to gather all the energy they're capable of and... take a carriage, make an unparalleled effort of will-power and tell Docteur Beni-barde's address to the driver. There are the joys, the returning beliefs, happiness, the spirit, strength, enthusiasm, the keen eye, the upright body, vigorous, the mirthful soul, the forgetting of worries, the returning benevolence, the courage to bare ones mother-in-law. Parisians, my brothers, dear and delicate nervous! Let's balance ourselves, let's shower, let's *Beni-barden*-ourselves![182]

Gluck intimates the legitimacy of the claim, which I wish to further emphasise in suggesting that the men inhabited analogous roles in two corresponding Parisian cultures.

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[181] Ibid., p.136.

[182] Ernest Coquelin, 'Hydrothérapie', *Pirouettes* (Paris, 1888), pp.282-283. Il n'y a pas que les artistes, les gens de professions libérales qui viennent chez le docteur; – mais une masse d'hommes et de femmes du monde, avant et après l'hiver, avant pour s'approvisionner de forces nombreuses, après pour se ravitailler et se délasser. Tous les nerveux, fatigués, surmenés, tous ceux dont le sang circule mal, qui voient la vie en gris, les névropathes affligés de névroses passagères, qui se sentent mal á l'aise, n'ont qu'à réunir toute l'énergie dont ils sont capables et ... prendre un fiacre, faire un effort de volonté sans pareille et dire au cocher l'adresse du Docteur Beni-Barde. Là, sont les joies, les croyances revenues, le bonheur, l'entrain, la force, l'enthousiasme, l'œil vif, le corps droit, vigoureux, l'âme riante, l'oubli des soucis, la bienveillance retrouvée, le courage de supporter sa belle-mère. Parisiens, mes frères, chers et délicats nerveux! équilibrons-nous, douchons-nous, *embeni-bardonnons-nous*!

If Charcot encouraged the patients' behaviour – which not only 'cheated' the onlookers into thinking that this was an authentic display, but also encouraged the women to accept their submissive role – then Goudeau's role as leader of the Hydropathe becomes clearer. In a statement of what I argue to be overlooked significance, Goudeau as good as declares the club to have been a 'mission' to inflict his ideas upon Parisian society: 'I imagined myself on a mission: to penetrate the minds of the young students, destined to become the *haute bourgeoisie,* with notions of poetry and art'.[183] With his modern and liberal form of participatory art, the minds Goudeau intended to 'penetrate' were the young students destined to become doctors, lawyers, and intellectuals: they were not only citizens of France, but the middle-classes whose importance was emerging in the liberal capitalist society of the late nineteenth-century. As Seigel has identified, it was these *nouveaux couches sociales,* at whom Gambetta targeted his 1877 election campaign, and whose participation in liberal capitalist cultures – including the department store as much as the literary cabaret – 'was helping to reshape the worlds of consumption, of politics, and of culture'.[184]

Gordon writes at length on the notion and practice of hypnotism in late-nineteenth-century culture, arguing that the cabaret, and other popular cultures including early narrative film, played on the idea of hypnotism that was theorised by doctors, and seen in practice at *La Salpêtrière*. Gordon's interests are focused predominantly on later cabaret cultures, and although the Hydropathe club is noted only in passing, it was central in the development of the monologue that features heavily in her discussion. A number of Hydropathes were pivotal in developing this interdisciplinary culture, for which the literary text was as important as its live performance: Coquelin Cadet described Charles Cros as the

[183] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.220. 'Je m'imaginais remplir une mission: faire pénétrer dans les cervelles des jeunes étudiants, destinés à devenir la haute bourgeoisie, des notions de poésie et d'art'.

[184] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris,* p.228.

'mother' of the *monologue moderne*, for having written substantial works, and himself as its 'midwife,' for his aptitude delivering them.[185] The Coquelin brothers' definition of the monologue, which Gordon argues to 'emphasise pathology',[186] confirms the link between their performance and the *Salpêtrière*'s madness: 'What is it that makes the monologue special? A kind of vaudeville with a character, it blends fantasy with satire, with a little immensity, like the Rabelaisian farces, but with a modern twist, which, precisely in what it has unhinged [*détraqué*], corresponds to the state of our nerves'.[187] Coquelin Cadet (Coquelin the Younger), along with his brother Coquelin Ainé (Coquelin the Elder), recognised the correlation between the monologue and psychedelic symptoms, warning the monologue's speaker to not lose themselves to the performance:

> You enter the scene seeming a little overwhelmed, body slightly mechanical [...] With the look of a man arrived from the moon. Without exaggeration, of course. Be concentrated, obsessed, very anxious, but not hallucinated. You are a theatrical subject, not a medical subject. You belong to the scene, not to Doctor Charcot.[188]

Published in 1884, the brothers' warning pre-empted the fate of one of the most notable monologuists of the period, Maurice Rollinat.

Just as Bernhardt and Schiele had used the image of the patients' contorted bodies within their work, the Hydropathe musician and performer, Maurice Rollinat, similarly took to the asylum for inspiration.[189] The poet's most prominent collection of verse, entitled *Les Névroses* (*Neuroses*, 1883), is dominated by a sense of anxiety and preoccupation with death:

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[185] Mary Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.148.

[186] Rae Beth Gordon, 'From Charcot to Charlot', p.105.

[187] Coquelin and Coquelin, *L'Art de dire,* p.75. Translation from Gordon: 'Qu'est-ce donc que ce monologue spécial? Une espèce de vaudeville à un personnage, mêle de fantaisie et de satire, avec un peu d'énormité, comme dans la farce rabelaisienne, mais d'un tour moderne, qui, précisément dans ce qu'il a de détraqué, correspond à l'état de nos nerfs'.

[188] Ibid., p.92. 'Vous entrez en scène la physionomie un peu bouleversée, le corps légèrement automatique; une parfaite assurance conviendrait aussi peu que possible au personnage falot du monologue comique. Ceci est extrêmement sérieux. Ayez l'allure d'un monsieur qui arrive de la lune; sans exagération, bien entendu; soyez concentré, obsédé, très inquiet, mais pas halluciné: vous êtes un sujet théâtral, non un sujet médical. Vous appartenez à la scène, non au docteur Charcot'.

[189] Gordon, 'Charcot to Charlot', p.105.

Le Morgue

Ceux que l'œil du public outrage,
— Noyés, pendus, assassinés,
Ils sont là, derrière un vitrage,
Sur des lits de marbre inclinés.

Des robinets de cuivre sale
Font leur bruit monotone et froid
Au fond de la terrible salle.
Pleine de silence et d'effroi.

À la voûte, un tas de défroques
Pend, signalement empesté :
Haillons sinistres et baroques
Où plus d'un mort a fermenté !

Visages gonflés et difformes ;
Crânes aplatis ou fendus ;
Torses criblés, ventres énormes,
Cous tranchés et membres tordus :

Ils reposent comme des masses,
Trop putréfiés pour Clamart,
Ébauchant toutes les grimaces
De l'enfer et du cauchemar.

Mais c'est de l'horreur émouvante,
Car ils ont gardé dans la mort
La détresse de l'épouvante
Et la révolte du remord.

Et dans une stupeur qui navre,
Le regard fixe et sans éclat,
Maint grand et maint petit cadavre
Semblent s'étonner d'être là.

C'est que, vierges et courtisanes,
Ceux des palais et des taudis,
Citadines et paysannes,
Les mendiants et les dandys,

Tous, pleins de faim on pleins de morgue,
Lorsqu'ils périssent inconnus,
Sont mis à l'étal de la Morgue,
Côte à côte, sanglants et nus !

Et la foule âpre et curieuse
Vient lorgner ces spectres hideux,

Et s'en va, bruyante et rieuse,
Causant de tout, excepté d'eux.

Mais ils sont la chère pâture
De mes regards hallucinés.
— Et je plains votre pourriture,
Ô Cadavres infortunés !

L'Enfer

Dans l'enfer, Satan fait étendre
Des barreaux et des grils ardents,
Et sourd, ne voulant rien entendre,
Il dit aux pécheurs imprudents
Que leur âme n'est plus à vendre.

Riant d'un air qui n'est pas tendre,
Pour activer ses intendants,
Il court comme une salamandre
Dans l'enfer.

Sans jamais se réduire en cendre
Tous les damnés grincent des dents,
Et réclament à cris stridents
Que la mort vienne les reprendre !...
Mais la mort ne peut pas descendre
Dans l'enfer ! [190]

Drawing many themes from classical literature, Rollinat re-imagined hell and human anguish for a secular modern world. As his contemporary commentators observed, he 'inverted Dante',[191] describing a Dantesque inferno and its nine circles of hell to exist on earth, rather than beneath its surface.[192] Moreover, as Silverman argues, Rollinat 'transposed' ancient concepts to religious experience onto a context of secular Modern medicine:

> Rollinat's description of painful mental conditions transposed a religious legacy of the seven deadly sins into their clinical and psychiatric equivalents. Thus he contributed a

[190] Maurice Rollinat, 'Le Morgue', *Les Névroses.* For English translations of Rollinat's poetry, see Rollinat, *Les Névroses,* trans. and ed. by Philip Higson, (Newcastle: Friarswood Press 2003), pp.120-21.
[191] Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, p.263.
[192] Gustave Geffroy, 'Maurice Rollinat', *La Revue universelle 3*, 99 (1903), p.618.

> powerful secularising impulse to prior religious conceptions of suffering. Like Doctor Charcot, Rollinat redefined religious experience as a medical phenomenon.[193]

Rollinat attended Charcot's lessons for two years, where he sought inspiration for his oratory style. His characteristic facial 'grimaces' enacted an externalisation of the mind's inner disturbances:[194] 'I have rarely seen an artist as earnest and sincere as Rollinat or exteriorising themselves as he did'.[195] Those who saw him perform, including Hydropathe Edmond Haraucourt, describe how powerful and disturbing his work could be:

> In this habitué of hell escaped from Dante or the Kingdom of Darkness, everything reveals the agony of an obsession: his pale mask with clean finely-drawn features framed in the halo of a dark mane which shook as is buffeted repeatedly by fistful shudders, his electrifying pupils, his contorted mouth with which he frightened even himself...
>
> [...]
>
> This psychic contagion worked all the better for not being deliberate; far from playing with a force, he was as much its plaything as the rest of the company. It only overpowered the others so effectively because it possessed him too, and completely so; a demon dwelt in him to which he was perpetually a prey, and he carried it through the city, through the fields, always, like an errant Prometheus sauntering with his internal eagle and setting men's hair on end when he happened to raise his cloak and let them glimpse his wound.[196]

Years later, in October 1903 at the age of fifty-seven, Rollinat was treated for hysteria by a *Salpêtrière* doctor, and, just as we saw with Baraduc, ultimately succumbed to the illness he witnessed at the hospital.

Descent into madness was strangely common amongst Hydropathes and *fumistes*: Jouy was eventually confined for madness after severe absinth abuse, before dying at the age of forty two.[197] Gill also became afflicted, and after recovering from a mental breakdown in 1881, 'relapsed into confusion and wandered about the countryside for four

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[193] Silverman, *Art Nouveau,* p.263.

[194] Maurice Rollinat, *Névroses* (Paris: G.Charpetier, 1883). For an account of Rollinat's lesser known work, see Philip Willoughby-Higson*, Rollinat: The Forgotten Country Poet* (Newcastle: Friarswood Press, 2009).

[195] Paul Bilhaud, cited in, and trans. by Philip Higson, *Rollinat: Poems from 'Les Névroses'* (Newcastle: Friarswood Press, 2003), p.xvii.

[196] Edmond Haraucourt, cited in Higson, *Les Névroses*, p.xviii.

[197] Mary Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.115.

days, terrifying farmers of Bergères'.[198] Gill entered the asylum of Saint-Maurice in Charenton, and following his death 1885, the misery of his final years was described in an obituary by Deschaumes: '[he] vegetated, dreamed and suffered. Few careers have been as lamentable as this one in its decline'.[199]

If the Coquelin brothers' piece was prophetic of the fate awaiting Rollinat, it also signals wider fears of the contagion of hysteria. Indeed, texts such as Le Bon's, while attempting to raise awareness of the malleability of the human mind, simultaneously played on public fears of this susceptibility, and the potential loss of individuality. That such interests were central to the Hydropathes is further confirmed by a late-nineteenth-century article by American poet and critic, Carl Sadakichi Hartmann, who claimed the Hydropathes were founded alongside a literary circle named the 'Nevropathes': 'Early in the eighties a number of young literati, among others Maurice Rollinat, Emile Goudeau, Edmond Haraucourt, found a literary circle, called Les Hydropathes and Nevropathes, and held their meetings in a cellar café on the Quai St. Michel'.[200] If the *Nevropathes* did indeed exist, either as an alternative name for the Hydropathes or as a closely associated group, then it has since been lost to history; other than Coquelin's mention of *névropathie,* in his monologue, 'Hydrothérapie', there seems to be no significant reference to it in any of the cited material. Yet Hartmann's account of the Latin Quarter may well be substantiated given that, although just a boy of thirteen (albeit a boy who had read German philosophy

198 The heartbreaking account of Gill's final years is described in some detail by Donald Crafton, who recounts that Émile Cohl was one of the few to remain dedicated to Gill until the end of his life. See 'The Death of André Gill', in Crafton, *Émile Cohl*, pp.35-41.

199 Edmond Deschaumes, *La Chronique Parisienne*, May 10 1885. Cited in Crafton, *Émile Cohl,* p.38.

200 Carl Sadakichi Hartmann, 'Notes on the Fin de Siecle Movement in Parisian Art and Literature', *The Art Critic*, 1 (November 1893), 4-9, p.6. Born in Germany to a wealthy German father and Japanese mother, Hartmann later participated within the European and American avant-gardes, befriending figures such as Ezra Pound, Alfred Steiglitz, Walt Whitman, and Isadora Duncan.

Jane Calhoun Weaver (ed.), *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist. Collected Art Writings* (Berkeley; LA, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991). See also, Clifford Wurfel, *The Sadakichi Hartmann Papers: A Descriptive Inventory of the Collection in the University of California, Riverside Library*.

since the age of nine), he found himself in Paris at the precise time the Hydropathes were active, and in the following decades was closely associated with Parisian avant-garde poets.[201] Although *névropathie* has received considerably less attention than hysteria, particularly in art historical studies, it was one of the key psychological disorders studied in Paris in the 1870s, by Janet and Maurice Krishaber.[202] I suggest that if *La Salpêtrière*'s research into hysteria is considered influential for the corporeal manifestations of mental instability in *fin-de-siècle* performance, then through notions of *névropathie* we can further recognise the individual's relationship with identity and agency. By 1894 *névropathie* was termed 'depersonalisation', and by 1935 'derealisation' was also in common use; both of which signal the disorder's basic concept, which was 'predominantly' conceived 'as a psychological disturbance of self-awareness, usually described as a pervasive feeling of unreality'.[203] As Sierra summarises, two symptoms of depersonalisation are, first, a 'lack of body ownership', and secondly, feelings of 'loss of agency,' the description of which echoes Coquelin and Coquelin's narration of the monologuist's 'mechanical' [*automatique*] gestures:

> Patients with depersonalisation frequently complain about an absence of agency feeling so that their behaviour feels automatic, and robotic: "It's as if a machine was talking to you. Not a person at all, just a mechanical thing or object. I would notice my hands and feet moving, but as if they did not belong to me and were moving automatically".[204]

Also noteworthy of these contemporary experiments are the results returned by the control subjects: where the depersonalised subject feels no association between their sense of 'self' and their physical figure, the healthy subject more easily associates 'externally projected images' with their own body:

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[201] George Knox, *The Life and Times of Sadakichi Hartmann, 1867-1944* (1970).

Calhoun Weaver, *Sadakichi Hartmann,* p.2.

[202] Maurice Krishaber, *De La Névropathie Cérébro-Cardiaque* (Paris: Masson, 1873). Krishaber was a Hungarian-born physician, who lived and worked in Paris from the early 1870s.

Mauricio Sierra, *Depersonalization: A New Look at a Neglected Syndrome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.16.

[203] Ibid., p.24.

[204] Ibid., pp.29-30.

> Such is the need for the 'self' to identify with a body, that a person can be easily tricked into experiencing an externally projected image of a body, or even a rubber hand of a mannequin, as his/her own.[205]

Such recent studies only confirm what was believed by sections of the medical and sociological communities at the end of the nineteenth century: susceptibility to manipulation of individual subjectivity applied not only to the mentally ill, but to all. Such notions were the basis of Rollinat's anxieties, which manifested in his visions of the modern world as a Dantesque hell. As Silverman argues: 'pathological traits [were attributed] to all individuals, who [Rollinat] presumed were equally susceptible to the powerful force and ravages of the unconscious'.[206] If the poetry and performances by Rollinat and Coquelin Cadet demonstrate how these themes, inspired in large part by *La Salpêtrière*, were explored in the artistic discourses at the Hydropathe séances, I argue that the club also *exploited* such notions of the individual's susceptibility. In other words, the conditions that informed those poets were equivalent to the conditions that the Hydropathe club created for its young bourgeois crowd.

Conclusion

At the start of this chapter I cited Francisque Sarcey's praise of the Hydropathe club, which he commended for imparting poetic values to the club's participants. While I accept Sarcey's assertion that the club influenced its members, my aim has been to offer a more critical evaluation of its practice. I have aimed to demonstrate how the séances discouraged intellectual engagement, instead encouraging passive consumption. I argue that the club acted as a disciplinary institution that created what Foucault termed 'docile bodies' that, without force or obvious oppression, influenced the behaviour of the crowd attending

[205] Ibid., pp.28-29.

[206] Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France*, p.264.

the séances. The environment at the club meetings was essential in achieving this end in a number of ways. Not least with regards to the ritualistic communal performance of the club's 'national anthems' at the start of each session, which encouraged the crowd to unite as a single body, participating in practices based on the club's collective values. Through such performances, the crowd established an idealised behaviour, which practiced the clichéd tropes of fraternity, equality, and bohemian individualism. Hydropathe poetry and song were mechanisms through which this collective identity could be performed. If this collective identity seemed to represent liberation from suppressive bourgeois etiquette and expectation, I argue to the contrary, that it helped produce consumers for the bourgeois sphere, encouraging compliance to the conditions that it appeared to oppose.

If what I have argued about the manipulation of the Hydropathe audience can be accepted, then I suggest there are two ways in which these actions might be perceived. On the one hand, it might be seen to aid in the construction of a utopian society, in which the masses followed a set path, complicit with the liberalist structures that were beneficial for the community at large. On the other hand, however, it might be interpreted as constructing dystopian conditions that encouraged the loss of subjectivity. Like Seurat's neo-impressionist representations of tranquil, brightly-coloured Parisian leisure scenes, the encouragement of the crowd's compliance might thus be considered to confront the notion of malleability the individual in modern urban society – in particular through participation in liberalist cultures.

While this chapter has emphasised the former interpretation (that the club's intention was to direct its crowd towards the benefits of liberalism), the following chapter develops the latter interpretation: that the reduction of individual diversity into a simplified collective ideal highlighted and criticised bourgeois compliance and the increasing consumability of art and culture. I examine how the club's collective identity was

represented in its journal quite literally as a caricature: a simplified image of the modern artist produced for its audience for easy consumption.

Chapter Four

L'Hydropathe: The *Cercle des Hydropathes* in Text and Image

l'Hydropathe: An Introduction

Introduction: The Rise & Fall of *l'Hydropathe*

In January 1879, approximately two months after the first Hydropathe meeting, the club's leaders founded the journal *l'Hydropathe*. The publication was described as a 'journal littéraire illustré', and contained a mixture of poetry and prose. On the cover of each issue was a caricature portrait of a Hydropathe by Georges Lorin (under the pseudonym, Cabriol).[1] Its inaugural edition was published just two months after the club's first meeting, and even at this early point is far from a hurried gatherum: it is professional and well-structured, its texts diverse and engaging. Over its thirty-two issues there are slight changes in the balance between poetry, prose and illustration, influenced by the dynamics within the club. But overall editorial modifications are minor, with neither content nor structure changing dramatically. If this is an indicator of how well planned the journal was, it can be reasonably suggested that its existence was part of the original Hydropathe conception. It

[1]As a rule, Lorin published his illustrations under the name 'Cabriol', and used the name 'Lorin' for his poetry and prose.

was not an afterthought, or a response to the success of the séances, but developed concurrently with the planning of the first live events.

The fact that the journal continued to run fortnightly for eighteen months without lapse is clear evidence of the support it received from the collective. Goudeau acted as Editor-in-Chief, Paul Vivien as Chief Administrator, and the role of administrator was shared between Alce d'Alis, Jules Jouy, Paul Allais, Émile Cohl and Maurice Petit. This list demonstrates the number of artists who were keen to be involved in the editorial process. By early 1879, with the crowd at the séances reaching several hundred, Goudeau and Vivien were supplied with the ideal audience for their journal. Priced at ten centimes, it was an affordable paper for a relatively affluent student population that provided a consistent and stable support for the collective.[2] However, after eighteen months, this base in the Latin Quarter, and the formulated ideals for which the Hydropathe name had come to stand, began to limit the group's practices. In June 1880, in order to expand their outreach and to move beyond the fixed idea of the 'Hydropathe', which was stated in its final issue to have 'now grown old', the club's leaders moved north of the river, and rebranded the journal as *Tout-Paris*.[3] It was with optimism and idealistic enthusiasm that the rebranded journal and the move to the *rive droite* was announced in the final issue of *l'Hydropathe*:

> From the next edition of *L'Hydropathe*, now become old (two years in existence!), will take the right bank to wed and also the noble title, it will be called *le TOUT-PARIS*. | With the same editors, and some new ones; the same verse and prose; and above all Parisianism. | Our subscribers will receive *le TOUT-PARIS* in place of *l'Hydropathe*. They will have no

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[2] Bénédict Didier, *Petites Revues et esprit bohème à la fin du XIX^e siècle (1878-1889)* (L'Harmattan: Paris, 2009). The modern conversion of the cost of *l'Hydropathe* was calculated by Didier as 0.32€. This was significantly cheaper than many other bohemian *petites revues*, including *Panurge, Le Chat Noir, Les Taches d'encre, Le Décadent, La Vogue* and *La Plume*.

Pierre Moulinier, *Le naissance de l'étudiant moderne (XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Belin, 2002). With a detailed discussion of university fees and living costs, Moulinier demonstrates how, more often than not, the students of the Latin Quarter in the later nineteenth century were fairly wealthy.

In December 2010, Sotheby's (Paris) sold a complete collection of *l'Hydropathe* and *Tout-Paris* for 7,250€. http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/rimbaud-verlaine-mallarm-and-their-friends-books-manuscripts-and-photographs-from-the-poetical-collection-of-eric-and-marie-hlne-b-pf1040/lot.49.html [accessed 24 July 2014].

[3] 'Avis', *l'Hydropathe*, vol.2, 8 (12 May 1880), p.4.

> cause to complain, *le TOUT-PARIS* will be weekly with eight pages. | We hope that success will pass with us over the bridge, and that those whose sympathies have always been so precious will follow us too. | *The Editors*.[4]

Relocating to the north of the city was a move that Gill and his followers had previously resisted; according to de Casteras, a 'mass exodus' in 1877 left them amongst the few to stay loyal to the historic quarter.[5] Rather than exposing any rivalries between the two parts of the city, Goudeau expresses their departure as an attempt at unity. If shedding a positive light on what could be considered a desertion of their faithful local members was an attempt to rally their continuing support, the collective's founders were soon to be disappointed. The shift from optimistic anticipation, to the demise of their collective activities was remarkably quick, and in June 1880, after just five issues, *Tout-Paris* folded, along with the séances organised under the Hydropathe name.

The club's relocation away from the Latin Quarter is often overlooked by historians tracking Goudeau's route from the Hydropathes to the *Chat Noir*. This is usually presented as a linear move, instigated by Goudeau's meeting with Salis, who apparently convinced him to move to the hills of Montmartre. An example of such analysis is that offered by Luc Bihl-Willette:

> [...] in 1880 Goudeau made a revolutionary decision: he left the Latin Quarter, following the principal Hydropathes, and on the Montmartre hills he joined Rodolphe Salis, who was to open a small cabaret in an old, disused post office: the *Chat Noir*.[6]

Such a history is tempting, not least because of the changes in social and political circumstance that resulted in the exponential growth of bars and cabarets in the

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[4] La Rédaction, 'Avis', *L'Hydropathe*, vol.2, 8 (12 May 1880), p.2. 'AVIS | À partir du prochain numéro, *L'HYDROPATHE* devenu vieux (deux ans d'existence!) se marie avec le rive droite et aussitôt, prenant un titre nobiliaire, s'intitule désormais le *TOUT-PARIS*. | Mêmes rédacteurs et d'autres nouveaux. Des vers et de la prose. Et surtout du parisianisme. | Nos abonées recevront le *TOUT-PARIS au lieu et place de L'Hydropathe*. Ils ne sauront s'en plaindre, le *TOUT-PARIS* étant hebdomadaire à huit pages. | Nous espérons que le succès passera les ponts avec nous, et que nous suivront ceux, dont les sympathies nous ont toujours été si précieuses. | LA RÉDACTION'.

[5] Casteras, *Les Hydropathes*, p.48-49.

[6] Luc Bihl-Willette, *Des tavernes aux bistrots: histoire des café*, p.145 : '...en 1880 Goudeau prend une décision révolutionnaire: il quitte le Quartier latin, suivi des principaux Hydropathes, et rejoint sur les flancs de la Butte Montmartre Rodolphe Salis qui vient d'ouvrir un petit cabaret dans un ancien bureau de poste désaffecté: Le Chat Noir'.

Montmartre district. Curfews were lifted, restrictions of social gatherings loosened, and bars operated free of the previously zealous government scrutiny. Thereafter, activity within Montmartre's winding streets increased, creating the kind of socially-orientated cultures that fully suited the communal setup of the *Cercle des Hydropathes*.[7] The success of the *Chat Noir* in the 1880s and 1890s is proof of this, since its template was largely a response to the Hydropathe séances, right down to the participants that composed the Montmartre cabaret's earliest crowd.[8] It was an art that thrived on social interaction, and as the political environment changed at the start of the new decade, it was Montmartre rather than the Latin Quarter that promised to be the hub of communal art activity. However, as much as the move towards the north of the city would appear natural for the benefit it would bring to the live events, in *Dix ans de bohème* Goudeau indicates that leaving the Latin Quarter was due largely to an apparently fortuitous circumstance that promised the opportunity to develop the journal into larger format. Goudeau describes how the journal was targeted by a young investor who was particularly interested in endowing money to printed art journals:

> A young man who went by the pseudonym Joinville [...] having received an inheritance, declared intentions to grow, restore, transform, ennoble the *l'Hydropathe* journal, and transport it to the right bank, to 40 rue Richlieu, in the fourth arrondissement, and with a new name: *Tout Paris*, etc., etc., Hopes, dreams, illusions! [...] Joinville and his faithful *Achate*,[9] Gabriel R..., had sent a series of invitations to the world of arts and letters: *Tout-Paris* was there.[10]

To move away from the Latin Quarter would have been a significant gamble for the collective, since that locale had been so central to its success. The collective had established a presence in the neighbourhood and was dependent upon the local student community.

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[7] Barrows, 'Parliaments of the People', p.94.

[8] Lévy, *Les Hydropathes*, p.15.

[9] 'Achate' is a character in Virgil's *Aeneid*, who is known for faithfulness to his companions.

[10] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.246. 'Un jeune homme qui portait hardiment le pseudonyme de Joinville ... ayant fait un héritage, déclara vouloir agrandir, restaurer, transformer, ennoblir *L'Hydropathe Journal*, en le transportant sur la rive droite en un local, 40, rue Richlieu, au quatrième, avec un nom nouveau: *Tout Paris*, etc., etc. Espoir, rêve, illusions! ... Joinville et son fidèle Achate, Gabriel R..., avaient lancé une série d'invitations dans le monde des lettres et des arts: *Tout-Paris* devait être là'.

The move to the other side of the river, although not geographically distant, took the club to a distinctly different part of the city that was out of the easy reach of its core membership. Thus in seeking new fortunes the Hydropathes were potentially forsaking the several hundred members and participants that had supported the journal, and helped the club build a successful base. The gamble did not pay off. Joinville's investment proved unreliable, with the inheritance lost in a card game, and as a result, in Goudeau's words, the journal 'succumbed under the weight of this defeat'.[11]

To whatever degree this specific account of events, recalled so earnestly by Goudeau, can be accepted as fact, a few points can be taken as certain. First, that the group had a definite interest in developing the journal into a more prominent publication: in its final issues the journal doubled in size from four sides to eight, as well as doubling in frequency from fortnightly to weekly. And second, that the journal ceased publication at this exact point, just a month after having moved away from the Latin Quarter. Regarding this second point, certainly the lack of funding may indeed have been one of the principal reasons for the journal to close. However, since we know that publication had continued for the previous eighteen months without any evidence to suggest that it suffered economic difficulties, it can reasonably be suggested that it could have continued in the existing format without any new forms of external funding. Thus, these two points become connected, in that the journal's demise was due to the attempt to expand it, while simultaneously – in moving away from the Latin Quarter and dissociating the journal from the séances – removing the support system that had previously kept it running.

However, I suggest that this demise was not merely a question of losing the existing audience. In relocating to the north of the city, and renaming the journal *Tout-Paris*, *l'Hydropathe* lost any association to the live events that were crucial to its output. In this

[11] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.247.

single move the Hydropathes lost any inspiration that the séances and their participants offered as a continuously rejuvenating pool of ideas and expertise. And furthermore, perhaps crucially, they lost what was one of the most pivotal aspects of the journal: its anchoring to the contemporary cultural environment. In severing its links to the séances, the journal lost its sense of contemporaneity, and the *being* in society that it previously claimed. Without a real-life counterpart, the Hydropathic *esprit* that the journal constructs was left stranded in a virtual platform. No longer able to claim it paralleled any live action, it became solely a non-bodily performance, revealing the fictitiousness of the ideal Hydropathe persona.[12]

The aim of this chapter is to examine how the Hydropathe character that was performed at the séances was communicated through the journal. If, in other words, the séances provided a space to enact the joviality, fraternity, and creativity that were synonymous with the Hydropathe name, then I explore how this Hydropathesque persona translated into a print medium. This examination is divided into two parts. The first focuses predominantly on the journal's use of text, and also discusses the journal in relation to avant-garde experiments with the journal and the printed word. Part two turns to look at caricature, focusing specifically on Georges Lorin's front-cover portraits. Here I continue the examination, demonstrating how Lorin's illustrations create a recognisable Hydropathe persona. Building upon this notion, I conclude by arguing that Lorin's portraits for *l'Hydropathe* emphasise the club's construction of an homogeneous artistic identity.

L'Hydropathe's Roles and Functions

At the centre of this investigation is the assertion that the journal was a far more complex entity than simply a promotional tool for the club, as has been suggested by

[12] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

Richard and Seigel.[13] This is not to suggest of course that the journal did not help to publicise events, but this promotional activity was just one of the journal's many functions. It is necessary here to briefly outline the most significant of those functions. Only by breaking down the ways in which it was used can we begin to understand its greater significance, and thus locate its role within the broader cultures that surrounded it, influenced it, and responded to it. The functions can be roughly divided into the following categories. First, it provided the opportunity to publish original works, thus acting as a platform to help launch the careers of its members. Indeed, Seigel suggests that Goudeau's strategy was to 'enlist' a number of known artists to 'help others emerge from obscurity'.[14] Secondly, it advertised the club outside of the séance, therein allowing it to reach a wider audience. Thirdly, the journal promoted non-Hydropathe events and cultures, which its readers were encouraged to attend. It also, fourthly, established networks with other like-minded collectives and artists. Finally, and most relevant to this thesis, the journal provided the means to transfer the Hydropathes' performance practices into a printed medium. All of these, to a greater or lesser degree, helped to formulate the concept of the 'Hydropathe' more concisely, by presenting it as a coherent and recognisable ideal.

These different functions will be commented on throughout this chapter, and their importance will be considered in more detail. However, whilst such lists make for a more easily accessible analysis, in practice these functions were not so distinct. For instance, even the journal's promotional function is not so easily defined, since one must address the question of what was being promoted, and in what ways this was achieved. As an advertising tool the journal recalls the role of illustrated pamphlets, in that it addressed the reader informatively, providing details about where and when the club's séances took place, how to join, and what could be expected from them. However it is clear that the

[13] Noël Richard, *L'Aube du Symbolisme,* p.35. Seigel, *Bohemian Paris,* p.222.

[14] Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, p.223.

publication developed far beyond the status of a pamphlet, since it also published original poetic texts and illustrated works, which were used to build the paper into an autonomous artwork in its own right. The promotion of the individual should also be taken into account. In publishing these texts, the journal publicised the poet, promoted their work to the wider world, achieving a more notable reputation as a result.

Not even the most cynical view could write off all publication as being simply promotion for either artist or their work. Just as not all forms of original publication are unquestionably consequential, that a piece is published in a relatively small pamphlet does not immediately disqualify it from being a significant artistic creation. The medium in which a text is disseminated can irrevocably affect how that text is understood. It does not necessarily define it, yet it can define the nature of the relationship with the audience. While this is an obvious point to make, it is also one infinitely complex in its conceptual reach, begging questions of the nature of communication and of spectatorship, and the degree to which the individual text can be regarded as an autonomous entity or part of a wider socio-cultural environment. The interaction a text has with others in the space around it can have an irrevocable influence on how it is perceived. This is true whether speaking of individual articles that are absorbed by the broader ideological intent of the journal in which it appears, or indeed, of the journal itself, whose character is affected by the affiliated cultures. How far can the journal be considered a piece in its own right, or, alternatively, how far is it always framed by the live events that it is designed to respond to? The point of my questioning here is not to argue for *l'Hydropathe* as an autonomous artwork in an attempt to elevate its stature among art journals. Instead what I ultimately consider is the point at which the live event and the printed work overlap. If the printed art work came to mimic the collective through, for instance, the visual representation of the Hydropathe artist in Lorin's caricatures, how is this mimicry reversed? At what point does the performed ideal come to mimic the printed one? Although the larger questions at stake in

this line of enquiry cannot be resolved in this chapter, what I aim to do is address the manipulation of boundaries, between function and utility, intention and consequence. Whether utilised as art or entertainment, journalism or propaganda, the form that discourse takes is left at the will of the artists who used it, the laws that suppressed it, and the cultures that legitimised it. And it is the manner in which its different functions are combined that ultimately trump any fixed conception of the medium that acts as its foundation. Rebalancing the different possible functions to even the slightest degree can be likened to the task of the *pâtissier* rebalancing ingredients in a recipe (a metaphor that I think the Hydropathes would have appreciated): the same few ingredients when combined in different proportions or mixed in different ways can create infinite possible outcomes.

Part One
Text and/as Performance

L'Hydropathe and the Avant-Garde Journal

L'Hydropathe marks a key point between established practices in illustrated journalism, and modernism's future use of the journal as an autonomous artistic object. Throughout the nineteenth century, journals had been used by writers and theoreticians to discuss and disseminate progressive work and avant-garde theory. For instance, the Parnassian's *Le Parnasse Contemporain*, which was published in three collected volumes in 1866, 1871, and 1876, included contributions from writers such as Baudelaire, Anatole France, Verlaine, Mallarmé, and Hydropathes including François Coppée and Charles Cros. Further works by these writers were also published in *La Revue Fantaisiste* (1860-1), run by 'the brilliant young leader of the Parnassians', Catulle Mendès, who in 1861 invited Wagner

to make regular contributions to the journal.[15] Since this was at the time of the disastrous Paris premiere of *Tannhäuser*, the journal was embroiled in controversy for its attempts to promote Wagnerian theories.[16]

Building upon these precedents, in the 1880s and 1890s Symbolist artists were largely responsible for augmenting journalistic practices for the purpose of collaborative artistic statements and 'interdisciplinary cultural exchange'.[17] By the end of the nineteenth century, the number of artistic journals swelled to over one hundred, including *Le Symboliste* (1886)*, La Revue Rose* (1885), *La Revue Indépendante* (1884-1885), *Le Décadent* (1886), *La Vogue* (1886), *La Plume* (1889-1905), *L'Ermitage* (1890-95), *La Revue Blanche* (1891-1903), and *Le Mercure de France* (1890-present).[18] As with *l'Hydropathe*, Symbolist journals provided a space for artists to publish works when the conventional press remained closed to more experimental ideas, making them often the only place in which influential works, philosophical ideas and manifestos were printed.[19] Regardless of the varying lengths of time these journals lasted – some for only one or two editions – they comprised 'significant and rare ideological texts'.[20]

Published just before the efflorescence of artists' journals in the 1880s, *l'Hydropathe* is considered their prototype, along with *Le Chat Noir* (1882-95) and Jules Jouy's *Lutèce* (1883-97).[21] Jouy's short-lived *Anti-Concierge* (1881-82), created with Sapeck (and with contributions from Lorin), also bridged the gap by employing recognisable techniques, for

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[15] Francis Grierson, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', *Poetry,* vol.2, 3 (June 1913), 104-107, p.105.

[16] John Louis Di Gaetani, *Richard Wagner: New Light on a Musical Life* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Co., 2014), especially, 'Paris and *Tannhäuser*: 1860-1861', 122-130.

Mendès remained a loyal supporter of Wagnerian aesthetic ideals, yet withdrew the further articles that had promised elaboration of the composer's 'l'art musical'. *La Revue Fantaisiste*, 4 (1 April 1861), p.255. Heath Lees, *Mallarmé and Wagner: Music and Poetic Language* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.98-99.

[17] Genova, *Symbolist Journals*, p.xi.

[18] Genova, *Symblist Journals*, p.xi.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] For instance, Genova considers *l'Hydropathe, Le Chat Noir* and *Lutèce* as the three influential, pre-Symbolist journals. See Chapter one, 'The Pre-symbolist Years: *Le Fumisme* and the Early Periodicals', in *Symbolist Journals,* 55-75.

example in using Daumier's generic exploitative landlord, 'Monsieur Vautour' (Mr Vulture), to respond to the contemporary debates on Paris housing.[22] Acting in 'defence of tenants', its satirical attacks on the concierge – 'animalised by the fumistes as little better than guard dogs' – reflected the common disdain for capitalist authority figures.[23] Although coming less than five years later, *Le Chat Noir*, *Lutèce* and *L'Anti-Concierge* already practiced clearer notions of design, demonstrating how quickly the medium progressed in this period.[24]

L'Hydropathe is thus proleptic of, if by no means fully realising, the potential that was revealed to be lying dormant in the white page of the book or journal. Modernist practices began to stir in the decades following the Hydropathes, and were awakened with full force in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although *l'Hydropathe* does not demonstrate to any great extent the experiments with print media that were critical in the development of the twentieth-century avant-garde, neither can it reasonably be equated with more standard journalistic texts.

The main body of *l'Hydropathe* is similar to Jules Jouy's *Le Sans-Culotte* (1878), and Gill's *La Petite Lune*, both of which were founded several months earlier. Like these journals, *l'Hydropathe*'s layout was fairly conventional: the texts were printed linearly in two columns, with one article following the next, left to right from the top of the page to the bottom. The articles also followed a structured and logical progression: the first article was a biography of the figure illustrated on the previous page, and below that an original poem based on the same artist. This created a natural flow, and reflected a professional and restrained editorial process. Indeed, aesthetically at least, the journal had more in common with a regular newspaper than with any kind of subsequent, experimental journal, and

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[22] David Harvey, *Paris Capital of Modernity* (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), p.127.
Goldstein argues that *l'Anti-concièrge* suffered such a short run because of its 'over-specialisation' in an 'oversaturated market'. Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship,* p.232.

[23] Peter S. Soppelsa, *The Fragility of Modernity: Infrastructure and Everyday Life in Paris, 1870-1914* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 2009), p.287.

[24] Didier, *Petites Revues*.

appears visually stimulating only when compared with strictly content-oriented daily newspapers such as *Le Figaro* and *Le Temps*.

It was daily newspapers such as these, which habitually infiltrated the lives of the population, that partly provoked Mallarmé's typographic revolution in *Un Coup de dès Jamais N'Abolira Le Hasard* (A Roll of the Dice Doesn't Abolish Chance. Figure.4.1). Mallarmé rejected the manner in which daily journals habitually reproduced written text with a routine structure, without thought for the influence of the aesthetic of the page or the word printed on it. The poet believed that the regulated structure of the word upon the page created little more than a static experience for the reader, that eliminated all possibility of truly entering the alternative reality that it may potentially have offered: 'Let us have no more of those successive, incessant, back and forth motions of our eyes, tracing from one line to the next and beginning all over again', he implored his peers, 'otherwise we will miss that ecstasy in which we have become immortal for a brief hour, free of all reality, and raise our obsessions to the level of creation'.[25] He thus considered the word's visual quality to affect not only the understanding of the ideas delineated by the text, but also the reader's phenomenological experience in reading it. For Mallarmé and his Symbolist followers, reality could not be represented by the *appearance* of objects known in the 'real world'. Through this notion they departed from the concept practiced in previous decades, notably by the Realist movement, which used naturalist representation to affirm the experience of the body and the senses.[26] This complied with mid-nineteenth-century Positivist thought, while rejecting classical academic notions of realism that 'glossed over the divisions of class society'.[27] Conversely, the Symbolists theorised that physical appearances could not

[25] Stéphane Mallarmé, 'The Book: A Spiritual Instrument', *Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. by Mary Ann Caws (New York: New Directions, 1982), p.82.

[26] Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, and Gill Perry, *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, in association with the Open University, 1993), p.104.

[27] Harrison, et al., *Primitivism,* p.104.

represent 'truth', but rather were symbols of a greater, immaterial reality; one that the reader could transcend through the imagination.

Commercial and popular cultures of the same period, including the publicity posters of Toulouse-Lautrec and Steinlen, worked to a similar logic. Advertising constructed an alternative reality that related not only to the product being sold, but also to the consumer's imagined experience of that product, which in turn was associated with a wider social context. It thus worked on the principle of an imagined reality, but one based upon the world experienced by the body and the senses. This related closely to the notion of culture as an extension of the 'real world' that was spectacularised and distorted, notions that were subsequently appropriated and examined by twentieth-century capitalist culture.

Nineteenth-century practices provided the foundations for the twentieth-century avant-garde, which further questioned the legitimacy of conventional sign systems. The journal (and typographic experiment) formed a cornerstone in such examination of the perception and representation of 'reality', and by the early decades of the twentieth century the avant-garde transformed this platform into a generative space for autonomous work that was as significant as the canvas was for the fine arts.[28] As a mass medium, the journal was exploited to disseminate artistic theories and demonstrate novel textual discourses, as practice and theory became increasingly interwoven. Ideas were not simply *explained*. Rather, the journal was exploited in numerous ways to *demonstrate* ideas that informed practices in other media, suggesting a correlation between artistic disciplines at a time subsequently claimed by certain critics as the height of modernism's aesthetic purism.[29]

In comparison, the Hydropathes' use of the journal never performed such drastic experiments with the word's visual qualities. Considering the connections that have been established between Fumisme and Dada (as described in Chapters one and two) if one

[28] Renée Riese Hubert, *Surrealism and the Book* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1988), p.4.
[29] Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting'.

were to approach *l'Hydropathe* with an eye to discover similar intent, they should prepare themselves for disappointment.[30] Yet the journal does not entirely lack hints toward this mode of thought.

It has previously been suggested that Dada's experiments with the spatial and design qualities of the journal originated not only in artists' publications, but also in commercial journals. Drucker identifies *La Publicité* (first published in Paris in 1903) as an exemplar for not only practising these methods, but also for expressing their role and effect:

> Most advertisements would be improved by a better knowledge of typography, and by a sense of the appropriateness of a particular typeface to a particular kind of message. This would communicate the ideas, features and marks of individuality. The judicious use of the space available in an advertisement is just as important as the phrases themselves, because the logical placement and presentation determine how the sentences strike the eye.[31]

A number of the journal's advertisements produced 'spatial illusions' through a 'layering effect', and 'confounded' the 'graphic and syntactic relation': techniques that became 'part of the Dada vocabulary,' and also featured 'in Futurist typography and design'.[32] Furthermore, another example from the journal introduced a 'discrepancy between the content of the ad and the product to which it had no relation',[33] leading *La Publicité*'s editors to describe it as 'the most bizarre advertisement imaginable'.[34] The advertisement for nail polish stated: 'I no longer have need of a mirror since I use UNGAL polish on my

[30] For example, Charpin offers a comparative reading of the Arts Incohérents and Dada, in *Les Arts Incohérents,* pp.83-93. Dario Gamboni also claims that there is 'much more than a chance formal resemblance between Duchamp's L.H.O.O.Q.' and Sapeck's pipe-smoking Mona Lisa. He asserts that Sapeck's piece conforms to Louise Norton's description of Duchamp's *Fountain*: 'there is among us to-day a spirit of "blague" arising out of the artist's bitter vision of an over-institutionalised world of stagnant statistics and antique axioms'. Dario Gamboni, *Potential Images: Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art* (London: Reaktion, 2002), p.159. Louise Norton, 'Buddha of the Bathroom,' *The Blind Man*, 2 (1917), 5-6, p.6.

[31] 'Typographie des Annonces', *La Publicité*, vol.2, 17 (Paris: P.Raveau et Cie., editors, August 1904), p.8. Translation from Drucker, *Visible Word*, p.99.

[32] Ibid., p.99-102.

[33] Ibid., p.99.

[34] *La Publicité*, 114 (January 1913), p.261. Cited in Drucker, *Visible Word,* p.99.

nails'.[35] The advertisement not only shifted the subject from nail polish to a mirror, it also created an association between the two through a function only imaginatively related to the product being sold. The method of communication thus becomes increasingly abstract, while simultaneously relating the product to a narrative offering an exaggerated version of the world.

Advertisements in *l'Hydropathe* occasionally addressed its audience by similarly imaginative means. One advertisement for a bar on the rue des Écoles grabbed the reader's attention with its erratic, yet conversational tone:

> AMAZING! AMAZING1
>
> Do you know Réné? No?! Ah! Well! Go, all the Hydropathes, my friends, to 38 rue des Écoles, and there, you will see the most beautiful cafe in the Latin Quarter. We fish our own crayfish, we cook them in ad hoc ovens, and after we gulp them down *natural'ement*! And the pints! and *les Turins*! and the absinthe with real Pernod; and beer from Prague, the house speciality, however, go to see, drink and you'll tell us all about it.[36]

The advertisement appealed to the readership not only by greeting them personally as 'hydropathes', it also mimicked the journal's *Hydropatheseque* tone, thus employing the club's proven technique of attracting its young local audience. In doing so the advertisers extended the Hydropathe *esprit* to their own business, demonstrating the close association between the Hydropathe articles and the advertisements. Few proprietors, however, displayed this kind of enterprising advertising that employed the artists' tried and tested methods to target the same audience. More often than not the advertisements for local cafés, book shops and events were clearly distinguished from the articles in the journal's main body, and consistently brought each issue to an end without ceremony.

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[35] 'Je ne me sers plus de miroir depuis que j'use l'Email UNGAL pour les ongles'.

[36] *l'Hydropathe,*15 (5 August 1879), p.4. 'ÉPATANT! ÉPATANT! | Connaisse-vous RÉNÉ? Non! Eh! bien! Allez tous, hydropathes, mes amis, 38, rue des Écoles, et là, vous verrez le plus joli café du Quartier Latin. On pêche soi-même les écrivisses, on les fait cuire sur des fours *ad hoc*, et on les ingurgite après, natural'ement! Et les bocks! et les Turins! et l'absinthe au vrai *Pernod*; et le bière de Prague, spécialité de la maison, du reste, allez y voir, buvez et vous nous en donnerez des nouvelles'.

In the main body of the journal, awareness of typography's importance, and the editors' intent to explore the visual aesthetic of the printed text, are demonstrated by the changing font type used for *l'Hydropathe*'s title and article headings. In the first issue, the title, *'l'Hydropathe'* is printed in a narrow font type, curved into an arc, around an obscure symbol that could be considered the journal's emblem (that was dropped after the third issue) (Figure.4.2). At the same time, the font changed to one similar to that associated with the American 'Wild West' due to its recurrent use on 'Wanted' posters, but was a common style across Europe in the early nineteenth century (Figure.4.3).[37] The font was common for titles of street proclamations, pamphlets and broadsheets because of the bold, 'arresting' lettering – a convention that 'has scarcely changed over centuries'.[38] (Figure.4.4) *L'Hydropathe*'s editors thus employed tactics to attract the reader's attention, and demonstrated concern for the magazine's design. This style lasted for only one issue, before being changed again to another that was used for eight issues (Figure.4.5), and so this continued, with frequent minor adjustments until June 1880 when the journal was renamed *Tout-Paris*. Even though these were just minor changes, considering it was the only place in which the club's name was depicted visually, the journal's front cover was an important element for the *Cercle des Hydropathe*'s branding.

The journal's design was constrained not only by the lack of precedents that might have inspired greater experimentation, but also by censorial restrictions and technological limitations within the printing industry: in the 1870s, these were far more acute than in the following decades, when there was a relaxation of press laws, as well as a shift towards

[37] *l'Hydropathe*, 5 (5 March 1879), p.1.
The font type is very similar to 'Italienne', designed in France in 1820. W. Pincus Jaspert, et al., *Encyclopaedia of Typefaces* (London: Cassell, 2008), p.122.

[38] Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature: The Story of Broadside ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-Sheets, Election Bills, Tracts, Pamphlets, Catchpennies and other ephemera* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), pp.15.

more mechanical means of typesetting.[39] Technological advancements made mass printing quicker and cheaper, leading to more radical typographical experimentation. In appearing on just the wrong side of this divide, *l'Hydropathe*'s visual quality was restricted not least by printing houses' limited font stock. In total *l'Hydropathe* found its home with six printing houses, and the changes in font type correlate exactly with the change in company.[40] For instance, in issue four, the titles of 'Aux Hydropathes' and 'A Messieurs les Hydropathes', employ decorative three-dimensional font types, making these texts stand out and thus directing the reader's attention to the edition's most significant articles.[41] (Figures.4.6 and 4.7). This was the only occasion the group worked with the Montauzé printing house, and the only time this font type was used. This suggests that more elaborate text was used when it was available, and the troublesome journey to a printing house outside Paris (in Orne, Basse Normandie) may well have been made due to its apparently superior equipment.[42] Here there is a demonstrable use of hieratic display to guide the reader's attention; as well as an interest in the written word's capacity to represent the club's *esprit* within the article, thus to an extent mimicking the performances and behaviour at the séances.

The potential of typeface to achieve these effects, by which it visually mirrors the meaning of its content, had been realised in the decades prior to *l'Hydropathe*, in Walt Whitman's use of typography in the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1860, Figure. 4.8).[43] Picked up by a new publisher, Whitman took the opportunity to make substantial revisions to the previous editions: adding additional poems, changing the colour of the paper, and

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[39] Cundy, David, 'Marinetti and Italian Futurist Typography', *Art Journal,* vol.41, 'Futurism' (winter, 1981), 349-352. In the mid- to late- 1880s the Linotype machine was invented by Mergenthaler in the United States; and in Europe Tolbert Lanston invented the Monotypecaster.

[40] The six printing houses include: Laloux fils et Guillot, 7, rue des Canettes; P.Montauzé, à Laigle (Orne); WINCH, 72, rue de Courcelles, Levallois-Perret; A.Reiff, 9, Place du Collège de France; BERNARD, 9, rue de la Fidélité; and Charaire et fils, Sceaux.

[41] Émile Goudeau, 'Aux Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), p.2.

P.L, 'A Messieurs les Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), p.4.

[42] *L'Hydropathe* was not alone in this, Gill's *La Petite Lune* uses almost identical font types in various contents.

[43] Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860).

even rearranging the spaces between the poems' lines.[44] As Fredson Bowers suggested, in preparing his manuscript, the ex-printer Whitman demonstrated 'concern for the visual appearance of his verses on the printed page'.[45] Instead of using his holograph copy, Whitman went to considerable costs to have the manuscript typed, to give the publisher the clearest guideline, thus achieving the precise structure desired.[46] Furthermore, as Barbara Henry describes, the third edition, which enjoyed greater financial backing than the previous two editions, employed a typeface designed to replace the need for illustration, giving the book a 'textural' quality that was previously lacking.[47] It also 'reflected the originality of the poems'.[48] In doing so, the book remained committed to its literary content, without the distraction of illustrations: an approach also articulated by Mallarmé: 'I am in favour of – no illustration, since everything evoked by a book is supposed to happen in the mind of the reader'.[49] For both poets, the typeface introduced a visual quality, which, as Henry argues, was not purely for the reader's aesthetic pleasure. As a typographic style common to periodicals and advertising, the 'variety of typefaces and sizes of type [created] a hierarchic display to command and direct the reader's attention'.[50] Furthermore, such a populist style 'must have appealed to Whitman's desire to connect with the working man'.[51]

Given how influential a figure Whitman was for both the European and American avant-garde, his experiments may well have been noted in France by the 1870s. Whether or not this influence was direct, *l'Hydropathe*'s various uses of font type and other textual

[44] For Whitman's detailed revisions, and the original annotated manuscript see, Arthur Golden, *Walt Whitman's Blue Book: The 1860-61 'Leaves of Grass' Containing His Manuscript Additions and Revisions* (New York: New York Public Library, 1968).

[45] Fredson Bowers, *Whitman's Manuscripts: Leaves of Grass (1860)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. xxvi.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Barbara Henry, 'The Design and Typography of *Leaves of Grass* (1860)', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol.73, 4 (Dec 2010), p.601.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Mallarmé, *Oeuvres Complètes*, p.878. Translation from Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.119. 'Je suis pour – aucune illustration, tout ce qu'évoque un livre devant se passer dans l'esprit du lecteur'.

[50] Henry, 'Design and Typography', p.605.

[51] Ibid.

experiments demonstrate an increasing understanding of the capacity of the visual text to represent its content in increasingly abstract ways, and also to influence the reader's engagement with it.

Translating the Hydropathe: From Performance to Print

Not least among *l'Hydropathe*'s functions was the role it performed providing publicity for the club's séances around the Latin Quarter. In this capacity, *l'Hydropathe* gave the club as a whole a greater presence within its local community. The editor's regular announcements of local events in 'Le Rideau' and 'Faits Diverse', and the promotion of literature of associated artists helped create networks that established the club as representative of the local community that supported it. In turn, the club gave publicity to the journal, providing an audience to purchase or contribute to the paper.[52] It thus acted as an important potential platform for the lesser-known poets who were often 'faced with the refusal and the derision of the more traditional press'.[53] Despite this role, for most of the young students and poets, publication remained unattainable, since most of the journal's contributions were written by a clique of the collective's most prominent artists. However, in each issue there appears to be a single article by an unknown writer, which, for most of whom, would be their sole contribution to the journal. This pattern affirms that one of the journal's roles was to provide this opportunity to the club's members. Although priority was given to the writers that elevated the club's importance in the artistic community, efforts were clearly made to include the work of those who may have had little chance elsewhere. The journal thus stayed faithful to the club's stated commitment of inclusivity, while also offering an attractive benefit to club membership, which for some would have been an extra incentive to join.

[52] Jerrold Siegel, *Bohemian Paris,* p.223.

[53] Genova, *Symbolist Journals,* p.68.

For an art collective that relied upon its community to inspire artistic creation, self-promotion helped the club to compete in a neighbourhood that was famous for its nightlife. At the very least, such promotion would help to keep up the numbers at the club meetings, bolstering the atmosphere. At best it would gather the most talented and sympathetic of the thousands of students in the area, and thus increase the quality of performances at the séances. The Latin Quarter had long been established as a centre for culture and nightlife for its young inhabitants, and the Hydropathes were no exception in having to compete against other bars and events for customers.[54] *L'Hydropathe* assisted the club by presenting it via a physical, mobile, self-contained medium that demonstrated the group's humour, and encapsulated its cultural values and artistic style. Moreover, the journal could reach audiences outside the confines of the séance. Whilst club members would have been the journal's main target, its sale was not limited to the club meetings. A bookshop on Rue Monge was its first vendor, and by the twentieth issue in its first year it had expanded to a second location on the Rue d'Angouleme.[55] But even the rich diversity of the Latin Quarter need not be the extent of the club's reach when it worked in a mass medium. The front cover of the journal offers subscriptions not only to Parisian audiences, but to the provinces and abroad.[56] While this may have been optimistic for a still small and obscure collective that depended upon the liberal cultures of its arrondissement to survive, its free-spirited members also provided the genuine opportunity to transport the Hydropathe project outside of the city. The majority of students in Paris were not born within the city walls. They came to Paris specifically to study and, like students today, they returned to their family homes throughout France during the holidays. The journal thus became a souvenir of the experience of modern Parisian culture, and a mark of one's

[54] As I discussed in Chapter two, other notable bars included the *Bal Bullier, Sherry Cobbler*, and the *Boul' Mich'*. See, for instance, Chadourne, *Le Quartier Latin*; and Goudeau, *Dix ans*.

[55] *l'Hydropathe*, 20 (20 October 1879), p.1.

[56] Paris subscription was 3fr.; Provinces and abroad was 3.50fr.

initiation into its fashionable world. It would appear that such stratagems for spreading Hydropathe art to a wider community were successful; 'Boîte aux Lettres', in issues five and seven, published the editor's response to correspondences received from as far away as Brest and Marseille.[57] The capacity of the print medium was thus exploited so that the spirit of the séances could be known to an audience that had no direct knowledge of it, having had no physical presence at the live events.

As Schiau-Botea has suggested, the journal's texts 'construct a general image of the group and its meetings', which helps to 'reaffirm the group's identity'.[58] Schiau-Botea is perhaps the main advocate for *l'Hydropathe*, suggesting it was the original precedent for *fin-de-siècle* journals. This she asserts was not only in the Fumistes' 'experimental forms of writing and performance', but also in the way it sought to lessen the gap between artist and audience:[59]

> If what Sapeck and his Hydropathe friends called 'Fumisme' had an impact on satirical journals as different as *Le Chat Noir, Gil Blas, Le Courrier Français*, and *Les Qua'z'Arts*, it did so precisely in relation to their more or less explicit tendency to 'perform writing' and abolish the distance between writers and readers.[60]

Although Schiau-Botea's discussion refers specifically to Sapeck and the club's Fumiste elements, I would agree with this assertion and relate it to the Hydropathe identity more generally. The journal condensed the live performances and all the diverse activity of the communal events, providing a coherent representation of 'the Hydropathe', as would have been witnessed at the club. Yet, it is important to note that this is a representation that would not otherwise exist. While many of the journal's articles were derived from performance at the club, and were inherently and unequivocally linked to the séances, in their printed format they enjoyed relative autonomy of their live performance.

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[57] 'Boîte aux Lettres', *l'Hydropathe*, 5 (20 March 1879), p.4.
'Boîte aux Lettres', *l'Hydropathe*, 7 (20 April 1879), p.4.

[58] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.35.

[59] Schiau-Botea, 'Performing Writing', pp.58-9.

[60] Ibid.

Many texts were written specifically for the journal and so created an œuvre that was unique to the publication. They show how the recognisable Hydropathesque traits of frivolous humour and whimsicality were translated into a form that was specific to the written, rather than the performed language of the séance. The texts 'Anagrammes' for instance are demonstrative of such small, playful inclusions.[61] Continued over two non-consecutive issues, the unsigned articles playfully reconstitute the names of a number of the club's central artists. For instance, Coquelin Cadet came to be 'Le Coquin d'act' ('The Rogue of the Act), André Gill as 'Le Grand Il' ('The Great He'); and, more obscurely, Charles Cros becomes, 'Crac! l'essor', which roughly translates to mean a 'burgeoning growth', one apparently so powerful that it has sucked the 'h' of Cros's name into the vacuum: 'l'*h* étiat tellement aspiré par l'essor qu'elle a disparue totalement'. Taken alone such pieces have little artistic merit, and if they were to be subjected to a literary analysis, then no doubt they would be found lacking the depth of artistic creation that might justify it as a significant creative outlet. However, what is important is the way such texts contribute to the broader narrative that courses through each aspect of *l'Hydropathe*: the projection of the 'Hydropathes' as a jovial and light-spirited collective, whose frivolity was central to their aesthetic philosophy. If the journal is used to aid the coherent construction of this ideal into a structured and recognisable art form, then the flippancy of 'Anagrammes' is a small cog in this apparatus.

This 'Hydropathe' philosophy can also be recognised in texts that, although not designed especially for the publication, were given new levels of significance by being reproduced within it. In the fourth issue, Vivien published a letter from writer Émile Taboureux, in response to his request for a contribution for the journal. Taboureux apologises for being unable to fulfil this request, confessing his writer's block and

[61] 'Anagrammes', *l'Hydropathe*, 6 (5 April 1879), p.3.
'Anagrammes', *l'Hydropathe,* 9 (15 May 1879), p.3.

expressing with charming and evocative eloquence his distress at his waning inspiration and paucity of ideas:

> You asked me for an article – that's very kind – but I ask myself how I can do this. All my ideas, like bees in their hive, have left my mind. I do not know who was so stupidly amused to throw stones into the furrows, but I can see with sorrowful surprise that all the partridges have flown.[62]

In reproducing this correspondence Taboureux's expression of his failure became the positive presence of poetic verse. Taboureux's words expose the writer's natural talent, since even in the midst of writer's block he was still innately capable of corresponding with lucid expression. Yet the greatest value in this text was its apparently faithful representation of the difficulties and insecurities experienced by a writer, presented with truth, sincerity and integrity. This integrity was evidently recognised and valued by Vivien, and its reproduction implied that the texts worthy of publication were not necessarily those that had been crafted with artistic intent. It intimated that a 'Hydropathe' artwork could be found as much in a writer's natural expression as it could in the poems, songs and verse.[63]

The point I wish to illustrate here is that as much as this text highlighted Taboureux as author, crucially it also underscored Vivien's role in the reproduction of the piece. Although Taboureux was author of the original correspondence, it was Vivien as editor who was equally the author of the letter in its published form, highlighting the collaborative process involved in the journal. Vivien's role was further affirmed by Taboureux's final remarks that, in pre-empting his editor's reaction, stated explicitly that the given text was not intended for publication: 'P.S. – this is not written to be printed'.[64] In the presence of these few words that evince the defiance of Taboureux's request, once

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[62] Émile Taboureux, 'Correspondance', *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), pp.3-4. 'Tu m'as demandé un article – c'est très joli – mais je me demande moi comment je vais le faire. Toutes mes idées, comme des abeilles de leur ruche, sont sorties de ma cervelle. Je ne sais qui s'est amusé bêtement à jeter des pierres dans les sillons, mais je peux constater avec une douloureuse surprise que toutes les perdrix se sont envolées'.

[63] Sciau-Botea notes that the open structure of the journal represents the belief in equality, opposed to hierarchy of art forms. 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.54.

[64] Taboreux, 'Correspondance', p. 4. 'P.S. - Ceci n'est pas écrit pour être imprimé'.

again the reader's focus was shifted away from Taboureux and toward Vivien who in this defiant act of publication demonstrated his abidance to a particularly Hydropathesque character. It is this action, as much as the content of the given correspondence that is indicative of Hydropathe practices. The text is certainly an independent piece in its own right, but it also symbolises an action that has occurred elsewhere in the process of compiling the journal. This action is mischievous and satirical, yet amicable and supportive – all Hydropathesque traits that are repeatedly reinforced in and by the journal's articles. Thus, the journal was used to explore the capacity of the printed medium, which achieved greater impact due to the suggestion of the artists' actions, or 'performance'.

The club's values are also represented in the journal in January 1880, in a full-page illustration of a Hydropathe séance (Figure.4.9).[65] In an issue commemorating the club's first anniversary, the illustration depicts a theatre packed full and alive with energy, all in honour of the club's first public concert.[66] The main Hydropathe artists – who the reader can recognise from Cabriol's portraits – are pictured at the front of the stalls, beneath the stage that is adorned with a single figure, assumed to be Goudeau, addressing the lively crowd.[67] In composing the image in this way, by positioning the most well-known artists in the most expensive seats, and the president upon the stage, its artist, Eugène Le Mouël, reflects the hierarchy around which the club and the journal were structured.[68] However, by also privileging the larger, anonymous collective that takes up at least half of the image, the straightforward nature of this hierarchy is called into question. Illustrated from a viewpoint from the back of the stage, what the viewer sees of this concert is not the performances occurring on-stage, but the raucous audience. Only part of which seems to pay attention to the figure on-stage, while others are imagined to be more amused by the brawling clamour

[65] Eugène Le Mouël, 'Une Séance aux Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, vol.2, 1 (15 January 1880), pp.4-5.

[66] On Saturday 10th January, 1880, the Hydropathes held a 'séance-concert' at the Salle Pierre-Petit, 6, rue cadet. The programme was also announced in the journal. *l'Hydropathe*, vol.2, 1 (15 January 1880), p.8.

[67] In a number of cases the images replicate that of their corresponding feature portrait in *l'Hydropathe.*

[68] Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p52.

around them. Through the composition of this image the artist is perhaps suggesting that the club's main focus is not necessarily the action on the stage; indeed, if we as the viewer are assumed to have the place of the audience, then it is the figures drawn in the theatre's three tiers that are *our* source of entertainment. The stage is thus expanded beyond its fixed confines. The implication is that the Hydropathe séances are challenging the very definition of performance. This is further backed up by the way the artist constructs the relation of space between the stage and the audience. One man at the front of the Dress Circle leans forward over the edge, reaching his arm down as if to touch Goudeau's extended hand. Through this action, the space between the stage and the amphitheatre is obliterated. It not only questions where the point of action lies in the Hydropathe séances, but by challenging our understanding of the theatrical space the artist refuses to make the stage symbolise the division between the performer and audience.

In summary, in these ways the journal represented the Hydropathe by imitating it, imbuing the printed text with the suggestion of performance. If the journal was used to affirm the Hydropathe identity, and to lessen the gap between artist and audience,[69] it must also be recognised that this was an idealised persona, constructed in and by the journal.

Backgrounds and Networks

Given the backgrounds of many of the group's founding members, the importance they placed on a publication comes as no surprise. Between them, Gill, Goudeau, Vivien, Champsaur and Jouy had extensive experience in founding publications, as well as all having actively contributed to the journals of friends. Gill had already made his name as the most notorious caricaturist of his age, and acted as editor-in-chief for illustrated journals such as *La Lune* (1866)*, L'Éclipse (1868)*, *La Petite Lune* (1878)*, La Parodie* (1866), and *La*

[69] Schiau-Botea, 'Performing Writing', pp.58-9; and Schiau-Botea, 'Stéphane Mallarmé', p.35.

Lune Rousse (1876). Of these, *L'Éclipse* and *La Lune Rousse* were two of the journals hit hardest by the severe censorship enforced after the suppression of the Commune in 1871. This censorship lasted until 1878, when the Opportunist Republicans gained a lasting foothold in parliament.[70] With these journals Gill experienced the trials of publishing amidst adversity and suppression, and his editorial career developed at a time when publishing was an act that displayed solidarity with broader socio-political ideals concerning freedom of expression. Another important republican publication during this era was the caricature journal, *Le Grelot* (1871-1907), founded by Hydropathe Alfred Le Petit. Jouy collaborated with Le Petit in founding the radical republican journal*, Le Sans-Culotte,* in the autumn of 1878.[71] In addition, Jouy acted as editor of *Le Tintamarre*, before becoming *Secrétaire de la Rédaction* for three issues of *l'Hydropathe* in 1879. Vivien had cut his teeth on the journal *L'Étudiant* (1879), and Goudeau, at the same time as being editor-in-chief of *l'Hydropathe*, was staging a coup over disagreements of the direction of *Le Molière.*[72] Although still in his early twenties, Félicien Champsaur had already built up a significant publication record by the time he became involved with the Hydropathes. He collaborated with Le Petit on *Les Contemporaines,* contributed pieces to *Le Gaulois* and *L'Evenement,* and was a regular contributor to the daily newspaper, *Le Figaro.* In 1878 Champsaur founded *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, acting as editor-in-chief, and employing Gill as the sole illustrator for the journal's first two years. Gill also trained many young caricaturists in his trade. Amongst them were Georges Lorin, and the film animator Émile Cohl.[73] For Lorin in particular, *l'Hydropathe* was an important space in which he developed his expertise as an illustrator and poet, as he later moved on to collaborate on *Lutèce* with Hydropathe writers Jouy and Léo Trezenik. *L'Hydropathe*'s editors and primary contributors, therefore,

[70] Goldstein, *Censorship,* p.204.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Casteras, *Les Hydropathes*, p.57.

[73] Crafton, *Emile Cohl.*

belonged to an interconnected network of journals that were an important avenue through which to share ideas, and publish work according to each journal's respective field of interest. These other journals participated within a radical, socio-political culture, referencing broader ideologies and events that were of critical importance to their day. In contrast, *L'Hydropathe* was defined by its *renunciation* of these concerns.

With the life of the French citizen connected to the socio-political environment in the midst of dramatic flux, avoiding socio-political concerns necessitated a retreat into the artists' own community that reinforced that community's independence. While the journal is quite clearly a product of its age, even an artefact of the city's evolution toward the liberal, communal arts of the new Republic, it avoided any reactionary or truly progressive stance, and there is very little in its articles to link them to the historical context of their production. Current affairs not directly related to the club were only rarely alluded to, and the journal's only link to contemporary life was through the regular accounts of their own séances.

This is one of the journal's most essential characteristics. It is one of the key differences that distinguish its project from that of other satirical or literary journals of the era. Where *Le Sans-culotte*, *La Petite Lune,* and *La Parodie* engaged with contemporary political discourse, *l'Hydropathe* created a visual and textual world that was almost entirely self-referential. Through its variety of articles, *l'Hydropathe* was exploited to represent insular preoccupations that consistently reinforced the collective's autonomy.

Goudeau's insistence that the club create an overtly apolitical cultural sphere (as discussed in Chapter two), had an undeniable effect. To avoid political allegiance, discussion of politics was necessarily prohibited; and to avoid political discussion, comment on the social environment needed also to be restricted. The result was not so much a journal addressing art for art's sake, but one that solipsistically mediated on the collective for its own sake.

A (Collective) Self-Portrait: Identity and Authorship

The Hydropathes' tendency towards self-reference manifested in a number of ways in the journal. Other than being presented in its entirety under the title '*l'Hydropathe*', denoting from the first word that the work included was done so in the name of the collective, many of the texts integrate in some way the 'Hydropathe' as the main subject. In the first issue alone, three of the ten literary texts have the word *Hydropathe* even within the title: Jules Jouy's 'Les Hydropathes en Sonnets', Francisque Sarcey's 'Les Hydropathes', and Alce d'Alis's 'Blagues Hydropathes'. In addition, Goudeau's biography, written by Paul Vivien, specifically foregrounds the *Cercle de Hydropathes*, laying out for the uninitiated reader the story of the society's foundation:

> Émile Goudeau is president of the Hydropathes. So first of all a few words about the *Cercle des Hydropathes* and its foundation.
> We were, in those times, a group of young artists, poets and students. We met each night on the first floor of a café in the Latin Quarter, where music was played, and we recited verse. But the music did not appeal to everyone, and we didn't always like it when playing *piquet* or chess, to have to listen to the singer behind us, even when the singer was excellent. It bothered us to be so often an inconvenience. We absolutely needed a local place of our own. From the idea of a local to the idea of a society consisted of only one step. It was done, and the *Cercle des Hydropathes* was founded. The creation was down to the efforts of Émile Goudeau. It was therefore only fair that he was named president.[74]

Furthermore, while the Hydropathes are not directly referenced, Jouy's second poem 'Pirouette' makes reference to two Hydropathe members: Félicien Champsaur is named directly, in rhyme with *Le Hareng Saur*, the famous poem by Charles Cros:

> Qu'il cisèle l'esprit, geigne le *Hareng-saur*
> Ou fasse étinceler un sonnet de Champsaur,
> Vive son talent fou, grave comme un problème![75]

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[74] Paul Vivien, 'Émile Goudeau', *L'Hydropathe*, 1 (22 January 1879), p.2. 'Émile Goudeau est président des *Hydropathes*. Quelques mots d'abord sur le *Cercle des Hydropathes* et sa fondation. | Nous étions, en ce temps la, un groupe jeune, composé d'artistes, de poètes, d'étudiants. On se réunissait chaque soir au premier étage d'un café du quartier latin, on faisait de la musique, on récitait des vers. Mais la musique ne plait pas a tout le monde, on n'aime pas toujours, lorsqu'on fait une partie de piquet ou d'échecs, à entendre chanter derrière soi, le chanteur fût-il excellent. Nous gênions souvent et nous étions gênés. Il nous fallait absolument un local à nous. De l'idée d'un local à l'idée d'un cercle, il n'y avait qu'un pas. Il fut fait, et le *Cercle des Hydropathes* était fondé. La création en était due surtout à l'activité d'Émile GOUDEAU. Il était juste qu'il en fût nommé Président.'

[75] Jules Jouy, 'Pirouette', *l'Hydropathe*, 1 (22 January 1879), p.3.

Although the poem does not make the Hydropathe its primary subject, the collective atmosphere is still apparent through such referencing of others' work, and by personal dedications. Therefore, of the eleven works in the first issue (including Cabriol's front-cover portrait), six make clear and direct reference to the collective and the artists involved. Self-referentiality continued to be a staple in all parts of the journal. On the simplest level, it was common practice for texts to be dedicated to a named Hydropathe artist. For instance, Jouy's 'Fables' is dedicated 'à Louis Piquemal',[76] Alphonse Allais's 'L'Homme Pauvre: Histoire navrante sanglotée par Coquelin Cadet' is inscribed 'à Coquelin Cadet',[77] and Cabriol's poem, 'Point d'Honneur', was published in honour of his own, more "sensible" alter-ego, 'à Georges Lorin'.[78] Only on rare occasions was the dedicatee not a well-known figure in the group.

The séances were also directly addressed, establishing a tight connection between the journal and the live events. From issue five in March 1879 onwards, the journal provided details of club meetings under the title 'Le Stenograph'.[79] Also, when a published article had already been presented at one of the séances, it was marked as a sign of honour by the words, 'Pièce dite au soirée/au cercle par...'[80] The journal thus promoted the club by consistently highlighting its activities. The pieces performed by individual Hydropathes contributed to the concept of Hydropathe identity, which was then reinforced by the journal.

For Richard, one of the main reasons for the journal's existence, as well as one of its main virtues, was in its testamentary role, in that it 'permits us to know the Hydropathes

[76] Jouy, 'André Gill', *l'Hydropathe*, 2 (5 March 1879), p.2.

[77] Allais, 'L'Homme Pauvre: Histoire navrante sanglotee par Coquelin Cadet', *l'Hydropathe*, 3 (19 February 1879), p2.

[78] Cabriol, 'Point d'Honneur', *l'Hydropathe*, 14 (25 July 1879), p.4.

[79] The Stenograph articles are discussed in more detail in chapter one.

[80] See for example, 'A Messieurs les Hydropathes', *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), p.4. 'Pièce dite au *Cercle des Hydropathes* par M. Paul Vivien.'

and their fiery exuberance'.[81] For the club's founder, who published extensive memoirs detailing this period less than a decade later, the journal's role as a method of preservation of the club's bohemian 'talents and sociability', was as important as the immediate benefits gained from its dissemination.[82] If posterity was indeed one of the journal's aims it was surely a success, since it is from this journal that Jean-Émile Bayard gleaned the majority of his information about the club and its events for his detailed and influential text.[83] Their accounts were evidently considered by him as reliable enough to construct his history of the collective around them.

However, while the journal is undeniably a valuable contemporary resource, the validity of its reports as an historical source must be questioned, and the 'exuberance' that we perceive as being directly *Hydropathic* should not be regarded as a straightforward reproduction of events. For one, it does not detail any of the contributions made by the large group of students. It must thus be recognised as only a partial report of the group's activities, a highly-condensed version, designed to present the Hydropathes favourably to their audience. (An audience first of all of Hydropathes.) In all the functions it performed for publicity, posterity, or as a creative platform, everything was to be gained by presenting the group in the most favourable light. Just as censorship was exploited by the state to ensure a particular view of society or events, the journal was used here to create its own truth. Thus, although it may not be wholly dependable as a factual historical resource, *l'Hydropathe* provides the most accurate account of how the leadership wanted the collective to be perceived. In this way, *l'Hydropathe* can be understood as a kind of collective self-portrait; one created by the editorial process as much as the individual members' conformity to the collective ideal.

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[81] Noël Richard*, L'Aube du Symbolisme*, p.35. 'L'intérêt principal de ce journal provient de son rôle de témoin: il nous a permis de connaître les Hydropathes et leur fougueuse exubérance'.

[82] Charles Rearick, *Belle Époque,* p.58.

[83] Bayard, *Latin Quarter.*

Only on a number of occasions is the integrity of this portrait brought into question. One of the clearest allusions to the falsity of the club's free-spirited nature is perhaps seen in 1888, with Goudeau's direct condemnation of the journal and its editorial team:

> The journal *l'Hydropathe* was not serious, maybe not serious enough [...] But what did the editor-in-chief think of it? Alas! He had little respect for the terrible Creole, Paul Vivien, who was director, funder, the impresario, the factotum, in a word he lived the life, but without the subtlety of Georges Lorin, who, under the pseudonym Cabriol, was the illustrator who designed the hydropathe persona, and who chose his heroes at will – a hard thing to admit – this editor-in-chief perhaps didn't have enough control even over *himself*, allowing discretion for burlesque fantasies, sometimes forgetting, too often forgetting, the interests for the sacred arts that were confined within me.[84]

Published in Goudeau's memoirs, this summary condemns the journal's director for lacking subtlety, its main illustrator for lacking objectivity, and himself for allowing them both to distort his publication into a celebration of 'burlesque fantasies'. Perhaps with the benefit of hindsight, Goudeau regretted not developing the journal in the same way that *Le Chat Noir* was fashioned for his subsequent venture. In many accounts the *Le Chat Noir* is perceived favourably in comparison with *l'Hydropathe,* as it represented a far more self-assured art practice that explores the creative possibilities of its medium.[85] Asserting that the 'sacred arts [...] were confined within' him, Goudeau proposes himself as an advocate for higher, more complex arts; and since the journal failed to represent this complexity, he revoked his responsibility for its creation.

If we compare the forms of authorship in *l'Hydropathe* with *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, the root of this point of conflict becomes clearer. For its first two years, the illustrations in *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* were consistently drawn by Gill, and the text written by

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[84] Goudeau, *Dix ans,* p.236. 'Le journal *l'Hydropathe*, lui, ne fut pas sérieux, peut-être pas assez, et quelquefois versa dans la pur tintamarre. A quoi donc pensait le rédacteur en chef? hélas! il n'avait qu'une autorité médiocre sur le terrible créole Paul Vivien, qui en était le directeur, le bailleur de fonds, l'impresario, le factotum, la vie en un mot, ni sur le subtil Georges Lorin, qui, sous le pseudonyme de Cabriol, était le dessinateur attiré des personnages hydropathiques, et choisissait ses héros à sa guise, et – chose dure à avouer – ce rédacteur en chef n'avait peut-être pas assez d'autorité sur *lui-même*, se laissant aller au gré des fantaisies burlesques, oubliant parfois, trop souvent, les intérêts sacrés de l'Art qui m'étaient confinés'.

[85] See, for instance, Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, p.222.

Champsaur. This pattern was interrupted in the thirty-first edition, when different artists began contributing texts, and by the third volume the caricaturist also varied. From the point at which Champsaur relinquished his monopoly over the content, rather than stating the individual author, all contributors used 'the journal's generic pseudonym', *Pierre et Paul*.[86] In so doing, *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* rejected a more standard notion of authorship. Cros, Verlain, and Rimbaud employed a similar practice in their satirical text, the *Album Zutique*, in which contributions were falsely attributed to the writer who the piece parodied, 'foresaking' the artists' 'sense of personal authorship'.[87] While the *Album Zutique* was not intended for publication, thus not created for the large readership of *l'Hydropathe* and *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, it was similarly a collaborative document created equally between a loosely-connected group of artists.[88] It demonstrated a growing tendency amongst proto-modernist writers to collaborate freely on collective works, thus calling into question the notion of single-authorship, and the romantic myth of the lone genius.[89]

The common pseudonym in *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* furthermore allowed anonymity, protecting individuals from personal liability, and releasing them from an encompassing commitment to the journal and its values: they could represent common values through the text, without the need to personify them. In *l'Hydropathe*, in contrast, writers were guided by the imperative to wholly encapsulate its collective ideals, and obliged to create texts abiding by the same aesthetic and ideological base. Conflicts thus arose from the discrepancy between the author's individual identity, and the collective identity they are obliged to represent. If Goudeau's complaints about the editorial team

[86] Hecht, Jennifer Michael, *The End of the Soul: Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2003), p.340.

[87] Shaw, 'All or Nothing?', p.139.

[88] Grojnowski, 'Hydropathes and Co.', p.102.

[89] Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Seth Whidden, *Models of Collaboration in Nineteenth-Century French Literature: Several Authors, One Pen* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). Wayne Koestenbaum, *Double Talk: The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration* (New York; London: Routledge, 1989).

recognise the falsity of the Hydropathic ideal after the club ended, the tension between Vivien and Champsaur testifies to the difficulty in maintaining this ideal whilst it was active. As we have already seen in Chapter two, a dispute between Vivien and Champsaur in September 1879, was a rare public manifestation of internal conflicts. The dispute arose over an article about the Hydropathes that Champsaur had published in *Le Figaro* without the group's permission.[90] By October 1879, this antipathy necessitated Goudeau's public intervention.[91] The case indeed appears as a petty quarrel, especially given that Champsaur had published in *Le Figaro* during the previous year without any negative reaction. Given this, it is likely that Vivien's attempt to publicly humiliate Champsaur was a reaction to ingrained hostilities and rivalries within a group that was far less amicable than it presented itself as being.[92] The case helps not only to highlight the internal conflicts, and thus the club's fraternal persona as false. It also illustrates the difficulty in consistently portraying the group's 'collective persona', which, as Goudeau states above, was 'designed' by Cabriol.

If in one sense the journal was employed to conceal the ruptures existing between disparate sections of the club, it equally became a tool for domination and control. In this adaptation there is a shift of influence from the journal responding to the artists' actions, to the artists' actions responding to the journal. The persona that becomes coherent through this printed medium is so well-tuned that the artist (in this case Champsaur), cannot live up to it, and even the consequence of this failure is enacted through the journal. The borderline between reality and representation breaks down. The representation of the

[90] Paul Vivien, 'Une Défection Malheureuse', *l'Hydropathe*, 17 (7 September 1879), p.3.

[91] Émile Goudeau, 'Au Figaro', *l'Hydropathe,* 19 (15 October 1879), p.4.

[92] Curiously, in the previous month an anonymous reporter in the *La Figaro* announced a public dispute between Champsaur and the editor of an 'obscure pamphlet': 'A meeting with swords took place yesterday at the border of [the Jardin du?] Luxembourg, between Mr Félicien Champsaur, publicist, and the editor of an obscure radical pamphlet. The latter was wounded'. 'A Travers Paris', *Le Figaro,* 18 August 1879, p.1. ('Une rencontre à l'épée a eu lieu hier à la frontière du Luxembourg, entre M. Félicien Champsaur, publiciste, et le rédacteur d'une obscure feuille radicale. Ce dernier a été blessé'.)

Hydropathe becomes a greater reality than reality itself, and the journal a virtual platform on which the Hydropathe character is performed.

Part Two
Caricature

Cabriol's Portraiture

So far I have discussed *l'Hydropathe* in relation to its literary and textual content. While these articles constituted the majority of the journal, illustration also played an important role. This final part of the chapter focuses on the journal's caricature, and aims to demonstrate that it employed the medium's language and traditions to construct a collective portrait that criticises the image that it purports to celebrate.

As previously stated, the front cover of each issue was adorned by an original caricature by Georges Lorin (Cabriol), each of a different leading member of the *Cercle des Hydropathes.* As president, Émile Goudeau was featured in the first edition, André Gill in the second, followed by Félicien Champsaur, Coquelin Cadet and Charles Cros (Figures.4.10-14). In the sixth edition was the first of two portraits of France's most famous actress, 'Monsieur' Sarah Bernhardt ('because Sarah Bernhardt is a *Monsieur*'),[93] who was named an 'honorary' Hydropathe.[94] The variety of cultural personalities and the breadth of their work highlighted the group's diversity. We have already seen how the journal's texts mimicked the Hydropathic performance, thus representing the characteristics encountered at the séances. Here again, Lorin's consistent style portrayed

[93] Georges Lorin, 'Monsieur Sarah Bernhardt', *l'Hydropathe*, 6 (5 April 1879), p.2.
[94] Goudeau, *Dix ans*, p.195.

the Hydropathe artists as a coherent ideal, whose fraternal buffoonery was condensed into an eye-catching and easily recognisable œuvre. These covers thus acted in lieu of publicity posters that were widely used in subsequent years by Montmartre cabarets, including Goudeau's *Chat Noir* (Figure.4.15), and performed a role analogous to Toulouse-Lautrec's and Steinlen's portraits of Jane Avril, Loïe Fuller, and Aristide Bruant. The portraits advertised the collective, as well as the individuals they depicted.

In addition to the illustrated portrait, the featured artist was made known to the reader through a biography, usually written by Vivien or Goudeau, which in contrast to the journal's more humorous articles elaborate sincerely and informatively on their life and work. Cabriol's portraits represent the same figure's work and experiences in a far less austere fashion, employing satirical motifs typical of caricature to represent the club's humour. For instance in issue five Charles Cros is pictured riding astride a large fish, attempting to catch butterflies with a net to add to his bag of 'inventions' (Figure.4.14). The fish here clearly signifies the red herring of his famous poem *Le Herang Saur*; and the bag of inventions denotes his scientific pursuits, such as his having produced and patented a phonograph, eight month before Edison's.[95] The two elements of Cros's life are shown as being complementary, since his poetic creations assist in new inventive accomplishments: the herring acts as the poet's mount to hunt down the elusive inventions. These two elements of Cros's work are not only imagined by Cabriol as being equally important in his œuvre, but these otherwise distinct areas of poetic and scientific inquiry here form a coherent portrait of the artist's life. If this is not a direct comment on, then it is certainly in agreement with Balzac's assertion that inventors and great artists, both as 'observers',

[95] James Lastra, *Sound Technology and the American Cinema: Perception, Representation, Modernity* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2000), p.18. There were some slight differences between Edison and Cros's machines. Cros's design was proved to be a successful working model.

respond comparably to the demands of their society.[96] This portrait is a particularly pertinent example of the process of constructing a distinctly Hydropathic image, since Cros was one of the few members to have established a footing in Parisian bohemian art circles before his involvement with the Hydropathes. The works highlighted in the portrait are not strictly 'Hydropathe' pieces, not having been produced for the club, and having become famous before the club was even conceived. The image thus becomes representative of the Hydropathic ideal despite neither the artist, nor their work, being solely representative of the collective. Therefore, to understand what makes Cabriol's oeuvre representative of the Hydropathes' collective identity it is necessary to consider the caricaturist's aesthetic treatment of his subject.

Daumier & Gill: Style and Censorship

In making caricature central to the journal, the group was building on established traditions in illustrated journalism. As I demonstrate below, André Gill had a significant influence on Lorin's practice. I also use Honoré Daumier as a key comparison, whose work is a pertinent point of reference not only because of his status as the most prominent caricaturist in nineteenth-century France, and for the influence his work had on subsequent generations of caricaturists, but also because the difference in his aesthetic style helps to highlight the stylistic choices in Lorin's practice.

The first solo exhibition of Daumier's work was mounted in Paris in 1878, provoking a resurgence of interest in his work. Daumier's death the following year brought to the fore discussion of the quality and status of his artwork. Although the exhibition was notable for its failure to attract crowds, this was treated by the left-wing press as

[96] Balzac, *Théorie de la démarche, La comédie humaine: études analytiques,* vol.19 (Paris 1968), pp.210-51. Cited in Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in Nineteenth Century Paris* (London and Chicago, 1982, p.22.

incompetence by the organisers, whose inability to publicise this important occurrence did an injustice to the artist's momentous works:

> Some thirty demoralised and saddened spectators wandered in front of these overwhelming works. For what particular reason did the organising committee judge it fruitless to announce the exhibition's opening in newspapers of every persuasion? They would have thus spared the master's friends and admirers an unspeakably upsetting experience.[97]

This condemnation, published as it was in *La Lanterne*, suggests that the exhibition would have been known by Gill and Lorin, and that Daumier would have been subject of discussion at the time *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* and *l'Hydropathe* were published. However, as I have suggested, Gill's and Lorin's works are conspicuous for their differing approaches to the representation of human subjects. Unlike Daumier, in his portraits for *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* Gill foregrounds his subjects above all else. They are represented largely in isolation, rarely with a second figure, and with only a few key details included to compose the scene. This style recurs throughout *Les Hommes*, and we see, for instance, in the portrait of Léon Gambetta (Figure.4.16) how the artist communicated with the viewer with only minimal visual elements. The politician stands with his arms folded across his bare torso, with nothing other than a weight, inscribed with the date '1880', on the floor at his feet. While one is to assume that the number represents the year 1880, drawn as it is upon the front of the dumbbell it also denotes its considerable weight. If this heavy weight is to symbolise the anticipated political struggles of the coming year, it appears to be little challenge for Gambetta's towering figure, and the republican future appears secure behind the politician's confident stare.

Far more than Lorin's style, Daumier's technique of condensing a complex narrative into a single frame is reminiscent of a painterly composition. To make this

[97] G. Puissant, La Lanterne (20 April 1878). Translation cited in Michael Melot and Neil Mcwilliam, 'Daumier and Art History: Aesthetic Judgement/Political Judgement'. *Oxford Art Journal*, vol.11, 1 (1988), 3-24, p.5. 'Devant ces écrasantes conceptions, erraient trente spectateurs démoralisés et attristés. Pour quelle raison majeur le Comité organisateur de cette exposition a-t-il jugé inutile d'en faire annoncer l'ouverture par les journaux de toute opinion? Ils eussent évité aux amis et aux admirateurs de maître un inénarrable crève-cœur'.

suggestion is to enter into an established dialogue regarding the artist's work. Daumier's evident blurring of the boundaries between political caricature and serious 'art' is a well-documented and unresolved problem that was recognised during the artist's own lifetime.[98] That it remains unresolved is partly due to enduring perceptions of the social function each respective medium fulfils in society, and complicated all the more by the contingent role illustrated journalism played as propaganda for all sides of the political divide. Similarly in the world of 'art', the institutional support linking aesthetics with social or political allegiance was so entrenched that even art works resisting specific socio-political affiliation were still habitually absorbed into the political system. Where, for instance, traditional aesthetics of academic art helped endorse and uphold the conservative regimes that commonly supported it,[99] caricature's historical opposition to oppression (in its many forms) became associated with the Third Republican ideal. As Melot and McWilliam argued, such was the treatment of Daumier's work in the year following his death:

> On 6 July 1880, the 14 July was decreed a national holiday. The republic, which Daumier had been one of the first to defend, had won the day. It was searching for symbols and, like all established régimes, sought its own tradition. Thanks to Daumier, republican ideology could even lay claim to its own art, once the necessary modifications had been made, for it was inevitable that the republic which had painfully emerged after eight years of pacts and compromises was somewhat different from what Daumier had hoped for.[100]

Following this argument, paradoxically, the Republic did not endorse Daumier's work on the basis of his support for republican ideals. On the contrary, Daumier was elevated to the status of 'artist', in part through *disconnecting* his practices from their political intent. Near the end of his life, advocates of Daumier's work attempted to raise him to the status of a great 'artist', 'rather than as a caricaturist, a lithographer, a journalist and a comic writer'.[101] The relegation of his lithography in the 1878 exhibition, and omission of his press

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[98] Melot and McWilliam, 'Daumier and Art History', p.3.

[99] Mainardi, *End of the Salon*.

[100] Melot and McWilliam, 'Daumier and Art History', p.5.

[101] Ibid., p.6.

caricature, was part of this programme.[102] As Melot and McWilliam make clear, this reinforced the hierarchy that saw painting as having greater value than the lithograph that was commonly used in caricature:

> What was on show in this exhibition? Paintings, above all, together with drawings, and finally, assembled as number 244 at the end of the catalogue under the rubric 'Divers', 'Vingt cinq passe-partout renfermant les œuvres lithographiées de Daumier'[Various: Twenty five plates of lithographic works by Daumier]. Hierarchy had been re-established; once again order reigned in the arts.[103]

Caricature was a medium for immediate gratification, an aesthetic that evolved for a mass audience that could be grasped in an instant, supposedly without the depth of consideration demanded by more academic art forms. Although it may have had an important role within mass communication, its aesthetic value was considered less substantial. Yet, denouncing Daumier's caricatures as illustrated journalism, rather than 'art', is problematic, largely due to the quality of his finely-crafted images, considered to have reached a standard that no other caricaturist of his day came close to imitating.[104] Daumier's masterpiece, *Rue Transnonain le 5 Avril, 1834* (1834, Figure.4.17), shows how central this blurring of boundaries between art and journalism was for his œuvre. This, the most famous caricature by the century's most notable caricaturist in fact bears 'a total absence of caricature'.[105] It paid no heed to the conventions of the medium, and resisted the accepted consumability of journalistic illustration. His subject, the massacre of Parisian citizens by government troops, is treated with restraint. It lacks emotional reaction, and resists direct judgement of the perpetrators, who all the while become conspicuous by their absence, such that 'it is not until a moment later, when we have had time to think, that we look for the guilty and take a stand'.[106] The eloquence with which the image recalls the

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[102] Ibid., p.7.

[103] 'Melot and Mcwilliam, 'Daumier and Art History', p.5

[104] Passeron, Roger, *Daumier*, trans. by Helga Harrison (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981).

[105] Passeron, *Daumier,* p.106.

[106] Ibid. Passeron claims that it was this restrained withdrawal from judgement on the troops that made the government and their censorship 'impotent' against the work and its artist.

event achieves its impact in part because of its unusual composition, which Passeron claims to be reminiscent of the close-up, a technique developed with film and photography in the twentieth century, that in 1834 was 'without precedent'.[107] The effect of this composition, Passeron argues, was so great that it was still influencing artists two decades later, including Paul Delaroche's *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise au château de Blois en 1588* (1858, Figure.4.18). Although the position of the assassinated Duke to the right of this canvas appears to clearly imitate the slain man in the centre of Daumier's lithograph, the composition of the painting is undoubtedly less innovative. Where Daumier could be argued to have pre-empted as yet undiscovered photographic techniques, Delaroche retained the structural composition that mimicked the three walls of the theatre stage, which is emphasised by the theatricality of the scene's dramatic action. The compositional differences highlight the formal innovations in Daumier's work crossing over into academic art.

Although these stylistic innovations had set the tone for caricature's development into a more serious art form, Lorin resists employing Daumier's techniques. His own style demonstrates a far greater debt to André Gill's caricature. Gill's trademark style, employing the style known as the *grosse tête,* in which the subject's head is exaggerated for comic effect, is frequently used by Lorin, and will be discussed in more detail below.[108] Rather than following as a model the finely-crafted engravings that Gill created for the covers of *L'Éclipse* (Figure.4.19), which hint towards Daumier's refined craft, Lorin's caricatures are aesthetically more similar to Gill's work for *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* and, in particular, *La Petite Lune* (Figure.4.20): it was published the same time as *l'Hydropathe*, with a far rougher, sketched style. Lorin thus emphasised his rejection of academic standards. Indeed, on the contrary, the images emphasised the rushed nature of their conception.

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Rivers, Kenneth T., *Transmutations: Understanding Literary and Pictorial Caricature* (Lanham, Md.; London: University Press of America, 1991), p.15

The subject's context within the portrait also builds on Gill's model in *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*. In contrast to Daumier's lithographic images, for Gill and Lorin the central figures are illustrated with only a minimal number of key symbols within each composition. Daumier's narrative style of composition is perhaps exemplified by *Rois de l'Europe, tenez-vous bien, Le mois de juillet ne vous vaut rien* (Figure.4.21).[109] Here the anonymous figure, which we know to represent the French worker from his Phrygian cap, destroys the European kings whose nations are supported on the backs of workers, pictured straining under the weight. Daumier symbolises the kings' fragility, during the month of the July Revolution, by representing them as cards bearing their royal crests, which with a domino effect are toppled with a single blow from our proletarian hero. The central tenet of the caricature is the intimated action within the image that leads the story. Its intended meaning is thus conveyed by situation and narrative, or what Hofmann describes as the 'parable'.[110] Rather than producing parody through the grotesque reshaping of the body**,** the parable relies upon the interpretation of the story, which is constructed with a combination of visual symbols and accompanying text. It is also often dependent upon certain knowledge of a narrative context that is alluded to in each given composition. The image's intended meaning is therefore deciphered by the viewer's interpretation of these visual symbols, as they are applied to its narrative context, and the distortion of the body is of diminished importance. It is in one of Daumier's most famous works, *Gargantua* (Figure.4.22) that we see this style developed in the field of portraiture.[111] Here, the king is illustrated consuming the goods delivered to his gaping mouth by the oppressed subjects of France. Even though Louis-Philippe is the embodiment of the grotesque caricature, similarly to *Rois de l'Europe*, it

[109] Honoré Daumier, 'Rois de l'Europe, tenez-vous bien, Le mois de juillet ne vous vaut rien', *Le Charivari* (15 July 1834).

[110] Werner Hofmann, 'Ambiguities in Daumier (& Elsewhere), *Art Journal*, vol.43, 4, 'The Issue of Caricature (winter, 1983), 361-364, p.361.

[111] Cary, Elisabeth Luther, 'Daumier's Unconquerable Soul', *Parnassus*, vol. 4, 5 (October 1932), 7-10.

is the narrative which Louis-Philippe partakes that constructs the particular message of Daumier's image.

Given the censorship that blighted illustrated journalism during the nineteenth century, it was perhaps youthful rebellion that spurred Daumier to produce *Gargantua* as the unambiguously scathing portrait of their King Louis-Phillipe, and landed him with a six-month sentence at *Sainte Pélagie*.[112] Gill too had experienced firsthand the censorship of the illustrated press; historically this had surpassed even that of the written press, since it was seen as a dangerous tool to provoke civil unrest. In 1835, Minister of Justice, Jean-Charles Persil summed up the impression of the illustrated press as being dangerous to the civil order, when he fought for the suppression of theatre and illustration, despite the recent constitution forbidding the re-establishment of censorship:

> It is the [written] press which is placed under the guarantee of the Constitution, it is the free manifestation of *opinions* which cannot be repressed by preventative measures ... But when opinions are converted into *acts* by the presentation of play or the exhibit of a drawing, one addresses people gathered together, one speaks to their eyes. That is more than the expression of an opinion, that is a *deed*, and *action*, a *behaviour*, with which article seven of the charter is not concerned.[113]

This impression remained throughout the nineteenth century, and the degree of censorship fluctuated with the varying need to control public opinion, reaching a notable peak in 1877 when there was a controversial re-election of the Chamber of Deputies.[114] Gill's two journals *L'Éclipse* and *La Lune Rousse* felt some of the worst of the constraints against illustrated journalism, and with censorship came also prosecution and imprisonment.[115] Caricatures were images made for impact, through a medium that allowed immediate response to current events, and the opportunity to communicate with a large, often semi-literate public. Caricatures were frequently displayed in the streets or in the windows of

[112] Ibid., p.7.

[113] Jean-Charles Persil, cited in Goldstein, *Political Caricature*, p.2.

[114] Goldstein, *Political Caricature,* p.203.

[115] Ibid., p.206-7.

press offices; and its capacity to address a crowd compelled the Third Republican government to undermine its own liberal press laws.[116] The potential to provoke riots was as worrying for authorities as the defamatory act against the illustration's subject. In the years of *l'Hydropathe*, the 'Personal Authorisation Rule', as described by Goldstein, was created to contain such threats against the individual.[117] The law declared that in addition to government sanction, an illustrator required written permission from the caricature's subject in order for it to be published. For obvious reasons, such permission proved difficult to obtain, and the law was so debilitating as to severely limit the practice. Such legislation provoked a variety of creative responses, one of which can be seen in "Touchatout's" (pseudonym of Léon Bienvenu) journal, *Le Trombinoscope,* that paraded the violation of creative freedom. Touchatout highlighted the portrait's absence by publishing an announcement in its place, while also condemning the republic for being even more heavy-handed than the Napoléon III's infamously suppressive regime:

> The publication of the portrait of Mr Grévy has been forbidden by the censor. Notices are found at the houses of all photographers. Already in the previous issue of *Le Trombinoscope*, Emile Ollivier, was banned; but we beg of our readers to not be disheartened, because all indications show that the next will be..... defended still. We preserve all the pictures rejected by the Republic, thinking that if the Empire returns, it will permit us to publish them.[118]

This example follows an earlier precedent in *La Charivari*,[119] where editors 'answered the censoring iconoclasts with their own weapons by publishing a white page surrounded by a funeral border'.[120] This was an act that, as Judith Wechsler notes, exposed the fear that

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[116] Ibid, p.3.

Karen Carter, 'The Specter of Working-Class Crowds: Political Censorship of Posters in the City of Paris, 1881-1893', *Yale French Studies*, 122, 'Out of Sight: Political Censorship of the visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century France', (2012). Amendments restricting the freedom of the press (granted in 1881) began as early as 1882, pp.132-138.

[117] Goldstein, *Political Caricature*, pp.16-21.

[118] *Le Trombinoscope*, March 1872. 'La publication du portrait de M. Grévy à été interdite par la Censure. Il se trouve chez tous les photographes. Avis. – Déjà le dernier du Trombinoscope, Emile Ollivier, a été interdite; mais nous prions nos lectures de ne pas se rebuter, car tout porte à croire qu'enfin le prochain sera..... encore défendu. Nous conservons tous les clichés refusés par la République, pensant bien que si l'Empire revient, il nous permettra de les faire paraître'.

[119] *La Charivari* (16 September 1835).

[120] Hofmann, 'Ambiguities', p.364.

images more than words could disturb the status quo.[121] At best, censorship hampered a journal's productivity, and at worst could cause a publication to cease entirely, and have its editors and artists sentenced to a stretch in *La Santé* for their crimes.[122]

Still, as Goldstein has shown, it was during these times of most severe censorship that illustrated journalism experienced the largest growth.[123] Undeterred, artists were drawn to the medium, and publishing their work became a victory in the war against authoritarian regimes. Following generations of censorship, the illustrated press had evolved into a 'daily game' with censors, and what Goldstein describes as a 'war of subterfuge', was played out between illustrators and officials.[124] The practice was so well established by the late 1860s that according to one illustrator the public had been 'habituated [...] to understand a half-word, to read between the lines, to seize in flight the intention dissimulated in the arrangement of a sketch'.[125] The public's inferred participation in caricaturists' work went beyond deciphering puns and word plays; such involvement invited the audience to join a fleeting, imagined community of those who 'got' the joke. Print journalists reached deeper into allegory, communicating ideas that could not be spoken aloud, unifying their audience through a mockery of the system that forbade such ideas to be shared.

Esoteric Imagery & Interpretation

Daumier partook of the cultural traditions of the July Monarchy in utilising symbolism such as the pear-like head (Figure.4.23), to represent the king, and the Phrygian cap (as worn by the *sans-culottes* during the 1789 Revolution) to represent republican liberty (Figure.4.21). Such symbolism was to an extent esoteric, although, as part of the cultures of

[121] Wechsler, *A Human Comedy,* pp.72-73.

[122] Goldstein, *Political Caricature*, especially, 'The Fear of Caricature and the Censorship Mechanics', pp-1-32.

[123] Ibid., p.184.

[124] Ibid., p.185.

[125] Charles Gilbert-Martin, *Le Don Quichotte*, 4 June 1887. Cited in Goldstein, *Political Caricature*, p.185.

its day, not one that demanded an especially sophisticated frame of reference. Both symbols were banned at times during the nineteenth century, as testament to their growing recognition and symbolic power among the French citizenry. Lorin's work in *l'Hydropathe* continues this tradition, employing obscure images that had symbolic reference within the networks of like-minded artists. The crown that appears for instance in issues thirteen (Figure4.2) and fifteen (Figure.4.25) is one such example, directly referencing the logo of the journal *Le Tintamarre*, through which *l'Hydropathe* signalled solidarity with the publication that in February 1879 published Jouy's article promoting the Hydropathe séances (Figure.4.26).[126] *Le Tintamarre* had a relatively long history dating back to 1843, and by the time Touchatout became its editor in 1865, it had built a reputation for left-wing political satire. Other than Jouy, Hydropathe Raoul Fauvel was a regular contributor, and in the first issue *Le Tintamarre* adopted the crown, he contributed two poems proclaiming republican glory with common clichés of liberty and defiant laughter.[127] Fauvel later contributed to *l'Hydropathe*, and its thirteenth issue was adorned by his portrait.[128] The name, 'Tintamarre', translates roughly as 'uproar' or 'din', by which it thus posed itself as a disturber of the peace, and its crown might be read as a symbol mocking the monarchy.

Like Daumier's imagery, esoteric symbolism had thus also been used by Hydropathe artists to create solidarity with more controversial ideas, and puerile absurdity was used to veil more meaningful intent. Gill's *enseigne* for the now iconic Montmartre bar, the *Lapin Agile*, demonstrates this (Figure.4.27). On the surface the signboard was 'a commercial emblem of harmless bohemian disobedience', attracting punters to eat and

[126] Jules Jouy, 'Les Hydropathes', *Le Tintamarre* (2 February 1879), p.4.

[127] Raoul Fauvel, 'Notre Blason', *Le Tintamarre* (30 April 1876), p.1. Raoul Fauvel, '1876', *Le Tintamarre* (30 April 1876), p.4.

[128] *L'Hydropathe*, 13 (10 July 1879), p.1.

drink at an establishment supposedly all the more memorable for its display of wit.[129] Yet, as Howard Lay argues, Gill's symbolism invites a second reading that understands the image as 'a commemorative monument to the Paris Commune': the rabbit is revealed as a debauched working-class figure (denoted by his *casquette*), and the *casserole* from which he leaps represents the fate that apparently awaited communards exported to 'cannibalistic islands'.[130] Permanently presented among the hills that saw the bloodiest slaughter of communards just a decade before, and at a time when amnesty was still being fought for the survivors exiled and imprisoned in penal colonies, such a reading is compelling.

Cros's monologue, *Le Hareng Saur*, is another example of such symbolism:

Il était un grand mur blanc - nu, nu, nu,
Contre le mur une échelle - haute, haute, haute,
Et, par terre, un hareng saur - sec, sec, sec.

Il vient, tenant dans ses mains - sales, sales, sales,
Un marteau lourd, un grand clou - pointu, pointu, pointu,
Un peloton de ficelle - gros, gros, gros.

Alors il monte à l'échelle - haute, haute, haute,
Et plante le clou pointu - toc, toc, toc,
Tout en haut du grand mur blanc - nu, nu, nu.

Il laisse aller le marteau - qui tombe, qui tombe, qui tombe,
Attache au clou la ficelle - longue, longue, longue,
Et, au bout, le hareng saur - sec, sec, sec.

Il redescend de l'échelle - haute, haute, haute,
L'emporte avec le marteau - lourd, lourd, lourd,
Et puis, il s'en va ailleurs - loin, loin, loin.

Et, depuis, le hareng saur - sec, sec, sec,
Au bout de cette ficelle - longue, longue, longue,
Très lentement se balance - toujours, toujours, toujours.

J'ai composé cette histoire - simple, simple, simple,
Pour mettre en fureur les gens - graves, graves, graves,
Et amuser les enfants - petits, petits, petits.

[129] Lay, Howard, 'Pictorial Acrobatics', in Weisberg, *Montmartre*, p.160.

[130] Ibid., pp.160-4.

A short tale of a man, a ladder, and a herring nailed to a wall, proved popular with audiences at the Hydropathe séances and the *Chat Noir*, for its sub-text that was simultaneously anticlerical, pro-Commune, and childishly vulgar.[131] *Le poisson*, was 'a French slang term for the phallus' – an intentional double meaning substantiated by Cabriol's portrait of Cros, pictured riding astride an enormous 'Herring' and with its phallic allusion far less subtle than the poem's. The fish also invokes obvious Christian connotations. Here hanging dry, 'without hope of resurrection', Cros envisions the death of God and the church's fall from grace, all at the hands of a working man who with his unwashed hands unceremoniously tacks a dead fish to a plain wall.[132] A glorious death is furthermore denied to the symbol of Christ by the story being commemorated, not in the fine gilding of an artist or an eloquently crafted poem, but through nonsensical verse written, as it claims, to be laughed at by children.

Working in the trajectory that links Gill's and Cros's work, Lorin's caricatures made sexual inferences through the recurring image of the cocotte (Figure.4.28) – suggesting a wordplay between the origami figure, the 'cocotte en papier', and the 'cocotte', as meaning a highly sexualised woman. Such symbolic gestures were prevalent throughout Cabriol's portraits. Similarly to Gill's *enseigne*, the joke unified the audience who were rewarded for their more considered gaze, and also altered the viewer's understanding of the subject. Lorin capitalised on the reader's need to decipher his symbolism, which often confused, rather than confirmed, its meaning, or otherwise contribute to the image's sense of foolishness.

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131 David Sutton, 'Synaesthesia, Memory, and the Taste of Home', in *The Taste and Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*, ed. by Carolyn Korsmeyer (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p.519.

132 Scott Bates, 'Revolutionary Nonsense: Charles Cros's Kippered Herring', *The French Review*, vol.57, 5 (April, 1984), 601-606, p.605.

We have already seen with Cros's portrait how the butterflies symbolise his inventions, and the herring he rides represents his poetic creations coming to life. Although the images may be childish, they are not nonsensical. They make sense in the world of the image through logic created by a coherent composition and, at times, clear symbolism: the poet's creativity frees his mind, allowing him to make new discoveries and create novel inventions. Yet, all the more frequently as Cabriol's work developed, the objects accompanying the portraits became increasingly abstract: their meaning is neither readily evident, nor connected to the subject nor the scene's action. For instance in issue twenty-one, illustrator and satirist George Moynet (Figure.4.29) is drawn as being a peculiarly proper, even bourgeois gentleman, stood straight and alert, confronting the viewer with a direct stare. He holds the lapels of his jacket as though he were distinguished and self-assured. Yet all the while in the air around him there floats a woman holding a staff, the figure of a small boy, a sweeper stumbling out the side of the picture, and a wide-eyed young woman stood in a bath (or cot), with her arms spread wide. This 'serious' and 'distinguished' Hydropathe artist, 'no longer a bohemian', is created in the image of a Hydropathe not through distorting his portrait into what would be an untruthful humorous persona, but by the nonsensicality imposed by the disconnection of the subject from objects within the composition.[133] This, of course, is not to say that these peripheral images do not have symbolic reference, indeed, on the contrary, we are to assume that their function is to symbolise a meaning beyond that which is immediately evident. Lorin embraces this symbolic capacity of his visual medium to distort our understanding of the portrait, for an end that once again reinforces the solitary and all-encompassing Hydropathic ideal that forces the objects into a world that abides by its own internal logic.

[133] Vivien, 'L'Hydropathe Georges Moynet', *l'Hydropathe,* 21 (10 November 1879), p.2. 'Moynet est maintenant en garçon sérieux. Ce n'est plus u bohême, c'est un peintre amateur, un architecte distingué, et de plus, un *faiseur* de nouvelles qui vous font pâmer de rire'.

Such symbols may indeed have greater signification but by composing them as disjointed elements with little cue to their metaphoric meaning, they, and the portrait of the man, are separated from a wider socio-cultural context, and consumed into the insular Hydropathic world.

Caricature and the Disposable Object

So far my comparison between Lorin and Daumier has identified few similarities in their styles of work. I wish finally to suggest that rather than imitating Daumier's two-dimensional images, Lorin's practice has greater affinity with Daumier's three-dimensional works: specifically, his preparatory sculptures, which were a stage of the process in completing lithographs and (less often) paintings.[134] A number of Daumier's statuettes were included in his exhibition, and many more were known within his circle of artists (Figures.4.30 & 4.31).[135] For Daumier, these models were a way to 'know and study' his subject. They were not considered finished works, and Daumier never had any cast in bronze. Since they were not made for casting, or public view, they were produced with greater abandon than was typical for sculptors of the time, consequently appearing 'spontaneous, bold, [and] lively'.[136] Like Rodin's and Medardo Rosso's sculptures toward the end of the century, they reveal the artist's touch, and the marks of the artist's tools. It was, according to Wasserman, this unfinished effect that 'appealed to twentieth century tastes', leading the figures to be cast in bronze and critically acclaimed half a century after

[134] Edouard Papet, 'Daumier: Sculpture and Lithography, Return Journeys', in *Daumier: Visions of Paris* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 26 October 2013-26 January 2014), 40-49.

[135] Jeanne L. Wasserman, assisted by Joan M. Lukach and Arthur Bale, *Daumier Sculpture: A Critical and Comparative Study* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, May 1-June 23, 1969), p. 5. Some of these were commissions, such as the one of Charles Philippon, founder and editor of *La Caricature* and *Charivari.*

[136] Ibid., p.5.

Daumier's death.[137] In their spontaneity, as well as their disposability, the sculptures mirror both the process and the cultural use of caricature.

This association with statues is confronted in both Gill's and Lorin's work. In issue 357 (29 August 1875) of Gill's *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, we see it most clearly in the portrait of Émile Zola, who stands saluting in front of a bust of Balzac that salutes him back. (Figure.4.33). Illustrated as they are with the same gesture, Zola and Balzac's statue intentionally mirror one another; Zola's perceived mimesis of Balzac as a realist modernist parallels the caricature's mimesis of the statue, as both figures pay equal respect. This symbolising of idolatry through the implication of statuesque portraits can also be observed in a number of the *l'Hydropathe* covers. The portrait of Gill (Figure.4.11) in issue two is one such example where the relation between the caricature and sculpture is confronted to an extent that surpasses even Gill's portrait of Zola. Rather than having been designed simply with a likeness to a statue, in Lorin's portrait, Gill *is* a statue come to life. He stands upon his pedestal heroically brandishing his oversized plume as a weapon, while the anonymous figures he has displaced are still tumbling out of the frame and out of history forever. In common with all other *l'Hydropathe* portraits, these images present us with a positive view of their subject. It proposes that the subject is important enough to be represented singularly in his own right, and intimates that if he is not already known to the audience, then this image is one way of rectifying that.

This positive inversion of the *grosse tête*'s satirical mockery, and of caricature more generally, is less common than the ritualised parody with which it is usually associated. It is not unknown, however, as Gill's illustrations for *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui* demonstrate. In more contemporary cultures, too, the idea of positive physical satire can be identified in electioneering in the United States, where the *grosse tête* is employed to promote election

[137] Wasserman, *Daumier*, p.5.

candidates.[138] Whether employed for positive or negative depiction, the common point is that it is adopted in the portraiture of a well-known subject, 'especially one who would be more readily identifiable by his face than his body'.[139] The technique thus responds to existing public knowledge of the subject's visage, knowledge already gained via its recurrent depiction through illustrated journalism, and as such already a construct of the press. Therefore, while the image undermines the authority of the depicted figures, 'who have professional obligation of being more intelligent than the rest of the public', but 'in real life, hard pressed to measure up to the gigantic-brained standards of their image',[140] at the same time it also questions the legitimacy of its own representation. The aesthetic technique used to elevate the status of the artists, is that which is readily used for mockery and condemnation: the subjects are fraternally promoted as idols, but with an aesthetic that simultaneously undermines them.

To develop this notion one stage further I wish to return briefly to the Personal Authorisation Rule, as discussed by Goldstein, which during the 1870s gave public figures the power to prevent publication of their portrait. The legislation, which was used frequently by politicians in particular, demonstrates that the leading figures of the day fully recognised the importance of mass media not only for publicity, but also for *constructing* a public image. In employing caricature portraits, the Hydropathes thus depicted themselves in ways that others went to great lengths to prevent, therefore posing their public image in direct opposition to those who restricted the freedom of the Press.

In the following decade a similar notion was explored by the *Arts Incohérents*. In much the same style as Daumier's statuettes, Paul Bourbier produced a number of figurines

[138] Kenneth Rivers, *Transmutations*, p.17.

[139] Ibid., p.15.

[140] Ibid., p.19.

for the *Exposition des Arts Incohérents*, 1886.[141] In their exaggeration of character, and their rough, unrefined style, they owe a clear debt to illustrated caricature, and bear a striking similarity to Lorin's portraits. This is most evident in Bourbier's statuette of Coquelin Cadet, which was also published as a caricature (Figures.4.33 & 4.34), as both correlate with Lorin's previous portrait of the performer (Figure.4.13).

The *Expositions des Arts Incohérents* were remarkably successful. The annual events occurred between 1882 and 1893 at the Galerie Vivienne, and were accompanied by a costume ball and an exhibition catalogue. According to Lévy, the exhibition received up to 20,000 visitors, including such notable names as Édouard Manet who travelled across Paris despite his ill health.[142] It parodied at first the outdated customs of the official salon, whose popularity and relevance was in rapid decline by the 1880s with the growth of modern art, and the artists' increasing reliance on the market over state sponsorship. Exhibited in 1886, I argue Bourbier's statuettes referenced the growing consumerism in the culture industry, in which reproductions and merchandise were sold en masse to an increasingly affluent middle-class. If the widespread commoditisation of culture can be seen at the Universal Exhibitions, this was in accordance with the rise of the department store, whose inviting shop windows decorated Parisian boulevards, offering an 'experience' as much as goods, and closing the gap between spectacle and daily life.[143] In the cabaret cultures too, the dancer Loïe Fuller, who was widely admired by the avant-garde, exploited the bourgeois tastes for 'merchandise', releasing a line of 'Loïe Fuller memorabilia', which was sold in 'metropolitan centres' in France, Britain, Spain, and the United States.[144] This included 'Loïe Fuller hats, Loïe Fuller ribbons, Loïe Fuller shoes, [...] Loïe Fuller petticoats' and Loïe

[141] *Arts Incohérents, académie du dérisoire* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 25 Feb – 31 May 1992).
[142] Cate, 'The Spirit of Montmartre', p.1.
[143] Russell Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp.16-17.
[144] Catherine Hindson, *Female Performance Practice on the Fin-de-siècle Popular Stages of London and Paris* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.62-3.

Fuller statuettes. In Paris, these were on sale not only at Bon Marché, but also at the Louvre.[145]

I argue that it was this kind of mass consumerism, that was supported by the liberal capitalist market and the republican state, that Bourbier satirised with his statuettes. His sculpture of Coquelin Cadet, therefore, was not so much a parody of the subject, as it was of the culture in which objects of little value were in such high demand. In a similar vein, Lorin's caricatures simplified the collective into an easily-consumable image. In so doing, I argue that he criticised the collective, not so much for its specific practices with poetry, music and performance, but the adoption of an idealised, collective persona that reduced the artist into a simplistic, naïve template. He portrays the Hydropathe artist as a simplified aesthetic that emphasises its own consumability.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that *l'Hydropathe* was used to communicate the club's philosophies, which it achieved by translating the 'performance' of the Hydropathe persona into a printed medium. I have asserted that this was not simply a representation. The necessary ambiguity in representation was exploited, creating an image that was independent of its 'real life' equivalent, while appearing to simply reflect it. The journal not merely reaffirmed the Hydropathes' collective persona, but constructed a version of that ideal that pre-empted the performance at the club. The illusory nature of this ideal is most readily encountered in Cabriol's portraits. The illustrated caricature mirrors the already caricatured persona encountered at the séances. The disposability of the medium, which was emphasised by the aesthetic style that Lorin adopted, paralleled the disposability of the club's own practice.

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[145] 'A Chat with Miss Loïe Fuller', *The Sketch*, 12 April 1893, pp.641-3. Cited in Hindson, *Female Performance*, p.63.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to provide a focused critical analysis of the *Cercle des Hydropathes*, with a particular focus on the club's role as a cultural institution. I began the thesis by discussing how although the *Cercle des Hydropathes* has been largely overlooked in art historical scholarship, it is far from unknown, and I demonstrated the increasing interest in the club in the past few decades. These studies include those by Daniel Grojnowski, Bernard Sarrazin, Mary Gluck, Diana Schiau-Botea, Jerrold Seigel, Harold Segel, and David Cottington, which have to varying degrees considered the club in terms of *fin-de-siècle* Parisian culture and the twentieth-century avant-garde. This thesis therefore contributes to this growing field of study.

In Chapter one I reviewed this current literature. To my knowledge, this is the first time this material has been collated with specific reference to the Hydropathe club. While much of this material is frequently cited, it is less frequently approached analytically. I have therefore offered the most critical analysis of the Hydropathe literature to date. My intention has been to help create dialogue between these texts, in order to establish a framework upon which to develop a more cohesive understanding of liberal collectives such as this at the start of the Third Republic. Moreover, this review has allowed me to highlight a number of areas in which in the current readings differ: differences that are not recognised within the respective studies.

While I maintain the relevance of the cited readings, which recognise, for instance, the Hydropathes' direct or indirect influence on Fumisme, the Chat Noir, Symbolism, Alfred Jarry, Marcel Duchamp and Dada, I have argued for a critical distinction to be made between the Hydropathe club and these subsequent cultures. This is not least because they represent different social, cultural, and political conditions. Therefore, while each may well offer a valuable point of comparison, there remained to be done a focused analysis of the *Cercle des Hydropathes* on its own terms. The aim of this thesis has been, first and foremost, to offer such an analysis.

For this, I have employed an historicist perspective, such that I have at times examined the club more in terms of its historical, rather than its artistic context. While this focus, therefore, has necessarily been at the expense of a broader scope, I have equally attempted to establish the groundwork to develop further study. For instance, in Chapter two I addressed Levin and Green's theories of art's role in establishing the Third Republic's ideology in French society. This may prove a useful basis to build further comparisons, for instance with other liberal cultures at the time.

An historicist perspective has been valuable particularly in Chapter two, in which I delineated the socio-political climate of the early Third Republic in the attempt to demonstrate how the Hydropathes can be understood in the light of liberal republican ideology. As I discussed, this argument consciously contradicts the club's claims to be politically neutral. For while political discussion may well have been prohibited at the séances, and the club was overtly more concerned with poetry and music than political participation, liberal republican ideals, as I have argued, permeated all areas of the club's practice. While this may affirm the suggestion that the Hydropathe club attempted to subvert traditional culture, and in so doing act against the conservative Republic, I have

emphasised the other side of this argument, that it was complicit with the agenda of the liberal Republic.

It might be of note that at this point, before liberalism became the dominant ideology in France, such ideals may well have been viewed with hope and optimism, as a form of respite from conservative suppression, and the realisation of an authentic democracy. Certainly liberalisation was already underway by the end of the 1870s, and by the early 1880s the government's liberal factions had achieved the freedom of the Press, *Laïcité,* and made primary schooling free and secular for all children. However, as I aimed to demonstrate, even during the 1870s, this liberalisation was in part achieved through social persecution, as can be seen in the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose radical Catholicism was perceived as opposed to the development of the secular state. I described this historical context in order to demonstrate that although such conditions might be easily accepted as neutral, or even natural (perhaps especially from the point of view of today's liberal democracy), within its nineteenth-century context, the Hydropathes' promotion of liberal republican values represented allegiance on one side of a tentative political divide.

That the club's practices continue to be understood as either light-heartedly humorous (thus simply taking advantage of increasing civic freedom), or otherwise as subversive (thus fighting for freedom against conservatism and tradition), might suggest the persistence of equating liberalism with the pursuit of freedom, or otherwise as a natural state of being that is achieved when oppression is removed. In contrast to such a perspective, I have thus aimed to demonstrate how the club functioned as an ideological apparatus, in the terms provided by Althusser's definition. The club was a mechanism through which liberal republican ideology was reproduced in French society, in a way that concealed its own ideological values. It thus also functioned according to what Hall

described as 'naturalised' ideological institutions, whereby an ideology supporting the dominant class appears to be a natural state of being.

The means of participation at the Hydropathe club contributed to the reproduction of this ideology. Since the club made it necessary for its members to behave in a manner specified by the leadership, we might also recognise the club as functioning as a hegemonic cultural institution. In Chapter two I argued how the club's systems of control maintained the club's liberalist agenda. Chapter three then built upon this notion of hegemony, focussing on how it was achieved through the construction of a collective 'Hydropathe' identity, transferred at the séance through multi-sensory stimulation.

Linking this to my argument in Chapter two, then, it might therefore be significant that the crowd was comprised mainly of middle-class students and young bureaucrats, those that as doctors, lawyers, politicians, would comprise the new ruling class in France. The club provided the means for this generation to engage with liberalist ideals. What this further suggests, and the primary argument of Chapter three, is that it created an environment that encouraged submission to the collective. In this regard the club's political allegiance is largely irrelevant: the point here is that it was a mechanism for change, regardless of the ideology on which that change was based. However, what is notable about the Hydropathes' liberalist leanings, is that adherence to the collective was encouraged in a culture that purported to champion individualism. As I discussed in Chapter three, this is a well-recognised and unresolved paradox of liberalist cultures.

In the light of this line of thought, I argued that the club holds certain affinities with twentieth-century countercultures, not only because of its similar function as a subculture for the Parisian youth, and its engagement with non-mainstream ideals through poetry and song, but also for creating compliance with the institution that it claimed to be independent of. Although this can be seen to a far greater degree in the latter half of the

twentieth century (and here I used the punk movement as a case study), by which point there was an increased awareness of the structures of capitalist institutions, such awareness is already evident at the Hydropathe club: it absorbed bohemian cultures that were then openly repackaged as a temporary leisure activity for middle-class youth.

In this regard, and also in its compliance with the liberalist agenda, the club was a culture that negotiated its role within the capitalist and state institutions. It therefore prefigures a larger model that was witnessed in post-war, postmodern cultural movements, far more than was seen in the early decades of the twentieth-century. This idea cogently summarises the break my thesis takes from more established thought that associates the Hydropathe club with the modernist avant-garde, for which it is assumed as a precedent. As previously stated, this would therefore be a valuable area for further investigation.

Having established the argument for the Hydropathe club's encouragement of passive consumption, I then offered two possible interpretations. On the one hand, that the club created a utopian vision of the liberal republic, and a collective persona according with that ideal, which promoted its values to France's educated youth for the supposed benefit of society at large. On the other hand, I suggested how it might otherwise be considered a criticism of bourgeois youth, exposed as easily manipulated, and willing consumers of art and culture.

Goudeau's entrepreneurial spirit, which was more emphatic at the Chat Noir, may to an extent confirm the centrality of commercial enterprise at his earlier club. The effects of this commercial enterprise, in which artistic expression was simplified for the masses, was most readily apparent in Lorin's portraits of the society's key figures, which emphasised the triviality of the Hydropathe character. As I argued in Chapter four, Lorin's portraits presented a coherent image of the collective persona that highlighted its humour, joviality, and the club's rejection of elitist art. Yet also, in illustrating the collective portrait

in caricature, he highlighted it as a consumable, expendable entity. He thus condemned the club through the work that purported to celebrate it.

Lorin was a complex character evidently interested in the notion of identity and persona. However, his work has received minimal attention, and I believe his œuvre would be another area that would benefit of further research. One further area for further investigation has not been directly identified in this thesis, but has been alluded to most strongly in Chapter three. This is gendered readings of the Hydropathe club. In my experiences at academic conferences I have often been asked to elaborate on the role of women in the club. While there is evidence that the club fought for women to be included in its activities, a feminist reading would be of secondary importance to a masculinist one. The *Cercle des Hydropathes* was undeniably a male-dominated institution that was concerned with creating not only a social space for the young male population, but also creating a collective identity that emphasised characteristics of fraternity, and unity through brotherhood. Therefore a gendered reading may prove useful for further understanding male identity in the early Third Republic, and the role of liberal culture in creating and reproducing that identity. I hope that this thesis has provided groundwork upon which to develop such studies.

Therefore, as a final conclusion, I wish to recall my initial aim, as stated in my introduction. Through providing an original interpretation of the Hydropathe club my purpose has been to complicate an area of cultural history that has most often been considered uncomplicated. Although this thesis has provided a notably focused analysis of a somewhat obscure French collective, I hope to have demonstrated not only that this collective is more significant than the current level of scholarly interest suggests, but also how greater understanding in this area can help enrich a far wider field of study.

Images

Figure 0.1

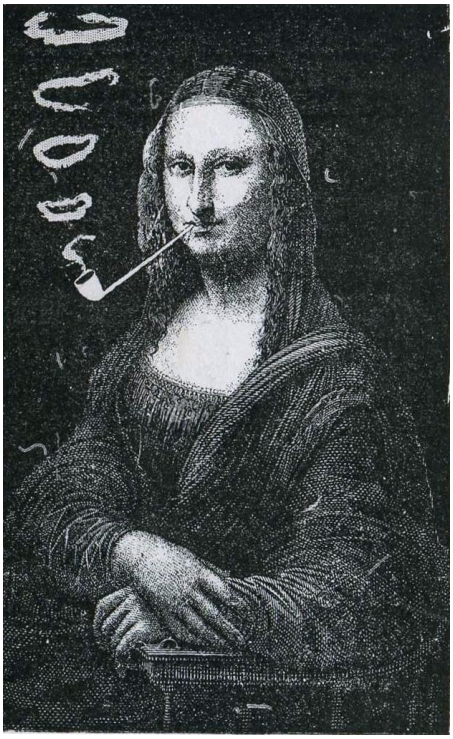
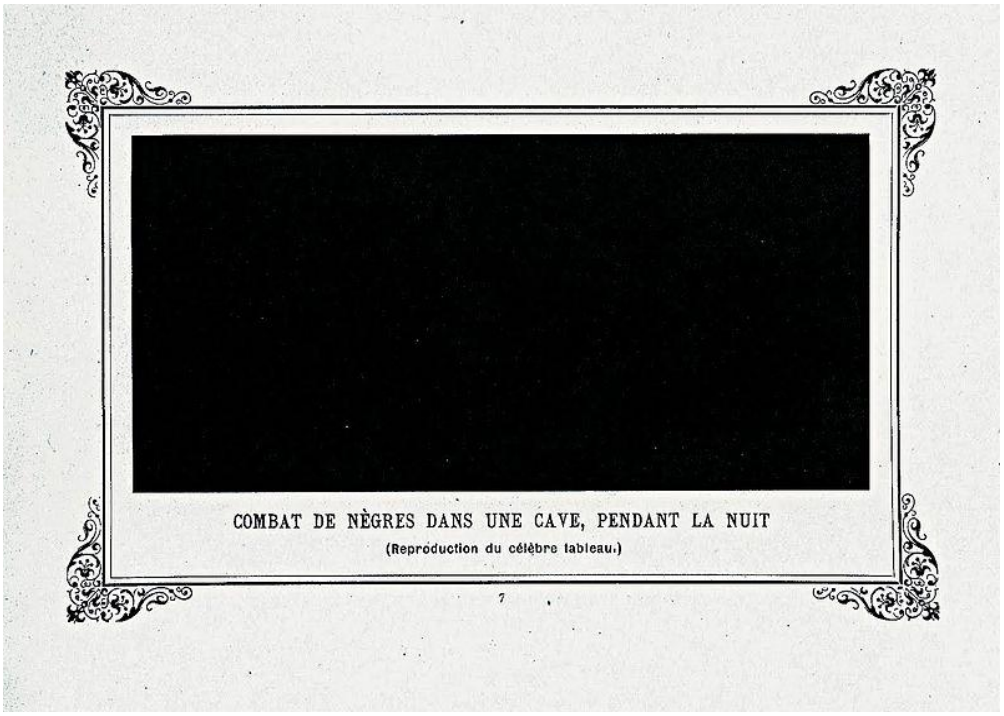


Figure 1.1

Figure 1.2



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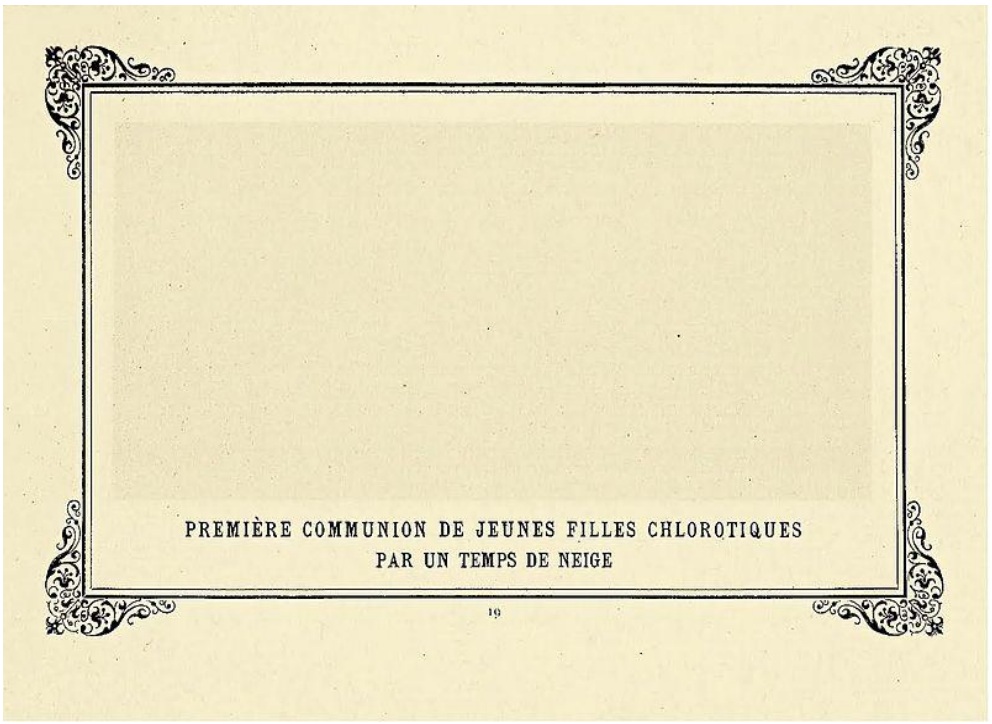


Figure 1.4

Figure 1.5

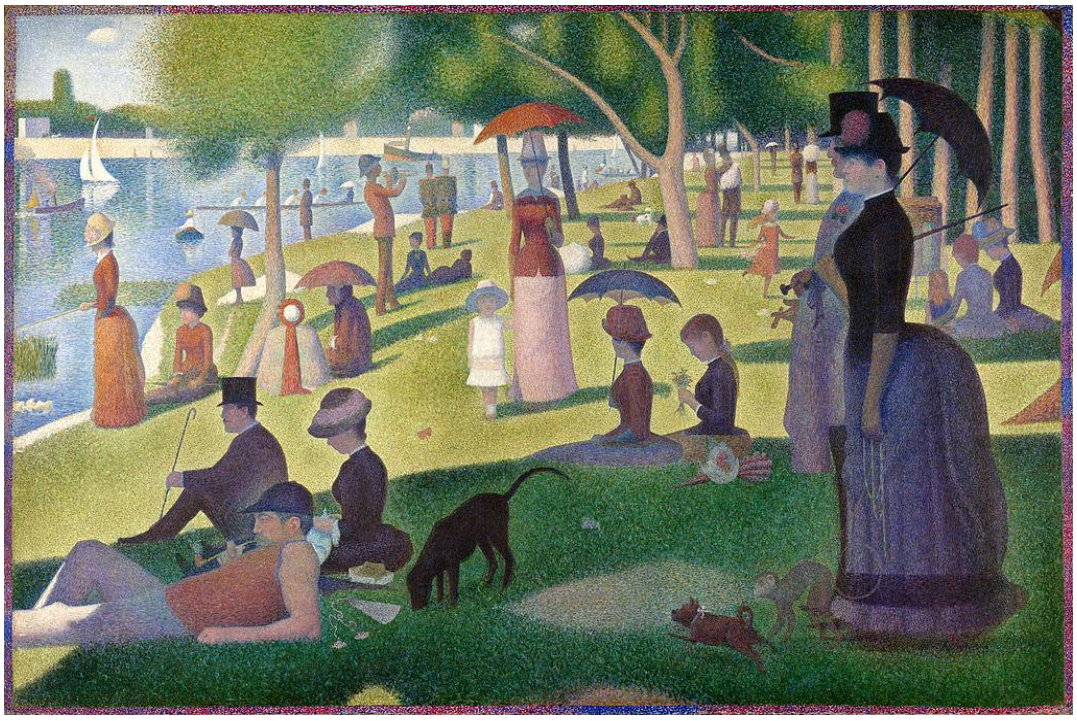


Figure 3.1

Figure 3.2

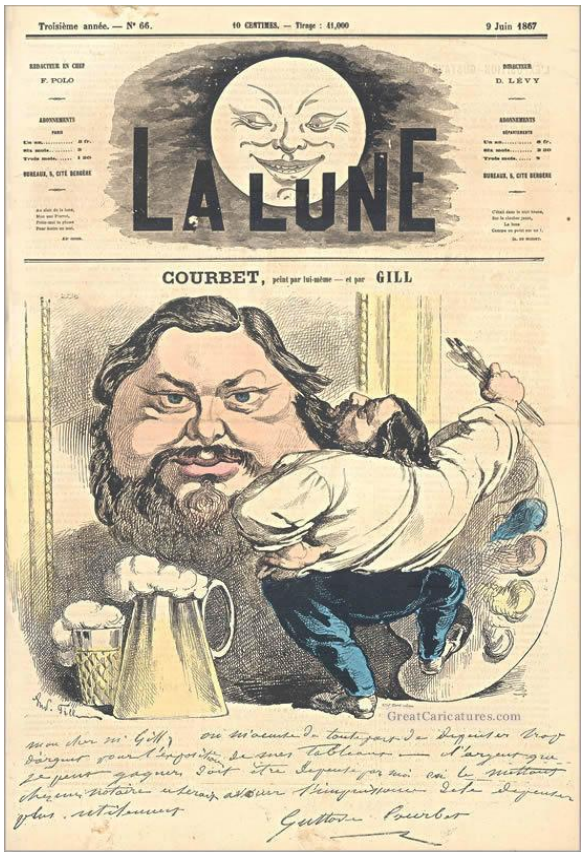


Figure 3.3

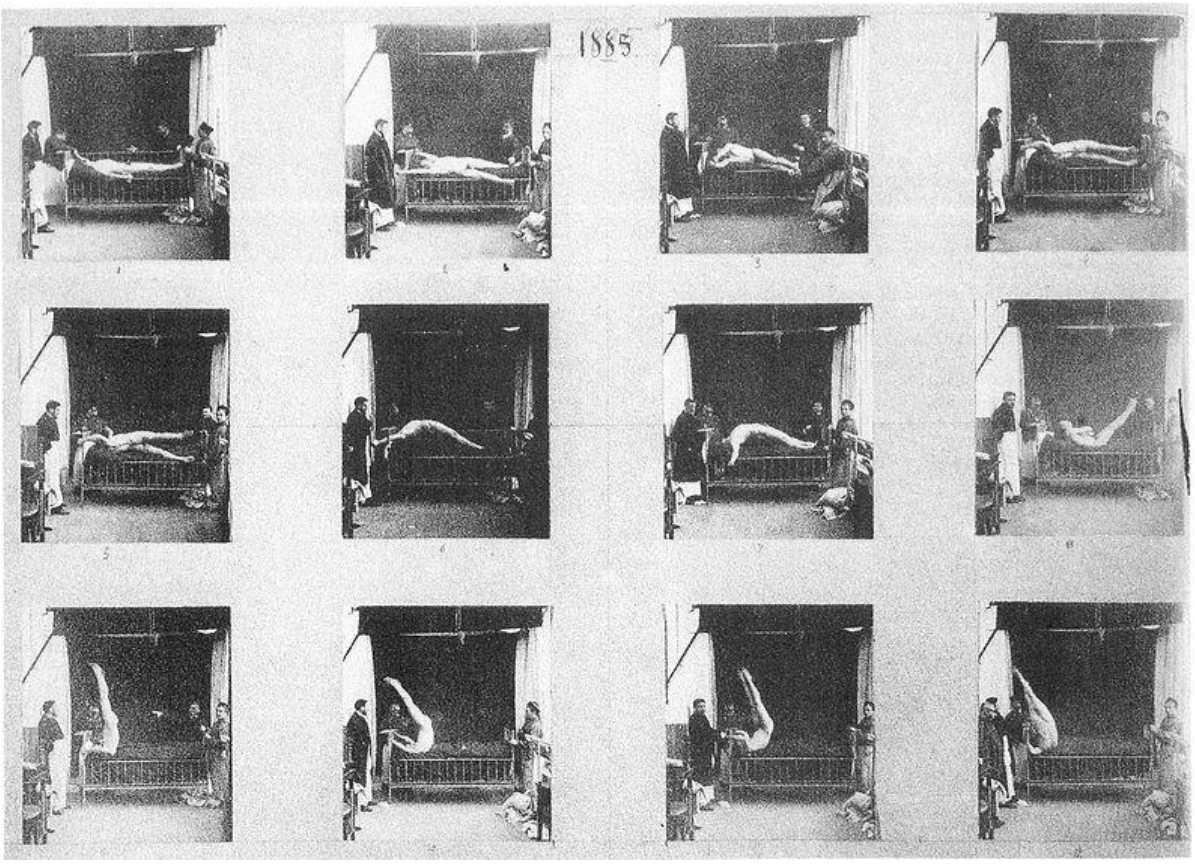


Figure 3.4

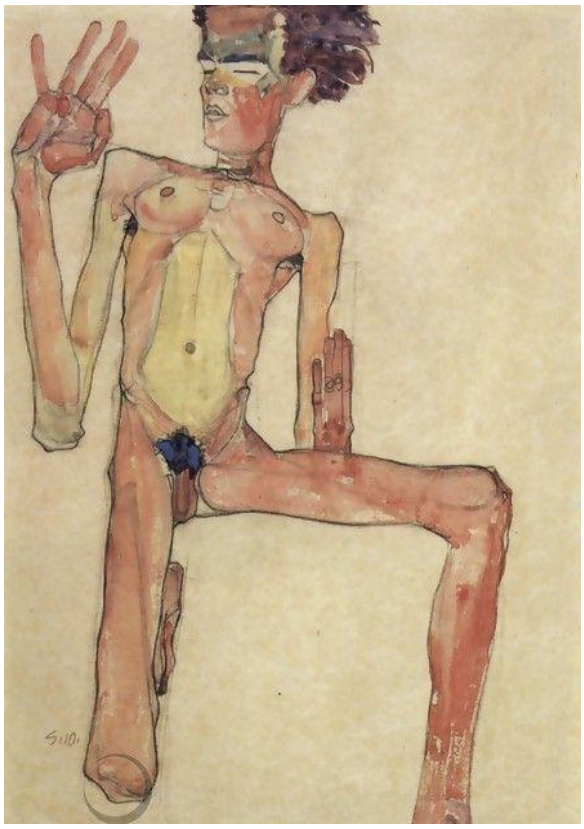


Figure 3.5

Figure 3.6

Figure 3.7

Figure 3.8

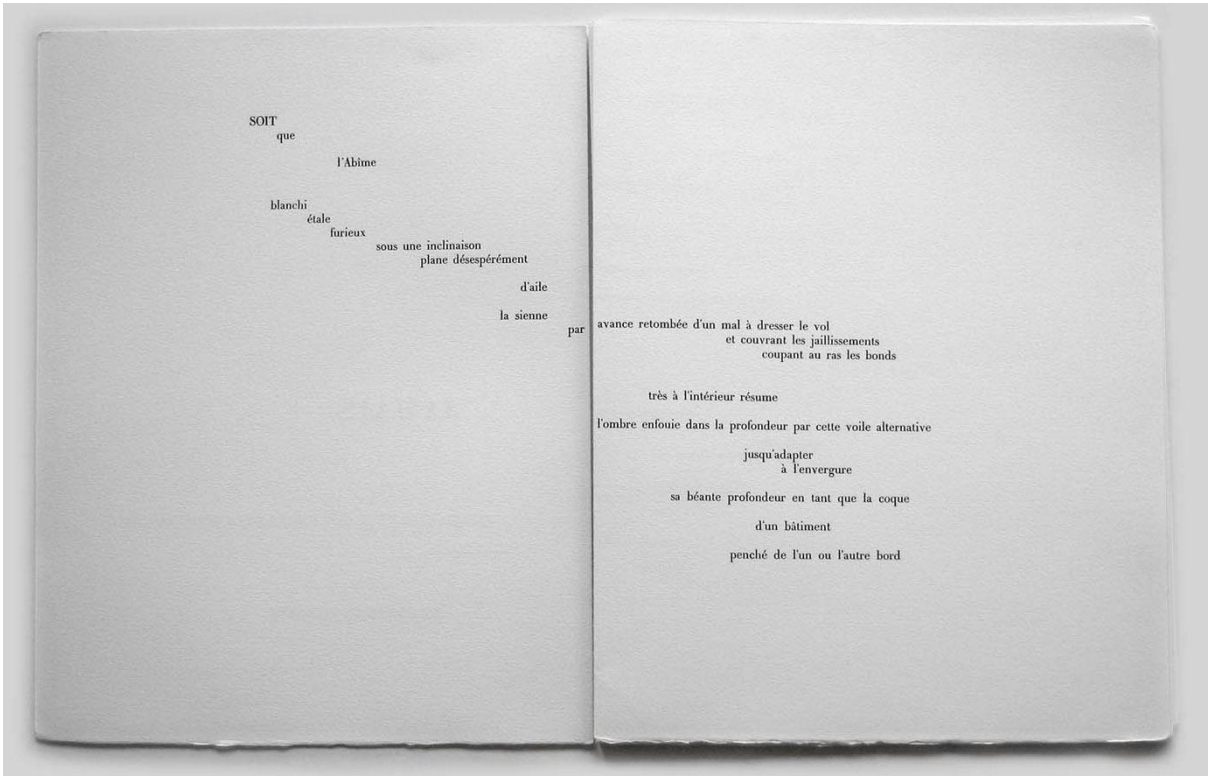
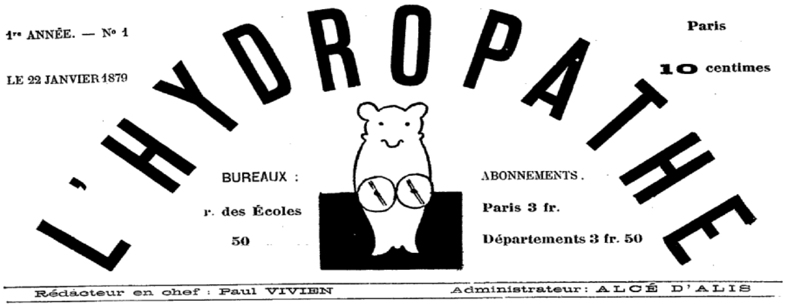


Figure 4.1



1re ANNÉE. — N° 1

LE 22 JANVIER 1879

L'HYDROPATHE

Paris

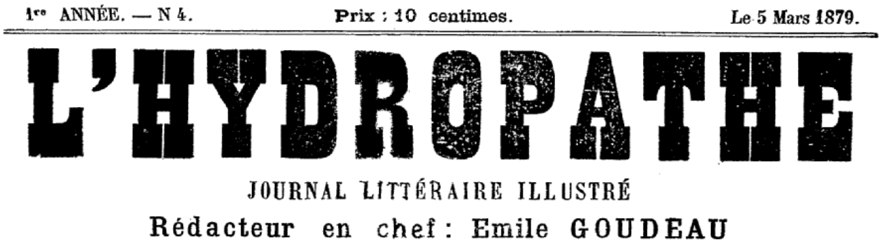
10 centimes

BUREAUX :
r. des Écoles
50

ABONNEMENTS.
Paris 3 fr.
Départements 3 fr. 50

Rédacteur en chef : Paul VIVIEN — Administrateur : ALCÉ D'ALIS

Figure 4.2



1re ANNÉE. — N 4. — Prix : 10 centimes. — Le 5 Mars 1879.

L'HYDROPATHE

JOURNAL LITTÉRAIRE ILLUSTRÉ

Rédacteur en chef : Emile GOUDEAU

Figure 4.3

PRIX : 5 CENT. — PAMPHLET SOCIALISTE. — Chez LÉVY Jeune, place de la Bourse, 13.

PASSÉ.

PRÉSENT. AVENIR.

LE PASSÉ. — LE PRÉSENT. — L'AVENIR.

Où sont-ils les Romains ? — Dans les tombeaux de Rome.
Joseph CHÉNIER.

Ni la préture, ni son innocence, ne purent garantir Quintus Gélius des mains sanglantes de l'exécuteur ; cet Auguste dont on a tant vanté la clémence, lui arrachait les yeux de sa propre main.
CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

Avant 50 ans, l'Europe sera Républicaine ou COSAQUE !
NAPOLÉON.

LE PASSÉ

—

Rome n'est plus !
Rome, couronne de l'Italie
et lumière du monde,
s'est endormie dans son luxe insolent.
Elle gît énervée comme une louve assouvie
sur l'herbe des forêts.
Qui viendra retremper son énergie
républicaine, et transformer ses familles
en légions invincibles ?
Le nom seul de Brutus
Pourrait rendre le souffle à ce cadavre ;
Mais les César de nos jours sont des pygmées,
le sang de leurs veines ne s'irrite point
de leur lâche inaction.
Rome n'est plus !

Aux armes, citoyens !

Voyez sur les rives du Tibre cette nuée de piques et de boucliers ; c'est l'invasion qui déborde frémissante ; elle s'étend comme une vaste mer sur le sol sacré : déjà elle a frappé aux portes de la cité.

Réveillez-vous !

Vos murailles s'écroulent, vos palais, vos portiques.

Le Capitole en feu se dresse dans la nuit : et les barbares, plus prompts que la flamme, violent vos temples, outragent vos filles et vos femmes aux sanglantes lueurs de l'incendie.

Qu'attendez-vous ?

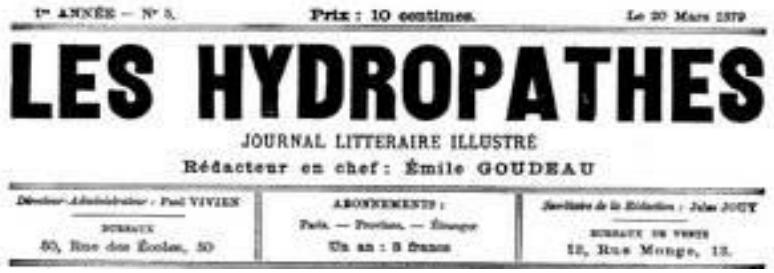
Eh quoi ! vos bras se lèvent et retombent ! vous tendez les mains aux fers de l'ennemi !

Allez ! vous n'êtes plus les fils de Romulus, mais des cœurs d'affranchis, race de déditices (1).

Et toi, glorieux empereur, toujours auguste, toujours vainqueur (2), toi qui sens sur ta frêle

(1) On nommait ainsi les peuples qui, s'étant rendus à discrétion, avaient été flétris par les Romains du nom de déditices.
(2) Lire le préambule des Constitutions impériales.

Figure 4.4


1re ANNÉE — N° 5. Prix : 10 centimes. Le 20 Mars 1879

LES HYDROPATHES

JOURNAL LITTERAIRE ILLUSTRÉ

Rédacteur en chef : Émile GOUDEAU

Directeur-Administrateur : Paul VIVIEN
BUREAUX
80, Rue des Écoles, 80

ABONNEMENTS :
Paris. — Province. — Étranger
Un an : 5 francs

Secrétaire de la Rédaction : Jules JOUY
BUREAUX DE VENTE
12, Rue Monge, 12.

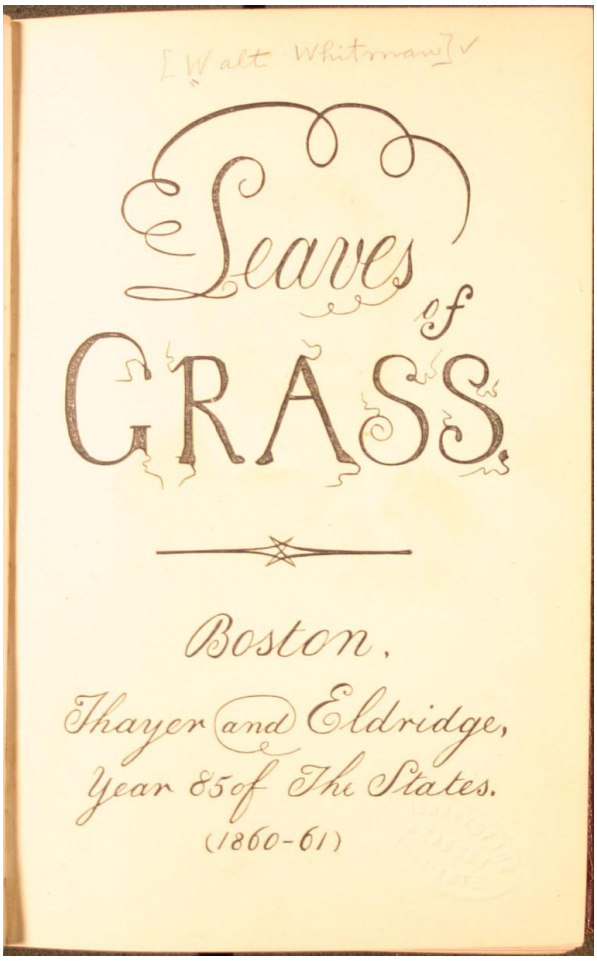
Figure 4.5


AUX HYDROPATHES

Figure 4.6


A MESSIEURS LES HYDROPATHES

Figure 4.7



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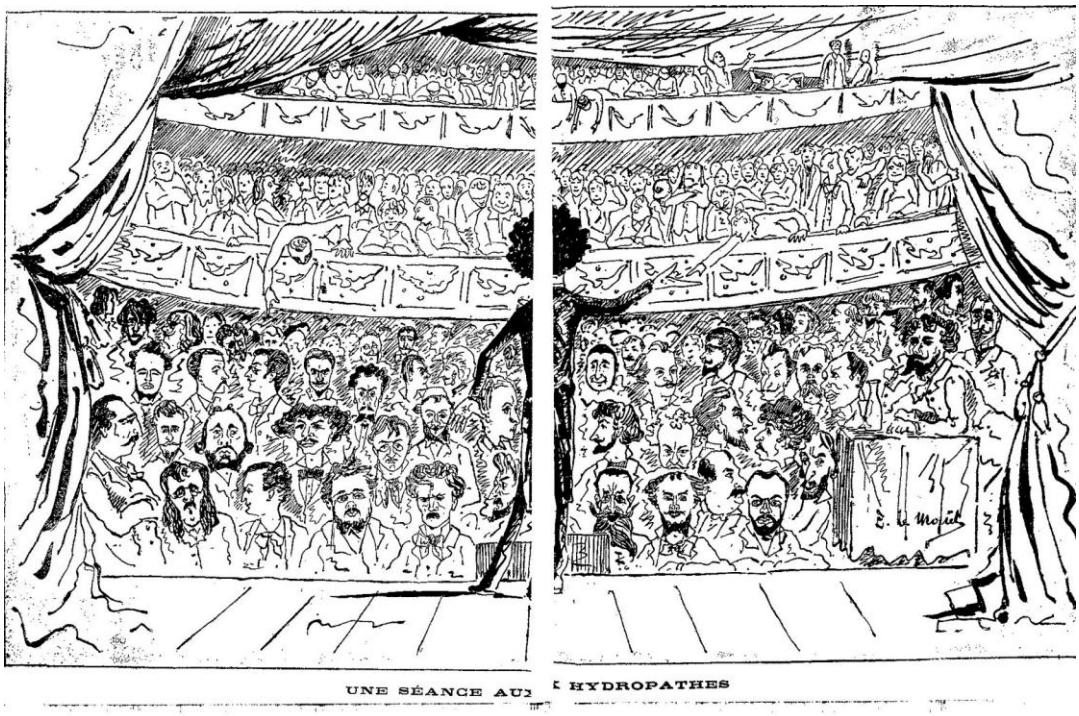
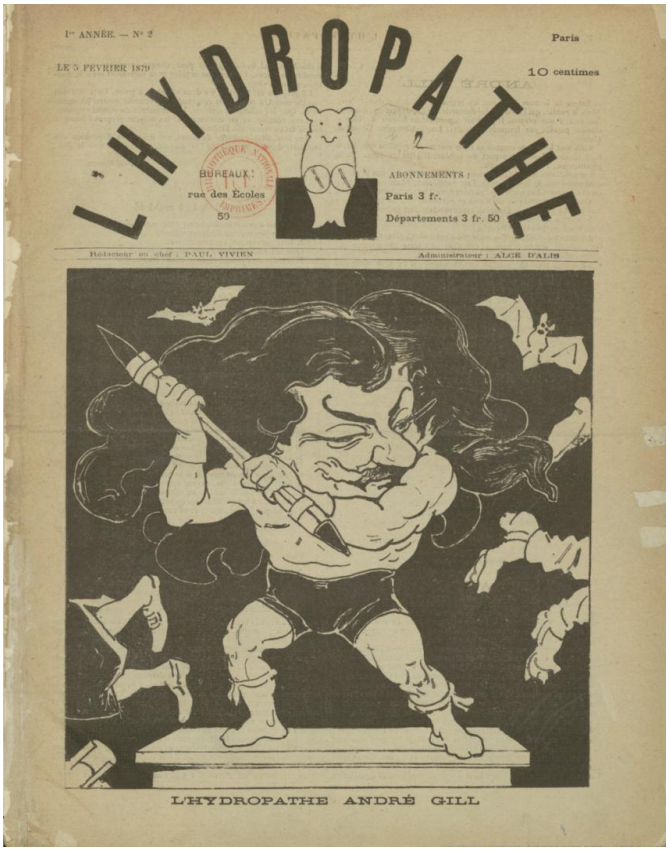


Figure 4.9

Figure 4.10



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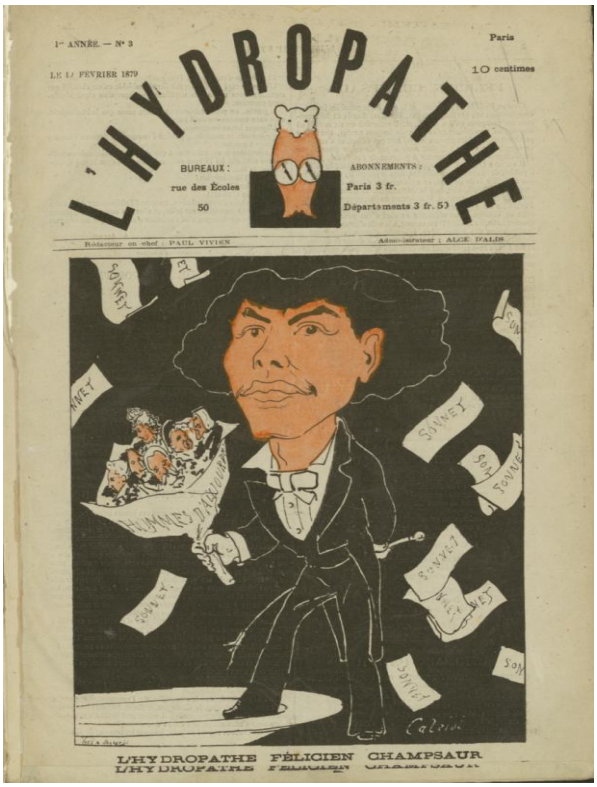


Figure 4.12

Figure 4.13


1re ANNÉE — N° 3. Prix : 10 centimes. Le 20 Mars 1879

LES HYDROPATHES

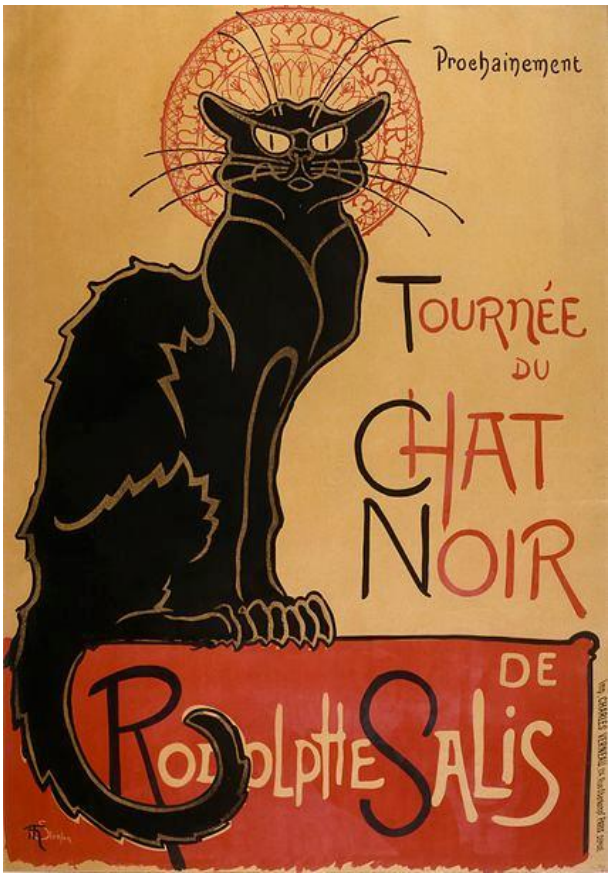
JOURNAL LITTERAIRE ILLUSTRÉ

Rédacteur en chef : Émile GOUDEAU

Directeur-Administrateur : Paul VIVIEN — BUREAUX 30, Rue des Écoles, 30 — ABONNEMENTS : Paris. — Province. — Étranger Un an : 5 francs — Secrétaire de la Rédaction : Jules JOUY — BUREAUX DE VENTE 12, Rue Monge, 12.

L'Hydropathe CHARLES CROS

Figure 4.14



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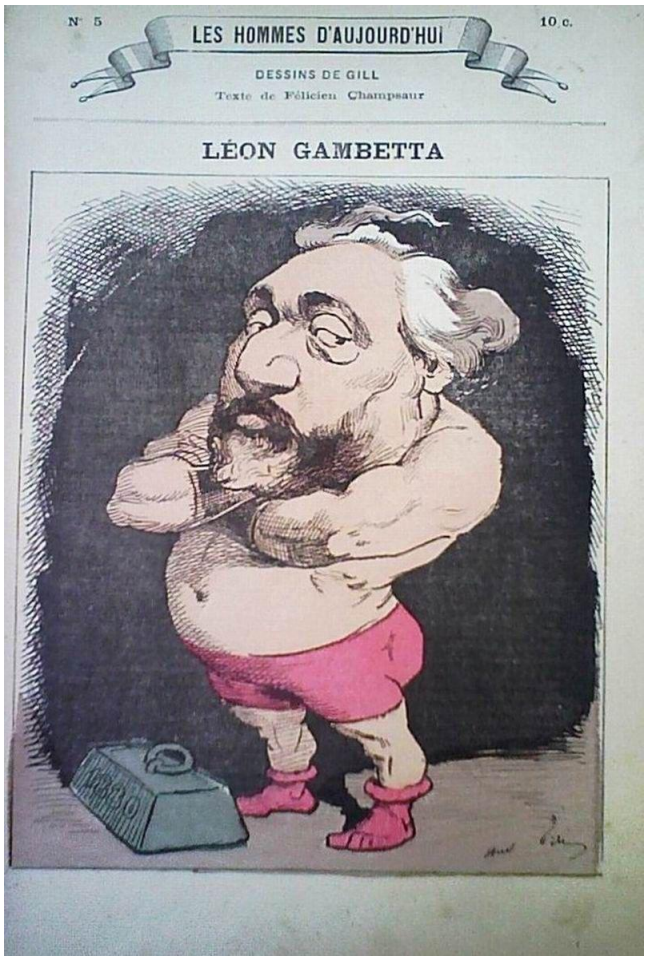

Figure 4.16

Figure 4.17

Figure 4.18

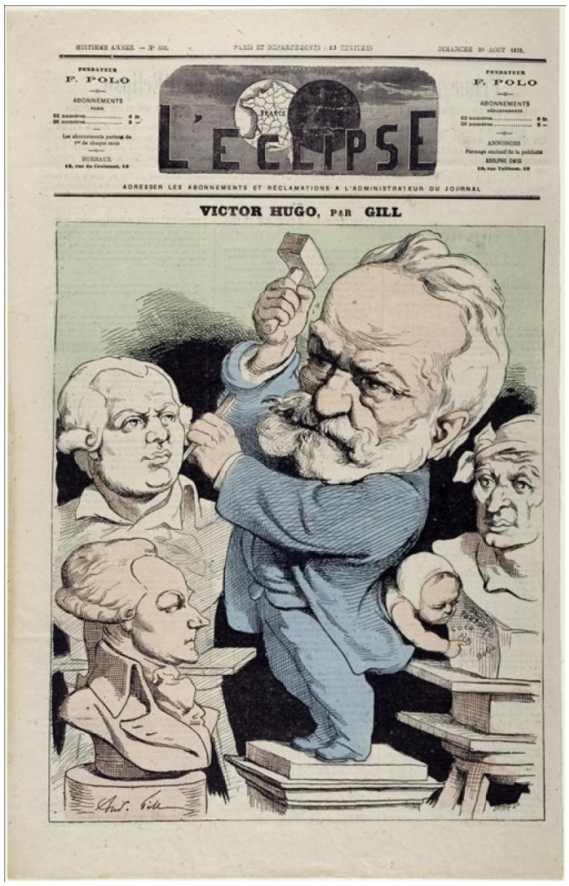

Figure 4.19

Figure 4.20

Rois de L'Europe Tremblez,
Voici venir le mois de Juillet
Juillet 1789, juillet 1830 ...

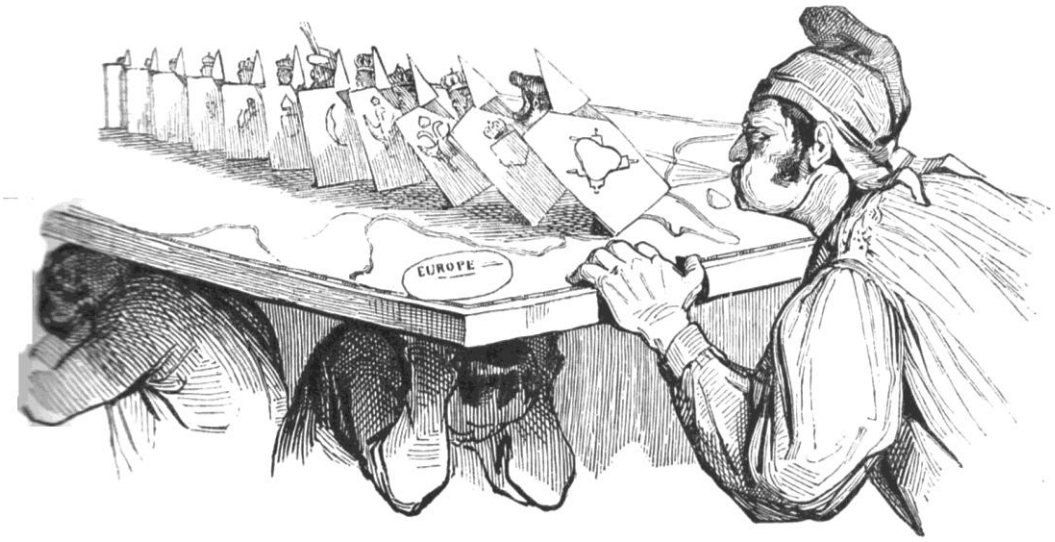

Figure 4.21

Figure 4.22

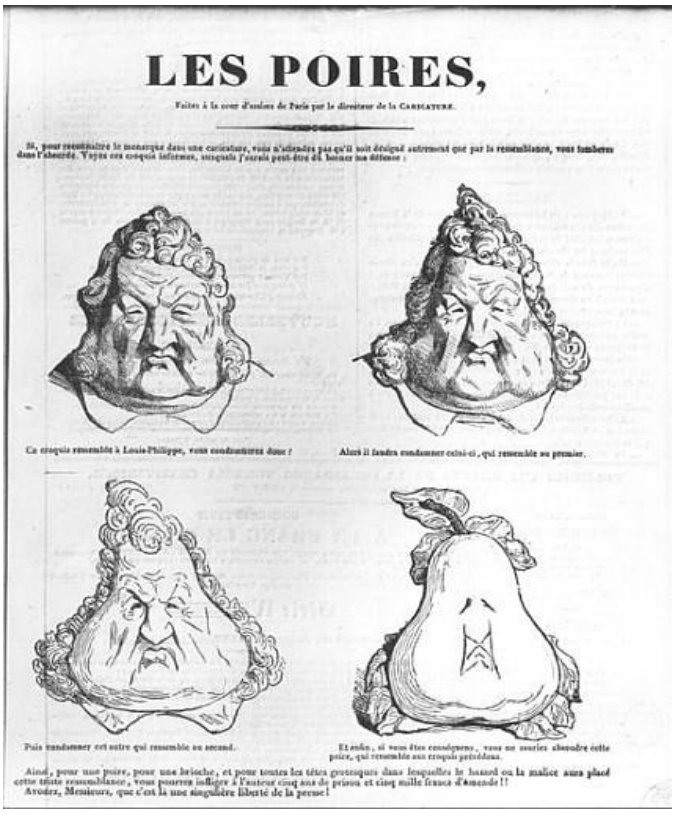

Figure 4.23

L'Hydropathe CHARLES LEROY

Figure 4.24

Figure 4.25

Figure 4.26

Figure 4.27

Figure 4.28


1re ANNÉE. — N° 21. Prix : 10 centimes Le 10 Novembre 187

L'HYDROPATHE

JOURNAL LITTÉRAIRE ILLUSTRÉ

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BUREAUX 50, rue des Écoles, 50

ABONNEMENTS Paris..... 3 fr. Province et étranger..... 3 fr. 50

BUREAUX DE VENTE 13, rue Monge et 32, rue d'Angoulême.

CABRIOL.

L'HYDROPATHE GEORGES MOYNET

Figure 4.29

Figure 4.30

Figure 4.31

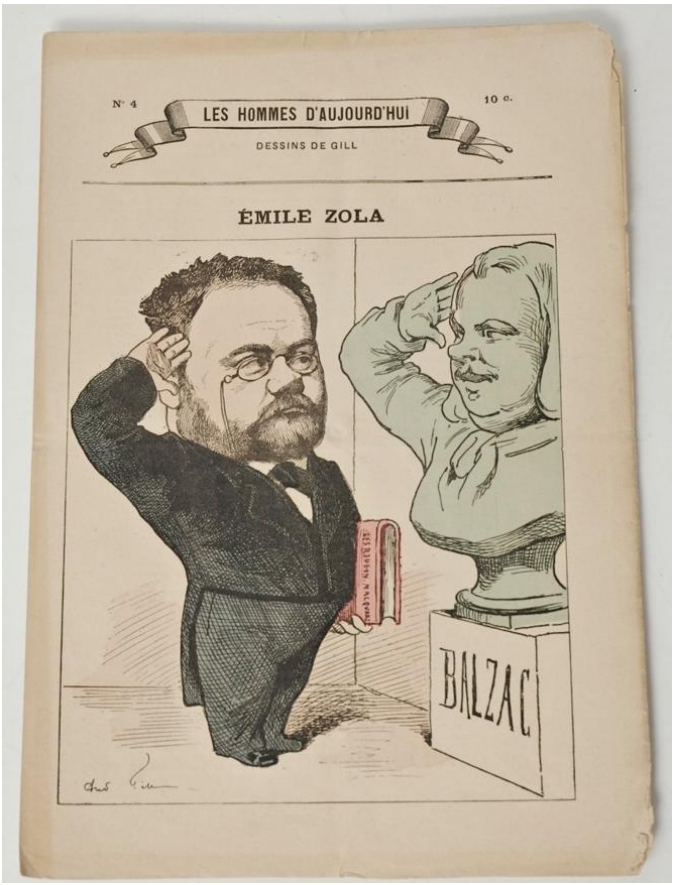

Figure 4.32

Figure 4.33

Figure 4.34

Appendices

Appendix A

Reporter, 'Le Reportage,' *Le Gaulois*, 21 December 1880, p.2.

'Avec une verve, un esprit et un brio extraordinaires de la part de tout autre, M. Emile Goudeau a parlé de la poésie contemporaine et donné au public un avant-goût de son prochain volume, les *Poèmes ironiques*. Nous ne noue trompons pas en prédisant au jeune et original poète, un succès égal à celui de ses œuvres précédentes; l'accueil fait à cette conférence par l'auditoire d'élite qui se pressait pour applaudir le spirituel orateur nous en est un sûr garant.

Discours du *bitume,* les *Deux Voitures*, les *Polonais*, les *Lendemains de fête*, les *Triolets de misère*, autant de genres, de styles différents, tantôt folles joyeusetés, tantôt sanglots des souffrants et des désespérés, sous sa lyre inspirée vibraient successivement les notes les plus diverses, mais toutes également éclatantes et couronnées par les applaudissements de tous.

Bravo! c'est notre dernier mot, comme c'a été l'impression finale que chacun a emportée de cette bonne soirée'.

Appendix B

Émile Goudeau, *Dix ans de bohème*, p.195.

- [Goudeau]: Mais, déclarai-je au chef du 3e bureau, si Mme Sarah Bernhardt qui a bien voulu accepter le titre d'hydropathe daigne assister à une de nos séances et y faire ouïr sa voix d'or?

- [Préfet]: Oh ! Mme Sarah Bernhardt, dit le chef, pardieu ! Ce n'est une femme, c'est la grande artiste...

- Bon, répliquai-je, mais si telle ou telle autre actrice, Mlle Réjane ou Mlle Reichemberg, veulent venir, faut-il leur clore la porte sur la nez?...

- Non, non, sans doute, ce sont des actrices...

- Mais... les élèves du Conservatoire?

- Bien, bien, bien, elles se destinent à la carrière dramatique...

- Mais... mais... Les jeunes filles qui se préparent pour entrer plus tard au Conservatoire...

- Assez ! Assez ! cria le chef, vous êtes un joyeux mystificateur. Concluons : vous recevrez, sous votre responsabilité, et à titre de tolérance de notre part, toutes les femmes que vous voudrez; mais, afin que nous ayons le droit de sévir en cas de scandales, vous allez ajouter l'article : les femmes ne sont pas admises aux séances des hydropathes.

Appendix C

Francisque Sarcey, 'Les Hydropathes', *XIX Siècle,* 28 November 1878, p.2.

'Les jeunes gens qui se sont réunis pour fonder ce cercle sont pour la plupart des poètes en herbe, ou des élèves de l'École des Beaux-Arts, ou des musiciens. Il n'y a guère que cinq ou six semaines que le club est fondé, et il compte déjà près de deux cents membres.

Il est confortablement installé dans une vaste salle qu'ils ont louées rue Cujas. C'est là qu'ils se réunissent tous les soirs; les grandes séances, les séances solennelles, celle où l'on convoque le ban et l'arrière-ban des membres du club ont lieu le samedi.

Là, on dit vers, on fait de musique, on chante et l'on cause. Il n'y est permis d'autre boisson que la bière, et tout jeu de hasard y est sévèrement proscrit.

Quelques jeunes artistes se sont déjà plu à venir a ces séances, qui sont aimables et gaies. *Villain* (de la Comédie Française) y a fait des *imitations* fortes drôles dont tout le monde s'est pâmé. *Coquelin cadet* y a dit quelques-unes de ces spirituelles saynètes qu'il débite à ravir, et qui ont tant de succès dans les salons et les concerts. Il est probable qu'une fois l'institution connue, d'autres artistes ne demanderont pas mieux que de se faire entendre dans ce milieu, très-intelligent tout ensemble et très sympathique.

Ces jeunes gens au besoin se pourraient suffire à eux-mêmes. Beaucoup sont poètes, je veux dire qu'ils font des vers. Il est tout naturel qu'on leur demande d'en lire, et qu'ils se laissent, sans trop de résistance, forcer la main. Ce nombreux auditoire vaudra mieux pour leur former le goût et les avertir de leurs défauts que ces petites chapelles soi-disant poétiques, où chacun passe à son tour, tandis qu'une demi-douzaine de thuriféraires lui donnant de l'encensoir par le nez à charge de revanche. Ces étroites coteries gardent leurs fenêtres soigneusement fermées aux grands courants de l'opinion publique. Les initiés y respirent un air subtil et entêtant, où leur talent risque s'étioler. Les raffinements précieux des ciseleurs de vers ne vont pas au grand public, et c'est pour cela que je ne suis pas fâché d'apprendre que nos jeunes poètes peuvent aujourd'hui lire, devant des auditoires plus nombreux, leurs productions nouvelles.

J'espère que beaucoup d'étudiants se feront agréger à ce club. Un des jeunes gens qui m'ont écrit (je soupçonne celui-là d'être un poète) me fait remarquer, non sans quelque amertume,

que, parmi les étudiants en droit et en médicine, il y en a, des plus distingués, qui en sont encore, en fait de poésie, à la poésie classique; qui, depuis leur sortie de collège, n'ont rien lu que leurs livres de travail, ou par ci, par là, le roman du jour, et ne se doutent pas de la grande révolution que Victor Hugo a faite dans le vers français en ces trente dernières années.

N'auraient-ils pas quelque avantage à se joindre à toute cette élite de jeunes artistes, dont quelques-uns s'empareront un jour de la célébrité, qui deviendront des écrivains ou des peintres, ou des musiciens de premier ordre, comme ils se destinent eux-mêmes à marcher sur les traces des Allou ou des Valpeau!

Après tout, une soirée passée là, en famille, à causer d'art et de littérature, est au moins aussi agréable et à coup sûr plus utile que ne le sont les heures perdues à remuer des dominos sur une table de café. Il me semble que si j'avais vingt-et-un ans, je demanderais à entrer au *Cercle des Hydropathes*'.

Appendix D

Émile Goudeau, 'Aux Hydropathes,' *l'Hydropathe*, 4 (5 March 1879), p.2.

'En m'emparant de la chaise plus ou moins curule qui est destinée au rédacteur en chef de l'Hydropathe, je sens mon cerveau bouillonner comme de l'eau savonneuse et s'élancer brillamment des bulles qui vont crever en discours qu'elles crèvent!

Première bulle. – Le quartier latin engourdi de politique intransigeante ou autre, et de questions religieuses qui n'ont guère d'intérêt aujourd'hui, se réveille pour écouter des vers et des chansons. On médite des ouvrages philosophico-poétiques, en laissant au-dessus planer toutes ailes déployées, la fantaisie. Les Hydropathes ont donné le signal.

Deuxième bulle. – S'il est au monde une plaine de Sennaar où se puissent réunir sans se heurter, ni se froisser, tous les fils de Sem, de Cham, de Japhet, c'est à coup sûr l'immense champ de l'Art, terrain neutre, fleuri de fleurs miraculeuses. Ils pourront de séparer ensuite, mas ils n'en auront pas moins été frères pendant cette heure là. Ce sont les hydropathes qui ont donné libre accès dans cette plaine.

Troisième bulle. – Il fallait que la bonne nouvelle se répandit parmi les peuples des deux rives de la Seine, et que les Madeleinistes et les Italiens, comme les Montmartristes et les Batignollais, apprissent que la grande ombre de la Sorbonne cachait une lumière, petit encore, mais qui, étant flambeau, peut amener un incendie.

Le journal l'Hydropathe a été fondé. Il vivra, il grandira. – J'annonce même avec une certaine joie qu'il s'agrandira, et comme format, et comme rédaction.

Toutes les opinions littéraires y trouveront un écho; toutes les œuvres pourront y prendre place. Que les Hydropathes travaillent: le champ est ouvert.

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