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Margaret A. Rose

The *Flâneur* and the Revolutions of 1848

The flâneur has been depicted in several different ways in 19th as well as 20th and 21st century literature and criticism.¹ The focus of this brief paper will be on the roles given him in English writings from or around the time of the 1848 revolutions in France and Germany, in which the flâneur comes to represent not only a street idler, but also a critical traveller to, and observer of, the continental city and its revolutionary activities.

French dictionaries of the early 19th Century had already described *flâner*, the action of the *flâneur*, as “se promener en musant; perdre son temps à des bagatelles” (an idle walk, losing time spent on trifles) and *flânerie* as a “promenade sans but arrêté” (a walk without a fixed goal).² In addition to such definitions, sketches and plays of the time had presented the *flâneur* as a comic type. Albert Smith (1816-1860), the Victorian sketch writer and dramatist, who was to bring Dickens to the stage as well as being a friend of that author³, had already used the word *flâneur* in his “Sketches of Paris” of 1839, which he described as being inspired by Dickens’ *Sketches by Boz*⁴, and written a comic “Physiology of the London Idler” for *Punch* in 1842 in the wake of Louis Huart’s ironic *Physiologie du flâneur* of 1841.⁵ The *Idler in France* of 1841

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- 1 A list of such works is given in Rose (ed.), *Flâneurs & Idlers. Louis Huart “Physiologie du flâneur” (1841) & Albert Smith “The Natural History of the Idler upon Town” (1848)*, Bielefeld 2007.
 - 2 See the *Complément du Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* of 1842, p. 481. The *Supplément au Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, Paris 1836, p. 366 had earlier defined *flâner* as “se promener, marcher doucement; perdre son temps dans les rues. – Négliger ses travaux, les interrompre à chaque instant, pour babiller ou s’unir à des riens”.
 - 3 See also Michael Hollington’s paper, “Petrified unrest’: Dickens and Baudelaire on London and Paris 1855-6”, presented at the conference *Paris and London: Capitals of the 19th Century*, Oslo, 27th-29th March 2008 (publication forthcoming in a special edition of *Synergies*, ed. Dana Arnold/Tore Rem/Helle Waahlberg 2009).
 - 4 See Smith’s “Sketches of Paris” by “Knips” in the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, London 1839, vol. 33, quoted in Rose 2007 (as in note 1), p. 326.
 - 5 The ironic character sketches of “the Gents” in Smith’s “Physiology of the London Idler” of 1842 (parts of which form the basis of Smith’s *Natural History of*

by Smith's acquaintance Lady Blessington (Marguerite Gardiner née Power [1789-1849])⁶ had also (as in her *The Idler in Italy* of 1839-40) used the word *idler* in its title, although in a sense promulgated earlier by Dr Johnson for writers rather than as the object of satire.⁷ Smith's friend Dickens was later also to provide a very brief sketch of Paris and a reference to some French "idlers" in the chapter "Going through France", of his *Pictures from Italy*.⁸

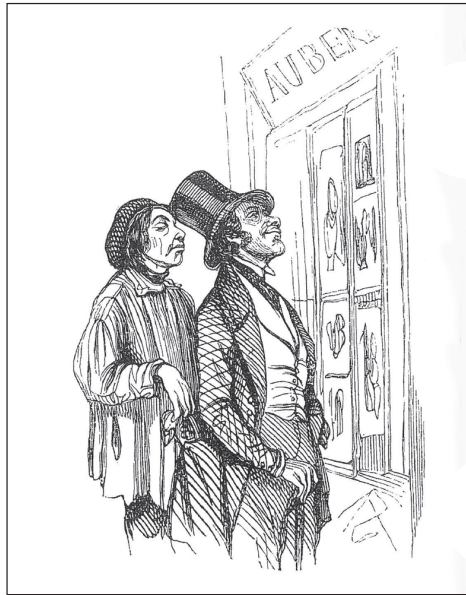
Further sketches involving the English idler were to follow. Albert Smith published a revised version of his "Physiology of the London Idler" in his *Natural History of the Idler upon Town* of March 1848, followed by a comic sketch in the journal *Bentley's Miscellany* of the second half of 1848 on escaping revolutionary Paris entitled "How I got away from Paris after the Rebellion in June".⁹ Smith had already described a comic 'Grand Tour' of France and Germany in his *The Adventures of Mr Ledbury and his friend Jack Johnson* of 1844¹⁰, but in "How I got away from Paris after the Rebellion" Smith focused on his own involvement in an actual political event of the time.¹¹ Here Smith presents himself above all as a peace-lover eager to escape the military suppression of the riots of June 24, of which he gives the following dramatic account:

The city was in a state of siege; every place of amusement was closed; people were shot dead at noonday in the public streets, from courts and windows [...].¹²

the Gent of 1847) may also owe something to Dickens' *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* of 1838, a work written in ironic response to "Quiz's" satiric *Sketches of Young Ladies* of 1837.

- 6 Smith was said to have known Lady Blessington; see Raymund Fitzsimons, *The Baron of Piccadilly. The travels and entertainments of Albert Smith. 1816-1860*, London 1967, p. 128f. She is also thought to have helped Dickens set up his tour to Italy (information thanks to Michael Hollington).
- 7 See Samuel Johnson, *The Idler* in 2 volumes, London 1761.
- 8 See Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy*, Leipzig 1846 (based on his journey to Italy of 1844), pp. 5-15.
- 9 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1848, vol. 24, pp. 210-217.
- 10 Smith's "Mr. Ledbury Revisits Paris" was also published in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1846, vol. 20, pp. 181-189 following Smith's "Popular Zoology" No. V of "Certain Tourists", pp. 76-82.
- 11 Smith in 1848 had also published *The Struggles and Adventures of Christopher Tadpole at Home and Abroad* as well as works such as *Why our Theatres are not supported, with a few words about the late riots at Drury Lane* and *The Social Parliament, Acts I & II*.
- 12 *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1848, vol. 24, p. 210.

Attempting to obtain a passport to leave the city Smith is caught up in a mob of prisoners, whom he describes with some irony as “scowling, ill-looking hounds, and very like what some of the dirty foreigners who haunt the cheap hells and cook-shops about Leicester Square would be in caps and blouses”.¹³ A ‘blouse’ had already been shown stealing from the somewhat better-off, paletôt-clad idler in Huart’s *Physiologie du flâneur* of 1841¹⁴, on which Smith had based his “Physiology of the London Idler” for *Punch* of 1842, but here the foreign idlers of London are ironically made one with the criminals in blouses.¹⁵



Louis Huart, *Physiologie du flâneur*,
Paris 1841, p. 30

Developing the image of the ‘blouses’ further in his June 1848 article, Smith describes a scene at the passport office in which two to three hundred artisans angrily tell those trying to push in front to join the end of their queue, as if sending aristocrats to execution with the old revolutionary parole “*A la lanterne les aristocrates!*”:

13 Ibid., and see also Rose 2007, p. 33 on John Leech’s foreign Leicester Square idlers.

14 See Louis Huart, *Physiologie du flâneur*, Paris 1841, p. 30.

15 See also Rose 2007, p. 44, note 168. Dickens also mentions “blouses” in the description of Paris in his *Pictures from Italy* (as in note 8), p. 6.

“*Viola!*” [*sic*], they shouted; “the paletots are allowed to pass, whilst the blouses are kept waiting. Read the motto up there; ‘Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité!’ *A la queue les paletots!*”¹⁶

Given the illustration of the ‘blouse’ picking the pocket of the ‘paletôt’ in the *Physiologie du flâneur* published by Louis Huart in 1841, one might well suspect Smith of representing the events of the day through the images provided by such literary and visual works.¹⁷ Reference to *gamins* in blue blouses had also been made in another *Bentley’s Miscellany* article published under the title “Street Views in Paris from my Window, during the Late Insurrection. By I.K. Marvel”, in which the author takes on the role of the interested, but distanced observer¹⁸, and would again be used in other publications.¹⁹

The image of ‘blouses versus paletôts’ is to be found, moreover, in the ironic “Physiognomische Fragmente” of the *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte* that start with caricatures of the Four Temperaments²⁰ and end with sketches of the Frenchman and the *Schleswig-Holsteiner*.²¹ In the “physiognomy” of the French the Parisienne is ironically described as a *flâneur*, who smokes cigars and lives on the boulevards (“Die Pariserin [...] raucht Cigarren, und die Boulevards sind die Erdenetage ihres Himmelreichs”²²), while the Parisian is ironically described as having changed after the February Revolution to be apparently not so much interested in luxury as previously and to wear the

16 See *Bentley’s Miscellany*, London 1848, vol. 24, p. 211.

17 Smith later also describes his hard won passport as having disappeared from his pocket on his way to his train to Boulogne.

18 See *Bentley’s Miscellany*, London 1848, vol. 24, pp. 178-184; p. 184. An article entitled “The American in Paris. By I. Marvel [Donald G. Mitchell]” also appears in *Bentley’s Miscellany* of 1848, vol. 24, pp. 367-376.

19 See, for example, the articles by Simpson discussed later in this article.

20 See the *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte*. 1. und 2. Jahrgang (1847-1849). Unveränderter Nachdruck in einem Band, ed. Karl Riha/Gerhard Rudolph, Düsseldorf 1979, pp. 125ff.

21 See the *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte*, pp. 238-239 and see also the *Reiseberichte eines Tombuctuanschen Touristen über ein civilisirtes Land (Schluß)*, pp. 209-213, where various Düsseldorf physiognomies are shown in caricature.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 238. This is ironic, but several 19th Century French dictionary definitions of the *flâneur* include the *flâneuse* as the feminine form of the noun. See also on the *flâneuse*: *The invisible flâneuse: gender, public space and visual culture in nineteenth-century Paris*, edited by Aruna D’Souza and Tom McDonough, Manchester 2006 and Catherine Nesci, *Le flâneur et les flâneuses. Les femmes et la ville à l’époque romantique*, Grenoble 2007.

blouse of the republican rather than the uniform of the dandy.²³ Later, in his sketch entitled "Casino", in his *Gavarni in London; Sketches of Life and Character* of 1849, Albert Smith would refer ironically to how entertainments such as those at the Casino could be seen as alternatives to the revolutionary despoiling of palaces and the upsetting of thrones²⁴, while also appearing to suggest in the last of his sketches that the descriptions of the "stuck-ups" in the park given in his *Idler* of early 1848²⁵ might not now suit it, following the use of it by poorer and less grand visitors.²⁶

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) had, in contrast to Smith's apparent rush into print on the June 1848 troubles, delayed his 1848 Christmas Book *The Kickleburys on the Rhine* because of the outbreak of the revolutions of that year.²⁷ It was finally published in 1850 and contains a humorous illustration by Thackeray to the ironically named "Count de Reineck" and to Thackeray's suggestion that when the "wicked Red Republicans come and smoke under his very nose" that "it is the lusty young Germany, pulling the nose of the worn out old world".²⁸

From Germany itself Adolf Glaßbrenner's *Paris wie es wirklich ist* of 1843 had in the wake of Heine's *Lutezia* reports from Paris of 1841²⁹, but in Glaßbrenner's usual comic dialogue style, given several very brief satiric

23 See also Simpson on a satiric anti-Republican "*Club Champenois*", in which a dandy exchanges his fine clothes for a blouse, in "The Mirror of the French Republic; or, the Parisian Theatres. By The Flaneur", in *Bentley's Miscellany*, 1849, vol. 25, pp. 369-378; p. 372.

24 See *Gavarni in London; Sketches of Life and Character*, ed. Albert Smith, London 1849, p. 16 and see also Martina Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century: European Journalism and its 'Physiologies'. 1830-50*, Basingstoke & New York 2007, pp. 247-248.

25 See Smith's *Natural History of the Idler*, op. cit., Chapter X (Rose 2007, pp. 285ff.).

26 See "The Parks" in Smith's *Gavarni in London*, pp. 113-115.

27 See S.S. Praver, *Breeches and Metaphysics. Thackeray's German Discourse*, Oxford 1997, pp. 265 and 325 and see also on Thackeray and Germany, S.S. Praver, *W.M. Thackeray's European sketch books: a study of literary and graphic portraiture*, Oxford 2000.

28 See Mr. M.A. Titmarsh [W.M. Thackeray], *The Kickleburys on the Rhine*, London 1850, p. 40, and see also Praver 1997, p. 329f. and p. 348f. on Thackeray.

29 See also Rose, "Der Kunstkritiker als Flaneur. Heines Betrachtungen über die bildende Kunst in *Lutezia*", in *Zu Heinrich Heines Spätwerk Lutezia. Kunstcharakter und europäischer Kontext*, ed. Arnold Pistiak/Julia Rintz, Berlin 2007, pp. 117-147.

'physiognomic' sketches of the boulevards of Paris.³⁰ These were followed by a burlesque tale of the adventures of the son of a rich London beer merchant in Paris with the quintessentially British name of John Bull, who had pretended to be a "Mylord" and been incarcerated in the Paris madhouse thanks to his importunate chasing of a rich young French widow.³¹ Later still the figure of the Englishman abroad would continue to be a figure of fun in works including Wilhelm Busch's *Plisch und Plum* of 1882 with its caricature of the well-off "Mister Pief"³² and Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men on the Bummel* of 1900 with its account of a living caricature of a dandified English "Milor" on a grand tour.³³

English *flâneurs* and *idlers* of the 1840s may in general have been more closely related to *paletôts* than to *blouses*, but were not necessarily the same as *swells* or *dandies*, or even *boulevardiers*, when this last word was used for the more dandified walker of the French boulevards. One other much overlooked English use of the *flâneur* figure from the 1840s, in which the *flâneur* takes on the role of reporter, can be found in accounts of the 1848 revolutions written by the journalist, novelist and dramatist John Palgrave Simpson (1807-1887). Simpson was a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (BA 1824-1829 [this last year overlapping with Thackeray's brief

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- 30 See Glaßbrenner's *Paris wie es wirklich ist*, Leipzig 1843; "Komische Boulevards- und Carnevals-Scenen", pp. 14-25. It is in a note to a carnival scene in the Boulevard St. Martin on its p. 18 that Glaßbrenner gives his description of the Parisian *flâneurs* as "Herumschlenkerer" [*sic.*] or *Herumschlenderer*, "die in einem schönen Nichtsthun umherschlendern und gaffen".
- 31 See "Lord John Bulls Abenteuer in Paris", in Glaßbrenner 1843, pp. 25-42. The work as a whole concludes p. 43 with the ironic announcement in a "Wichtige telegraphische Nachricht" that news has just been received that the devil Asmodeus has escaped from his bottle in Madrid and is said to have made his way to Paris.
- 32 See also Alexander Stillmark, "Wilhelm Busch – The Reductive Satirist", in *Das schwierige Jahrhundert* ed. J. Barkhoff/G. Carr/R. Paulin, Tübingen 2000, pp. 251-263; p. 255.
- 33 See Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men on the Bummel*, Chapter 8. Jerome's description of the "Milor" ("Mr Jones") as wearing lavender gloves recalls older characterisations of the dandy such as that ironically given by Smith in his *Natural History of the Idler upon Town* of 1848, p. 109 (see also Rose 2007 [as in note 1] p. 203 and p. 61, note 231). *A Regency Visitor. The English Tour of Prince Pückler-Muskau described in his letters 1826-1828*, ed. E. M. Butler, London 1957, pp. 59ff. and 335ff. also contains references to the English dandy, and see also on the dandy Ellen Moers, *The Dandy. Brummell to Beerbohm*, London 1960.

time at Trinity College in 1829-1830] and MA 1834), who had given up the prospect of priesthood in the Church of England for a life of writing.³⁴

In addition to his journalistic work Simpson was to publish four novels and an abbreviated translation of the biography of Carl Maria Weber by the composer's son, and to have some success in late Victorian London with the staging of plays such as *Lady Dedlock's Secret*, a work based on Charles Dickens' *Bleak House*.³⁵

Prior to the latter productions Simpson had spent some years in the mid and late 1840s travelling in Europe³⁶ and had contributed articles to *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1846 and 1847³⁷ entitled "The Flâneur in Paris. From the Notebook of a Traveller"³⁸, in which the "The Flâneur" is presented as an oxymoronic "industrious idler" and "observing street-tramper" as well as both a pseudonym and persona of Simpson himself. In between the two literary events created by Smith and Thackeray, Simpson, moreover, had continued reporting on his travels as "The Flâneur", to provide both a critical "picture from the life" of revolutionary and post-revolutionary France and Germany and to establish a new role for the "peace-seeking Flâneur" as observer of such events. These reports are also to be found in articles published in *Bentley's Miscellany*, such as Simpson's "Scenes from the Last French Revolution. By the Flâneur in Paris" of 1848³⁹ and "A Revolutionary Ramble on the Rhine. By the Flâneur" of 1849.⁴⁰

34 See Charles Kent, "Simpson, John Palgrave (1807–1887)", revised by Donald Hawes, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004, vol. 50, pp. 703-705, illustrated with a portrait said to be of Simpson by Henry Wyndham Phillips that was purchased in 1848/49 by Prince Albert.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 704. The article also notes that Simpson and Herman Merivale's drama *All for Her* of 1875 is loosely based on both Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* and Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*.

36 Simpson's *Letters from the Danube* was published in two volumes in 1847.

37 *Bentley's Miscellany* has been described as first edited by Charles Dickens (Jan. 1837-Feb. 1839), W.H. Ainsworth (March 39-Dec. 41 & Dec. 54-Dec. 68), Richard Bentley (Jan. 42-Nov. 54), Albt. Smith (nd), Shirley Brooks and George Bentley.

38 In *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1846-1847, in vol. 20 of 1846 (together with Albert Smith's "Certain Tourists" and "Mr. Ledbury revisits Paris"), on pp. 141-153, 275-281, 402-408, 465-471 and 599-607, and in vol. 21 of 1847, pp. 70-78 and 453-457, and vol. 22 of 1847, pp.13-19, 177-181, 328-335, and 429-433.

39 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1848, vol. 23, pp. 422-430 and our note 55.

40 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1849, vol. 26, pp. 582-591.

Simpson may also have been aware of Albert Smith's ironic references to the *flâneur*.⁴¹ Simpson's "The Flâneur in Paris. From the Note-book of a Traveller" of 1846 and 1847 had itself been prefaced by a definition of the "Flaneur"⁴² that is described with some irony as coming from the "*Dictionary of common usage, not of the French Academy*":

"FLANEUR. – A busy lounge; an industrious idler; an observing street-tramper; a peripatetic philosopher of the *pavé*; a wisdom-seeking wanderer about the world."⁴³

Beginning with the "Apology of the Flaneur" and "The Changing Physiognomy of Paris, according to Season and Weather", Simpson's sketches, or "scraps", recall the ironic mixture of physiognomy and social satire found in works such as Huart's *Physiologie du flâneur* of 1841, but are spoken from the mouth of a flâneur who is said to be both idle and industrious and interested in political as well as everyday events.⁴⁴

To Simpson the *Flaneur* or *Flâneur* (both forms are used) will also have the task of reading the physiognomies of other Parisians⁴⁵, although as this would be a never-ending task, he is excused too scientific or exhaustive an analysis.⁴⁶ Having observed the ubiquitous *grisette* and *trottoir* in his opening report on Paris, Simpson's Flâneur moves on in further "scraps" to consider the anatomy of the city and its cafés, its carnivals, balls and salons. All in all

41 Albert R. Smith had published in *Bentley's Miscellany* from the early 1840s on and had, as previously noted, already written about the *flâneur* in 1839. Simpson's Flaneur differs, however, from Smith's 1842 and 1848 Idlers in several ways, including an avowed (if ironically meant) lack of interest in modern inventions; compare Smith 1848, pp. 40f. and 48f. and Simpson's "A Revolutionary Ramble on the Rhine" in *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1849, vol. 26, p. 583.

42 While Simpson's "Flaneur" does not observe any full-scale military battles, he might nonetheless be described as one of the first *Schlachtenbummler* or 'battle-field flâneurs' of his time.

43 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 20 of 1846, p. 141.

44 This work had also been described on Huart 1841, p. 120 as the *Physiologie du Flaneur*, with *Flaneur* capitalised and (as in the rest of the work) without accent, but the word is generally recorded in lower capitals in modern bibliographic usage.

45 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 20 of 1846, p. 141. The persona of the *flâneur* had already been taken over with irony by the author of the article on the "Le Flaneur" of *Paris, ou le Livre des Cent-et-un* of 1832, vol. 6, pp. 95-110.

46 See also Simpson's conclusion, in *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 22 of 1847, p. 433.

Simpson's Flâneur enjoys himself and his task as observer, but is not himself made the subject of satire or humour as in Huart's and Smith's ironic "Physiologies". In "SCRAP V" of 1846 Simpson writes further:

The *flâneur* [...] will attempt no more than to follow up his usual system, or, rather, want of all system, in wandering from one point of observation to another, without any guide-book regularity, without any idea of order or purpose, stopping here and there, on his capricious journey, to touch upon whatever objects may chance to fall under his eye.⁴⁷

Later, in "SCRAP VI" of 1847, the *Flâneur* will also involve himself in commenting on the politics of the day, if as (in traditional flaneurial style) a "comedy of manners".⁴⁸ Here the beginnings of the revolutionary movements of 1847 are also sketched as scenes in a theatrical piece in which tragedy mixes with comedy, with scenes taking place in reading rooms and clubs as well as on the boulevards, where "a chorus of ill-favored men, attired in *blouses*, singing the *Marseillaise*" is soon dispersed by the arrival "on stage" of the police.⁴⁹

Simpson's "Scenes from the Last French Revolution. By the Flâneur in Paris"⁵⁰ and "Republican Manners. By the Flâneur in Paris" of 1848⁵¹ carry his *Flâneur* persona over into revolutionary times, while still maintaining the personality of one who would rather not be too involved with that which he observes. In his "Scenes from the Last French Revolution. By the Flâneur in Paris" of 1848 Simpson begins by describing his account of the scenes of rioting and repression he has witnessed in Paris as "sketches of the *physiognomy*, as well moral as external, of the French capital during that week of convulsion, when the first act of a great drama of history was acted".⁵² Here rioters in the Champs Elysées demanding the removal of Guizot are described, as

47 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 20 of 1846, p. 600.

48 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 21 of 1847, p. 72 and see also the beginning of Simpson's "Republican Manners" of May 1848 in *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 23, pp. 542-550. Later, in his article "The Mirror of the French Republic; or, the Parisian Theatres. By The Flâneur" of January 1849, published in *Bentley's Miscellany*, 1849, vol. 25, pp. 369-378, Simpson as "The Flâneur" will also report on the Parisian theatres and speak of their satiric, growingly anti-republican depiction of the revolutionary clubs and their members.

49 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 21 of 1847, p. 77f.

50 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 23 of 1848, pp. 422-430.

51 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 23 of 1848, pp. 542-550.

52 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 23 of 1848, p. 422.

well as the arrival of troops and the construction – and then conflagration – of barricades by further republican sympathisers, together with the destruction of the apartments of the Duchess of Orleans and of other symbols of royal power.⁵³ While ending with the news that order had been restored in Paris by the provisional government, Simpson speaks also of “a gloomy and doubtful future” with which “the Flâneur has nothing to do”.⁵⁴

Many other English commentators of the time had maintained, despite their interest in the events taking place in Paris in early 1848 (and use of them for journalistic copy), a critical view of the French riots. (Simpson’s *Pictures from Revolutionary Paris* in two volumes of 1848-1849 also disapproves of what he sees to be the corruption that has infected French politics in general.⁵⁵) Mrs. Percy Sinnett⁵⁶ had written in her “Gossip from Paris” for *Bentley’s Miscellany* of 1848, some years before Karl Marx’s *18th Brumaire*, that the revolutionaries of that year had simply copied the costumes of the revolutionaries of the late 18th century:

We have plagiarised wholesale from our papas, dressed ourselves out in all their old trumpery, and borrowed alike Phrygian caps, trees of liberty, and financial ruin. This is the second representation of the piece of the Sovereign People, but we have not been able to afford new dresses and decorations.⁵⁷

Yet others had commented critically on the revolutionary events of 1848 and their aftermath for *Blackwood’s Magazine*, as, for instance, W.E. Aytoun in

53 Ibid., p. 428f.

54 Ibid., p. 430.

55 See Simpson’s *Pictures from revolutionary Paris: sketched during the first phasis of the revolution of 1848*, 2 vols., Edinburgh (W. Blackwood), 1849, parts of which were described as having already appeared in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, the *Times* and *Bentley’s Miscellany*.

56 Jane Sinnett née Fry (1805-1870), wife of Edward W. Percy Sinnett, also reviewed works by Johanna Schopenhauer and Gustav Freytag for the *Athenaeum*.

57 See Mrs. Sinnett in *Bentley’s Miscellany*, volume 23 of 1848, pp. 636-639; p. 636 and compare with the opening pages of Karl Marx’s *Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* of 1852 in the *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe* I/11, Berlin 1985, p. 96f.: “Hegel bemerkt irgendwo, daß alle großen weltgeschichtlichen Thatsachen und Personen sich so zu sagen zweimal ereignen. Er hat vergessen hinzuzufügen: das eine Mal als große Tragödie, das andre Mal als lumpige Farce. [...]”.

his "How we got possession of the Tuileries" of 1848⁵⁸ and in the article "A Glimpse of Germany and its Parliament".⁵⁹

Simpson again takes up the mask of the "Flâneur" in speaking of the aftermath of the Revolutions in Germany in both his "Hans Michel; or, A Few Old German Proverbs applied to New German Politics. By The Flâneur"⁶⁰ and "A Revolutionary Ramble on the Rhine. By The Flâneur"⁶¹ of 1849. In this latter work, Simpson writes that "The Flâneur" now wishes to find some peace and quiet on the continent, to cure the level of restlessness to which his natural love for adventure has taken both himself and Europe in the past months. Passing quickly through Holland and Belgium the *Flâneur* seeks out the towns and spas of Germany for his cure, while also (in tune with his already self-contradictory mix of idleness and industry) finding more adventures to recount on what turns out to be a "revolutionary", rather than a quiet, ramble.

In Cologne, for example, the *Flâneur* finds waiters, who were last year complaining of the loss of their tips due to revolutionaries who had scared away tourists, "rhapsodising" about a new "United Germany" and a "millennium of *trinkgelder*". Artisans working on the completion of the Cathedral are further described as:

making their hammers and their chisels keep time to the revolutionary songs, which they murmur in their beards, forming unharmonious contrast with the awe-inspiring sound of the organ from within the sacred edifice.⁶²

Moving further along the Rhine the *Flâneur* rambles on to the spa town of Bad Ems, where, however, he finds more echoes of the revolution in the presence of both the Duke of Bordeaux with his Duchess and of a bearded Republican spy apparently suspicious of the royals' intentions. Anxious not to be "put down in his red book to be denounced to the future Red Republic

58 See *W.E. Aytoun. Stories and Verse* with an Introduction by W.L. Renwick, Edinburgh 1964, pp. 170-218.

59 See *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 64 of 1848, pp. 515-542 and see also Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany. Exile & Asylum in Victorian England*, Oxford & New York 1986, p. 30 on Aytoun. Aytoun is critical of both the bloodshed and parliamentary politics of 1848 and also refers to the blouses of the Republicans as concealing weapons (see *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 64, p. 541).

60 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1849, vol. 25, pp. 21-30.

61 See *Bentley's Miscellany*, London 1849, vol. 26, pp. 582-591.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 585.

of France” for having greeted “the heir of the Bourbons”, the *Flâneur* moves on to Frankfurt, where he has heard that a *fête* is being organized to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Goethe.

Here, however, the *Flâneur* meets a revolutionary mob that displaces the choral societies that were to sing before Goethe’s house:

At night-fall a *cantata*, composed for the occasion, in honour of Goethe, is to be sung before the house in which the poet was born, by the choral societies of the town. The eager crowd is assembled. The fortunate house, in which the great man first saw the light, is illuminated; a circle of torch-bearers mark the spot where the choral music is to be sung. Then comes a thrusting, and a confusion – the musicians are driven away – their torches are extinguished – and, in their place, a band of *soidisant* patriots howl forth the *Hecker-Lied*, the adopted revolutionary song of democratic and republican Germany – and there is consternation in the town – and bands of military instantly sweep the streets – [...] and it is with difficulty that the alarmed town again finds its rest.⁶³

Driven to despair, the *Flâneur* continues his search for peace in yet another spa town, or *Kurort*, that of Baden-Baden, now pacified, but with its crowds of guests replaced by Prussian uniforms:

The taint of politics was again in every breath of air – the word “revolution” still echoed among the mountains. The case was hopeless. The *Flâneur* turned back his steps to a country, where, if there be no escape from politics, there is at least peace from revolutions. He had lost all trust in the immediate future quiet of Germany from the lesson of his “revolutionary ramble on the Rhine.”⁶⁴

Simpson’s peace-loving *Flâneur* is at the end of his ramble, and his reporting of the bloody riots of 1848, still more *flâneur* than revolutionary.⁶⁵

63 Ibid., p. 588f.

64 Ibid., p. 591.

65 See also Eckhardt Köhn, *Straßenrausch. Flanerie und kleine Form. Versuch zur Literaturgeschichte des Flaneurs von 1830-1933*, Berlin 1989, pp. 75ff. on descriptions of the flâneur given in mid 19th Century Germany and beyond, from that of the flâneur as an idle dandy (in works by Ernst Dronke and Georg Weerth as well as Karl Gutzkow) to that of the flâneur as reporter as found in the writings of Ludwig Rellstab. Köhn also discusses the problems facing revolutionary-minded writers such as Dronke and Weerth in taking on the role of the idle flâneur (while appearing to assume the persona of the wandering observer, Dronke also condemns idleness in his *Berlin* of 1846) and the development of that figure as well as that of the free-roaming *Bummler* by others.