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Charles Baudelaire's Social Attitudes

Philip Frederick Clark

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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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CHARLES BAUDELAIRE'S SOCIAL ATTITUDES

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
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ABSTRACT

Surprisingly enough, little attention has been given to the social Baudelaire beyond accepting as truth the portrait of the Sardonic dandy which was willed to us by his contemporaries. The reason for the lack of emphasis on the social Baudelaire appears to lie in the fact that most critics prefer to see his development as the result of interplay of aesthetic and metaphysical forces. The artist can not exist however without a social framework. Yet while numerous articles and comments exist on various stages of Baudelaire's political and social thought, there does not exist a comprehensive study of Charles Baudelaire's social attitudes and of the role that these attitudes played in shaping both the man and his art.

It is to this objective that the present study is dedicated.

Part I (Chapters I - III) examines Baudelaire, the individual.

By a systematic and chronological examination of his correspondence and other biographical sources we see how Baudelaire's social attitudes shaped his political and social thought as well as his daily conduct.

Part I situates Baudelaire in those forty-six kaleidoscopic years which saw the Restoration, the July Monarchy, the Second Republic, the Second

Empire, 2 bourgeois revolutions, one attempt at a proletarian revolution, one coup d'état, as well as the development of utopian, economic and Christian socialism. By analysing Baudelaire in context we see that from his first letters from Lyons to his final letters from Brussels, Charles Baudelaire was aware of the political and social climate of his era. By viewing the total Baudelaire we can judge his participation in such movements as Dandyism and Bohemianism; we can observe that he was not nearly as revolutionary in 1848 as many would have us believe; and we can conclude that in the final period of his life he owed little if anything of his social thought to Joseph de Maistre -- contrary to what much of contemporary Baudelaire scholarship maintains.

Part II (Chapters IV - IX) spans Baudelaire's complete critical and literary production from the Salon de 1845 to the Petits Poèmes en prose, published posthumously in 1869. By analyzing the interplay of society and art in a chronological fashion we see a Baudelaire who rejects the role of society in art on a consistent basis only between 1852 and 1857 (the period of the great meeting of minds in Poe).

Outside of those dates we see that the call for the artist to reveal a new and modern heroism to his contemporaries is the dominant theme in Baudelaire's aesthetic vision. Of principal interest is the social function of poetry. In the early 1850's Baudelaire saw such a role in his projected volume Les Limbes. The fact that Les Limbes is resurrected a decade later in Les Tableaux parisiens, which is in turn prolonged into Les Petits Poèmes en prose, shows that in his final and most productive years Baudelaire was attempting to reconcile social and aesthetic forces in much the same way as he had tried to do in the first Salons.

Our study does not set out to impose a new view of Baudelaire.

By illuminating certain poorly treated social aspects of the Baudelairian phenomenon however we have attempted to lay to rest much of the sadistic, cruel, indifferent and hostile legend that has set itself up as an unwarrantable barrier between a great artist and the public he desired.

*

* *

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations refer to volumes used as primary sources in preparing this thesis:

AR	Art romantique (Conard, 1 vol)
CE	Curiosités esthétiques (Conard, 1 vol)
CG	Correspondance Générale (Conard, 6 vols)
FM	Fleurs du Mal (Corti, eds. Crépet, Blin, Pichois, 1 vol)
HE	Histoires extraordinaires (Conard, 1 vol)
HG	Histoires grotesques et sérieuses (Conard, 1 vol)
JI	Journaux Intimes (Corti, eds. Crépet, Blin, 1 vol)
L.I.S.	Lettres inédites aux siens (Grasset, ed. Auserve)
NHE	Nouvelles Histoires extraordinaires (Conard, 1 vol)
OP	Oeuvres Posthumes (Conard, 3 vols)
PA	Paradis Artificiels (Conard, 1 vol)
PPP	Petits Poèmes en prose (Corti, ed. R. Kopp, 1 vol)

The following journals only have been abbreviated in the notes and bibliography:

MF	Mercure de France
NRF	Nouvelle Revue Française
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association
RHLF	Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France
RSH	Revue des Sciences Humaines
ZFSL	Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur

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INTRODUCTION

When Rousseau, that forceful and brilliant mind, portrayed society as the simultaneous cause and symptom of man's decadence, he laid the groundwork for a conflict that would oppose the hero and his social context from Saint Preux to Meursault. Even the poet Charles Baudelaire could not totally escape from such a conflict, and his life and work often illustrate the need to confront society from behind a social mask.

Jean-Jacques disait qu'il n'entrait dans un café qu'avec une certaine émotion. Pour une nature timide, un contrôle de théâtre ressemble quelque peu au tribunal des Enfers. (JI,15).

Surprisingly enough, little attention has been given to the social Baudelaire. The reader might even wonder if such an aspect could survive in the menagerie of titles which a century of criticism has come to associate with his name: Romantic, Classic, Symbolist, Atheist, Catholic, Jansenist, Existentialist, Oedipus, assassin-- to name only a few. It would be difficult to deny that the battlefield of Baudelaire's critics is strewn with more than the usual amount of cherished theories. The social Baudelaire however, does not seem to be one of them. Claude Pichois, one of the leading Baudelaire scholars, recently remarked that there is almost a total absence of sociological studies on the poet and his surroundings.¹ This is not to say that the field contains no serious study, for we need only consult Baudelaire en

1848 by Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy to see how excellently the period 1848-1852 has been treated.² Numerous articles also attest to the popularity of Baudelaire's participation in the 1848 revolution.³ While the revolutionary period and Baudelaire's immediate social and political involvement have been frequently discussed, there is a natural tendency to ask where the prologue and epilogue are.

It is at this point that the value of Claude Pichois' remark is fully seen. Only Johanne Benedikter's Die politischen und sozialen Ideen von Charles Baudelaire appears to attempt a comprehensive study of Baudelaire's social and political attitudes.⁴ Even here however a rather brief thesis spends two-thirds of its length discussing the single problem of the dandy, and a third discussing the traditional portrait of Baudelaire as a disciple of Joseph de Maistre. While this thesis contains numerous interesting observations, it does not attempt to situate either Baudelaire's life or work in those forty-six kaleidoscopic years which were part of the Restoration, the July Monarchy, the Second Republic, the Second Empire, one bourgeois revolution, the first attempt at a proletarian revolution, one coup d'état, the development of utopian, economic and Christian socialism, as well as the birth of modern sociology.

The traditional portrait of an indifferent Baudelaire, is often formed from this quotation:

Je n'ai pas de convictions, comme l'entendent les gens de mon siècle, parce que je n'ai pas d'ambition.
 Il n'y a pas en moi de base pour une conviction (JI, 58).

With considerable perspicacity it has been shown to what extent this

ambiguous reference from the Journaux Intimes is exaggerated with regards to the spiritual aspects of his life. Are we to assume however that it must be interpreted literally with regards to social and political convictions?

The reason for the lack of emphasis on the social Baudelaire appears to lie in the fact that most critics prefer to see his development as the result of the interplay of certain abstract metaphysical and aesthetic forces. His contemporaries saw only the sardonic mystifier; the Symbolists claimed him for their own; Swinburne and his contemporaries who enjoyed playing a Satanic role, admired only the perfumed and Satanic aspects in Baudelaire's poetry. Swinburne's poem written on Baudelaire's death, sums up the feelings of a generation:

Ave Atque Vale

Thou savest, in thine old singing season, brother,
 Secrets and sorrows unbeheld to us;
 Fierce loves, and lovely leaf-buds poisonous,
 Bare to thy subtler eye; but for none other,
 Blowing by night in some unbreathed incline;
 The hidden harvest of luxurious time,
 Sin without shape, and pleasure without speech;
 And where strange dreams in a tumultuous sleep,
 Wake the shut eyes of stricken spirits weep;
 And with each face thou savest the shadow on each,
 Seeing as men sow men reap.

The beginning of the ~~twentieth~~ twentieth century witnessed the appearance of two disturbing elements in the evolution of Baudelaire's literary fame: the disappearance of the last of the anti-Baudelairians, and the development of the psychological and theological schools of criticism around his work. These latter schools professed to offer

a new interpretation of Baudelaire, not because they had learned to read his poetry with any greater vision than his contemporaries, but because the publication of the Journaux Intimes and increasing sections of his correspondence fanned the flames of the Lanson method whereby any pearl may be explained through sufficient details concerning the oyster. Added to the triumph of deterministic criticism were the deaths of Baudelaire's last great adversaries: Brunetièrre and Faguet. With none left to ridicule his faults, Baudelaire has unfortunately become the object of unquestioned hero-worship. The most mortal of poets has slowly been placed on a pedestal which now exceeds the reach of the average reader.

In this century his life has been used as subject matter for risqué novels;⁶ his famous line, "des vieux meubles polis par les ans", has been used to sell furniture war;⁷ every major poet has paid tribute to his greatness. The most striking swing however, is the unquestioning allegiance which the academic community has paid to Baudelaire since the First World War. It is not without note that the same conformism, only in reverse, had made Baudelaire the universal outcast of his day. This new academic conformism is but one of the tragic symptoms of our age.⁸ The modern critic has found in Baudelaire's carefully constructed ambiguity, a sounding board for his own priorities. With extraordinary coincidence Mallarmé and Valéry found that Baudelaire was part of their world; Proust found him to be homosexual, abbé Massin a Catholic, and Sartre an existentialist. All of these critics, and our century in general, have found in Baudelaire the excuse, perhaps even the pretence, of their own greatness. By calling Baudelaire profound because he captured the aspects of modern life, our

century has found a way of feeling profound; by calling him the genius and guiding light of this century we have merely found a way of calling our century brilliant. By such tactics however, the sins of the nineteenth century have been perpetuated under new guises. If we call Baudelaire great therefore, only in that he prefigures our century, we have done little more than turn him into the symbol of our own colossal ignorance.

With this in mind, it must be remembered that a study of Baudelaire's social and political attitudes must not attempt to force a totally new vision of the man on an already skeptical reader. While political and social problems have a place both in Baudelaire's life and art, the importance of this place can only be determined by placing his life in the context of the age, and by explicating certain references which occur throughout his complete works. To accomplish this end, the most scholarly tools are the Conard edition of Baudelaire's complete works, the Crépet-Blin edition of the Journaux Intimes, the Crépet-Blin-Pichois edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, and the Köpp edition of Les Petits Poèmes en prose.⁹ Special praise should also be given to the chronological approach which Marcel Ruff uses in his recent edition of the poet's complete works.¹⁰ What is of great value in the chronological approach is the ability to experience a profound evolution within Baudelaire, an evolution contradicting the thesis that the poet's aesthetic, spiritual and social awareness, formed in his youth, did not vary in later life. Sartre is without doubt the greatest champion of the static Baudelaire:

Pour lui à vingt-cinq ans, les jeux sont faits: tout est arrêté, et il a couru sa chance et a perdu pour toujours. Dès 46, il a dépensé la

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moitié de sa fortune, écrit la plupart de ses poèmes, donné leur forme définitive à ses relations avec ses parents, contracté le mal vénérien qui va lentement le pourrir, rencontré la femme qui pèsera comme du plomb sur toutes les heures de sa vie, fait le voyage qui fournira toute son œuvre d'images exotiques(...); il ne lui reste qu'à se survivre.¹¹

While sections of Sartre's book on Baudelaire are of great value, it is difficult to appreciate his conclusion that Baudelaire did not evolve, especially if one looks at the message of such works as La Fanfarlo and the Petits Poèmes en Prose having passed through the notice on Pierre Dupont and the Salon de 1859.

If by following the chronological approach we have tried to avoid certain eclectic pitfalls, we also feel that a study of Baudelaire's social attitudes should attempt to separate the biographical and artistic worlds as much as possible. While the definition of the boundary between the artist and his art is not a new preoccupation, nor one that will be found in this or succeeding generations, we do reject the recent trend in Baudelaire criticism whereby certain events in his life are used as an exclusive key to his creativity. This is our prime reason for relegating the Journaux Intimes to a purely biographical role. Since Eugène Crépet first brought them to light in 1887,¹² these ambiguous, epigrammatic, and often platitudinous remarks have become a quoter's paradise and the source of many interpretations of Baudelaire's work in this century.

The bulk of any study, and particularly a study as limited in scope as one on Baudelaire's social attitudes, must be based on the works themselves. What were the forces that shaped this art and how are they revealed? Were they merely age and certain abstract aesthetic and metaphysical forces? Or, were there also certain vital social forces,

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the same that shaped the destiny of nineteenth century France, at work in the prose and poetry of Charles Baudelaire?

That such a study, by its fixed goals, may in turn lead to a new distortion of the author is an unfortunate probability; that by illuminating certain obscure and poorly treated aspects of the Baudelairian phenomenon it might in some way contribute to a broader understanding of a great man and a great artist, is a hoped-for possibility.

INTRODUCTION.

NOTES

1 Claude Pichois and Robert Kopp, "Baudelaire et l'opinion," Europe, 45, No. 456-457(1967), 62.

2 Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy. Baudelaire en 1848 (Paris: Emile-Paul Frères, 1946).

3 The following articles deal with Baudelaire and the revolutionary period: Richard M. Chadbourne, "The Generation of 1848: Four Writers and their Affinities," in Essays in French Literature, 5 (1968), University of Western Australia Press, 1-19; Malcom Cowley, "Baudelaire as Revolutionist," New Republic, 86 (1936), 287-288; Charles Dornier, "La Bohème littéraire et la révolution de 1848," La Revue de France, 6, 5 (1926), 740-752; René F. Durand, "Baudelaire en 1848," 68 (1948), 54-60; Raymond Escholier, "Baudelaire, carabinier, ou la Révolution dans l'île Saint-Louis," Europe, 45, No. 456-457 (1967), 46-52; André Ferran, "Baudelaire et la révolution de 1848," Ecrits de Paris, March 1948, pp.28-34; S. Funaroff, "Baudelaire as Rebel," New Republic, 77(1934), 259-260; René Johannet, "Baudelaire asocial," Ecrits de Paris, April 1958, pp. 32-39; Claude Pichois, "Baudelaire en 1847," RSH, 89 (1958), 121-38.

4 Johanne Benedikter, "Die politischen und sozialen Ideen von Charles Baudelaire," Diss. University of Vienna, 1962.

5 Algernon Swinburne in his second series of Poems and Ballads as quoted by Enid Starkie, "Baudelaire en Angleterre," La Table Ronde, 232 (1967), 51-70.

6 Maurice Coriem, Les Amours infernales de Baudelaire (Paris: Editions des Deux Sabots, 1948).

7 Francis Carco, "Baudelaire--publicité," Le Figaro, 5 Nov. 1937.

8 Similar views are expressed by René Johannet, "Baudelaire asocial," op.cit.,35.

9 These editions are used as primary sources in this study: Oeuvres Complètes de Charles Baudelaire, 19 vols., ed. Jacques Crépet (Paris: Conard, 1922-53); Journaux Intimes, eds. Jacques Crépet and Georges

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Blin (Paris: Corti, 1949); Les Fleurs du Mal, eds. Jacques Crépet, Georges Blin and Claude Pichois (Paris: Corti, 1968); Les Petits Poèmes en prose, ed. Robert Kopp (Paris: Corti, 1969).

10

Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Marcel Ruff (Paris: Seuil, 1968).

11

Jean-Paul Sartre, Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1947), 188-189.

12

Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres Posthumes et correspondance inédite, ed. Eugène Crépet (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1887).

PART I

BAUDELAIRE IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER I

THE FORMATION

(1821-1848)

Enfant, tu étais d'un commerce charmant; jeune homme, tu es devenu difficile, soupçonneux, toujours prêt à te rebeller quand on ne voulait que t'imposer un frein salutaire (...). Tu t'es endetté pour soutenir, nourrir, vêtir quelque drôlesse, expression dont tu t'es servie et qui me paraît fort juste. Tu as changé cet enfant plein d'espérance en un jeune homme exalté, ne vivant que pour un jour, sans songer au lendemain, brisant tous les liens de société; rompant avec les moeurs, avec les usages, tu t'es constitué en état d'hostilité avec ceux qui te paraissent plus âgés, ne pouvaient voir ta manière de vivre du même point de vue que toi.¹

Written on the eve of Baudelaire's departure for India, Claude Alphonse Baudelaire's letter accurately describes the young rebel his brother had become and the state of innocent enthusiasm from which he had evolved. In 1841, Charles Baudelaire had begun to exhibit openly the signs of dandyism and bohemianism which characterized his anti-social outbursts before the 1848 revolution. The manifestation of this rebellion was characterized by a rejection of society and its values. The source of the rebellion is more complex, deriving in part from his unpredictable character, the influence of his parents, his first brutal contact with social reality in Lyons, the Spartan and lonely life of an interne, and the historical movements of Dandyism and Bohemianism which had emerged as by-products of Romantic individualism.

At 13, rue Hautefeuille on April 9, 1821, Charles Baudelaire had entered a world of profound change. The birth of the nineteenth century's greatest poet preceded the death of its greatest hero by only twenty-six days, for on May 5, 1821, Napoléon Bonaparte left history and entered legend. From this moment there developed the impression that heroism itself had died with him. Young men no longer filled their dreams with glory and sacrifice. Noble ideals would soon be replaced by the drone of an overstuffed bourgeoisie, playing at factional politics in a makeshift democracy whose only motto was Guizot's famous "Enrichissez-vous!" Baudelaire's call for a new heroism in his first Salon indicates the pessimism which characterized the youth of the Restoration and the July Monarchy.

In retrospect, 1821 also illustrated a new factionalism. It marked the births of the apolitical Gustave Flaubert as well as the future republican song-writer Pierre Dupont; it also marked the appearance of the ultra-conservative Joseph de Maistre's Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg. Ultras, Independents, and Constitutionalists would continue to dominate the French social and political scene until Napoléon III attempted to weld the metal of national opinion by another dictatorship.

The social climate of 1821 saw an aristocracy which interpreted their triumph at the polls in 1815 and their restored privileges as sufficient reason to continue an anachronistic existence, totally out of step with the realities of post-revolutionary France. As for the bourgeoisie, it had achieved total triumph. Hippolyte Castille later summed up its new mood when he described the bourgeoisie as a class which had once called itself Mirabeau and which now called itself

Thiers and Guizot; which as the third estate had acted in the name of suffering humanity, and which had come to act only in the egotistical interests of one class. The end result, Castille adds, was that it bored France by its domination.² Completing the social spectrum in 1821 was a new class, gradually emerging from the remnants of the old trades and crafts: the workers or proletariat. Conditions in the cities were cruel. The number of illegitimate children rose from 62 per 1000 births in the period 1814-1818, to 72 per 1000 births in the period 1826-1830. In Lyons, for example, the number of abandoned children doubled from 1814 to 1828.³ Villermé found children as young as four years old working in the factories. It is hardly surprising, Frederick Artz concludes, that under such conditions, sickness, alcoholism and prostitution increased rapidly. Certainly the Middle Ages had known poverty, but there was a new element which appeared in the nineteenth century working class -- no longer an accidental poverty or one owing to the poor resources of the country, but a poverty which seemed to be a predestined condition of the worker and especially of one who had a family.⁴

Against such a social climate, the spiritual climate of 1821 was also one of contrast. Renewed anti-clericalism had accompanied the Restoration of the Bourbons. This was especially true among the workers and the governing bourgeoisie which saw the Church's alliance with the Ultras as an attempt to resurrect a dead political and social order. In this sense the Restoration was as much a religious failure as it was political.⁵ The fact that established religion chose not to cooperate with existing social conditions led slowly to its exclusion from such social institutions as education. When the legitimate monarchy fell

in 1830, the Church's privileges fell with it so that in 1839 Baudelaire had to ask specifically for a tutor in religion since the subject had been removed from the curriculum (JI, 170). From anti-clericalism to anti-Catholicism was a short step and as Baudelaire spent his first sheltered years, men like Lamartine and Hugo symbolized the evolution of the whole Romantic movement from the royalist Catholic views of Chateaubriand's early writings to the liberal anti-Catholic republicanism of the July Monarchy. While this initial social and spiritual climate probably had no direct influence on Baudelaire's early years, it did shape the thinking of those entrusted with his upbringing. Of these, none is more controversial than his father, Jean François Baudelaire.

His death on February 10, 1827 removed him from his son's life at an age which leaves only vague impressions on the adult memory. It is for this reason that his direct role in Charles' formation has continued to intrigue and baffle the critics. It seems only logical to assume that a six-year-old boy would form his lasting impressions of his father from the comments of other people in later years rather than from personal recollection. The portrait that Baudelaire's mother painted for Asselineau in 1868 was probably one she had painted for her son on numerous occasions:

M. Baudelaire, dont j'ai conservé un très doux souvenir(...) était un homme très distingué, sous tous les rapports, avec des manières exquises, tout à fait aristocratiques. Est-ce étonnant, ayant vécu dans l'intimité des Choiseul, des Condorcet, des Cabanis, des Mme Helvétius? Il avait connu tout ce monde d'élite, chez le duc de Praslin, quand il était précepteur de ses enfants. Dans ce temps-là, un précepteur, chez un grand seigneur, n'était pas dans une position quasi servile comme le sont les précepteurs de nos jours, ainsi que les pauvres institutrices. Les enfants de Praslin ne demeuraient pas chez les parents, comme c'était

l'usage alors dans les grandes familles. Ils avaient leur maison avec leurs précepteurs, leurs domestiques, leurs voitures. M. Baudelaire jouissait là d'une grande liberté, recevait du monde, donnait des dîners et souvent au duc et à la Duchesse de Praslin.⁶

Baudelaire's mother continues by describing the devotion of her former husband to the Praslins during the Terror, and his later career in the Imperial Senate. Eugène Crépet has very astutely pointed out the errors in detail that Madame Aupick's age and separation from the events have introduced into her remarks.⁷ Such errors however, should not distract the reader from the essential importance of the letter -- the general impression which Jean-François left in her mind.

Ce vieillard (il me paraissait vieux - j'étais si jeune! - avec ses cheveux gris frisés et ses sourcils noirs de l'ébène) me plaisait par son esprit si original. On répétait souvent dans la famille (je m'en souviens): "Baudelaire, avec son esprit si brillant, a aussi la naïveté et la bonhomie de La Fontaine."

Je me rappelle que les jours de gala, lorsqu'il y avait beaucoup d'invités à dîner à Auteuil, campagne de M. Perignon, et que je voyais M. Baudelaire descendre d'une voiture armoriée avec un laquais à cheveux blancs, l'air vénérable, galonné sur toutes les coutures, tout resplendissant d'or, et qui restait debout derrière lui, à dîner pour le servir, comme c'était l'usage alors d'emmenier (sic) avec soi un domestique pour vous servir à table, M. Baudelaire me faisait l'effet d'un grand seigneur(...).

Si le père avait vu grandir son fils, il ne serait certes pas opposé à sa vocation d'homme de lettres, lui qui était passionné pour la littérature et qui avait le goût si pur!"⁸

Madame Aupick's portrait of a mild-mannered La Fontaine however, has not found particular favour with such critics as Raymond Escholier and François Porché. The former refers to him as a senile man from whom Charles probably inherited certain congenital weaknesses,⁹ while the latter refers to the disparity in age between Jean-François and Caroline, and also states that "une telle union est quasi monstrueuse."¹⁰ Later,

Marcel Ruff's controversial thesis, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne gave Jean-François new importance as the Jansenist source of Baudelaire's later pessimism. This thesis however has been criticized by Jean Pommier, A.E. Carter, and Claude Pichois.¹¹ Pichois states that Jean-François is held to be Madame de Condorcet's lover and that while he may have been a good Christian after his marriage it is difficult to sustain the theory that he was a Jansenist. Pichois urges us to return to the traditional portrait of a man of the eighteenth century whom the revolution had taught to avoid all excesses. Proof that such a portrait was indeed the initial vision which Baudelaire created around his father, is found in a passage from Théodore de Banville's Souvenirs.

Banville recounts how Jeanne Duval could not stop talking about her new lover, the mysterious Monsieur Baudelaire. Since Banville had not yet met the gentleman in question, and since Jeanne had not mentioned his age, he goes on to state:

(...) c'est pourquoi, d'après ses fantastiques récits, je me le figurais comme un vieillard d'au moins soixante-dix ans, à coup sûr, vêtu, d'une douillette de soie pure, blanc, rasé, ironique, prenant du tabac d'Espagne dans une tabatière d'or, et ayant vécu en plein dix-huitième siècle.¹²

Banville's portrait of the son resembles closely Madame Aupick's description of the father. The importance of each lies in the distinct air of non-conformity and anachronistic eighteenth-century mannerisms which are both cause and symptom of social alienation--a feeling that both father and son did not belong in a rapidly industrializing world where former values were trampled underfoot, to be replaced by a philosophy of materialism.

While it has been our constant impression that Jean-François' influence on his son is more imagined than real, we would suggest to such noted critics as Ernest Raynaud, who feel that Baudelaire's character and ideas were formed during these early years,¹³ that a six-year-old child is probably able to retain as many impressions of his father's social and political attitudes as of certain spiritual attitudes.

Speculation on any direct political role for Jean-François must be done with caution. It is interesting to note that his 1818 voting card has been preserved, a fact which opens the door to the history of the period.¹⁴ As a backlash to the Hundred Days, the Conservatives had triumphed in the elections of 1815. Since even the King realized that the resulting chambre introuvable did not represent the French people, new elections in 1816 saw the Centre Party, or Constitutionalists obtain a comfortable majority. Considerable changes were then effected in the electoral law so that men over thirty who paid 300 francs in direct taxation, and men over forty who paid considerably more could vote.¹⁵ Jean-François' card therefore, is an indication of his financial status and also shows that he had sufficient interest in politics to solicit a voting card.

In the 1819 election, the left-wing Independents made dramatic gains, splitting the Centre Party and thus giving the Ultras the hope of eventually taking over power. How did Jean-François Baudelaire vote? Did he even vote at all? Could his eighteenth-century mannerisms and taste have placed him in the Ultras camp with Bonald, Maître, the clerical party and all those who wished to revive the Ancien Régime? If indeed he were a man to shun all excesses, could he have voted for

the Centre Party? Could his contacts with the revolutionary party of his privileges as Secretary to the Imperial Senate have brought him to cast his ballot for the left-wing party? We can never know for sure.

If therefore we can not trace any direct political influence on the son, we should not forget the social image of the powdered and wigged outsider that was probably Jean-François' most lasting impression on his son who also would cultivate the role of calculated non-conformity and elevate it to the level of a highly specialized art.

Direct influences on Baudelaire's social development were not long in coming however. In Jacques Aupick he found his first true father figure and he had his first contact with the brutality of social unrest while an intèrne in Lyons.¹⁶ Writing to his mother in 1861, Baudelaire summed up the brief period between his father's death and his mother's remarriage as "une époque d'amour passionné". Describing his mother as "une idole et un camaradé," he goes on to state:

Plus tard tu sais quelle atroce éducation ton mari a voulu me faire: j'ai 40 ans et je ne pense pas aux collèges sans douleur, non plus qu'à la crainte que mon beau-père m'inspirait. Je l'ai cependant aimé, et d'ailleurs j'ai aujourd'hui assez de sagesse pour lui rendre justice. (CG3, 284)

While the psychologically orientated critics have pounced on the intimate nature of this letter as proof of Baudelaire's Oedipus complex,¹⁷ they conveniently forget the context of grief and threatened suicide in which the letter was written. The sociologically orientated critic should also keep this climate of despair in mind when highlighting two key points in the letter: the impression of a period of bliss and comfort followed by the abrupt transition of boarding school. Most of Baudelaire's

life would be spent in a vain effort to recapture a world of protection, privilege, silks, satins and perfume which he associated with these early years described by the words: "Enfin j'aimais ma mère pour son élégance. J'étais donc un dandy précoce" (JI,27).

It is not surprising that Jacques Aupick feared that a continued intimate and pampered relationship between Charles and his mother might lead to weakness and effeminacy. In the probable belief that the discipline of boarding school would be advantageous for Charles, he sanctioned his enrolment on arriving in Lyons.¹⁸ For three generations critics have felt that Baudelaire's reaction to his step-father was one of hostility and rebellion from the first.¹⁹ Excellent studies by Marcel Ruff and Claude Pichois however have astutely countered this theory, while the 1966 publication of Baudelaire's Lettres inédites aux siens merely confirmed what these critics had sensed years before.²⁰ For example, he wrote to his brother on April 25, 1832, "Papa part de Grenoble et sera à Lyon vendredi. Maman lui prépare des surprises pour moi, j'ai acheté deux objets et lui donnerai à choisir" (L.I.S., 52).

Five years later he wrote to his mother:

Remercie bien papa pour la visite qu'il m'a faite, elle m'a fait un plaisir infini; ses visites ne sont pas fréquentes; mais plus les choses sont rares et plus elles sont précieuses. Je l'aime bien, ce père; il ne faut pas oublier de lui dire à ma place (L.I.S., 133).

If in 1848, therefore, Baudelaire actually did invite his fellow revolutionaries to come and shoot General Aupick, the source of this new hatred must be sought in the rebellious dandy, not the child.

If his stay in Lyons did not give the definitive shape to his

relationship with his step-father, it did introduce him to social conflict. The necessity of Aupick's presence in Lyons at this time was due to the converging of social forces which the industrial revolution had unleashed and which the Restoration's social programme had done nothing to tame.

The Revolution of 1830 was the final triumph of the bourgeoisie over the aristocracy. Instead of assuming the title Philip VII, king of France, Louis-Philippe became king of the French. While the white flag had been replaced by the tricolour, it soon became obvious that the revolution had accomplished little more than a change of masters. The thirst for liberty had done nothing to solve basic economic problems. Numerous manifestations culminated in the workers' uprising of Lyons in 1831. Followed by a similar uprising in 1834, these revolts confronted the horrified bourgeoisie with a purely social rebellion for the first time. In Lyons the workers had no political manifesto, only professional. When disorder spread to Paris as well, the spectre of a generalized worker's revolt haunted the governing bourgeoisie.²¹ Suppression became the most economical expediency. During the first years of Louis-Philippe's reign the principal task of the National Guard was to quell civil disorder. Insurrection and street fighting in Paris became part of the daily routine.²² Speaking of the profound economic problems of the period, David Evans reminds us that only one third of the French people could afford meat, eight million lived on oatmeal, chestnuts, corn mush and potatoes. Bread was a luxury while five million scarcely ever tasted wine, entire vintages of which were poured down the gutter to protect prices.²³

Such then were the conditions in much of Lyons where the young

collegians used to take their walks (CGI, 2). Was Baudelaire aware at the time that his step-father was earning his promotions by suppressing the poor? His letters from this period do not indicate it. His limited political concepts of the day follow the traditional bourgeois party line. It is not surprising therefore to hear him defend the King against the people of Lyons for whom Louis-Philippe was not only a bourgeois King, but a Parisian bourgeois.

Comme Parisien, je suis indigné de la manière dont on a traité le nom de Louis-Philippe à Lyon. Quelques petits lampions par-ci par-là et voilà tout (...). On nous avait à Lyon menacés de grands bruits. Au Célestins. (Théâtre de Lyon), sur la place, il y avait un grand rassemblement (à ce qu'on disait); tous ces jeunes gens avaient une cravate rouge, plutôt signe de leur folie que de leur opinion. Ils chantent (tout bas); quand arrivait seulement un sergent de police ils se taisaient. Les Saint-Simoniens s'étaient unis aux républicains et avaient annoncé qu'on danserait sur la place Bellecour (promenade). Le jour annoncé, pas de bal, rien. On avait dit qu'à deux lieues de Lyon il y avait une grande insurrection. Le général Aymard envoie quatre gendarmes. On trouve une cinquantaine de gens armés. On leur demande leurs projets: c'est une louve, disent-ils, que nous chassons. D'après ces deux faits, tu devines le reste de la révolte, c'est-à-dire rien (L.I.S., 75).

In later years, especially in the notice on Pierre Dupont, Baudelaire would attempt to convey the impression that as a child he had seized the importance of the occasion. Like Rousseau in his Confessions, Baudelaire was not above projecting views, which he had come to hold, back into his childhood. It is difficult to reconcile the conciliatory tone for Louis-Philippe in the above letter with the lampions which Baudelaire would not spare in later years, unless one accepts the premise that as a twelve-year-old child Baudelaire had not formed any independent social or political opinions. He was still a faithful reflection of his family and his class. One notes that he felt

that the rebellion was being staffed by people who acted only for the thrill of acting. What is of interest in these first political comments is not the fact that they correspond to, or contradict later opinions, but that they were made at all, by one so young.

Even more surprising are the remarkably well-defined social observations on Lyons²⁴ combined with an ability to make sweeping generalizations -- a characteristic found at the end of his career in Pauvre Belgique. While making adjustments for the usual amount of youthful zeal, it is nevertheless interesting to note that he already uses Paris as the centre of any comparison, and that his comparisons already betray rigidly defined opinions. Careful study of the Lettres inédites aux siens reveals that the urge to make such comparisons does not stem from a precise knowledge of a city Baudelaire had not seen since age ten, but rather from the fact that he is away from home for the first time, and that memories of home and family life are irrevocably associated with Paris. Was the Pension Delorme as dirty as Baudelaire would have his brother believe, or is this not the exaggerated reaction of a refined nature to his first contact with surroundings outside the ordered existence of a wealthy only child?

Entering 5th grade at the Collège Royal in Lyons, Baudelaire was called upon to welcome all the Spartan benefits of the Napoleonic University system. As François Porché points out, the collège in 1832 most closely resembled its model, the barracks.²⁵ Commenting on Baudelaire in boarding school, Marcel Ruff also feels that this period as an interne is always presented in particularly sombre colours.²⁶ While Baudelaire's first letters from the Collège Royal speak of new places and new friends, it is not long before the climate of the insti-

tution is portrayed in the brutality of the discipline.

Je te vais tout raconter. Cet élève au bout d'une demi-heure d'étude ne comprenant pas son devoir, avait fait passer des billets pour le savoir; le pion, l'ayant découvert, lui dit des sottises selon son ordinaire; l'autre fit encore passer un billet pour lequel fut donnée une roulée à laquelle l'élève riposta quelques coups de pieds. Le pion voulant terminer cette lutte, d'un seul coup lui donne un coup de pieds dans les reins. Le tambour bat pour le souper; l'élève se met à son rang ordinaire, le pion le fait passer à la queue en lui disant qu'il n'était pas digne d'aller avec les autres. En revenant du souper, il le met dans le charbonnier pour la même raison; de temps en temps il venait le claquer; l'élève avait les reins en déconfiture, il ne pouvait lui résister. On se couche. Deux jours après, sortie. Je rentre le soir et l'on m'apprend que cet élève est à l'infirmerie, ne pouvant plus se soutenir, et qu'il est tombé en défaillance dans les rangs (L.I.S., 72).

Beatings, lines, ranks, drums, and the charbonnier bespeak the glory of the nineteenth century lycée -- an institution calculated to make solid citizens out of dull material and incorrigible rebels out of anyone with a spark of originality. The result of the above episode culminated in a student demonstration in which Baudelaire took an active part. He had at last learned that those who protest often do so for more than the thrill.

As for Baudelaire's conduct as a student, we can only assume that he was frequently subjected to punishment, although probably not as harsh as that of the above mentioned student. His letters are dotted with references to assorted pensums which he received for talking too much in class. (L.I.S., 55,70,102). Punishment in the form of leave cancellation is another preoccupation of Baudelaire at the Collège Royal. To his mother he writes:

J'ai pensé que je pouvais vous écrire et vous communiquer les

réflexions que m'avait suggérées l'ennui que me procure une vie passée dans la paresse et dans les punitions (L.I.S., 85).

Pour récompense, je te demande, je te prie, je te supplie d'oublier ma privation de sortie et de venir me voir quand tu auras reçu cette lettre, si tu n'es pas malade (L.I.S., 92).

The almost total inability to leave the college, even leads him to ask his mother to enlist Aupick in a plot whereby the proviseur would be informed that Madame Aupick was ill. By this stratagem, Baudelaire hoped to have his punishments cancelled (L.I.S., 98). It should not be surprising therefore that Baudelaire's adolescence was marked by an increasing search for freedom. It is surprising to see to what extent his parents failed to sense the coming storm. That they could be surprised by his later anti-social attitudes, shows that they failed to understand the anguish of the child-prisoner.

In this regard, no-one should be held more responsible than Madame Aupick. For years, critics were content to paint her all black, basing many of their opinions on remarks made by the faithful Charles Asselineau in 1866.²⁷ Since Asselineau's rather harsh judgements, Baudelaire's biographers have restored Madame Aupick to a position of piety and docility, submitting herself to the martyrdom of her prodigal son.²⁸

Faced with such laudable efforts at rehabilitation, we wonder nevertheless if Martin Turnell were not correct when he criticized biographers for having gone too far in excusing her faults.²⁹ Certain revelations in the Lettres inédites aux siens tend to support Mr. Turnell's objections. Here we find the picture of a child who loves his mother deeply, yet who feels he must constantly earn her affection through

prizes and merit. By allowing her son to exist under this constant pressure to succeed, Madame Aupick (probably through the most honest of intentions) succeeded in creating the impression that she would withdraw her love at the first sign of failure. Baudelaire carried this fear, groundless as it might have been, to his deathbed. His letters from the Collège Royal are filled with talk of prizes. At one point he even makes an arrangement with Aupick in which he would receive five francs for every one of the top five prizes attained. (L.I.S., 65). These prizes were far more than mere symbols of material gain; they became the means of soliciting his parents' love. He expresses this feeling by stating that when the prize is called "c'est ou notre mère ou notre père qui nous couronne" (L.I.S., 79).

Récompenser mes parents des peines qu'ils se donnent pour moi, devenir un homme instruit, être couronné à la fin de l'année devant une grande multitude, voilà ces motifs. (L.I.S., 91).

Tu t'attends peut-être Colin mon grand frère, à une foule de prix. Je n'en ai qu'un, accompagné de cinq accessits, qui enchantent mon père. Ne va pas t'aviser d'être plus difficile que lui, difficile comme ma mère par exemple qui s'imagine que je devrais être premier en tout. Je ne puis lui en vouloir de son exigence; sa tendresse excessive lui fait sans cesse rêver des succès pour moi. (L.I.S., 104-105).

The last reference in particular shows that the real pressure to succeed did not come from his step-father but his mother. While her affection for her son should never be placed in doubt, the Lettres inédites also reveal that it was Madame Aupick who had the controlling voice in how Charles would be educated:

Je suis en vacances, mais c'est comme si je n'y étais pas; on a eu là

détestable idée de me mettre en pension comme le reste de l'année. Ce qu'il y a de pis, c'est que papa m'avait promis de voyager et qu'il n'a pas le temps (L.I.S., 60).

Car dans un an maman m'enverra faire ma seconde à Paris et y finir mes études (L.I.S., 94)

(...) maman est bien décidée à me faire faire ma rhétorique à Paris (L.I.S., 105).

Such references lead us to the conclusion that Jacques Aupick was frequently too busy to occupy himself with the problems of his son's education. Boarding school, both during the regular term and vacation, seem to have been an efficient expedient of removing Baudelaire from family life. It seems also that decision making in this field was largely left to Caroline. The decision as to whether to send Baudelaire to Paris seems to be hers. She often adds to the Collège's punishment of leave cancellation by refusing to go and see him. (L.I.S., 83,84,86). The period in Lyons therefore is a vital step in Baudelaire's development. While it is impossible to trace absolutely the origins of his later behaviour to this period we may assume much of his youthful character was already formed by the time he returned to Paris in 1836.

Louis-le-Grand and the Dandy

Five weeks short of his fifteenth birthday, Baudelaire entered an institution calculated to feed the fires of revolt. In order to appreciate the physical and intellectual climate of Louis-le-Grand during Baudelaire's stay, no book could provide more details than Gustave Dupont-Ferrier's excellent study, Du Collège de Clermont au

lycée Louis-le-Grand, 1563-1920.³⁰ Here we can follow the daily routine of a Paris lycée for over 350 years, in particular the historic function and Spartan military existence of the Napoleonic lycée. Without doubt it is the physical context of Louis-le-Grand which first strikes the reader.

C'est surtout dans le décor, où s'enveloppait sa vie matérielle, que le vieux Louis-le-Grand pouvait juger un peu lourd le poids de la gloire. Les pierres de ses murs étaient nobles, mais elles étaient salpêtrées; elles gardèrent, jusqu'à la reconstruction du lycée en 1885, un vague parfum de poésie, et un relent très certain de moisissure; plus d'ombre humide que de clarté.

L'emplacement du collège, resserré dans des limites trop étroites, donnaient assez exactement des visions de gèole; - le détail de ses bâtiments, (cours et refectoirs, classes, études ou dortoirs), avait des airs de tristesse maussade; - et ni l'éclairage ni le chauffage ne songaient encore à leur donner ce que l'on nomme parfois aujourd'hui 'le rayon', sinon 'le sourire' (Dupont, II, 117).

In the classrooms, the administration provided the students with tiered rows of benches where families of rats often found an ideal home. It was only after 1837 that tables appeared in certain classes: Mathématiques spéciales, Rhétorique, and Seconde (Dupont, II, 136).

Symbolizing the divorce between student and master, the teacher's desk sat atop a relatively high elevation, closed on all sides. As a result, the student saw only the upper part of the bust of the master. Symbolizing the rigorous honour system, small twin chairs appeared on either side of the master's desk between 1838 and 1840. On the first of these chairs sat the student who had placed first on the weekly exam. Beside him sat the student ranked second, surrounded by three or four students who followed in order of merit. Classrooms were crowded and uncomfortable. In 1837 the Proviseur had referred to them as étroites, sombres.

and malsaines. From the Inspector General's report of 1842 we see that one classroom was so crowded the students could not move their legs. Commenting on the urgent need for reform, Inspector General Alexandre summed up in 1845; "En attendant, les générations d'enfants croupissent dans la misère et dans la saleté" (Dupont, II, 137-138). Such then were the study conditions of Louis-le-Grand as Charles Baudelaire knew them.

While the study conditions affected all students, the dining and dormitory facilities were the particular cross of the interne. During Baudelaire's stay there were fourteen dormitories for 520 boys-- thus 37 to 38 boys per dormitory. As Dupont-Ferrier wittily remarks:

Si, de nos jours, chacun a les mètres cubes d'air auxquels ont droit ses poumons, c'est presque une innovation, à laquelle eussent applaudi nos pères (...):

Il est très vrai qu'il pouvait paraître imprudent d'affirmer trop haut la solitude des dormeurs: maintes bestioles leur tenaient compagnie. Et, sur un autre point il eût été bien difficile encore de se prononcer: les punaises étaient-elles en majorité? Ou bien d'autres parasites, que je me dispense de nommer. (Dupont, II, 141-142).

The refectories were hardly less enticing than the study areas and the dormitories. In 1838 there were five for 520 students. In 1838 marble tables were substituted for wood as they were easier to clean and required no tablecloth. Students ate with their hats on as there was no place to hang them. The plate, knife, fork and spoon belonged to the student, but this custom ended when it was discovered that the wealthy sons of the Parisian bourgeoisie often ate from silver while the poorly paid teachers ate from tin. To assure that at least one of the Revolutionary mottos would be observed, the administration assumed the cost of the students' eating utensils thus assuring égalité at the

dinner table. (Dupont, II, 140). Baudelaire was forced to eat his meals in total silence since conversation was allowed in the refectories only as of 1890 (Dupont, II, 158).

It is not surprising that the intellectual climate at Louis-le-Grand was as austere as the physical surroundings. While the Restoration had abolished many of the military functions of the lycée because it feared that it was training a hostile guerilla force at its own expense, drums and military exercises had been restored to the French lycée after the 1830 Revolution-- and at the students' request (Dupont, II, 450). A monastic silence, similar to that in the refectory, was imposed at many functions. Punishment had a military flavour with its emphasis on humiliation: consignment to quarters, forced labour, guard duty, penitence table in the refectory, removal of uniform privileges, and substitution of a special hat; as a last resort there was the expulsion of the student. When Baudelaire was expelled from Louis-le-Grand in 1839, he was in fact being subjected to the ultimate punishment. It would be logical to assume therefore that he had passed through most of the hierarchy of Louis-le-Grand's punishments before being expelled for something as seemingly innocent as refusing to divulge the contents of a friend's note (Dupont, II, 98; L.I.S., 174).

Completing the portrait of Louis-le-Grand is a look at the social climate of the school. Nothing translates this more clearly than the uniform which the July Monarchy had imposed on the lycée. At the end of November 1832, new barricades in Paris had convinced the government of the advantages of a spirit of pacifism. Thus, when the students' uniform was modified, great care was taken to ban all military ornamentation. They officially declared that the uniform should be a frac.

bourgeois (a swallow tail coat and top hat) (Dupont, II, 168, plate xix). Whereas Napoleon I had asked the uniform to translate the military spirit of the Empire, Louis-Philippe required it to reflect the bourgeois spirit of the Kingdom. The uniform signified not only the bourgeois spirit but also the death at any pretence of glory in the state. The mentality of the student that wore it has been carefully portrayed by Hippolyte Castille. The student under Louis-Philippe was ready to risk neither his purse nor his life, believed neither in God nor in the Devil, nor his mistress, nor his King, nor the Republic. He lived in the midst of a sage folie, with his little excesses deliberately calculated, and dreaming of the day when he would vote and become a public officer. The student had sown his wild political oats. He had put aside the bonnet rouge for a pair of fancy gloves and sophisticated manners; he had exchanged as much as possible the left bank for the right. As proof, Castille points out that the 1848 Revolution was one of the rare movements in French contemporary history that had neither the initiative nor the support of the Grandes Ecoles. Bourgeois individualism had pushed the student's irony to great exaggeration. Nothing that was, or had ever been, could be respectable. Raised in the school of prudence with great respect for his own conservation, and with mediocre opinions on most things, the student seemed to cling to irony as if it were the last virtue.³¹

How did Baudelaire himself see the lycée? The reader might well remember the physical, intellectual and social climate at Louis-le-Grand when reading these famous lines written to Sainte-Beuve in 1844;

Tous imberbes alors, sur les vieux bancs de chêne,
Plus polis et luisants que des anneaux de chaîne,

Que, jour à jour, la peau des hommes a fourbis,
 Nous trainions tristement nos ennuis, accroupis
 Et voûtés sous le ciel carré des solitudes,
 Où l'enfant boit, dix ans, l'âpre lait des études.
 C'était dans ce vieux temps, mémorable et marquant,
 Où, forcés d'élargir le classique carcan,
 Les professeurs, encor rebelles à vos rimes,
 Succombaient sous l'effort de nos folles escrimes
 Et laissaient l'écolier, triomphant et mutin,
 Faire à l'aise hurler Triboulet en latin. --
 Qui de nous, en ces temps d'adolescences pâles,
 N'a connu la torpeur des fatigues claustrales,
 -- L'oeil perdu dans l'azur morne d'un ciel d'été,
 Ou l'éblouissement de la neige, -- guetté,
 L'oreille avide et droite, -- et bu, comme une meute,
 L'écho lointain d'un livre, ou le cri d'une émeute?

C'était surtout l'été, quand les plombs se fondaient,
 Que ces grands murs noirçis en tristesse abondaient,
 Lorsque la canicule ou le fumeux automne
 Irradiait les cieux de son feu monotone,
 Et faisait sommeiller, dans les sveltes donjons,
 Les tiercelets cmiards, effroi des blancs pigeons;
 Saison de rêverie, où la Muse s'accroche
 Pendant un jour entier au battant d'une cloche;
 Où la Mélancolie, à midi, quand tout dort,
 Le menton dans la main, au fond du corridor, --
 (CGI, 62):

Such words as tristement nos ennuis, accroupis, l'âpre lait des études,
 and la torpeur des fatigues claustrales admirably evoke the intellectual
 climate of the lycée, while le cri d'une émeute situates the poem in the
 midst of the civil disorder which characterized the July Monarchy.

Perhaps the most striking image however is found in the words, le ciel
carré des solitudes. Already the portrait of an immense solitude within
 the confines of society is revealed.³² Albert Fournier has remarked
 that Baudelaire could easily have been spared the solitary life of an
interne since his parents were comfortably installed in Paris.³³ Except
 for his vacations he had not known family life since the age of ten.
 Boarding-school had been an obvious failure in forming his character

since he presented this self portrait soon after expulsion:

Aussi qu'est-il arrivé? C'est que je suis pire que je n'étais au collège. Au collège je m'occupais peu de la classe, mais enfin, je m'occupais -- quand j'ai été renvoyé, cela m'a secoué, je me suis encore occupé un peu chez toi -- maintenant rien, rien et ce n'est pas une indolence agréable, poétique, non pas; c'est une indolence maussade et naïve (CGI, 6).³⁴

If Baudelaire was prepared to trace the general causes of his misanthropy to his education, he also reveals how ill-prepared he was to face the society outside the walls. The Lettres inédites contain several such references.

Mais plus je vais approcher le moment de sortir du collège et d'entrer dans la vie, plus je m'effraie, car alors il faudrait travailler, et sérieusement; et c'est une chose effrayante à penser (L.I.S., 136).

Je sens venir la vie avec encore plus de peur, toutes les connaissances qu'il faudra acquérir, tout le mouvement qu'il faudrait se donner pour trouver une place au milieu du monde, tout cela m'effraie. Enfin je suis fait pour vivre, je ferai de mon mieux; il me semble ensuite, que dans cette lutte avec les autres, dans cette difficulté même, il doit y avoir un plaisir (L.I.S., 147).

(...) j'ai beau prendre un air grave, mon père et ma mère s'obstinent à me trouver un enfant (...). Pour commencer mon apprentissage de gravité, je vais aller pour la première fois à la chambre des députés (L.I.S., 169):

Baudelaire's initial social attitudes therefore are ones of fear and struggle. Society is seen as "cette lutte avec les autres" in which we must all take our "apprentissage de gravité" before confronting the society beyond the walls. Such also is the tone of his request for a special tutor in religion and the philosophy of art: (...) "je vais entrer

dans la vie; il me faut un bagage quelconque de connaissances bien arrêtées"(L.I.S., 171).

Having seen how Baudelaire had come to view others, it is interesting to compare the view others had of him. While Madame Aupick was convinced that he had left a favourable impression with his professors, Dupont-Ferrier's book states the opposite.

Charles Baudelaire ne passa que trois années à Louis-le-Grand, du 1er mars 1836 au 18 avril 1839, de la 3^e à la Philosophie. Sa nature intellectuelle et morale annonçait déjà tout ce qui devait faire le tourment et le renom du poète. Son professeur de seconde, M. Chardin disait de lui, "beaucoup de légèreté; manque d'énergie pour corriger ses défauts". Son maître d'étude, M. Riton, se désolait: "Pas de tenue dans le caractère. Sa conduite est plus que légère. Son travail, par conséquent, n'est pas ce qu'il devait être. C'est dommage car il a tout ce qu'il faut pour réussir". Baudelaire était interne; ses maîtres d'étude, qui le voyaient tous les jours, disaient de lui: en 1837-8, "de la fausseté, des mensonges; des manières quelquefois cavalières et quelquefois choquantes, à force d'affectation". En 1838-9: "caractère un peu original et parfois bizarre". -- Et voici ce que pensait de son esprit, en seconde, M. Chardin: "Peu d'habitude des langues anciennes; beaucoup de caprice et inégalité; esprit sautillant; manque de vigueur, dans la composition; progrès sensible malgré tout". En Rhétorique, M. Rinn déclarait: "Esprit fin; pas assez sérieux; ne réussit qu'en vers latins". Et M. Desforges: "A de l'invention, quand il veut, et de la finesse. N'a pas assez de gravité, pour faire des études fortes et sérieuses". Le professeur d'histoire, M. Durozoir remarquait d'abord: "Avec beaucoup d'aptitude, (il est le second de la classe), il travaille mollement". Puis, quelques mois plus tard, M. Durozoir s'indignait: "Cet élève paraît persuadé que l'histoire est parfaitement inutile".³⁵

Charles Baudelaire as a student had already become the prefiguration of many of the characteristics associated with the dandy. In the context of the school however, it is evident that légèreté, fausseté, mensonges, and affectation were not necessarily inherent facets of his character. They appear as mere camouflage intended to cover a deep-seated fear of society and even life itself. In August 1839, Baudelaire

confesses for the last time his anxiety concerning the choice of a career and his integration into society (L.I.S., 188). Three months later, armed with his "apprentissage de gravité," an accomplished dandy prepares himself for the attack:

Je veux être indépendant le plus tôt possible, c'est-à-dire dépenser mon argent, celui que les hommes m'auront donné en retour d'un plaisir ou d'un service que je leur aurai procuré; et j'y veux parvenir par quelque moyen que ce soit (L.I.S., 189).

One of the first indications of Baudelaire's inability to cope with established social practice is his attitude toward money. At age twenty he sent the first recorded list of debts to his brother with the simple appeal that he be relieved of the burden as soon as possible. As his brother pointed out, there is no sense of organization, creditors' names are not mentioned, and certain items, such as the 200 francs for dressing a girl taken from a brothel, seem highly suspect (L.I.S., 201). There is almost a tone of indecency in a young man who owes 300 francs for gloves, shirts and bonnets when only a few years before his stepfather had suppressed workers whose income had been reduced to 18 sous per day.

Having been placed in the Pension Levêque et Bailly to complete preparation for the baccalauréat, Baudelaire's non-conformity is even reflected in his political attitudes. Speaking of the woman who ran the establishment, he states:

On dit qu'elle se fait gloire de tenir une maison qui est le rendez-vous de tous les jeunes gens légitimistes que leurs parents laissent seuls dans le quartier St. Germain(...). Un camarade de Louis-le-Grand que j'ai trouvé à la même table m'a mis au ton de la maison et nous en

sommes amusés; il m'a dit que dans cette maison l'idée de religion et de légitimisme étaient singulièrement unies qu'il suffisait de haïr le gouvernement pour être réputé catholique; tout cela est très divertissant je l'ai raconté à M. Lasègue et nous en avons ri tous deux (L.I.S., 178-179).

Just as it was improper to attribute an awareness of social problems and the plight of the poor to the youthful Baudelaire, it would be equally incorrect to trace the seeds of his reputed political conservatism to the Pension Bailly. He clearly rejects any solid link between politics and religion. While this distinguishes him from most of his contemporaries, his irony prevents us from discerning which side of the argument he might have supported. He probably enjoyed shocking all opinions at the Pension with as much satisfaction as he enjoyed rebelling against conventional manners in dress. Of this period, Ernest Prarond's description is perhaps the most forceful.

Je le vois encore descendre un escalier de la maison Bailly, mince, le cou dégagé, un gilet très long, des manchettes intactes, une légère canne à petite pomme d'or à la main, et d'un pas souple, presque rythmique. Il ne portait pas encore l'habit, en queue de sifflet dont parle Asselineau ³⁶

There is little evidence to support the theory that Baudelaire was anything more than a representative of Castille's previously mentioned portrait of the supercilious student who had traded both bonnet rouge and missel for a top silk hat and a pair of fancy gloves.

It is not surprising that Aupick's military mind could not cope with this form of anarchy, and that the best solution seemed to be a long trip in the hope that the problem would cure itself. Calculated anarchy however accompanied Baudelaire even on the much discussed ocean voyage.

A note from Captain P. Sour to General Aupick in 1841, confirms this statement.

(...) Je dois vous dire aussi, quoique je craigne de vous faire de la peine, ses notions et ses expressions tranchantes sur tous les liens sociaux, contraires aux idées que nous étions habituées à respecter depuis l'enfance, pénibles à entendre de la bouche d'un jeune homme de vingt ans et dangereuses pour les autres que nous avions à bord, venaient encore circonscrire ses rapports de société.³⁷

On board ship it is evident that Baudelaire attacked social conventions in order to shock the bourgeois travellers. Only two years before he had probably defended the same conventions in order to arouse the students at the Pension Bailly. Much of this stemmed from his basic fear of others and his determination to remain one step ahead of the group by a deliberate mask of non-conformity. The question of his wardrobe throughout this period is perhaps the most obvious manifestation of an essentially hostile social attitude. It was certainly that aspect which most captured the imagination of his contemporaries.³⁸

And so the legend grew. Like the famous maxim in the Journaux Intimes where God need not exist in order that religion be holy and divine,³⁹ not a single detail of these portraits need be totally exact. The legend of Baudelaire's dandyism had far outstripped the facts in his own generation, let alone his posthumous fame; so also had his reputation concerning the cult of surprise. Did he really trick Banville into taking a bath with him in order to read a five-act tragedy to a captive audience? Did he suddenly enter a pharmacy one day and ask to be administered a clystère in order to keep an ancient art from dying out? Did he drink one bottle of Bordeaux and one of Burgundy during his first

meeting with Maxime du Camp, and later pay him a visit with green hair? Did he frequently boast of his taste for child's brain? Did he frequently display his dislike for children? Whether fact or fiction, the answer to these questions would not have altered the opinion of his contemporaries who felt that he was capable of all of them, and even more.⁴⁰

Another interesting view of Baudelaire the dandy, has been created by his critics. Georges Blin states that Baudelaire's solitude can not be explained without reference to the romantic suffering of the superior hero. He sees in Baudelaire a creature whose cult of originality would convert him to Buddhism if his neighbours were Christian. This cult of originality leads to dandyism which is anti-romantic in its fear of élan and enthusiasm. The dandy is the avowed enemy of the group; he has no right to bring his attention on others.⁴¹ While one might be willing to apply Mr. Blin's definitions to the youthful Baudelaire, it is difficult to imagine any parallel between such a dandy and the author of the Tableaux Parisiens and the Petits Poèmes en Prose. Maurice Chaplan sustains that Baudelaire's Catholicism resembles his dandyism in its search for the sublime.⁴² Pierre Dufay begins with the assumption that whoever tries to surpass the comprehension of the masses is condemned to be hated by them. Since Baudelaire could not afford to maintain an ivory tower for protection, he was forced to use his biting irony as a means of defence.⁴³

There is however, a dandy which goes beyond the views of either his contemporaries or his critics-- a dandy who forms part of a historical tradition and certain social forces of which dandyism is the symptom, not the cause. These forces must be taken into account also, for as

Marcel Ruff has remarked; "Rien n'est simple chez Baudelaire. Rien n'est pur non plus au sens clinique du mot." ⁴⁴

If Dandyism can trace its historical origins to eighteenth-century Britain, it is nineteenth-century French literature that raises the role of the dandy to the status of myth. As if to compensate for the disillusion that had set in after the Restoration, a form of Anglomania swept France! As early as 1817, Stendhal had discerned the principles of dandyism, having shown that the dashing young gentlemen from Bond Street had only one aim -- to put the greatest amount of affectation into the simplest of actions. In this regard we might remember Prince Korasoff's advice to Julien Sorel: "Faites toujours le contraire de ce qu'on attend de vous(...). L'air triste ne peut être de bon ton, c'est l'air ennuyé qu'il faut." The Chevalier de Beauvoisis is another magnificent dandy in Le Rouge et le Noir. The dandies were succeeded in 1830 by les fashionables and les gants jaunes, and in 1838-39 by le lion. It had been the custom of the fashionable to wear his spurs at all times for it was assumed that he had just dismounted from his horse. As for the lion his originality had to conform to certain standards (the tragic fate of group originality): his hair à la Henri III, his beard à la Pluton, his mustache à la Cromwell, and his Aie à la Colin. He had to know the names of all the London Clubs, love boxing women, horses and pigeon shooting. ⁴⁵

Under Louis-Philippe, societies of dandies were founded. Initiation rituals were complicated and revered. To join the Badouillards for example, the aspirant had to show proof of strength and agility for it was assumed that a good time inevitably led to a fight; he had to take fencing and boxing lessons; he had to have proved

his courage in several encounters; he took an oath of hatred against the bourgeoisie and promised them neither sleep nor rest thanks to a repertoire of erotic and political songs which could set a provincial/ burg to trembling. His entire attitude had to be governed by a lack of enthusiasm, while each move had to be calculated and distinguished. While he was to love women with an undying passion he must never show it, and even cultivated an open distaste for the unfortunate species.⁴⁶

N.H. Clement has remarked that dandyism was a sort of frenzy to be different, not only in externals but psychologically as well, sprung from the ennui that oppressed the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ The Dandy is therefore an essentially social role which has even managed to shape the thought process of many. Both on a social and moral level it had been designed to deal with a society which had lost its ideals. While the earliest dandy had been a Byronic personage with a sickly and unhappy look, the dandy of 1839 and the Pension Bailly had reached the zenith of his superciliousness. Already his exteriors were beginning to dissolve into the Bohemian image while his calculated impassiveness was giving way to political involvement. It is important to note therefore that Baudelaire's dandyism was not only a challenge to society, but was in contradiction with the general evolution of dandyism itself. By 1840, the aristocratic dandy was an anachronism on all fronts.

The aristocratic nature of dandyism had little to do with accepting the traditional hierarchy of society. The July Monarchy had attempted to play down the aristocratic tone of the court and had tried to create equality between the upper classes. The disappearance of social distinctions is perhaps most noticeable in the new uniformity

of fashion.⁴⁸ This attempt to achieve equality by levelling down rather than up was most strongly challenged by the Dandy. The Dandy had originally sought to create a new form of elite based on merit. The movement however had become sidetracked with externals. As Pierre Flottes points out, the struggle against the bourgeois had become the only criterium for the dandy. By a reverse process if one were already an aristocrat and became a dandy "on s'embourgeoise." In this sense Flottes states, dandyism had become the last bastard of Romanticism which had even come to forget its origins. The dandy had come to mock the great historical, moral and political ambitions which had been the life-blood of the movement.⁴⁹

It is interesting to speculate how long Baudelaire might have retained this form of dandyism had not circumstances conspired to remove the dandy's one essential need: financial independence. By losing control of his fortune he ceased to be the social dandy and became the spiritual dandy instead. Much of his career would be spent in perpetual redefinitions of this new dandyism-- redefinitions which appear contradictory if one does not accept the premise of Baudelaire's evolution with the years.

Debts and Bohemia

The indispensable scholarly tool for interpreting Baudelaire's biography during the 1840's is Jacques Crépet's edition of the Correspondance Générale. More than one critic however has commented on the apparent divorce between Baudelaire's letters and his art. Cyril

Connolly states:

But whereas Flaubert's letters are a feast in themselves, Baudelaire's are insufferable the moment one loses sight of the poetry. If the devil reads aloud to those who take their meals in hell, as is the rule in a monastery, I think these letters would make an ideal curriculum; one is conscious of the air, the life, the hope, slowly being sucked out of a human being, of an increasing weariness and dissimulation, of small sums of money, debts, loans, publishers' royalties and rates of interest gradually acquiring a life of their own like giant cockroaches in a delirium tremens. ⁵⁰

While Mr. Connolly alone must bear the responsibility for his imagery, his point is well taken. Georges Blin feels that a similar instinctive horror of the human face is found in both the letters and the prose poetry. ⁵¹ Jean Des Cognets feels that the letters do little more than reveal the vicious circle of Baudelaire's life: in order to work he needed rest, yet in order to afford rest he had to work. ⁵² In an attempt to correlate themes in the correspondence with those in Baudelaire's art, we conducted our own theme count in the 1010 letters of the first five volumes of the correspondence. We found that in the following number of letters, the following themes were mentioned:

Religion	56
Poverty	91
Politics	91
Art	233
Money	499

Owing to the broadness of each category, such a theme count does not pretend to suggest a definitive number. It does however indicate a preliminary hierarchy of values with relation to the three principal aspects of the author: spiritual, aesthetic and social. In view of the relatively small role that spiritual problems play in the correspondence, it is hardly surprising that such critics as Charles du Bos have

treated it as a great wasteland.⁵³ It would be incorrect however to use these statistics as proof that Baudelaire was twice as political as he was spiritual. Like all men, Baudelaire was part of an age of which he held certain opinions. The value of his political and social comments can only be weighed if they are balanced against other forces which shaped his life. The equal treatment of poverty and politics is an interesting coincidence, one that constantly characterizes Baudelaire's political and social ideas. As for the money problems which occupy almost 50% of his letters, it would take a professional accountant, armed with the latest electronic wizardry to establish some form of order. That these financial worries came to be viewed as the chief obstacle to his artistic expression does not alter the fact that the word money does not appear a single time in the Fleurs du Mal.⁵⁴ Few authors have so metaphorically hidden their chief preoccupations in their art. The critic's purpose must be therefore to discover the transformation of the correspondence into art, rather than the direct link between the two worlds.

Baudelaire's last fling at being a dandy came with his momentary wealth. Having attained his majority in 1842, he assumed possession of his father's legacy-- commonly estimated at 75,000 francs. In 1954 Albert Ronsin equated 200 francs in Baudelaire's day to 45,000 contemporary francs.⁵⁵ In 1966, Charles Mauron estimated that Baudelaire's 75,000 francs would have been worth 300,000 francs (some 60,000 dollars) in his day. Since statistics impress us only if they are relevant to our own time, Mauron reminds us that even after the Conseil Judiciaire Baudelaire received a pension which would have permitted him to live like a Frenchman earning 1,500 francs (300 dollars) per month under the

5th Republic.⁵⁶

That Baudelaire had spent almost a third of his inheritance in two years (about \$10,000. per year), is an indication of his life style during the period. When one realizes that he had also acquired an equivalent amount of debts, it is not difficult to appreciate the family's desire to impose some form of control. That they had tried other means is shown by the fact that in June, 1843 Madame Aupick had persuaded Charles to grant her control of his finances. Madame Aupick would continue to handle the money while Charles retained control of property rights; she would look after his rent providing he gave her the receipts; he would receive a monthly allowance from Ancelle as long as he promised to incur no more debts.⁵⁷ Baudelaire however had not yet reached the age of economic reason so on July 18, 1844 Madame Aupick took initial steps to remove financial control from him. On September 21, Baudelaire became Ancelle's prisoner.

It is impossible to judge the rightness or wrongness of this decision. It certainly ended Baudelaire's sense of freedom, and probably forms a part of the complex prisoner image which dominates the Fleurs du Mal and later prose works. His reaction to its imposition reveals to what extent he was interested in saving face before society. He cares little for what his family thinks of him, or for that matter what he thinks of himself as long as no-one else knows. There is a note of fear in his letters at the thought that his deliberately cultivated social image is in danger of destruction. When it became obvious that the deed was done however, only then did he realize to what extent he had compromised even his pride in himself.

-- Vous ne cessez pas pour me faire avaler la pillule (sic), de me répéter que cela n'a rien que de tout naturel et nullement déshonorant. C'est possible et je le crois; mais qu'importe ce que réellement pour la plupart des gens, si c'est tout autre chose pour moi. -- Tu regardes, m'as-tu-dit, ma colère et mon chagrin comme tout passagers; tu présumes que tu ne me fais un bobo d'enfant que pour mon bien. Mais persuade-toi donc bien une chose, que tu sembles toujours ignorer; c'est que vraiment pour mon malheur, je ne suis pas fait comme les autres hommes(...).

(...) Tu peux, quand nous sommes seuls, me traiter de telle façon qu'il te plaît -- mais je repousse avec fureur tout ce qui est attentatoire à ma liberté (CGI, 42).

The Dandy could not live without freedom. In society he needed the same impression of freedom and space that are found in poems like "Elévation" and "L'Albatros". By destroying liberty, the one essential quality Baudelaire had associated with manhood since his days as a student, the Conseil Judiciaire did far more than merely put him on an allowance. In many ways it prevented him from ever growing up.

The most violent reaction to the Conseil Judiciaire was his attempted suicide.

Je me tue -- sans chagrin. -- Je n'éprouve aucune de ces perturbations que les hommes appellent chagrin. -- Mes dettes n'ont jamais été un chagrin. Rien n'est plus facile que de dominer ces choses-là. Je me tue parce que je ne puis plus vivre, que la fatigue de m'endormir et la fatigue de me réveiller sont insupportables. Je me tue parce que je suis inutile aux autres -- et dangereux à moi-même. Je me tue parce que je me crois immortel, et que j'espère. (CGI, 70-71).

There is a strong school of criticism which tends to view this attempted suicide as a flamboyant and calculated form of emotional blackmail.⁵⁸

On the other side however, a handwriting expert named Edouard de Rougemont has concluded that the nervous style of this letter with its insistent underlining is neither characteristic of the former Baudelaire,

nor of a rational and calculating man.⁵⁹

With reference to Baudelaire's social attitudes, the motive of this attempted suicide must take second place to the fact that it occurred at all. The fact that there was an attempt indicates a shift in attitude from that of the lion of the Pension Bailly. Growing financial difficulties and this transgression of the cardinal rule of impassiveness seem to indicate that Baudelaire is moving into the stream of another of the nineteenth century's great movements:

Bohemianism.

La Jeune France had formed the first generation of this second great anti-social movement to afflict the youth of the time. In many ways the basic philosophy of the Bohemian and the Dandy are alike, with these exceptions: the abandonment of the pretense at aristocracy, and a desire to get involved. It was to be on the crest of Bohemianism, not Dandyism that Baudelaire would be propelled towards the events of 1848. In the same way that dandyism had sprung from certain social causes, Bohemianism also found its origins in a society whose pressures and values gradually forced the artist to assume the role of an outsider. Baudelaire could not help but contact the movement through his friends. Beside the office of the Journal des Débats was the Café Momus where about twenty Bohemians used to gather in 1844. Of these Murger, Champfleury, Charles Barbara, Pierre Dupont, Bonvin, Chintreuil, and Jean Journet were the best known. Having laid a claim to one of the rooms in the Café Momus, they succeeded in driving out the regular customers who were foolish enough to pay their bills. They had underground newspapers brought in, poured water in the domino boxes and monopolized the tric-trac machine from ten in the morning until

midnight.⁶⁰ Such then were the new friends Baudelaire had made at the time of his attempted suicide. Yet while the dominant characteristic of this new Bohemian generation was poverty, their habits, ideology and social attitudes had largely been shaped a generation before.

César Graña points out that contemporary literary pessimism turned from one social force to the other: democracy, vulgarity, industrialization, or all three at a time.⁶¹ While the cult of artificiality had made Dandyism an essentially anti-Romantic movement, Bohemianism sprang from the same forces of disillusion that had characterized much of Romanticism. As Arnold Hauser points out, the tendency to aloofness and rejection of social roots and firm political commitments which had characterized German Romanticism of the eighteenth century, had now taken firm control of the third generation of Romantics. An unbridgeable gulf had opened up between the artist and society, between genius and ordinary men, between art and social reality.⁶² The divorce between the artist and a conforming society was responsible for the Art for Art movement which portrayed the artist as the last of the great artisans struggling against the sins of industrialization. Socially this opposition was expressed to anything held to be bourgeois. Hauser also adds that they enriched this system of intellectual values by a new idea: the idea that youth is more creative and intrinsically superior to age. Only with the Romantic movement did the young come to view themselves as the natural representatives of progress.⁶³ Pierre Labracherie describes this particular deformation of Romanticism as the Bohème galante. He also underlines that youth and fantasy were the only common ground it shared with the second generation under Murger. Money had never seemed to be a problem for the Jeune France. This

generation retained many of the dandy's tastes for refinement and distinction. Gerard de Nerval who had just obtained 30,000 francs from his mother's estate was publicly despising money, yet spending it abundantly.⁶⁴

The principal function of these young men who had come to see youth itself as the collective force of genius, was to shock the peaceful citizens of the day. Unlike the dandy, they practiced little or no moderation. They liked to be seen as a handful of "intellectual raiders and freebooters, who routed convention everywhere and kept all contented souls in a state of dazzled alarm."⁶⁵ The painter Pelletier went on walks with a pet jackal. Gerard de Nerval took a lobster on a leash through the Tuileries gardens: "It does not bark," he said, "and knows the secrets of the deep."⁶⁶ In much the same way as they liked to portray themselves as the victims of society, they liked to fill their stories with picturesque violence in which their heroes committed symbolic acts of terror on society. Skeletons provided atmosphere for many garrets and were used for such apocalyptic gestures as the attempt by Petrus Borel, Théophile Gautier and Gerard de Nerval to quaff sea water from a skull. Borel called his quarters "The Tartar War Camp" while Nerval pitched a Nomad's tent in the middle of his apartment. The Bousingots (one of the many Bohemian groups) were said to eat wild boar, not because it was digestible, but because it was gothic.⁶⁷

In many ways this early form of Bohemia resembled the Dada movement of the twentieth century. In their stories women died while lovers tickled their feet; chapter headings were written in English, Latin, Provençal and Spanish. Dondey prefaced one of his books with the following:

Ah
 Eh he
 Hé! hi! hi!
 Oh
 Hu! Hu! Hu!

Profession of faith of the author.⁶⁸

True Bohemian sectarianism, Graña states, "is usually carried on by people of excitable imaginations and modest talent"⁶⁹, a combination which disables them from fitting into the social pattern and which forces them into a life of systematic unconvention. Nevertheless if every literary movement since the nineteenth century has practiced its own variation on the Bohemian theme, it is because the Bohemian represented the last battle for the survival of the spirit against the forces of collectivity, gathering under the impetus of the industrial revolution. In this sense it finds as one of its most striking images the intellectually uplifted version of the gypsy with its vision of the community of outcasts, sacrificing material values for those of the spirit, and ever in motion-- not because they followed a fixed goal but because of a burning desire for discovery. Baudelaire sums up a vital part of this vital movement of his day in the Journaux Intimes with the lines:

Glorifier le vagabondage et ce qu'on peut appeler le Bohémianisme, culte de la sensation multipliée s'exprimant par la musique (JI, 94).

The few political and social comments in the Correspondance Générale before 1848, invariably bear the mark of the abstractions and anti-social currents of his generation. Such is the tone of his

refusal to do National Guard duty -- a fact which would do little to reconcile him with his stepfather whose military sense of duty was the moral foundation of his existence. On June 28, 1844 the disciplinary council of the 9th Legion condemned Baudelaire to 72 hours in prison.

Il faut que tu me tires d'un piège affreux. Je suis à la maison d'arrêt depuis hier matin. -- Je croyais partir demain, -- mais je suis sous le coup d'un nouveau jugement, -- puis d'un troisième, -- chose qu'on ne vous déclare traîtreusement que quand on est pris (CGI, 48n, 49).

We should remember also that the question of military duty coincided with his attempts to forestall losing control of his fortune. This simultaneous attack by society on two fronts could not help but leave a lasting impression on him and may partly contribute to his hatred of the military metaphor as later expressed in his art criticism.

The most direct mention of political opinions is found in the ambiguously dated letter 58 of the Correspondance Générale:

A Monsieur R^{ard}

(s.d.)

Monsieur,

Vous m'appelez ultra-libéral, et vous pensez m'injurier. Je vous devrais des remerciements pour toute réponse. Cependant, examinons de plus près cette déshonorante épithète. J'ouvre le dictionnaire, et je trouve que l'acception première de ce mot est: qui aime à donner. Dans ce sens-là, je gage, vous vous direz ultra-libéral avec moi, et peut-être même ne me donnerez-vous plus ce titre; mais vous le prendrez sans doute et vous serez ainsi, dans votre opinion, plus libéral que moi; or, comme il n'est pas supposable que vous vouliez vous insulter, je puis déjà regarder comme tournant à ma louange la moitié la plus belle de la valeur de ce mot.

Dans un sens figuré, il veut dire: qui a des idées grandes, libres, nobles et généreuses. Je crois pouvoir affirmer que vous croyez penser noblement, agir généreusement, et que vos pensées sont libres autant qu'élevées. Voilà donc encore une louange que je vous arrache, ou du moins que je partage avec vous.

Il est un troisième sens attaché à ce mot, peu précisé encore,

qu'on entend mieux qu'on ne le définit, et que l'esprit mesure néanmoins exactement dans ces mots: opinions libérales, telles que les professent le pieux Lanjuinais, le vertueux La Fayette, l'austère Beauséjour, le sévère d'Argenson. Si, attachant à mon nom, comme un opprobre; le mot libéral dans cette dernière acception, vous me confondez avec ces hommes célèbres, je n'ai plus à rougir. S'il est de plus honnêtes gens, comme je n'en doute pas, puisque vous le dites, ils ont atteint la perfection, du haut de laquelle ils lancent tant de lumière qu'on ne peut les fixer. J'aime la clarté qui me guide, et non celle qui m'éblouissant, me conduit dans les précipices.

Auriez-vous entendu par ultra-libéral cet homme qui ne vit dans le désordre et la démoralisation? Qu'il se présente, le premier je lui crie anathème. Mais je le trouve partout. Je le vois près de vous, aujourd'hui, rougir dans le sang la couleur qu'il appelle sans tâche, et qu'il n'a prise que pour l'interposer entre lui et ses accusateurs.

Monsieur, après m'être bien examiné, je ne puis croire que vous ayez voulu défigurer à ce point, en ma faveur, un mot qui n'est terrible que pour les sots du haut monde et en général les ennemis des gouvernements qui se reposent sur la vertu et la justice. Or, comme je ne vous crois ni sot, ni ennemi de la liberté et de l'égalité civiles, je vous remercie sincèrement de la honte que vous avez de me donner le plus beau titre que puisse porter un citoyen.

Funeste effet des passions, tu ne fasciieras pas mes yeux! Je le sens au fond de mon cœur: il est des hommes vraiment libéraux, parce qu'il est des hommes qui aiment encore la vraie gloire et la vertu.

Je vous salue, Monsieur.

Ch. B...

Before commenting on this letter it is essential that we discuss the question of dating. Jacques Crépet points out that we do not know for whom it was intended. Since the letter was found among Baudelaire's papers there is a strong indication that it was never mailed (CGI, 64n). W.T. Bandy has argued that this letter should be dated after 1852 rather than 1845. He suggests that the signature does not correspond to a period in which Baudelaire signed the bulk of his letters Baudelaire-Dufays. Secondly Mr. Bandy feels that the political tone of the letter is much more conducive to the post-1848 period than to 1845.⁷⁰ With regards to the first argument we would suggest that the recent publication of the Lettres inédites aux siens shows several letters signed

Ch. Baudelaire, notably the letters to his brother on July 3, 1832 and November 9, 1832. While these early letters are not strong enough proof to challenge Mr. Bandy's conclusion, they do indicate that the signature had been used before and raise the possibility of its having been used again. On the second point we might issue a more serious challenge. Without wishing to anticipate too much on our study of Baudelaire's post-Revolutionary reactions we would suggest that even after juggling with his dictionary, Baudelaire would not refer to the title ultra-libéral as "le plus beau titre que puisse porter un citoyen" after 1852. We personally find the flamboyant defence of the term libéral much more compatible with the philosophical aspirations of the Bohemian movement before 1848 than with the Baudelaire of the fifties who carefully avoided any contamination of political liberalism. Note for example this reference from a letter to the director of the Figaro in 1858:

Remarquez bien que j'ai en matière de critique (purement littéraire), des opinions si libérales que j'aime mieux la licence (CG2, 206).

The purement littéraire in parenthesis clearly conveys the author's intention.

Even the refusal to associate liberalism with "le désordre, et la démoralisation" need not be interpreted as a commentary on the events of 1848. Such criticism could stem from Baudelaire's inborn aversion to excess, a characteristic already attributed to his father, and which characterized the son's clothes even at the height of his pretensions as a dandy.

Having accepted in our own mind that the letter indeed belongs before the Revolution, it is intriguing to note how one who had so recently maintained an aristocratic aloofness had come to champion civil liberty and equality. While the influence of his peer group could have had a determining influence in this evolution, there are certain personal problems which played a decisive role in Baudelaire's thought before 1848. On a social level, none is more important than his growing poverty which debts and mismanagement was slowly forcing upon him. In a letter which Jacques Crépet has dated just before his attempted suicide, he states:

Malheureux, humilié, triste comme je le suis, violenté tous les jours par une foule de besoins, je crois qu'il faut être très indulgent pour moi (CG1, 68).

At the beginning of 1847 we see his personal depression as a result of his financial situation:

C'est seulement quand je suis réduit (aux) dernières extrémités, c'est-à-dire (quand) j'ai très faim que je vais à (vous), tant cela me cause de dégoût (et d'en)nuï. Pour comble de malheur, M. (Ancelle) veut votre autorisation; je suis (donc ven)u malgré le temps, la fatigue, (...) solliciter de vous la permission (de pren)dre à Neuilly de quoi acheter une fontaine et vivre (quelques j)ours (CG1, 87-88).

Writing to his mother on December 4, 1847 he begs for enough money to live for twenty days. The developing pattern is that the end of each year is a bitter period of self appraisal accompanied by noble resolutions for the next. In this letter he hopes to begin studies on caricature and sculpture as well as several novels. He is barred however by the

shadow of poverty:

Risque sur l'inconnu, ma chère mère, je vous en prie. L'explication de ces six années si singulièrement et si désastreusement remplies, si je n'avais pas joui d'une santé d'esprit et de corps que rien n'a pu tuer -- est fort simple; -- cela se résume ainsi: étourderie, remise au lendemain des plans les plus vulgairement raisonnables, conséquemment misère, et toujours misère. En voulez-vous un échantillon; il m'est arrivé de rester trois jours au lit, tantôt faute de linge, tantôt faute de bois. Franchement, le laudanum et le vin sont de mauvaises ressources contre le chagrin. Ils font passer le temps, mais ne refont pas la vie. Encore pour s'abrutir faut-il de l'argent. La dernière fois que vous avez eu l'obligeance de me donner quinze francs, je n'avais pas mangé depuis deux jours -- quarante-huit heures. -- J'étais perpétuellement sur la route de Neuilly, je n'osais pas avouer mon tort à M. A., et je me tenais éveillé et debout que grâce à l'eau-de-vie qu'on m'avait donnée, moi qui exècre les liqueurs, et à qui elles tordent l'estomac. Puissent de pareils aveux -- ou pour vous ou pour moi -- n'être jamais connus des hommes de la postérité (CGI, 91-92)!

Another mention of this same poverty comes only one month and a half before the events of 1848:

Si je ne vais pas te voir immédiatement, c'est que d'abord je tiens fort à te pouvoir affirmer à coup sûr que mes affaires vont mieux, et en second lieu, pour un motif qui te fera rire, tant tu le trouveras puéril, c'est que je ne me trouve pas suffisamment bien vêtu pour aller chez toi. (CGI, 105).

While there are undoubtedly elements of exaggeration in these appeals, the important fact is that Baudelaire was slowly convincing himself that poverty was the principal obstacle to his success. "Qu'importe ce que peut-être la réalité placée hors de moi" (PPP, 111) is a Baudelairean dictum that we should all remember when our objective studies pretend to know the author better than he knew himself. Through the new and sombre looking glass of poverty he would now look

back on a distorted view of his childhood; he would remember the revolts in Lyons; he would judge the Conseil judiciaire from a new perspective and he would reshape in his own mind the philosophy of the powdered dandy and the bohemian. If not yet a revolutionary he had reached the point where he would no longer oppose the forces which were building toward the climax of 1848.

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1 Charles Baudelaire, Lettres inédites aux siens, ed. Philippe Auserve (Paris: Grasset, 1966) p. 208. All future references to this book will be found in the text and abbreviated by the letters L.I.S.

2 Hippolyte Castille, Les Hommes et les mœurs en France sous le règne de Louis-Philippe (Paris: Paul Henneton & Cie., 1853), p. 99.

3 Frederick B. Artz, France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 271.

4 Joseph Aynard, Petite Histoire de la bourgeoisie française (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941), pp. 48-50.

5 F.B. Artz, Bourbon Restoration, p. 171.

6 Eugène Crépet, ed., Charles Baudelaire, Œuvres Posthumes et correspondances inédites (Paris: Quantin, 1887), p. 318.

7 E. Crépet, OP, pp. 319-320.

8 E. Crépet, OP, pp. 318-321.

9 Raymond Eschôlier, "Baudelaire, carabinier, ou la Révolution dans l'île Saint-Louis," Europe, 45, No. 456-457 (1967), p. 62.

10 François Porché, Baudelaire, histoire d'une âme (Paris: Flammarion, 1945), p. 8.

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11

Jean Pommier, "Baudelaire devant la critique théologique," RHLF, 1 (1958), pp. 35-36; A.E. Carter, "Baudelaire," University of Toronto Quarterly, 29 (1959), pp. 59-76; Claude Pichois, "Le Père de Baudelaire fut-il Janséniste?" RHLF, 4 (1957), pp. 565-568.

12

Théodore de Banville, as quoted by W.T. Bandy and Claude Pichois in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1957), p. 129.

13

Ernest Raynaud, Baudelaire et la religion du dandysme (Paris: MF, 1918), p. 28. Here is how Raynaud traces Baudelaire's religious attitudes to his early childhood: "Baudelaire est né sous le régime absolutiste, en pleine terreur blanche. La Restauration impressionna son enfance déjà encline à la mysticité par un étalage de processions et de pompes liturgiques. Le clergé sentait le besoin de recréer une génération de croyants et multipliait les cérémonies du culte pour suppléer à la qualité de la Foi ébranlée."

14

Iconographie de Charles Baudelaire, eds. Claude Pichois and François Ruchon (Genève: Cailler, 1960), plate 63.

15

Encyclopaedia Britannica (1969), Vol. 19, p. 736.

16

8 Nov. 1828 -- marriage of Commandant Aupick and Caroline (Archenbaut-Defayssis) Baudelaire.

Nov. 1831 -- Aupick leaves for Lyons

March, 1836 -- Baudelaire's return from Lyons -- enters Louis-le-Grand.

17

Chief offender is Dr. René Laforgue, L'Échec de Baudelaire. Étude psychanalytique de la névrose de Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1931).

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18

Baudelaire was first placed at the Pension Delorme and later became an interne at the Collège Royal.

19

See Escholier, "Baudelaire, carabinier," p. 49; Porché, Histoire d'une âme, p. 23; it is also a dominant theme in two important studies by Jean Paul Sartre, Introduction aux Ecrits Intimes (Paris: Pont du Jour, 1946); Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1947).

20

Marcel Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne (Paris: A. Colin, 1955), p. 150.

Claude Pichois, "Le Beau-père de Baudelaire, le Général Aupick," MF, 234 (1955), 261-281; 472-490; 651-674.

21

Aynard, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, pp. 52-53; Escholier, "Baudelaire, carabinier," p. 49.

22

Adeline Daumard, La Bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848 (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963), pp. 586-587.

23

David O. Evans, Social Romanticism in France, 1830-1848 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 5-6.

24

"Je n'ai rien à te dire, si ce n'est que maintenant je déteste les Lyonnais, qu'ils ne sont pas propres, avares, intéressés (...). Je me déplaçais horriblement à la pension, elle est sale, mal tenue, en désordre, les élèves méchants et malpropres comme tous les Lyonnais (...)" (L.I.S., 54).

"Qu'on s'ennuie au collège, surtout au collège de Lyon! Les murs sont si tristes, si crasseux et si humides, les classes si obscures, le caractère lyonnais si différent du caractère parisien! Mais enfin le temps s'approche où je vais retourner à Paris" (L.I.S., 81).

"Oh! Rari nantes in gurgité vasto, c'est bien le cas d'appliquer le précepte. Dans cette ville noire des fumées du charbon de terre on n'y trouve que de gros marrons et de fines soieries" (L.I.S., 82).

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25

Porché, Histoire d'une âme, pp. 29-30.

26

Ruff, L'Esprit du mal, p. 154.

27

Charles Asselineau, Baudelaire et Asselineau, eds. Jacques Crépet and Claude Pichois (Paris: Nizet, 1953).

"Mme Baudelaire avec son petit quant-à-soi de femme de tribunal m'a agacé. Je comprenais en l'écoutant tout ce que le pauvre Charles a dû souffrir de sa famille.

L'opinion commune est que Mme Aupick adore son fils, mais qu'elle aurait désiré lui voir donner à ses travaux une forme plus lucrative. Le bon père Ancelle m'a dit naïvement: il n'aurait jamais pensé à capitaliser." pp. 223-224.

"Mme Aupick retourne à Honfleur dans quelques jours. Elle a fini par comprendre que sa compagnie était pour son fils plutôt un sujet d'irritation que de consolation." p.228.

28

Compare Albert Feuillerat, Baudelaire et sa mère (Montréal: Editions Variétés, 1944), p. 201; and Ruff, L'Esprit du mal, pp. 147-148.

29

Martin Turnell, Baudelaire, A Study of his Poetry (London: H. Hamilton, 1953), p. 41.

30

Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, La Vie quotidienne d'un collège parisien pendant plus de 350 ans. Du Collège de Clermont au lycée Louis-le-Grand (1563-1920), 3 vols (Paris: Boccard, 1921, 1922, 1925).

Further references to this book will be found in the text of our study under (Dupont).

31

Castille, France sous le règne de Louis-Philippe, pp. 264-266.

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32

Jacques Crépet (CG1, 62n) draws our attention to François Porché's claim that Baudelaire was thinking more of the Collège de Lyon than Louis-le-Grand in certain of these lines. We find that Baudelaire's age at the time added to Dupont-Ferrier's description of Louis-le-Grand as it existed, are sufficient reason to assume that Baudelaire was indeed thinking of his stay at Louis-le-Grand.

A similar treatment of his school days is found in the article, "Edgar Allan Poe, Sa vie et ses ouvrages," OP1, 256. "Pour moi, je sens s'exhaler de ce tableau de collège un parfum noir. J'y sens circuler le frisson des sombres années de la claustration, Les heures de cachot, la malaise de l'enfance chétive et abandonnée, la terreur du maître, notre ennemi, la haine des camarades tyranniques, la solitude du cœur, toutes ces tortures du jeune âge, Edgar Poe ne les a pas éprouvées. Tant de sujets de mélancolie ne l'ont pas vaincu."

33

Albert Fournier, "Les 44 domiciles de Baudelaire," Europe, 45, No. 456-457 (1967), p. 265.

34

Baudelaire is eighteen when he writes this letter. Twenty-four years later he is still upset with what he calls his "atroce éducation" in a project for Mon Cœur mis à nu (CG4, 168): "Eh bien! oui, ce livre tant rêvé sera un livre de rancunes. A coup sûr ma mère et même mon beau-père y seront respectés. Mais tout en racontant mon éducation, la manière dont se sont façonnés mes idées et mes sentiments, je veux faire sentir sans cesse que je me sens étranger au monde et à ses cultes. Je tournerai contre la France entière mon réel talent d'impertinence. J'ai besoin de vengeance" comme un homme a besoin d'un bain."

35

Dupont-Ferrier, La Vie quotidienne, II, pp.97-98. Madame Aupick's contrasting impression of her son as a student comes from Eugène Crépet's Oeuvres Posthumes. As for Baudelaire himself we can see his opinions on school life in CG1, 62, 157; CG4, 13, 168; CG5, 247, 277-281; OP1, 256.

36

Ernest Prarond from W.T. Bandy's Baudelaire devant ses contemporains (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1957), p. 16.

37

Found in Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire (Paris: A. Messein, 1906), p. 222.

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The following 4 familiar references are taken from Bandy's Baudelaire devant ses contemporains: "Pas un pli de son habit qui ne fût raisonné. Aussi quelle merveille que ce costume noir, toujours le même, à toutes heures, en toute saison! Ce frac, d'une ampleur si gracieuse, dont une main cultivée taquinait les revers; cette cravate si joliment nouée, ce gilet long, fermant très-haut le premier de ses douze boutons et négligemment entr'ouvert sur une chemise si fine, aux manchettes plissées, ce pantalon "tirbouchonnant" (sic) sur des souliers d'une lustre irréprochable! Que de cabriolets leurs vernis m'a coûtés! Hélas! c'était le bon temps" (Charles Cousin) p. 15.

"Si jamais le mot séduction put être appliqué à un être humain, ce fut bien à lui, car il avait la noblesse, la fierté, l'élégance, la beauté à la fois enfantine et virile(...) En l'apercevant je vis ce que je n'avais jamais vu, un homme tel que je me figurais que l'homme doit être dans la gloire héroïque de son printemps" (Théodore de Banville), p. 17.

"Rien de trop frais ni trop voyant dans cette tenue rigoureuse. Charles Baudelaire appartenait à ce dandysme sobre qui râpe ses habits du papier de verre pour leur ôter l'éclat endimanché et tout battant neuf si cher au philistin et si désagréable pour le gentleman" (Théophile Gautier), pp. 22-23.

"M. Baudelaire est artificiel en tout. Il se poudre, affirment ses familiers, et même il se peint. Comme Eglé, belle et poète, il fait son visage; il est vrai qu'il fait aussi ses vers, et fort bien" (Alcide Dusolier), p. 242.

39

II, p. 7. "Quand même Dieu n'existerait pas, la Religion serait encore Sainte et Divine."

"Dieu est le seul être qui, pour régner, n'ait même pas besoin d'exister."

40

Bandy, Baudelaire devant ses contemporains. Judith Gauthier, pp. 247-248; Maxime du Camp, pp. 248-249; Jules Troubat, p. 251; Maxime Rude, p. 271.

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- 41
Georges Blin, "Baudelaire et la différence," MF, 1 Nov. 1939,
pp. 54-63.
- 42
Maurice Chaplain, "Baudelaire et Pascal," La Revue de France,
1 Nov. 1933, p. 93.
- 43
Pierre Dufay, "Baudelaire mystificateur," La Connaissance, Sept.
1920, pp. 705-707.
- 44
Marcel Ruff, "Baudelaire et l'amour," La Table Ronde, 97, Jan.
1956, p. 89.
- 45
Jacques Boulanger, Sous Louis-Philippe Les Dandys (Paris: Calmann-
Lévy, 1932), p. 48.
- 46
Henri d'Alméras, La Vie Parisienne sous le règne de Louis-Philippe
(Paris: Albin Michel, 1925), pp. 458-465.
- 47
N.H. Clement, Romanticism in France (New York: MLA, 1939), p. 476.
- 48
César Grana, Bohemian versus Bourgeois (New York: Basic Books,
1964), p. 147.
- 49
Pierre Flottes, Baudelaire, l'homme et le poète (Paris: Perrin et
Cie., 1922), p. 28.
- 50
Cyril Connolly, Previous Convictions (London: H. Hamilton, 1963),
pp. 186-187.

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- 51
Georges Blin, "Baudelaire et la différence," p. 54.
- 52
Jean des Cognets, "Baudelaire d'après ses lettres," Revue Hebdomadaire, 16, 6 (1907), p. 625.
- 53
In particular see Charles du Bos, "Méditation sur la vie de Baudelaire," La Revue de Genève, 21(1922), pp. 426-452.
- 54
In 1857 the word argent appeared in "Abel et Caïn"; in 1861 it was removed for the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal.
- 55
Albert Ronsin, "Le Problème du séjour de Charles Baudelaire à Dijon en 1849-1850," in Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts, et Belles Lettres de Dijon, 112 (1954-1956), p. 59.
- 56
Charles Mauron, Le Dernier Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1966), pp. 23-25.
- 57
CGI, 29, note 1; 30, note 2.
- 58
CGI, 73, note 1.
- 59
Edouard de Rougemont, Commentaires graphologiques sur Charles Baudelaire (Paris: La Société de graphologie, 1922).
- 60
d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne, pp. 61-62.
- 61
Graña, Bohemian versus Bourgeois, pp. xii-xiii.

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62

Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), II, pp. 682-683.

63

Hauser, Social History of Art, II, p. 683.

64

Pierre Labracherie, La Vie quotidienne de la Bohème littéraire au XIXe siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1967), p. 31.

65

Graña, Bohemian versus Bourgeois, p. 71.

66

Graña, Bohemian versus Bourgeois, p. 74.

67

Graña, Bohemian versus Bourgeois, p. 76; also Enid Starkie, Baudelaire (London: Faber & Faber, 1957), pp. 84, 86, 89.

68

Graña, p. 97; Starkie, p. 197; Ruff, L'Esprit du mal, p. 113.

69

Graña, Bohemian versus Bourgeois, pp. 71-73.

70

W.T. Bandy, "What's in a name? (Variant Signatures in Baudelaire's letters)," Revista di Letteratura Moderna e Contemporanea, 12,1 (1959), p. 73.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL FRAY (1848-1852)

The importance of the years 1848-1852 in Baudelaire's development has often been minimized. Writing in 1936, Malcom Cowley remarked that "almost nobody has talked about Baudelaire as a revolutionist, in spite of the fact that he risked his life three times on the barricades." Cowley continues by adding:

I can easily see why the subject has been avoided. The poet himself changed his political opinions in later years and preferred not to talk about his political activities. The revolution in which he was involved has been played down by historians. Yet the French revolution of 1848 came as the result of a long intellectual and social ferment in many ways comparable with that which the world is passing through today. Its effect on French literature was perhaps more decisive than that of the World War. And Baudelaire took part both in the agitation that preceded it and in the political struggles that followed.

For six years he lived among revolutionaries. Beginning in 1845, when he lost control of his small fortune, he ceased to be a bohemian by choice and became a bohemian by necessity; he was a comrade of the struggling poets and painters and shared their hopes for overthrowing the bourgeois government.

Ten years after Cowley's remarks, Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy partially filled this gap with their admirable Baudelaire en 1848. By a penetrating analysis of Baudelaire's political and journalistic activities during this period, they have done much to dispel the traditional opinion that the years 1848-1852 were little more than an insignificant aberration of youthful enthusiasm. As Cowley has

remarked however, "1848 came as the result of a long intellectual and social ferment". It is to this prologue that the critic ought first to address himself.

The Background of 1848

The first aim of the 1848 Revolution was the overthrow of Louis-Philippe, who, at the hands of cartoonists and political journalists had become the symbol of forces which he never really controlled. Baudelaire's references to the bourgeois king are few. Jacques Crépét's index to the Correspondance Générale gives only one:

J'ai tâché d'utiliser ce dernier mois en entrant plus avant dans certaines questions (par exemple l'instruction publique), et j'ai fait les découvertes les plus drôles. Napoléon Ier, Louis-Philippe et le sieur Duruy (qui veut faire de la France une Belgique) règnent encore ici (CG4, 329).

The index omits two other references, the first of which is found in a letter to his mother on June 6, 1862, when the king's name is mentioned in the context of a bitter attack on Ancelle:

J'aurais bien voulu me passer absolument de ces cinq cents francs. J'aurais préféré cela plutôt que de le voir et de l'entendre bégayer lentement pendant des heures: 'Vous avez une bien bonne mère, n'est-ce pas? Aimez-vous bien votre mère? -- ou bien: Cröyez-vous en Dieu, il y a un Dieu, n'est-ce pas? ou bien: Louis-Philippe a été un grand roi. On lui rendra justice plus tard.' Chacune de ces phrases-là se délaye pendant une demi-heure. Pendant ce temps-là, on m'attend dans plusieurs quartiers de Paris (CG4, 94).

The second reference is found in a letter to Julien Lemer when

Baudelaire is searching for a literary agent to protect him from the unscrupulous tactics of certain editors:

Dentu et Charpentier ne me paraissent pas des éditeurs de nature à donner de la popularité à mes livres. Je me trompe peut-être; mais Dentu ne me paraît pas assez sérieux, et Charpentier est trop du règne de Louis-Philippe; vous comprenez (CG4, 22-23).

These three references to Louis-Philippe have one thing in common -- they do not comment on the man himself but merely use his name in the context of certain characteristics which Baudelaire detested. It should also be noted that all three references come late in his life, two of them belonging to the Belgian period where the most banal daily activity provided the excuse for a new attack on anything symbolizing middle class liberal morality and values.

Both references to Louis-Philippe in the Journaux Intimes are also conceived in symbolic terms. Both show that Baudelaire retained nothing of his youthful attempt to defend the king against the insults of Lyons (L.I.S., 74) nor his enthusiasm over a day when his class had been royal guests at Versailles (L.I.S., 152-153).

Princes et générations

Il y a une égale injustice à attribuer aux princes régnants les mérites et les vices du peuple actuel qu'ils gouvernent.

Ces mérites et ces vices sont presque toujours, comme la statistique et la logique le pourraient démontrer, attribuables à l'atmosphère du gouvernement précédent.

Louis XIV hérite des hommes de Louis XIII. Gloire. Napoléon Ier hérite des hommes de la République. Gloire. Louis-Philippe hérite des hommes de Charles X. Gloire. Napoléon III hérite des hommes de Louis-Philippe. Déshonneur.

C'est toujours le gouvernement précédent qui est responsable des mœurs du suivant, en tant qu'un gouvernement puisse être responsable de quoi que ce soit.

Les coupures brusques que les circonstances font dans les règnes

ne permettent pas que cette loi soit absolument exacte, relativement au temps. On ne peut pas marquer où finit une influence -- mais cette influence subsistera dans toute la génération qui l'a subie dans sa jeunesse (JI, 91).

Deux belles religions immortelles sur les murs, éternelles obsessions du peuple: une pine (le phallus antique) -- et "Vive Barbès!" ou "A bas Philippe!" ou "Vive la République" (JI, 92)!

While Baudelaire might well have convinced his history teacher, Durozoir, that the study of history was absolutely useless, the above observation on princes and generations is one of the keenest historical observations of the nineteenth century. In one phrase he has tried and judged two regimes: "Napoléon III hérite des hommes de Louis-Philippe. Déshonneur." He also bitterly attacks his own generation for failing to hold aloft the torch that had been handed to them. Baudelaire as historian opts neither for the theory that men make events nor for the contrary theory that events make men. There is in this historical judgement a complex and mysterious relationship between the two.

The second observation shows that Baudelaire had been able to penetrate the problem of the Revolution and go beyond the symbol of Louis-Philippe -- a symbol which many of his contemporaries had taken for the true problem. Commenting on Louis-Philippe as a symbol of the time, Henri d'Alméras feels that if, as is generally believed, the masters of the world are distinguished by some form of august face and majestic attitude, Louis-Philippe had nothing royal about him. With his pear-shaped head surmounted by a toupée, his large sideburns and listless eyes, this fat little man looked more like a shop-keeper than the sovereign of a great power. As if to exaggerate his bourgeois aspect, he customarily wore a blue suit with gold buttons, a white vest, and in

place of a sceptre, an umbrella, outward sign of his pacifistic nature and his fear of storms.² While we must at times beware of d'Alméras' conservative ideas; he does have a point in stating that no government was less aggressive, yet more bitterly attacked than that of Louis-Philippe, and that the idea of turning this inoffensive bourgeois into a tyrant was one of the most stupid ideas to lay hold of the French brain.³ From the right he was attacked by the Legitimists who still had the courage to proclaim that the monarchy ought to be divinely consecrated. From the left he faced the opposition of the Bonapartists, while from the revived republicans he faced the opposition of the nation's intellectual elite.

Paris thrived with secret republican clubs such as the Société des Condamnés Politiques, Société des Réclamants de Juillet, Société Gauloise, Société de Francs Régénérés, Société des droits de l'homme, Société Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera, Société du Progrès, Société des amis du peuple, Société des Familles, Société de l'Enfer.⁴ Many of these societies were pure fantasy and had too few members to be of any real influence. However, in such groups as the Société des amis du peuple and the Société des Familles there were resolved and disciplined men who provided the recruits for the riots that plagued the regime and which inevitably led to the major clash of 1848.⁵

Ironically, a part of the regime's vulnerability stemmed from certain freedoms it had granted. Increased freedom of the press had led to the founding of certain newspapers which elevated political caricature to the level of art. Among these the most notable were La Caricature, Le Charivari, La Mode, Le Constitutionnel and Les Cancans.

Baudelaire's lack of direct attacks on Louis-Philippe distin-

guishes him from many of his contemporaries. Listening to the ramblings of the *Jeune France*, one might derive the impression that the bourgeoisie's only sin was lack of taste. Others however, saw that the imposition of this new class with its cult of liberty had had far more serious consequences than a simple lowering of artistic standards. Certainly in the economic field, the idea of freedom for some had come to mean poverty for many. Liberty, as Hippolyte Castille points out, is by its very essence a negative quality in that it can neither forewarn nor prevent disaster. "Les mesures de salut public n'ont en horreur."⁶ In reality Louis-Philippe, like Napoleon and Charles X, had become involved in the complication of an industrial era and perished because of it -- not because he lacked the ability to see the new system but because he had wanted to concentrate the prerogatives of the individual in the bourgeoisie. The very fact that individualism had now become an accepted social principle was enshrined in Louis-Philippe's famous "Chacun chez soi, chacun pour soi."⁷ The grinding poverty and social injustice that such individualism allowed to exist is the true evil behind the symbol of the July Monarchy.

As for the church, it played no role in the alleviation of these injustices, a fact which substantially contributed to alienate Romantic humanitarianism from Catholicism. It was an age when the burning question for the church was whether one should serve Paris or Rome, so that while Gallicans and Ultramontains battled each other, the problem of social reform was left to men who placed increasing emphasis on materialism, and less and less emphasis on the spiritual vitality necessary for valid social reform. Few better summed up the growing tendency to feel that social evil could be cured by materialism

than the future Napoleon III.

Il est vrai qu'il y a une grande différence entre la misère qui provient de la stagnation forcée du travail et le paupérisme qui souvent est le résultat du vice. Cependant on peut soutenir que l'un est la conséquence immédiate de l'autre, car répandre dans les classes ouvrières qui sont plus nombreuses, l'aisance, l'instruction, la morale, c'est extirper le paupérisme sinon en entier du moins en grande partie. (...)

La classe ouvrière ne possède rien, il faut lui rendre propriétaire. ⁸

Perhaps the most striking reaction against social injustice before 1848 came from sociologists and the socialists. Whether utopians, economists or simply humanitarians, they represent the nineteenth century's contribution to the philosophy of collective effort. Certain aspects of their contribution must be analysed therefore as an essential prologue to Baudelaire's varying attitudes to the forces of individualism and the forces of collectivity.

The forces of collectivism probably received their impetus as much from social injustice as from the Romantic school of individualism. Whether in the wake of utopian socialists like Lamennais, Saint-Simon or Fourier; economic socialists like Louis Blanc, Proudhon or Marx; humanitarian socialists like Victor Hugo and George Sand; or dedicated revolutionists like Blanqui -- the pendulum of French intellectual expression was being drawn toward the expression of the masses. Like the first generation of romantics, the first generation of socialists had drawn their inspiration from the Christian tradition. Their initial aim seems to have been to make charity more systematic and hence more effective. In this manner, early nineteenth century socialism owed much to the illuminism of the eighteenth century. P. Mansell Jones has

remarked that a generation or two of thinkers like Lavater, whom Baudelaire called the 'angelic man' (PA, 200), Claude de Saint-Martin, Ballanche, Mme de Staël, and Chateaubriand, mediate between the Illuminists and the Romantics, and that the filiation is prolonged in a line of utopian reformers like Saint-Simon, Fourier and Pierre Leroux.⁹ Frederick Artz has noted that a group consisting of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Lasteyrie, Alexandre de Laborde, Benjamin Delessert, and Gerando, had links with the eighteenth century Physiocrats, and had adopted certain basic ideas such as the need for vaccination and sanitation for the poor, the need for extensive primary education, 'savings' banks and mutual aid societies for the workers.¹⁰

Perhaps the greatest of the Utopian reformers was Saint-Simon. George Brunet describes him as Oedipus before the sphynx at the dawn of the nineteenth century: both realist and dreamer, calculator and visionary, lucid observer and hallucinatory prophet, precursor of socialism and positivism, humanitarian and neo-Christian.¹¹ Because it spent considerably less time dreaming than Fourierism, Saint-Simonism had a more profound social effect, even though its practical influence was slight before 1840. He was the first important thinker to see that the scientist would replace the priest and that the new industrial capitalist would replace the traditional notions of aristocracy. Saint-Simon's system worked toward the establishment of an industrial hegemony, and it was principally in the world of science that he recruited his first disciples. The Saint-Simonian newspaper, Le Globe, was founded in 1831-32 to defend his ideas. On the first page of each edition appeared the following motto:

Toutes les institutions sociales doivent avoir pour but l'amélioration morale, intellectuelle, et physique de la classe la plus nombreuse de la société.¹²

In a later analysis of Baudelaire's work it will be necessary to return again to this essential facet of Saint-Simonism: no progress is possible without spiritual progress.

While Saint-Simon seems to have greatly influenced the economists of the day, Fourier seems to have been popular among the artists.¹³ His doctrine was one of passionate attraction -- the utilization of the passions in a single social aim, which would make work more agreeable and fruitful by allowing the group to take precedence over the individual.¹⁴ While many of Fourier's more dramatic claims such as that we would all live to be 144 and 7 feet tall in such a system were rejected even by his followers, the Phalanstère was founded in 1832-34 to defend his ideas in the same way that the Globe had become the journalistic outlet for the Saint-Simonians. In 1836 the Phalanstère reappeared under the title Phalange, later replaced by the Démocratie Pacifique. Here such disciples as Victor Considérant, Cantagrel and Toussenel retained only the more practical sections of the master's work.¹⁵

In the formation of the spirit of 1848, Utopian socialists were not alone in combatting the forces of individualism. As anti-clericalism turned to anti-Catholicism, the socialist movement became increasingly secular -- orienting its philosophy around purely economic issues. Property had now come to be the source of all evil. Newspaper after newspaper was founded to defend the attacks on property. By 1848, Pierre Leroux had achieved the terminology that

would mark any future developments of the movement.

Nous appelons prolétaires, les citoyens dont les revenus n'atteignent pas la subsistance. Nous appelons propriétaires les citoyens dont les revenus atteignent la subsistance. Nous appelons capitalistes les citoyens dont les revenus excèdent la subsistance. (...).

Il y a en France, sur 35 millions d'habitants, 34 millions d'âmes exclus, non seulement du droit politique, mais du droit économique, le revenu net de la France est concentré comme le droit politique, dans les mains de 196,000 individus.¹⁶

Perhaps the greatest of the moderate socialists was Pierre Joseph Proudhon, who more than anyone gave precise shape to the formerly vague tendencies of socialism.

La société se trouve, dès son origine, divisée en deux grands partis: l'un traditionnel, essentiellement hiérarchique, et qui, selon l'objet qu'il considère s'appelle royauté ou démocratie, philosophie ou religion, en un mot, propriété; -- l'autre qui, ressuscitant à chaque crise de la civilisation, se proclame avant tout anarchique et athée, c'est-à-dire refractaire à toute autorité divine et humaine: c'est le socialisme.¹⁷

Perhaps Proudhon's most famous line however, is his famous definition of property as theft:

Si j'avais à répondre à la question suivante: Qu'est-ce que l'esclavage? et que d'un seul mot je répondisse: c'est l'assassinat, ma pensée serait d'abord comprise. (...). Pourquoi donc à cette autre demande: Qu'est-ce que la propriété? ne puis répondre de même: C'est le vol, sans avoir la certitude de n'être pas entendu, bien que cette seconde proposition ne soit que la première transformée.¹⁸

Little was violent with Proudhon except his language. There was however, an inevitable radical wing to the socialist movement. The

acknowledged leader of this group was Louis August Blanqui who spent some forty years of his life in prison. His basic philosophy foreshadowed the Communistic theory of attaining power through a class war.

Ceci est la guerre entre les riches et les pauvres; les riches l'ont voulu, parce qu'ils ont été l'agresseur; les privilégiés vivent grassement de la sueur des pauvres.¹⁹

The development of Communism marks the final stage in the development of social philosophy before 1848. The words Communism and Communists had only entered the language in 1838 to describe the violent and determined socialists.²⁰ Almost at the same moment as the Société Démocratique française was mapping out its strategy in London for the February Revolution, the first Congress of the Communist Federation was holding its meetings in the same city. The Communist Manifesto drawn up by Karl Marx and F. Engels was translated into French shortly before February 1848. Basing itself to a large extent on the ideas of the French socialist movement, the Manifesto opened an era of international socialism and flung aside the last veil of moderation which had characterized the bourgeois socialism to date by declaring total war on the establishment.

Les communistes jugent indigne d'eux de dissimuler leurs opinions que leurs dessins ne peuvent être réalisés que par le renversement de tout l'ordre social, traditionnel. Aux classes dirigeantes, à trembler devant l'éventualité d'une révolution communiste: Les prolétaires n'ont rien à y perdre, que leurs chaînes. Et c'est un monde qu'ils ont à y gagner.²¹

Summing up this great current which slowly but inevitably was leading France toward conflict, Georges and Hubert Bourgin feel that the Communist Manifesto marked both the beginning and the end of a period in French socialism. The political and doctrinal elements had been constituted and now needed only to undergo their baptism of fire on the barricades of 1848.²²

If Baudelaire has seemed neglected in these past few pages, it is because the true impact of his revolutionary activities must be placed against the major currents of his day. It is important to see that the French intellectual community was already locked in a deadly form of civil war between the partisans of individualism and collectivism. When following the pendulum of Baudelaire's political activities from 1848 to 1852 we must attempt to see what he retains and what he rejects in the great social philosophies of the day.

A Year of Revolution

In a country where the gastronome is still master, it is perhaps fitting that the days of February were exploded by a banquet. D'Almèras remarks that in order to obtain reform, the right to vote and even universal suffrage, the opposition of 1847 and 1848 held a series of banquets all over France. Here one ate, drank and talked against the government of Louis-Philippe, much to the joy of the restaurant owners. Conforming to an existing tradition, the electors of the 12th arrondissement scheduled a banquet for January 19th, 1848. As to why the government chose to cancel this particular banquet as an example remains somewhat of a mystery. When the banquet was

cancelled, the good bourgeois of the 12th set another date and promised the government that permit or no, they would hold their meeting on February 22. The event captured the attention of the opposition press so that on February 22, a large crowd of curious onlookers and workers had gathered to see whether gastronomic urges or Guizot would carry the day. When the banquet was cancelled for the second time a riot erupted, triggering a tragic chain of rebellion and repression which ended the monarchy in France and unleashed class hatreds which still smolder beneath the surface of French political and social life.

The currents of bourgeois individualism, socialism and outstanding grievances had somehow reached a focal point that afternoon of February 22, 1848, as Baudelaire, Courbet, Toubin and the musician Promayet, followed the excited crowds along the Rue Royale. Forced onto a parapet of the Tuilleries by the troops, they shared a balcony seat for what must have been their first real participation in the horror of civil strife, even though Baudelaire had been present during the Lyons riots in the 1830's.

Nous étions là, entourés de soldats et épiant le moment où nous pourrions nous dégager, quand passèrent des troupes se dirigeant vers l'avenue de Beaujon où, disait-on, une poignée d'émeutiers s'était emparée par surprise d'un petit corps de garde et y avait mis le feu. Quelques instants après, les troupiers repassaient devant nous, poursuivis à coups de pierres par les mêmes individus qui les avaient forcés à rebrousser chemin. Tout à coup du fond des Champs-Élysées arrivent des municipaux à pied, la baïonnette en avant, et à leur tour les émeutiers commencent à fuir. L'un d'eux, sans armes, poursuivi par deux soldats, tourne autour d'un arbre, fait un faux pas, et là, sous nos yeux, un des municipaux lui enfonce sa baïonnette en pleine poitrine. Tous, nous poussons un cri d'horreur. Un ouvrier qui s'est réfugié sur la margelle du jardin a une violente attaque de nerfs, et nous sommes obligés, Promayet et moi, de le reconduire chez lui, rue Godot-de-Mauroy, pendant que Courbet et Baudelaire vont à la Presse dénoncer à Emile de Girardin cet acte d'épouvantable férocité.²³

This spectacle alone might explain Baudelaire's attitudes during the February revolution for such a psychological shock has been known to turn the most moderate into the most radical. What they had witnessed had been an act of cold blooded murder, the settling of scores in a long standing hatred between the workers and the municipaux.

On February 23 the three friends witness the announcement on the Boulevard du Temple that Louis-Philippe has dismissed Guizot. The revolution seemed over. Charles Toubin provides an interesting description of Baudelaire during, what was for others, this moment of calm.

Il était enchanté dit Toubin, de ce qu'il avait vu depuis deux jours. Le commencement du drame l'avait fort intéressé; seulement le dénouement lui plaisait peu, et il trouvait que le rideau était tombé trop tôt. Je ne l'avais jamais vu si gai, si lesté, si infatigable, lui qui n'avait pas l'habitude de marcher. Ses yeux étincelaient.²⁴

It is important to draw from Toubin's impressions the general portrait of Baudelaire's excitability during conflict. For the moment, he had retained nothing of the Dandy's impassiveness and had joined the battle with as much enthusiasm as he had previously played the role of aloofness.

In reality the Revolution had hardly begun. On the same day a band of revellers advanced on the troops surrounding the Foreign Ministry. In a moment of panic, the order was given to fire on the crowd. Within moments the word spread that the soldiers were killing the workers. Paris was again in arms. While the incident of the banquet had carried off Guizot, the incident at the Foreign Ministry

soon carried off the French monarchy. This time the insurrection was general. Jules Buisson leaves us this interesting description of

1 Baudelaire, on February 24, 1848:

Le 24 février au soir, je le rencontre au carrefour de Buci, au milieu d'une foule qui venait de piller une boutique d'armurier. Il portait un beau fusil à deux coups, luisant et vierge, et une superbe cartouchière de cuir jaune tout aussi immaculée. Je le hélai; il vint à moi, simulant une grande animation. 'Je viens de faire le coup de fusil' me dit-il. Et comme je souriais, regardant son artillerie tout battant neuve:

--Pas pour la République, par exemple?

Il ne me répondit pas, criait beaucoup et toujours son refrain:

--Il faut aller fusiller le general Aupick!

Jamais je n'avais été aussi frappé de ce qui manquait de caractère à cette nature si fine et si originale.²⁵

This often commented call to shoot his step-father has frequently clouded the picture of Baudelaire on the barricades. Claude Pichois' excellent portrait of Aupick and his relationship with his step-son,²⁶ rules out the possibility that such an action could be politically motivated. If Baudelaire's attempt at patricide is authentic, it probably stemmed more from personal economic grievances accentuated by the excitement of the moment, than from any social consideration of Aupick as a General in the employ of a dying régime.

Attempts to rationalize Baudelaire's attitudes on the barricades have frequently led to dubious theories such as Raymond Escholier's speculation on the two souls Baudelaire hoped to find in heaven:

(...) deux âmes si longtemps persécutées: Caroline, veuve de sénile François Baudelaire, auquel Charles devait une partie de ses tares physiques, et cette autre, si souvent étranglée, mais qui comme Phénix, devait renaître de ses cendres même après la Semaine Sanglante: Marianne.

que le poète défendit à maintes reprises, sur les barricades et l'arme au poing: La République.²⁷

While the air of hysteria associated with the barricades is insufficient proof for Baudelaire's republican sympathies, we might look at other events. For years, Baudelaire had worn a red tie, symbol of the republican movement.²⁸ During the 1840's the red tie was as obvious a symbol as the later swastika. While the wearing of such a tie might be calculated to shock the bourgeoisie, it certainly would produce no surprise among his friends. Men such as Courbet, Esquiros, and Poulet-Malassis were devoted republicans anyway.²⁹ Even acquaintances such as Valois and Ernest Lébloys were ardent republicans.³⁰

The second major encounter with the republican movement is seen when Baudelaire joins the Société Républicaine Centrale.³¹ In Emile de Girardin's La Presse of February 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, the announcement appears that a new group had been formed of such notables as Alphonse Esquiros, Gerard de Nerval, Alexandre Weill, Theophile Thoré, and Marc Fournier. Calling themselves the Club des Augustins they wished to defend actively the freedom of the press. Another article in the same edition states that a society had been founded at 45 Grenelle-Saint-Honoré whose members had decided on the name Société Républicaine Centrale, and whose aim was union, order, and progress. Whereas the Club des Augustins containing many of Baudelaire's friends is never mentioned again, the February 28 edition of the Courier Français gives front page coverage to the Société Républicaine Centrale and its directors. Baudelaire's name is found among the 325 listed members. Since Baudelaire's name is on the list, Bandy and Mouquet have

pointed out that he had to have attended the second meeting along with Wagner, A. Toussenel, and Pierre Dupont. They also point out that Baudelaire's participation was of short duration for both his name and that of Pierre Dupont are missing on the definitive list of members, published by the Courier Français on March 10. Had the process of political disillusion set in already? Baudelaire's refusal to participate in further meetings of the Société Républicaine Centrale might initially support such an argument. It is interesting to note however, that the director of this society was none other than the radical's radical: Louis Auguste Blanqui, the most violent French socialist of the period. Despite the inoffensive platform of union, order, and progress, one may safely conclude that any movement presided by Blanqui would not take long before it began debating the most efficient means of exterminating the capitalistic class. Baudelaire's momentary allegiance to such a society must therefore be considered in the general climate of extremism of the February revolution. The absence of his name on the definitive list of members need not therefore indicate disillusionment with politics. It might very well indicate a trend toward moderation.

Le Salut Public

The marked trend toward moderation is most evident in Baudelaire's journalism during this period. Having tried his hand at direct physical involvement, he now turned to a medium with which he was more familiar: the pen.

The February revolution, which had introduced the freedom of the press, was responsible for a rash of newspapers. As Bandy and Mouquet point out, there was not a writer nor a sociologist that did not want his own. Over 500 appeared during the course of 1848.³² It is hardly surprising therefore, that the Salut Public with its standard combination of naive enthusiasm, intellectual obscurantism, and oratorical pompousness, found the competition too strong to allow it more than two issues. Charles Toubin's memoirs again provide us with the background.

Le journal fut fondé avec quatre-vingt francs que possédaient les frères Toubin, et rédigé au Café Turlot qui faisait le coin des rues de l'École-de-Médecine et Hautefeuille et que fréquentaient aussi Courbet, Traviès, Jean Journet, Gérard de Nerval, Musset, Schœnauer. C'est Baudelaire qui en imposa le titre, faisant remarquer qu'en temps de révolution il faut parler fort pour se faire entendre. 'Baudelaire aimait la révolution comme tout ce qui est violent et anormal.' Quant à l'unité de vues d'opinions 'on n'y fit pas même attention'.

Le premier numéro, rédigé en moins de deux heures coûta trente francs. Mais les vendeurs, à qui on avait remis les quatre cents exemplaires ne reparurent pas. Pour le second, Courbet fournit une vignette gravée par Bresdin. Revêtu d'une chemise blanche, Baudelaire le vendit dans les rues et en porta des exemplaires à l'archevêché de Paris et à Raspail 'pour lequel il professait tendresse et admiration sans bornes depuis qu'il avait lu l'Ami du peuple'. (...) ³³

Speculation on Baudelaire's contribution to the Salut Public is varied and often contradictory. In the following list we can see how La Fizelière and Decaux (FD), Eugène Crépet (EC), Fernand Vandérem (FV), and Jacques Crépet (JC) do not always agree that Baudelaire wrote (+) or did not write (-) a given article.

SALUT PUBLIC I

<u>Article</u>	FD	EC	FV	JC
Au peuple				

Article	FD	EC	FV	JC
Aux chefs du gouvernement provisoire	+			
Les Etoiles filent, et les reputations aussi				
La garde nationale(...)				
Le 24 février				
Les presses mecaniques				
La Reine d'Espagne a la colique				+
Trois mots sur trois gouvernements			+	+
Un mot de l'ex-roi				
La République française et l'Europe				
Bon sens du Peuple				+
Respect aux arts et à l'industrie				
La Beauté du peuple			+	+
Le Constitutionnel est scandalisé!			+	+
Les artistes Républicains			+	+
Réouverture des Théâtres		+		+
Bonnes nouvelles				

SALUT PUBLIC II

Les Châtiments de Dieu	+		+	+
Aux Prêtres!				
Ce pauvre Metternich				
Des Mœurs ou tout est perdu!				
L'Ami du Peuple de 1848			+	-
Le Journal Conservateur de la République				+
La Curée				
La Première et la dernière			+	+
Il y avait en Allemagne (...)				
Sifflons sur le reste				
(Que les citoyens).				+

In light of the uncertainty as to whether an article can be attributed to Baudelaire or not, one should first examine the political and social philosophy of the Salut Public as an entity.

The opening article, "Au Peuple", expresses the utopian confidence that the people are the guardians of all virtue.

On disait au Peuple: défie-toi.

Aujourd'hui il faut dire au Peuple: aie confiance dans le gouvernement.

Peuple! Tu es là, toujours présent, et ton gouvernement ne peut pas commettre de faute. Surveille-le, mais enveloppe-le de ton amour. Ton gouvernement est ton fils.

(...) Mais que le Peuple sache bien ceci, que la meilleure remède aux conspirations de tout genre est LA FOI ABSOLUE.

dans la République, et que toute intention hostile est, inévitablement étouffée dans une atmosphère d'amour universel (OP1, 191).

In the first edition of the Salut Public there are also utopian references to the power and virtue of the people in "Le 24 février" and "Bonnes Nouvelles."

Avez à vos ordres quatre-vingt mille baïonnettes et des vaissons par milliers, et des canons mécha allumés, si vous avez contre vous le droit et la volonté du Peuple, vous êtes un gouvernement pendu, et le ne vous donne pas vingt-quatre heures pour décamper (OP1, 191).

--Hier, deux prêtres enjambaient une barricade; des hommes du Peuple les insultent; un plus grand nombre les défend. Cette haute raison du Peuple est merveilleuse (OP1, 199).

In the second edition of the Salut Public the idea of the people's virtue is continued in an article such as "Aux Prêtres".

Prêtres, n'hésitez pas: jetez-vous hardiment dans les bras du peuple. Vous vous régénerez de son contact; il vous respecte; il vous aimera. Jésus-Christ, votre maître, est aussi le nôtre; il était avec nous aux barricades, et c'est par lui, par lui seul que nous avons vaincu (OP1, 201).

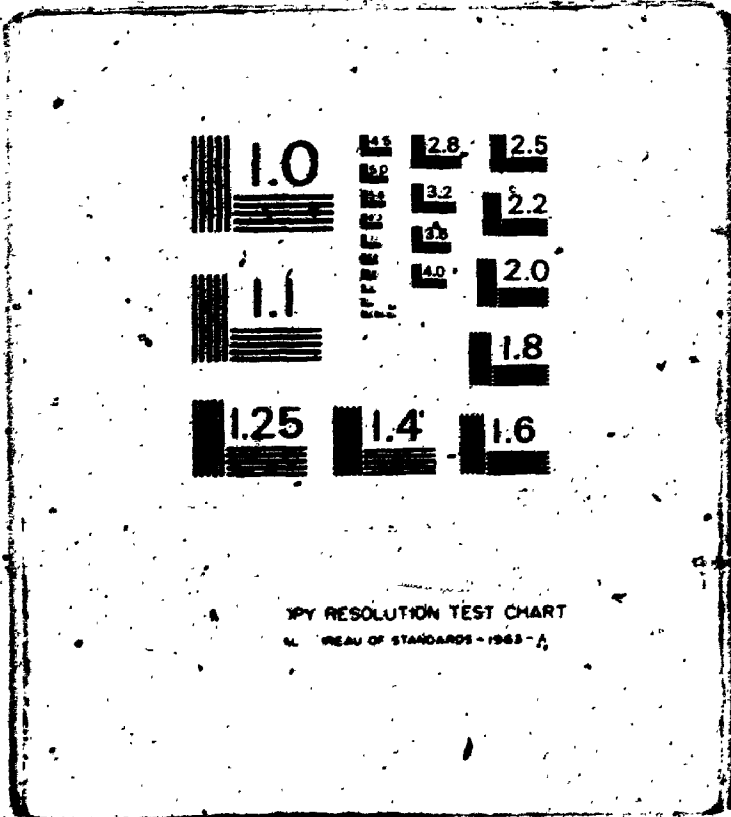
The second striking feature of the Salut Public is religious loyalty to the Republic. It is as though the Republic had produced a great spiritual renewal. The most striking example of euphoria comes in "Aux Chefs du gouvernement provisoire", and in the article which begins by "La Garde nationale est ivre". Here we see a feeling that the Republic has brought all factionalism to an end.

La confiance réciproque sauvera tout. Honte à qui n'est pas

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bon républicain! Il n'est pas de ce siècle! Honte à qui se défie. Il est donc faible (OP1, 192).

La Garde nationale est ivre de joie; elle accueille partout avec enthousiasme les cris de: Vive la République! C'est un fait accompli; il n'y a plus que des républicains en France. (OP1, 193).

In the article "La République française et l'Europe" we see the dream that the Republic would signify the dawn of an age of humanitarianism and brotherly love. These are summed up in the three great principles of the Republic:

Plus de conquêtes! Les conquêtes sont un attentat contre les droits des peuples, et tôt ou tard les nations soumises réagissent contre leurs conquérants.

La République française s'assimilera dans les limites de ses frontières les provinces qui se donnent à elle LIBREMENT ET SPONTANEMENT. En dehors de ces frontières naturelles, qui sont le Rhin et les Alpes, elle renonce solennellement à posséder jamais un pouce de terrain.

La France prend sous sa protection tous les peuples opprimés par un gouvernement tyrannique, étranger ou indigène, mais elle ne tirera son épée que pour défendre les principes et les institutions révolutionnaires (OP1, 195).

The Salut Public sees the Republic as the champion of virtue and of the weak. On a less metaphorical tone, it also is involved in rejecting the colonial policies of the July Monarchy and of assuring Europe that it does not want a repetition of the senseless wars that befell the First Republic.

There is however, another aspect of the Salut Public which situates it even more precisely in the sociological context of the day: social reality. Here we see a study in internationalism, socialism, and the fear of anarchy that characterized the social thought of the 1840's. A study of these themes as they appear in the Salut Public

reveals that they never occur in the articles attributed to Baudelaire. It would seem therefore that Baudelaire maintained an aloofness to the ideas of a socialist utopia. They are important however, in appreciating the general tone of the Salut Public.

The question of Internationalism which the Communist Party had highlighted in the Manifesto of 1847 is one of the elements that first strikes us. Addressing himself to the chiefs of the provisional government, one of the authors states:

Honneur donc à vous qui avez pris sur vos épaules le rude poids des premières journées! Vous tenez l'Europe entre vos mains (OP1, 192).

A similar view is presented in the first paragraph of the article "Le 24 février":

Le 24 février est le plus grand jour de l'humanité! C'est du 24 février que les générations futures dateront l'avènement définitif, irrévocable, du droit de la souveraineté populaire. Après trois mille ans d'esclavage, le droit vient enfin de faire son entrée dans le monde, et la rage des tyrans ne prévaudra pas contre lui. Peuple français, sois fier de toi-même; tu es le rédempteur de l'humanité (OP1, 193).

In the article "Bonnes Nouvelles", the thorny question of property is discussed. While the article does state that the right of the individual be observed, it nevertheless contains the essence of socialism that the people must claim their economic rights.

--On voulait intimider le citoyen Rotschild (sic) et le faire fuir : comme si le Peuple souverain volait des écus. Il ne prend que ses droits. Rotschild a répondu: 'J'ai confiance dans le nouveau Gouvernement et je reste! Bravo!

(...)

Décidément la Révolution de 1848 sera plus grande que celle de

1789; d'ailleurs elle commence où l'autre a fini. (OPl, 198-199).

The socialistic hope that the political revolution of 1789 would be completed by a social revolution in 1848 would soon be dashed however, and Rothschild's faith in the new government to prevent such a thing, justified.

Lastly, the Salut Public reveals a general fear that anarchy may result from the enthusiasm of the moment. Such fear is witnessed most evidently in the following two excerpts taken from "Les Presses mécaniques" and "Respect aux arts et à l'Industrie."

Quelques frères égarés ont brisé des presses mécaniques. Vous cassez les outils de la Révolution. Avec la liberté de la presse, il y aurait vingt fois plus de presses mécaniques qu'il n'y aurait pas encore assez de bras pour les faire fonctionner (OPl, 194).

Un brave citoyen s'est porté hier à Meudon pour avertir le commandant de la garde nationale Amanton de protéger les objets d'arts (sic) contre les envahissements de la garde qui devait, dit-on, se porter sur le château de l'ex-Roi. Le gouvernement provisoire a dû délivrer une sauvegarde.

Ne cessons pas de le répéter; respect aux objets d'art et d'industrie, et à tous les produits de l'intelligence (OPl, 196)!

How does Baudelaire's proposed contribution stand when compared to the general tone of the newspaper? One should first try to reconcile Jacques Crépet's opinion that Baudelaire contributed six articles to the first edition, and Charles Toubin's statement that the edition was prepared in less than two hours (OPl, 529n). Such a feat seems physically impossible. Could Toubin's memory be failing him? The rapid birth and death of the Salut Public would seem to indicate that if he did

exaggerate, it could not have been by much. We should nevertheless leave room for the theory that some of the articles were already written, and that the three principal authors might have assigned certain articles to others. If however we accept Crépet's very solid arguments that these six articles in the first edition have Baudelaire's stamp, we must be prepared to leave a certain amount of room for contradiction in detail to an author forced to write under trying circumstances and in great haste.

Situated in a context of general optimism in the virtues of the people and the Republic, we are struck by the contrasting tone of the article "Bon Sens du Peuple".

Il y a des hommes qui sont pleins de phrases toutes faites, de mots convenus et d'épithètes creuses comme leur tête.

--Le sieur Odilon Barrot, par exemple.

Quand on leur parle de 89, ces gens vous disent, c'est Voltaire qui a fait la Révolution; ou bien c'est Rousseau qui a fait la Révolution; ou bien c'est Beaumarchais qui a fait la Révolution.

Imbéciles! Niais! Doubles sots!

Michelet l'a dit: 'La Révolution de 89 a été faite par le peuple.' Là, Michelet avait raison.

Le peuple n'aime pas les gens d'esprit! et il donnera tous les Voltaires et les Beaumarchais du monde pour une vieille culotte.

Ce qui le prouve, aux Tuileries rien n'a été saccagé comme sculpture et peinture que l'image de l'ex-Roi et celle de Bugeaud; un seul buste a été jeté par les fenêtres!... Le buste de Voltaire (OP1, 196).

Jacques Crépet attributes this article to Baudelaire largely on the strength of the theory that neither Champfleury nor Tourbin particularly disliked Voltaire as did Baudelaire. There are however, more substantial reasons. The author of "Bon Sens du Peuple" sets himself against the entire tradition of Romanticism which had evolved

a theory of the artist as the leader of society. The principal exponent of this theory, Lamartine, had now taken control of the government and was intending to put his theories into practice. "Bon Sens du Peuple" however castigates the entire clique of artists who presume to reform the world. Similar criticism is also found in the Salon de 1845 and the Salon de 1846. Few men have more lucidly analysed the false claims of the artist to be a determining social force as did Baudelaire. "Bon Sens du Peuple" also treats the other side of the problem-- the relationship of the people to the artist. While Hugo, Sand, Lamartine, and Chateaubriand led on with the firm conviction that they were being followed by loyal troops, Baudelaire has taken the time to look back over his shoulder and found not only that the people are not following, but that they have come to hold the artist in distrust and ridicule. We find such considerations even more foreign to Champfleury and Toubin than their dislike of Voltaire. While such articles as "Au Peuple", "Le 24 février" and "La garde nationale est ivre..." urge the people to have confidence in the men who shape the Republic, "Bon Sens du Peuple" highlights the pretentiousness of such men.

Such cynicism concerning the influence of ideas on the masses brings us into conflict with the surface meaning of another article supposedly written by Baudelaire: "Le Journal Conservateur de la République." Here, the author praises Emile de Girardin for reserving a column in the Presse which was designed to strengthen the Republic by publishing a new idea every day.

Tous les jours les questions importantes et actuelles sont

mâchées dans la Presse.

Le citoyen Girardin prend pour devise: UNE IDEEE PAR JOUR.

Son journal, jusqu'à présent, dit ce que tout le monde pense.

Lundi, le citoyen Girardin a été le premier au rendez-vous sur la tombe d'Armand Carrel (OP1, 204).

Jacques Crépet attributes this article to Baudelaire on the strength of the fact that Baudelaire wished to remind Girardin of the visit he had paid him on February 22 when he denounced the brutal slaying of a worker (OP1, 533n). At first glance it would appear however, that the praise for an idea column contradicts the general attack on men of ideas in "Bon Sens du Peuple". Closer examination of the text however, reveals that this article is a masterpiece of persiflage. We note for example that Girardin demonstrates "cette aptitude rapide et universelle" to perceive that which was perfectly obvious in the first place. We should also note the word mâchées with reference to the serious questions of the day. Crépet's notes explain the final reference by stating that Girardin was the only man to show up and pay tribute to someone he himself had killed in a duel some twelve years earlier (OP1, 534n). The tragi-comic elements of such an event could hardly have escaped the author of the "Journal Conservateur de la République". Far from praise for the idea column therefore, we see this article as another example of biting satire aimed at utopian dreamers who feel that ideas can reform society. By contrast, Baudelaire's references in "Bon Sens du Peuple" are almost Machiavellian. There is an element of cynicism in the idea that the people would sell all the Voltaires and Beaumarchais for a pair of old trousers. It would be dangerous however, to interpret this as a conservative reaction. One of the great contributions to Baudelairian

criticism by men like Charles du Bos, has been to show how Baudelaire believed in the irrevocable corruption of man.³⁴ Such a belief could only translate itself into political convictions through an awareness that no regime could bring improvement over the former, since it was always men who formed it. To accuse the people of being self-orientated therefore, is not an attack on a particular class, but on mankind in general.

As an initial conclusion, it would appear that of the three co-authors of the Salut Public, Baudelaire is the most realistic. Refusing to be the dupe of theoreticians, he avoids the excessive euphoria which characterizes many of the other articles. It is for this reason that we can not justify either Fernand Vanderem's or Jacques Crépet's attribution of "La Première et la dernière" to Baudelaire.

En 89, l'éducation morale du peuple était nulle ou à peu près. -- Aujourd'hui le peuple connaît et pratique ses devoirs à faire honte à bien des ex-nobles et à bien des bourgeois.

En 89, la noblesse et le clergé combattirent avec fureur la révolution. -- Aujourd'hui, jusqu'à fait contraire, il n'y a que des républicains en France.

En 89, une fraction de la nation émigra et prit les armes contre la République. -- Aujourd'hui personne n'émigre pas même le sieur Thiers, dont la République se passerait bien volontiers.

En 89, la société était rationaliste et matérialiste. -- Aujourd'hui, elle est fondamentalement spiritualiste et chrétienne.

Voilà pourquoi 93 fut sanglant. -- Voilà pourquoi 1848 sera moral, humain, et miséricordieux (OP1, 204-205).

We can not accept that the closing references and the word spiritualiste are sufficient grounds for attributing this to Baudelaire (OP1, 534n).

The tone of the article is one of faith in progress in a world that is better today than yesterday. Such a theory runs contrary to Baudelaire's general views on progress, and as we have seen, he was not in the habit

of referring to his age as fundamentally Christian or spiritual.

If Baudelaire held few illusions about the influences of ideas on men, his anthropocentric views gave him a particular view of the Republic. He did not look to the institution for salvation. Once again he looks at the people who make up the institution. Such a tone is found in "La Beauté du Peuple", which both Vandérem and Jacques Crépet have attributed to Baudelaire.

Depuis trois jours la population de Paris est admirable de beauté physique. Les veilles et la fatigue affaissent les corps; mais le sentiment des droits reconquis les redresse et fait porter haut toutes les têtes. Les physionomies sont illuminées d'enthousiasme et de fierté républicaine. Ils voulaient, les infâmes, faire la bourgeoisie à leur image, -- tout estomac et tout ventre, -- pendant que le Peuple geignait la faim. Peuple et bourgeoisie ont secoué du corps de la France cette vermine de corruption et d'immoralité! Qui veut voir des hommes beaux, des hommes de six pieds, qu'il vienne en France. Un homme libre, quel qu'il soit, est plus beau que le marbre, et il n'y a pas de nain qui ne vaille un géant quand il porte le front haut et qu'il a le sentiment de ses droits de citoyen dans le cœur (OP1, 197).

On reading this article there is an initial tendency to agree with Eugène Crépet who found in it an element of "galimatias emphatique" (OP1, 529n). Is this sufficient reason for rejecting Baudelaire as a possible author? First, we see that the emphasis is on men, rather than on an institution; secondly there is a passing compliment to the bourgeoisie which resembles similar statements in Baudelaire's first Salons; thirdly, there is an awareness that it is a rediscovered sense of dignity that makes men stand six feet tall. Such preoccupation with the spiritual foundation of the Republic seems to set "La Beauté du Peuple" apart from the general euphoric republicanism of the Salut Public. The orientation of this article is toward the past, not the

future. The author speaks of dignity and rights which have been rediscovered, rather than a future utopia which will result from the Republic.

While "La Beauté du Peuple" presented the Republic as a source of renewed dignity, the article most often attributed to Baudelaire, "Les Châtiments de Dieu", is essentially metaphysical. The author of this article presents a portrait of Louis-Philippe as the flying Dutchman, condemned to live in a world that no longer has time for him.

L'ex-roi se promène.
 Il va de peuple en peuple, de ville en ville.
 Il passe la mer; -- au-delà de la mer, le peuple bouillonne,
 la République fermente sourdement.
 Plus loin, au-delà de l'Océan, la République!
 Il rabat sur l'Espagne, -- la République circule dans l'air,
 et enivre les poumons comme un parfum.
 Où reposer cette tête maudite?
 A Rome?.. Le Saint-Père ne bénit plus les tyrans.
 Tout au plus pourrait-il lui donner l'absolution. Mais l'ex-roi
 s'en moque. Il ne croit ni à Dieu, ni à Diable.
 Un verre de Johannisberg pour rafraîchir le gosier altéré du
 Juif errant de la Royauté!... Metternich n'a pas le temps. Il a bien
 assez d'affaires sur les bras; il faut intercepter toutes les lettres,
 tous les journaux, toutes les dépêches. Et d'ailleurs, entre despotes,
 il y a peu de fraternité. Qu'est-ce qu'un despote sans couronne?
 L'ex-roi va toujours de peuple en peuple, de ville en ville.
 Toujours et toujours, vive la République! vive la Liberté!
 des hymnes! des cris! des pleurs de joie!
 Il court de toutes ses forces pour arriver à temps quelque part
 avant la République, pour y reposer sa tête, c'est là son rêve. Car la
 terre entière n'est plus pour lui qu'un cauchemar qui l'enveloppe. Mais
 à peine touche-t-il aux barrières, que les cloches se mettent gaiement
 en branle, et sonnent la République à ses oreilles éperdues.
 La tête de Louis-Philippe attire la République comme les para-
 tonnerres servent à décharger le Ciel.
 Il marchera longtemps encore, c'est là son châtiement. Il faut
 qu'il visite le monde, le monde républicain, qui n'a pas le temps de
 penser à lui (OPl, 200-201).

The above article contains very little that is purely political.
 If one replaces the word République by 'rediscovered freedom and dignity',

the article takes on the element of allegory. In this context, the only proof of Louis-Philippe's tyranny is summed up in the accusation: "Il ne croit ni à Dieu, ni à Diable". The punishment is a stroke of genius. In an age when men may rediscover lost freedom and dignity, the symbolic Louis-Philippe is condemned to the greatest of penalties: neglect.

Having come to see this in Les Châtiments de Dieu, we would like to suggest an addition to Jacques Crépet's already extensive list of articles already attributed to Baudelaire: Des Moeurs ou tout est perdu!

Des moeurs, des moeurs, il nous faut des moeurs! Régénérer les institutions, très bien, mais régénérerons aussi les moeurs, sans lesquelles il n'y a pas d'institutions. Le nom de Républicain est beau et glorieux, plus il est difficile à porter. Effaçons donc de nos coeurs tous les instincts avilissants, toutes les passions abjectes que l'impur gouvernement de Louis-Philippe a cherché à y faire germer. La vertu est le principe vivifiant, la force conservatrice des républiques.

La Convention avait mis la vertu à l'ordre du jour (OP1, 202).

The anthropocentric tone of the above is the first reason that suggests it may be by Baudelaire. Champfleury, for example, fills such tales as Chien-Caillou with proof that man is a victim of circumstances. Baudelaire, on the contrary, presents a traditional Catholic view of man as the origin of his present circumstances. Many serious critics have traced this awareness of man's responsibility for his acts to Baudelaire's later preoccupation with the idea of Original Sin, and to his enthusiasm for the writings of Joseph de Maistre. While we must not anticipate on certain questions which would receive their greatest emphasis in the 1850's, if we do accept the fact that such articles as

"Les Châtiments de Dieu" and "Des Moeurs ou tout est perdu" are from his pen, we can see to what extent a broad vision of man and the origin of his problems are at the heart of even Baudelaire's political journalism.

To draw definite conclusions concerning Baudelaire's social and political attitudes from the Salut Public is not possible however, since even the most eminent scholars have been forced to speculate on the question of authorship. From Jacques Crépet's list of articles (minus "La Première et la dernière") plus our own addition of "Des Moeurs ou tout est perdu", we can only suggest that Baudelaire seems to withdraw from the Revolution's aspect of materialistic socialism in order to concentrate on the moral aspect. By so doing he passes a moral judgement on the July Monarchy, the astuteness of which has not been equalled then or since. If we accept an article such as "Trois mots sur trois gouvernements" as being from him, we can see that Baudelaire's historical perception transcends the trappings of historical event, and slices into the very heart of the evolution of morals:

Depuis soixante ans, la France allait en fait de gouvernement de mal en pis. Napoléon lui avait donné un despotisme oint de suit de poudre, mais scintillant de gloire; la France lui pardonna. La Restauration lui avait ramené le privilège et les coups de cravache des gentilhommes; mais elle était franche d'allures et sans hypocrisie; quelques domestiques fidèles la suivirent sur la terre d'exil. L'infâme gouvernement qui vient de tomber voulut tenter sur la nation l'astuce, l'hypocrisie, la cupidité et toutes les basses passions; un croc-en-jambe du Peuple a suffi pour le jeter dans la boue (OP1, 194-195).

It would seem that most societies can be forgiven their faults except those which have lost their ideals. The Salut Public died before

its third issue thus preventing further exploitation of these ideas for the moment. By April however, Baudelaire had come to turn his search for the moral foundations of society on the Republic itself.

La Tribune Nationale

In April 1848 France was on the eve of Assembly elections. Toubin, deeply interested in election meetings, had paid fifty centimes, along with Baudelaire, to listen to the presentation of candidates in the Palais de Justice. The first candidate was Alphonse Esquiros who until that time had written little other than poetry. As Toubin admits, both his and Baudelaire's ignorance of political economy equalled that of Esquiros. The ability to ask questions however, always exceeds that of answering them.

Il fit d'abord le procès de l'infâme Guizot et de l'infâme Louis-Philippe, puis une peinture sombre et énergique de la triste condition des travailleurs, et les larmes coulèrent aux yeux d'une partie de l'assistance. Quand, profitant d'une pause où l'orateur s'épongeait le front, Baudelaire lui demanda, avec la contraction des lèvres qui lui était habituelle dans de pareils moments, si les intérêts du petit commerce ne lui apparaissaient pas aussi sacrés que ceux de la classe ouvrière.³⁵

After an ineffectual answer, Esquiros tries to return to his favourite theme, only to be interrupted once more by a question from Baudelaire. This time the barb concerns the subject of free trade and sends Esquiros to his seat in confusion. Arsène Houssaye follows the same tactics in his speech and is greeted by the same harassment from Baudelaire who brings the new victim to grief on a question about the

1815 treaties.³⁶

There is of course a considerable element of chauvinistic nonconformity in Baudelaire's conduct. One might even say that there is an element of anarchy in this deliberate attempt to sabotage Houssaye whom he hated, and his friend Esquiros. On the other hand though, one might see his growing frustration with the hollowness of eternal speeches, all of which contain the same poncifs, none of which says anything. Among the echos which close the final issue of the Salut Public, we find the following reference:

On parle de jouer Pinto. A quoi bon s'ennuyer pendant trois heures pour entendre crier: à bas Philippe! Allusion très-significative sous l'ex-roi, mais sans portée aujourd'hui (OP1, 207).

Since Jacques Crépet has attributed this series of echos to Baudelaire, can we not see the above as a fitting prologue to his actions at the electoral meeting in April. It would seem that a certain form of disillusionment with the revolutionaries has been evident in Baudelaire's mind since the days of February. His second attempt at political journalism, on the Tribune Nationale, would simply continue a process which had already been set in motion.

Working for an ideal system is one thing; living under it is quite another. Life under the Republic, is the principal interest of the Tribune Nationale. As Bandy and Mouquet point out, Baudelaire's name appeared as "secrétaire de la rédaction" on the third issue. As far as can be established he had no part in the publication of the first two issues of February 26, and March 12.³⁷ The third issue dated April 10, 1848, announced that the paper would appear regularly after April 15.

Careful research has shown that the fourth issue did not appear until May 26. After this point the Tribune Nationale appears daily until June 6, after which date no further trace has been found (Mouquet, 25-26).

From the third to the final issue Baudelaire remains at his post and Combarel remains editor in chief. As Bandy and Mouquet have noted, the "secrétaire de la rédaction" in a major newspaper arranged the articles, echos and news items. He literally put the paper together. He did not write articles since he usually did not have time, nor did his name appear at the head of the paper. Such was not always the case with the Tribune Nationale and Baudelaire. His name was already known in the world of letters and his job was not that absorbing that he could not have written several articles and corrected or reworked some of those written by others (Mouquet, 27-28). While his name does not appear under any article, Bandy and Mouquet, through their vast experience with Baudelaire's style, have seen fit to attribute to him the following:

1. Aux travailleurs (April 10, 1848).
2. A titleless article against Lamartine's policy (May 27)
3. A titleless article on the June elections (May 31)
4. Les doctrinaires de la République (June 4)
5. Rétablissement de l'ordre (June 5)
6. Des moyens proposés pour l'amélioration du sort des travailleurs (June 6) (Mouquet, 28n).

From the first on which Baudelaire collaborates, the tone of the Tribune Nationale is one of pro-social, pro-Republican, and increasingly anti-government sentiment. In an article entitled "Du problème social", Jules Smeltz accuses the government of not understanding its own revolution: "la révolution de 1848 n'est pas une révolution politique; c'est une révolution sociale." The same article urges the

the readers to recognize that in ordinary times purely political talkers are possible. Words are not bread he states, and these times call for bellies to be filled. All the political phraseology can not find jobs for the workers. The first article which has been attributed to Baudelaire, "Aux Travailleurs," is in perfect harmony with the general tone of the Tribune Nationale.

Si nous avons renversé un trône, ce n'est sans doute pas pour inaugurer la dictature des discours impuissants. Ce n'est pas non plus pour nous contenter des chimères des théories impossibles.

Les phrases sonores ont fait leur temps; le moment d'agir est venu. Voyez ce frémissement qui, à notre voix s'est emparé de l'Europe entière (Mouquet, 92).

Far from merely accusing the government of phrases sonores in general, the article continues by listing certain specific grievances:

Au lieu de ces Ateliers nationaux que le Gouvernement provisoire a rêvés et qu'ont rêvés avant lui tous les despotismes pour engloutir les libertés individuelles, pourquoi ne s'être pas borné à n'intervenir que pour la création du crédit; (...). Vous accusez la prodigalité: vous lui avez répondu par une prodigalité plus grande.

Vous pouviez réduire l'armée, vous l'avez augmenté.

Vous pouviez supprimer immédiatement tous les rouages ruineux de notre administration civile et judiciaire, vous les avez partout maintenus, et vos parents, vos créatures, y étalent à l'envi l'impertinence et la morgue qui vous révoltaient sous la monarchie (Mouquet, 94-95).

The author therefore opposes the National workshops and would have preferred the more capitalist solution of increased credit facilities. Yet while it attacks this particular concession to socialism on the part of the government, it also attacks the maintenance of certain conservative traditions: the army and the bureaucracy. One is even

willing to see the presence of General Aupick in the words "vos parents, vos créatures". Had General Aupick not just accepted an appointment as ambassador to Constantinople from the new régime? The article moreover, reveals a growing disillusionment that the revolution has achieved nothing more than change the name of the system without changing any of the rules. Having expressed this fear, the article continues by exposing a moderately socialist outlook and a cautious approach to the idea of progress. It is the moderation and caution alone, that strengthens the theory that Baudelaire may be the author.

C'est par les voies de la paix et de la confiance publique, c'est par l'union intime des efforts de tous pour la prospérité de chacun, que nous réaliserons cette grande et glorieuse conquête.

Nous n'y voulons pas d'autres armes; c'est à celles-là seules que nous demandons le progrès mesuré, mais ferme, où nous appellent les nouvelles destinées que la civilisation prépare à tous les peuples. (Mouquet, 91).

Que le Gouvernement nous entende donc! Le peuple n'a pas besoin qu'on le flatte, il veut qu'on le serve. Au lieu de ces mesures insuffisantes pour l'Etat, ruineuse pour chacun, qui ont déjà usé son règne de quarante-cinq jours, pourquoi le gouvernement n'a-t-il pas songé un instant à satisfaire nos véritables intérêts, à fonder le succès de l'amélioration matérielle qu'il a promise, qu'il doit donner (Mouquet, 93)?

The most flagrant failure of the government is outlined at the beginning of the article. Here the author attacks the government for having allowed anarchy to rule the streets, thus preventing the accomplishment of many of the revolution's ambitions.

Ses chefs ont eu notre appui; mais à ce prix qu'ils nous rendaient la patrie non pas impuissante et dévorée par l'anarchie, mais forte de tout le bien qu'ils auront dû répandre, de l'ordre qu'ils auront dû conserver.

La liberté a pu surgir du sein des orages: elle ne saurait y vivre. Que deviendraient l'égalité et la fraternité que nous proclamons, là où les désordres, en transformant la place publique en une arène ensanglantée, prépareraient fatalement le despotisme du nombre au nom de la forme brutale?

(...)

Que tout le monde sache bien que nous détestons profondément tout ce qui pourrait renouveler des temps de colère et de sang! Qu'on ne croie pas que nous ayons voulu faire la place de quelques proconsuls de hasard!

Nous prétendons donner au monde une plus haute leçon; nous prétendons élever chaque citoyen à la dignité morale et au bien-être par l'instruction et le travail (Mouquet, 90-91)

Having accepted Bandy's and Mouquet's attribution of this article to Baudelaire, we see that his political attitudes of mid-April are taking a definite shape. There is a belief in the essential virtue of the Republic as opposed to the degradation of the July Monarchy; there is the fear that the temptation of democracy to degenerate into meaningless debate has blinded the provisional government to the true social message of the revolution; there is a fear that the government will not maintain order, and thus allow anarchy to fritter away any benefits that have been won. Finally there is a lucid analysis of the growing split in the republican movement, and the call for a new opposition.

Pour nous, travailleurs, notre conduite est tracée. Nous n'avons rien à attendre des despotismes actuels du pouvoir; serrons nos rangs. Des deux partis qui nous convient, l'un place dans l'application de ses théories purement politiques tout l'avenir de la patrie. Il croit avoir tout fait, parce qu'il a proclamé la République. La forme le rassasie. L'autre ne prend pas la forme pour but; il veut que la fraternité et l'égalité ne restent pas des formules vainement écrites; sa prétention est d'asseoir leur introduction dans les mœurs sociales sur l'émancipation matérielle, de fonder la jeune République sur le bien-être étendu à tous les membres de la grande famille française.

Entre ces deux partis, notre choix est fait; nous sommes pour les réformateurs qui comprennent nos besoins, qui ont partagé nos

épreuves, contre ces politiques qui méconnaissent depuis deux mois tous nos instincts, tous nos intérêts, et qui ne parlent même pas notre langue (Mouquet, 95-96).

Gone are the euphoric days when the Salut Public proclaimed that there were none but republicans in France. We are witnessing here the split in the movement between the liberal and socialist factions. Each has its own definition of the word Republic, and it is clear from this article that the author is accusing the liberal provisional government of not only betraying the workers, but of also betraying the Republic itself. Having accepted that Baudelaire is the author, we can no longer be surprised that he went to the barricades again in June -- this time in defence of one aspect of republicanism against another.

The Tribune Nationale of May 26 continues the attack on the "mots sonores" of the governing body. This time it evokes a fear even more powerful than that of anarchy: war. Since war and anarchy are the two great enemies of the worker, the socialists of the period feared that Lamartine's foreign policy with regards to the Polish uprisings was about to lead France into a foreign conflict. On May 27, the Tribune Nationale sums up such feelings in the article, "La popularité de M. Lamartine se meurt". Then follows one of the most lucid attacks on the folly of Romantic dreamers in politics that it has been our privilege to read. Combined with a desire to deny the claims of the Republican government to represent the revolution, this makes us more than willing to accept the hypothesis that Baudelaire wrote the article.

Savez-vous cependant qui sont les ennemis de M. de Lamartine? Ce sont les rêveurs qui cherchent une république idéale, platonique, indéfinie, inconnue, invisible, intangible, envieux de l'inflexibilité politique et des idées positives qu'il a développées au pouvoir.

C'est en ces termes que M. de Lamartine se fait juger lui-même et se plaint de l'ingratitude de notre temps (...). Riche de toute la gloire que peut rêver le poète, écouté avec avidité par la foule pour cet admirable langage qui jette sur tous ses discours comme un reflet des ailes dorées de la muse des MEDITATIONS, M. de Lamartine, dans les circonstances qui viennent de se produire, pouvait être encore appelé à personnifier en lui les plus honorables, les plus généreux sentiments de ce pays. La France l'espérait, nous l'espérions avec elle.

Est-ce notre faute, à nous, s'il n'a rien de la pensée de l'homme d'Etat, de la netteté de vues, de la précision dans le jugement, qui font des hommes pratiques, par delà cette parole qui captive et qui entraîne; et parce que nous ne voulons pas suivre M. de Lamartine dans cette nouvelle étape qu'il fait vers le Jacobisme usé de nos mauvais jours, faudra-t-il donc qu'il vienne nous accuser par son organe intime de la presse, de vouloir semer la défiance et la colère, de vouloir abattre les auréoles dont il voit toujours sa tête illuminée, et surtout qu'il accuse nos yeux de ne pouvoir supporter tant d'éclat au front du nouveau pouvoir.

(...)

Séparons une fois pour toutes le Gouvernement provisoire et ses actes, de la révolution du 24 février et de ses conséquences immédiates.

Le crédit public ruiné, toute autorité détruite, toutes les passions surexcitées, toutes les misères aggravées, les ambitions, les stupidités bouillonnantes de ses amis servies et non rassasiées, la justice mise au service de la politique, l'arbitraire effaçant le droit commun, l'imprévoyance régnant, l'inconséquence gouvernant, le dépôt du pouvoir érigé en dictature, tels ont été les actes du gouvernement provisoire; la confiance, l'union, la fraternité, proclamées sur les barricades, tels ont été les faits de la Révolution (...)

Certes, ce n'est pas nous qui affligerons M. de Lamartine de ces dédains dont il se promet de sourire; mais en vérité, il y a quelque chose d'étranger dans cet orgueil d'un homme d'Etat qui n'a rien produit, qui a pu gémir comme un poète éloquent sur les maux du peuple sans semer une pensée qui leur vienne en aide, et qui s' imagine que l'attaquer c'est repasser de l'autre côté du 24 février, et de la République retourner à la monarchie (Mouquet, 132-135).

While the tone of this article is clearly socialist, pointing out that one may actively oppose the government without wishing to return to the Monarchy, the Tribune Nationale does not support extreme socialism any more than it supports the excesses of the liberal dreamers. On May 28, the paper attacks the policy of nationalizing the railways --

a policy which it had already described as "un 'communisme' déguisé" on May 27 (Mouquet, 114, 128). The paper's stand is that such a move might ruin an economy already overstrained by the burden of the Ateliers Nationaux. There is also growing fear that the extreme revolutionary party knows nothing but violence. Blanqui's arrest is noted. Rumors persist that there will be an uprising in the national workshops, and we learn that both the Parliament and the Presidential Palace are surrounded by troops.

In much the same way as it had little sympathy for the liberal utopians, the Tribune Nationale shows it has no more patience with the social utopians. On May 29 the first serious attack is launched on the utopian socialists such as Lamménais, Louis Blanc, Barbès, and others whose schemes for putting the nation's wealth in the pockets of the workers seem as illusory as complicated. May 30 again brings a criticism of the system of national workshops, and the rumor that rebellion is near. It is in such a context that Bandy and Mouquet have discovered the next article that might be attributed to Baudelaire. By its tone, its choice of the party of social reform over the Republicans then in power, its use of such terms as "proconsuls de hasard," and its attack of the favours granted to the Republic's friends, the article resembles everything that has been attributed to Baudelaire so far -- both in the Salut Public and the Tribune Nationale. What is new however, is the bitterness with which he attacks the ultras-conservateurs of the Republic.

O vous êtes bien là, vous et les vôtres; vous êtes bien les ultra-conservateurs de la République!

Mais que voulez-vous donc conserver de cette république qui

n'existe encore que du nom? Tout est encore à faire.

Louis-Philippe a gâché des millions, vous gâchez des milliards!

Quelles sont les choses? quelles sont les formes que vous avez changées?

Tout est à faire, et vous, vous êtes conservateurs! Oui, vous êtes conservateurs par tempérament et par principe; conservateurs acharnés... de vos places!

Eh bien! entre ces politiques que la forme rassasie et les réformateurs qui veulent profondément élever le sort de toutes les classes de la société à la hauteur des services qu'elles sont capables de rendre, nous l'avons déjà dit, notre choix est fait!

Entre ces proconsuls de hasard et les hommes qui veulent donner à notre révolution toute sa signification sociale, nous n'hésiterons jamais.

Nous repousserons les fous dirigés par des idées fixes, les prétentieux utopistes qui ne savent pas soutenir le choc d'une contradiction, ou ceux enfin dont la conscience ne veut pas plier sous le jugement du bon sens public et de l'expérience. Mais nous voulons des réformes, car il ne s'agit plus aujourd'hui de résister; il faut marcher en avant sous peine de voir tout crouler.

(...)

La Révolution de 89 a trouvé dans le sein de la nation une foule d'hommes éminents qui ont illustré la France et l'humanité.

Mais vous, rendez-vous donc justice; convenez que vous n'avez que la présomption du pouvoir, et puisque vous ne faites que de petites choses, soyez modestes (Mouquet, 205-206)!

Once again on June 2, the Tribune Nationale reveals its fundamentally socialist tendencies. Attacking the government with these words; "Pour eux les questions politiques sont tout, les questions sociales ne sont rien," it proposes a list of candidates for the upcoming elections.

Caussidière;

Pierre Leroux;

Proudhon;

Bureau-Rioffrey, rédacteur en chef du Progrès;

Letellier-Delafosse;

Redon, Chapelier;

Souvras, ouvrier ferrandier;

Anselme Petitin;

Savary, ex-ouvrier cordonnier;

Malarmé, monteur en bronze;

Adam, ouvrier cambreur (Mouquet, 238-240).

By supporting a slate of journalists, workers, and two of France's

leading socialists, the Tribune Nationale reveals a moderate socialist platform. In such a context, Baudelaire's possible article on June 4, "Les Doctrinaires de la République", should not surprise us by its renewed criticism of the conservatives in power.

Ce n'est pas nous qui avons prononcé le mot de réaction. Nous ne croyons pas à la réaction contre la République, mais, en vérité, si les doctrinaires de la démocratie voulaient y faire croire, que feraient-ils autre chose que ce qu'ils font? Partout les abus de la monarchie, maintenus ou consacrés, se recrutent effrontément de tous ceux inhérents à la forme actuelle elle-même.

L'opposition du dernier règne demandait chaque jour qu'on entourât le trône d'institutions républicaines.

Cette opposition est au pouvoir aujourd'hui, et la voilà qui veut entourer la République de toutes les garanties, de tous les abus que défendait pied à pied la monarchie (...)

(...)

En vérité, la République que vous nous faites est une panacée dont nous ne soupçonnions pas toute la puissance, et, pour peu que cela continue, il faut croire que nous sommes réservés à bien d'autres surprises, à bien d'autres étonnements (Mouquet, 251-253).

In the final issues of the Tribune Nationale the growing instability in the state brings renewed calls for order. In the June 5th article "Rétablissement de l'ordre," the government is criticized for preaching the need for order while setting an example of supreme disorder. Once again the tone and style resemble much of that already attributed to Baudelaire. The call for order however, contains nothing that could be called politically conservative.

Le gouvernement prêche l'ordre! Mais qu'est-il donc lui-même si ce n'est le désordre vivant, le plus affreux désordre, le désordre matériel, intellectuel et moral personifié? L'absence de toute pensée haute et vigoureuse, qu'est-ce, sinon le désordre?

(...)

L'ordre, c'est la justice; l'ordre, c'est le bonheur; l'ordre, c'est le règne de la raison et de la probité!

L'ordre, c'est l'union entre tous les citoyens, et vous ne savez

que jeter la discorde et la haine dans toutes les classes de la société.
(...)

Ce n'est pas l'ordre qui manque pour le rétablissement du travail, c'est le travail au contraire qui manque pour le rétablissement de l'ordre.

Rétablissez le travail, l'ordre tel que vous l'entendez, l'ordre des troupeaux enfermés dans leurs étables sera aussitôt rétabli. Quant à l'ordre véritable, à l'ordre du bon sens et de la justice, à cet ordre qui n'est autre chose que le règne de la raison et de la probité, c'est au mépris public à le rétablir.

Une page dans les annales du ridicule et du mépris, telle est la part que vous fera l'histoire; telle est l'auréole qui entourera vos noms dans la postérité (Mouquet, 267-271).

On this vital question of order, we must challenge one of the opinions of the authors of Baudelaire en 1848. We find nothing to support the claim that from May to June the Tribune Nationale had become conservative under the direction of Combarel, Baudelaire, and Schmeltz.³⁸ On the contrary, it would appear that its anti-government and pro-socialist opinions had continued to grow during this period. The defence of private interests in the questions of railway nationalization does little more than reflect standard liberal and socialist opinion of the day. With the exception of the radical communists, no French socialist from Saint Simon to Proudhon had been able to conceive of a society in which some form of property was not respected. We must realize that the question of law and order is not a plank that belongs exclusively to the conservatives. Whereas the conservatives might fear anarchy and disorder for the effect it might have on capital investments, the socialists feared it even more since it destroyed factories, thus bringing hardship to the working class.

The Tribune Nationale does however show a marked trend toward anti-democratic sentiments. Once again we must not throw Baudelaire, too hastily into the waiting arms of Joseph de Maistre. The currents of

nineteenth century social thought show us that anti-democratic expressions are not the exclusive domain of the conservatives. As shown in the last section quoted from the Tribune, order is needed for the worker's betterment, not for his suppression.

There is another aspect of order as seen above that we find most typical of Baudelaire's thought. Since we believe that Baudelaire's poetry revolves around a search for an aesthetic unity of all the senses, it is possible that such a search could also be reflected in his social attitudes. In "Rétablissement de l'Ordre", Baudelaire defined order as "l'union entre tous les citoyens". Avoiding traditional social divisions he places his hope neither in the worker, nor the bourgeois, nor the aristocrat. Through these definitions of order, one can see how the Illuminist tradition with their search for a spiritual unity has surfaced in the thoughts of those who would also search for a social unity.

The last article attributed to Baudelaire, "Des Moyens proposés pour l'amélioration du sort des travailleurs", confirms an attack on any system which feels it has found the exclusive key to the social unity which we seek. Here, Michel Chevalier's system is attacked because it says that the people's happiness can be achieved by dividing up the gross national product evenly (Mouquet, 286). Proudhon's idea of an income tax and paper money backed by gold is also criticized along with Lamennais' theory that the worker's problems can be solved by increased exports (Mouquet, 291). This is not conservatism however. We must note that the socialists have been criticized for the same reasons as had been the ultras-conservateurs and the liberal republicans. In short, all systems which promise definite solutions are ridiculed and their

characteristics summed up in a terse "Hors moi, rien de vrai: je résume tout" (Mouquet, 291).

Ces tentatives auront le même résultat qu'autrefois; la nature des choses sera agrandie, mais non changée (Mouquet, 292).

This statement alone, sums up much of Baudelaire's later views on the theory of progress.

How then can we judge the Baudelaire of the Salut Public and the Tribune Nationale? Unless we are willing to see that he was motivated to write political journalism only to relieve his financial troubles, and that he totally lacked convictions, we might well see here one of the most intuitive social observers of his age. He had attained a certain scope which allowed him to stand back from the conflict. What others felt to be either causes or results, he had seen as mere symptoms of a more profound social and spiritual reality. This is not to suggest that such views make a stronger society. As Bandy and Mouquet have pointed out, the tone of Tribune Nationale is essentially 'anti' (Mouquet, 32). While those articles attributed to Baudelaire reveal a deep perception of the problems of the age, they offer no solutions in themselves. They merely recognize that man is at the origin of his own calamities, and that any change of system will only increase, not alter nature. In this way, Baudelaire's political journalism neither contradicts nor detracts from his aesthetic and spiritual postulations. It simply extends these latter searches into another sphere -- society.

The June Revolt

Despite warnings from the press, the government had allowed certain situations to get beyond its control. The system of the Ateliers nationaux, hastily drawn up in answer to the revolutionary slogan that each man had the right to work, had slowly been grinding to a halt. They had become little more than a gigantic relief effort where thousands of workers were paid for doing nothing. Toward the end of June, the executive commission, which had replaced the provisional government when the assembly had come into being, decided to close them. Furious with what they considered to be government treachery, the workers rose in rebellion. Whereas worker and bourgeois had fought side by side during the February revolution, the June rebellion introduced a pure class war into the French political scene. For the first time the bourgeoisie saw the full anger of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine turned against it.³⁹ On June 22 groups of workers circulated from district to district inciting rebellion. From June 23 to 26, Paris was again strewn with barricades. It was on the highest barricade in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine that Monseigneur Affre, Archbishop of Paris was shot when he attempted to mediate. To this day no-one can be sure whether he was shot by government troops or by the workers, for as Henri d'Alméras points out, the revolutionaries of 1848 were not yet anti-religious since God was not yet held to be a reactionary.⁴⁰ As for Baudelaire, his reaction seems to have been much the same as in February. This time, we must rely on Gustave Le Vavas seur for a portrait.

Baudelaire prit part comme insurgé aux journées de juin 1848. Nous étions, Philippe de Chernevières et moi, à la garde de Louvre pendant les journées de juin. Aussitôt après la reddition du faubourg Saint-Antoine, nous sortîmes, allant à la découverte et aux informations. Nous rencontrâmes dans le jardin du Palais-Royal un garde national de notre pays, et nous l'emmenâmes boire un coup. Dans la diagonale que nous suivions pour gagner le café de Foy, nous vîmes venir à nous deux personnages de différent aspect: l'un nerveux, excité, fébrile, agité; l'autre, calme, presque insouciant. C'était Baudelaire et Pierre Dupont. Nous entrâmes au café. Je n'avais jamais vu Baudelaire en cet état. Il pérorait, déclamaient, se vantait, se démenait pour courir au martyre: "On vient d'arrêter de Flotte disait-il. Est-ce que parce que ses mains sentent la poudre? Sentez les miennes!" Puis des fusées socialistes, l'apothéose de la banqueroute sociale, et coetera. Dupont n'y pouvait rien. Comment nos prudences normandes tirèrent-elles notre ami de ce mauvais pas? Je ne m'en souviens guère. Mais je pense que la cocarde de mon ami le garde national joua un rôle muet, apparent et salubre dans la petite comédie du sauvetage.

Quoi qu'on ait pensé du courage de Baudelaire, ce jour-là, il était brave et se serait fait tuer.⁴¹

The cruel suppression of the workers in June 1848 marked the spiritual death of the Second Republic. Just as the Third Republic would never be forgiven the repression of the Commune, the workers now obeyed only because they had been beaten. It marked the end of four months during which time the French intellectual community had been split. Whereas Lamartine and Baudelaire had fought for the same goals in February, they fought each other in June. We must not therefore, lump together the barricades of February and June. If Baudelaire had had firm convictions in February, they were to establish a liberal republic. If his convictions were profound in June, they were to overthrow this same liberal anachronism and establish a socialist republic with the emphasis on equality of opportunity. June had divided brother against brother, friend against friend. Those who had fought side by side in February now faced each other across new barricades.

When the government won, the social revolution died. The bourgeoisie which had dominated the July Monarchy had simply changed the name of the régime. They were still the same people with the same policies. It is in this climate therefore, that the scope of Baudelaire's disillusionment takes on its particularly tragic nature.

Cause for Disillusionment

The mounting failures of the Republic, the apparent ineptitude of democratic institutions to cope with social disorder, and the financial blackmail of the bourgeoisie, produced a climate favourable to the aspirations of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. In many ways, the coup d'état of 1851 would be as inevitable as the 1848 revolution. From the opening days of the Second Republic, the bourgeoisie had effectively blocked any serious attempt at social reform. Overnight money had become impossible to find. Five major Paris banks were forced to stop payments and had been followed by the savings' banks as well. In this manner, commerce had been effectively paralyzed.⁴² Shops closed, servants were dismissed, factories laid off workers and interest rates and stocks plunged. The first failure of the Republic was an inability to cope with the economic crisis which usually follows a revolution. Added to this failure was the open hostility of the bourgeoisie which nullified the government's economic moves. As an example, they refused to pay the extra taxes which were part of a tax reform programme designed to take the burden off the consumer.⁴³

The second failure of the Republic had been its inability to control its own factional bickering. This had hindered any progress

toward social reform. The political parties, composed of small groups of bourgeois, found themselves opposed to the workers who demanded in vain the setting up of a Labour Ministry to co-ordinate programmes. The controlling financial powers were interested in supporting only those parties which promised to concentrate on political issues. In Paris alone there were 184,000 men out of work after the February revolution.⁴⁴ Rejecting Louis Blanc's suggestion of co-operative efforts, the government created ateliers nationaux along the lines of charitable institutions. Here, thousands of workers were grouped into jobs for which they had no training, and salaries were little more than an "aumône déguisée".

Faced with the June uprising the assembly called on Cavaignac to restore order. June's carnage causes the February uprising to appear almost non-violent. Over 25,000 were arrested, hundreds were summarily executed, thousands were deported. A law of June 27, 1848 authorized deportation without trial.⁴⁶ It is little wonder therefore that Baudelaire's friends should be alarmed at his involvement in such a dangerous adventure. Other friends, such as Poulet-Malassis, came even closer to being executed for their opposition to the bourgeois republic.⁴⁷

Immediately after the government's victory, financial conditions altered in the country. The house of Rothschild opened its credit to the state as well as such bankers as Hottinger and Goudchaux. The projects of nationalization of the railways and insurance companies were laid aside. The few policies which had been introduced for the organization of work were abolished. Whereas the right to work had been one of the Republic's main slogans, Thiers was opposed to it being included in the new constitution. The text that was finally adopted showed once again that the bourgeoisie were incapable of thinking in terms of social

justice. They continued to vote laws based on antiquated charity. 48
 France's brief experiment with universal suffrage was terminated. By
 sly manipulation of electoral law, three years residency at the same
 spot were required to vote. Since the average worker changed residence
 frequently the number of electors was reduced from nine to three million.
 One must consider that a man like Baudelaire would lose his vote under
 such a system since he changed residences as many men change their
 shirts.

Few have summed up more clearly the defection of a vast segment
 of French society than Lamennais.

Ce que nous voyons, ce n'est certes la République, ce n'est
 même rien qui ait un nom; Paris est en état de siège, livré au pouvoir
 militaire, livré lui-même à une faction qui en a fait son instrument;
 Les cachots et les forts de Louis-Philippe, encombrés de 14,000
 prisonniers; (...) des transportations sans jugement, des proscriptions
 telles que 1793 n'en fournit pas d'exemples, des lois attentatoires
 au droit de réunion, détruit de fait, l'esclavage et la ruine de la
 presse (...) la garde nationale désarmée en partie. Le peuple rebulé
 dans sa misère la plus profonde qu'elle se fut jamais. Non, encore
 une fois non, certes, ce n'est pas là la République, mais autour de
 sa tombe sanglante, les saturnels de la réaction.

The disillusionment that Baudelaire experienced as a result of
 1848, is captured some years later in several enigmatic passages in the
Journaux Intimes.

Mon ivresse de 1848.
 De quelle nature était cette ivresse?
 Goût de la vengeance. Plaisir naturel de la démolition.
 Ivresse littéraire; souvenir des lectures.
 Le 15 mai. -- Toujours le goût de la destruction.
 Goût légitime, si tout ce qui est naturel, est légitime.

Les horreurs de Juin. Folie du peuple et folie de la
 bourgeoisie. Amour naturel du crime (JI, 56).

Etre un homme utile m'a paru toujours quelque chose de bien hideux.

1848 ne fut amusant que parce que chacun y faisait des utopies comme des châteaux en Espagne.

1848 ne fut charmant que par l'excès même du ridicule. (JI, 57).

When in later years Baudelaire had become attracted to certain aspects of Joseph de Maistre's thought, the wording and significance of these epithets are more clearly understood. We most strongly protest however when critics attempt to read backwards and find Maistrian influences on Baudelaire's comportment during 1848.⁵⁰ Neither his correspondence, nor articles attributed to him, nor his criticism, show any trace of Maistre's theocratic, aristocratic, and authoritarian system. We simply can not use the Journaux Intimes as an introduction to Baudelaire in 1848. His social attitudes during 1848 would appear somewhat socialist. His participation in the June revolt and lack of control illustrate the very elements which Maistre's system were meant to control.

The Représentant de l'Indre

If the question of Joseph de Maistre has been raised at this point, it is because many critics use Maistre's influence to explain Baudelaire's third and final attempt at political journalism: his brief and highly questionable participation on the Représentant de l'Indre.⁵¹ With reference to this paper, Simon Brugal and Maxime Rude have provided two interesting and somewhat contradictory anecdotes (CG6, 6n).

In Rude's tale, the reactionaries of Châteauroux had sent to

Paris for an editor. As to how Baudelaire was chosen remains a mystery, but on arrival his long hair and red tie caused a stir among the local dignitaries. It is interesting to note however, that the red tie had now become the symbol of the proletariat who had tried to have the red flag installed over the Republic's choice of the tricolour. Rude goes on to state that at a banquet given in honour of the silent guest from Paris, the president of the society made a violently anti-revolutionary speech filled with the usual trite phrases which had always irked Baudelaire. With pinched lips, Baudelaire rose and ended his career as editor before it started with the following words:

--Messieurs, dans cette Révolution dont on vient de parler, il y a un grand homme, -- le plus grand homme de cette époque, -- un des plus grands hommes de tous les temps: cet homme, c'est Robespierre.⁵²

In the Journaux Intimes Baudelaire would later refer to Robespierre as a man noted only for his speechmaking. It would seem therefore that if indeed he did make such a remark at Châteauroux, his thought must have evolved in later years on this subject. In such a case it would seem logical to conclude that his whole view of 1848 in general evolved as well.

Simon Brugal (pseudonym of Firmin Boissin) repeats information which he received from Arthur Ponroy whose father was one of the founders of a conservative paper in Châteauroux. He feels that Baudelaire contributed to the first edition before being shipped back to Paris.

Brugal's version of the outcome of the banquet is slightly different.

--Mais, Monsieur Baudelaire, vous ne dites rien?

Le mystificateur répondit:

-- Messieurs, je n'ai rien à dire. Ne suis-je pas venu ici pour être le domestique de vos intelligences?..

Le lendemain, il épouvanta l'imprimeur du journal une vieille veuve, en lui demandant où était l'eau-de-vie de la rédaction.

Il épouvanta bien davantage, le surlendemain, les braves abonnés du journal de Châteauroux. Son premier article commençait ainsi:

"Lorsque Marat, cet homme doux, et Robespierre, cet homme propre, demandaient, celui-là trois cents mille têtes, celui-ci la permanence de la guillotine, ils obéissaient à l'inéluctable logique de leur système."

Bien que la conclusion fut d'un autoritarisme à la Joseph de Maistre, tout le monde se montra scandalisé, -- et le pauvre Baudelaire ne fit pas long feu à Châteauroux.⁵³

René Johannet in his article, Baudelaire est-il allé à Châteauroux believes that he has discovered the article mentioned in Ponroy's account,⁵⁴ a discovery confirmed by Bandy and Mouquet who even go one step further and suggest that in the October 20th edition not only the article "Actuellement", but also the article that preceded it, "Programme", and the article that followed, "Le Nouveau ministère" can be traced to Baudelaire.

"Programme" opens with a comment on the role of the press and its power in shaping events. The author states there are two types of journalism -- one described as "un horrible fléau" and the other as a "sublime bienfait".

Celle-là doit être vouée à l'exécration, qui ne craint pas de tromper l'ignorance, d'irriter la misère, d'effrayer l'honnêteté, de dégouter la générosité; qui enseigne que la famille est un vain mot, la propriété un vol; qui chaque jour développe ses effrayants sophismes, verse le poison dans la plaie, pousse au nom de la fraternité les citoyens à s'entr'égorger.

Celle-ci au contraire doit être bénie; qui, aux jours d'épreuve, offre sa sainte médiation, calme les douleurs, anime les instincts généraux, dissipe les ténèbres, éblouit l'erreur; qui dit au riche: Ouvre la main; au pauvre: Ouvre ton coeur; qui lave le sang répandu, soigne les blessés, ensevelit religieusement les morts. Mission céleste, où le talent cède la place à la raison et au patriotisme (Mouquet, 54-55).

Does the use of the religious metaphor justify placing Baudelaire's name to this sentimental outpouring of middle class Christian charity? Such expressions seem far more in keeping with Louis Veillot than with the general trend of Baudelaire's ideas in 1848. In the Salut Public, Baudelaire did not spare his sarcasm for those artists who pretended to save mankind. Are we to assume that he is now willing to convey this power to a group of journalists? The obvious criticism of Proudhon (la propriété un vol) is in stark contrast to the treatment of Proudhon in the article "Actuellement". This alone might lead us to suspect that they were written by different men. There is also an un-Baudelairian heavy-handedness in the religious references: sainte médiation, ensevelit religieusement les morts, and mission céleste. This contrasts with the subtlety of Les Châtiments de Dieu and much of his poetry where the emphasis is on the Christian message and not on religious vocabulary.

"Programme" continues with a vivid defence of certain principles which even disillusionment could hardly instill in Baudelaire in so short a time.

Nous défendrons d'abord, de toutes nos forces et sans transactions, ces trois grands principes, anneaux inflexibles et inséparables de notre société:

L'ordre, la famille, la propriété.

L'ordre, sans lequel il n'y a ni famille, ni propriété. La propriété et la famille, sans lesquelles il n'y a pas de société.

Nous voulons que la religion de chacun soit respectée, que la misère s'éteigne par le libre développement du travail, que l'ignorance se détruise par l'instruction, que le fruit du travail soit sacré, que l'intérieur des familles soit inviolable.

Quand à la forme du gouvernement, nous soutiendrons franchement la République basée sur les principes de la démocratie, telle qu'elle a été comprise et votée à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée nationale le 7 septembre 1848 (Mouquet, 55-56).

This new definition of order does not correspond to that which had been attributed to him before. A faith in the goodness of man and the benefits of democracy never characterized even his initial enthusiasm for the Revolution in the Salut Public. In short, we find nothing in this article that is compatible with Baudelaire in 1848 and thus disagree with Mr. Bandy and Mr. Mouquet when they attribute "Programme" to Baudelaire.

By contrast, the tone of "Actuellement" seems in perfect harmony with the observations attributed to Baudelaire in the Salut Public and the Tribune Nationale. Here the essential weakness of the republic is laid squarely on the shoulders of the men who, having inherited a vast fund of good will, proved themselves incapable of the task. Whereas "Programme" blamed the failure on disorder, "Actuellement" blames the men in power for having created a climate where disorder grew. This feeling of man's ultimate responsibility for his acts appears more in keeping with Baudelaire than the naive confidence that democracy and harmony will bring tranquility to the state.

Le suffrage universel venait d'apparaître dans l'unité de sa vérité rayonnante. Le droit politique absolu était né. La République fut acceptée non seulement par la population parisienne, mais encore par la population, riche ou pauvre, instruite ou non instruite, des départements. Il importe bien de constater que, loin d'essayer la moindre rébellion, la République ne reçut que des témoignages d'adhésion sincère. Elle reçut pour ainsi dire la carte de visite de toute la France. (...)

(...)

Et pourtant la discorde est venue; conséquemment le désordre social, la stagnation des affaires, la misère du peuple, les récriminations réciproques, etc...

Or, de ces deux faits suffisamment constatés: 1. l'immense bonne volonté de la France; 2. le désordre qui a suivi, ou, si l'on veut, la réinstallation de la discorde, -- sort tout naturellement cette réflexion: Combien sont coupables, ceux qui, ayant entre leurs mains le magnifique instrument de la bonne volonté publique, ont si maladroitement ébréché l'outil! Combien sont criminels, ceux au devant de qui la

confiance est venue, et qui l'ont changée en défiance! Ne fût-ce qu'intelligence, il est un fait admis aujourd'hui en politique, c'est que l'incapacité vaut crime.

(...)

Hélas! toute la question est là! Le peuple accuse ses libérateurs. Républicains incapables, place à d'autres.

(...)

Non; il faut avoir le courage d'avouer les faits tels qu'ils sont. Proudhon l'a dit, le seul et le premier: L'insurrection est socialiste. Il ne ment pas, celui-là; il est brutal et clair. -- L'or de l'Etranger? Allons-donc! Ce n'est pas l'or, mais les paroles dorées qui ont crée tant de crimes, tant de malheurs, et tant de larmes!(...)

(...)

Puisse cette leçon terrible profiter à ceux qui croient que l'on décrète le vertu, le bonheur, la fraternité et le travail avec des petits carrés de papier, que l'on jette des fenêtres d'un hôtel de ville emporté d'assaut, ou par surprise!

(...)

Or, en vérité, on ne décrète pas la vertu, pas plus que la renonciation; il faut que ces choses soient d'abord dans les moeurs. Ce qui n'est pas dans les moeurs n'est que chiffons de papier (Mouquet, 58-63).

Here at least is something with the air and flavour of Baudelaire's style. We should remember similar sentiments in an article like "Des Moeurs ou-tout est perdu". We should also note the line: "Le suffrage universel venait d'apparaître dans l'unité de sa vérité rayonnante". We have already seen that he had previously defined order as "l'union de tous les citoyens". This attempt to rise above the divisionism of the Republic and discover a form of social unity is, we feel, one of the strongest arguments for seriously considering the possibility that Baudelaire wrote "Actuellement".

If one accepts Baudelaire as the author of this article one must accept him as the author of the following one since the opening sentence, "Pendant que nous écrivions l'article précédent", indicates that it is by the same author. This article contains little of philosophical import. It merely comments on a reshuffling of the Republican government

and the addition of several new ministers.

The Correspondence

If Baudelaire's newspaper career does not allow us to build irrefutable arguments for his political and social attitudes between 1848 and 1851, his letters are even more sketchy. For this period we have only 24 letters (25 counting the note to Chennevières in CG6). His letters reveal that his financial situation had only become worse during this period. At the same time as he joined the staff of the Tribune Nationale he had had to ask his mother for 20 francs to replace the sum he had lost while returning from Neuilly. His animosity to his step-father had grown. This did not prevent him however, from writing a polite letter to General Aupick on December 8, 1848. Here he thanked him for having remembered his "chagrins éternels d'argent". This same letter reveals Baudelaire's concept of his role in society.

Mais pourtant j'en reviens à ceci, et je me crois obligé de vous donner ces explications: actuellement à vingt-huit ans moins quatre mois, avec une immense ambition poétique, moi séparé à tout jamais du monde honorabile par mes goûts et mes principes, qu'importe si bâtissant mes rêves littéraires, j'accomplis de plus un devoir, ou ce que je crois un devoir au grand détriment des idées vulgaires d'honneur, d'argent, de fortune (CG1, 108-109)?

This concept of his social role bears little trace of the traditional complaint of the poète maudit. There is no attempt to portray his position as being the result of exterior forces; on the contrary he makes it clear that he has chosen to be an outsider. As for the precise nature of the tastes and principles that separate him from society we

must ask ourselves if it is not possible that the events of 1848 had had an influential role?

The end of this letter brings another interesting revelation since it shows Baudelaire's anxiety over the fate of creative writing in an age where the press has become totally absorbed with politics. Literature has become "moins en faveur que jamais". He also reveals his new exasperation with current trends when he asks for 250 francs since there is a rumour of a new upheaval. To be caught without money at such a time would be disastrous. It would appear therefore that Baudelaire is no longer interested in participating in such a movement and that he wishes to obtain security so as to ride out any new storm.

One year later however, he had not lost all interest in the cause of socialism nor contempt for the middle class revolutionary who fails to see the logical outcome of his system. The remark attributed to him by Simon Brugal in which Marat and Robespierre did little more than follow the logic of their system, finds a striking echo in a letter to Ancelle in December, 1849.

... Madier de Montjau, qui revenait de je ne sais quel triomphe d'avocat, je ne sais quel triomphe de procès politique, a passé par ici; il est venu nous voir. -- Vous savez que ce jeune homme passe pour avoir un talent merveilleux. C'est un aigle démocratique. Il m'a fait pitié! Il fait l'enthousiaste et le révolutionnaire. Je lui ai parlé alors du socialisme des paysans, -- socialisme inévitable, féroce, stupide, bestial comme un socialisme de la torche ou de la faux. Il a eu peur, cela l'a refroidi. -- Il a reculé devant la logique. C'est un imbécile, ou plutôt un très vulgaire ambitieux(...)(CGI, 113-114).

Such an attack, while revealing what many considered the inevitable result of socialism, is principally concentrated on the middle class democrat Montjau. As such Baudelaire reveals nothing that has not

already appeared in the newspaper articles attributed to him. He had already referred to those who thought that democracy was the sole aim of the revolution as ultras-conservateurs. In this way Montjau is classed with those whose golden words had led to the breakdown of the revolutionary ideals and to the birth of disorder.

Finance is also a problem that should be considered when looking back over Baudelaire's career as a journalist. The extent that money motivated his participation on the staff of the Tribune Nationale, or his trip to Châteauroux, is not something that can be accurately determined. Albert Rosin feels that it is a substantial factor in making Baudelaire a 'rouge'.⁵⁵ He even feels that Baudelaire's trip to Dijon in 1849 was a form of exile brought about by money problems.⁵⁶ Even though Alphonse Esquiros was writing articles in the Travail, a leading Dijon socialist newspaper, Rosin finds no evidence that Baudelaire participated in any journalistic endeavour during his stay. He concludes that since Baudelaire is never mentioned in any of the accepted papers and that since all the left wing papers were condemned and the names of those responsible printed, Baudelaire did not go to Dijon for journalistic reasons.

As for his increasing impatience with society it would appear once again, that financial worries are largely responsible. Writing to Ancelle on January 10, 1850 he associates money with independence and one's ability to impose oneself on society. Referring to a book-binder who has cheated him he states: "et cela témoigne que quand on n'a plus eu peur de moi, on s'est moqué de moi" (CC1, 116). There is a growing fatigue with these "maudites questions d'argent" (CC1, 120) which have

become the lens through which the poet sees himself in society. In this same letter, he sums up his total debt and once again hints that they are the key to his victimization:

Quant à mes dettes, je viens pour la centième fois peut-être d'en faire le compte. Cela est affligeant mais il faut que cela finisse. Je l'ai juré. Je dois en tout 21.236 fr. 50. -- 14.077 fr. de billets souscrits; 4.228 fr. de dettes non garanties par billets au-dessus de 100 fr., 919 fr.25 de petites dettes au dessous de 100 fr., et enfin 2.012 fr.25 de dettes d'amis. Sur une masse aussi considérable, de combien de vols, ou déshonnêtés, ou de faiblesse n'ai-je pas été victime, (...)

On December 4, 1847 he has estimated that his debts were between six and eight thousand francs (CGI, 95). It is surprising to conclude therefore that during the years of his most active social involvement his debts have tripled. By once again using Charles Mauron's system for converting to contemporary currency, we can see that in 1847 Baudelaire admitted to owing between 24,000 to 32,000 modern francs (4,800 to 6,400 dollars), and to owing 84,000 contemporary francs (16,800 dollars) at the beginning of 1851.

While the ability to translate figures into present day values is at best arbitrary (in Baudelaire's time basic costs such as food and shelter were lower, while luxury goods were far more expensive), we can see that in the years 1848 to 1851 he had spent twice as much as his income.⁵⁷ To appreciate the crushing nature of this debt we might remember that the Salut Public was founded with 80 francs and that the first 400 copies cost only 30. Compared to such a statistic Baudelaire's 21,000 franc handicap appears in all its stark reality. It is not surprising therefore that both his past and future become identified with

this overpowering millstone. Such a theme is prevalent in these passages from a letter to his mother in 1851:

Voilà plusieurs mois que j'ai résolu de vous écrire. Plusieurs fois déjà j'ai essayé, et plusieurs fois j'ai été obligé de renoncer à ce travail. Mes douleurs incessantes et la solitude de ma pensée m'ont rendu un peu dur et sans doute aussi très maladroit. (...)

(...) Vous devinez que je veux parler de quelque argent qu'a reçu M. Ancelle, Quoi! Il reçoit de l'argent, sans lettre pour moi, sans un mot qui m'en prescrive ou m'en conseille l'emploi. Mais songez donc que vous avez perdu tout droit à la philanthropie vis-à-vis de moi, car je ne peux pas parler du sentiment maternel. Vous avez donc intérêt à montrer des sentiments humains à un autre qu'à moi. (...)

(...) Je vais avoir 30 ans dans 3 mois juste. Ceci me suscite beaucoup de réflexions qu'il est facile de deviner. Ainsi moralement, une partie de ma vie future est en vos mains. Puissiez-vous m'écrire ce que je désire!

(...)

Puisque vous avez une si grande influence sur M. Ancelle, vous devriez bien lui dire, quand vous lui écrivez, de me rendre la vie moins dure et plus supportable (CG1, 129-131).

When Baudelaire first went to the barricades he was twenty seven years old and believed in a cause that was shared by his friends. Whether drawn to political journalism from a need to make money or through sincerity of convictions, he has nevertheless shown a growing distrust for a race of phrasemakers whose systems divide a movement which had sought to establish a harmonious unity in society. At the same time his debts have tripled and his literary production almost disappeared. By 1851, Baudelaire is thirty and is slowly realizing to what extent the past four years have been wasted. A deep-seated pessimism now pervades every aspect of his correspondence. This pessimism will not be long in transforming itself into a form of political and social disillusionment.

Little of what he wrote however, bears the stamp of later

conservatism. His liberalism and Republicanism have stemmed less from political theory than from a genuine feeling for humanity and its need for a rediscovered sense of dignity. Baudelaire's disillusionment and evolution however are far more than a personal phenomenon. The Baudelaire that entered 1852 is a symbol of an entire generation. In this sense he reflects the great watershed that the years 1848-1852 had given France. As 1851 drew to a close the Second Republic was dying; the Second Empire was to rise from its ashes.

CHAPTER II

NOTES

1
 Malcom Cowley, "Baudelaire as Revolutionist," New Republic, 86° (1936), p. 287. In a list of 9 articles in our note 3 (Introduction) there are 2 studies (Dormier, 1926 and Funaroff, 1934) which predate his own study. To those 9 articles already listed we would add the following which show how much interest has been shown in Baudelaire the revolutionist since 1936: Michel Boujut, "Baudelaire dans la révolution," Témoins, 33 (1963), pp. 24-27; Jean Cassous, Le Quarante-huitard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948); R.J. Klein, "Baudelaire and Revolution: Some notes," Yale French Studies, 39 (1967), pp. 85-97; Charles M. Lancaster, "Baudelaire en 1848," Vanderbilt Alumnus, Nashville, 22 April 1947, pp. 17-18; Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848 (Paris: Emile Paul frères, 1946); Marc Séguin, "Baudelaire et la révolution," Arts, 27 February 1948; Jacques Suffel, "Deux lettres inédites de Baudelaire. En 1848, le poète des Fleurs du Mal avertit Proudhon, 'On veut vous tuer!'" Figaro Littéraire, 13 September 1958, p.8; Alexandre Zévaès, "Charles Baudelaire, journaliste politique," Nouvelle Revue, 91 (1927), pp. 215-221; Alexandre Zévaès, "Charles Baudelaire et le 24 février 1848," L'Ordre de Paris, 18 February 1948.

2
 Henri d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne sous le règne de Louis-Philippe (Paris: Albin Michel, 1925), pp. 317-318; see also Claude Estaban, "La Mort qui console," NRF, 15 (1967), p. 686.

3
 d'Alméras, La Vie Parisienne, p. 349.

4
 d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne, p. 358.

5
 d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne, p. 360.

6
 Hippolyte Castille, Les Hommes et les moeurs en France sous le règne de Louis-Philippe (Paris: Paul Hannequin, 1853), pp. 6-8.

7
 Castille, Les Hommes et les moeurs, p. 17.

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8. Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, Extinction du Paupérisme (Paris: Pagnerre, 1844), pp. 3-4; pp. 11-12.
9. P. Mansell Jones, The Background of Modern Poetry (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 8.
10. Frederick B. Artz, France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 292.
11. Georges Brunet, Le Mysticisme social de Saint-Simon (Paris: Les Presses Françaises, 1925), p. 60.
12. d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne, pp. 382-383.
13. Charles Fourier: French philosopher and sociologist (1772-1837). Dreamed of grouping individuals into phalanstères or harmonious communes.
14. d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne, p. 376.
15. d'Alméras, La Vie parisienne, p. 377.
16. Georges and Hubert Bourgin, Le Socialisme français de 1789 à 1848 (Paris: Hachette, 1912), p. 75.
17. As quoted by Bourgin, Le Socialisme français, p. 80.
18. Pierre Joseph Proudhon, "Qu'est-ce que la propriété?" in Oeuvres Complètes (Paris: A Lacroix, Verboeckhoven, 1867), I, p. 13.

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19

quoted by Bourgin, Le Socialisme français, p. 52.

20

Bourgin, Le Socialisme français, p. 83.

21

as quoted in and commented on by Bourgin, Le Socialisme français, p. 108.

22

Bourgin, Le Socialisme français, p. 109.

23

quoted by Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848 (Paris: Emile Paul frères, 1946), pp. 9-10.

24

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 10.

25

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 11.

26

Claude Pichois, Le Vrai Visage du Général Aupick, beau-père de Baudelaire (Paris: MF, 1955).

27

Raymond Estholier, "Baudelaire, carabinier, ou la Révolution dans l'île Saint-Louis," "Europe", 45, No. 456-457 (1967), p. 52.

28

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 8.

29

see Jacques Gaucheron, "Poulet-Malassis, éditeur républicain," Europe, 45, No. 456-457 (1967), pp. 177-179; and Frantz Calot, "Poulet-Malassis, Loredan Larchey et La Revue Anecdotique," Bulletin du Bibliophile, March-April, 1940, p. 41.

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30

see CG1, 60n and CG2, 83n.

31

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, pp. 12-16.

32

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 17; see also François Porché, La Vie Dououreuse de Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Plon, 1926), p. 128.

33

OP1, 530n; see also Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 19.

34

Charles du Bos, "Introduction à Mon Coeur mis à nu", in Approximations, 5e série (Paris: R.A. Corrêa, 1932).

35

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 21.

36

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, pp. 21-22.

37

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 23. NOTE: all references to the Tribune Nationale are from this edition and are abbreviated in the text under the name Mouquet.

38

Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 39; see also Albert Rosin, "Le Problème du séjour de Charles Baudelaire à Dijon en 1849-1850", Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts, et Belles-Lettres de Dijon, 112 (1954-1956), pp. 61-62.

39

Jules Vallès, Le Tableau de Paris (Paris: Gallimard, 1932), pp. 168-169.

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- 40
d'Alm ras, La Vie Parisienne, p. 455.
- 41
Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, pp. 43-45.
- 42
R gine Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie en France, Les temps modernes (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 532.
- 43
Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, p. 533.
- 44
Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, p. 534.
- 45
Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, p. 535.
- 46
Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, p. 535.
- 47
Jacques Gaucheron, "Poulet-Malassis,  diteur r publicain", Europe, 45, No. 456-457 (1967), p. 178.
- 48
Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, pp. 535-536.
- 49
quoted by Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie, p. 536.
- 50
In particular we refer the reader to Jacques Cr pet and Georges Blin, II, 333-338n; and Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 51.

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51

As an example see Enid Starkie, Baudelaire (London: Faber & Faber, 1957), p. 194.

52

Bandy, Mouquet, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 48.

53

Bandy, Mouquet, Baudelaire en 1848, p. 49.

54

René Johannet, "Baudelaire est-il allé à Châteauroux?" Les Lettres, 1 (1927), pp. 31-43. Mouquet, Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848, pp. 50-51, feel that Johannet is too timid in his conclusions. They feel the article in question is definitely by Baudelaire.

55

Albert Rosin, "Le Problème du séjour de Charles Baudelaire à Dijon en 1849-50", p. 64.

56

Rosin, "Le Problème du séjour(...)", p. 69. We might also add that his literary endeavours fall under the same shadow. The Salon de 1845 appeared one year after the Conseil judiciaire. Literary or Journalistic endeavours must always be kept in perspective as one sees how desperately Baudelaire tried to prove himself in order to regain control of his fortune.

57

Charles Maufron, Le Dernier Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1966), p. 23; see also Albert Rosin, "Le Problème du séjour", p. 60.

CHAPTER III

BAUDELAIRE "DEPOLITIQUE"

(1852-1867)

Vous ne m'avez pas vu au vote: c'est un parti pris chez moi. Le 2 DECEMBRE m'a physiquement dépolitiqué. Il n'y a plus d'idées générales. Que tout Paris soit orléaniste, c'est un fait, mais cela ne me regarde pas. Si j'avais voté, je n'aurais pu voter que pour moi. Peut-être l'avenir appartient-il aux hommes déclassés (CGI, 152)?

Written on March 5, 1852, the above sentiments reveal a different Baudelaire to the enthusiastic and socially involved man who had participated in the activities of 1848. Baudelaire's correspondence and the Journaux Intimes leave opposing evidence as to the long-term applicability of the above quotation.

In a very real sense an entire generation became witness to the collapse of their dreams. After February 1848, 50% of France's labor force had been thrown out of work and the country's production dropped by some 53%.¹ As William Lander points out, the Second Republic initially closed the divisions between the middle class, the aristocracy, and the Catholic church. By so doing they sought to meet the threat of radical and social revolution (Lander, 336). Despite growing fears universal suffrage had been accepted on March 2, 1848. The electorate thus grew from 250,000 to 9,000,000 voters (Lander, 339). The people proved that they were not ready for a radical government when the April

elections produced an assembly of moderate republicans. As we have seen, the abolition of the ateliers nationaux was the spark that set off the June rebellion. Another disturbing element occurred when Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte returned to France on September 24 to claim his assembly seat. Thiers considered Louis-Napoléon as a harmless halfwit and Toqueville referred to him as an insignificant numskull. He astounded them all by a smashing electoral victory on December 10 (Lander, 424). Of the 7,426,252 votes cast he received 5,534,520 while Cavignac had only 1,442,302, Ledreu-Rollin 371,431, Raspail 36,920 and Lamartine a paltry 17,910 (Lander, 427).

Lamartine's ridiculously low percentage of the popular vote is an indication of the general swing in French public opinion since the days when the Salut Public and the Tribune Nationale had considered him a major force within the state. The polarization of public opinion which had preceded the June revolts continued unabated. In the elections of May 13, 1849, the moderate republicans who had dominated the Republic to date obtained only 80 seats in the 750 seat assembly. The remainder were split between the monarchists (some 500) and the socialists (some 200) (Lander, 450-451). Seeing an opportunity to seize power, the socialists attempted to impeach both the President and the government over the question of aid to the Pope who had become embroiled in the campaign for Italian unity.

When the socialist motion was defeated they withdrew from the assembly, occupied the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers and attempted to start a new revolution. Whereas June 1848 had witnessed a revolt of followers with no leaders, June 1849 saw a rebellion of leaders with no followers. The revolt's only tangible result was to sound the death

knell of France's brief experiment with universal suffrage (Lander, 251-252). When 21 new radicals were elected in 1850 to replace those who had been excluded from the assembly, the royalist majority took steps to reduce the electorate. Henceforth a voter had to establish a three-year residency in the canton to be demonstrated by tax receipts or employer's affidavit. This was designed to exclude many workers from the voter's list as well as other undesireables all of whom were publicly referred to as the vile multitude. Since a man was not registered on the tax lists until age 21, the law had the initial effect of raising the de facto voting age from 21 to 24. The worker who frequently changed residence was also excluded (Lander, 455).

We should also observe that Baudelaire's stay in Châteauroux and Dijon would automatically disqualify him from voting for at least a year since he could no longer meet the residency requirement. In one sense therefore, he was indeed physiquement dépolitiqué long before the December 2 coup by the electoral law of May 13, 1850. In this context he joined 30% of the French electorate. (Lander, 455).

Having protected themselves from the dangers of the left, the right-wing governing powers now concentrated on destroying each other. In his book, France since the First Empire, James MacDonnell points out that the Republic might have been saved if the Legitimists, Orleanists and Republicans had laid aside their animosities in order to work together on the common ground of parliamentary rule.² In an attempt to protect themselves from the Bonapartists they refused to allow the President to stand for a second term of office. Intrigue followed intrigue to the point that on November 17, 1851 the Assembly refused to

grant its own president the power to call on military force to defend the Chamber in an emergency. The sponsors of the motion were trying to protect the Assembly against Louis-Napoléon who plotted openly at the Elysée Palace. The Republicans feared however that the royalist majority would use such power to restore the throne. Fearing the royalists more than the Bonapartists, the Republicans joined with the latter to defeat the motion. With the best of intentions they had delivered the Republic into the hands of a new Napoleon.³ Only 15 days later, the President seized power and ended almost four years of political bickering and infighting.

Since Louis-Napoléon reinstated universal suffrage in order to confirm his coup d'état and his later establishment of the Second Empire, Baudelaire had his vote restored by a tyrant. The choice however was no longer between good and bad but between bad and worse. The French people had been forced to choose between the tyranny of one man and the tyranny of ineffectual parliamentary debate. It is not surprising therefore that men like Baudelaire who had hoped momentarily for substantial social change, should now throw up their hands in disgust and bring down a curse on every political house.

Despite his categorical statement in 1852 that he had been physically depoliticized, Baudelaire's letters during the 1850's and 1860's contain numerous political references. Writing to Nadar in 1859 he states:

Puisque tu as jugé à propos de jeter à la fin de ta lettre, un peu de politique, j'en ferai autant. Je me suis vingt fois persuadé que je ne m'intéressais plus à la politique, et à chaque question grave, je suis repris de curiosité et de passion. Il y a bien longtemps que je la surveillais et que je l'attendais cette question italienne. Bien

longtemps avant l'aventure d'Orsini. Celui-ci était un honnête homme trop pressé. Mais l'Empereur pensait à la chose depuis longtemps, et il avait fait nombre de promesses à tous les Italiens qui venaient à Paris. J'admire avec quelle docilité il obéit à la fatalité; mais cette fatalité le sauve; qui, aujourd'hui, pense à Morny, au grand Central, à Beaumont-Vassy et aux quarante mille saletés qui nous occupaient, il y a peu de temps? Voilà l'Empereur lavé. Tu verras, mon cher, qu'on oubliera les horreurs commises en Décembre. En somme, il vole à la République l'honneur d'une grande guerre. -- As-tu lu l'admirable discours de Jules Favre au Corps législatif, dans les derniers jours du mois dernier, ou dans les premiers jours de Mai? Il a posé nettement la nécessité, la fatalité révolutionnaires. Le Président et les Ministres ne l'ont pas interrompu. Il avait l'air de parler au nom de l'Empereur. Et quand à propos de Garibaldi; un vicomte de la Tour, Breton bigot et naïf, a dit que la France espérait bien de pas se souiller par de pareilles alliances, le président (Schneider) l'a arrêté, lui disant qu'un député n'avait pas le droit de diffamer les alliés de la France, d'où qu'ils lui vinssent.

La politique, mon cher ami est une science sans cœur. C'est ce que tu ne veux pas reconnaître. Si tu étais Jésuite et Révolutionnaire, comme tout vrai politique doit l'être, ou l'est fatalement, tu n'aurais pas tant de regrets pour les amis jetés de côté. Je sais que je te fais horreur; mais, dis-moi, as-tu seulement remarqué avec quels propos sont venues les Lettres diplomatiques de Joseph de Maistre, publiées par M. de Cavour, lettres où, pour le dire en passant, le Pape est traité de polichinelle? Quel réquisitoire contre l'Autriche! Le Piémont avait gardé ces lettres en réserve, et les a publiés au bon moment.

Je crois seulement qu'en mettant les choses au mieux, l'Empereur couvert de gloire et béni de tout le monde, l'embarras sera dans l'usage de la victoire.

(...)

Maintenant, si tu veux rire, lis, comme moi, Limavrac, Vitu et Gr(anier) de Cassagnac. Il paraît que nous allons en Italie pour étouffer l'hydre révolutionnaire.

Voilà, pour parler sérieusement, de l'hypocrisie inutile (CG2, 319-321).

Here we see a Baudelaire fully involved in the debate on the Emperor's Italian policy and admitting that his interest is rekindled at each new political event; he also indicates that he is an avid reader of even pro-Napoleon journalists and that at least on this occasion he is familiar with the content of the speeches made in the Chamber. The tone of the letter is critical. It is interesting to note that Orsini, who had attempted to assassinate Napoleon III in 1858, is described as an

honnête homme trop pressé.

Baudelaire and Napoleon III

Baudelaire's low opinion of Louis-Napoléon is witnessed as early as July 1850 when he wrote to Jean Wallon: "Voici que L... devient prophète, et mystique bonapartiste, mouchard sans doute" (CGI, 126). While the number of suspension points leads us to assume that Baudelaire is referring to Lamartine, it is doubtful that he would establish a comparison between the two men on anything other than a metaphorical level. The key word is prophète since most politicians of the period had assumed the functions of the Old Testament Prophets, i.e. they pointed out contemporary sins and foretold the future course of events if their particular causes were not honoured. Few were more guilty of this new wave of prophecy than Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte. Whether it be his Réponse à Monsieur de Lamartine, Extinction du Paupérisme, or Lettres aux ouvriers,⁴ Louis-Napoleon had identified himself with his own particular brand of socialism. As Henri d'Alméras points out in La Vie parisienne sous la République de 1848, many workers were convinced that a socialist Bonaparte was possible.⁵ Even Baudelaire referred to this socialism in a letter to Poulet-Malassis on March 20, 1852:

Parmi toutes les personnes que je connais il n'y a que sottise et passions individuelles. Personne ne consent à se mettre au point de vue providentiel.

Vous devinez de quoi je veux parler. Le Président a fait une espèce de caresse aux gens de lettres en abolissant l'impôt sur les romans. Le socialisme napoléonien s'est manifesté par la conversion de la Rente; et l'on CRAINT chaque jour un décret qui impose d'un quart les

héritages de collatéraux. Enfin le Président a compris qu'en donnant toute liberté de discussion sur la saisie des biens des princes d'Orléans, il se donnait le beau rôle (CGI, 155-156).⁵

Another key element in the above letter is the word providentiel. Eugène Crépet was the first to juxtapose this to another reference to Napoleon III in the Journaux Intimes.⁶

Ma fureur au coup d'Etat. Combien j'ai essuyé de coups de fusil. Encore un Bonaparte! Quelle honte!
Et cependant tout s'est pacifié. Le Président n'a-t-il pas un droit à invoquer?

Ce qu'est l'Empereur Napoléon III. Ce qu'il vaut. Trouver l'explication de sa nature, et sa providentialité (JI, 56).

Eugène Crépet points out that there appears to be a contradiction in thought between these two quotations. We fail to see such a contradiction. In the context of Baudelaire's references to Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte the idea of Providence is always present. Napoleon III frequently chose to present himself as the gift of Providence. The reference in the Journaux Intimes does not attempt to support or reject this claim; it merely sets out to explain Napoleon's own theories. In the 1859 letter to Nadar the same theme occurs: "J'admire avec quelle docilité il obéit à la fatalité."

The most specific references to Providence and Louis-Napoléon are found in Baudelaire's statements with reference to the preface of L'Histoire de Jules César. This preface was written by Napoleon III in 1862. In it he suggests that there is a certain predestination in the rise of great men. The following excerpts from this preface show his view of history and help us to see why Baudelaire would frequently use his name and that of Providence in the same context.

La vérité historique devrait être non moins sacrée que la religion. Si les préceptes de la foi élèvent notre âme au-dessus des intérêts de ce monde, les enseignements de l'histoire, à leur tour, nous inspirent l'amour du beau et du juste, la haine de ce qui fait obstacle aux progrès de l'humanité. (...)

(...)

Mais, en écrivant l'histoire, quel est le moyen d'arriver à la vérité? C'est de suivre les règles de la logique. Tenons d'abord pour certain qu'un grand effet est toujours dû à une grande cause, jamais à une petite; (...)

(...)

Lorsque des faits extraordinaires attestent un génie éminent, quoi de plus contraire au bon sens que de lui prêter toutes les passions et tous les sentiments de la médiocrité? Quoi de plus faux que de ne pas reconnaître la prééminence de ces êtres privilégiés qui apparaissent de temps à autre dans l'histoire comme des phares lumineux, dissipant les ténèbres de leur époque et éclairant l'avenir? Nier cette prééminence serait d'ailleurs faire injure à l'humanité, en la croyant capable de subir, à la longue et volontairement, une domination qui ne reposerait pas sur une grandeur véritable et sur une incontestable utilité. Soyons logiques et nous serons justes.

(...) Ainsi, pour César, (...). S'il résiste à Sylla; s'il est en désaccord avec Cicéron, s'il se lie avec Pompée, c'est par l'effet de cette astuce prévoyante qui a tout deviné pour tout asservir; (...) Mais à quel signe reconnaître la grandeur d'un homme? A l'empire de ses idées, lorsque ses principes et son système triomphent en dépit de sa mort ou de sa défaite. N'est-ce pas, en effet, le propre du génie de survivre au néant, et d'étendre son empire sur les générations futures? (...)

Ce qui précède montre assez le but que je me propose en écrivant cette histoire. Ce but est de prouver que, lorsque la Providence suscite des hommes tels que César, Charlemagne, Napoléon, c'est pour tracer aux peuples la voie qu'ils doivent suivre, marquer du sceau de leur génie une ère nouvelle, et accomplir en quelques années le travail de plusieurs siècles. Heureux les peuples qui les comprennent et les suivent! Malheur à ceux qui les méconnaissent et les combattent! Il font comme les Juifs, ils crucifient leur Messie; ils sont aveugles, car ils ne voient pas l'impuissance de leurs efforts à suspendre le triomphe définitif du bien; coupables, car ils ne font que retarder le progrès, en entravant sa prompte et féconde application.

Proof of Baudelaire's disagreement with Napoleon's theory of Providence and great men is found in a note to Michel Lévy in 1865: —

"j'ai fait aussi une réfutation de la préface de 'Jules César' et puis je l'ai gardée" (CG5, 59; 61). Since no trace has ever been found of this article Jacques Crépet concludes that it was probably one of the

many Baudelaire intended to write rather than an actual composition (CG5, 59n). Baudelaire's remark to Michel Lévy however would indicate that if the poet were influenced by certain aspects of Jansenism he did not apply these theories to history or to the rise of contemporary political figures. In a letter to Sainte-Beuve on March 15, 1865, he returned to the theme of Napoleon's preface: "Et la préface de la 'Vie de César'? Est-ce assez 'prédestinatif'?" (CG5, 65). One week later the same theme occurs in a letter to Ancelle. Here Baudelaire states that the sales of L'Histoire de Jules César are going poorly; he also indicates that he would like to send Ancelle a copy of Les Propos de Labiénus, a pamphlet attacking the Empire which had earned Auguste Rogeard five years in prison. In this letter Baudelaire clearly states that his intention to write a refutation to the contentious preface had never been anything more than an idea.

J'avais bien envie d'écrire une réfutation de la fameuse préface, et puis je me suis dit comme je me le dis si souvent à propos d'une foule de choses: A quoi bon? et que m'importe (CG5, 67-68)?

Despite these attacks in 1865, the subject of Napoleon III had often proved intriguing for Baudelaire. In 1853 he asked Ancelle to procure from Madame Hoéné Wronski several of her husband's books such as Le Secret Politique de Napoléon and Le Faux Napoléonisme (CG1, 217).⁸ Writing to Poulet-Malassis in 1860 he commented on a figure in one of Meryon's paintings which had the profile of a sphinx: "Or le Prince est l'être actuel qui, par ses actes et son visage, ressemble le plus à un sphinx," (CG3, 7). Also in 1860 Baudelaire wrote to Eugène Crépet outlining several points to be discussed in his article on Victor Hugo.

He restated that he considered "l'enguelement politique comme un signe de sottise". Nevertheless, Baudelaire made the observation that he supported Hugo rather than Bonaparte over the question of the coup d'état. (CG3, 111-112).

At times however Baudelaire felt that the Emperor could be useful. In a letter to Auguste Lacaussade in 1861 the poet complained that his property had been impounded. This included his sketches by Guys which he could no longer take from the house to show to Mérimée, the Minister, or the Emperor. Commenting on this reference, Jacques Crépet feels that Baudelaire may well have flattered himself with the illusion that Guys' album of sketches on the Crimean war might have given him access to the Emperor. Crépet also draws our attention to a similar reference in Le Peintre de la vie moderne where Baudelaire regrets that the Emperor did not see the sketches (CG3, 275n; AR, 79). Baudelaire's single compliment to Louis-Napoleon as an individual is found in a letter to Ancelle dated February 12, 1865. This compliment, backhanded as it may be, should be considered in the context of the poet's stay in Brussels -- a period when anything French began to assume new merit.

Savez-vous que les fils du roi Léopold reçoivent avec l'assentiment de leur papa, une rente de l'Empereur Napoléon III, comme indemnité de leur part perdue dans l'héritage (saisi) de la maison d'Orléans? Ames ignobles! Dynasties condamnées! -- Notre Empereur est peut-être un grand coquin, mais il aime mieux la gloire que l'argent; à cause de cela, il est intéressant (CG4, 31).

Such praise for Napoleon's taste for glory is short lived and the last reference to the Emperor comes in a letter to Madame Aupick in 1866.

Over the question of whether the word inquiète takes one or two t's, Baudelaire added that since spelling had so often varied in France one could be permitted "quelques petites bizarreries, comme Napoléon et Lamartine" (CG5, 309).

While Baudelaire's letters reveal no more than a personal dislike for the Emperor, certain references in the Journaux Intimes highlight Napoleon III as the symbol of the times. Commenting on France's love for the military metaphor, Baudelaire remarked sarcastically that "Toute métaphore ici porte des moustaches" (JI, 76). There is an obvious reference here to the Emperor's famous mustache which had become popular with the army and the aristocracy. This reference helps reveal Baudelaire's dislike for Second Empire literature. Another reference in the Journaux Intimes again speaks of Napoleon's providentiality.

Politique.

En somme, devant l'histoire et devant le peuple français, la grande gloire de Napoléon III aura été de prouver que le premier vent peut, en s'emparant du télégraphe et de l'imprimerie nationale, gouverner une grande nation.

Imbéciles sont ceux qui croient que de pareilles choses peuvent s'accomplir sans la permission du peuple, -- et ceux qui croient que la gloire ne peut être appuyée que sur la vertu.

Les dictateurs sont les domestiques du peuple, -- rien de plus -- un foutu rôle d'ailleurs, -- et la gloire est le résultat de l'adaptation d'un esprit avec la sottise nationale. (JI, 79).

The Journaux Intimes also contain the previously discussed historical observation: "Napoléon III hérite des hommes de Louis-Philippe. Dshonneur." (JI, 91). We must remember that this reference did not blame the Emperor for the weakness of his reign but the men whom he had inherited from the July Monarchy. In both these references Baudelaire did not attribute to Providence the rise of another Napoleon.

He blamed the people -- a people who had done nothing to correct the sins they had acquired under the previous regime.

While Baudelaire's contacts with the Second Empire on a personal level never provoked great controversy, his profession as an artist produced far greater friction. This particular aspect reached a climax when the Fleurs du Mal was censored by the government. As an artist, Baudelaire was so opposed to the mixing of politics and literature that for several years he refused to seek public funds to alleviate his grave financial problems. In 1855 he wrote to his mother:

Demander de l'argent à un ministre, me fait horreur, et cependant cela est presque un usage; il y a des fonds pour cela. Quant à moi, j'ai un orgueil et une prudence qui m'ont toujours éloigné de ces moyens-là. Jamais mon nom paraîtra dans les ignobles paperasses d'un gouvernement (CGI, 355-356).

While his pride and prudence would not prevent him from asking money from the government in later years, it is interesting to observe that in 1855 his opinions were strong enough to dictate these sentiments. By 1856 we can see that his growing financial problems had translated themselves into anti-social outbursts.

Je ne suis pas sûr que la colère donne du talent; mais en supposant que cela soit, je devrais en avoir un énorme; car je ne travaille jamais qu'entre une saisie et une querelle, une querelle et une saisie. -- Je remarque, à propos de tous ces monstres de gratte-papiers, démocrates, napoléoniens surtout, qu'aucun ne veut aborder franchement la question de la misère et du suicide (CGI, 385).

While Baudelaire might have accused the authorities of

indifference to certain essential problems in literature, by 1857 it became obvious that the government had its own list of priorities. The Fleurs du Mal had only been published a few days when the Ministry of the Interior asked the Attorney General's office to seize the book-- the reason being "le délit d'outrage à la morale publique" (CG1, 69n). On July 9 Baudelaire wrote to his mother urging her to be calm, speaking of the separation of art and morality, and assuring her that the government was far too busy with the Paris elections to prosecute a madman (CG2, 65-67). It would appear that the opposite phenomenon occurred. In an attempt to bolster its prestige the government may have chosen this ideal moment. On July 11 Baudelaire frantically urged Poulet-Malassis to hide the edition leaving only 50 copies in circulation to nourish "le Cerbère Justice" (CG2, 70). On July 17 the edition was seized.

The story of Baudelaire's trial and condemnation as well as the suppression of the six poems has become legend. Certainly we could add nothing to the excellent account which Jacques Crépet has provided in his notes on the Fleurs du Mal.⁹ For the student of the social Baudelaire the intrigue of the trial lies in the fact that a work which strove so hard to transcend partisan politics became its victim. It even produced a split within the Imperial cabinet where Achille Fould, ministre d'Etat de la maison de l'empereur, was pitted against the Justice Minister, Abbaticci, and the Interior Minister, Billault. Baudelaire himself stated: "M. Fould se trouve obligé de me défendre. Me sacrifiera-t-il? Toute la question est là" (CG2, 79). It is hardly surprising that Baudelaire should feel a sense of frustration over such squabbling, nor that his friends should advise him to remain silent during the trial in order to avoid angry outbursts.

One of the most surprising developments of Baudelaire's social attitudes was that he did not take the opportunity of violently attacking the Imperial government after its handling of the Fleurs du Mal trial. Rather than violent criticism we find him humbly petitioning the Empress to have his fine reduced. Certainly the tone of this letter is very un-Baudelairian. Beyond the somewhat forced humility however lies a very simple ploy.

Je dois dire que j'ai été traité par la Justice avec une courtoisie admirable, et que les termes mêmes du jugement impliquent la reconnaissance de mes hautes et pures intentions. Mais l'amende, grossie de frais inintelligibles pour moi, dépasse les facultés de la pauvreté proverbiale des poètes, et, encouragé par tant de preuves d'estime que j'ai reçues d'amis si haut placés, et en même temps persuadé que le coeur de l'Impératrice est ouvert à la pitié pour toutes les tribulations, les spirituelles comme les matérielles, j'ai conçu le projet, après une indécision et une timidité de dix jours, de solliciter la gracieuse bonté de Votre Majesté et de la prier d'intervenir pour moi auprès de M. le Ministre de la Justice (CG2, 100).

If flattery and necessity dictated the above praise of the system of Justice under the Second Empire, Baudelaire's true face is revealed two months later in a letter to his mother. On January 20, 1858 he informed Madame Aupick that the Emperor had suppressed the Revue de Paris and Le Spectateur on the advice of the Minister of the Interior. While these suppressions were part of the strict measures imposed after Orsini's attempted assassination, Baudelaire saw them as a threat to the freedom of the press and hence to the freedom of art, in addition to threatening the existence of the artist in a very real and economic way.

Mais je crains bien que ceci ne soit le commencement d'une nouvelle période encore plus dénuée de liberté que celle qui vient de s'écouler. Le discours de l'Empereur aux Millelles était fort menaçant; les discours

des fonctionnaires étaient furibonds. Si l'on supprime les journaux, si l'on impose la censure aux Théâtres et à la librairie, comment vivrons-nous (CG6, 19).

Baudelaire felt that not only the suppression of newspapers was harmful to the artist but also the increasing emphasis on politics at the expense of literature (CG3, 79; 166-167). In a letter to Poulet-Malassis in 1859 he pointed out that he had just put his mind in order by rereading (for the first time in twenty years), la Grandeur et décadence des Romains, le Discours sur l'histoire universelle, and Les Natchez. He concluded that he had become such an enemy of his century that everything appeared sublime in these books (CG2, 300). On May 1, 1859, he even accused Poulet-Malassis of following present trends. While pointing out that his friend and editor was spending too much time on certain brochures politiques, Baudelaire reminded him that it is part of human nature to spend five francs on a novel or a box in the theatre. He assured Poulet-Malassis that his Fleurs du Mal would endure and that whether the war spread from Italy to the Rhine men would continue to be interested in literary disputes and novels. He urged Poulet-Malassis to see this error and concluded his words of advice by adding: "Bien au contraire de vous, j'ai peur pour vous, de cette négligence relativement aux choses littéraires" (CG2, 301-304).¹⁰

A year later Baudelaire returned to the theme of politics and destiny. While he would later refuse Louis-Napoleon's theories on predestined great men, he did accept the idea of destiny as it applied to the fall of man and human error. Commenting on Giuseppe Ferrari's La Raison d'Etat he concluded that it was a beautiful book.

La préface surtout (il faut absolument que vous lisiez cela) est d'une certaine éloquence éthérée, fataliste, résignée, qui fait penser aux meilleurs morceaux de la plus pure beauté classique française. Le chapitre sur Machiavel, de qui cependant Ferrari se détache, est aussi très étonnant. En somme, c'est partout le Génie qui pactise avec le Destin: "Laisse-moi comprendre tes lois, et je te tiens quitte des vulgaires jouissances de la vie, des vides consolations de l'Erreur" (CG3, 90).

In a note on this chapter Jacques Crépet summarizes the chapter on Machiavelli which is entitled Dieu Détrôné: the Devil directs States -- Machiavelli represents him -- his prince -- his national despotism -- his decided politics -- his varied views -- his faults -- enemy of the Italian federation -- a vandal before Italian glories -- yet successful because of the jolt he gave the nation. Crépet continues by highlighting the conclusion of the preface: "Montrons l'homme tel qu'il est, sans sermons ni prudence, et sachons nous suffire assez pour dédaigner les vides consolations de l'erreur". (CG3, 89n) Here he feels are the lines of which Baudelaire was thinking when he summed up the philosophy of the book.

The last quotation above is a perfect summation of Baudelaire's own artistic approach to man. With reference to Machiavelli we can see that if Baudelaire were attracted to him in such a context it was not because he represented a figure who had conquered the world but because he represented human error. As such he stands for the corrupted nature of man. This particular view of man in general and the politician in particular has always characterized Baudelaire's writing. As early as the Salut Public he had criticized the prophets of progress, aptly named the proconsuls du hasard. Already he has shown that no political regime can improve on the former since the State and its government are composed

of men. In his magnificent poem Le Voyage Baudelaire speaks of "le spectacle ennuyeux de l'immortel péché" (EM, 260) which characterizes the entire world. We should not be surprised therefore that Baudelaire was attracted to a book like Ferrari's La Raison d'Etat -- a book which depicts the State as the Devil's agent with Machiavelli its temporal prince. This basic concept has been with us in one form or another since the beginning of Baudelaire's political notations. Its accentuation is the true mark of his political disillusionment.

In August 1860 the question of Ferrari's book was again raised in a letter to Poulet-Malassis. Baudelaire pointed out that he had met Ferrari who seemed to be more interested in the sale of his book than in the cause of Italian unity. The same letter also contains an interesting social observation which supports Baudelaire's earlier theory on La Raison d'Etat. Crépet feels that the following sentences are possibly in answer to Poulet-Malassis' comments on the book which Baudelaire had lent him.

Je m'attendais à votre hypothèse finale à propos de la philosophie de l'histoire. -- Je connais votre esprit comme s'il était mon fils. Je crois que c'est en vous un vieux reste des philosophes de 1848. D'abord, ne saisissez-vous pas, par l'imagination, que quelles que soient les transformations des races humaines, quelque rapide que soit la destruction, la nécessité de l'antagonisme doit subsister, et que les rapports, avec des couleurs ou des formes différentes, restent les mêmes? C'est, si vous consentez à accepter cette formule, l'harmonie éternelle par la lutte éternelle (CGJ, 178-180):

Criticizing Poulet-Malassis for having retained the optimism of 1848, Baudelaire defined history as an eternal harmony achieved through eternal struggle -- a series of changes which do not alter the basic

antagonism which must continue to exist. It is certainly one of Baudelaire's most interesting historical observations and indicates that he considered the destiny of man and his society to be one of antagonism and struggle. Having impressed this on Poulet-Malassis, he concluded the letter with a few quotes from what he considered to be the latest word in Parisian stupidity.

"Garibaldi est plus qu'un officier très brave et très habile, c'est une Religion!" (Paul Maurice.)

"C'est Garibaldi qui est orthodoxe et c'est le pape qui est hérétique!" (Louis Jourdan).

"En voilà (un) qui est bougrement fort et qui va vous balayer tout ça proprement. Avant deux mois, je fais le pari qu'il sera à Vienne!" (Mathieu.)

À propos des abeilles: "Ces chères petites républicaines..." (Léon Plée.) (CG), 181).

These comments are interesting not only because they confirm Baudelaire's rejection of the naive optimism of the Italian patriots and their French supporters, but also because they show how closely Baudelaire followed the political developments of his period. This merely illustrates once more that his interest in political and social events had not waned even though he had long ago renounced active participation. Nor did Baudelaire limit his social observations to his friends alone. On July 25, 1861 he suggested to his mother that the collapse of the Empire seemed near. The Emperor's health was failing and no one believed in the solidity of the constitution or a regency. He added that whether one believed in the return of the Orléans family, in the possibility of a republic without disorder, or in the Imperial constitution, all agreed on the need for more freedom. It was Baudelaire's opinion that the country had been deprived of

freedom for too long.¹¹

Despite frequent criticism of the Republic and republican optimism, Baudelaire admitted in 1861 that he was still a republican. In a letter soliciting Victor Laprade's support for his candidacy to the Académie Française, he again rejected the traditional view of his contemporaries who insisted on linking politics and religion.

Chenevard a fait ce qu'il a pu pour me détourner de ma folie; mais comme elle est commencée il faut y persévérer. Il m'a dit aussi que vous apparteniez à un parti (j'ignore quels sont les partis qui divisent la population du Parnasse et dussé-je passer pour un niais, je ne veux pas m'en enquerir). Cependant je lui ai répondu que je croyais que vous étiez royaliste, et que malheureusement j'étais situé à l'antipode de votre idée, mais que j'usais rigoureusement du droit d'être absurde, et que, malgré l'obligation apparente pour tout républicain d'être athée, j'avais toujours été un fervent catholique, ce qui créait un rapport entre vous et moi, sans compter celui du rythme et de la rime.¹²

It is inconceivable that Baudelaire would admit his republican sympathies to Laprade unless he considered it a matter of principle. In an age when politics determined even the selection of members to the Academy, he could hardly expect to secure Laprade's vote by claiming to support an opposing political philosophy. One must accept either the hypothesis that Baudelaire was not serious in seeking Laprade's support, which hardly seems plausible, or the theory that he had not lost all of his 1848 ideals, one of which would appear to be a desire to show that Catholicism and Republicanism were not as incompatible as his contemporaries would believe.

What Baudelaire did detest in 1848 was his own temptation by utopian schemes. Only a month after the letter to Laprade we find this note to Sainte-Beuve.

Ah! et votre utopie! le grand moyen de chasser des élections le vague, si cher aux grands seigneurs! Votre utopie m'a donné un nouvel orgueil. Moi aussi, je l'avais faite, l'utopie, la réforme; -- est-ce un vieux fond d'esprit révolutionnaire qui m'y poussait, moi aussi, il y a longtemps, à faire des projets de constitution. (CG4, 41).

Still struggling to reconcile republicanism and Catholicism, liberty and order, the political Baudelaire from 1852 to his departure for Belgium is not really the creature of contrasts that we are tempted to see. From enthusiasm to disillusionment the path is marked by a growing awareness of man's fallibility. It is on this note that we must turn our attention to a problem that has intrigued numerous critics -- the myth and the reality of Baudelaire's debt to Joseph de Maistre.

Joseph de Maistre

De Maistre et Poe m'ont appris à raisonner (JI, 40).

With specific reference to Baudelaire's social attitudes following the 1848 revolution, there has been an unfortunate tendency to use Joseph de Maistre as an introduction rather than a conclusion. This has often contributed to a distortion of the poet's social posture. W.T. Bandy feels that Baudelaire was swept along by the revolutionary (and humanitarian) movement of 1848 until 1852 when his conversion to the principles of Joseph de Maistre left him disabused forever as to the saving power of revolution and democracy.¹³ Jean Massin states that Baudelaire became a sectateur of Joseph de Maistre's theocratic and aristocratic view of the universe even though his compassion for the poor and oppressed pushed him (at times against his will) toward Hugo.¹⁴

Jéan Prévost suggests that Baudelaire's attitude toward the people in 1848 would almost give the impression of a 'social thought'. Prévost feels however that Baudelaire quickly withdrew into himself when he became a disciple of Joseph de Maistre.¹⁵ Gaëton Picon states emphatically that Baudelaire's politics, like Balzac's, come from de Maistre.¹⁶

On the other side of the argument Jean-Paul Sartre feels that de Maistre's influence is mostly facade and that Baudelaire felt distinguished in using him as a source. Sartre feels that the great anti-naturalist current which stretches from Saint-Simon to Mallarmé and Huysmans, influenced Baudelaire's thought more than the *Sofrées de Saint-Petersbourg*. In Sartre's opinion the combined actions of the Saint-Simonians, the positivists and Marx had created the dream of 'anti-nature' around 1848. The expression 'anti-nature' is owed to Auguste Comte while the term 'antiphysics' is found in the correspondence of Marx and Engels. Sartre assures us that while the doctrines are different the ideal remains the same: it is a question of instituting a human order opposed to the errors, the injustices and the blind mechanisms of the natural world. Sartre continues by pointing out that this order is distinguished from the *Cité des fins* which Kant had proposed at the end of the eighteenth century by the intervention of a new factor: work. It was no longer by the unique light of his reason that man imposed his order on the universe; it was by work -- especially industrial work. Sartre feels that the source of this anti-naturalism is not an outdated doctrine of Grace but the nineteenth century's industrial revolution and the appearance of mechanism. "Baudelaire est emporté par le courant" Sartre adds.¹⁷

In his extensive study, Baudelaire et Joseph de Maistre, Daniel Vouga strongly criticizes Sartre's theory that Joseph de Maistre was little more than a facade for Baudelaire. He feels that Baudelaire never expressed himself more clearly when he stated in Fusées XVII that Maistre and Poe had taught him to think.¹⁸ Describing Maistre's thought as one of the strongest, most coherent, and noblest of the nineteenth century, (Vouga, 17) Vouga believes that Baudelaire obtained many of his impressions of original sin from Maistre and that an awareness of original sin kept them both from believing in progress (Vouga, 122). Vouga also believes that it was Maistre who contributed to Baudelaire's idea that it is forbidden to shake the natural order of the universe (Vouga, 186).

Having laid down many of Baudelaire's beliefs at the beginning of this chapter, we feel that none of these theories is sufficient to explain his social attitudes. Since there are numerous spiritual affinities between the two authors, many critics seem eager to assume that Baudelaire also accepted de Maistre's social philosophy. On the other hand, Sartre, who has a vested interest in anti-spiritualism, attempts to reject de Maistre's influence on all fronts. In order to appreciate Joseph de Maistre's role in the formation of Baudelaire's social attitudes it is necessary to examine briefly the former's spiritual ideas and how they were translated into a social context.

Daniel Vouga provides an oversimplified yet interesting insight into Joseph de Maistre's spiritual doctrines. In Voltaire's watchmaker theory the soul of the maker was not necessary to keep the watch running. For Maistre, Divine presence was never absent from the world. (Vouga, 23). De Maistre's first aim was to struggle against an eighteenth-century

philosophy "qu'il faut absolument tuer" (Lettres et opuscules I)

(Vouga, 24).

Qu'importe qu'on sache l'algèbre et la chimie: si l'on ignore tout en morale, en politique, en religion, toujours je pourrai dire Imminutae sunt veritas a filius hominum. Pour juger un siècle, il faut encore tenir compte de ce qu'il ignore. Le nôtre, dès qu'il sort de $a + b$, ne sait pas ce qu'il dit.¹⁹

To the physical laws of the universe, de Maistre opposed the law of Providence. This led him to the question of original sin. In the Rêve sur le désastre de Lisbonne Voltaire had asked why we should continue to suffer if God is just. De Maistre opposed such a philosophy since it failed to see the distinction between passive evil (disease, poverty, suffering) that man endures and the active evil (sin) which he does. With this distinction recognized, Vouga states that de Maistre had only to repeat after Saint Thomas: "Dieu est l'auteur du mal qui punit, non pas du mal qui souille"²⁰. God had created man free but he had abused his freedom and created sin, or moral evil. Thus man drew upon himself physical evil. God is by no means the source of moral evil, nor is he the source of physical evil since it was necessitated by man's folly; Jean-Jacques Rousseau expressed the same sentiments in Emile when he stated: "Homme, ne cherche plus l'auteur du mal; cet auteur, c'est toi-même. Il n'existe point d'autre mal que celui que tu fais ou que tu souffres, et l'un et l'autre vient de toi."²¹ Vouga points out that while the passion is the same the systems are different. For Rousseau man is not irrevocably marked; if he is the origin of his own ill it is because of his contact with others through society. For de Maistre however there is no way out. Vouga remarks

that one of the most noticeable characteristics of de Maistre's faith is the spectre of irremediable sin into which Grace never penetrates; in effect, Vouga feels that Grace appears nowhere in de Maistre's system which seems to ignore the significance of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Since de Maistre believed that man was in a constant state of sin he could only continue to reproduce this image. Vouga sums up his own impressions by the words singulière 'foi catholique' (Vouga, 42).

Certainly there are elements of this spiritual climate in Baudelaire's work. As to whether Baudelaire went as far as de Maistre is a question that even the most expert theological critics have failed to answer satisfactorily. Of prime interest to the social Baudelaire is a glance at how de Maistre's theology transformed itself into an authoritarian, aristocratic, and theocratic social and political philosophy.

From a belief that by abusing his God-given liberty man had created spiritual anarchy it is not a long step to a belief that by abusing social liberty man had created social anarchy.²² Joseph de Maistre's social doctrines were the product of his time. He had witnessed the failure of the 1789 Revolution and the anarchy into which it had lapsed. Philosophers such as Bonald and Maistre interpreted this failure as punishment for a people who had ceased to respect authority. They evolved therefore an authoritarian social philosophy that was intended to prevent a recurrence of past excesses. Having rejected the eighteenth-century doctrine of perfectability they recognized that no system could remedy all evil. They therefore sought to return to a more authoritarian structure which at least did not number social and moral anarchy among its many faults. To counter these inherent tendencies toward anarchy, de Maistre supported the concept of the absolute monarchy

and the final supremacy of the Pope over all temporal rulers. N.H. Clement remarks that this theory carried to excess turned him into a blind traditionalist and reactionary whose harsh ideas recalled the prophets of the Old Testament.²³ In order to preserve both body and soul there must be an intimate union between church and state, between throne and altar. Joseph de Maistre thus became France's leading exponent of Ultramontanism which preached the necessity of an absolute state under the absolute authority of Rome.²⁴ While modified versions of this doctrine characterized the first generation of Romantic thinkers, M.B. Finch and E. Allison Peers accurately define de Maistre as the ultimate in Ultramontanism.²⁵

As Ferdinand Brunetière points out, Joseph de Maistre abused the right of putting impertinence in certain of his works like putting too much pepper in a stew.²⁶ Having perceived that individualism was the enemy de Maistre sought to reconstruct society on the basis of authoritarian religion. Whether it be in his Considération sur la France (1796), his Essai sur le principe générateur des constitutions (1809; published 1814), or his Essai sur la souveraineté (1794-96; published 1815), the two central ideas in de Maistre's political thought are that sovereignty issues directly from God and that the people are merely the instrument.

No summary of this question would be complete however without reference to Francis Bayle's perceptive study, Les Idées politiques de Joseph de Maistre.²⁷ In a superbly documented study Bayle points out that it is unjust to paint de Maistre as a universal symbol of intolerance and how that a close reading of his works and correspondence reveals how he felt that the Bourbons were an exhausted family who had become

incapable of restoring the monarchy (Bayle, 20). We are shown how de Maistre believed the opposite of Rousseau and Montesquieu when they stated that a single form of government is not suitable for all countries (Contrat social, 3, VIII). Bayle demonstrates how in Etude sur la souveraineté, de Maistre clearly shows how despotism is as natural for some countries as democracy is for others (Bayle, 40). Unlike Rousseau who believed that society existed before government de Maistre believes that society is an agglomeration rallied around a common point, the sovereign (Bayle, 43). Since sovereignty does not come from the people but from God de Maistre felt that only the Monarchy was, by its very nature, capable of keeping the common interest from being sacrificed to the personal interests of successive governments (Bayle, 83). Bayle carefully points out however that de Maistre never really pronounces one form of government to be the ultimate solution. Despite his spirited defence of the Monarchical system as an inspiration for the arts he is careful to show that it is not the monarchy itself that is responsible, but the fact that most great states of financial wealth are monarchies (Bayle, 97). Bayle's study attempts to show that de Maistre's championing of established institutions comes more from his fear of disorder than from any pre-conceived loyalties (Bayle, 100).

To what extent are any of the above ideas found in Baudelaire is a problem that must be analyzed in detail. Jacques Crépet's index to the Correspondance Générale lists only three direct references to de Maistre: CG1, 369; CG3, 245 and CG6, 9. To these three references we wish to add the following: CG1, 347n and CG2, 320. A study of these few references is of interest.

In 1855 Baudelaire asked George Sand to intervene on behalf of

Marie Daubrun who was seeking a part in the former's Maître Favilla.

When Sand did not keep her promise to do all in her power to secure the part for Marie, Baudelaire added the following notes to a letter George Sand had sent him several days earlier.

Remarquez la faute de français: de suite pour tout de suite.
 La devise marquée sur la cire était: Vitam impendere vero.
 Mme. Sand m'a trompé et n'a pas tenu sa promesse. Voir dans l'Essai sur le principe générateur des Révolutions ce que de Maistre pense des écrivains qui adoptent cette devise (CGI, 347n).

Though this reference indicates that Baudelaire referred to de Maistre in his search for a trenchant opinion on pretentious artists, its most important revelation is however that Baudelaire was familiar with one of de Maistre's most important political treatises.

The closest Baudelaire ever came in his letters to supporting de Maistre's social philosophy occurs in a letter to Alphonse Toussenel on January 21, 1856.

Qu'est-ce que le Progrès indéfini? qu'est-ce qu'une société qui n'est pas aristocratique? ce n'est pas une société ce me semble. Qu'est ce que l'homme naturellement bon? où l'a-t-on connu? L'homme naturellement bon serait un monstre, je veux dire un Dieu. -- Enfin, vous devinez quel est l'ordre d'idées qui me scandalise, je veux dire qui scandalise la raison écrite depuis le commencement sur la surface même de la terre. -- Pur quichottisme d'une belle âme. --

Et un homme comme vous! lâcher en passant, comme un simple rédacteur du Siècle, des injures à de Maistre, le grand génie de notre temps, -- un voyant! -- Et enfin des allures de conversation et des mots d'argot qui abiment toujours un beau livre.

Une idée me préoccupe depuis le commencement de ce livre, -- c'est que vous êtes un vrai esprit égaré dans une secte. En somme, -- qu'est-ce que vous devez à Fourier? Rien, ou bien peu de chose. -- Sans Fourier, vous eussiez été ce que vous êtes. L'homme raisonnable n'a pas attendu que Fourier vint sur la terre pour comprendre que la Nature est un verbe, une allégorie, un moule, un repoussé, si vous voulez. Nous savons cela, et ce n'est pas par Fourier que nous le savons; -- nous le savons par nous-mêmes, et par les poètes.

Toutes les hérésies auxquelles je faisais allusion tout à l'heure ne sont après tout, que la conséquence de la grande hérésie moderne, de la doctrine artificielle, substituée à la doctrine naturelle, -- je veux dire la suppression de l'idée du péché originel.

Votre livre réveille en moi bien des idées dormantes, -- et à propos de péché originel, et de forme moulée sur l'idée, j'ai pensé bien souvent que les bêtes malfaisantes et dégoûtantes n'étaient peut-être que la vivification, corporification, éclosion à la vie matérielle, des mauvaises pensées de l'homme. -- Aussi la nature entière participe du péché originel (CG1, 369-370). 28

While this letter admirably contradicts Sartre's theories on Baudelaire's anti-spiritualism, it does not support the claim that Baudelaire had become an authoritarian. The opening reference simply states that society is by its very definition aristocratic, i.e. hierarchical. This need not even be interpreted in a social sense since Baudelaire had already been in contact with Dandyism and Bohemianism which both believed in an aristocracy of merit. This particular aspect of Dandyism surfaces again in 1861 when Baudelaire planned to include Joseph de Maistre in a projected study entitled "Le Dandyisme dans les lettres". (CG3, 245).

De Maistre's influence therefore would seem to be confined to the spiritual and literary spheres with particular emphasis on the theme of original sin and progress. Neither Baudelaire's reference to de Maistre's theory that Islamism was another form of Protestantism nor to Cavour's release of the Lettres diplomatiques de Joseph de Maistre in order to embarrass the Pope go any further in confirming the all too familiar portrait of the authoritarian Baudelaire (CG6, 9; CG2, 320).

If the Correspondance Générale proves to be a wasteland as concerns the politically conservative Baudelaire, the ambiguity of the Journaux Intimes has provided more than ample reason for speculation.

The following examples when read as a block produce a strong conservative reaction.

Le prêtre est immense parce qu'il fait croire à une foule de choses étonnantes.

Que l'Eglise veuille tout faire et tout être, c'est une loi de l'esprit humain.

Les peuples adorent l'autorité.

Les prêtres sont les serviteurs et les sectaires de l'imagination.

Le trône est l'autel, maxime révolutionnaire (JI, 9).²⁹

Si, quand un homme prend l'habitude de la paresse, de la rêverie, de la fainéantise, au point de renvoyer sans cesse au lendemain la chose importante, un autre homme le réveillait un matin à grands coups de fouet et le fouettait sans pitié jusqu'à ce que, ne pouvant travailler par plaisir, celui-ci travaillât par peur, cet homme, -- le fouetteur, -- ne serait-il pas vraiment son ami, son bienfaiteur? D'ailleurs on peut affirmer que le plaisir viendrait après, à bien plus juste titre qu'on ne dit: l'amour vient après le mariage.

De même en politique, le vrai saint est celui qui fouette et tue le peuple pour le bien du peuple (JI, 17-18).³⁰

Les pays protestants manquent de deux éléments indispensables au bonheur d'un homme bien élevé, la galanterie et la dévotion.

(...)

Ce qu'il y a d'enivrant dans le mauvais goût c'est le plaisir aristocratique de déplaire (JI, 27).³¹

Pourquoi les démocrates n'aiment pas les chats, il est facile de le deviner. Le chat est beau: il révèle des idées de luxe, de propreté, de volupté, etc. (JI, 29).³²

Et qu'est-ce qui n'est pas une prière? -- Chier est une prière, à ce que disent les démocrates quand ils chient.

(...)

L'homme, c'est-à-dire chacun, est si naturellement dépravé qu'il souffre moins de l'abaissement universel que de l'établissement d'une hiérarchie raisonnable (JI, 34).³³

L'imagination humaine peut concevoir, sans trop de peine, des républiques ou autres états communautaires, dignes de quelque gloire, s'ils sont dirigés par des hommes sacrés, par de certains aristocrates (JI, 35).

Ce que je pense du vote et du droit d'élections. -- Des droits de l'homme.

Ce qu'il y a de vil dans une fonction quelconque.

Un Dandy ne fait rien.

Vous figurez-vous un Dandy parlant au peuple, excepté pour le bafouer?

Il n'y a de gouvernement raisonnable et assuré que l'aristocratique.³⁴

Monarchie ou république basés sur la démocratie sont également absurdes et faibles.

Immense nausée des affiches.

Il n'existe que trois êtres respectables:

le prêtre, le guerrier, le poète. Savoir, tuer et créer.³⁵

Les autres hommes sont taillables et corvéables; faits pour l'écurie, c'est-à-dire pour exercer ce qu'on appelle des professions. (JI, 64).

Veillot est si grossier et si ennemi des arts qu'on dirait que toute la démocratie du monde s'est réfugié dans son sein (JI, 84).³⁶

Il n'y a rien d'intéressant sur la terre que les religions.

Qu'est-ce que la religion universelle? (Chateaubriand, de Maistre, les Alexandrins, Capé(?)).

Il y a une religion universelle, faite pour les Alchimistes de la Pensée, une religion qui se dégage de l'homme, considéré comme un momento divin (JI, 86).

Etant enfant, je voulais être tantôt pape, mais pape militaire, tantôt comédien (JI, 95).³⁷

Our first impression is that there is a decided contrast between the tone of these remarks in the Journaux Intimes and the tone of his letters. Whereas the letters show us a man who had retained an interest in politics, who proclaimed himself to be a republican as late as 1861, and who championed the necessity of increased liberty in the state, the Journaux Intimes are in strict keeping with the general tone of both

de Maistre and Bonald. The gulf between the two attitudes is but another mystery in the Journaux Intimes.

Commenting on the fact that sections VII and XXV in Mon Coeur mis à nu have the title politique, Jacques Crépet and Georges Blin feel that we may safely conclude that Baudelaire intended to reserve a chapter in his book where political questions would be treated (JI, 214n). It is of interest to note that neither of these sections contain any authoritarian references. In section VII Baudelaire states:

Je n'ai pas de convictions, comme l'entendent les gens de mon siècle, parce que je n'ai pas d'ambition.

Il n'y a pas en moi de base pour une conviction.

Il y a une certaine lâcheté ou plutôt une certaine mollesse chez les honnêtes gens.

(...)

Cependant, j'ai quelques convictions, dans un sens plus élevé, et qui ne peut pas être compris par les gens de mon temps (JI, 58).

In section XXV he outlines his theory that dictators are the people's servant and that their glory is the result of "l'adaptation d'un esprit avec la sottise nationale" (JI, 79).

Despite Baudelaire's statement that he did not hold convictions in the sense that his century interpreted this word (we can only speculate that he meant political and economic convictions), Jacques Crépet and Georges Blin feel that the higher convictions of which the poet spoke were imperious enough to determine his political orientation -- at least from 1853 to his death (JI, 217n). If the two poles were indeed constituted by theocracy and communism³⁸ they feel that there can be no doubt that Baudelaire would chose the former; they see this when Baudelaire wrote that the people worship authority, when he exalted

the moral and political function of the fouetteur, when he stated that Garibaldi was a ridiculous modern religion (JI, 59), when he explained the Revolution through the idea of sacrifice (JI, 55, 57), when he returned to the idea of Providence (JI, 56), when he highlighted the mystic concept of the death penalty (JI, 63, 65) and when he called for the establishment of a reasonable hierarchy (JI, 34) in which the only legitimate and stable government would be aristocratic (JI, 64). Crépet and Blin see this as a summation of de Maistre's philosophy (JI, 217n).

The summation tone of Baudelaire's Journaux Intimes is indeed so strong that one might even suspect that the references might be reading notes-- quotable quotes and catch phrases which he was adding to an arsenal of anti-social expressions. By the very fact that Baudelaire proclaims his allegiance to certain higher convictions we are led to ask ourselves what he means by the word 'aristocratic'. There is nothing in the Journaux Intimes to suggest that it had anything to do with traditional social aristocracy. De Maistre had sought to strengthen the traditional aristocracy in order to prevent social degeneration and to buttress an absolute Monarchy and Papacy. By the time Baudelaire wrote the Journaux Intimes much of the degeneration which de Maistre tried to prevent had happened. Whenever we try to link the social attitudes of the two men therefore, we must remember that they were separated by two generations of French history. That which was within the realm of possibility for de Maistre's generation could be nothing more than an illusive dream for Baudelaire's generation. While it was folly for the early nineteenth century to assume that it could turn the clock back past the Revolution, it was even more so to assume that this could be done from the vantage point of the 1850's.

Certainly Baudelaire never championed the aristocracy of his day. Moreover, he took a certain pleasure in attacking the leading pillars of the Second Empire.

As for the question of Providence, we have already seen how Baudelaire accepted Machiavelli as the symbol of the Fall, but how he rejected Napoleon III's theories on Providence and the rise of great men. With these considerations in mind we find it difficult to accept Crépet and Blin's conclusion that Baudelaire used the dandy's abstention as an alibi for reactionary dogmatism, nor the idea that he had become "le sectateur maïstrien du principe d'autorité" (II, 218n). The *Journaux Intimes* stand alone in drawing such a parallel. Without supporting evidence in the letters we find it difficult to sustain the theory that Baudelaire at least in his autobiographical sources had become a disciple of Joseph de Maistre. On the contrary, if one felt able to make any commitment for the author (ignoring his own advice that he had no political ideals) one would be tempted to rely on the already mentioned letter to Kaprade and accept Baudelaire's word that he was a Catholic republican. To rely exclusively on this letter and other brief references to his republicanism would be to run the same fate as those who have relied on his famous line that Poe and Maistre taught him to think. If indeed he were a Catholic republican his isolation from all facets of contemporary society would be even more complete. Not until the death of Pius IX in 1878 would Catholic republicans and Catholic democrats feel able to proclaim in all conscience their allegiance both to the Church and to democracy. Until that time the traditional alliances between politics and religion held firm, meaning that as a young man Baudelaire would be at odds with his

republican friends (never noted for their devotion to things spiritual) and that this isolation would increase with age. To this extent Baudelaire seems quite the opposite of any social models he might have received from de Maistre, for here also he would be at odds with his fellow Catholics with their all-too-ready Ultramontain and monarchical tendencies.

We must also reject Sartre's theory that de Maistre was a mere facade for Baudelaire. Certainly there are numerous spiritual affinities between the author of the Fleurs du Mal and de Maistre. However, we must not take that one tempting step that would lead us to establish a similar parallel between their social attitudes. There is too little proof to assume that Baudelaire wished to turn back the clock of political history to an age more removed from his own than the Middle Ages. What bitterness and hatred of society that are found in Baudelaire have their source in the immense personal suffering of his final years, not in the austere voice from the eighteenth century.

Society as tormentor.

Having rejected de Maistre as the determining force in creating Baudelaire's social attitudes since 1852, we feel that the real reasons are much more obvious than philosophic affinities. These reasons have their origins in the mid 1840's with the beginning of his financial problems, in spite of which he struggled to maintain a vision of freedom. Even the most self-proclaimed individualist is eventually forced to heed society's dictates. In Baudelaire's case the progress of submission was long and painful. It is moreover in this almost superhuman struggle that

we shall find the real source of Baudelaire's anti-social outbursts during the last twenty years of his life.

His early youth had witnessed his successful campaign at social individualism. Nevertheless, his clothes, the luxury of the Hôtel Pimoda, and his non-conformity were not so much the product of his originality as of his financial independence which allowed him to cultivate a deliberately artificial posture. When this financial independence was terminated by the Conseil Judiciaire in 1844, he lost the one force which deludes the individual into thinking he has escaped society's orbit.

The Conseil Judiciaire would constantly remind him of his lost status and would become a symbol of his fall from social grace. In his biography of Baudelaire, Clément Borgal even goes so far as to suggest that the poet's obsession with money explains a great part of his literary activities.⁴⁰ While this is partly true we must first determine the role that his obsession played in the development of his social and political attitude.

The first clue that the Conseil Judiciaire might produce the opposite effect to the one desired is found in a letter to his mother in 1844.

Vois donc quel faux raisonnement, tu fais, et quelle conduite illogique. -- Tu me fais une peine infinie, et tu fais une démarche toute (sic) offensante, la veille peut-être d'un commencement de succès, la veille de ce jour que je t'ai tant promis. -- C'est juste le moment que tu choisis pour me casser bras et jambes, -- car, comme je te l'ai dit, je ne veux pas du tout accepter un conseil comme quelque chose d'anodin et d'inoffensif. -- Je sens déjà l'effet qui se produit, -- et à ce sujet tu es tombée dans une erreur bien plus grave encore -- qui consiste à croire que ce sera un stimulant. -- Tu ne peux pas te faire une idée de ce que j'ai senti hier, de ce qui m'est tombé de découragement dans les jambes, quand j'ai vu que la chose devenait sérieuse --

quelque chose, comme une envie subite d'envoyer tout promener, de ne plus m'occuper de rien, de ne pas même aller chez M. Ed. Blanc chercher ma lettre; en me disant tranquillement: à quoi bon, je n'ai plus besoin -- je n'ai plus qu'à me contenter de manger comme un idiot, ce qu'elle voudrait bien me donner (CG1, 44).

The discouragement that Baudelaire experienced at age twenty-three would be accentuated in the years to come. While many dismiss his attempted suicide in 1845 as a hoax, designed to exercise emotional blackmail, we are convinced that it was motivated by the profound sense of humiliation that he experienced over the imposition of the Conseil Judiciaire.⁴¹ Rather than resigning himself, Baudelaire became more frustrated as the years passed. In 1854 he reminded his mother that having to ask for his money each month produced "l'effet douloureux d'une mendicité" (CG1, 313). In 1855 he found it incredible that she would maintain a situation which brought him nothing but humiliation, and which reduced him to "la vie de gargote et d'hôtel garni" (CG1, 351-352). In 1860 he stated that his debts had doubled and placed the blame for such a situation on the Judicial Council which had ruined his life, branded his days and given his thoughts the colour of hatred and despair. (CG3, 191-192). In 1861 he spoke of the black reflexions caused by the thought of so many wasted years and he urged his mother to remove the curse which had been gnawing at him for seventeen years (CG3, 220). In the same year he returned to the theme of humiliation -- this time the humiliation of a forty-year-old man burdened with debts and a Conseil Judiciaire who had managed to destroy his will. He even wondered if the spirit itself had been altered since it had lost its power of effect (CG3, 263).

The same letter also indicates that Baudelaire held the Conseil

Judiciaire to be responsible for his anti-social behaviour.

Cette maudite invention! invention maternelle d'un esprit trop préoccupé d'argent, qui m'a déshonoré, poussé dans les dettes renaissantes, qui a tué en moi toute amabilité, et a même entravé mon éducation d'artiste et d'homme de lettres, restée incomplète. L'aveuglement fait des fléaux plus grands que la méchanceté. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que la situation actuelle ne peut pas durer longtemps. Je ne crois pas que je puisse devenir fou; mais je puis devenir insociable au point de passer pour un fou (CG3, 267).

One month later the theme of the Conseil Judiciaire reoccurs.

This time however Baudelaire's comment sounds like the famous phrase in the Journaux Intimes: "Mes humiliations ont été des grâces de Dieu" (JI, 44).

Or, ce matin, quand j'ai lu tes lettres, ma première pensée a été de me défendre contre cette indolence et cette paresse qui suivent toujours un soulagement momentané; car, dans ce cas, on oublie les embarras de l'avenir; c'est même une des raisons pour lesquelles moi-même je ne voudrais pas que mon conseil judiciaire fût levé, ni toutes mes dettes payées d'un coup. La béatitude créerait la paresse. Ce conseil judiciaire, selon moi, ne doit être aboli que quand j'aurai ou quand tu auras la certitude morale que je peux travailler toujours, sans cesse, et même sans besoin (CG3, 293-294).

There are indeed moments of Pascalian elan in Baudelaire; they are never of long duration however. By the end of 1861 the Conseil Judiciaire is no longer a therapeutic humiliation. Once again the poet saw life as a series of horrible complications. Living had become an existence of the damned which saw him spent, outdated, riddled with debts and still dishonoured by "cette infâme tutelle" (CG4, 18-19). In such a context it is hard to disagree with his final complaint to Ancelle in 1865: "Décidément, mon cher, il y a de longues punitions pour les

péchés de jeunesse" (CG5, 125).

In Baudelaire's traditional anthropocentric manner, it is Ancelle who received the bulk of the poet's wrath rather than the Conseil Judiciaire as a legal entity. In a curious love-hate relationship which strongly resembles Albert Camus' portrait of Sisyphus and his rock, Baudelaire made Ancelle the symbol of what he detested in the society around him. Only the Belgian people as a whole would receive more vituperation than the Mayor of Neuilly.⁴²

An impressive list of vitriol characterized most of Baudelaire's dealings with his tutor. Much of the personal animosity died when Baudelaire went to Belgium and Ancelle began to take an interest in his art. We must realize however that even at the height of their squabbles, Baudelaire never put Ancelle's sincerity in doubt. He was frequently the brave homme whose heart was not questioned yet who was assumed to exist without a brain.

Many have attempted to rehabilitate Ancelle's reputation. We can not go too far in this field however without taking into consideration Baudelaire's own well defined opinions on the subject. When Clément Borgal goes so far as to suggest that Baudelaire had no real reason for disliking Ancelle⁴³ he would seem to reflect the tendency of our computer-orientated society to know authors better than they knew themselves. Whether or not Baudelaire's reasons were justified does not alter the reaction that he felt toward Ancelle. Their relationship was that of Ixion and his wheel. Bound by the sturdy chains of the law, the poet was forced to see money both as an angel of mercy and as a bird picking at his entrails.

Twenty francs could represent a week of peace (CG1, 246).

Money also represented calm and liberty (CG1, 314), escape from the confusion and depression of Paris (CG2, 120), and glory (JI, 29). Even his art was touched by these obsessions. A manuscript represented so much money, which in turn represented a certain allotment of peace (CG2, 330). Tranquility was calculated to the last centime. As the years passed the concepts of tranquility and wealth became inseparable in the poet's mind: "Les années s'écoulent, et je veux être 'riche'! Ce serait si peu de chose, ce que j'appelle 'richesse'" (CG4, 164). The transposition of this liaison into his poetry is one of the many intriguing aspects of his style. It is hardly surprising to find in a poem like "Invitation au Voyage" that the concepts of luxe, calme, and volupté have become an inseparable unit.

If money became associated with an ideal peace which the author never knew, it also represented a daily reality which he could not escape. Despite François Porché's statement that the Conseil Judiciaire kept Baudelaire from experiencing true poverty,⁴⁴ we find it difficult to believe that Baudelaire himself would have agreed. The real or imagined aspects of poverty as seen from the security of a century later have little to do with the immense suffering to which the poet saw himself subjected. One of the important keys to Baudelaire's social attitudes and to much of his poetic imagery stems from his belief that he was poverty stricken. Once again we offer the reader a long series of extracts from the poet's letters so that the totality of the despair can be appreciated.

Mais la misère et le désordre créent une telle atonie, une telle mélancolie, que j'ai manqué à tous les rendez-vous (CG1, 192).

Mais les désordres antécédants, mais une misère incessante, un nouveau déficit à combler, la diminution de l'énergie par les petites tracasseries, enfin pour tout dire, mon penchant à la rêverie ont tout annulé (CG1, 193).

J'ai été obligé de sortir de chez moi cette nuit, et de coucher -- pour deux jours sans doute, jusqu'à ce que quelqu'un ait arrangé la chose pour moi--dans un petit hôtel borgne et introuvable, parce que j'étais cerné et espionné chez moi, de façon que je ne pouvais plus bouger. Je suis sorti sans argent de chez moi par la raison bien simple qu'il n'y en avait pas (CG1, 205).

Seulement dans ce cas, je te prie instamment de remettre n'importe quelle somme (for firewood) afin que je ne sois pas obligé d'écrire au lit avec les doigts gelés, et que j'aie de quoi vivre deux ou trois jours (CG1, 226).

(...) ton avant-dernière lettre était si cruelle, si amère, frisant presque la grossièreté,-- ce qui tombé si mal dans la misère (CG1, 232).

Aujourd'hui il est question pour moi, exactement des mêmes besoins que l'autre mois. OUI ou NON, puis-je m'habiller? je ne dirai pas: puis-je marcher dans les rues sans me faire regarder, je m'en moque, -- mais dois-je résigner à me coucher et à rester couché faute de vêtements (CG1, 313-314).

Depuis UN MOIS j'ai été contraint de déménager SIX fois, vivant dans le plâtre, dormant dans les puces (CG1, 329).

J'étais venu ce matin vous présenter mes excuses pour mon éternelle pauvreté (CG1, 339).

J'allais oublier quelque chose de bien vulgaire et de bien important. Je suis sans linge et enrhumé (CG2, 5).

Ajoutez à cela le désespoir permanent de ma pauvreté, des tiraillements et les interruptions de travail causés par les vieilles dettes (...), le contraste offensant, répugnant de mon honorabilité spirituelle avec cette vie précaire et misérable (CG2, 108).

C'est la première fois qu'il m'arrive de demander un service à des gens à qui j'ai voulu nuire. Mais mon excuse est dans mon effroyable gêne (CG2, 130).

Mon Dieu que cette vie sans domicile, sans amis et sans intérieur convenable me rend malheureux (CG2, 189)!

Comme je suis dans une pauvreté absolue, craignant quelque imprudence de ma part, je viens de remettre vos 1.035 fr. à ma mère, en lui disant que c'était un impôt (CG2, 269).

Depuis deux mois, je suis dans une misère digne de mes anciens temps (CG3, 51).

Et mon réveil, le matin! en face de ces tristes réalités: mon nom, ma pauvreté, etc (CG3, 76).

- Je méprise les gens qui aiment l'argent; mais j'ai une horrible peur de la servitude et de la misère dans la vieillesse (CG4, 98).

On t'a dit que j'étais bien habillé?--Il y a huit jours seulement que j'ai abandonné les haillons. (CG4, 133).

J'ai vu que j'allais me mettre entre les mains d'affreux coquins, et tout considéré, je préfère être volé par lui que par d'autres. J'espère qu'il ne manquera pas une si facile occasion d'exploiter ma pauvreté. (CG4, 186).

(...) je veux passer ma vie à travailler, et à te distraire, et je ne veux pas mourir dans la misère (CG4, 260).

Je reçois quelquefois, de fort loin, et de gens que je ne connais pas, des témoignages de sympathie, qui me touchent beaucoup, mais qui ne me consolent pas de ma détestable misère, de mon humiliante situation, ni surtout de mes vices (CG5, 28).

In the passages above we see over and over again the view that the author held of his position in society; fear of poverty, fear of dying in misery, frustration and fury. Here then is a facet of the powerful spleen imagery which dominates his art and which is so frequently attributed to more philosophical origins. In addition to the bare fact of poverty appears another Baudelaireian theme: the need to hide

this poverty behind a sort of facade accompanied by a very real fear that people may actually see behind the mask.

Est-il bien sûr que MM. Giraud et Dagneau, qui ne savent pas garder le secret de leur misère, garderont le secret de la nôtre (CG1, 147)?

~~Ainsi je serai fier~~ que tout le monde, et personne ne devinera ma pauvreté (CG2, 398).

(...) sa présence assidue, m'a suffisamment témoigné qu'il ne comprenait pas que j'étais pauvre (CG4, 68).

Relisez cette lettre en commun avec M. L'écrivain, et discutez ensemble la valeur de chaque article (excepté les passages confidentiels sur ma pauvreté, (CG5, 237-238).

Since these few direct references to poverty are but the tip of the iceberg, it is evident that his financial problems played a considerable role in the formation of his physical and moral attitudes. If we were to recopy the numerous references to his debts, lack of proper housing, food and medicine, we would have to reprint half of his letters. Perhaps the most important role that poverty played was the creation of the idea that Baudelaire could not function as an artist.

Writing to his mother in 1853, he reminded her that his present circumstances prevented him from working. He pointed out that he was writing with frozen fingers since he could no longer afford firewood (CG1, 89). Constantly pursued by creditors, he appealed to Madame Aupick seven months later, asking for 100 francs which would allow him a month of peace during which time he could devote himself to his writing (CG1, 219). At the end of 1853 he summarized the situation for Poulet-Malassis. His constant money problems had resulted in a sterile year. Work had

not progressed on four projected volumes and three proposed plays -- even though the money had been paid in advance for them. He reminded Poulet-Malassis that he did not have enough money to continue working for a day let alone two weeks (CG1, 227-228). In 1854 he again complained that his constant need to live outside in search for money was keeping him from the stable atmosphere necessary for creative writing (CG1, 296; CG2, 120). In 1855 he remarked that the height of ridicule lay in the fact that he must write poetry in the midst of the unbearable jolts which his debts and poverty produced. Such a life was totally incompatible with writing poetry which he described as his most difficult occupation (CG1, 229-230). In 1857 he still dreamed of settling his major debts but had begun to fear that he had allowed his creative genius to die because of the effort that had been wasted in his search for money (CG2, 5). In 1858 he again expressed the fear that it might be too late to save his spirit even if he escaped from his terrible existence.

Ajoute encore à cette souffrance celle-ci que peut-être tu ne comprendras pas; quand les nerfs d'un homme sont très affaiblis par une foule d'inquiétudes et de souffrances, le Diable, en dépit de toutes les résolutions, se glisse tous les matins dans son cerveau sous la forme de cette pensée: Pourquoi ne pas se reposer une journée dans l'oubli de toutes choses? Je ferai cette nuit, et d'un seul coup, toutes choses urgentes. Et puis, la nuit arrive, l'esprit est épouventé par la multitude de choses arriérées; une tristesse écrasante amène l'impuissance, et le lendemain la même comédie se joue de bonne foi, avec la même confiance et la même conscience.

Il me tarde sincèrement d'être loin de cette maudite ville où j'ai tant souffert et où j'ai tant perdu de temps. Qui sait si mon esprit ne rajeunira pas là-bas, dans le repos et le bonheur.

Je porte dans ma tête une vingtaine de romans et deux drames. Je ne veux pas d'une réputation honnête et vulgaire; je veux écraser les esprits, les étonner, comme Balzac ou Chateaubriand. Est-il encore temps, mon Dieu? -- Ah! si j'avais su, quand j'étais jeune, la valeur du temps, de la santé et de l'argent! Et ces maudites Fleurs du Mal qu'il faut recommencer. Il faut du repos pour cela. Redevenir poète,

artificiellement, par volonté, rentrer dans une ornière, qu'on croyait définitivement creusée, traiter de nouveau un sujet qu'on croyait épuisé, et cela pour obéir à la volonté de trois magistrats, dont un Nacquart (CG2, 127-128).

Despite the constant assaults by poverty it is important to note that Baudelaire never surrendered. Throughout much of his life he looked on Balzac as the symbol of the artist who had conquered the obstacle he now faced. Balzac represented the portrait of an artist who had raised himself from a youth (maladroit, naïs, bête) to a man known for his grandiose concepts and immensity of spirit (CG1, 142). Baudelaire saw 'work' as the key to this transformation. He found comfort in speculating that work could produce money and talent. At times he realized that the only thing he shared with Balzac was the problem, not the solution. Balzac represented courage and will-power. Baudelaire punished himself moreover by proclaiming that he had neither Balzac's genius nor courage to deal with his financial situation in a manner that would not affect his career as an artist. (CG2, 120).

Yet despite his rather unfavourable comparison of himself to Balzac, Baudelaire never lost the dandy's dream of conquering the respect of his most consistent tormentor, society. His hope for the Legion of Honour, his preposterous candidacy for the Académie Française, and his lecture trip to Belgium were all designed to satisfy his hunger that society approve of him, as was also, no doubt, his dream of a career in the theatre.

From the beginning Baudelaire conceived of the theatre as a means of imposing himself on a wider public. He also saw the theatre

as the quickest way of paying his debts (CG1, 349). There is no indication that he ever respected the theatre as a means worthy of his art. He even went so far as to proclaim his scorn for such banalities. What interested him was the financial reward. He saw the only possibility of this through a linking of literary qualities with the Théâtre du Boulevard (CG3, 193-194). Writing to Auguste Vaquerie in 1861, he made another interesting remark to the effect that he had not attended a drama in some years and that he had been frequently bored at the theatre. In the same letter he also makes a compromise on his dislike of politics in literature by planning on writing a great political drama which will have an appeal to contemporary taste (CG4, 36-37). Such comments merely confirm the original hypothesis that Baudelaire planned on using the theatre only as a means to make money.

Similar hope of obtaining public recognition is seen in his momentary hope of receiving the Legion of Honour. Here we have a classic example of a Baudelairian social attitude. In 1858 he fervently hoped for the impossible especially in the light of his recent trial and condemnation. When the impossible did not materialize, he vented his anger on society as a whole. The Legion of Honour was then referred to as cette ridicule croix d'honneur.

J'espère bien que la préface des Fleurs rendra la chose à jamais impossible. D'ailleurs j'ai répondu avec courage à celui de mes amis qui me faisait cette ouverture: "Il y a vingt ans (je sais ce que je dis est absurde) c'eût été bien! Aujourd'hui je veux être une exception. Qu'on décore tous les Français, excepté moi. Jamais je ne changerai mes moeurs ni mon style. Au lieu de la croix, on devrait me donner de l'argent, de l'argent, rien que de l'argent. Si la croix vaut cinq cents francs, qu'on me donne vingt francs." Bref je deviens malheureux, plus mon orgueil augmente (CG3, 195).⁴⁵

Did Baudelaire really want to be considered a social exception? His attempt to enter the Académie Française only one year later would clearly indicate the contrary. Here again we find the traditional advance and rejections in which a man reaches for the moon and is doubly disappointed because he can not have it. Can we accept his reason that he considered the Academy as the only honour worthy of men of letters (CGJ, 326). Such motivation seems doubtful especially since the author himself admits that he hopes to rid himself of the Conseil Judiciaire by entering the Academy (CGJ, 322).

Baudelaire's futile attempt to secure a seat in the Académie Française was the closest he came to any direct political involvements since the 1848 Revolution. It was an act which forced the poet to descend into the arena like any politician in search of votes. As the predictable outcome became evident to Baudelaire, his tone changed. This last attempt to win the support of French society as a whole was then described as: "folle", "grosse sottise", "étrange fantaisie", "épisode fatigant", "coup de tête", "ridicule tentative", "odyssée sans sirènes et sans lotus", "ma bouffonne, mais très intentionnée candidature".⁴⁶

The unfortunate episode over the Académie Française marked the close of Baudelaire's long struggle against society. The aging, sick, and disillusioned man who boarded the train for Brussels in 1864 had become a symbol of defeat. He had resigned himself and sought only vengeance on his tormentor. This brief look at certain biographical writings may have helped us to understand some of the reasons for and

the results of his social attitudes of Dandyism, Revolution, and conservatism. Biography however is only one small step toward appreciating the depth of a great man and brilliant artist. We must now turn our attention to the true source of Baudelaire's greatness: his art. It is only here that we can learn to understand the true Baudelaire behind the mask.

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NOTES

1 William L. Lander, Political and Social Upheaval (New York, Harper & Row, 1969), p. 335. Further references to this book will be found in the text of the chapter.

2 James MacDonnell, France since the First Empire (London: Macmillan, 1879), p. 232.

3 MacDonnell, France since the First Empire, p. 234.

4 Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, Réponse à Monsieur de Lamartine (Paris: S l' Administration de Librairie, 1843); Extinction du Paupérisme (Paris: Pagnerre, 1844); Lettre aux ouvriers: du Fort de Ham, 14 Oct. 1844 (Paris: Typographie et Cie., 1848).

5 Henri d'Almeras, La Vie parisienne sous la république de 1848 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1921), p. 506.

6 Jacques Crépet, CGI, 156-157n. While it will be our contention that direct social influence by Maistre on Baudelaire is doubtful it is of note to remember that the sub-title of the Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg was Entretiens sur le Gouvernement temporel de la Providence.

7 Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, "Préface de l'Histoire de Jules César", 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1865), pp. 1 - vi.

An interesting juxtaposition is created when one reads Louis-Napoléon's last paragraph and the note from the Journaux Intimes: "Les nations n'ont de grands hommes que malgré elles, -- comme les familles. Elles font tous leurs efforts pour n'en pas avoir. Et ainsi, le grand homme a besoin, pour exister, de posséder une force d'attaque plus grande que la force de résistance développée par des millions d'individus" (JI, 16).

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8. Jacques Crépet, *CGI*, n.3, p. 216. Full summary on Wronski.

9. Jacques Crépet, ed. *Fleurs du Mal* (Paris: Conard, 1930); pp. 314-360. A more complete version is provided in *Fleurs du Mal*, eds. Jacques Crépet, Georges Blin and Claude Pichols (Paris: Corti, 1968), pp. 397-477. This subject is also treated by Pierre-George Castex, "Le Procès des Fleurs du Mal", *Education Nationale*, 30, 7 Nov. 1957, pp. 16-18; and Léon Dépaule, "Le Procès Baudelaire, Condamnation et réhabilitation des Fleurs du Mal. Cour d'appel de Nîmes. Audience solennelle de rentrée du 2 octobre 1951" (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1952).

10. Notwithstanding this advice Baudelaire himself would give in to the trend for politics in literature by planning (it was never finished) to write a great political drama (*CG4*, 36; 75).

11. *CG3*, 327. "(...), tout le monde est d'accord pour désirer beaucoup de liberté; il y a trop longtemps qu'on s'en trouve privé. Tout cela t'ennuie peut-être, mais on est contraint de s'intéresser à toutes ces vieilles sottises humaines". This defence of freedom in 1861 is an important point to remember when Baudelaire is accused of having adopted Maistre's authoritarianism.

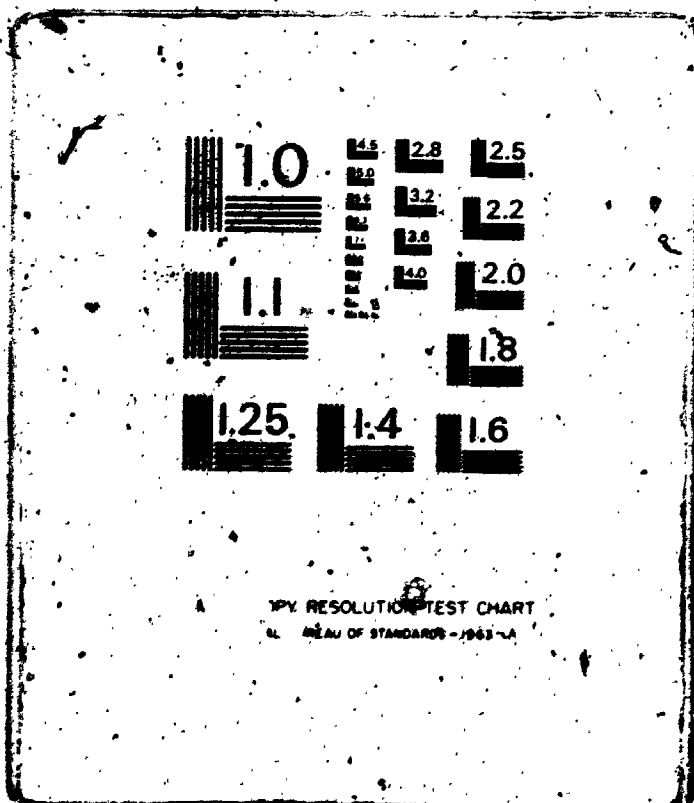
12. *CG4*, 13-14. Baudelaire's frustration about an automatic link between politics and religion goes all the way back to the Pension Bailly when he had ridiculed the young men who saw Catholicism and support for the legitimate monarchy as synonymous. His own admission here to being Catholic and republican is echoed in a description of Ancelle (*CG4*, 165) who is also a Catholic and a liberal and who had been forced to vote against people he liked since by making a choice he had to choose one or the other.

13. W.T. Bandy, "Baudelaire's Knowledge of English", *This Quarter*, 2, July 1929, pp. 140.

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- 14
Jean Massin, Baudelaire devant la douleur (Paris: Sequana, 1944), pp. 22-25.
- 15
Jean Prévost, Baudelaire: essai sur l'inspiration et la création poétiques (Paris: MF, 1953), p. 113.
- 16
Gaëton Picon, "Les Derniers Ecrits esthétiques de Baudelaire," ME, 325 (1955), p. 281.
- 17
Jean-Paul Sartre, "Introduction aux Ecrits Intimes de Baudelaire" (Paris: Editions du Pont du Jour, 1946), pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.
- 18
Daniel Vouga, Baudelaire et Joseph de Maistre (Paris: Corti, 1957), pp. 7-8. Henceforth abbreviated in the text.
- 19
Joseph de Maistre, Lettres et Opuscules, I, p. 243. Letter of December 1814. First drawn to our attention in Vouga's study, p.26.
- 20
Mr. Vouga (p.36) seems to misquote the Soirées. The quote from the first Entretien reads: Dieu est l'auteur du mal qui punit, mais non de celui qui souille. Joseph de Maistre. Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg, 2, Vols (Paris: Garnier, 1929), I, p. 22. Of greater importance is the fact that it is the Sénateur and not the Comte who quotes Saint Thomas. What is of real interest is the Comte's reply: "Vous sentez bien que je n'ai pas envie de disputer sur tout ce que vous venez de dire. Sans doute, le mal physique n'a pu entrer dans l'univers que par la faute des créatures libres; il ne peut y être que comme remède ou expiation, et par conséquent il ne peut avoir Dieu pour auteur direct; ce sont des dogmes incontestables pour nous." (Soirées, I, p. 24).
- 21
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile, IV, quoted by Vouga, p. 39.

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"A prime factor in the creation of social chaos is a rejection of God as the supreme arbitrator; "Otez du monde cet agent incompréhensible; dans l'instant même l'ordre fait place au chaos, les trônes s'abîment et la société disparaît. Dieu qui est l'auteur de la souveraineté, l'est aussi du châtiement: (...)" (Soirées, p.32). While God is supreme judge Maistre clearly states that he has delegated his temporal power to sovereigns (Soirées, p. 27). Not only do such statements show that Maistre champions the principle of Divine-Right Monarchy but that he makes the sovereign God's instrument for temporal punishment.

23

N.H. Clement, Romanticism in France (New York: MLA, 1939), p. 207.

24

Joseph de Maistre, Du Pape (Paris: Charpentier, 1860).

"L'infaillibilité dans l'ordre spirituel, et la souveraineté dans l'ordre temporel, sont deux mots parfaitement synonymes. L'un et l'autre expriment cette haute puissance qui les domine toutes, dont toutes les autres dérivent, qui gouverne et n'est pas gouvernée, qui juge et n'est pas jugée" (p. 13)

La souveraineté a des formes différentes, sans doute. Elle ne parle pas à Constantinople comme à Londres; mais quand elle a parlé de part et d'autre à sa manière, le bill est sans appel comme le fetfa" (p.14)

"La forme monarchique une fois établie, l'infaillibilité n'est plus qu'une conséquence nécessaire de la suprématie, ou plutôt, c'est la même chose absolument sous deux noms différents" (p. 17).

"Otez la reine d'un essaim, vous aurez des abeilles tant qu'il vous plaira, mais de ruche jamais" (p. 31).

"Le dogme catholique, comme tout le monde sait, proscrit toute espèce de révolte sans distinction; et pour défendre ce dogme, nos docteurs disent d'assez bonnes raisons philosophiques même, et politiques" (P.136).

"Quel pouvoir dans l'Etat a droit de décider que le cas de résistance est arrivé" (p. 137)?

"Et si la France aujourd'hui, pliant sous une autorité divine, avait reçu son excellent roi des mains du Souverain Pontife, croit-on qu'elle ne fût pas dans ce moment un peu plus contente d'elle-même et des autres" (p. 205).

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"Je me résume. Nulle souveraineté n'est illimitée dans toute la force du terme, et même nulle souveraineté ne peut l'être: toujours et partout elle a été restreinte de quelque manière. La plus naturelle est la moins dangeureuse, chez de nations toutes neuves et féroces, c'était sans doute une intervention quelconque de la puissance spirituelle. L'hypothèse de toutes les souverainetés chrétiennes réunies par la fraternité religieuse en une sorte de république universelle, sous la suprématie mesurée du pouvoir spirituel suprême; cette hypothèse, dis-je, n'avait rien de choquant, et pouvait même se présenter à la raison comme supérieure à l'institution des Amphicatyons" (p. 212).

"Nous venons de voir l'état social ébranlé jusque dans ses fondements, parce qu'il y avait trop de liberté en Europe, et qu'il y avait pas assez de religion. Il y aura encore d'autres commotions, et le bon ordre ne sera solidement affermi que lorsque l'esclavage ou la religion sera rétablie" (p. 261).

"Les rois abdiquent le pouvoir de juger par eux-mêmes, et les peuples, en retour, déclarent les rois INFALLIBLES ET INVIOABLES.

Telle est la foi fondamentale de la monarchie européenne, et c'est l'ouvrage des Papes, merveille inouïe, contraire à la nature de l'homme naturel (...)" (p. 298).

"C'est au contraire en rétablissant la suprématie pontificale que vous remplacez l'Eglise gallicane sur ses véritables bases, et que vous lui rendez son ancien éclat" (p. 382).

25

M.B. Finch and E. Allison Peers, The Origins of French Romanticism (London: Constable, 1920), p. 377.

26

Ferdinand Brunetière, Brunetière's Essays in French Literature, trans. D. Nichol Smith (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), p. 31

27

Francis Bayle, Les Idées politiques de Joseph de Maistre (Paris: Domat Montchrestien, 1945).

28

Francis Bayle, Idées Politiques, p. 133 makes an excellent summary of de Maistre's views on the role of the aristocracy. We see very little

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in common with anything Baudelaire ever states on the matter.

"Mais si Maistre se montre très attaché sur ce point aux idées de l'Ancien Régime, s'il juge, conformément aux principes physiocratiques, que seuls les propriétaires terriens sont vraiment liés au sol national et dignes d'être anoblis 475, c'est dans toute sa pureté qu'il veut restaurer l'ancienne institution féodale.

Il condamne absolument l'octroi des lettres de noblesse selon le seul bon plaisir du roi et sans aucune règle de justice, comme l'usage s'en était répandu dans les derniers siècles de la monarchie française 476. Il insiste sur l'idée que les rois ne peuvent que consacrer les "ennoblissements naturels" 477 et sur la nécessité de veiller à ce que l'aristocratie ne devienne pas une caste fermée mais reste au contraire ouverte à tous, comme en Grande-Bretagne. Il juge même favorablement le système russe des grades pour les possibilités qu'il donne aux hommes nouveaux de parvenir aux plus hauts postes de l'Etat 478. En définissant la monarchie "une aristocratie tournante" 479, Maistre résume sa pensée: le roi devra veiller à renouveler constamment l'élite nationale en anoblissant les familles qu'une noble émulation pousse à bien servir l'Etat.

Nous avons déjà noté d'autre part que Maistre voit dans la Révolution un châtement divin attiré sur la France par l'avilissement des moeurs de tout le peuple, mais surtout par la crise d'immoralité qui sévit depuis 1715 dans le clergé et la noblesse 480. "Toute fonction produit un devoir" 481; écrit-il; et au nom de ce principe il exige beaucoup de cette noblesse à laquelle il veut confier un rôle éminent dans l'Etat."

(475) "Quatre chapitres sur la Russie", chap. II. Les physiocrates n'ont d'ailleurs que remis en valeur sur ce point la vieille distinction médiévale des "artes possessivae" et des "artes pecuniativae" (Voir GONNARD, ouv. cité, pp. 245 et s., 30 et s.).

(476) Lettre à Vignet des Etoles, du 26 août 1795 (O.C., t. IX, No. 34).

(477) "Du Pape", résumé et conclusion du liv. 3; Consid., chap. X, parag. III.

(478) Lettre au comte..., du 5 (17) août 1812 (C.D.).

(479) Lettres savoises, 4^e lettre.

(480) "Fragments sur la France", parag. II; Consid., chap. II et chap. X, parag. III.

(481) Consid., chap. II.

29

In the line "Les peuples adorent l'autorité" Crépet and Blin (JI, 256n) state: "Maxime de résonance maïstrienne écrite en plein césarisme néo-napoléonien (...)."

While the resonance may be Maïstrian, in our opinion little else is.

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Maistre's authoritarianism never extended to cover the doctrine that any might is right. I am sure that neither he nor Baudelaire would find Napoleon III to be a divine instrument.

30

In his Introduction (pp. 30-32) Sartre uses this quote to prove Baudelaire's moral "démission". Crépet and Blin (JI, 274n) state: "Mais dans son dogmatisme farouche notre réflexion rend un son surtout maïstrien, comme l'a vu J.-P. Sartre (op. cit. pp. 47-48); qui s'en est indigné:"

While Sartre may have become indignant and while Crépet and Blin may once again see the universal shadow of de Maistre, we must protest once again the link being made between Baudelaire and de Maistre on the strength of a similarity of dogmatic tone. What of the content? This time I think the comparison does de Maistre a disfavor since we are unable to detect anywhere in what we know of his work a place where the despot should obtain any masochistic pleasure out of the exercise of his God-given power.

31

Of the two editors we suspect that it is certainly Mr. Georges Blin (JI, 293n) who is responsible for interpreting the last line as an example of how Baudelaire balances between masochism and sadism. The point is proved by three quotes from Baudelaire's letters (only one of which was written before 1864). This type of approach by which one wishes to view the total Baudelaire is most unfortunate.

32

Again the traditional weakness of Baudelairian criticism is seen when Crépet and Blin (JI, 295n) confirm Baudelaire's anti-democratic nature by quoting something from the Salon de 1846 (CE, 192). That a fragment in another context written 2 decades earlier should be used to give meaning to a cryptic note in the Journaux Intimes is a frequent technique with Baudelaire scholars. The reverse technique is also true whereby the JI becomes the key to something written decades before.

33

Crépet, Blin (JI, 305n) see de Maistre in the last line. "S'il était permis d'établir des degrés d'importance parmi les choses d'intuition divine, je placerais la hiérarchie avant le dogme tant elle est indispensable au maintien de la foi (Lettres et opuscules inédits, II, p. 285). They also refer us to Ch. Baussan's study, Joseph de Maistre et l'idée de l'ordre (Paris: Beauchesnes, 1921).

While the linking of hierarchy seems in order we would suggest that



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this time the tone seems to separate the two men. In Les Soirées (particularly the 5th and 6th Entretiens) de Maistre speaks of prayer, with a feeling of constant reverence. Baudelaire's "chier" is anything but Maistrian.

34

Crépet, Blin (JI, 350n): "C'était là le point de vue de ceux que Baudelaire avait pris pour "phares", de Delacroix à Edgar Poe et de Chateaubriand à Maistre, celui-ci allant jusqu'à taxer tout pouvoir constitutionnel (Essai sur le principe générateur des constitutions politiques, 1809) et n'admettant de société que théocratique et hiérarchisée (Considérations sur la France, 1796) -- Du Pape, 1819)."

It should be pointed out however that it is somewhat inexact to compare Delacroix and Poe with Maistre. While the former two saw "aristocracy" as being of the mind, the latter restricted it to landed gentry in an almost feudal sense.

35

Crépet, Blin (JI, 350-351n): "Du reste Baudelaire avait entre temps rallié le point de vue de Maistre qui dès 1796, dans ses Considérations sur la France, avait proclamé la "destruction violente de l'espèce humaine" comme une des lois de la création, et qui dans le VIIe Entretien des Soirées avait ainsi fait valoir le rôle humanitaire et sacré du guerrier".

If we compare what we have already seen of Baudelaire's dislike for militarism and what we will see later in our analysis of what he terms the military metaphor we find that as a general view of the author it is not exact to state that he would support such views in the VIIe Entretien as "La guerre est divine; c'est une loi du monde" (Maistre, Soirées, op. cit. II, 25).

36

In a series of notes after this reference Baudelaire mentions the words "De l'esclavage". The extent that Baudelaire's reputation has been created largely from the Journaux Intimes is shown when the editors (once again we detect the hand of Georges Blin rather than Jacques Crépet) point out two other references Baudelaire makes to the slavery issue which was a dominant issue of the century (OP1, 101 and NHE, xiii-xiv). The editors go on to suggest that Baudelaire may even have believed in slavery: "Mais peut-être notre auteur aurait-il aussi bien, dans ce développement justifié l'esclavage à la mode antique ou médiévale, lui qui jugeait tous les hommes, à l'exception du prêtre, du poète et du guerrier: "taillables et corvéables, faits pour l'écurie (XIIIe feuillet) ou pour le fouet (XXVIe)."

Baudelaire -- a supporter of slavery in any sense? The idea would seem preposterous.

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37

The reader should look back to the portrait of the frustrated school-boy that was Baudelaire when reading this "petite tête brune" interpretation of M. François Porché, Histoire d'une âme (Paris: Flammarion, 1945), p. 30: "Deux traits de caractère s'y révèlent: d'une part, volonté de puissance, ambition sans limite, le pouvoir spirituel et le pouvoir temporel réunis sur la même tête, cette petite tête brune d'écolier, inclinée, le menton dans la main; d'autre part, désir de jouer des personnages différents sous divers masques et divers costumes, dissimulation de la personnalité vraie, non par réserve et silence, mais par dispersion protéiforme; plaisir de l'exhibition et de la mystification".

The above is also quoted by Crépet, Blin (J1, 393).

38

"Théorie de la vraie civilisation.

Elle n'est ni dans le gaz, ni dans la vapeur, ni dans les tables tournantes, elle est dans la diminution des traces du péché originel.

Peuples nomades, pasteurs, chasseurs, agricoles, et même anthropophages, tous peuvent être supérieurs, par l'énergie, par la dignité personnelles à nos races d'Occident.

Celles-ci peut-être seront détruites.

Théocratie et communisme" (J1, 87).

39

In our comments on "Une Mort héroïque" in the PPP we will see a fine portrait of the pretentiousness of the aristocracy such as it surrounds a prince, whose features bear a striking resemblance to those of Napoléon III.

40

Clément Borgal, Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1967), p. 12.

41

Sixteen years later Baudelaire was still bitter and spoke on suicide and the Conseil Judiciaire in a long letter to Madame Aupick dated 6 May 1861 (CG3, 279-288).

42

The following are a few highlights: étourderie (CG1, 141); un tel embarras, une telle crainte (CG1, 240); bête, enfant, borné (CG2, 2); le plus pauvre homme (CG2, 6); cet imbécil (CG2, 7); la conception

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lente, aime toujours sa femme et sa fille sans en rougir (CG2, 62); Ce brave Ancelle ne se doute pas combien de fois je l'ai maudit (CG2, 144); l'indécision, la défiance, la tergiversation (CG2, 140); trop indolent, trop occupé (CG2, 146); ce fléau d'Ancelle (CG2, 150); lâche misérable (CG2, 152); ses habitudes déplorables d'esprit, ses petites déloyautés (CG2, 163); son incapacité (CG2, 179); j'avais pris la résolution de faire expier Ancelle mes 16 ans de torture (CG2, 183); lui qui considère que tout est léger (CG3, 157); cet hurluberlu (CG3, 160); Il est bon, mais il a le cerveau étroit. Il me laisserait 'crever' par entêtement (CG3, 287); Il est mon principal ennemi (non pas par méchanceté, je le sais) (CG3, 301); un homme à la fois fou, archifou (CG5, 144); Ancelle, qui se connaît en littérature, comme les éléphants à danser le boléro (CG5, 300).

43

Borgal, Charles Baudelaire, p. 12.

44

François Porché, La Vie douloureuse de Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Plon, 1926), p. 97.

45

Baudelaire's hope for the Legion of Honour was one of those sincere follies which he would later satirize in the Journaux Intimes:

"Relativement à la Légion d'honneur.

Celui qui demande la croix a l'air de dire: si l'on me décore pas pour avoir fait mon devoir, je ne recommencerai plus.

--Si un homme a du mérite, à quoi bon le décorer? S'il n'en a pas, on peut le décorer, parce que (cela) lui donnera un lustre.

Consentir à être décoré, c'est reconnaître à l'Etat ou au prince le droit de vous juger, de vous illustrer, etc." (JI, 53).

46

CG4, 13-14, 19, 25, 26, 29, 50, 72; CG5, 235.

Part II

ART AND SOCIETY

Chapter IV

THE FIRST CRITICAL WRITINGS

1845-1847

Marcel Ruff sees in Baudelaire's earliest writings the presence of a great lover of art and a dandy who is casual to the point of insolence. Ruff also feels that the poet sets out the essential characteristics of his literary and artistic criticism -- characteristics of which only the dosage will change with the years.¹ It is of interest to compare this learned opinion with a prediction found in an anonymous review in the Corsaire Satan of May 27, 1845 which introduces the 1845 Salon in the following terms:

Eh bien! ce petit volume est une curiosité, une excentricité, une vérité(...).

(...) Les temps ne sont pas encore venus où l'on puisse dire sa véritable opinion: M. Baudelaire-Dufays a eu ce courage. Bravo! -- Ce petit livre est un spirituel lever de rideau, qui précédera heureusement les prochains ouvrages sur les beaux-arts du même auteur (CE, 466-467n).

Nothing has more adequately conveyed the importance of the 1845 Salon, or indeed of the first important period in Baudelaire's literary production than this anonymous voice from a forgotten journal. This "spirituel lever de rideau" moreover, articulates a relationship between the artist and society, a relationship that plays an important role in the shaping of the Baudelairean aesthetic

world.

When examining the relationship between art and society in the texts written between 1845 and 1848² we discover a number of intriguing questions. What was Romanticism for Baudelaire? How was this Romanticism linked to the society of the day? To what extent must the artist and the social forces influencing him be present in his art? What might explain Baudelaire's euphoric dedication of the first Salons to the bourgeoisie? Indeed, are his proposals for a reconciliation between the artist and the bourgeois even to be taken seriously? Again, how must we interpret the portrait of the aristocratic artist? Why did Baudelaire sense a need for the creating of a new modernism and a new epic?

The 1845 Salon presents us with an initial abandonment of the Romantic social mission as symbolized by Hugo or by Lamartine. On the contrary, Baudelaire moves in the opposite direction toward the theme of interior illumination. Referring to the painter Planet (CE, 32-33), he comments that he has seen things that other men have not. While never applying the word 'voyant' to himself, several of Baudelaire's articles address themselves to this question. It is a word that he applies to the painters William Hausgouiller and Ingres for example.³ The emphasis on this word indicates that for Baudelaire it was an essential part of the true artist, that the voyant in art reaches out to grasp nothing less than the source and unity of creation. In this sense the 1845 Salon raises the curtain on the whole question of correspondances, a question also treated in the Salon de 1846.

J'ignore si quelque analogiste a établi solidement une gamme complète des couleurs et des sentiments, mais je me rappelle un passage d'Hoffmann qui exprime parfaitement mon idée, et qui plaira à tous ceux qui aiment sincèrement la nature: "Ce n'est pas seulement en rêve, et dans le léger délire qui précède le sommeil, c'est encore éveillé, lorsque j'entends de la musique, que je trouve une analogie et une réunion intime entre les couleurs, les sons et les parfums. Il me semble que toutes ces choses ont été engendrées par un même rayon de lumière, et qu'elles doivent se réunir dans un merveilleux concert. L'odeur des soucis bruns et rouges produit surtout un effet magique sur ma personne. Elle me fait tomber dans une profonde rêverie, et j'entends alors comme dans le lointain les sons graves et profonds du hautbois (CE, 97-98).⁴

The 1846 Salon dedicates itself particularly to defining Baudelaire's romanticism. Here he draws our attention to the fact that few of his contemporaries wished to give Romanticism a real and positive sense. Baudelaire reminds us however that it is impossible to believe that an entire generation had gone to battle neath a flag that was not a symbol. He adds moreover that if there are few Romantics left it is because few ever found the meaning of Romanticism (CE, 89). The Salon reminds us of the valiant search of many and of the belief of those who thought that Romanticism was a question of the choice of subjects while yet others sought Romanticism in the renaissance of a Catholic society (CE, 89). Baudelaire points out that systematic contemplation of the past is a contradiction of the self and that all things can be Romantic if only the self is Romantic. He sums up with the famous words: "Le romantisme n'est précisément ni dans le choix des sujets ni dans la vérité exacte, mais dans la manière de sentir" (CE, 90). This interior and modern sensation was most often captured by Delacroix in Baudelaire's opinion.⁵ Speaking of the famous painting le Dante et Virgile aux enfers, the author is particularly attracted to the spectacle of the unfortunates who cling

to the bark even though they are perpetually condemned to desire the opposite bank (CE, 100). Delacroix is further described in these words: "Pour courir sur le toit, il faut avoir le pied solide et l'oeil illuminé par la lumière intérieure" (CE, 103). The 1846 Salon also defines Delacroix as "un naturaliste entraîné sans cesse vers l'idéal" (CE, 184).

Yet while Baudelaire clearly sets the artist on the path of searching for interior and spiritual truths, he does not fail to give us the very temporal and social posture by which the artist must conduct the search: audacity. There is a call for aggressivity which is in keeping with certain anti-social outbursts already described from this period. A total lack of passivity is one of the more intriguing characteristics of Baudelaire's pre-1848 writing. As if animated by the spirit of a new crusade the artist must be audacious first and foremost. Illustrations of this call to audacity are found frequently in the 1845 Salon. Referring to the painter Chasseriau's Le Kalife de Constantine suivi de son escorte Baudelaire remarks that the painting contains a great deal of the audacious naivety of the great masters (CE, 27). Referring to the portrait painting of Léon Cogniet he again attacks the principle that there is too much moderation and not enough audacity in art. It is this moderation that has prevented Cogniet's great talent from entering the spheres of genius. In Baudelaire's mind Cogniet is not acquainted with "les caprices hardis de la fantaisie et le parti-pris des absolutistes" (CE, 39). Baudelaire also refers to Ingres as "l'homme audacieux par excellence" (CE, 69).

It is interesting to note that the call for audacity in the Salons has no trace of the anti-socialism that marked this period in

the author's life. At least in art, audacity is firmly wedded to naivety which he feels to be the greatest quality of the painter Lépaule,⁶ as well as Corot whose naivety and originality place him at the head of the contemporary school of landscape painting (CE, 55). In his criticism of contemporary love themes in painting Baudelaire questions the lack of naivety and sincerity (CE, 125) and even goes so far as to state in Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour that only naivety can save love.⁷ This concept of spiritual naivety served by audacity of approach and technique is a form of Romanticism which stems from, yet far transcends the traditional Romantic movement. Between Goethe's famous "J'appelle classique ce qui est sain, romantique ce qui est malade", and Baudelaire's "Pour moi, le romantisme est l'expression la plus récente, la plus actuelle du beau", lies an unbridgeable gulf.⁸

If however the function of the artist is to present himself as a voyant, and if he exercises this interior vision in evoking the most contemporary form of beauty, what place is there for social reality and to what extent should art reflect this reality and attempt to give it shape?

Baudelaire's pre-1848 writings are filled with the idea that social reality is not as important as the artist's vision of this reality, an idea demonstrated in his praise for Delacroix, Daumier and Ingres who are admired because they present the side of nature that they want to present.⁹ For Baudelaire the artist must paint more than what he sees, for failing to do so would result in a false colour. Even the lie forms an essential ingredient since "Les mensonges sont continuellement nécessaires même pour arriver au trompe-l'oeil"

(CE, 96).

The pre-1848 writings present us therefore with an initial and very definite rejection of realism.

La bonne manière de savoir si un tableau est mélodieux est de le regarder d'assez loin pour n'en comprendre ni le sujet ni les lignes. S'il est mélodieux, il a déjà un sens, et il a déjà sa place dans le répertoire des souvenirs.

Le style et le sentiment dans la couleur viennent du choix, et le choix vient du tempérament (CE, 97).

Continuing his theory that art is not the reality of the model, he sees in Delacroix's style a manifestation of his temperament in that he is a genius who has not been invaded by straight lines and who dominates his work as the Creator dominates creation.¹⁰ Furthermore, Baudelaire reminds us in a reference to Auguste Hesse's L'Evanouissement de la Vierge that the artist must avoid all "motifs convenus" (CE, 35) and thus, by extension, any predetermined social philosophy. In the 1846 Salon he states that art is not the reproduction of beauty but the memory of beauty and that too exact an imitation ruins the memory.¹¹ He criticizes the painter Descamps for his realism and is saddened to think that all the time spent making houses look real could have been better used to express his vision of reality with greater bonhomie (CE, 134).

The pre-1848 writings stress the importance therefore of universality and the need to transcend the mere external details of the nineteenth-century. The 1846 Salon in particular stresses this very basic idea which is discussed a decade later when Baudelaire returns to developing his theory of modernism.

E. Delacroix est universel; il a fait des tableaux de genre pleins d'intimité, des tableaux d'histoire pleins de grandeur. Lui seul, peut-être, dans notre siècle incrédule a conçu des tableaux de religion qui n'étaient ni vides et froids comme des oeuvres de concours, ni pédants, mystiques ou néo-chrétiens, comme ceux de tous ces philosophes de l'art qui font de la religion une science d'archaïsme, et croient nécessaire de posséder avant tout la symbolique et les traditions primitives pour remuer et faire chanter la corde religieuse (CE, 111-112).

While it is clear from these first works that the artist's main function is not to reproduce social reality, Baudelaire is careful to avoid the ivory tower belief that somehow the artist as an individual can escape social reality. While art must soar on the wings of interior illumination the artist himself must remain a prisoner of the reality his art seeks to transcend. A series of anecdotes serves to illustrate this paradox. Delacroix, we are told, was summoned to the office of the Director of Fine Arts and told that it was regrettable that a man whom the government wished well would not put a little water in his wine. Refusing to follow these conseils ministériels Delacroix was given no work for seven years (CE, 103-104). Referring to Ingres, Baudelaire points out the problem of the artist whose work does not appeal to public taste which has sacrificed the law of glory to that of whoever shouts the loudest. Delacroix is admired for his almost superhuman courage in the face of an army of mudslingers¹² while Balzac's problems with creditors become the mainspring of the amusing Comment on paie ses dettes quand on a du génie.¹³ Baudelaire presents here an almost Herculean concept of the artist who is never afforded the same freedom from social constraints and reality as the heroes he creates.

As part of the defiance mechanism against social forces

Baudelaire also includes in his first critical writings an important message for the critic.

Quant à la critique proprement dite, j'espère que les philosophes comprendront ce que je vais dire: pour être juste, c'est à dire pour avoir sa raison d'être, la critique doit être partielle, passionnée, politique, c'est-à-dire faite à un point de vue exclusif, mais au point de vue qui ouvre le plus d'horizons (CE, 87).

As part of his own exclusive point of view Baudelaire sets out in his early writings a strong view of the concept of individualism in art.

Quoique le principe universel soit un, la nature ne donne rien d'absolu, ni même de complet; je ne vois que des individus(...).

(...)

Ainsi l'idéal n'est pas cette chose vague, ce rêve ennuyeux et impalpable qui nage au plafond des académies; un idéal, c'est l'individu, reconstruit et rendu, par le pinceau ou le ciseau à l'éclatante vérité de son harmonie native (CE, 142-144).

This new individualism differs sharply from the traditional Romantic individualism which placed its emphasis on the sentimental evocation of the artist himself. Baudelaire on the contrary sees the artist's mission as that of capturing the individuality of others. Such a reference is seen in his comments on the sculptor Bartolini:

Moins l'ouvrier se laisse voir dans son oeuvre et plus l'intention en est plus pure et claire, plus nous sommes charmés (CE, 72).

In light of the evidence in these early writings Jean-Paul Sartre's definition of Baudelaire's pre-1848 work as his Narcissus period seems

to lack any supporting proof.¹⁴ For those tempted to believe Sartre when he says that "Baudelaire est celui qui ne s'oublie jamais"¹⁵ they should immediately read again the above reference to Bartolini in the Salon de 1846 to see to what extent Sartre has once again sacrificed fact to theory.

Having attacked the presence of the self in art Baudelaire also criticizes sentimentality. In the 1846 Salon he refers to the traditional portrait of the poor which by the mid-1840's had become a literary cliché. He sees the antithesis of the poor faced with the opulence of the rich as a genre protestant.¹⁶ The exclusion of any sentimental portrait of the self is the key to these early statements on art. In his prose works before La Fanfarlo there are only four biographical references. In the 1846 Salon he makes a passing reference to the bourgeois character of Lyons,¹⁷ a portrait reminding us of his stay there as a youth. In Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs he introduces a direct personal anecdote (was it invented as were so many others) about the time he chased a creditor into the street for having interrupted his fencing lesson (AR, 272). In another section he urges young artists to avoid creditors (AR, 277), a piece of advice that undoubtedly came from long personal experience. Finally there is an attack on Horace Vernet and the military which might be interpreted as a passing reference to his stepfather.¹⁸ But these are slim gleanings indeed for anyone trying to reconstruct the poet's biography from these early prose publications.

It is clear therefore that contemporary events in the historical of sociological sense play a very minor role in the pre-1848 Baudelaire. Yet there is another facet to the question that must not be ignored.

While society for the moment does not play a great rôle in shaping art, is there a rôle for art in the shaping of society? We have already seen to what extent Lamartinean and Hugolian pretensions were dismissed as useless in Baudelaire's political journalism during the period 1848-1852. In the 1846 Salon Baudelaire even goes so far as to reject Hugo as a Romantic because of his mission which has compromised his spirituality.

Cette nécessité de trouver à tout prix des pendants et des analogues dans les différents arts amène souvent d'étranges bévues, et celle-ci prouve encore combien l'on s'entendait peu. A coup sûr la comparaison dut paraître pénible à Eugène Delacroix, peut-être à tous deux; car si ma définition du romantisme (intimité, spiritualité, etc.) place Delacroix à la tête du romantisme, elle en exclut naturellement M. Victor Hugo (CE, 105).

Rejecting the social and political mission of Hugo's Romanticism he refers to him as "un travailleur bien plus correct que créateur" and as "un compositeur de décadence ou de transition" (CE, 105-106). Hugo, according to Baudelaire, begins with detail while Delacroix begins with an intimate awareness of the subject. Summing up this contrast he refers to Hugo as a painter in poetry and to Delacroix as a poet in painting (CE, 106-107).

Illustrating further his dislike for those who associate their art with a particular social mission, Baudelaire singles out Horace Vernet. He admits that Vernet is a great national artist in the sense that Frenchmen are always well respected in France. Despite his belief in the need of art to represent the contemporary, Baudelaire is not willing to make any concessions to contemporary taste which he feels to be at an all-time low. He defines his contemporary fellow citizen as a

vaudevilliste made dizzy by Michelangelo and filled with bestial stupidity by Delacroix, fleeing prudishly the abyss, feeling the same effect before a riot as before the sublime, and approaching his Molière with trembling because someone had persuaded him that Molière was a happy author.¹⁹ Many artists have catered to this being by serving him a social message with his diet. Summing up his belief that "la poésie philosophique est un genre faux"²⁰ Baudelaire delivers this impressive tirade against Horace Vernet:

M. Horace Vernet est un militaire qui fait de la peinture. -- Je hais cet art improvisé au roulement du tambour, ces toiles badigeonnées au galop, cette peinture fabriquée à coup de pistolet, comme je hais l'armée, la force armée, et tout ce qui traîne des armes bruyantes dans un lieu pacifique. Cette immense popularité, qui ne durera d'ailleurs pas plus longtemps que la guerre, et qui diminuera à mesure que les peuples se feront d'autres joies, -- cette popularité, dis-je, cette vox populi, vox Dei, est pour moi une oppression.

Je hais cet homme parce que ses tableaux ne sont point de la peinture, mais une masturbation agile et fréquente, une irritation de l'épiderme français; -- comme je hais tel autre grand homme dont l'austère hypocrisie a rêvé le consulat et qui n'a récompensé le peuple de son amour que par de mauvais vers, -- des vers qui ne sont pas de la poésie, des vers bistournés et mal construits, pleins de barbarismes et de solécismes, mais aussi de civisme et de patriotisme.
(...)

Bien des gens, partisans de la ligne courbe en matière d'ereintage, et qui n'aiment pas mieux que moi M. Horace Vernet, me reprochent d'être maladroit. Cependant il n'est pas imprudent d'être brutal et d'aller droit au fait, quand à chaque phrase le je couvre un nous, nous immense, nous silencieux et invisible, -- nous, toute une génération nouvelle, ennemie de la guerre et des sottises nationales; une génération pleine de santé, parce qu'elle est jeune, et qui pousse déjà à la queue coudoie et fait ses trous, -- sérieuse, railleuse et menaçante (CE, 162-165).²¹

The last sentence in particular is of interest in a discussion of Baudelaire's pre-1848 social attitudes. For the moment at least there is an expression of confidence in his own generation even if there is still strong criticism for contemporary society as a whole.

In his Le Musée classique du bazar Bonne-Nouvelle Baudelaire speaks again of the critic. If, as already seen, the artist must cease to give a social role to his art, the critic must be prepared to stop looking for it. The Musée classique gives us the portrait of the critic who uses art as a sounding board for his own political prejudices.

Referring to David's painting of Marat he regrets that contemporary political trends prevent people from truly appreciating the painting.

Nous permettez-vous, politiques de tous les partis, et vous-mêmes farouches libéraux de 1845, de nous attendre devant le chef-d'oeuvre de David? Cette peinture était un don à la patrie éplorée, et nos larmes ne sont pas dangereuses (CE, 208).

With such a strong and clearly stated rejection of political involvement yet at the same time a call for the parti pris in a more spiritual sense, we face another of the great complexities in Baudelaire's social thought. How can we justify or explain the euphoric dedication of his first two Salons to the bourgeois?

In studying the man we have witnessed a seemingly endless series of anti-social behaviour. In studying the artist we are initially surprised and perhaps confused by what appears to be an outpouring of respect for the bourgeoisie. In his notes on the 1845 Salon, Marcel Ruff states that we may well be surprised at Baudelaire's opening flattering references to Louis-Philippe and the bourgeois character. Ruff sees that there is perhaps here a ruse on the part of the author to reconcile himself with a larger public.²² There is yet another possibility that we wish to suggest and this concerns Baudelaire's quest for originality; this would pit him against the bulk of artistic

opinion of the day which spent a great deal of its time attacking the bourgeoisie. The very excess of the compliments in the 1846 Salon seem to point to this as a strong possibility. In any case the euphoria was short lived. For the moment however the defence of the bourgeois begins in the 1845 Salon with a stinging attack on an elitist press which might not print his opinions since he is striving to be impartial. Baudelaire portrays newspaper criticism as stupid, sometimes furious, and never independent. He attacks this same press for its common assault on the bourgeoisie.

Et tout d'abord, à propos de cette impertinente appellation, le bourgeois, nous déclarons que nous ne partageons les préjugés de nos grands confrères artistiques qui se sont évertués depuis plusieurs années à jeter l'anathème sur cet être inoffensif qui ne demanderait pas mieux que d'aimer la bonne peinture, si ces messieurs savaient la lui faire comprendre, et si les artistes la lui montraient plus souvent.

Ce mot, qui sent l'argot d'atelier d'une lieue, devrait être supprimé du dictionnaire de la critique.

Il n'y a plus de bourgeois depuis que le bourgeois -- ce qui prouve sa bonne volonté à devenir artistique, à l'égard de feuilletonistes -- se sert lui-même de cette injure.

En second lieu le bourgeois-- puisque bourgeois il y a -- est fort respectable; car il faut plaire à ceux aux frais de qui l'on veut vivre.

Et enfin, (il y a tant de bourgeois parmi les artistes qu'il vaut mieux, en somme, supprimer un mot qui ne caractérise aucun vice particulier de caste, puisqu'il peut s'appliquer également aux uns, qui ne demandent pas mieux que de ne plus le mériter, et aux autres, qui ne se sont jamais doutés qu'ils en étaient dignes (CE, 4-5).-

No less surprising are the flowers thrown in Louis-Philippe's direction as Baudelaire thanks the enlightened and paternal spirit of a king who has given France a series of fine museums as well as six major galleries. Under such an enlightened rule it seems apparent that a just and good artist will receive his reward (CE, 5). Such opinions, when juxtaposed against the more recent criticism of Vernet, lend

support to Ruff's theory of a ruse. The Salons however transcend such gamemanship when we see that they are dedicated not so much to a particular class as to a state of mind that has become the new majority. The 1846 Salon is dedicated in particular to this new majority. Here he deals with the specific relationship that must exist between the bourgeois and art. His opening remarks strike the tone of a hymn of praise or of an election speech given by a candidate from the majority party.

Vous êtes la majorité, -- nombre et intelligence; -- donc vous êtes la force, -- qui est la justice (CE, 81).

Never long in wasting time with things purely temporal, Baudelaire moves quickly to the theme that has inspired this appeal to the political majority, i.e. the need to render the exercise of power less vile through the saving grace of beauty.

Vous possédez le gouvernement de la cité, et cela est juste, car vous êtes la force. Mais il faut que vous soyez aptes à sentir la beauté; car comme aucun d'entre vous ne peut aujourd'hui se passer de puissance, nul n'a le droit de se passer de poésie.

Vous pouvez vivre trois jours sans pain; -- sans poésie jamais; et ceux d'entre vous qui disent le contraire se trompent; ils ne se connaissent pas.

Les aristocrates de la pensée, les distributeurs de l'éloge et du blâme, les accapareurs des choses spirituelles vous ont dit que vous n'aviez pas le droit de sentir et de jouir: -- ce sont des pharisiens.

Car vous possédez le gouvernement d'une cité où est le public de l'univers, et il faut que vous soyez dignes de cette tâche.

Jouir est une science, et l'exercice des cinq sens veut une initiation particulière, qui ne se fait que par la bonne volonté et le besoin.

Or vous avez besoin d'art.

L'art est un bien infiniment précieux, un breuvage rafraîchissant et réchauffant, qui rétablit l'estomac et l'esprit dans l'équilibre naturel de l'idéal (CE, 81-82).

Yet even beyond the basic call to provide the majority with the saving grace of beauty there is a very pragmatic appeal to the pocket-books of the new majority.

Vous êtes les amis naturels des arts, parce que vous êtes, les uns riches, les autres savants.

Quand vous avez donné à la société votre science, votre industrie, votre travail, votre argent, vous réclamez votre paiement en jouissances du corps, de la raison et de l'imagination. Si vous récupérez la quantité de jouissances nécessaires pour rétablir l'équilibre de toutes les parties de votre être, vous êtes heureux, repus et bienveillants, comme la société sera repue, heureuse et bienveillante quand elle aura trouvé son équilibre général et absolu.

C'est donc à vous, bourgeois, que ce livre est naturellement dédié; car tout livre qui ne s'adresse pas à la majorité, -- nombre et intelligence, -- est un sot livre (CE, 84-85).

What we have here is a truly eloquent appeal on behalf of art based on a realistic assessment of the social situation, not as the poet might perhaps like to see it, but rather of how it is. Art must have a patron and to guarantee its survival there appears to be a willingness on the part of the young Baudelaire to accept the established social order by extending an olive branch and by harshly criticizing even those artists and critics who would deprive art of its necessary patron by attacking the bourgeoisie. This seems most clear in the rather sharp attack on what Baudelaire calls the aristocrats of thought, the distributors of praise and blame, and the hoarders of things spiritual who have told the bourgeois that he does not have the right to feel or to enjoy (CE, 82). This attack on the "pharisiens" mirrors an earlier attack on the elitist press in the 1845 Salon and similar criticism in Le Musée classique du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle.

In the Musée Bonne-Nouvelle, Baudelaire turns his attention from

the elitist artist to an ever greater source of misunderstanding between the bourgeois and beauty: the bourgeois artist. He speaks of the numerous occasions on which he has heard young artists damn the bourgeoisie which they represent as the enemy of everything that is great and beautiful. Baudelaire feels however that the bourgeois artist is a thousand times worse in that he imposes himself as a filter between his client and the concept of true beauty, between the public and beauty.²³ It is not difficult to detect strong criticism of such bourgeois movements as the Ecole du bon sens and its deliberate attempt to cater to the level of bourgeois taste. The critic Emile Bouvier in his excellent study La Bataille réaliste (1844-1857) adds:

A ces côtés Scribe et Augier se vinrent reprocher leur prosaïsme bourgeois, leur manque d'imagination et de fantaisie, l'étroitesse de leur morale et la platitude de leur style.²⁴

Baudelaire reveals the danger that the bourgeoisie will go wherever the bourgeois artist tells it to go; he points out that if one could only surpress this inaccurate sign-post the grocery store owner would bring Delacroix to triumph since the grocery store owner is a great man, a celestial man, a man of good will whom we must respect. The reader is urged not to laugh at such a man merely because he wishes to rise above his sphere. This man also wishes to be moved, to feel, to know, and to dream as he loves; he also wishes to be complete and asks for his daily ration of art and poetry. Baudelaire reminds his contemporaries that if you serve the bourgeois a masterpiece he will digest it well and be all the healthier for it (CE, 214-215). By such comments Baudelaire reveals himself to be one of the few true

egalitarians of his time, in that he makes a plea for all men to be treated as equals before art and thus rises above the petty class distinctions that characterized so much of the social philosophy and art of the time.

Having attacked aristocratic and artistic elitism as well as the bourgeois artist, there is a tendency to expect Baudelaire to move towards a call for a social mission in art. Ever a source of surprises however, the poet moves in a completely opposite direction -- reserving his strongest criticism for the republican artist.

Avez-vous éprouvé, vous tous que la curiosité du flâneur a souvent fourrés dans une émeute, la même joie que moi à voir un gardien du sommeil public, -- sergent de ville ou municipal, la véritable armée, -- croquer un républicain? Et comme moi, vous avez dit dans votre coeur; car en ce croisement suprême, je t'adore, et je te juge semblable à Jupiter, le grand justicier. L'homme que tu croques est un ennemi des roses et des parfums, un fanatique des ustensils; c'est un ennemi de Watteau, un ennemi de Raphaël, un ennemi du luxe, bourreau de Vénus et d'Apollon! Il ne veut plus travailler, humble et anonyme ouvrier, aux roses et aux parfums publics! Il veut être libre, l'ignorant, et il est incapable de fonder un atelier de fleurs et de parfumeries nouvelles. Croque religieusement les oplates de l'anarchiste (CE, 191-192).

This quotation uses the republican as a point of comparison and extends the image to include the republican artist, the enemy of roses and perfume. The republican artist becomes the representative of those who wish to introduce anarchistic freedom into art. On a more social level it is interesting to note that despite his own red tie²⁵ Baudelaire portrays the republican as a dangerous anti-social figure in that he represents social anarchy. In addition to anarchy, the republican artist also represents those who have allowed their art to become too

involved in the political arena. Criticizing the regime in power becomes for Baudelaire a waste of time. In a small article on Bourniol, an insignificant artist in Jacques Crépet's opinion, Baudelaire writes in Le Siècle, about the year 1847:

Où, monsieur, les temps sont mauvais, et corrompus; mais la bonne philosophie en profite sournoisement pour courir sus à l'occasion, et ne perd pas son temps aux anathèmes ²⁶

During this period Baudelaire also has a few words for the left wing of the republican movement for whom the word humanité has become a new term.²⁷ Failing to be awed by these new trends, Baudelaire sees them as little more than a new form of sectarianism which has even invaded artistic criticism. This point is made in his criticism of Delacroix's Dernières paroles de Marc Aurèle in the 1845 Salon. In this painting Marcus Aurelius is seen giving his son to the stoics. The youthful and innocent Commodus appears somewhat bored amidst such sombre men. Turning to the critics Baudelaire remarks that at least one critic had praised Delacroix for having placed Commodus, representing the future, in the light, and the stoics, representing the past, in the shadows. Baudelaire rejects such reading of one's own priorities into art and insists that all people, in the painting have received their just portion of light. He compares the distorted version of the above critic to another who had theorized that Rubens had deliberately disfigured one of the portraits of Henri IV in the Medicis gallery in order to show a form of independent satire and to strike a blow against royal debauchery. To this Baudelaire exclaims: "Rubens sans-culotte! ô critique! ô critiques (CE, 9)!

Both these references represent Baudelaire's first attack on politically orientated criticism, a criticism which limits the scope of the artist by imposing a priori values on the art form, so that the critic who saw Commodus in the light and he who would interpret the work of Rubens become the symbols of what Baudelaire means by the republican spirit in criticism.

To what extent can we take Baudelaire's defence of the bourgeoisie seriously in his early writing?

If we examine the tone of his invocation of the bourgeois spirit we note first that the format is that of an overemphatic Ave. Jacques Crépet reminds us that even the printing of this section of the 1846 Salon was in larger and bolder type than that of the following text (CE, 475n). While it is logical that Baudelaire would refer to the bourgeoisie as the majority as concerns patronage, he takes the reference one step further and refers to the bourgeoisie as the new majority in number and intelligence. If one interprets what he says literally, Baudelaire is placed in the unique position of defending the idea that might is right, since number and intelligence are equated with force which in turn is equated with justice. We would personally suggest that in this unique equation there is more than a touch of irony which, like the bold type of the printing, continues to instruct through overstatement. How else could we interpret the following extract in which he divides his audience into two groups: the wise and the proprietors?

Les uns savants, les autres propriétaires; -- un jour radieux viendra, où les savants seront propriétaires, et les propriétaires seront savants. Alors votre puissance sera complète, et nul ne

protestera contre elle.

En attendant cette harmonie suprême, il est juste que ceux qui ne sont que propriétaires aspirent à devenir savants; car la science est une jouissance non moins grande que la propriété (CE, 81).

The whole ironic tone of the above passage is created by the future tense which shows even more clearly that his contemporaries are far less. His present-day proprietors are unwise and the wise of his day have no share in the wealth of the moment. Such a tone places clear limitations on the euphoria with which some might be tempted to see his praise of the middle class. Similar irony is used in the 1845 Salon in his brief comments on the portrait painter Dubufe who has been taken to heart by the bourgeoisie because he has painted so many beautiful women for them. Baudelaire continues by stating that Dubufe has a son who, not wishing to follow in his father's footsteps, decides to take up serious painting (CE, 39-40). Once again by his mastery of Voltairian irony, Baudelaire has planted a shaft while appearing to administer a compliment. Yet while this tendency to give way to irony through overstatement may cause us to doubt the sincerity of Baudelaire's praise for the bourgeois, can we at the same time doubt the sincerity of his plea for reconciliation between the bourgeois and the true artist? It is our opinion that we must answer no.

In a chapter entitled "Political and Social Progress", S.A. Rhodes points out that the Romantic school of 1830 began by championing the monarchy and the church and ended by supporting the cause of social revolution.²⁸ He accurately points out that Baudelaire's political thought, in so far as one can say that he was politically minded, was

somewhat more complex. Rhodes compares the revolutionary ferment of 1840 to a smoldering volcano. It was a time when both the bourgeoisie and the socialists were seeking allies among the ranks of the artists. Rhodes also points out that, incredible as it might seem, the middle class supported the 'art for art' movement, not because they necessarily understood it but because they believed it to be politically inoffensive. Rhodes suggest that when Baudelaire entered the battle, the battle was not all that tense between the bourgeois and the artist. He feels that Baudelaire was in step with the Romantics and their belief in democracy and the defense of the majority.

While Mr. Rhodes' conclusions are most intriguing concerning the alliance of the bourgeoisie and the 'art for art' movement, we find it difficult to accept his theory of an alliance between Baudelaire and Romantic democracy. First we must remember that for Baudelaire Romanticism was not a movement but rather a state of mind. In this sense it was a purely personal doctrine. Secondly we have seen how he rejected the premise that art has a social mission. Thirdly the true meaning of the word 'majority' in a democratic sense and for the republican movement was not the majority of which Baudelaire speaks in these pre-1848 writings, but rather the millions of suffering workers and peasants who had neither the vote nor the opportunity for advancement. Democracy in 1846 was the luxury of the minority for it was not until the universal suffrage laws of 1848 that one can speak of the majority in a democratic sense. We see nothing in these writings to sustain Mr. Rhodes on this point. By the end of 1848 Baudelaire was attacking outright the very principle of democracy and by 1851 he would write: "La morale de la bourgeoisie me fait horreur" (CGL, 199).

What then is the significance of this appeal to the bourgeois in the first Salons? It would appear that it is inextricably linked with the call to the artist and the dandy to establish a new epic. The bourgeois is addressed not because he is right or because he is wrong. He is addressed because he is modern, because he is contemporary and therefore an integral part of what Baudelaire has already defined as Romantic beauty. It was the republican spirit of degrading art which was the chief inspiration for this call for a new epic.

In the concluding section of the 1846 Salon, Baudelaire speaks of the heroism of modern life. Recognizing that the old tradition is quite dead, he sets out to discover the epic qualities of modern man. This artistic search is the antithesis of his outward anti-social behaviour. Far from fleeing his fellow man in his writing Baudelaire deliberately seeks him out in order to discover that beauty which only that particular moment in the nineteenth century could give him, so that in combination with man's more universal nature we might see the complete portrait.

Toutes les beautés contiennent, comme tous les phénomènes possibles, quelque chose d'éternel et quelque chose de transitoire; -- d'absolu et de particulier. La beauté absolue et éternelle n'existe pas, ou plutôt elle n'est qu'une abstraction écrémée à la surface générale des beautés diverses. L'élément particulier de chaque beauté vient des passions, et, comme nous avons nos passions particulières, nous avons notre beauté (CE, 197).

Even the contemporary costumes have their own indigenous beauty since they are the symbol of an era.

Et cependant, n'a-t-il pas sa beauté et son charme indigène, cet habit tant victimé? N'est-il pas l'habit nécessaire de notre époque, souffrante et portant jusque sur ses épaules noires et maigres le symbole d'un deuil perpétuel? Remarquez bien que l'habit noir et la redingote ont non-seulement leur beauté politique, qui est l'expression de l'égalité universelle, mais encore leur beauté poétique, qui est l'expression de l'âme publique; -- une immense défilade de croque-morts, croque-morts politiques, croque-morts amoureux, croque-morts bourgeois. Nous célébrons tous quelque enterrement.

Une livrée uniforme de désolation témoigne de l'égalité (CE, 198).

As the 1846 Salon closes Baudelaire again returns to this theme by his praise of Eugène Lami and Gaverni for having attempted to capture the new and modern beauty. It is a theme that he had also used to end the 1845 Salon.

Du reste, constatons que tout le monde peint de mieux en mieux, ce qui nous paraît désolant; -- mais d'invention d'idées, de tempérament, pas davantage qu'avant. -- Au vent qui soufflera demain nul ne tend l'oreille; et pourtant l'héroïsme de la vie moderne nous entoure et nous presse. -- Nos sentiments vrais nous étouffent pour que nous les connaissions. -- Ce sont ni les sujets ni les couleurs qui manquent aux épopées. Celui-là sera le peintre, le vrai peintre, qui saura arracher à la vie actuelle son côté épique, et nous faire voir et comprendre, avec de la couleur ou du dessein, combien nous sommes grands et poétiques dans nos cravates et nos bottines vernies. -- Puissent les vrais chercheurs nous donner l'année prochaine cette joie singulière de célébrer l'avènement du neuf (CE, 77-78).

The parallel endings of both the 1845 and the 1846 Salons reveal that Baudelaire's concept of art was that it must not attempt to escape the society that surrounds it. In keeping with his concept of Romanticism based on feeling, Baudelaire ignores the details of a particular society to capture the real moral fibre of the age. He describes his society as one ravaged by doubt. The true artist must avoid this doubt which gives birth to eclecticism and a feeling of

superiority over all the old doctrines since it pretends to scan the horizons. Baudelaire goes on to point out that it is eclecticism's very impartiality which is the key to its impotence: "Un éclectique est un navire qui voudrait marcher avec les quatre vents" (CE, 166-168). He further describes his age as a vast series of contradictions in which he refers to the poets as politicians who have a daily task to perform.³⁰ In such an age of contradiction the artist must even be prepared to extract beauty from vice and ugliness.³¹

It is through the temporal and an intimate awareness of the milieu in which the artist functions that the basic premise of interior illumination must be developed in order to give a portrait of unity and coherency.

Chaque siècle, chaque peuple, ayant possédé l'expression de sa beauté et de sa morale, -- si l'on veut entendre par romantisme l'expression la plus récente et la plus moderne de la beauté, -- le grand artiste sera donc -- pour le critique raisonnable et passionné, celui qui unira à la condition demandée ci-dessus, la naïveté, -- le plus de romantisme possible (CE, 88).

Coherency however must be attained by fully taking into account the contradictions of one's century. For Baudelaire Romanticism is explained not in terms of perfect representation but "dans une conception analogue à la morale du siècle" (CE, 90). This was another reason for his seemingly boundless admiration for Delacroix.

(...): c'est cette mélancolie singulière et opiniâtre qui s'exhale de toutes ses oeuvres, et qui s'exprime et par le choix de sujets, et par l'expression des figures, et par le geste, et par le style de la couleur. (...) C'est non-seulement la douleur qu'il sait le mieux exprimer, mais surtout, -- prodigieux de sa peinture, -- la douleur morale (CE, 119-120)!

Having established that the role of the artist is to encompass the vision of modern life, the author is frankly scandalized by the modern life that he sees -- particularly that a disproportionate glorification of the individual has not only had unfortunate social and economic results but also artistic ones.

Cette glorification de l'individu a nécessité la division infinie du territoire de l'art. La liberté absolue et divergente de chacun, la division des efforts et le fractionnement de la volonté humaine ont amené cette faiblesse, ce doute et cette pauvreté d'invention; quelques excentriques, sublimes et souffrants, compensent mal ce désordre fourmillant de médiocrités. L'individualité, -- cette petite propriété, -- a mangé l'originalité collective; et comme il a été démontré dans un chapitre fameux d'un roman romantique, que le livre a tué le monument, on peut dire que pour le présent c'est le peintre qui a tué la peinture (CE, 195).³²

Once again however Baudelaire draws a very careful distinction between what the artist should allow to intrude into his art form and the life that the artist himself should lead. While rejecting flamboyant individualism in the art form Baudelaire's own way of life, as well as that of many of the artists he admired, was still that of the flamboyant dandy. The artist as an individual continued to stand out as an aristocratic figure among the forces that attacked his genius. Baudelaire referred to Haussoullier's work as voyante and was particularly drawn to its elegance and distinction. (CE, 17). The aristocratic nature of the artist is also accentuated by the association of the words 'nobility' and 'truth'. Speaking of Achille Devérin he states: "voilà un beau nom, voilà un noble et vrai artiste à notre sens" (CE, 24).

While having nothing to do with the concept of a traditional

social hierarchy, Baudelaire's portrait of nobility separates him from his contemporaries who followed the trends of socialism and who increasingly attempted to portray the poor as a new nobility. There is even a note of insensitivity to the plight of the poor in the pre-1848 texts. In the Musée classique du Bazar Bonne Nouvelle he introduces the anecdote about a concert given to aid needy artists whom he describes as a new class of poor, the most noble and the most deserving. Soon the true poor, the others as he calls them, disrupt the concert demanding proportional rights, a demand which gives rise to the following observation:

Ne serait-il pas temps de se garder un peu de cette rage d'humanité maladroite, qui nous fait tous les jours, pauvres aussi que nous sommes, les victimes des pauvres? Sans doute la charité est une belle chose; mais ne pourrait-elle opérer ses bienfaits, sans autoriser ses razzias redoutables dans la bourse des travailleurs (CE, 206).

On another occasion there is an objectively insensitive attraction to lugubrious poverty as seen in Manzoni's Le Rire des mendiants and L'Assassinat nocturne as reviewed in the 1846 Salon.

Il y a dedans une férocité et une brutalité de manière assez bien appropriées au sujet, et qui rappellent les violentes ébauches de Goya. -- Ce sont bien du reste les faces les plus particulières qui se puissent voir; c'est un mélange singulier de chapeaux défoncés, de jambes de bois, de verres cassés, de buveurs vaincus; la luxure, la férocité et l'ivrognerie agitent dans leurs haillons (CE, 136-137).

Only those who believe in a static Baudelaire should feel a pressing need to justify this apparent insensitivity if juxtaposed against the moving and sensitive prose poetry some fourteen years later.

We must be prepared to accord Baudelaire many of the prejudices of his class and to accept forthrightly the possibility that in 1846 at 25 years of age Baudelaire, like so many others of his class, saw the poor as masters of the art of con and fraud.

Faithful to the concept of art as he had announced it in the Salons, Baudelaire does not project his own feelings into his criticism of the Manzoni paintings. His belief in a romanticism portraying a harmony of individuals leaves no room for class separation in the social sense. If Baudelaire seems indifferent to the plight of the proletariat it is because art aspires to higher goals than either political or social sectarianism. Rejecting the tendency of his generation to stereotype characters, Baudelaire concentrates on the individual. In this context the beggar has as much potential for being repulsive, greedy, humorous or sublime as any other individual.

Faced with texts showing such a sensitive portrayal of each man's universal capacity for greatness or degradation, any attempt to turn the beggar into a symbol of the proletariat and Baudelaire into the symbol of the upper middle class dandy or into an aristocrat becomes difficult to defend. By his universal and sensitive awareness of each individual's potential within the unity of creation Baudelaire, in his mid-twenties stands above the stream of much of French Romanticism.

Where then does such a view situate him in the context of the century's evolving values? Thierry Maulnier has remarked that from Chateaubriand to Hugo French Romanticism is marked by convulsions, illusions, nostalgic regrets -- the angers of a pre-industrial society on its death-bed.³³ While the first generation of Romantics witnessed

the reintroduction of God and self into literature and later transferred these two mysteries to the service of social and political issues, Baudelaire belongs to the second generation of Romantics. Here men like Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, and Théodore Banville began with social and political problems and evolved an art form which sought to salvage the individual from the forces that beset him. It was also the generation of La Jeune France and bohemian Romanticism. César Graña remarks that these struggling young men turned intellectual discontent into a cultural spectacle.³⁴ He points out that literary bohemianism embodies as a social fixture the burning and doomed enthusiasm for a life of the spirit beset by the powers of the modern world (Grana, 72), and how it represented the attempt to break down the last barrier between fiction and reality by translating into the daily routine the Romantic code of existence for the sake of beauty, creative work, and the individual victimized by such values (Grana, 73). In Graña's view, art for art's sake was a saving vision. It was also a sectarian devotion exhibiting and accepting the martyrdom of Philistine incomprehension (Grana, 78-79).

While there is certainly no hint of social optimism in Baudelaire's pre-1848 writing, neither is there any direct relationship with Graña's other portrait of sectarian devotion, exhibiting and accepting martyrdom before Philistine incomprehension. Much of Baudelaire's early writing is dedicated to restoring a sense of unity between artist and patron; in this sense Baudelaire transcends even the second generation of Romanticism. In Maulnier's opinion French Romanticism had no other posterity except Baudelaire who was perhaps the last of the movement. He thus forms the unique and powerful link

through which Romanticism incorporates itself into Modernism.³⁵

This first period of Baudelaire's writing is one of the most difficult therefore to associate with any school. It is a period when a variety of influences present themselves with no preference indicated by Baudelaire except for the intangible unifying thread of the voyant qualities of men like Delacroix and other modernists. The lack of direct social purpose might lead some to associate Baudelaire with the current of Bohemian Romanticism whose members César Graña call the "protagonists of literary rebelliousness" (Graña, 90). These men were removed from social causes and were utopian in very private ways. When they addressed themselves to social conditions they suffered what social scientists consider the normal drawbacks of the literary person as a social observer. Graña points out however that the early sociological writer overlooked certain essential qualities that the artist considered indispensable, for example the relationship between new social circumstances and personal values.

What was the new moral and psychological style of the new order? What was the new repertory of human aspirations, the new image of social rewards? Was there a change in the fabric of the emotional relationships between man and his work? As Graña so precisely sums up, it is nothing short of ironical that our twentieth century sociologists who struggle to understand the link between public developments and a person's inner sense might well find themselves in closer friendship with the work of literary commentators than with the men officially credited with founding their profession (Graña, 90). While it would be an utter falsehood to describe Baudelaire as the greatest sociologist of his time he nevertheless has captured the technique of relating social forces to

inner forces under the general approach of linking the temporal and the universal. And, while the theme of changing and universal ideals in a changing world is merely introduced in the pre-1848 writing, it is a theme which will continue to haunt his later work.

The essential characteristic of Baudelaire's earliest prose is therefore its search for social acceptability in the sense that he must make peace with the majority. To do so he had to establish a working rapport with the new master. This foreshadowing of a call for social unity is thus seen in his appeal for a truce in the criticism of the bourgeois. In such a truce the artist would no longer have the right to criticize the bourgeois since the bourgeois would be one with the artist.³⁶ Baudelaire's search for a new heroism is also an indication that the artist must not only be prepared to live with the new reality but also extract from it epic qualities. But to do so the artist must first understand his age.

In these forceful beginnings we can see certain of the essential qualities of Baudelaire's work to which Marcel Ruff alluded at the beginning of this chapter.³⁷ The path ahead however is neither straight nor smooth for Baudelaire. In fact it frequently disappears. The evolving role of society and the artist from La Fanfarlo to the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal a decade later is filled with sharp contradictions and goes far beyond Ruff's hypothesis of mere variation of dosage.

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* * *

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1 Marcel Ruff, ed. Baudelaire, Oeuvres Complètes (Paris: Seuil, 1968), p. 202.

2. The works from this period used in our study are: Le Salon de 1845, Le Musée classique du Bazar Bonne Nouvelle, Le Salon de 1846, Comment on paie ses dettes quand on a du génie, Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs, Choix de Maximes consolantes sur l'amour, and four book reviews.

3 Salon de 1845 -- Haussoullier: "Cette peinture a, selon nous, une qualité très-importante, dans un musée surtout -- elle est très-voyante. -- Il n'y a pas moyen de ne pas la voir" (CE, 17).

Le Musée Bonne Nouvelle -- Ingres: "Ouvrez l'oeil, nation nigaude, et dites si vous vîtes jamais de la peinture plus éclatante et plus voyante, et même une plus grande recherche de tons" (CE, 212)?

In both references the term 'voyante' has the primary meaning of bright. In each case however Baudelaire goes on to imply that this external brilliance is the key to inner profundity.

4 Here we have the prose text that most closely resembles the poem "Correspondances" (FM, 34). In particular one is drawn to the word "unité" and the line "Ayant l'expansion des choses infinies" in the poem first published 11 years after the Salon de 1846.

5 Salon de 1846: "Le romantisme et la couleur me conduisent droit à Eugène Delacroix. J'ignore s'il est fier de sa qualité de romantique; mais sa place est ici, parce que la majorité du public l'a depuis longtemps, et même dès sa première oeuvre, constitué le chef de l'école moderne" (CE, 99).

6 Salon de 1845, CE, 30. In his review of Prométhée Délivré Baudelaire states: "Or, la grande poésie est essentiellement bête, elle croit et c'est ce qui fait sa gloire et sa force" (OP1, 240).

7. Choix de Maximes consolantes sur l'amour: "Rappelez-vous ceci, c'est

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surtout du paradoxe en amour qu'il faut se garder. C'est la naïveté qui sauve, c'est la naïveté qui rend heureux, votre maîtresse fût-elle laide comme la vieille Mab, la reine des épouvantements (OP2, 9-10)!

8

Salon de 1846 (CE, 90). The Goethe quote was drawn to our attention by François Léon-Daudet, Charles Baudelaire et l'esprit classique (Paris: Farré, 1946), p. 11.

9

Salon de 1845: "Voilà certes qui doit stupéfier les amis et les ennemis, les séides et les antagonistes; mais avec une attention lente et studieuse, chacun verra que ces trois dessins différents ont ceci de commun, qu'ils rendent parfaitement et complètement le côté de la nature qu'ils veulent dire (CE, 11).

10

Salon de 1846: "Delacroix part donc de ce principe, qu'un tableau doit avant tout reproduire la pensée intime de l'artiste, qui domine le modèle, comme le créateur la création (CE, 108).

(...) -- Delacroix est le seul aujourd'hui dont l'originalité n'ait pas été envahie par le système des lignes droites" (CE, 110).

11

The following reference is of interest in that it also shows that too much attention to detail ruins the 'mystique' that must exist between a people and its political leader. Salon de 1846: "J'ai déjà remarqué que le souvenir était le grand criterium de l'art; l'art est une mnémotechnie du beau: or l'imitation exacte gâte le souvenir. Il y a de ces misérables peintres, pour qui la moindre verrue est une bonne fortune; non seulement ils n'ont garde de l'oublier, mais il est nécessaire qu'ils la fassent quatre fois plus grosse: aussi font-ils le désespoir des amants, et un peuple qui fait faire le portrait de son roi est un amant" (CE, 142).

12

Le Musée Bonne-Nouvelle: "M. Ingres refuse depuis longtemps d'exposer au Salon, et il a, selon nous, raison. Son admirable talent est toujours plus ou moins culbuté au milieu de ces cohues, où le public, étourdi et fatigué, subit la loi de celui qui crie le plus haut. Il faut que M. Delacroix ait un courage surhumain pour affronter annuellement tant d'éclaboussures" (CE, 211).

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Comment on paie ses dettes: Referring to Balzac as "(le) plus grand homme de notre siècle" (OP1, 117) Baudelaire shows that the worries of great men are often owed to very mundane things: "Non, hélas! non; la tristesse du grand homme était une tristesse vulgaire, terre à terre, ignoble, honteuse et ridicule; (...). L'illustre auteur de la Théorie de la lettre de change avait le lendemain un billet de douze cents francs à payer, et la soirée était fort avancée" (OP1, 115).

14.

Jean-Paul Sartre, "Introduction aux Ecrits Intimes de Baudelaire" (Paris: Editions du Pont du Jour, 1946), p. vii. Sartre's thrust comes from his belief that Baudelaire's life and work are identical. "Est-il donc si différent de l'existence qu'il a menée" (p. ii)?

15.

Sartre, "Introduction", p. viii.

16.

Salon de 1846: "En général, les tableaux de sentiment sont tirés des dernières poésies d'un bas-bleu quelconque, genre mélancolique et voilé; ou bien ils sont une traduction picturale des criaileries du pauvre contre le riche, genre protestant; ou bien empruntés à la sagesse des nations, genre spirituel; quelquefois aux œuvres de M. Bouilly ou de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, genre moraliste" (CE, 172):

17.

Salon de 1846: "On devine trop, en regardant ce tableau que M. Janmot est de Lyon. En effet, c'est bien là la peinture qui convient à cette ville de comptoirs, ville bigoté et méticuleuse, où tout, jusqu'à la religion, doit avoir la netteté calligraphique d'un registre" (CE, 151).

We might recall the theme of Lyons such as it appeared in his letters: L.I.S., 54; CG1, 1-2; CG2, 234.

18.

Salon de 1846, CE, 162. The full text of these remarks on Vernet appears later on in this chapter.

19.

Salon de 1846: "Dans le sens le plus généralement adopté, Français

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veut dire vaudevilliste; et vaudevilliste un homme à qui Michel-Ange donne le vertige et que Delacroix remplit d'une stupeur bestiale, comme le tonnerre certains animaux. Tout ce qui est abîme, soit en haut, soit en bas, le fait fuir prudemment. Le sublime lui fait toujours l'effet d'une émeute, et il n'aborde même son Molière qu'en tremblant et parce qu'on lui a persuadé que c'était un auteur gai" (CE, 161-162).

20

A review of Prométhée délivré by L. de Senneville: "(...) c'est que la poésie d'un tableau doit être faite par le spectateur.

--Comme la philosophie d'un poème par le lecteur.-- Vous y êtes, c'est cela même.

--La poésie n'est donc pas une chose philosophique?

--Pauvre lecteur, comme vous prenez le mors aux dents, quand on vous met sur une pente!

La poésie est essentiellement philosophique; mais comme elle est avant tout fatale, elle doit être involontairement philosophique.

--Ainsi, la poésie philosophique est un genre faux? --Oui.

--Alors, pourquoi parler de M. Senneville?

--Parce que c'est un homme de quelque mérite" (OP1, 238).

21

This rather lengthy tirade against the military offers 3 interesting conclusions. First we can see how the young Baudelaire can not be made a disciple of de Maistre at least as concerns the sacredness of war and the soldier as was analyzed in our previous chapter. Second, Baudelaire's dislike of the military is seen as a possible reaction to his own prison term concerning military duty and shows that his reactions in 1848 did not happen without prior warning to the reader. Third, the anti-militarist tone of the Salut Public (see our chapter 2) is in keeping with the tone of this section from the Salon de 1846.

22

Marcel Ruff, Oeuvres Complètes, p. 204.

23

Le Musée, Bonne Nouvelle: "Nous avons entendu maintes fois de jeunes artistes se plaindre du bourgeois, et le représenter comme l'ennemi de toute chose grande et belle. -- Il y a là une idée fautive qu'il est temps de relever. Il est une chose mille fois plus dangereuse que le bourgeois, c'est l'artiste bourgeois, qui a été créé pour s'interposer entre le public et le génie; il les cache l'un à l'autre. Le bourgeois qui a peu de notions scientifiques va où le pousse la grande voix de

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l'artiste-bourgeois. -- Si on supprimait celui-ci, l'épicier porterait E. Delacroix en triomphe. L'épicier est une grande chose, un homme céleste qu'il faut respecter, homo bonae voluntatis. Ne le raillez point de vouloir sortir de sa sphère, et aspirer, l'excellente créature, aux régions hautes. Il veut être ému, il veut sentir, connaître, rêver comme il aime; il veut être complet; il vous demande tous les jours son morceau d'art et de poésie, et vous le volez. Il mangé du Cognac, et cela prouve que sa bonne volonté est grande comme l'infini. Servez-lui un chef d'œuvre, il le digérera et s'en portera que mieux (CE, 214-215)!

24

Emile Bouvier, La Bataille réaliste: 1844-1857, (Paris: Fontemoing, 1914), p. 42.

25

W.T. Bandy and Claude Pichois, Baudelaire devant ses contemporains (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1957). See Charles Toubin, pp. 24-25 and Lorédan Larchy, p. 33.

26

Review of the Épître à Chateaubriand (OPl, 241). In OPl, 563n, Jacques Crépet suggests the date of 1847 after a notation found in that year bearing the words La Tâche.

27

Review of Prométhée déliyré by B. de Senneville: " -- Harmonia ordonne aux anciens révélateurs: Manou, Zoroastre, Homère et Jésus-Christ, de venir rendre hommage au nouveau dieu de l'Univers; chacun expose sa doctrine, et Hercule et Prométhée se chargent tour à tour de leur démontrer que les dieux, quels qu'ils soient, raisonnent moins bien que l'homme, ou l'humanité en langue socialiste; si bien que Jésus-Christ lui-même, rentrant dans la nuit incréée, il ne reste plus à la nouvelle humanité que de chanter les louanges du nouveau régime, basé uniquement sur la science et la force. Total: 1'Athéisme" (OPl, 240).

28

S.A. Rhodes, The Cult of Beauty in Baudelaire (New York: Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1929), II, p. 384.

29

Rhodes, Cult of Beauty, II, pp. 384-385.

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30

Choix de Maximes consolantes sur l'amour: "Poètes tranquilles, --poètes objectifs, --nobles partisans de la méthode, --architectes du style, --politiques qui avez une tâche journalière à accomplir, --que l'amour vous soit un excitant, un breuvage fortifiant et tonique, et la gymnastique du plaisir un perpétuel encouragement vers l'action" (OP2, 4).

31

Choix de Maximes consolantes sur l'amour: "Il y en a qui en veulent à leurs maîtresse d'être prodiges. Ce sont les Fesse-Mathieu, ou des républicains qui ignorent les premiers principes d'économie politiques. Les vices d'une grande nation sont sa plus grande richesse" (OP2, 7).

32

Baudelaire's belief that too much freedom causes anarchy in art is also expressed in the following from the Salon de 1846: "Peu d'hommes ont le droit de régner, car peu d'hommes ont une grande passion.

Et comme aujourd'hui chacun veut régner, personne ne sait se gouverner" (CE, 194).

"Les singes sont les républicains de l'art, et l'état actuel de la peinture est le résultat d'une liberté anarchique qui glorifie l'individu, quelque faible qu'il soit, au détriment des associations, c'est-à-dire des écoles" (CE, 195).

33

Thierry Maulnier, "Cet Ardent Sanglot qui roule d'âge en âge", in Baudelaire (Paris: Hachette, 1961), p. 271.

34

César Graña, Bohemian versus Bourgeois. French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Basic Books, 1964), p. 71.

35

Maulnier, Baudelaire, pp. 271-272.

36

Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs: "Allumez autant d'intérêt avec des moyens nouveaux; possédez une force égale et supérieure dans un sens contraire; doublez, triplez, quadruplez la dose jusqu'à une égale

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concentration, et vous n'aurez plus le droit de médire du bourgeois, car le bourgeois sera avec vous. Jusqu'à là, voe victis! car rien n'est vrai que la force qui est la justice suprême" (AR, 269).

37

Ruff, Oeuvres Complètes, p. 202.

Chapter V

A FLIRTATION WITH ENGAGEMENT

1847-1855

The first five years of the period 1847-1855 represent a stage in Baudelaire's literary production both in terms of quantity¹ and in terms of what posterity has come to expect as Baudelairian quality. It is the great period of journalistic involvement, an involvement which is evident even in his creative works. Then, after this brief flirtation with the concept of a social mission in art, there is a quickening of his literary production and a noticeable shift in artistic emphasis as outlined by the remarks in the Exposition universelle de 1855.

Opening the period is the ephemeral tale La Fanfarlo,² the story of Samuel Cramer, a perfect young dandy, who agrees to seduce a popular dancer, La Fanfarlo, in order to take her away from the husband of the woman he really wants. It is La Fanfarlo however who does all the seducing. This tale is of triple importance for the Baudelaire scholar: first, it represents the closest Baudelaire ever comes to autobiography in his published creative and critical writings; second, it is the only prototype of the Baudelairian hero we possess such as he might have existed in the numerous plays and stories projected but never realized by the author; third, it foreshadows the path that the author and his work will follow only a year later. La Fanfarlo and its enigmatic Samuel Cramer represent indeed

a summary of much of Baudelaire's romanticism as already outlined in the first Salons and serve as a springboard by which we approach the period 1847-1851.

Speaking of the autobiographical importance of La Fanfarlo, Clément Borgal has recently stated that Baudelaire is one of the rare people who are the enemies of time and who are taught nothing by time.³ In support of this conclusion Borgal offers as evidence the fact that Baudelaire's life at age 25 was already present in La Fanfarlo and that this is but an episode in the chain of events which show him to be as naïf at age forty as he had been at age eighteen. Jean Pommier also comments on the fact that Baudelaire represents himself beneath the traits of Samuel Cramer. It is Pommier's opinion that Baudelaire in Cramer is the sum of all the books he had ever read and all the artists he had ever studied.⁴ Enid Starkie sees La Fanfarlo as an autobiographical portrait of Baudelaire's own love experiences.⁵

One of the first biographical notes of interest is the fact that Samuel Cramer is a living Romantic figure. He is portrayed first and foremost as a dreamer in a society that increasingly has no place for dreams. In this role he is the personification of the Baudelairian dandy -- anti-social by his very existence, not necessarily by his words or convictions.

Parmi tous ces demi-grands hommes que j'ai connus dans cette terrible vie parisienne, Samuel fut, plus que tout autre, l'homme des belles oeuvres ratées; --créature malade et fantastique, dont la poésie brille bien plus dans sa personne que dans ses oeuvres, et qui, vers une heure du matin, entre l'éblouissement d'un fer de charbon de terre et le tic-tac d'une horloge, m'est toujours apparu comme le dieu de l'impuissance, -- dieu moderne et hermaphrodite, -- impuissance si colossale et si énorme qu'elle en est épique (PA, 238)!

The most intriguing remark in the previous quotation is the statement concerning Samuel as a failure, a man of epic impotence, "l'homme des belles oeuvres râtées". From the beginning of La Fanfarlo the sensitive reader sees that Samuel Cramer is not really the portrait of the Romantic hero, but the parody. This must be taken into consideration if we wish to attach significant autobiographical importance to the story. The reader must be prepared to encounter a self-parody rather than a self-portrait. Samuel's pseudonym, Manuela de Monteverde, is the opening parody of the Romantic follies which he wrote "dans le bon temps du romantisme"⁶. Samuel is the parody of the dandy, a character which Baudelaire assures us is more present in modern life than we might imagine (PA, 239). He is portrayed as a comedian by temperament with a natural taste for the excessive and an immoderate taste for the truth (PA, 240). In many aspects this parody seems to represent better the image we hold of Musset than that which we have of Baudelaire.

"Madame, dit-il, les souffrances salutaires du souvenir ont leurs charmes, et, dans cet enivrement de la douleur, on trouve parfois un soulagement. -- A ce funèbre avertissement, toutes les âmes loyales s'écriaient: Seigneur, enlevez-moi d'ici avec mon rêve, intact et pur; je veux rendre à la nature ma passion avec toute sa virginité, et porter ailleurs ma couronne inflétrie (PA, 250).

The dandy, as Baudelaire portrays him in La Fanfarlo, is not however a hero to be admired. On the contrary he is a figure to be pitied. The rich M. de Cosmelly, whom Cramer wishes to return to his wife, has become bored with life. Cosmelly's dandyism is the exterior manifestation of a life which has lost any social or moral purpose.

Riche et sans profession, il sut se créer une foule d'occupations.

remuantes et frivoles qui remplissaient tout son temps; (...) car la vie anglaise, -- cette mort du coeur, -- la vie des clubs et des cercles, l'absorba tout entier. -- Le soin exclusif de sa personne et le dandysme qu'il affecta me choquèrent tout d'abord; (...) (PA, 257).

It is interesting to note that this exterior boredom even surprises Samuel whose own dandyism also solicits pity from the reader. Samuel's boredom however is of a more profound nature in that he is essentially bored with himself. While credulous and naif enough to believe in his own passions⁷ he has lost the ability to surprise himself.

L'abandon extrême, la liberté et la confiance de Mme de Cosmelly l'avaient prodigieusement enhardi, -- sans l'étonner. Samuel Cramer, qui a souvent étonné le monde, ne s'étonnait guère (PA, 260).

Baudelaire's dandy is more than a personal anachronism; he is also a social misfit. Samuel Cramer provides us with some of the most interesting observations on how Baudelaire viewed the dandy as a social being in the period immediately before the 1848 revolution. Samuel is, by his nature and his acts, a social misfit. Son of a blond German and a dark-skinned Chilean, even his exaggerated origins serve to show him as the symbol of the outcast halfbreed rejected by both the social and philosophic milieu that gave him birth. He is a man who accomplishes nothing because he believes too much in the impossible (PA, 240). Part of the reason that society rejects Baudelaire's Cramer is Cramer's own disinterest in society which he explains by showing us that the only difference between the poète absorbant and the travelling salesman, or wandering industrialist, is that the poet's passion is at least disinterested.⁸ Yet it is not only indifference that results in Cramer being

shunned by society; it is also his hostility. It is interesting to note that Cramer never blames society for this breakdown in communications, as would have done untold numbers of the previous Romantic generation; he blames the poet's own attitudes.

--Madame, plaignez-moi, ou plutôt plaignez-nous, car j'ai beaucoup de frères de ma sorte; c'est la haine de tous et de nous-mêmes qui nous a conduit vers ces mensonges. C'est pas désespoir de ne pouvoir être nobles et beaux suivant les moyens naturels que nous nous sommes si bizarrement fardé le visage. Nous nous sommes tellement appliqués à sophistiquer notre coeur, nous avons tant abusé du microscope pour étudier les hideuses excroissances et les honteuses verrues dont il est couvert, et que nous grossissons à plaisir, qu'il est impossible que nous parlions le langage des autres hommes. Ils vivent pour vivre, et nous, hélas! nous vivons pour savoir. Tout le mystère est là. L'âge ne change que la voix et n'abolit que les cheveux et les dents; nous avons altéré l'accent de la nature, nous avons extirpé une à une les pudeurs virginales dont était hérissé notre intérieur d'honnête homme. Nous avons psychologisé comme les fous, qui augmentent leur folie en s'efforçant de la comprendre. Les années n'infirmant que les membres, et nous avons déformé les passions. Malheur, trois fois malheur aux pères infirmes qui nous ont faits rachitiques et mal venus, prédestinés que nous sommes à n'enfanter que des mort-nés (PA, 247-248).

Birth alone and Providence are not enough however to explain the concept of the misfit. It is Samuel's own deliberate choice of aesthetic and philosophical allegiances that are ultimately responsible. Even here however the Cramerian dandy moves a further step yet toward complexity. Cramer's plight as a social outcast has come about because of his hatred of man, a hatred which begets hatred. Yet there is in Samuel a longing to transcend this force, a longing which is illustrated by his explanation that there is, indeed a science of loving one's fellow man and of finding him agreeable.

Comme il n'est pas de trahison qu'on ne pardonne, il n'est pas de faute dont on ne puisse se faire absoudre, pas d'oubli qu'on ne puisse

combler; il est une science d'aimer son prochain et de le trouver aimable, comme il est un savoir bien vivre. Plus un esprit est délicat, plus il découvre des beautés originales; plus une âme est tendre et ouverte à la divine espérance, plus elle trouve dans autrui, quelque souillé qu'il soit, de motifs d'amour; ceci est l'oeuvre de la charité (PA, 252)

Cramer's desire to love mankind however goes unknown by his fellows and he continues to be as rejected as his sonnets. The artist and the humanitarian has become the victim of his dandyish reputation; Cramer is incapable of escaping the reputation that his alter-ego has established; he is unable to free himself from Manuela de Monteverde. In this way he resembles those existential heroes condemned to suffer because the definition they hold of themselves does not correspond to the definition that les autres have of them.

The theme of humanitarian involvement is one already discernible in 1847. Standing on the threshold of 1848, Cramer can not overcome his Romantic image in order to indentify with certain causes which he feels to be a more noble source of art; his tragedy stems from his own awareness of the dilemma. Cramer the dandy, unlike his predecessors, is aware of his own role is setting himself apart, yet he is still weak enough to be incapable of self-change. Through La Fanfarlo therefore, Baudelaire has captured the spiritual tragedy that stems from, and contributes to dandyism. Cramer's dandyism is merely a front to cover up individual weaknesses which his own lucidity had led him to comprehend; he confronts the world from behind a mask, yet he is also a victim of the mask. Dandyism is seen therefore as a destructive as well as a defensive force, defensive in its ability to shield the artist from the more obvious social abrasion,

destructive in that it isolates him from society at the moment his own delicate nature impels him to seek out the nobility of his fellow man.

Du reste, comme il arrive aux hommes exceptionnels, il était seul dans son paradis, nul ne pouvant l'habiter avec lui, et si, de hasard, il l'y ravissait et l'y traînait presque de force, elle restait toujours en arrière: ainsi, dans le ciel il régnait, son amour commençait d'être triste et malade de la mélancolie du bleu, comme un royal solitaire (PA, 275).

That Cramer can be so easily identified with Baudelaire in so many aspects makes it all the more striking in revealing the author's own pending shift in emphasis. But it is only with hindsight that the full irony of the conclusion of La Fanfarlo becomes evident.

Pauvre chanteur des Orfraies! Pauvre Manuela de Monteverde! -- Il est tombé bien bas. -- J'ai appris récemment qu'il fondait un journal socialiste et voulait se mettre à la politique. -- Intelligence malhonnête comme dit cet honnête M. Nisard (PA, 279).

From the extravagant Manuela de Monteverde to the editor of a socialist newspaper and author of a possible book on economics,⁹ Cramer captures and prefigures ironically Baudelaire's own evolution. Lest we seize this occasion however to transform both Cramer and Baudelaire into utopian socialists like Fourier, or pragmatic socialists like Proudhon, we should examine carefully the note of pity evoked by the socialist Cramer as well as by that of Manuela de Monteverde. For Manuela the alter-ego, the role is absurd. But what of Samuel Cramer? The last paragraph of La Fanfarlo does not mention him and we are left to form our own conclusions concerning his happiness or frustration with the

new role. This new role prefigures ironically Baudelaire himself some thirteen months after La Fanfarlo was written. Because of this, the story stands out as one of the most valuable works of transition in all of Baudelaire's repertory.

In the period 1847-1852 the most outstanding work that illustrates Baudelaire's trend toward a greater social commitment is the 1851 article on Pierre Dupont.¹⁰ This article is one of the most direct political statements among Baudelaire's prose works yet because the entire 1848-1852 period represents a low water mark in most studies of the poet's philosophic and aesthetic development, the Pierre Dupont article is referred to lightly and often dismissed as little more than a meaningless contradiction of commonly accepted theories on Baudelaire's aesthetic development in the 1850's.¹¹ For those interested in Baudelaire's social ideas and their reflexion in his art however, the Pierre Dupont article is of great importance.

Under the influence of his own political and social involvement at the time, Baudelaire condemns both Romanticism and the theory "Art for Art" in the Dupont article. It is a criticism reminiscent of his parody of the disinterested Cramer and comes as no surprise to the reader who approaches Baudelaire in a methodical and chronological fashion.

La puérile utopie de l'école de l'art pour l'art, en excluant la morale, et souvent même la passion était nécessairement stérile. Elle se mettait en flagrante contravention avec le génie de l'humanité. (AR, 184).

Baudelaire here makes a direct appeal for a moral and a mission in art. It is moreover a call in direct lineage with the appeal for modernism

in both the 1845 and 1846 Salons. He continues:

(...), je préfère le poète qui se met en communication permanente avec les hommes de son temps, et échange avec eux des pensées et des sentiments traduits dans un noble langage suffisamment correct. Le poète, placé sur la circonférence de l'humanité, renvoie sur la même ligne en vibrations plus mélodieuses la pensée humaine qui lui fut transmise; (...) quand un poète, maladroit quelquefois, mais presque toujours grand, vint dans un langage enflammé proclamer la sainteté de l'insurrection de 1830 et chanter les misères de l'Angleterre et de l'Irlande, malgré ses rimes insuffisantes, malgré ses pléonasmes, malgré ses périodes non finies, la question fut vidée, et l'art fut désormais inséparable de la morale et de l'utilité (AR, 185).

While Baudelaire had already put forth his ideas on the need for both the modern and the eternal in art as early as the Salon de 1845, there is a sense of freshness in the article on Pierre Dupont which stems from a perceptible shift in emphasis rather than from any totally new or revolutionary development in his aesthetic vision. Baudelaire concentrates in the latter article on the temporal facet of art and gives greater identity to it by suggesting that contemporary society and even contemporary political events have a useful and vital rôle to play in art. In this changing emphasis there is an even stronger condemnation of Romantic individualistic isolation than anything stated or implied by Samuel Cramer.

Disparaissez donc, ombres fallacieuses de René, d'Obermann et de Werther; fuyez dans les brouillards du vide, monstrueuses créations de la paresse et de la solitude; comme les pourceaux dans le lac de Genezareth, allez vous replonger dans les forêts enchantées d'où vous tirèrent les fées ennemies, moutons attaqués du vertigo romantique. Le génie de l'action ne vous laisse plus de place parmi nous (AR, 195).

Yet it is the call for social and political engagement in the

Dupont article which surprises us the most. As part of this call there is a series of strong criticisms of the youth under Louis-Philippe who failed to commit themselves to any worthwhile social goals.

L'histoire de la jeunesse sous le règne de Louis-Philippe, est une histoire de lieux de débauche et de restaurants. (...) De temps en temps retentissait dans l'air un grand vacarme de discours semblables à ceux du Portique, et les échos de la Maison d'Or se mêlaient aux paradoxes innocents du palais-législatif (AR, 186).

Baudelaire's admiration extends to Pierre Dupont's songs at this time because Dupont has transcended the frivolity of the times and has written songs which are "un rappel à l'ordre" for an entire generation.¹²

Going beyond his appeal to capture the heroism of modern life in his first Salons, Baudelaire sees legitimate artistic value in Pierre Dupont's portrait of the social abuses that afflict a large portion of the population. In his article Baudelaire begins with a moderate yet firm criticism of wealth and the traditional bourgeois reverence for property.

La richesse peut être une garantie de savoir et de moralité, à la condition qu'elle soit bien acquise; mais quand la richesse est montrée comme le seul but final de tous les efforts de l'individu, l'enthousiasme, la charité, la philosophie, et tout ce qui fait le patrimoine commun dans un système éclectique et proprétariste, disparaît (AR, 186).

Even more striking than this guarded reproach of bourgeois capitalism is Baudelaire's identification with the cause of the poor as seen through his moving comments on Dupont's song, "Le Chant des ouvriers".

The poet's participation in the defence of a particular class is in studied contrast to his artistic detachment before the same theme as already discussed in our chapter IV. In his article on Pierre Dupont Baudelaire abandons objectivity to the wind and reaches out to encompass a very precise facet of the new modernism he has been advocating: the suffering working class.

Quand j'entends cet admirable cri de douleur et de mélancolie (le Chant des ouvriers, 1846), je fus ébloui et attendri. Il y avait tant d'années que nous attendions un peu de poésie forte et vraie! Il est impossible à quelque parti qu'on appartienne, de quelques préjugés qu'ont ait été nourri, de ne pas être touché du spectacle de cette multitude malade respirant la poussière des ateliers, avalant du coton, s'imprégnant de céruse, de mercure, et de tous les poisons nécessaires à la création des chefs d'oeuvres, dormant dans la vermine, au fond des quartiers où les vertus les plus humbles et les plus grandes nichent à côté des vices les plus endurcis et des vomissements du Sagne; de cette multitude soupirante et languissante à qui la terre doit ses merveilles; et qui sent un sang vermeil et impétueux couler dans ses veines, qui jette un long regard chargé de tristesse sur le soleil et l'ombre des grands parcs, et qui, pour suffisante consolation et réconfort, répète à tue-tête son refrain sauveur: Aimons-nous (AR, 190-191).

Even with such accurate identification and prominent emphasis given to certain precise social themes as the plight of the industrial poor, Baudelaire does not lose sight of the second great facet of art: the eternal. In his article on Pierre Dupont's songs this facet takes on a new definition as an "infinite taste for the Republic". And while Baudelaire's use of the word République may or may not contain a direct reference to the wasted ideals of the 2nd French Republic, there is certainly a universal extension given to the word in this article which allows it to embrace all mankind.

En un mot, quel est le grand secret de Dupont, et d'où vient cette sympathie qui l'enveloppe? Ce grand secret, je vais vous le dire, il est bien simple; il n'est ni dans l'acquis ni dans l'ingéniosité, ni dans la plus ou moins grande quantité de procédés que l'artiste a puisés dans le fonds commun du savoir humain, il est dans l'amour de la vertu et de l'humanité, et dans je ne sais quoi qui s'exhale incessamment de sa poésie, que j'appellerais volontiers le goût infini de la République. (AR, 194-195).

This infinite taste for the Republic completely transcends the era without bypassing it. The reference and the needs are modern yet they go beyond the confines of the moment and make the infinite taste for the Republic mean a love of virtue and humanity.

Why then do critics so frequently bypass the article on Pierre Dupont as if it had no real place in the development of Baudelaire's aesthetic vision? Is it because they have been schooled to minimize the aspect of Baudelairean social and political engagement to the extent that they never try to place the engagement in the broader context of what might be meant by an infinite taste for the Republic? Such a context shows that a respect for virtue and humanity is a theme in the 1845 and 1846 Salons with their appeal to capture the beauty and the heroism of modern man; it is shown in a love of virtue and humanity which is a goal which Samuel Cramer perceives, even though he fails to attain it. As we have already seen in chapter II, this love of virtue and humanity is also a facet of Baudelaire's political journalism between 1848 and 1852.

The article on Pierre Dupont therefore is by no means an intrusion or a momentary abnormality in the development of Baudelaire's thought. It is rather, a logical continuation of the themes of modernism and humanitarianism as will later get their great expression

a decade later in Les Tableaux parisiens and the prose poetry. The Pierre Dupont article's one unique feature is its concretization of the theme of humanitarianism into direct social and political terms. His admiration for Dupont is framed in such terms. In 1851 he sees in Dupont an individual of comforting philosophy, one who brings light to "tous ces horizons divers de la souffrance et du travail humain par une philosophie consolatrice" (AR, 191). He praises Dupont's optimism and his unlimited confidence in the native goodness of man,¹³ and credits this love of humanity as being the key to Dupont's greatness.

En définitive, quand on rélit attentivement ces chants politiques, on leur trouve une saveur particulière. Ils se tiennent bien, et ils sont unis entre eux par un lien commun, qui est l'amour de l'humanité (AR, 194).

In this love of humanity, Baudelaire reaches out beyond Dupont to Proudhon, one of France's great socialists, through a secret affinity.¹⁴ In the same year, 1851, writing in another article entitled Les Drames et les romans honnêtes, Baudelaire speaks of Proudhon as a French writer who will always be a source of envy for the rest of Europe.¹⁵ The question we must ask ourselves however is whether Baudelaire was thinking of Proudhon's precise ideas or whether he was merely showing a personal affinity between certain of Proudhon's ideas on the worker and what Baudelaire has already spoken of as his own sense of identification with the "goût infini de la République".

Writing about Proudhon, David Evans reminds us of an anecdote

in which Marx and Engels had attempted to gain Proudhon's support by asking him to join their association in 1846. Proudhon refused however on the grounds that Marx and his followers were too dogmatic and he warned Marx against following the example of his compatriot, Luther.¹⁶ Evans further describes Proudhon in terms that would surely not have offended Baudelaire:

In advocacy of justice Proudhon is uncompromising for he believed with a religious conviction that our purpose in life is not merely to make a living but to reproduce within us the Divine likeness and bring to pass on earth the Kingdom of the Spirit; to be men and rise above the contingencies of Fate. This is why he spent many years in exile or in prison, and why in the polite society of his day the very name Proudhon was anathema.¹⁷

A note in Delacroix's journal dated February 1849 also speaks of Baudelaire's great admiration for Proudhon whom he admires and who he feels to be the idol of the people. Baudelaire is reported to believe that Proudhon's ideas are modern and certainly within the stream of progress.¹⁸ There is certainly no espousal of Proudhon's socialist theories in the article on Pierre Dupont. There is however an identification of the two men on humanitarian grounds. The moving portrait of the working poor parallels certain of Proudhon's own assertions that the progress of misery has been more rapid than the progress of population.¹⁹

It is unfair to see a socialist Baudelaire in these parallels. The affinity between himself and Proudhon which surfaces in the article on Pierre Dupont is more spiritual than political. In his unabashed enthusiasm for certain causes however, we can see that Baudelaire has at least partly removed the mask of the indifferent dandy behind which

he and Samuel Cramer so often hid their real concerns. We have in effect glimpsed a vital aspect of his heart laid bare. The coup d'état and his own avowed depolitization will alter, yet never truly destroy, this new awareness. After the Dupont article the mask is again clamped on. The flirtation with engagement and social mission in art is altered as well. Yet they do not disappear any more than they suddenly began in 1848. They are certainly recycled and re-ordered in light of new priorities; they even undergo severe attacks by the poet himself; yet in the end they are merely gathering strength. The foundation of the new modernism as seen through the search for human dignity in a troubled and changing world has been laid.

By November 1851, Baudelaire's enthusiasm for social involvement was waning. In Les Drames et les romans honnêtes he returns to the attack on the bourgeois artist. This time Emile Augier is the victim and is described as "l'un des plus orgueilleux soutiens de l'honnêteté bourgeoise, l'un des chevaliers du 'bon sens'" (AR, 280). He outlines that Augier's error stems from the fact that by speaking the language of the people he assumes that he is speaking the language of virtue. Since virtue and humanity have been defined in the same year as "le goût infini de la République", it is only logical that Baudelaire should attack Augier or anyone else who tried to give any particular class a monopoly on virtue.

Despite his admiration for Dupont, Baudelaire transcends the beliefs of so many of his contemporaries who saw the working class as the sole repository of virtue. A similar rejection of Augier's bourgeois exclusiveness is also given.

Il est douloureux de noter que nous trouvons des erreurs semblables dans deux écoles opposées: l'école bourgeoise et l'école socialiste. Moralisons! moralisons! s'écrient toutes les deux avec une fièvre de missionnaires. Naturellement l'une prêche la morale bourgeoisé et l'autre la morale socialiste. Dès lors l'art n'est plus qu'une question de propagande (AR, 284).

Reacting strongly against the excessive social moralizing of certain authors, has already led Baudelaire to a growing emphasis on a renewed purity in art -- not as we might define it in Parnassian terms but in terms analogous with Pierre Dupont's infinite taste for the Republic. Yet no longer would he be prepared to accept inferior versification or faulty poetry just because the social message was pure. The following is one of his most intriguing statements on art from this period:

L'art est-il utile? Oui. Pourquoi? Parce qu'il est l'art. Y a-t-il un art pernicieux? Oui. C'est celui qui dérange les conditions de la vie. Le vice est séduisant, il faut le peindre séduisant; mais il traîne avec lui des maladies et des douleurs morales singulières; il faut les décrire. Etudiez toutes les plaies comme un médecin qui fait son service dans un hôpital, et l'école du bon sens, l'école exclusivement morale, ne trouvera plus où mordre. Le crime est-il toujours châtié, la vertu gratifiée? Non; mais cependant si votre roman, si votre drame est bien fait, il ne prendra envie à personne de violer les lois de la nature. La première condition nécessaire pour faire un art sain est la croyance à l'unité intégrale. Je défie qu'on me trouve un seul ouvrage d'imagination qui réussisse toutes les conditions du beau et qui soit un ouvrage pernicieux. (AR, 284).

Despite the call for art as a value in itself, Baudelaire also appears here as a champion of realism, a total realism moreover that goes far beyond the mere social observers who would claim the name of realist.

En effet il faut peindre les vices tels qu'ils sont, ou ne pas les voir. Et si le lecteur ne porte pas en lui un guide philosophique et religieux qui l'accompagne dans la lecture du livre, tant pis pour lui (AR, 285).

Les Drames et les romans honnêtes while strong in criticism of Augier's moralizing and "le sophisme socialistique" (AR, 285), presents us with a new social theme -- the role of society in shaping the artist. Society is shown as being responsible for the Ecole du bon sens. By its academies, prizes and decorations it encourages hypocrisy and freezes the spontaneous elan of the free heart. Baudelaire points out that when he sees a man accept a decoration from his sovereign it is as if he were proclaiming that he has done his duty and would never do it again if the fact were not publicly recognized. He concludes by stating that the government has no place in literature.

De quoi diable se mêle M. le ministre? Veut-il créer l'hypocrisie pour avoir le plaisir de la récompenser? Maintenant le boulevard va devenir un prêche perpétuel. Quand un auteur aura quelques termes de loyer à payer il fera une pièce honnête; s'il a beaucoup de dettes, une pièce angélique. Belle institution.²⁰

Two months later in the work L'Ecole païenne (January, 1852) Baudelaire illustrates that his new emphasis, while different as concerns the value of the art form, has changed little as concerns the theme of art. The initial quarrel of L'Ecole païenne is with Henry Heine and "sa littérature nourrie de sentimentalisme matérialiste" (AR, 291). In terms that evoke the search for virtue and humanity in Dupont's work he is incensed by Heine's superiority in magnanimously

deciding not to write critically of a particular priest to whom Baudelaire refers as "l'homme humanité" (AR, 291). The word l'homme-humanité is an indication of a continued identification with his 1848 ideas but shows an evolution away from seeing his fellow man as a collectivity. While the theme of the collectivity is still there, the individual is again emerging as a vital force. This could certainly not be interpreted as a renaissance of the solitary hero seeing as it has never been a part of Baudelaire's great admirations. In l'Ecole païenne there is still plenty of bitterness piled on those men who live removed from their society. Such criticism is in perfect harmony with the history of Baudelaire's admiration for those who know how to extract beauty from modern life.

La ville est sens dessus dessous. Les boutiques se ferment. Les femmes font à la hâte leurs provisions, les rues se dépavent, tous les cœurs sont serrés par l'angoisse d'un grand événement. Le pavé sera prochainement inondé de sang. -- Vous rencontrez un animal plein de béatitude; il a sous les bras des bouquins étranges et hiéroglyphiques. -- Et vous, lui dites-vous, quel parti prenez-vous? -- Mon cher, répond-il d'une voix douce, je viens de découvrir de nouveaux renseignements très curieux sur le mariage d'Isis et d'Osiris. -- Que le diable nous emporte! Qu'Isis et Osiris fassent beaucoup d'enfants et qu'ils nous f... la paix (AR, 292-293)!

The above statement and his spirited defence of Daumier's attacks on the Greeks and the Romans in his book l'Histoire ancienne serve to show that Baudelaire has not yet abandoned the idea that the artist, his art, and the critic must be relevant within the society and times that they share since "s'enivrer exclusivement des séductions de l'art physique c'est créer des grandes chances de perdition" (AR, 294). With the same passion with which he had criticized socialist and bourgeois

moralizing in literature he also criticizes the cult of pure beauty reminding us that "la spécialisation excessive d'une faculté aboutit au néant" (AR, 296).

To illustrate the excesses that a pure art movement can have he uses the very social example in l'Ecole païenne of a man who has just found a counterfeit coin and who plans on giving it to the first beggar he encounters.²¹ Such a man receives pleasure from having robbed the poor while at the same time retaining his reputation as an honest citizen. Another character asks why the poor don't wear gloves to beg; yet another urges a friend not to give to a particular beggar because his clothes don't suit him. Baudelaire sees here anecdotes of a society devoted to pure beauty to the exclusion of emotion and understanding (AR, 297). L'Ecole païenne ends with a new call to a higher mission in art than merely art itself.

Il faut que la littérature aille retremper ses forces dans une atmosphère meilleure. Le temps n'est pas loin où l'on comprendra que toute littérature qui se refuse à marcher fraternellement entre la science et la philosophie est une littérature homicide et suicide (AR, 297).

We must not therefore assume too quickly that Baudelaire has abandoned any idea of engagement in art. Such engagement however moves further and further away from the socialist camp of Dupont and Proudhon. Shortly after the publication of l'Ecole païenne, Baudelaire makes plans for a series of articles for Le Hibou Philosophique.²² He plans on doing a review of Joseph de Maistre's Lettres et mélanges, criticizes Eugène Sue, and plans to avoid tendencies described as "allusions visiblement socialistiques, et visiblement courtisanesques" (OP1, 209-211).

The humanitarian engagement spoken of in the last three major articles finds its most noble expression in the 1851 essay, Du Vin et du Hachish. Baudelairian scholars owe much to Marcel Ruff²³ for having annulled the sterile marriage known as the Paradis Artificiels, celebrated posthumously in 1869. In his sensitive edition of Baudelaire's complete works he restores Du Vin et du Hachish to its proper chronological position. Surely it is in the light of the search for virtue and humanity that many of the references in Du Vin et du Hachish find their true significance. Ruff accurately points out that Baudelaire's judgement on those who take excitants is not the same in both sections (Ruff, 303); he also shows that Baudelaire's judgement is the product of the time in which he wrote it and that social considerations play a very important role in Du Vin et du Hachish. Summing up the essay, Ruff sees that Baudelaire sings the benefits of wine through a sympathy for the worker who has the greatest right to drink it. Wine is praised because it makes man sociable. Haschich is condemned because it makes man anti-social. It is certainly one of Baudelaire's strongest statements on anti-social behaviour.

The first reference in Du Vin et du Hachish of a social interest is one made in the form of an appeal to modern humanity.²⁴ Yet it is a modern humanity trapped in a hostile world where wine increases sociability because it increases fraternalism.

"Homme, mon bien-aimé, je veux pousser vers toi, (...) un chant plein de fraternité, un chant plein de joie, de lumière et d'espérance (...); car j'éprouve une joie extraordinaire quand je tombe au fond d'un gosier altéré par le travail" (PA, 204).

Wine is presented as a force which can transform reality and one which is a particular consolation to society's outcasts:

"J'allumerai les yeux de la vieille femme, la vieille compagne de tes chagrins journaliers et de tes plus vieilles espérances. J'attendrirai son regard et je mettrai au fond de sa prunelle l'éclair de sa jeunesse. Et ton cher petit, tout pâlot, ce pauvre petit ânon attelé à la même fatigue que le limonier, je lui rendrai les belles couleurs de son berceau, et je serai pour ce nouvel athlète de la vie l'huile qui rafermissait les muscles des anciens lutteurs."

(...) Notre intime réunion créera la poésie. A nous deux nous ferons un Dieu, et nous voltigerons vers l'infini, comme les oiseaux, les papillons, les fils de la Vierge, les parfums et toutes les choses allées (PA, 205).

The theme of evasion brought on by an overwhelming sense of ennui is both a Romantic and a later Baudelairean theme. In Du Vin et du Haschich the source of the need for evasion is given concrete social form -- a world that oppresses a class composed of mysterious beings rejected by the great city, burdened by professions with no joy, by fatigue without rest, and by pain without compensation. And in this great portrait of the futile existence of the industrial urban poor, wine becomes the only evasion possible; through its saving grace

"La misère et le vice ont disparu de l'humanité" (PA, 207).

Il y a sur la boule terrestre une foule innombrable, inconnue, dont le sommeil n'endormirait pas suffisamment les souffrances. Le vin compose pour eux des chants et des poèmes (PA, 207).

The study on haschich which forms the second part of the essay presents us with criticism in much the same way that the section on wine was filled with praise. Haschich is seen as an anti-social force in that it is evasion for evasion's sake, unlike wine which was the

comfort of the poor. In haschich Baudelaire sees a fatal attack on the individual's will power, exaggerating the importance and giving a heightened awareness of surroundings (PA, 218). Haschich is condemned because it divorces one from the material world so that the subject finds himself so far above matter that he wishes only to continue living in the depths of his own intellectual paradise.²⁵ One hears again the echo of the anecdote about the scholar with his new detail on Isis as the revolution swirls around him. Beyond this we can refer back to other attacks on perverted isolationism. Placed in the context of his writings of the period it is not difficult to see that wine is praised because it gives a vast class its one chance at perceiving "le goût infini de la République". Haschich is condemned because it performs neither social nor humanitarian service, producing little else than artistic aimlessness which we might define as a spiritless infinite taste for the infinite.

Enfin le vin est pour le peuple qui travaille et qui mérite d'en boire. Le haschich appartient à la classe des joies solitaires, il est fait pour les misérables oisifs. Le vin est utile, il produit des résultats fructifiants. Le haschich est inutile et dangereux. (PA, 232).

If the period 1848-1852 is marked by great events, the period 1852-1855 is marked by the luminous presence of one man: Edgar Allan Poe, the great American poet to whom Baudelaire would dedicate more than a decade of effort. As early as 1848 in a note accompanying his first translation of Poe there is portrayed an initial attraction to a long list of great writers and Poe is on this list along with Balzac, Diderot, Hoffmann, Goethe, Jean-Paul and Maturin (HE, 437). In 1848

Baudelaire speaks of his admiration for Poe in terms of the American author's ability to reveal himself and the dandy's love of surprise.

Tous ces gens, avec une volonté et une bonne foi infatigables, décalquent la nature, la pure nature. -- Laquelle? -- La leur. (...) J'ai dit qu'ils étaient étonnants. Je dis plus: c'est qu'ils visent généralement à l'étonnant. (HE, 457n).

It is through the articles on Edgar Allan Poe after 1852 that we detect a return to certain priorities that Baudelaire had assigned to art before his period of direct social and political involvement. Combined however with certain aspects that he has retained from these years, a new and evolving social outlook begins to manifest itself before the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal in 1857.

In Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages published in April, 1852²⁶ there is a return to the social outcast themes that characterized Samuel Cramer. Baudelaire speaks of the existence of destinées fatales and of individuals of whom it can be said: "La société les frappe d'un anathème spécial et argue contre eux des vices que sa persécution leur a donnés" (OP1, 246). He mentions Balzac and Hoffmann as two other artists who have had to struggle against a hostile milieu and he asks the basic question as to whether the artist can find happiness under any regime.

Alfred de Vigny a écrit un livre pour démontrer que la place du poète n'est ni dans la république, ni dans une monarchie absolue, ni dans une monarchie constitutionnelle; et personne ne lui a répondu. (OP1, 247)²⁷

Unlike his admiration for Dupont, he admires in Poe a man who abuses

the "I" with cynical monotony (OP1, 286). The artist is seen as one who is often incapable of showing his best face to others (OP1, 263). Poetry, while it may have an individual mission should not set any particular goals as its prime objective. Certainly one of Baudelaire's reasons for his renewed fervour for Poe is the latter's rejection of the utilitarian school of poetry.

Il y a, depuis longtemps déjà aux Etats-Unis, un mouvement utilitaire qui veut entraîner la poésie comme le reste. Il y a là des poètes humanitaires, des poètes du suffrage universel, des poètes abolitionnistes, des lois sur les céréales, et des poètes qui veulent faire bâtir des workhouses (...). Dans ses lectures, Poe leur déclara la guerre. Il ne soutenait pas, comme certains sectaires fanatiques inspirés de Goethe et autres poètes marmoréens et anti-humains, que toute belle chose est essentiellement inutile; mais il se proposait surtout pour objet la réfutation de ce qu'il appelait spirituellement la grande hérésie poétique des temps modernes. Cette hérésie, c'est l'utilité directe. (...) Que la poésie soit subseqüemment et conséquemment utile, cela est hors de doute, mais ce n'est pas son but; cela vient par dessus le marché! (...) Les écrivains profonds ne sont pas orateurs, et c'est bien heureux (OP1, 262-263).

It is not surprising to see the word anti-humain used to describe those poets who see beauty as automatically and socially useless. Was it not the very pro-human quality of Dupont's songs that had attracted him? In many ways there is a similarity of attraction in the Pierre Dupont article and the first major article on Poe in 1852. Certainly the two men have little in common as relates to artistic method, yet each in his own way is intent on glorifying humanity. Nevertheless, while Dupont integrated himself into society, Poe represented a superior force which allowed him to survive spiritually in spite of a hostile society's assaults. Through a tangled web of stereotypes, Baudelaire uses American society to represent

his own world as it was evolving in France after the fall of the Second Republic. He portrays this American society as the prototype of the egalitarian and democratic society which is the enemy of art because it is naturally suspicious of power and greatness. In such a society all great men are eventually dragged back into the melting pot. He affirms that Americans are too fervent democrats to resist hating their great men (OPl, 258) and that democracy and the tyranny of public opinion²⁸ have made the society in which any gifted man lives into a cage where an atmosphere of antipathy reigns between the artist and his milieu.²⁹ Mutual hostility of this nature between the artist and society leads to a total breakdown of communications between the two. Whereas this breakdown resulted in more or less indifference in the portrait of Samuel Cramer, in the case of Poe its consequences were tragic as it set up a vicious circle of reprisal and counter-reprisal.

Jamais homme ne s'affranchit plus complètement des règles de la société, s'inquiète moins des passants et pourquoi, certains jours, on le recevait dans les cafés de bas-étages, et pourquoi on lui refusait l'entrée des endroits où boivent les honnêtes gens. Jamais aucune société n'a absous ces choses-là, encore moins une société anglaise ou américaine (OPl, 271).

In 1854, Baudelaire expanded and totally reworked his entire introduction to Edgar Poe, sa vie et ses oeuvres. The expanded version portrays the United States as the symbol of progress, democracy and bourgeois economics -- a triple death for art which must depend on the forces of the spirit. It is a society given over to a belief in progress and the unalienable rights of public opinion.

Impitoyable dictature que celle de l'opinion dans les sociétés démocratiques; n'implorez d'elle ni charité, ni indulgence, ni élasticité quelconque dans l'application de ses lois. On dirait que de l'amour impie de la liberté est née une tyrannie nouvelle, la tyrannie des bêtes, ou zootocratie, qui par son insensibilité féroce ressemble à l'idole de Jaggernaut (HE, ix).

In 1854, Poe is presented as the answer to the rhetorical question about who would respond to Vigny's Stello. Poe has become for Baudelaire the symbol of a man who has neither country nor society since both have so totally rejected him. Such a man he feels, would only feel at home in an amoral world. The 1854 attacks on society however take a different turn from those in the first version of 1852. As if no longer content merely to identify the evils of society such as they are, by 1854 he has returned to a method of defence against them. This time his call for a new aristocracy goes even beyond the portrait of the dandy in the 1840's. Baudelaire first singles out Poe's nostalgia for an aristocratic society:

Poe qui était de bonne souche, et qui d'ailleurs professait que le grand malheur de son pays était de n'avoir pas d'aristocratie de race; attendu, disait-il, que chez un peuple sans aristocratie le culte du Beau ne peut que se corrompre, s'amoinrir et disparaître; -- qui accusait chez ses concitoyens, jusque dans leur luxe emphatique et coûteux, tous les symptômes du mauvais goût caractéristique des parvenus; -- qui considérait le Progrès, la grande idée moderne, comme une extase de gobe-mouches, et qui appelait les perfectionnements de l'habitable humain des cicatrices et des abominations rectangulières, -- Poe était là-bas un cerveau singulièrement solitaire. Il ne croyait qu'à l'immuable, à l'éternel, au self-same, et il jouissait -- cruel -- privilège dans une société amoureuse d'elle-même (HE, x-xi)!

Poe has therefore become a symbol for Baudelaire's own desire to retreat to the security of the mask and to rekindle life in the dandy which he had almost killed completely during the period of social and

political involvement. Whereas in 1851 he admired Dupont because his work was profoundly human, in 1854 he admires Poe's work because it is "extra, supra-humain" (HE, xv). It is a view strengthened by his belief that Poe has somehow rejected the materialism of his age. Poe becomes increasingly identified with those who combat the mediocrity of the times by an aristocratic disdain, who strike out against l'inévitable morale bourgeoise (HE, vii). Yet Baudelaire has not yet come all the way in this belief. There is a tendency to want to speed up the process by juxtaposing certain ideas taken from the Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe published in 1859.³⁰ This however would falsify the message of 1854 where despite the growing attraction for the aristocratic disdain of the superior being, there is still a residual belief that the artist is essentially the author of his own torment. Speaking of society's control over the individual, Baudelaire adds a new right to the citizens repertory: escape.

Parmi l'énumération nombreuse des droits de l'homme que la sagesse du XIXème siècle a recommencée si souvent et si complaisamment, deux assez importants ont été oubliées, qui sont le droit de se contredire et le droit de s'en aller. Mais la société regarde celui qui s'en va comme un insolent; elle châtierait volontiers certaines dépouilles funèbres, comme ce malheureux soldat, atteint de vampirisme, que la vue d'un cadavre exaspérait jusqu'à la fureur (HE, xviii).

Baudelaire is also willing to attribute Poe's drinking problem to the social pressures on him.

Il est d'ailleurs facile de supposer qu'un homme aussi réellement solitaire, aussi profondément malheureux, et qui a pu souvent envisager tout le système social comme un paradoxe et une imposture, un homme qui harcelé par une destinée sans pitié, répétait souvent que la société n'est qu'une cohue de misérables (HE, xxv-xxvi).

The single most binding tie that holds the 1854 article on Poe to an established Baudelairian tradition concerning the self-inflicted isolation of the hero is in the following:

D'ailleurs la société n'aime pas ses enragés malheureux, et, soit qu'ils troublent ses fêtes, soit qu'elle les considère naïvement comme des remords, elle a incontestablement raison (HE, xvii-xviii).

Much like Cramer, there is the realization that a deliberate aloofness to society brings social censure, but a similar realization that in the end society is probably right. This does not diminish in any way the poet's admiration for Poe or for the superior hero. It does however make a significant social statement on the part of Baudelaire concerning the artist and society and where ultimate blame and ultimate morality lie.

It must be seen however that at the same time as he is preparing his statements on Poe, he is publishing the first edition of La Morale du Joujou,³¹ whose second edition plays such a key role in the prose poetry of later years. Published in 1853, thus immediately between the two versions on Poe's life, it tends to moderate certain of the excesses we may wish to attribute to Baudelaire.

In La Morale du Joujou there is definitely a social message which is quite different from the later prose poem. The chief difference between the two is the objective way in which the 1853 version analyzes the contrast between poverty and wealth. One must also recognize that this contrast is not the chief purpose of the article but only the means of highlighting the real point: an attack on the theme of progress through the image of scientific toys. Both the rich

child and the poor child with his live rat are subordinated to the image of the joujou scientifique. Here, Baudelaire takes a decided step backward from the enthusiastic involvement with Pierre Dupont's characters. Social reality is omnipresent in the contrast of class in La Morale du joujou, but its treatment is one more piece of evidence to show how Baudelaire is retreating behind the mask of objectivity. Increasingly he reaches the reader as a social observer whereas earlier we had felt we were faced with a participant.

By 1855 and the Exposition universelle de 1855 Baudelaire's retreat from social reality, social mission and social influence in art has reached its furthest point away from the period of engagement. Now he speaks almost exclusively of the eternal aspects of art, of the universality of creation and of how art is the plastic representation of this universality (CE, 220). Full emphasis is now given to "cette grâce divine du cosmopolitisme" (CE, 220). In the same way that he had at one time rejected all social systems in art, he now takes the ultimate step and rejects all systems.³² By rejecting systems however he in no way relaxes his attack on the forces of contemporary philosophy that threaten to invade art with the concept of straight lines (CE, 250). Progress is described by the outstanding metaphor of a lamp that casts no light, only shadows (CE, 226-227). The Exposition also sharply criticizes the century where banalities rule and where one feels superior to the Romans and the Greeks. In this unexpected praise for the ancients, the Exposition seems to give a severe set-back to the theory of modernism that has characterized so much of Baudelaire's work so far. Both Ingres and Courbet are criticized for having sacrificed imagination to too much attention to

contemporary detail.

Art has therefore retreated from the modern social arena for Baudelaire in 1855. The solitary hero at last finds unqualified justification for the first time in his creative prose writings.

L'artiste ne relève que de lui-même. Il ne promet aux siècles à venir que ses propres oeuvres. Il ne cautionne que lui-même. Il meurt sans enfants. Il a été son roi, son prêtre et son Dieu. (CE, 229).

The Exposition universelle de 1855 closes one period of Baudelaire's literary history and opens another. Yet in many ways it stands alone isolated from much of the message of human dignity, virtue, and humanity that have characterized all the other works studied so far. Few have summed up the whole period better than Marcel Ruff in his edition of Baudelaire's complete works.

A vrai dire le mot politique ne doit pas être pris au sens étroit. Certes Baudelaire est bien informé de la situation et même des problèmes économiques et sociaux, mais la foi qui le soulève est plus spirituelle, ou philosophique si l'on préfère, que politique.³³

Ruff however goes on to state that he sees the period as essentially a change from the true Baudelaire, the habitually cynical Baudelaire. Where however does this image of the cynical Baudelaire come from? Certainly it would be difficult to find substantial proof of this in the great prose works that precede 1855. Beginning with the 1845 Salon, right through the second version of Edgar Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages, Baudelaire's tone has always been moral -- sometimes detached, sometimes impassioned, but always moral.

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1 The works (excluding poetry) from this period to be used are: La Fanfarlo (1847), Pierre Dupont (1851); Les Drames et les romans honnêtes (1851), l'École païenne (1852), Du Vin et du Haschich (1851), Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages, 1ère version (1852), La Morale du joujou (1853), Edgar Allan Poe (...) 2ème version (1854), l'Exposition universelle de 1855 (1855), De l'essence du rire(...) (1855).

2 La Fanfarlo appeared in January 1847 in the Bulletin de la Société des gens de lettres. There then follows a four year break in Baudelaire's publications -- a break during which time the great efforts at journalism take place.

3 Clément Borgal, Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1967), p. 21.

4 Jean Pommier, Dans les Chemins de Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1945), p. 7.

5 Enid Starkie, Baudelaire (London: Faber & Faber, 1957), p. 93.

6 The parody is also found in Samuel's exaggerated origins: "Samuel Cramer, qui signa du nom de Manuela de Monteverde quelques folies romantiques, -- dans le bon temps du Romantisme, -- est le produit contradictoire d'un blême Allemand et d'une brune Chilienne. Ajoutez à cette double origine une éducation française et une civilisation littéraire, vous serez moins surpris, -- sinon satisfait et édifié, -- des complications bizarres de ce caractère" (PA, 237).

7 "Cette portion du public qui est essentiellement pusillanime ne comprendra guère le personnage de Samuel, qui était essentiellement crédule et imaginatif, au point qu'il croyait, -- comme poète, à son public, -- comme homme, à ses propres passions" (PA, 261).

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"--Il n'y a entre les commis voyageurs, les industriels errants, les allumeurs d'affaires en commandite et les poètes absorbants, que la différence de la réclame à la prédication; le vice de ces derniers est tout à fait désintéressé" (PA, 245).

9

La *Fanfarlo* (PA, 279). Baudelaire omits giving Samuel's 4th book a title. He states however that it is filled with verve and curiosity and carries Virgil's motto (Aenid III, 57) *Auri sacra fames*, which Marcel Ruff (*Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 287) has translated as "la faim exécrable de l'or". Since economic treatises were extremely fashionable at this time we have allowed ourselves the speculation that this may be the nature of Samuel's mysterious 4th book.

10

Baudelaire's article appeared in the 20th printing of Pierre Dupont's *Chants et Chansons*.

11

H.A. Needham, *Le Développement de l'esthétique sociologique en France et en Angleterre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1926), p. 103. Mr Needham is obliged to negate any real importance to the Dupont article in order to defend his general thesis that "Pour Baudelaire, l'art est amoral; il peut être utile ou pernicieux à la morale".

12

There is a profound belief here that art can be a determining force in the shaping of history. "Rappelons-nous les dernières années de la monarchie. Qu'il serait curieux de raconter dans un livre impartial les sentiments, les doctrines, la vie extérieure, la vie intime, les modes et les mœurs de la jeunesse sous le règne de Louis-Philippe! L'esprit seul était surexcité, le cœur n'avait aucune part dans le mouvement, et la fameuse parole: *enrichissez-vous*, légitime et vraie en tant qu'elle implique la moralité, la niait par ce seul fait qu'elle ne l'affirmait pas. (...)

Pendant quelques chants purs et frais commençaient à circuler dans des concerts et dans des sociétés particulières. C'était comme un rappel à l'ordre et une invitation de la nature; et les esprits les plus corrompus les accueillaient comme un rafraîchissement, comme une oasis. Quelques pastorales (*les Paysans*) venaient de paraître, et déjà les pianos bourgeois les répétaient avec une joie étourdie (AR, 186).

We will remember how Baudelaire has asked the artist to write

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uplifting material for the bourgeois. In his article on Dupont it would appear particularly in the above last few sentences that Dupont is praised for having done just that.

13

"L'optimisme de Dupont, sa confiance illimitée dans la bonté native de l'homme, son amour fanatique de la nature, font la plus grande partie de son talent" (AR, 192).

Here indeed is a point in isolation. It is one of the rare moments that Baudelaire himself seems to be attracted to a belief in the basic goodness of man. And while many aspects of the Dupont attraction are continued over to later works, this Rousseauistic belief is abandoned here. In future Baudelairian humanitarianism will be sketched against the background of man's essentially corrupted nature.

14

"Quand je parcours l'oeuvre de Dupont, je sens toujours revêir dans ma mémoire, sans doute à cause de quelque secrète affinité, ce sublime mouvement de Proudhon, plein de tendresse et d'enthousiasme: il entend fredonner la chanson lyonnaise,

Allons, du courage,
Braves officiers!
Du coeur à l'ouvrage!
Soyons les premiers.

et il s'écrie:

"Allez donc au travail en chantant, race prédestinée, votre refrain est plus beau que celui de Rouget de Lisle". (Avertissement aux propriétaires) (AR, 196).

15

Les Dramés et les romans honnêtes: "Proudhon est un écrivain que l'Europe nous enviera toujours. Victor Hugo a bien fait quelques belles strophes, et je ne vois pas que le savant M. Viollet-le-Duc, soit un architecte ridicule" (AR, 283).

16

D.O. Evans, Social Romanticism in France, 1830-1848 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. 61.

17

Evans, Social Romanticism, p. 62.

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18

Quoted by Jacques Crépet, "Baudelaire et Delacroix," preface to an edition of *La Vie et l'oeuvre d'Eugène Delacroix* by Charles Baudelaire (Paris: René Kieffer, 1928), p. vi.

19

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, "Philosophie de la misère," in *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Garnier, 1850), IV, p. 171.

20

We must remind ourselves again of Baudelaire's own varying approaches to the question of society regarding the artist. In Chapter III we traced his own aspirations for the Legion of Honour and how when he was refused he returned to attack it (II, 53) in terms which we can now see to be almost identical to those written as early as the 1851 article.

21

This same theme is later developed in the prose poem, "*La Fausse Monnaie*".

22

An excellent summary of these projected articles is given by Marcel Ruff, *Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 302n.

23

Marcel Ruff, *Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 27; p. 303.

24

Du Vin et du haschich: "Si une nouvelle édition de ce faux chef d'oeuvre ose affronter le bon sens de l'humanité moderne, buveurs mélancoliques, buveurs joyeux, vous tous qui cherchez dans le vin le souvenir ou l'oubli, (...)" (PA, 201).

25

Du Vin et du haschich: "On se trouve tellement au-dessus des faits matériels qu'on préférerait certainement rester couché tout de son long au fond de son paradis intellectuel" (PA, 225).

26

W.T. Bandy, "New Light on Baudelaire and Poe", *Yale French Studies*.

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10 (1952), 65-69. Mr. Bandy shows that Baudelaire translated word for word some 25 pages from John M. Daniel's review in the Southern Literary Messenger, March 1850.

27

The reference is to Vigny's Stello.

28

Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages: "Et si, le coeur déjà ému à cette annonce d'une existence calamiteuse, vous lui faites observer que la démocratie a bien des inconvénients, que malgré son masque bienveillant de liberté, elle ne permet pas toujours l'expansion des individualités, qu'il est souvent bien difficile de penser et d'écrire dans un pays où il y a vingt, trente millions de souverains, que d'ailleurs vous avez entendu dire qu'aux Etats-Unis il existait une tyrannie bien plus cruelle et plus inexorable que celle d'un monarque, celle de l'opinion, -- alors, oh! alors, vous verrez ses yeux s'écarquiller et jeter des éclairs, la bave du patriotisme blessé lui monter aux lèvres, et l'Amérique, par sa bouche, lancera des injures à la métaphysique et à l'Europe, sa vieille mère" (OPI, 249).

29

Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages: "C'est une lamentable tragédie que la vie d'Edgar Poe, et qui eut un dénouement dont l'horrible est augmenté par le trivial. Les divers documents que je viens de lire ont créé en moi cette persuasion que les Etats-Unis furent pour Poe une vaste cage, un grand établissement de comptabilité, et qu'il fit toute sa vie de sinistres efforts pour échapper à l'influence de cette atmosphère antipathique" (OPI, 248).

30

The Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe was part of the preface to Nouvelles Histoires extraordinaires which went on sale at the beginning of March 1859. The following quotations which show Baudelaire's dislike for democracy and his admiration for the theme of aristocracy are an extension of his 1854 remarks. They are thus much stronger yet at the same time they are also in contrast (as we shall see in our chapter VIII) with works from 1859 like the Salon de 1859 and Le Peintre de la vie moderne.

"Du sein d'un monde goulu, affamé de matérialités, Poe s'est élancé dans les rêves" (NHE, vii).

"Car il ne fut jamais dupe! -- Je ne crois pas que le Virginien qui a tranquillement écrit en plein débordement démocratique: "Le peuple n'a

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rien à faire avec les lois, si ce n'est de leur obéir", ait jamais été une victime de la sagesse moderne -- et: "Le nez d'une populace, c'est son imagination; c'est par ce nez qu'on pourra toujours facilement le conduire"; (...) (NHE, viii).

"Aristocratie de nature encore plus que de naissance". (NHE, viii).

"C'est lui qui a dit, à propos du socialisme, à l'époque où celui-ci n'avait pas encore un nom, où ce nom du moins n'était pas tout à fait vulgarisé: "Le monde est infesté actuellement par une nouvelle secte de philosophes, qui ne sont pas encore reconnus comme formant une secte, et qui conséquemment n'ont pas adopté de nom. Ce sont les croyants à toute vieillerie (comme qui dirait: prédicateurs en vieux). Le grand prêtre dans l'Est est Charles Fourier, -- dans l'Ouest, Horace Greely; et grands prêtres ils sont à bon escient. Le seul lieu commun parmi la secte est la crédulité; -- appelons cela démence, et n'en parlons plus" (NHE, xi).

"Un pareil milieu, -- je l'ai déjà dit, je ne puis résister au desir de le répéter, -- n'est guère fait pour les poètes. Ce qu'un esprit français, supposez le plus démocratique, entend par un Etat ne trouverait pas de place dans un esprit américain. Pour toute intelligence du vieux monde, un Etat politique a un centre de mouvement qui est son cerveau et son soleil, des souvenirs anciens et glorieux, de longues annales poétiques et militaires, une aristocratie, à qui la pauvreté, fille des révolutions, ne peut qu'ajouter un lustre paradoxal; mais cela! cette cohue de vendeurs et d'acheteurs, ce sans-nom, ce monstre sans tête, ce dépôt derrière l'Océan, un Etat! -- je le veux bien, si un vaste cabaret, où le consommateur afflue et traite d'affaires sur des tables souillées, au tintamarre des vilains propos, peut être assimilé à un salon, à ce que nous appelions jadis un salon, république de l'esprit présidée par la beauté" (NHE, xiii).

"Un semblable milieu social engendre nécessairement des erreurs littéraires correspondantes. C'est contre ces erreurs que Poe a réagi aussi souvent qu'il a pu, et de toute sa force. Nous ne devons donc pas nous étonner que les écrivains américains, tout en reconnaissant sa puissance singulière comme poète et comme conteur, aient toujours voulu infirmer sa valeur comme critique. Dans un pays où l'idée d'utilité, la plus hostile du monde à l'idée de beauté, prime et domine toute chose, le parfait critique sera le plus honorable, c'est-à-dire celui dont les tendances et les désirs se rapprocheront le plus des tendances et des désirs de son public, -- celui qui, confondant les facultés et les genres de production, assignera à tous un but unique, -- celui qui cherchera dans un livre de poésie les moyens de perfectionner la conscience" (NHE, xiii).

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"Et je ne placerais pas, dit-il, le héros de mon poème dans un milieu pauvre, parce que la pauvreté est triviale et contraire à l'idée de beauté. Sa mélancolie aura pour gîte une chambre magnifiquement et poétiquement meublée" (NH, xxi).

This last quotation in particular will show how Baudelaire, in his final years, evolves beyond Poe.

Published April 17, 1853 in Le Monde Littéraire.

Salon de 1855: "J'ai essayé plus d'une fois, comme tous mes amis, de m'enfermer dans un système pour y prêcher à mon aise. Mais un système est une espèce de damnation qui nous pousse à une abjuration perpétuelle; et on faut toujours inventer un autre, et cette fatigue est un éternel châtiement. Et toujours mon système était beau, vaste, spacieux, commode, propre et lisse surtout; du moins il me paraissait tel. Et toujours un produit spontané, inattendu, de la vitalité universelle venait donner un démenti à ma science infantine et vieillotte, fille déplorable de l'utopie. J'avais beau déplacer ou étendre le criterium, il était toujours en retard sur l'homme universel, et courait sans cesse après le beau multiforme et versicolore, qui se meut dans les spirales infinies de la vie. Condamné sans cesse à l'humiliation d'une conversion nouvelle, j'ai pris un grand parti. Pour échapper à l'horreur de ces apostasies philosophiques, je me suis orgueilleusement résigné à la modestie: je me suis contenté de sentir; je suis revenu chercher un asile dans l'impeccable flatteuse" (CE, 223).

Ruff, Oeuvres complètes, p. 290

CHARLES BAUDELAIRE'S SOCIAL ATTITUDES

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Chapter VI

LES FLEURS DU MAL

1857

In 1857 the long-awaited publication of the Fleurs du Mal was greeted in the following terms:

Foin de ce Baudelaire aux trompeuses couleurs. Il ne tient qu'à demi ses promesses flatteuses. Je vois beaucoup de mal dans ses rimes rugueuses. Mais j'y découvre peu de fleurs.¹

Since this initial hostile reaction critics have continued to subjugate the work to their own priorities. A century later for example, Michael Hamburger is found to criticize a study of Baudelaire by P. Mansell Jones² in the following manner:

Ideological and theological criticism usually comes to grief when applied to Baudelaire (...). What emerges from this study is none of the familiar caricatures, but a modest sketch of the poet whose own critical essays should have made it clear by now that the one thing he never attained was a consistent attitude to religion, art, or politics; but his blacks were blacker, his whites whiter than other men's. The complete Baudelaire is one whose inconsistencies have been left intact.³

One of the most vital aspects of leaving Baudelaire's seeming inconsistencies intact is the almost exclusively neglected need to study the 1857 and the 1861 editions of the Fleurs du Mal separately. When we have two copies of a great painting we hang both in the museum

of our imagination. Should it not be the same with various editions of great literature? After tracing Baudelaire's social views as they appear in his prose it is with a mounting sense of anticipation that a critic approaches 1857 and the publication of his great work of poetry. To give the development of society in art (as indeed the development of all other themes) its proper pace however, it is vitally important not to anticipate the work as it later became in 1861 but to examine first the Fleurs du Mal in 1857 at a very critical period in Baudelaire's artistic and personal development. By the term, "first edition", we have for too long implied that it is little more than a statistic on the road to the definitive edition of the work. Overshadowed by the much augmented edition of 1861 and the various collages that form the numerous posthumous editions since 1868,⁴ the first version and the message of 1857 have become forgotten entities.

This is particularly regrettable in that the 1857 edition presents us with a message quite unlike the thesis statement of 1861; it is a work that conforms both in spirit and tone to its dedication to the chief of the "Art for Art" movement, Théophile Gautier, described by Baudelaire as "that impeccable poet and magician of the French language".⁵ It is a work that shows the social and personal alienation which Baudelaire had come to experience throughout the 1850's. Hemmed in on all sides by his own view of his personal poverty and misfortune, increasingly disillusioned with the political intrigues which had ruined the Second Republic, and estranged from any further belief in the social or utilitarian mission of art and the artist, Les Fleurs du Mal in 1857 presents new priorities and a group of poems dedicated to artistic preoccupations.

Having watched Baudelaire's development through his growing attraction for Edgar Allan Poe and having analyzed his aesthetic vision as captured in the Exposition universelle de 1855, it should come as no surprise to note that the Fleurs du Mal was dedicated to the "Art for Art" movement. The poet's work from 1852 to 1857 shows a progressive disillusionment with the concepts of realism and utilitarianism. The extent to which this disillusionment is obvious is seen when one analyzes the shift in emphasis between the 1857 edition and its own first draft, Les Limbes.

In a comprehensive introduction to his edition of the Fleurs du Mal, Antoine Adam sums up the genesis of the work beginning with Baudelaire's intention in 1845 to publish a volume of poetry entitled Les Lesbiennes to 1848 and the appearance of Les Limbes as the projected title for the work.⁶ It was this title which finally appeared at the head of a collection of eleven poems sent to the Messenger de l'Assemblée on April 9, 1851.

As to what extent vast sections of the Fleurs du Mal had been written at an early stage is partially seen in the amount of poetry that found itself grouped under the title Les Limbes in the early 1850's. Jacques Crépet has given us the following list of poems which had become associated with the title Les Limbes by 1852:⁷

LES LIMBES

- Le Vin des honnêtes gens (FM, l'Ame du Vin)
- La Robe trouée de la... (FM, A une Mendiante rousse)
- La Caravane des Bohémiens (FM, Bohémiens en voyage)
- Le Châtiment de l'orgueil
- Les Chats
- Le Spleen (FM, La Cloche fêlée)
- Le Crépuscule du Matin

Le Crépuscule du Soir
 La Béatrix (FM, De Profundis Clamavi)
 La Fontaine de Sang
 L'Artiste inconnu (FM, Le Guignon)
 Les Hiboux
 L'Idéal
 Le Mauvais Moine
 L'Outre de la vdupité (FM, Les Métamorphoses du vampire)
 La Mort (FM, La Mort des pauvres)
 Le Spleen (FM, Le Mort joyeux)
 La Raçon (ONLY POEM NOT CARRIED OVER TO FM)
 Le Reniement de Saint Pierre
 Le Spleen (FM, Pluviôse, irrité contre la ville...)
 Le Tonneau de la Haine
 Le Vin de l'Assassin
 Le Vin des Chiffoniers
 Un Voyage à Cythère
 L'Homme et la mer

It is also important to realize that had not the first of two packets of poems sent to the Revue de Paris been lost the above table for Les Limbes could be considerably augmented.

These important poems form the first solid link in the evolutionary chain toward the Fleurs du Mal. The unity of certain themes in Les Limbes even tempts us to consider this as a work of art worthy of analysis and conclusion independent of even the first edition of the Fleurs du Mal. By analyzing these poems we are able to see that Les Limbes makes a definite social statement in keeping with the author's priorities of the period. Commenting on the title Crépet concludes that it probably pleased Baudelaire because of the religious significance.⁸ Yet one must not bypass the social significance of a word which Antoine Adam reminds us was commonplace in Fourier's socialistic vocabulary serving to designate those "époques de début social et de malheur industriel".⁹ The social significance of the title was also that which first struck Baudelaire's contemporaries. The following message written

by Jean Wallon in 1848 is a comment on the announcement of Baudelaire's impending publication of Les Limbes:

Aujourd'hui y lit-on, nous voyons annoncé dans l'Echo des Marchands de vin: LES LIMBES, poésies. Ce sont sans doute des vers socialistes et par conséquent de mauvais vers. Encore un devenu disciple de Proudhon par trop ou trop peu d'ignorance.¹⁰

Adam also points out that we should not be too quick to bypass the deeper social meaning in the title Limbes. At the same time we are advised not to try and transform Baudelaire into one whose object is to transcribe faithfully Proudhon and Fournier into poetry. The Limbes does however clearly set out to portray "les agitations et les mélancolies de la jeunesse moderne".¹¹ Adam further points out that we see in the title Les Limbes a deliberately constructed ambiguity in that there is both allusion to a troubled society in a state of revolution and also to theology with its reference to those souls exiled from paradise who aspire to a world of light and joy from which they are eternally excluded. Les Limbes thus becomes the first example of a major poetic work where Baudelaire is able to weld the temporal and the eternal through the metal of poetic metaphor. While from a spiritual point of view the Limbes represents the exile of Man, from the social point of view it also points out yet another contemporary exile within society: that of the poor and the worker.

In "Le Vin des honnêtes gens" (FM, "L'Ame du Vin") Baudelaire does not speak of the disinherited in abstract terms but in precise terms of social reality. There is a call for a new sense of fraternity aided by the consoling power of wine. It is the same message already

made clear in the prose work Du Vin et du Haschich.

Le soir, l'âme du vin chanté dans les bouteilles
 "Homme, vers toi je pousse, ô cher déshérité
 Sous ma prison de verre et mes cires vermeilles,
 Un chant plein de lumière et de fraternité!
 (...)

Car j'éprouve une joie immense quand je tombe
 Dans le gosier d'un homme usé par ses travaux,
 Et sa chaude poitrine est une douce tombe
 Où je me plais bien mieux que dans mes froids caveaux.¹²

On the one hand the theme of oppressed humanity existing in its own form of Limbes is well developed through such images as that of the prison of the bottle and the worker's exhaustion at the end of the day. In this poem, Baudelaire speaks of the consoling force of wine as it seeks to comfort these individuals.¹³ Between the projected Limbes and the 1857 Fleurs du Mal however there is a shift in emphasis within this poem indicated by the change in title itself. In June 1850 when published in Le Magasin des Familles the title "Vin des honnêtes gens" places emphasis on people. By 1857 the shift to the more intangible title "L'Âme du Vin" is indicative of what was to be a general shift towards the Fleurs du Mal as a work. This evolution may also be seen in the transformation in line 2 of the poem. The original manuscript version of "Homme, vers toi je pousserai mon bien aimé" becomes "Hommé, vers toi je pousse ô cher déshérité" in 1857. The former line from Les Limbes indicates that the poet (through the voice of wine) shares a close bond of friendship and identification with the worker. The latter line from Les Fleurs du Mal shows a change in the author's perspective to that of observer.

Baudelaire did not wait until Les Fleurs du Mal however to portray seriously the theme of Exile. Both through general and social images he shows at the early date that it is one of the dominant themes in his poetry.

In "La Caravane des Bohémiens" (FM, "Bohémiens en Voyage") he speaks of the gypsies who live forever cut off from contact with their fellow men and for whom only the familiar empire of future shadows is open.¹⁴ This isolation, worthlessness and exile is also sensed in a poem such as "Châtiment de l'orgueil" where the man who would disprove God is left dirty, useless and ugly like a used thing,¹⁵ as well as in the poem Les Hiboux with its reference to man's fall from Grace (FM, 134):

L'homme ivre d'une ombre qui passe
 Porte toujours, le châtiment
 D'avoir voulu changer de place.

Yet while the religious theme of exile in Les Limbes is strongly suggested, so also is its social counterpart. Its general contours are suggested by the city and the contrast between wealth and poverty.

The theme of the city makes its first poetic appearance for Baudelaire in Les Limbes. While Paris has yet a long way to go towards the emphasis given it in the Spleen de Paris a decade later, its impressionistic omnipresence is already felt in the sea of mists which bathes the buildings, the deserted Seine, the sombre quality of the city, the prostitution coming to life in the streets, the city of mud and the miry labyrinths of the suburbs.¹⁶ Yet there are distinct human and social elements which stand out against the misty lines of the poet's cityscape. An example is the occasional flash of opulence which the

poet invariably associates with evil and destruction. In "Châtiment de l'orgueil" for example, the mind that would disprove God is seen as one filled with order, pomp and opulence¹⁷ while in "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" tyranny is portrayed as gorging itself on exotic meats and wines.¹⁸

One of the more intriguing metaphors combining both the metaphysical and the social aspects of Les Limbes appears in "Le Crépuscule du Soir" when Baudelaire weaves together the threads of demons and capitalists (FM, 185).

Cependant des démons malsains dans l'atmosphère
S'évade lourdement, comme des gens d'affaire.

Yet opulence exists only by contrast to poverty in Les Limbes. In the poem "La robe trouée de la..." (FM, "A Une Mendiante rousse") we see the poverty of the charming beggar set against the background of the opulent Vefour one of the city's most expensive restaurants.¹⁹ Poverty however is usually far removed from the picturesque elements of the little beggar girl, and is seen with its ugly face which establishes one of the dominant themes of Les Limbes. In "Le Van des honnêtes gens" we see the fate of the young, life's frail athletes who have lost their force and their colour in a world of grinding misery.²⁰ In "Le Crépuscule du matin" the theme of poverty is once again broken into its component parts: cold, mire, hunger, illness, vermine and death (FM, 204):

Les pauvresses, traînant leurs seins maigres et froids,
Soufflaient sur leurs tisons et soufflaient sur leurs doigts
C'était l'Heure où parmi le froid et la lésine
S'aggravaient les douleurs des femmes en gésine.

(...)

Et les agonisants dans le fond des hospices
Poussaient leur dernier râle en hoquets inégaux.²¹

Faced with this sense of poverty vast sections of society have little hope of escape except death. Death is seen not as a force to be feared but as one to be welcomed as relief from an existence that has become impossible to bear. In "La Mort" (FM, "La Mort des pauvres") we see that it is death that remakes the bed of those who are poor and naked and that it is "la bourse du pauvre et sa patrie antique".²²

While there can be little doubt that the tone of Les Limbes reaches out to embrace all men who are poor and weak, it is also clear that Baudelaire does not hesitate to identify this form of oppression with the fate of the worker. In the Limbes poems, work appears to be held as a purifying force and a source of decency. In "Le Vin des honnêtes gens" the narrative voice honours the worker and dignifies the labour and the sweat involved in the making of wine whose greatest joy is expressed from the throat of a man worn down by his work.²³ This theme of men ground down by toil, poverty and the monotony of their daily lives is even more clearly illustrated in "Le Vin des Chiffonniers". Here we see the underprivileged classes, described as the confused vomiting of the enormous Paris, badgered by family problems, beaten down by work and advancing age, broken and pliant beneath the burden of their lives. It is a world of mind-bending depression, a world where only sleep and wine offer any form of escape.²⁴ Yet in true Baudelafrican fashion the portrait of this lower class is not drawn but merely sketched. We catch fleeting glimpses of elbows on a table, of rolled up sleeves, of heavy clogs and of

working tools.²⁵ In what might have been Les Limbes Baudelaire does not as yet hint at a search for a definitive escape; he portrays merely a moment of rest for the bent worker whose only dignity comes from the realization that he has worked. In "Le Crépuscule du Soir" this hauntingly stoical theme is seen in the following lines (FM, 184-185):

O soir, aimable soir, desire par celui
 Dont les bras, sans mentir, peuvent dire: Aujourd'hui
 Nous avons travaillé! -- C'est le soir qui soulage
 Les esprits que dévore une douleur sauvage,
 Le savant obstine dont le front s'alourdit,
 Et l'ouvrier courbé qui regagne son lit.

The use of work as a symbol of the plight of modern man does not in any way compress the universal outreach of such poems as are found in Les Limbes. While the theme of the worker and his place in literary metaphor had become a cliché during the 1840's, Baudelaire goes beyond the mere external aspects and makes of his worker and of his poor an extension of universal man. The beauty of the concluding sections of "Le Crépuscule du Soir" lies in the realization that part of the tragedy of modern man lies in the reality of an existence sacrificed without ever having known joy (FM, 186).

C'est l'heure où les douleurs des malades s'aigrissent!
 La sombre Nuit les prend à la gorge; ils finissent
 Leur destinée et vont vers le gouffre commun;
 L'hôpital se remplit de leurs soupirs. -- Plus d'un
 Ne viendra plus chercher la soupe parfumée,
 Au coin du feu, le soir, auprès d'une âme aimée.

Encore la plupart n'ont-ils jamais connu
 La douceur du foyer et n'ont jamais vécu.

Owing to the frequency with which a social motif is used as the instigator of the metaphor in Les Limbes, this first draft of the Fleurs du Mal is of vital importance for those whose interest is the social Baudelaire. Here it is seen that poetry which answers the criteria for art which Baudelaire had established as early as the Salon de 1845.²⁶ Using the fleeting references to the fate of the oppressed worker and to the gluttony of the bourgeois capitalist, he gives modern colour to a universal tapestry. By using vibrantly contemporary threads the Limbes would have shown how Baudelaire was prepared to weave together the transitory and the eternal in the 1850's for which he had already outlined the need in his critical writings of the 1840's, and as he would again reiterate in Le Peintre de la vie moderne. Those poems which we can trace to Les Limbes exist therefore in a form of poetic equilibrium which is unbalanced by 1857 when the poet's search for universal aesthetic truths outweighs his interest in simultaneously capturing the flavour of modern man and his society. The best example of this is seen in the fate of the poem, "La Rançon" which began with a balanced social-universal perspective in Les Limbes and which was not published at all in the Fleurs du Mal. This poem appeared for the first time on November 15, 1857 soon after the publication of Les Fleurs du Mal. Its existence however was noted as early as 1852 since it formed part of the second package of poems for the Revue de Paris which formed part of the projected Limbes.²⁷ In 1857, the poem has a rather simple message as we see God on Judgement Day rewarding Art and Love for having inspired beautiful works:

LA RANÇON

L'homme a pour payer sa rançon
 Deux champs au tut profond et riche,
 Qu'il faut qu'il remue et défriche
 Avec le fer de la raison.

Pour obtenir la moindre rose,
 Pour extorquer quelques épis,
 Des pleurs salés de son front gris,
 Sans cesse il faut qu'il les arrose.

L'un est l'Art, et l'autre l'Amour,
 --Pour rendre le juge propice,
 Lorsque de la stricte justice
 Paraîtra le terrible jour.

Il faudra lui montrer des granges
 Pleines de moissons, et des fleurs
 Dont les formes et les couleurs
 Gagient le suffrage des Anges.²⁸

The true depth in the change in this poem is seen only when the final stanza which formed part of the 1851 manuscript is restored to it.

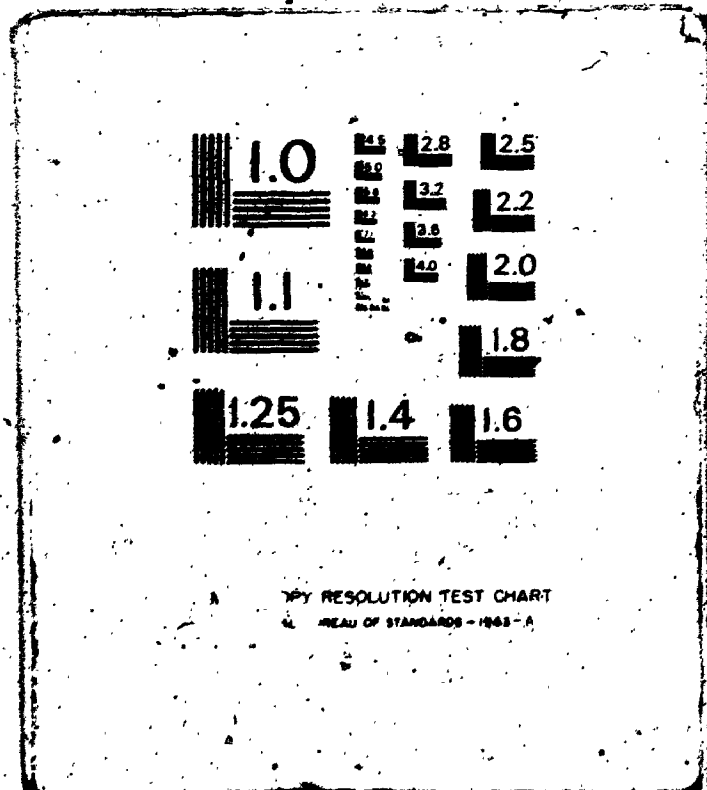
Mais pour qu'rien ne soit leté,
 Qui serve à payer l'esclavage,
 Elles grossiront l'apanage
 De la commune liberté.²⁹

Commenting on the significance of this final stanza, Antoine Adam reaches a series of conclusions which we share whole-heartedly. Adam points out that we can not really understand much of the poem until we restore the missing stanza.³⁰ Won over by the spirit then reigning in literary milieux, a spirit hostile to the bourgeoisie, Baudelaire exalts productive labour in stanza four and in the stanza that was removed he promises to those who struggle a recompense for their labour. He imagines the day of Judgement when men will appear before God. What

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will be demanded of them will be proof that they have been hard workers in Art and Love. In the meantime the work of each one assures the liberty of all and individual effort is fertile because it ends in a great collective realization: a free humanity.

Thus the poem stood in 1851 as part of Les Limbes. It is hardly surprising that such a message would appear out of place in the Fleurs du Mal of 1857 where it would have clashed with his new priorities which would give preference to aesthetic and universal themes. Shorn of its final stanza the outreach of the poem is both expanded and weakened at the same time. Lacking the punch of social reality this particular poem takes on an air of somewhat insignificant banality. The emphasis has been completely shifted from man to Art. While "La Rançon" does not figure in the Fleurs du Mal its dates of association and publication show the same trend that is so frequently repeated between Les Limbes and Les Fleurs du Mal. The same growing displacement of social and political reality which have already been seen in his prose writing of the 1850's is now seen in the poetry.

For those who are particularly interested in the social aspect of Baudelaire's work and who have grown accustomed to seeing this aspect given its limited yet important place in the balanced Baudelairian aesthetic, the Fleurs du Mal such as it appears in 1857 represents a weakening of Baudelaire's vision of the artist. As in "La Rançon", the themes of Art, Love, Exile, Sin and Elevation, are somewhat weakened for they are given an existence of their own, independent of many of the more specific social forces which form part of their origin. Because of the change in emphasis the origin of man's suffering becomes more metaphysical in nature, thus amputating many

images from social reality which alone explains them. In this evolution, the question of the architecture of the Fleurs du Mal is of great importance.³²

Despite the fact that many poems from Les Limbes and Les Fleurs du Mal are commonly held to be creations of the early 1840's, their positioning and grouping in later years provide one of the essential yardsticks for measuring the work as a whole and frequently show to what extent Baudelaire was able to graft new meaning onto old words. The concept of the architecture of the Fleurs du Mal is therefore as important in understanding Baudelaire's changing view of society as it is in understanding the more widely discussed aspects of art, love and spirituality.

The abandonment of the title Les Limbes and the adoption of the new title Fleurs du Mal is in itself moreover an indication of an evolution in that the new title is far less easily identifiable with social issues. Despite the fact that this new title may have been suggested by others, it is certainly a step toward a greater element of mystification which characterizes the Fleurs du Mal. This is summed up by Baudelaire himself in 1859 in a letter to Alphonse de Calonne.

Plus un titre est singulier, meilleur il est pourvu qu'il ne confine pas au titre que j'appelle calembourique, ou pointu.³³

If we are to take seriously Baudelaire's conclusions on the importance of titles we must also take his word that in his titles (and we must include here Les Limbes as well) there is a significance which goes far and beyond a mere attempt to mystify the reader. Whereas the significance of Les Limbes embraced that of the social labyrinth which

entrap- vast sections of contemporary society, the title and meaning of the 1857 edition drops social implications. This is perhaps best illustrated by certain sections from projected prefaces for the second edition which appeared in 1861. The real importance of these discarded prefaces is their ability to give the author's perspective of the first edition, misunderstood and mutilated by the courts. The following are excerpts from three of these abandoned prefaces:

I

La France (sic) traverse une phase de vulgarité. Paris, centre et rayonnement de bêtise universelle. Malgré Molière et Béranger, on n'aurait jamais cru que la France (sic) irait si grand train dans la voie du Progrès. -- Questions d'art, terrae incognitae. Le grand homme est bête.

(...)

Le but de la Poésie. Ce livre n'est pas fait pour mes femmes, mes filles ou mes soeurs.

On m'a attribué tous les crimes que je racontais. Divertissement de la haine et du Mépris. Les Elégiacques sont des canailles. Et verbum Caro Factum est. -- Or le poète n'est d'aucun parti. Autrement, il serait un simple mortel.

(...) J'avais mis quelques ordures pour plaire à M.M. les journalistes. Ils se sont montrés ingrats (FM, 361-362).

II

Je sais que l'amant passionné du beau style s'expose à la haine des multitudes. Mais aucun respect humain, aucune fausse pudeur, aucune coalition, aucun suffrage universel ne me contraindront à parler le patois incomparable de ce siècle, ni à confondre l'encre avec la vertu.

(...)

Malgré les secours que quelques cuistres célèbres ont apporté à la sottise naturelle de l'homme, je n'aurais jamais cru que notre patrie pût marcher avec une telle vitesse dans la voie du progrès. Ce monde a acquis une épaisseur de vulgarité qui donne au mépris de l'homme spirituel la violence d'une passion. Mais il est des carapaces heureuses que le poison lui-même n'entamerait pas (FM, 363-364).

III

Tâche difficile que de s'élever vers cette insensibilité divine! Car moi-même, malgré les plus louables efforts, je n'ai su résister au désir de plaire à mes contemporains, comme l'attestent en quelques endroits, apposées comme un fard, certaines basses flatteries adressées à la démocratie, et même quelques ordures destinées à me faire pardonner la tristesse de mon sujet. Mais M.M. les journalistes s'étant montrés ingrats envers les caresses de ce genre, j'en ai supprimé la trace, autant qu'il m'a été possible, dans cette nouvelle édition (FM, 367).

The final conclusion in the above extracts is of great importance for the student of Baudelaire's social values. By his own admission certain parts of the 1857 edition of the Fleurs du Mal are destined for contemporary tastes and are even described as certain "basses flatteries adressées à la démocratie". It is an indication that even in 1857 Baudelaire had not completely ruled out any role for social considerations in his poetry. As to where these basses flatteries are to be found and as to whether he did indeed suppress all traces of them in the second edition is an intriguing and neglected chapter in the saga of the two editions of Les Fleurs du Mal.

The first point of examination in the 1857 edition begins where a discussion of Les Limbes terminates. If one bypasses momentarily the omnipresent force of the architecture of the work it is clear that the basic message contained in the individual poems remains unaltered. Since all of the Limbes poems except "La Rançon" form part of the Fleurs du Mal it is clear that, while diluted, their social message is the same as was evident in Les Limbes. The extent to which this message is diluted and even modified to a certain extent is seen by superimposing two negatives on each other as seen in the following list.

LES FLEURS DU MAL (1857)LES LIMBES (1852)

- Au Lecteur
 SPLEEN ET IDEAL
 1-8
 9. Le Mauvais Moine
 10.
 11. Le Guignon (L, L'Artiste inconnu)
 12.
 13. Bohémiens en Voyage. (L La Caravane des Bohémiens)
 14. L'Homme en la mer
 15.
 16. Châtiment de l'orgueil
 17.
 18. L'Idéal
 19-27.
 28. De Profundis clamavi (L, La Béatrix)
 29-55.
 56. Les Chats
 57. Les Hiboux
 58. La Cloche fêlée (L, Le Spleen)
 59. Pluviôse irrité... (L, Le Spleen)
 60-64.
 65. A Une mendiante rousse (L, La robe trouée...)
 66.
 67. Le Crépuscule du soir
 68. Le Crépuscule du matin
 69-70.
 71. Le Tonneau de la haine
 72.
 73. Le Mort joyeux (L, Le Spleen)
 74-77.

FLEURS DU MAL

- 78-83.
 84. La Fontaine de Sang
 85-86.
 87. Les Métamorphoses du Vampire (L, L'Outre de la Volupté)
 88. Un Voyage à Cythère
 89.

REVOLTE

90. Le Reniement de Saint Pierre
 91-92.

LE VIN

93. L'Amé du vin (L, Le Vin des honnêtes gens)
 94. Le Vin des Chiffonniers
 95. Le Vin de l'Assassin
 96-97.

LA MORT

98.

99.

100.

La Mort des pauvres (L. La Mort)

The first conclusion reached is that there is an element of superimposition in all five chapters of the 1857 Fleurs du Mal. In the introductory section Spleen et Idéal the confrontations with social reality which seemed to be a dominant theme in the collection of poetry known as Les Limbes are now much less evident since they have become part of a much larger fresco including the poems of elevation, correspondences, love cycles, and spleen. Summing up the traditional view of Spleen et Idéal Robert Vivier remarks that the whole volume is based entirely on the conflict between the aspirations toward the ideal of the poet and the opposing deceptions of life to which Spleen et Idéal as the dominant chapter is specifically consecrated.³⁴ The face of spleen has taken on a broader outreach in the Fleurs du Mal through the presence of evil in the form of Satan. However, if social thought has been relegated to a position of inferiority within the work, it has not been eliminated.

Looking at the Limbes poems as they appear in Spleen et Idéal we see that those poems with the most direct social references are grouped toward the end of this chapter of 77 poems. These poems have been placed in the final part of the chapter in which the poet outlines the various faces of spleen. Beginning with poem 58, "Pluviôse, irrité, contre la ville entière" through to poem 68, "Le Crépuscule du matin" we find four poems from Les Limbes all of which addressed social conditions either in their references to Paris,

the contrast between rich and poor, or to the humiliation of working class struggles. Added to these four poems we find four others in 1857 all of which reinforce a particularly contemporary vision of spleen. In three new spleen poems and in "Brumes et pluies" Baudelaire further suggests the stifling and sordid atmosphere of the city. By this concentration of imagery in eight out of ten poems the social face of spleen is retained for the Fleurs du Mal.

Because of the peculiar structure of the 1857 chapter with its tentatively optimistic conclusion in "La Musique" and "La Pipe", the social side of the great spleen theme plays a distinctive role within the context of the chapter. One is led to speculate in light of the chapter's conclusion whether Baudelaire had indeed become totally disillusioned with the idea of social betterment. Perhaps indeed we are faced with one of the base flatteries to democracy which he promised to extirpate from the second edition.

In 1857, Chapter II of Les Fleurs du Mal bore the title Fleurs du Mal. In light of the general theme of the chapter the absence of any social theme even in the poems carried over from Les Limbes is no surprise. Antoine Adam speculates that Baudelaire had grouped together for this chapter poems of early composition (1842-44) which constitute games that the author enjoys pushing to the limit of excess. Adam continues:

Ce qui est vrai, c'est qu'en 1857, lorsqu'il entreprit de construire l'architecture des Fleurs du Mal, Baudelaire fut naturellement amené à grouper ces pièces qui introduisaient dans son recueil une note particulière. Et nous pouvons observer que la première pièce du cycle, La Destruction, marque de façon explicite l'articulation que Baudelaire avait conçue. Car le thème de cette pièce, c'est l'homme affolé par l'ennui, cherchant à tout prix à réveiller sa sensibilité,

trouvant enfin ce moyen dans la joie de la destruction. Passage donc du Spleen à ce que nous appelons le sadisme, à ce que Baudelaire appelle des Fleurs du Mal.³⁵

While sharing Adam's above conclusions, we are unable to accept another of his ideas concerning his refusal to see any dialectic in the Fleurs du Mal.³⁶ Adam reaches this conclusion on the premise that all poems in the chapter Fleurs du mal are poems from the poet's youth and thus have no message independent of their attempt to be scandalously Romantic. While they may indeed date from the poet's youth it is just as important to examine the publication dates which are frequently important in understanding the message a poet might have intended for his work.³⁷ Here we find that of the twelve poems in the second chapter, six appeared for the first time in the Fleurs du Mal itself in 1857. Two other poems ("La Destruction", "L'Amour et le crâne"), used to open and close the chapter, first appeared in the Revue des Deux Mondes in 1855. Three others ("La Fontaine de sang", "Les Métamorphoses du vampire", "Un Voyage à Cythère") have already been associated with the projected Limbes and their manuscripts carry the date 1851-52. These three poems alone obstruct Adam's theories that the Fleurs du Mal poems belong exclusively to each other. These last three at least had been associated with one other work whose message was intended to be quite different from the possible sadism of 1857. Of the twelve poems in the section only "Lesbos" (1850) has a publication date prior to 1852. So while their composition may or not be from the early 1840's, their message is decidedly one of the 1850's. With increasing emphasis -- 1850 (1), 1852 (3), 1855 (2), 1857 (6) -- the author abandons any flirtation with the belief that social forces are

a dominating source of evil in our lives. By combining these twelve poems in 1857 into chapter II and by placing them immediately after the section Spleen et Idéal Baudelaire clearly indicates that he sees that man's suffering is due to his worship of sin and his love of destruction and self-destruction. The 1857 edition therefore most forcefully illustrates the basic theme of the Fleurs du Mal as articulated in the preface poem "Au Lecteur" (FM, 21-23).

La sottise, l'erreur, le péché, la lésine,
Occupent nos esprits et travaillent nos corps,
Et nous alimentons nos aimables remords,
Comme les mendiants nourrissent leur vermine.
(...)

Mais parmi les chacals, les panthères, les lices,
Les singes, les scorpions, les vautours, les serpents,
Les monstres glapissants, hurlants, grognants, rampants,
Dans la ménagerie infâme de nos vices,

Il en est un plus laid, plus méchant, plus immonde!
Quoi qu'il ne pousse ni grands gestes ni grands cris,
Il ferait volontiers de la terre un débris
Et dans un bâillement avalerait le monde;

C'est l'Ennui!--l'oeil chargé d'un pleur involontaire,
Il rêve d'échafauds en fumant son houka.
Tu le connais, lecteur, ce monstre délicat,
-- Hypocrite lecteur, -- mon semblable, -- mon frère!

Not only does the absence of any social theme in the powerful chapter Fleurs du Mal further weaken a theme that had survived Les Limbes in Spleen et Idéal but it also breaks a trend and prevents us from being too excessive in any attempt to attribute too much social significance to the chapters Révolte and Le Vin. Against what is the poet revolting in 1857? From what does wine offer a possible escape? While it is vital to proceed with an internal analysis of each chapter and each poem the broad outline of the thesis statement of 1857 shows

that these next two chapters answer questions that are more spiritual than political, more metaphysical than social.

In the account of seizure and trial of the Fleurs du Mal³⁸ it is interesting to note that the society of the day did not judge the work to be particularly anti-social or anti-religious. Of the three charges brought against it, only that of immorality was sustained. The poems "Renielement de Saint Pierre", "Abel et Caïn", "Litanies de Satan", and "Le Vin de l'Assassin" were tried and found not guilty on charges of being a danger to public and religious order. It is not without significance that the entire section Révolte was taken to court and that while Spleen et Idéal lost 3 poems and Fleurs du Mal 3 (a full 25% of its content), the sections Révolte and Le Vin were left intact.

That the entire section Révolte was dragged before the court should come as little surprise. In an age which Baudelaire so frequently attacked for its lack of spiritual values, it is little wonder that the watchdogs of the Imperial government should see in these poems little more than another manifestation of Romantic anti-socialism.³⁹ Nor is it surprising that lacking the critics' ability to give perspective to the work that these charges against Révolte should have been made. Society had engaged in a running battle with this form of hostility since the beginning of the Romantic rebellion. We are frequently reminded that the theme of revolt was one of the great themes of Romantic literature and that how great heroes such as Schiller's Karl Moor, Nodier's Sbogar, Balzac's Vautrin and Byron's Cain had all been figures with the profile of Cain. Antoine Adam points out that it is evident that the theme of revolt finds first its

origins in a refusal to adhere to the social order, but that it went far beyond the social order -- stretching into the metaphysical, and states of superhuman intensity. Adam concludes that the theme of revolt was essentially associated with a Satanic phase of Baudelaire's youth and that the reader should not strive to find anything original in Baudelaire's use of the theme.⁴⁰ Yet while it is important not to exaggerate the theme of social revolt in the section it is as equally important not to ignore it.

"Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" forms part of the Limbes poems. In that earlier project with its greater emphasis on the human social condition, the poem presents a stunning contrast between rich and poor, between power and subjugation. God is portrayed as a tyrant gorged on meat and wine who sleeps through the noise of the hideous blasphemies and whose thirst for suffering is never quenched by the sobs of the martyrs (FM, 237).

Qu'est-ce que Dieu fait donc de ce flot d'anathèmes
 Qui monte tous les jours vers ses chers séraphins?
 Comme un tyran gorgé de viande et de vins,
 Il s'endort au doux bruit de nos affreux blasphèmes.

Les sanglots des martyrs et des suppliciés
 Sont une symphonie enivrante sans doute,
 Puisque malgré le sang que leur volupté coûte,
 Les cieux ne s'en sont point encore rassasiés!

Unlike other poems from Les Limbes, "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" stands out in its different treatment of the lower classes. Treated with respect and compassion before, they are scorned in this poem. Only the figure of Jesus retains an air of simplicité.⁴¹ This image of Jesus in the Garden of Olives draws its essential pathos from

the spectacle of a solitary figure abandoned by the Tyrant above and the common people below. It is a poignant portrait of suffering humanity attacked by extremes on both sides -- extremes which in the context of Les Limbes should not be divorced from social reality (FM, 238).

--Ah Jésus, souviens toi du Jardin des Olives!
 Dans ta simplicité tu priais à genoux
 Celui qui dans son ciel riait au bruit des clous
 Que d'ignobles bourreaux plantaient dans tes chairs vives.

Lorsque tu vis cracher sur ta divinité
 La crapule du corps de garde et des cuisines
 Et lorsque tu sentis s'enfoncer les épines
 Dans ton crâne où vivait l'immense Humanité;

Trapped between such opposing antagonisms the message of the poem reveals itself in a burning condemnation of society and a century where all action is futile since no amount of it can succeed in imposing spiritual values on a base and unworthy citizenry (FM, 239):

Certes je sortirai, quant à moi, satisfait
 D'un monde où l'action n'est pas la soeur du rêve;
 Puissé-je user du glaive et périr par le glaive!
 Saint Pierre a renié Jésus... il a bien fait.

Despite the efforts of those who prefer to see in this poem a classic example of Baudelairian Satanism,⁴² it is important that we consult the text of the poem first. Throughout the poem it appears that the poet strikes a note of defiance against God whom he accuses of callous indifference not only to humanity but to his Son. At the same time there is a growing bond developed between the figure of

Jesus and the poet himself since both are left with the weight of "l'immense Humanité" on their shoulders.⁴³ The poet in the final stanza and the figure of Jesus in the Garden of Olives represent two solitary figures whose dreams of saving mankind seem in ruins and whose acts have been of little consequence in changing the basic face of humanity (FM, 238-239).

Rêvais-tu de ces jours si brillants et si beaux,
 Où tu vins pour remplir l'éternelle promesse,
 Où tu foulais, monté sur une douce ânesse,
 Des chemins tout jonchés de fleurs et de rameaux,
 Où le coeur tout gonflé d'espoir et de vaillance,
 Tu fouettais tous ces vils marchands à tour de bras,
 Où tu fus maître enfin? Le remords n'a-t-il pas
 Pénétré dans ton flanc plus avant que la lance?

Jesus represents in this poem the figure whose search for an ideal has brought isolation and suffering upon him. How then can we blindly accept the common assumption that Baudelaire praises Saint Peter's denial of the ideal. To accept the last line of the poem ("Saint Pierre a renié Jésus...il a bien fait") at its face value is at the same time to deny that Baudelaire was serious when he condemned a world which has no place for spiritual things. With whom does the poet identify himself?-- with Saint Peter who denies or with Christ who is denied? The entire structure of the poem would tend to support the poet's identification with the latter. The last line of the poem under these circumstances seems to find meaning only in the broader context of the theme of revolt itself. What greater sign of human frustration than the spectacle of one who shouts encouragement to his own executioners? The spectacle of Baudelaire approving Saint Peter's

denial of a figure with whom the poet identifies himself presents two interpretations according to the broader context within which the poem is situated. Amidst the essentially social preoccupations of Les Limbes the concluding line of "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" stands in the tradition of the growing political disillusionment which was expressed in the famous letter to Ancelle showing to what extent Baudelaire felt himself physically depoliticized by the Imperial coup d'état (CGI, 152). In 1857 however "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" follows closely the sordid world of sensuous pleasures outlined in the chapter Fleurs du Mal. Yet be the context social or metaphysical, the significance of the final line is that the poet is giving his approval to those who would deny the things in which he professes to believe strongly. It is an utter cry of frustration which few men reach or understand. In a moment of self-immolation the poet is prepared to abandon this world to the materialists who alone seem worthy of it. It would appear that in denying the ideal they have done right -- since this world is no place for so frail an identity. And so, this momentary acceptance of defeat finds its way from the social longings of Les Limbes to the great spiritual and artistic longings of the Fleurs du Mal. Neither context however denies the ultimate truth that the ideal does indeed exist even though it may never have a chance to be accepted in this world. The suffering figure in the Garden of Olives carrying an immense humanity on his shoulders forms a basic link between the poem and a tradition of Christian humanitarianism. It seems inconceivable that this poem should be so perverted as to illustrate any Satanism on Baudelaire's part such as that found in Max Milner's study Le Diable dans la littérature

française de Cazotte à Baudelaire.⁴⁴ For those who see in Baudelaire a spiritual and social commitment, no critic has summed up their frustrations better than Father L.J. Bondy when he wrote of "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" and "Les Litanies de Satan":

Critics who persist in quoting these poems as evidence of Baudelaire's devil worship should really learn to read, Or have they never seen a man at grips with overwhelming grief or pain.⁴⁵

In addition one must examine carefully Baudelaire's own comments found in an introductory note to the section Révolte in 1857:

Parmi les morceaux suivants, le plus caractérisé, a déjà paru dans un des principaux recueils littéraires de Paris, où il n'a été considéré du moins par les gens d'esprit, que pour ce qu'il est véritablement: le pastiche des raisonnements de l'ignorance et de la fureur. Fidèle à son douloureux programme, l'auteur des Fleurs du Mal a dû, en parfait comédien, façonner son esprit à tous les sophismes comme à toutes les corruptions. Cette déclaration candide n'empêchera pas sans doute les critiques honnêtes de la ranger parmi les théologiens de la populace et de l'accuser d'avoir regretté pour notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ, pour la Victime éternelle et volontaire, le rôle d'un conquérant, d'un Attila égalitaire de devastateur. Plus d'un adressera sans doute au ciel les actions de grâces habituelles du Pharisien: "Merci, mon Dieu, qui n'avez pas permis que je fusse semblable à ce poète infâme!"⁴⁶

Despite Baudelaire's attempt to satirize his own role playing in Révolte, the internal analysis of the poems shows a profundity of social thought.

The second poem of the Révolte trilogy is by all admission that poem most forcefully social in theme and style. Gone now is any pretense at defending the bourgeoisie such as had been witnessed in the early Salons. The theme of "Abel et Caïn" is the closest Baudelaire

ever comes in his writings to the suggestion that in class warfare and struggle there is some hope for the lower classes. This is done through a complete transformation of the Cain and Abel story. No longer are we faced with the Biblical confrontation between a shepherd and one who tills the soil; instead we are presented with the classic urban struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Baudelaire's Cain and Abel are deeply involved in contemporary social struggles which appear to date this poem from the period 1848-1852. The portrait of Abel's bourgeois race is sketched with many of the characteristics that had become commonplace among the Romantic writers of the day.⁴⁷ Abel's race sleeps in peace for his prosperity seems the outward sign of God's continuing Grace. His belly is full and his gold multiplies as fast as his progeny. It is the repetition of this theme that reveals a facet of Baudelaire's despair and frustration. By portraying the detested bourgeoisie as alive and flourishing he seems to indicate that its eventual complete triumph is inevitable and that it will overcome by sheer force of numbers. This sets Baudelaire apart from at least the socialist thinkers of his age who saw the eventual triumph of the proletariat for the same reason. Whereas these thinkers saw the class struggle leading to a betterment of the lot of the worker, Baudelaire's Cain is fighting a losing battle since he will eventually be outnumbered. It is as though Baudelaire had reached out beyond the confines of his century's social thought to see the extent to which the lower classes would eventually be overtaken and absorbed into a system of bourgeois values (FM, 211).

Race d'Abel aime et pullule!
 Ton or fait aussi des petits.
 (...)

Race d'Abel, tu crois et broutes
 Comme les punaises des bois!

It is against this climate of inevitability that the revolutionary violence of the concluding section must be juxtaposed: (FM, 241-242).

Ah! race d'Abel, ta charogne
 Engraissera le sol fumant!

Race de Caïn, ta besogne
 N'est pas faite suffisamment;

Race d'Abel, voici ta honte
 Le fer est vaincu par l'épieu!

Race de Caïn, au ciel monte
 Et sur la terre jette Dieu!

The most frequent interpretation of these lines is once again summed up by Antoine Adam whose excellent edition of the Fleurs du Mal does much to assemble the main threads of Baudelairian criticism. He clearly sees here an appeal to revolt and to social revolt in particular. The same spirit dominates "Abel et Caïn" as had been found in the line "Puisse-je user du glaive et périr par le glaive" from "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre". In Adam's opinion the political matters are reduced to a question of force since both poems indicate that the poet has no confidence that those who occupy positions of prestige and power will ever share them willingly.⁴⁸

The significant oddity in Baudelaire's "Abel et Caïn" is from the outset the curious reversal of the Biblical legend. By making Cain

a nomadic proletarian and Abel into a sedentary bourgeois Baudelaire has sometimes created the impression that Cain's race will triumph by the mere fact that they are being incited to revolt. Critics who have examined this poem⁴⁹ frequently give the impression that they too are confused by this reversal, to the extent that they have lost sight of the original Biblical source. It is not unfair to assume that Baudelaire was as familiar with the original source of the Cain and Abel legend as he was with the Romantic alterations. In Genesis both Cain and Abel are symbols of tranquil domesticity at harmony with God and with nature until such time as God indicated a preference for the sacrifice of the firstling of the flock as opposed to the fruits of the field. It is at this time that Cain becomes the son of Eve and in a fit of jealousy kills his brother. Cain's anger was caused by God's recognition of his failure to do good (Gen. IV,7) and his exile is the price he must pay for revolting against God's wishes. In the Biblical legend therefore the price of revolt is exile. In Baudelaire's poem the reverse is true in that the price of exile is now made to be revolt.

Not only does Baudelaire reverse the basic cause-effect message of Genesis but he also invents additions to the story. In Genesis Abel is murdered and thus dies without posterity. Baudelaire however attributes an entire race to him. The reason for this seems to be an attempt to link the confidence that the bourgeoisie has that its power is a sign of God's favour to a Biblical source. In this case it is to the preference shown to one of Adam's sons. Yet despite Eve's reference to a later son Seth as "another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew" (Gen. IV,25) there is no Biblical justification

for Baudelaire's portrait of Abel's bourgeois race multiplying like termites. On the contrary the Bible indicates that it was Cain's race that prospered both physically and materially from Jabel, the father of tent dwellers and cattle herders (Gen. IV, 20), Jubal⁵⁰ the father of musicians (Gen. LV, 21) to Tubalcain the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron (Gen. IV, 22). Thus from city-builders to the father of arts and artisanary the biblical descendants of Cain physically prosper beneath the stigma of their exile. How different a portrait this is from Baudelaire's view of Cain's race at the limits of starvation and extinction (FM, 240-241):

Race de Caïn, dans la fange
 Rampe et meurs misérablement.
 (...)
 Race de Caïn, ton supplice
 Aura-t-il jamais une fin?
 (...)
 Race de Caïn, tes entrailles
 Hurlent la faim comme un vieux chien.
 (...)
 Race de Caïn, dans ton antre
 Tremble de froid, pauvre chacal!
 (...)
 Race de Caïn, coeur qui brûle
 Prends garde à ces grands appétits.

Adam interprets this final line in the traditional manner, i.e., he sees that "ces grands appétits" represent a desire for better existence, or an equality of conditions that gives everyone the luxury that only the contemporary rich knew.⁵¹ What do we do however with the beginning of the line "Prends garde"? Read as a whole the line clearly indicates the danger inherent in trying to reach out for such luxury. It is of interest to note that an earlier manuscript of the poem was

even more forceful in its warning. There the line reads "Eteins ces cruels appétits" (FM, 241). The word êteins is a degree of force even more specific than prends garde although none of the original meaning has been lost. Such a key line shows us that while Baudelaire may have taken considerable liberties with the Biblical story his essential conclusion is not all that dissimilar from the original source. Eteins or prends garde is a clear warning to the race that Baudelaire has attributed to Cain the dangers of revolt and ambition. While he may have reversed the exterior face of the cause-effect relationship of Genesis by making revolt the result of exile, there is little to assume that the price of this revolt will be anything more than a new exile. In this sense Baudelaire and Genesis agree.

It is in part II of the poem that we are tempted to see that the poet is going to ignore the very advice he gave with the words prends garde. In the lines, "Race de Caïn, ta besogne/ N'est pas faite suffisamment", the poet implies that Cain's task in killing his brother is incomplete and that there is yet a race to be eliminated. The exhortation that Cain's race should even dethrone God is but the last step in the obliteration of a race of privilege and the Author of that privilege (FM, 242).

Race de Caïn, au ciel monte,
Et sur la terre jette Dieu.

The problem of interpreting this poem either in a social or metaphysical context comes when we attempt to give an independent status to part II, and in particular to the last two lines of the poem, without placing

them in the wider context of the poem itself. In much the same way that the final line of "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" must be interpreted in the context of a poem where the poet has established an identity between himself and Jesus, the revolutionary fervour of "Abel et Caïn" must also be interpreted in the context of a poem which warns Cain's race about the folly of its appetites. In such a context the reversal of roles whereby Baudelaire's Cain will exile God shows us not a vision of the possible but of the futile -- a theme already evident in "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre". This theme of futility is also sketched in a line frequently used to indicate Baudelaire's revolutionary fervour -- "Le fer est vaincu par l'épieu". As already seen there are those who see in this line Baudelaire's prediction that the proletariat will overthrow the bourgeoisie. Such an interpretation can only be reached by interpreting the verb est vaincu as though it were sera vaincu. We see little in the poem or in the chapter that would automatically impose such an interpretation. Restoring the intent of the verb to coincide with the tense Baudelaire gave it we see that the race of Abel's shame is not what will be but what is. Here we seem to be at the heart of what the poet seems to be creating through his reversal and fictionalization of the traditional roles of Cain and Abel. By drawing the line from iron and spear to another Biblical analogy we see that man has ignored the call to beat swords into plowshares (Isaiah II,4). Abel's shame, whoever he may be, is that he has produced a society where plowshares are beaten into swords and where pruning hooks have become spears. "Le fer est vaincu par l'épieu"; iron is conquered by the spear. "Abel et Caïn" is not therefore a poem which incites the worker to revolt in the hope of a better life. The battle is already

lost. Such a realization makes the tearing down of God as ultimately futile a gesture, as was Saint Peter's denial.

Far from limiting or negating the social value in this poem, such conclusions give Baudelaire's social views greater depth. Part of the problem in the limited attention these views have received is the tendency to exaggerate the revolutionary fervour of the period 1848-1852 and then to exaggerate his retreat into conservative reaction in the 1850's. It is becoming clear both through his journalism, which we have studied, and now his most socially involved poetry that Baudelaire never was a true revolutionary in his writing. Even "Abel et Caïn", the poem most often used to back up such an assertion, fails to perform the task. It is a poem that does nothing to dispel the belief that revolt is at the very most a manifestation of human frustration at its height. That such a revolt might lead to positive results and human betterment is ruled out by a careful reading of this poem. It is improper to use this poem therefore as proof of Baudelaire's commitment as a revolutionary. The presence of social revolt is there but beyond the facile interpretation of the closing passage in isolation, the poem remains Catholic in its outreach. Social revolt like the excessive degradation of the preceding chapter Fleurs du Mal joins a long list of those futile efforts to escape the spectacle of universal sin and the consequences of the Fall.⁵² Social revolt as seen in "Abel et Caïn" may be seen as justified and even necessary in a world where action is no longer the sister of the dream, yet the Cains of the world are advised to be careful of their immense appetites, for revolt is only a temporary distraction from the essential realization that the battle is forever lost.

In the third and concluding poem of the section Révolte, Baudelaire comes the closest to Satanism in the "Litanies de Satan" (FM, 246).

Gloire et louange à toi, Satan, dans les hauteurs
Du Ciel, où tu régnes, et dans les profondeurs
De l'Enfer, où, vaincu, tu rêves en silence!
Fais que mon âme un jour, sous l'Arbre de Science,
Près de toi se repose, à l'heure où sur ton front
Comme un Temple nouveau ses rameaux s'épandront!

While "Les Litanies de Satan" is overtly Satanic in imagery there are numerous facets which frequently escape those who would be lulled by the deliberate audacity of the references to Satan. The poem contains a theme common to the other two poems of Révolte in that the poet presents us with another voice in the dialectic of futility. Satan is not praised as a conquering force capable of ultimate victory over anything; he is seen as the embodiment of the Romantic theme of the vanquished exile.⁵³ "Les Litanies de Satan" is also the poem that gives us the largest repertoire of social references. As in certain poems that were destined for Les Limbes, "Les Litanies de Satan" provides an excellent portrait of the lower classes faced with no future save a pervading sense of hopelessness. Numerous references to specific social types are seen in the following (FM, 244-245):

Toi, qui, même aux lépreux, aux parias maudits,
Enseignes par l'amour le goût du Paradis,
(...)
Toi qui fais au proscrit ce regard calme et haut
Qui damne tout un peuple autour d'un échafaud.
(...)
Toi, qui magiquement, assouplis les vieux os
De l'ivrogne attardé foulé par les chevaux,

(...)
 Toi qui, pour consoler l'homme frêle qui souffre,
 Nous appris à mêler le salpêtre et le soufre,
 (...)
 Toi qui poses ta marque, ô complice subtil,
 Sur le front de Crésus impitoyable et vil,
 (...)
 Toi qui mets dans les yeux et dans les cœurs des filles
 Le culte de la plaie et l'amour des guenilles,
 (...)
 Bâton des exilés, lampe des inventeurs,
 Confesseur des pendus et des conspirateurs.

These social types have one thing in common in the poem: their hymn to Satan, symbol of defeat. The call to revolt is a powerful force in the poem for Satan's domain is that of a world where the individual, crushed beneath the inequities of the social order, sees in Satan and revolt his only hope. In the line "Nous appris à mêler le salpêtre et le soufre", Antoine Adam sees references to the guns and bombs which were the only ways in 1848 that the parias could show society that its order was one of usurpation and violence.⁵⁴ In the line "Sur le front de Crésus impitoyable et vil" Baudelaire makes one of his most brutal attacks on the bourgeoisie. A manuscript variant shows that he had at one time wished to be even more specific in his condemnation by using the figure of a banker in this line: "Sur le front du banquier impitoyable et vil" (FM, 147n). Satan has therefore placed his mark on the forehead of this bourgeois in the same way that Cain's race had been marked by God. Several critics have tried to overcome this paradox within the poem in which we see Satan as the hope of the oppressed bestowing his only visible mark on the oppressor. By a most incredible process of logic Pierre Drieu la Rochelle attempts to prove that there is no condemnation of the bourgeoisie in the poem.

Baudelaire dit au Crésus, au riche qu'il est vil; mais, d'autre part, il admet que Satan lui pose sa marque. Or, dans tout le reste du poème, quand Satan pose sa marque, c'est une marque de faveur, tant au regard de Satan que de Baudelaire. C'est donc qu'il a quelque chose à approuver dans les riches impitoyables; c'est donc un genre de malfaiteurs, qui est aussi intéressant que les autres. Et en effet "vil" n'est pas un mot absolument péjoratif chez Baudelaire.⁵⁵

Drieu la Rochelle is correct in drawing this apparent contradiction to our attention yet his attempt to bridge the paradox by stating that the bourgeoisie was little more than a type of wrongdoer and that the word "vil" was really not a bad word here, seems rather hasty. In the first place, "Les Litanies de Satan" is not a portrait of either social or universal malfaiteurs; it is a portrait of social and universal victims. Satan, the vanquished, appears as Saviour of a vanquished race portrayed in the colours of a host of social types. Crésus is not therefore another wrongdoer among wrongdoers; he is a wrongdoer among victims. How then do we explain the fact that Satan, hero of the oppressed, has given his only visible mark of approval to the oppressor? The only problem comes in explaining this if we insist on making Baudelaire a true admirer of Satan. Satan's alliance with the oppressor subtly indicates that here we do not have a romanticized Miltonian or Byronic hero, but the Christian vision of a being who may well sympathize with the oppressed, being himself the author of their oppression. Beyond the flaunting of Satanic imagery, Baudelaire's Satan in "Les Litanies de Satan" is the same force found in the preface poem, "Au Lecteur".

Sur l'oreiller du mal c'est Satan Trismégiste
 Qui berce longuement notre esprit enchanté,
 Et le riche métal de notre volonté

Est tout vaporisé par ce savant chimiste.

C'est le Diable qui tient les fils qui nous remuent!
 Aux objets répugnants nous trouvons des appas;
 Chaque jour vers l'Enfer nous descendons d'un pas,
 Sans horreur, à travers des ténèbres qui puent.

Baudelaire's Satan if one penetrates the literary facade has none of the tragically Byronic or Miltonian qualities so frequently attributed to the vanquished hero. Here is a figure which beneath its disguise as saviour resembles more the beast of the Apocalypse than the tragic nobility of Paradise Lost. Satan may be portrayed in this poem as the Saviour to the masses, but Baudelaire, by his identification of Satan with the oppressor Crésus, clearly shows the futility and falshood of the role. How quick we are always to see in Baudelaire's references to Satan, a heritage of the Romantic school! How slow we are to integrate these same references into the more Catholic visions of the Anti-Christ and False Prophet. Baudelaire's Satan in this poem, despite his promise of salvation, is a form of false prophet. His words of comfort are false since he is himself allied with the oppressor. Beyond this truth however, Baudelaire does not suggest that he remains any less a force of hope for the masses. The truth lies however in the realization that the masses are wrong, just as they have been wrong in "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" and "Abel et Caïn".

The theme of revolt throughout the entire chapter therefore is an extension of the Catholic tradition of Eve and Cain. Even social revolt is not portrayed as a positive force with the ability to accomplish precise objectives. It is portrayed as an exercise in futility.

The social aspects of revolt in Les Fleurs du Mal are, from the beginning, therefore, completely divorced from any trace of optimism that may have been noticeable at the very beginning of Baudelaire's journalistic writings in 1848. What Baudelaire has allowed to surface in his poetry is a portrait of social revolt as perhaps an inevitable part of the human condition, especially for those elements of society who have been stripped of the last vestige of human dignity. Yet while revolt is perhaps inevitable, so also is the defeat. If there is one single message in the entire chapter it is that revolt in general, and social revolt in particular, are futile.

Yet while these conclusions are drawn from a poem by poem analysis of the chapter Révolte it is also important to ask ourselves what role these conclusions might play in the dialectic of the Fleurs du Mal. In 1857 it is a somewhat muted role. Spleen et Idéal had established a role for the dual postulations of man.

Il y a dans tout homme à toute heure, deux postulations simultanées, l'une vers Dieu, l'autre vers Satan. L'invocation à Dieu est un désir de monter en grade; celle de Satan, ou animalité est une joie de descendre (J1, 62).

This chapter had ended however on a more optimistic note before plunging the reader into the degradation of Fleurs du Mal. Because Révolte follows immediately, the theme of revolt and the recognition of even its futility are seen as another evil flower, a flower that has sufficient vitality to exist on its own, yet one condemned to the same sense of futility as the others. In 1857 Révolte is not the final desperate step in man's progression toward death; it is only part of the dialectic. From the recognition of the futility of

revolt, the 1857 Fleurs du Mal makes an abrupt change in tone as it turns toward the still hoped-for evasion in Le Vin and La Mort.

Chapter IV, Le Vin, presents us with three poems ("L'Ame du vin", "Le Vin des Chiffonniers", "Le Vin de l'Assassin") which have already been analyzed as contributing to Les Limbes: Here the theme of wine as a comforter to those oppressed elements of society is best summed up in the closing stanza of Le Vin des Chiffonniers (FM, 211).

Pour noyer le rancoeur et bercér l'indolence
De tous ces vieux maudits qui meurent en silence
Dieu touché de remords, avait fait le sommeil;
L'Homme ajouta le Vin, fils sacré du Soleil!

By examining these lines as they appear in successive manuscripts we see that the only major change by 1857 is one which attributes to man in 1857 what had previously been attributed to God.

Manuscript I

C'est ainsi que le vin règne par ses bienfaits,
Et chante ses exploits par le gosier de l'homme
Grandeur de la bonté de Celui que tout nomme,
Qui nous avait déjà donné le doux sommeil.⁵⁶

Manuscripts II & III

Pour apaiser le cœur et calmer la souffrance
De tous les innocents qui meurent en silence
Dieu leur avait déjà donné le doux sommeil;
Il ajouta le vin, fils sacré du Soleil.⁵⁷

Although the change from God to man as the creator of wine as a source of liberation is a significant change it does not alter the basic portrait of wine as a social liberator. The movement toward more

personal questions is further accentuated by the two new poems in the cycle. In both "Le Vin du solitaire" and "Le Vin des amants" the poet abandons his sketches of the suffering elements within society and concentrates on the portrait of the individual and the artist. The original social message of Les Limbes is now muted in the Fleurs du Mal by the concluding poems.

The social message of the three original wine poems is also weakened by being separated from other poems which were to have appeared in Les Limbes. Poems of a similar theme were placed primarily at the end of the chapter Spleen et Idéal. By dispersing the effect the poet thus reduces a dominant theme to a series of fragments. /And while it is obvious that we can reassemble these fragments by a careful juxtaposition of individual poems, it would be a disservice to the Fleurs du Mal of 1857 to insist too forcefully on their continued importance. Both within the work as a whole and within individual chapters such as Le Vin the addition of new poems to old fragments from Les Limbes has pushed social concerns into a distant background.

The final chapter La Mort is the concluding example of this evolution. Of the three poems in the 1857 chapter only La Mort des pauvres had been associated with Les Limbes. In such a context death was almost exclusively seen as a liberation from social reality (FM, 250).

C'est la Mort qui console, hélas! et qui fait revivre;
 C'est le but de la vie, et c'est le seul espoir
 Qui comme un élixir, nous monte et nous enivre,
 Et nous donne le cœur de marcher jusqu'au soir;
 (...)
 C'est un Ange qui tient dans ses doigts magnétiques
 Le sommeil et le don des rêves extatiques,

Et qui refait le lit des gens pauvres et nus;

C'est la gloire des Dieux, c'est le grenier mystique,

C'est la bourse du pauvre et sa patrie antique,

C'est le portique ouvert sur les Cieux inconnus.

This cautious note of optimism is retained and expanded in 1857 in the poems "La Mort des amants" and "La Mort des artistes". In the former, death is described in impressionistic pastels. (FM, 249).

Un soir fait de rose et de bleu mystique,

Nous échangerons un éclair unique,

Comme un long sanglot, tout chargé d'adieux,

In the latter poem a note of cynicism is nevertheless accompanied by a desperate hope that in death there may be at least some meaning for the artist. 58

Yet while a note of optimism persists in the section La Mort its application to the social theme of the poor has been completely eclipsed by the application of the theme of death to Art and Love. Thus the particular arrangement of these poems in the concluding chapter of the 1857 Fleurs du Mal gives us a significant insight into the priorities and beliefs that Baudelaire wished to dominate his work.

The poetic theme of social reality, fragmented and relegated to a minor role, is nevertheless present in all chapters of the work. As a small yet vital facet of spleen in Spleen et Idéal, social reality becomes a part of the degradation and futility of Fleurs du Mal and Révolte. It also takes its place in the cautious optimism of Le Vin and La Mort. Seen therefore in an overview of the 1857 first edition

it is clear that the theme of man and the poet in society has not been abandoned, as many would have us believe. The poet is merely marking time on this issue.

By 1861, the Fleurs du Mal has a new conclusion and a greatly expanded vision. The importance that the poet's evolving attitudes toward society and art receives in this new Fleurs du Mal makes this one of the most interesting periods of Baudelaire's literary production.

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¹ La Revue anecdotique des exentricités contemporaines, April, 1857. See W.T. Bandy, "The Revue Anecdotique and Baudelaire", The Romantic Review, Feb., 1938, p. 69.

² P. Mansell Jones, Baudelaire (Cambridge, Eng.: Bowes & Bowes, 1952).

³ Michael Hamburger, "Poets and Philosophers," New Statesman, 43-44 (1952), p. 143.

⁴ See W.T. Bandy, "Critique de l'édition des Fleurs du Mal de Marcel A. Ruff, 1957," Modern Language Notes, LXXXIII (1958), pp. 631-632. On the centennial of the Fleurs du Mal Bandy states that by actual count no less than 200 editions had appeared of the FM exclusive of translation, and that 79 of these editions had appeared since the end of World War II. Bandy concludes that this is a certain indication of Baudelaire's increasing popularity.

It is of interest to note that no less a critic than Albert Feuillerat has deplored the fact that so little attention has been given to the first edition. See "L'Architecture des Fleurs du Mal", Studies by Members of the French Department (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 221-330.

⁵ The actual dedication reads: Au Poète impeccable/ Au parfait magicien
ès lettres françaises/ A mon très cher, et très vénéré/ Maître et ami/
THEOPHILE GAUTIER/ Avec les sentiments/ De la plus profonde humilité/
Je dédie/ Ces fleurs maladières/ C.B.

In 1857 there was a variant: "ès langue française". See, Les Fleurs du Mal (Crépet, Blin, Pichois), p. 372 for the first versions of the dedication to Gautier.

⁶ Les Fleurs du Mal, ed. Antoine Adam (Paris: Garnier, 1966), pp. i-ii. "Mais voici qu'à la fin de 1848 apparaît un titre nouveau. L'Echo des marchands de vin de novembre 1848 annonce en effet: "Charles Baudelaire, Michel Lévy éditeur, rue Neuve-Vivienne, Les Limbes, Poésies par Charles Baudelaire. Ce livre paraîtra à Paris et à Leipsic, le 24 février 1849." Jean Wallon, qui était un ami du poète, annonça également Les Limbes dans

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La Presse de 1849.

(...)

Pendant quelques années, Baudelaire s'en tint à ce projet de Limbes."

Adam concludes his remarks on the origin of the projected Limbes by drawing our attention to a letter Baudelaire wrote to his mother in August, 1852 (CGI, p. 193)

"Mon livre de poésies je sais qu'il y a quelques années il aurait suffi à la réputation d'un homme. Il eût fait un tapage de tous les diables. Mais aujourd'hui, les conditions, les circonstances, tout est changé."

The above quote in combination with the tone of Prarond's note on Baudelaire in De quelques écrivains nouveaux are proof for Adam that Baudelaire had renounced the idea of publishing Les Limbes by 1852.

There exists at this moment no proof that Adam's conclusion is not correct.

7

Les Fleurs du Mal, ed. Jacques Crépet (Paris: Conard, 1930), pp. 300-301.

In compiling this list of 27 poems Crépet uses the following sources:

- Le Magasin des familles (June 1850) -- 2 poems
- Le Messager de l'Assemblée (April, 1851) -- 11 poems
- La Revue de Paris -- two packets of poems sent -- the first one lost -- the second published by Van Bever, Douze Poèmes de Charles Baudelaire, publiés en facsimilé sur les manuscrits originaux (G. Crès, 1917)
- La Revue de Paris (October, 1852) -- the poem "L'Homme (libre) et la Mer", which Crépet believes may have belonged to the lost packet of poems.

8

Crépet, Fleurs du Mal (1930), pp. 301-302.

9

Les Fleurs du Mal, ed. Adam, p. viii.

See FM, ed. Crépet, pp. 302-303. The popularity of the names Limbes is shown by the publication in 1852 of another book by the same name: Les Limbes, poésies intimes de Georges Durand, recueillies et publiées par son ami Th. Véron. Crépet concludes that Baudelaire need not have feared any comparison.

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10

FM, ed. Adam, p.viii; ed. Crépet, p.302.

Critics vary widely in their ability to see social motivation in Les Limbes:

- Marcel A. Ruff, L'Esprit du Mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne (Paris: Colin, 1955), p.252 feels that the 12 poems published in 1852 owed nothing to social events.

- F.W. Leakey, "Baudelaire: The Poet as Moralist in Studies in Modern French Literature presented to P. Mansell Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p.197, comes to quite a different conclusion: "(...): the change of title corresponds with a marked reorientation of Baudelaire's moral, social, and aesthetic attitudes, reflected not only in his outward espousal of Revolutionary and Republican doctrines in 1848 and in the increasing 'spiritualist' tendency of his prose writings, but also in a small number of poems of overtly moralizing character, composed or published between 1848 and 1852. It would seem that, in the Revolution of 1848, Baudelaire's rebelliousness found a provisional outlet or safety-valve, and that by a familiar paradox, his new-found enthusiasm for social and political renovation was accompanied by a certain modified return to moral and aesthetic conformity. Certainly it is within the context of Baudelaire's direct involvement in the 'troubles' of 1848 and 1851, that one must interpret those two surprising manifestations of 1851-2: the eulogy of Pierre Dupont, the diatribe against L'Ecole païenne, in both of which we find him veering unmistakably towards the camp of those who proclaim the moral function and utility of art."

- Léon Cellier, "Baudelaire et les Limbes", Studi Francesi, 24 (1964), p.433, reaches a conclusion concerning the social significance of the title and of Jean Wallon's comment. The books to which he refers in the following statement are: 1. Jean Pommier, Dans les Chemins de Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1945), and 2. Michel Butor, Histoire extraordinaire sur un rêve de Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1961).

Cellier states:

"Pour l'historien du Romantisme à qui cette période (1848-1852) est familière une telle interprétation (he is referring to the Wallon statement) n'a rien de déroutant. Il suffit, du reste, de se reporter au grand Larousse pour y apprendre que limbes était le nom donné dans le système de Fourier à la première phase de la vie du genre humain où à son enfance". De Pommier à Butor, l'inspiration fouriériste du volume est admise sans difficulté.

Selon J. Pommier, "Fourier appelait 'périodes lymbiques' (sic) l'âge de début social et de malheur industriel". Selon M. Butor, "l'auteur du Nouveau Monde industriel qualifie de lymbique (sic) la civilisation dans laquelle il se trouve, et qui doit être supplantée par une organisation

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de la Société dite 'harmonienne'". M. Butor rappelle que, dès 1843, Baudelaire avait proposé un article à la Démocratie pacifique, organe de V. Considérant, l'un des disciples les plus actifs du théoricien socialiste. J. Pommier décèle une influence fouriériste dans le Salon de 1846. (...) En particulier, il convient de relever la note inscrite par Baudelaire lui-même en marge de la strophe supprimée de la Rançon: Socialisme mitigé. (...) Concluons avec mesure que, Baudelaire voulant publier des vers d'inspiration moderne, la tendance illustrée par les socialistes français dont on sait l'attrait sur la jeunesse, ne pouvait pas ne pas laisser de trace dans le volume, et comme M. Butor, qu'à l'époque, la signification politique d'un tel titre était évidente."

11

FM, ed. Adam, p. vii in, "Cette formule figure dans la note qui précède le texte de quelques pièces des Limbes dans Le Magasin des familles en juin 1850. On la retrouve avec des différences insignifiantes dans Le Messager de l'Assemblée en avril 1851."

12

FM, "L'Ame du Vin", p. 207.

NOTE: All quotations from poetry in the Fleurs du Mal will use the text of the 1857 and 1861 editions. Poems from the projected Limbes will have those manuscript variants indicated if they have a role to play in interpreting the poem differently from the definitive text in the Fleurs du Mal.

All page references to the Fleurs du Mal are from the Crépet, Blin, Pichois, edition (1968).

PA, "Du Vin et du Haschisch", p.204. The prose text reads as follows: "car j'éprouve une joie extraordinaire quand je tombe au fond d'un gosier altéré par le travail. La poitrine d'un honnête homme est un séjour qui me plaît bien mieux que ces caves mélancoliques et insensibles."

See FM, ed. Adam, p.40ln. We agree fully with Adam when he states: C'est le travailleur qui mérite de boire. Sa chaude poitrine, son coeur honnête attendrissent curieusement Baudelaire. On s'étonnerait qu'il ait éprouvé ces enthousiasmes avant 1848." It is important to note however that such sentiments for humanity would not have been out of the ordinary before 1848 -- only this particular isolation of the worker from the total picture.

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13

"L'Ame du Vin," FM, 207.

"Car j'éprouve une joie immense quand je tombe
 Dans le gosier d'un homme usé par ses travaux,
 Et sa chaude poitrine* est une douce tombe
 Où je me plais bien mieux que dans mes froids caveaux.

* The Ms. variant "poitrine honnête" served to emphasize the tone of the original title: "Le Vin des honnêtes gens".

14

FM, "Bohémiens en voyage", p.48

"Fait couler le rocher et fleurir le désert
 Devant ces voyageurs* pour lesquels est ouvert
 L'empire familier des ténèbres futures."

* Ms. variant: "chers voyageurs" -- the same sense of identification and sympathy as found in variants to "L'Ame du Vin" before being removed from the Fleurs du Mal.

15

FM, "Châtiment de l'orgueil," p.53.

"Sale, inutile et laid comme une chose usée,"

16

FM, "Le Crépuscule du Matin", p.203-204.

21. Une mer de brouillards baignant les édifices

26. la Seine déserte

27. Et le sombre Paris

"Le Crépuscule du Soir", pp.184-185.

15. La Prostitution s'allume dans les rues

19. au sein de la cité de fange

"La Fontaine de Sang", p.226.

5. A travers la cité comme dans un champ clos

6. Il s'en va transformant les pavés en flots

"Spleen", Pluviôse, irrité(...)p.142.

4. Et la mortalité sur les faubourgs brumeux

"Le Vin des Chiffonniers", pp.209-210.

3. Au cœur d'un vieux faubourg, labyrinthe fangeux.

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17

FM, "Châtiments de l'orgueil", p.53.
 "Tout le chaos roula dans cette intelligence,
 Temple autrefois vivant, plein d'ordre et d'opulence,
 Sous les plafonds duquel tant de pompe avait lui."

18

FM, "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre", p.237.
 "Comme un tyran gorgé de viande et de vins,"

19

FM, "A une Mendiante rousse", p.166.
 "-- Cependant tu vas gueusant
 Quelque vieux débris gisant
 Au seuil de quelque Véfour
 De carrefour;"

We are indebted to Antoine Adam (FM, ed. Adam, p.380n) for having drawn this historical detail to our attention.

20

FM, "L'Ame du Vin"; p.208.
 "J'allumerai les yeux de ta femme ravie*
 A ton fils je rendrai sa force et ses couleurs
 Et serai pour ce frêle athlète de la vie
 L'huile qui raffermir les muscles des lutteurs."

*Ms. variant, "femme attendrie": another example of the more compassionate tone of Les Limbes, and its subsequent hardening by the 1st edition of Les Fleurs du Mal.

21

A similar linking of the theme of poverty and the hospital takes place in the following poem from Les Limbes:

FM, "Le Crépuscule du soir", p.186.
 "C'est l'heure où les douleurs des malades s'aigrissent!
 La sombre Nuit les prend à la gorge; ils finissent
 Leur destinée et vont vers le gouffre commun;
 L'hôpital se remplit de leurs soupirs. --Plus d'un
 Ne viendra plus chercher la soupe parfumée,
 Au coin du feu, le soir, auprès d'une âme aimée."

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22

FM, ed. Adam, p.426n.

"H. Dérieux a montré dans un article du Mercure de France (1er octobre 1917) ce que ces vers doivent à La Comédie de la Mort. Ils avaient pour sujet, quand Baudelaire les composa, le thème de la mort traité dans son sens le plus général. C'est plus tard, et lorsqu'il décida de la placer dans un ensemble, que Baudelaire lui donna un titre qui en restreignait la portée. Comme il avait écrit La Mort des amants et La Mort des artistes, Baudelaire décida que son poème de La Mort s'intitulerait La Mort des pauvres."

23.

FM, "L'Ame du Vin", p.207-208.

5. Je sais combien il faut, sur la colline en flamme,
6. De peine, de sueur et de soleil cuisant
10. Dans le gosier d'un homme usé par ses travaux,

24

FM, "Le Vin des chiffonniers", pp.209-211.

3. Au coeur d'un vieux faubourg, labyrinthe fangeux
4. Où l'humanité grouille en ferments orageux,
13. Ouï, ces gens harcelés de chagrins de ménage,
14. Moulus par le travail et tourmentés par l'âge,
15. Ereintés et pliant sous un tas de débris,
16. Vomissement confus de l'énorme Paris,
29. Pour noyer le rancœur et bercer l'indolence
30. De tous ces vieux maudits qui meurent en silence,
31. Dieu, touché de remords, avait fait le sommeil;
32. L'Homme ajouta le Vin, fils sacré du Soleil!

The manuscript variants and versions of the poem constitute a full study in themselves. W.T. Bandy, "Le Chiffonnier de Baudelaire" RHLF, LVIII (1957), pp.580-581, counts five different stages.

The reader is advised to check the various stages in either of the recent good critical editions of the Fleurs du Mal, i.e. CBP, pp.209-211; or Adam, pp.120-122.

The only variants that offer us interest are found in the manuscript from the Godoy collection (See, FM, Adam, pp.120-122). These variants show that at one stage Baudelaire gave the poem a slightly more specific reference to the climate of the time. Quoting from this manuscript we see:

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1. Au fond de ces quartiers sombres et tortueux
2. Où vivent par milliers des ménages frileux,
7. Et libre, sans souci des patrouilles funèbres
13. Oui, ces gens tout voûtés sous le poids des débris
14. Et des fumiers infects que rejette Paris,
15. Harassés et chargés de chagrins de ménage,
16. Moulus par le travail et tourmentés par l'âge,

25

FM, "L'Ame du Vin", p.208.

15. Les coudes sur la table et retroussant tes manches,

"A une Mendiante rousse", p.164.

12. Tes sabots lourds.

"Le Crépuscule du Matin", p.204.

27. Et le sombre Paris, en se frottant les yeux,
28. Empoignait ses outils, vieillard laborieux.

26

CE, "Salon de 1845", pp.77-78. "Au vent qui soufflera demain nul ne tend l'oreille; et pourtant l'héroïsme de la vie moderne nous entoure et nous presse (...). Celui-là sera le peintre, le vrai peintre, qui saura arracher à la vie actuelle son côté épique (...)"

27

Jacques Crépet's conclusion (CGI, 153-154n) that La Rançon was destined for Les Limbes seems to us to be irrefutable.

28

"Pièces diverses," FM, eds. CBP, p.321.

29

FM, 321n; and FM, ed. Adam, p.188n.

30

FM, ed. Adam, pp.445-446n.

31

See our notes, 13, 14, and 20 for this chapter which show how this evolution is seen in the manuscript variants.

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CG IV, 9. To Alfred de Vigny, December 12 or 13, 1861. "Le seul éloge que je sollicite pour ce livre est qu'on reconnaisse qu'il n'est pas un pur album et qu'il a un commencement et une fin. Tous les poèmes nouveaux ont été faits pour être adaptés à un cadre singulier que j'avais choisi."

The above is sufficient proof for us that Baudelaire did indeed construct his work much like a novel. However the question rages as to what extent this architecture is important. Some even feel it of no value. Here are some of the studies in question.

- Burns, Colin A. "Architecture secrète": Notes on the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, Nottingham French Studies, V, 2 (1966), pp.67-69.
- Jacques Crépet, CG1, 408n.
- Feuillerat, Albert. "L'Architecture des Fleurs du Mal," in Studies by the Members of the French Department (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp.221-330.
- Le Dantec, Yves-Gérard. "Une Architecture secrète," Nouvelles Littéraires, 6 June 1957, p.5.
- Lindberger, Orjan. "De l'Architecture dans les Fleurs du Mal." Studia Neophilologica, 28 (1956), pp.244-248.
- Mossop, D.J. Baudelaire's Tragic Hero. A Study of the Architecture of Les Fleurs du Mal (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).
- Ourousof, le Prince Alexandre. Le Tombeau de Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1869).
- Porché, François. Baudelaire, histoire d'une âme (Paris: Flammarion, 1945).
- Ruff, Marcel A. Sur l'Architecture des Fleurs du Mal (Paris: Colin, 1931).
- Turnell, Martin. Baudelaire, A study of his Poetry (London: H. Hamilton, 1953).

33

CG2, 393. Letter to Alphonse de Calonne, 17 Dec. 1859.

34

Robert Vivier, L'Originalité de Baudelaire (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1926), p. 23.

35

FM, ed. Adam, p.408n.

36

FM, ed. Adam, p.407.

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The following are the 12 poems that formed the second chapter, Fleurs du Mal in 1857. The dates refer to the date of publication, or intended publication as in the case of the 12 poems collected by Van Bever.

78. La Destruction	1855	<u>Revue des Deux Mondes</u>
79. Une Martyre	1857	<u>FM</u>
80. Lesbos	1850	<u>Les Poètes de l'Amour</u>
81. Femmes Damnées (A la pâle)	1857	<u>FM</u>
82. Femmes Damnées (Comme un)	1857	<u>FM</u>
83. Les Deux bonnes soeurs	1857	<u>FM</u>
84. La Fontaine de Sang	1852	Van Bever, <u>Douze Poèmes</u>
85. Allégorie	1857	<u>FM</u>
86. La Béatrice	1857	<u>FM</u>
87. Les Métamorphoses du Vampire	1852	Van Bever, <u>Douze Poèmes</u>
88. Un Voyage a Cythère	1852	Van Bever, <u>Douze Poèmes</u>
89. L'Amour et le crâne	1855	<u>Revue des Deux Mondes</u>

38

For the most extensive account of the trial and condemnation of 6 poems in the 1857 Fleurs du Mal see FM, eds. CBP, pp. 397-473.

39

Attention is drawn to the theme of revolt in the following critical studies:

- Camus, Albert. L'Homme révolté (Paris: Gallimard, 1951). Baudelaire is discussed in the chapter on the revolt of the dandy.
- Fouchet, Max-Pol. "Baudelaire ou le héros vaincu," Nouvelles Littéraires (April, 1967), 1, 7.
- Fowlie, Wallace. Climate of Violence. The French Literary Tradition from Baudelaire to the Present (New York: Macmillan, 1967).
- Funaroff, S. "Baudelaire as Rebel," New Republic, LXXVII (1934), pp. 259-260.
- Jakworth, R.A. "A Study of Baudelaire's Three Poems of 'Révolte'," Diss., Ohio State, 1958.
- Lefebvre, Henri. "Vers un Romantisme révolutionnaire," NRF, Oct. 1957, pp. 644-672.

For articles on Baudelaire in 1848 see Chapter II note 1 of our study.

40

FM, ed. Adam, p. 418n.

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41

FM, "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre", p. 238.
 "Ah. Jésus, souviens toi du Jardin des Olives!
 Dans ta simplicité tu priais à genoux

42

The following articles in the Bibliography present a good cross section of the theories on Baudelaire's use of Satan in his work.

- Jean Massin, Baudelaire entre Dieu et Satan (Paris: Julliard, 1946).
- Max Milner, "Baudelaire" in Le Diable dans la littérature française de Cazotte à Baudelaire, 1772-1861, 2 vols. (Paris: Corti, 1960), I, pp. 423-483.
- Marcel Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne (Paris: Colin, 1955).

43

FM, "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre," p. 238.

44

Max Milner, Le Diable dans la littérature, I, p. 423. M. Milner concludes that no author gave Satan a more important place in his work in the 19th century than did Baudelaire.

45

L.J. Bondy, "The Legacy of Baudelaire," The University of Toronto Quarterly, 14, 4 (1945), p. 419.

46

Charles Baudelaire, Les Fleurs du Mal, Poulet-Malassis & de Broise, 1857.

The quotation is taken from Baudelaire's introductory note to the section Révolte. These notes were removed in 1861 offering us an interesting speculation that this may be one of the "basses flatteries" he planned to remove. It is obvious from this quotation that Baudelaire is defending himself in advance against possible charges of anti-religious or anti-social literature.

That the whole section Révolte was brought before the court would tend to confirm that Baudelaire's fears were grounded. Even though found innocent on these charges the fact that the message of his note was overlooked as concerns other poems may be the origin of what he meant, in the discarded prefaces to the 1861 edition, when he stated that the journalists had proved ungrateful to the "flatteries" he had thrown in their direction.

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47.

The following article by Louis Goudall appeared a few months before the publication of the Fleurs du Mal. It is quoted by Jacques Crépet, ed., FM. (1930), p.473.

"Abel, type primitif du bon jeune homme tel que M. Vêron le faisait revivre il y a deux ans, pour l'édification des abonnés du Constitutionnel, Abel le timide, Abel l'innocent, Abel le pudique, fut le premier représentant de l'Ecole du Bon Sens, comme il fut aussi le premier bourgeois.

Et Caïn, le farouche Caïn, --Caïn le révolté, Caïn le fratricide, --en même temps que son frère fondait l'école de la sagesse, de la modération et du bon sens, il créait, lui, celle de l'insurrection morale, de la fantaisie déchevillée, de la rébellion à outrance et du romantisme à tous crins.

Oui certes, Caïn fut le premier romantique, et le précurseur de la tragédie shakespearienne, du drame byronien et du théâtre hugotique. --Sa hache ensanglantée devait, plus tard, et tour à tour, devenir le poignard de Macbeth, le sabre de Glaïeur et la fine lame d'acier deux fois trempé, --la bonne lame de Tolède.

O poignard de Macbeth! O bonne lame de Tolède! Qu'êtes-vous devenus?

(Le Figaro, Feb. 24, 1856)

48.

FM, ed. Adam, p.422n.

49

In particular:

- Georges Cattaul, "Le Dualisme de Baudelaire," in Orphisme et prophétie chez les poètes français, 1850-1950 (Paris: Plon, 1965), p.105.

- N.H. Clement, Romanticism in France (New York: MLA, 1939), p.245.

- P. Drieu la Rochelle, "Note sur la doctrine religieuse de Baudelaire," in Sur les Ecrivains (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), p.338.

- Jean Prévost, Baudelaire: essai sur l'inspiration et la création poétiques (Paris: Mercure de France, 1953), p.123.

50

Georges Cattaul, "Le Dualisme de Baudelaire," p.105 illustrates to what extent some critics will grasp at any straws to link Baudelaire to a Satanic tradition. Cattaul reaches out as far as Islam when he states that in the Moslem tradition Iblis (Lucifer) invented music whereas in the Christian tradition it is a descendant of Cain. Cattaul wonders whether Baudelaire was familiar with this connection.

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51

FM, ed. Adam, p.422n.

52

This theme is most admirably summed up in FM, "Le Voyage," p. 260.

"O cerveaux enfantins!"

Pour ne pas oublier la chose capitale
Nous avons vu partout, et sans l'avoir cherché,
Du haut jusques en bas de l'échelle fatale,
Le spectacle ennuyeux de l'immortel péché:"

53

FM, ed. Adam, p.423n.

"Comme le mythe de Caïn, celui de Satan était au centre du romantisme, et les plus grands noms de la nouvelle littérature avaient parlé de la tragique figure dessinée par Milton. Schiller notamment avait écrit: "Nous nous mettons spontanément du côté du vaincu, et par cet artifice, Milton, panégyriste de l'Enfer, transforme le plus doux des lecteurs et pour quelques instants l'identifie à l'ange déchu" (Selbstrecension des Räuber). Pour Baudelaire aussi, Satan, est avant tout le Vaincu.

Ce n'est pas en effet comme inspirateur du mal qu'il apparaît dans le poème de Baudelaire. C'est comme le symbole d'une énergie héroïque que la défaite même n'a pas réussi à briser. Et peut-être pour commenter Les Litanies de Satan n'existe-t-il pas de texte qui les éclaire mieux que ces lignes de Shelley dans Défense de la poésie: "Rien ne peut dépasser l'énergie et la splendeur du caractère de Satan, tel qu'il se trouve exprimé dans Le Paradis perdu. C'est une erreur de supposer qu'il puisse avoir été conçu comme la personnification populaire du mal. Le Satan de Milton est, moralement supérieur à son Dieu, autant que celui qui préserve dans son dessein malgré l'adversité et la torture est supérieur à celui qui, dans la froide sécurité d'un triomphe inévitable, exerce sur son ennemi vaincu la plus horrible vengeance."

54

FM, ed. Adam, p. 424n.

55

Pierre Drieu de la Rochelle, "Notes sur la doctrine religieuse," pp.337-338. This critic tries also to explain the paradox by a hair-splitting distinction between what Baudelaire might mean by the great

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capitalist and the petty bourgeois -- making the great capitalist somewhat excusable because of the enormity of his fault. (It is an explanation that adds nothing to this question in our opinion).

56.

FM, ed. Adam, p. 121n.

57

FM, ed. Adam, p. 122n.

58

FM, "La Mort des artistes," p. 252.

Il en est qui jamais n'ont connu leur Idole,
Et ces sculpteurs damnés et marqués d'un affront,
Qui vont se martelant la poitrine et le front,

N'ont qu'un espoir, étrange et sombre Capitale!
C'est que la Mort, planant comme un soleil nouveau
Fera s'épanouir les fleurs de leur cerveau!

CHAPTER VII

'LES TABLEAUX PARISIENS' AND

LES FLEURS DU MAL

1861

In early 1861 the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal appeared. Augmented by 32 poems, the work had undergone considerable transformation since 1857 when six poems¹ had been removed. Beyond the question of how the message of 1857 is altered by the addition of new poems is the major change in the sequence of chapters. The five original chapters have been replaced by six and their order of presentation is quite different from that of 1857.

1857

Au Lecteur

I Spleen et Idéal (77)

II Fleurs du Mal (12)

III Révolte (3)

IV Le Vin (5)

V La Mort (3)

TOTAL: (101)

1861

Au Lecteur

I Spleen et Idéal (85)

II Tableaux parisiens (18)

III Le Vin (5)

IV Fleurs du Mal (9)

V Révolte (3)

VI La Mort (6)

TOTAL: (127)

Structurally the most noticeable changes are the introduction of the new chapter, Tableaux parisiens and the significant change in the order of the internal chapters Fleurs du Mal, Révolte, and Le Vin. In examining these latter chapters it is also important to note that no

new poems were added to them in 1861. While Fleurs du Mal had seen three poems removed by the courts, Le Vin and Révolte retain exactly the same form as in 1857 even though their new position within the total work gives them a different contribution to the dialectic.

The largest group of new poems find their way into the already massive chapter Spleen et Idéal. Of first importance therefore is the recognition of the role that these new poems play. In any attempt to see the author's view of society or its influence on his art it is essential that the reader be familiar with the general outline of the second edition and the precise points of integration of new material. The following table of contents is provided for this purpose.

LES FLEURS DU MAL

1861

Au Lecteur

I SPLEEN ET IDEAL

- 1.
2. L'Albatros
- 3-19.
20. Le Masque
21. Hymne à la beauté
- 22.
23. La Chevalure
- 24-34.
35. Duellum
- 36.
37. Le Possédé
38. Un Fantôme
- 39.
40. Semper Eadem
- 41-55.
56. Chant d'Automne
57. A Une Madone
58. Chanson d'Après-midi
59. Sisine
- 60-63.
64. Sonnet d'Automne
- 65-70.
71. Une Gravure fantastique

19
NEW

- 72-78.
 79. Obsession
 80. Le Goût du néant
 81. Alchimie de la douleur
 82. Horreur sympathique
 83-84.
 85. L'Horloge
- II LES TABLEAUX PARISIENS
 86. Paysage
 87-88.
 89. Le Cygne
 90. Les Sept Vieillards
 91. Les Petites Vieilles
 92. Les Aveugles IO
 93. A Une Passante NEW
 94. Le Squelette laboureur
 95-96.
 97. Danse macabre
 98. L'Amour du mensonge
 99-101.
 102. Rêve parisien
 103.
- III LE VIN
 Idem
 104-108.
- IV FLEURS DU MAL
 Idem minus three condemned poems
 109-117.
- V REVOLTE
 Idem
 118-120.
- VI LA MORT
 121-123.
 124. La Fin de la journée 3
 125. Le Rêve d'un curieux NEW
 126. Le Voyage

Of the nineteen poems added to the section Spleen et Idéal few contribute to any further development of the social face of spleen. Their function seems to be to give greater scope to the traditional themes of elevation, love, correspondences, degradation and spiritual spleen. Social references however, are not completely lacking. In

"L'Albatros" for example, Baudelaire speaks of the poet isolated and trapped by the reality of the society that surrounds him² and which scorns his intelligence.³ Yet far from making the poet into a heroic symbol misunderstood by a base society, Baudelaire indicates that society can not realistically be expected to understand or conform to such generally unattainable standards. By the use of such words as maladroits, honteux, piteusement, gauche, veule, comique and laid Baudelaire highlights the social reality of the poet.⁴ Thus while insisting on the ultimate beauty of the poet-albatross in the asocial context of the infinite, Baudelaire is nevertheless realistic enough to recognize that the poet within society must be described in realistic terms i.e., in the way that society indeed sees him and not as he sees himself. "L'Albatros" therefore is an excellent social portrait of the poet and its key position as the second poem in Les Fleurs du Mal of 1861 is an indication of an important shift within the work whereby Baudelaire begins the process of reintegrating the social consciousness of the poet, such as we have seen in his writing before 1852, back into the primarily aesthetic consciousness of the poet's role in the 1857 edition.

Yet while "L'Albatros" addresses itself to the social portrait of the poet, it is to the broader theme of the futility of a life without hope that the majority of the new poems are dedicated. In 1857 "La Musique" and "La Pipe" had offered a slight glimmer of hope at the end of Spleen et Idéal. Here they had followed the portrait of spleen and its social face thus giving the reader the impression that the poet may not have totally abandoned any hope in the possibility of a moral, human, or social betterment for mankind. In 1861 however, all traces

of optimism at the conclusion of Spleen et Idéal have been carefully obliterated. Five of the concluding poems appear for the first time in 1861 (79. "Obsession," 80. "Le Goût du néant," 81. "Alchimie de la douleur," 82. "Horreur sympathique") which when combined with two others from the 1857 edition (83. "L'Héautontimorouménos," 84. "L'Irrémediable") create a new and totally black conclusion for the opening chapter. Against this more sombre setting is sketched the portrait of humanity and of the poet trapped in a life without hope and increasingly in search of a means of escaping its human and social condition. In "Le Masque" the true face of the statue weeps because she has lived and because she lives. And like all those trapped in the web of the reality of their human and social condition the true depth of the tragedy lies in the recognition that the future holds no improvement -- only a monotonous repetition of the suffering already known.⁵

In "Hymne à la beauté" the poet refers briefly to the social problems of crime and of murder while at the same time extolling beauty as a force which can make this universe less hideous and our passing moments less heavy.⁶ Escape therefore is seen in many of the new Spleen et Idéal poems as a form of evasion from oppressive day to day reality. In "La Chevelure" Baudelaire seeks escape by means of evoking the past as captured by cherished objects in the present.⁷ In "Semper Eadem" escape is sought from a life which once having been lived has become a burden. Even escape through a lie is preferable under such circumstances to a continued life of futility and hopelessness.⁸ The theme of a reality without purpose for mankind in general is also treated in the new poems "Obsession" and "Le Goût du néant". In "Obsession" the poet speaks of defeated man exiled with sobs and insults⁹

while in "Le Goût du Néant" he speaks of the vanquished spirit. Even pleasure is warned away from this defeated spirit since it can only tempt a sombre and sulking heart that seeks nothing more than to be swept away in an avalanche of destruction.¹⁰

In 1857 this theme of the futility of life had already been seen in both the metaphysical and social aspects of the section Révolte. In 1861 however, many of the new poems are autobiographical in nature and give a greater personal note to the poet's own sense of futility as an individual and as an artist. In "Un Fantôme" for example, he sees his poetic mission as that of the exile condemned to the futility of painting on shadows and as one who must give of himself in order to please the base appetites of those who surround him.¹¹ In "Chant d'Automne" he speaks of how everything has become bitter for him¹² while in "A Une Madone" he seeks retreat from the prying eyes of his fellow man in the depths of his distress.¹³

Yet despite the sense of futility by which the poet has come to transform gold into iron thus becoming the most unfortunate of Midas', there is also a note of stoicism present in the 1861 Fleurs du Mal. This acceptance of one's fate is not completely new since it had already been suggested in a poem like "Bénédiction" with its recognition that suffering can be a divine remedy to our impurities and that pain is our unique nobility.¹⁴ This theme however is expanded in 1861 by a poem like "Horreur Sympathique" in which the poet clearly indicates his willingness to accept this sense of exile and futility rather than bemoan his fate like Ovid chased from his Latin paradise.¹⁵ Rather than this the poet prefers to draw pleasure from the hell in which he has been placed, a theme that integrates itself into the study of modernism

and which helps us to appreciate the purpose of the Tableaux parisiens.

Thus the new poems of the section Spleen et Idéal contribute to a growing theme of general and personal futility. Of all the nineteen poems added in 1861, eighteen clearly develop the theme of spleen either in a spiritual, personal or even social sense as seen in the social exile of the albatross. Only in one poem, "Chanson d'Après-midi", does the poet still seem to hold out a small hope for a successful evasion from the inevitability of his existence. Even in this poem however, the hoped-for victory is sketched against the back-drop of what he calls the black Siberia of his life.¹⁶ The new poems have contributed however to a sense of acceptance of the futility of this life, the inevitability of the exile of man to an as yet only suggested recognition that we must find our pleasure in the hell we have been assigned.

In the 1861 Fleurs du Mal this latter recognition finds its social counterpart in the new chapter Les Tableaux parisiens. This chapter thus gives new life to a facet of the spleen and ideal conflict that had been a vital part of Les Limbes but which the poet had chosen to relegate to a minor role in 1857. And once this facet of the conflict is restored to a position of prestige it is only natural that the remaining chapters in the work assume a new tone in the general dialectic of the work as a whole.

Les Tableaux parisiens, second chapter of the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal is enigmatic in presentation despite the fact that the title seems to suggest something perfectly obvious. Of all Baudelaire's poetry these eighteen poems are the least often commented since their social content does not correspond with the priorities of the major schools of Baudelaire criticism. Those whose interest in

Baudelaire is primarily aesthetic have continued to gnaw the bones of a select number of poems such as "Correspondances", "Harmonie du soir", "Les Phares", "Parfum exotique", and "Le Balcon". For others whose interest has been Baudelaire's spirituality, whether it be Christian or Satanic, such poems as "Au Lecteur", "Bénédiction", "L'Héautontimouroménos", "Le Reniement de Saint Pierre" and "Les Litanies de Satan" have furnished the poetic expression of themes most often found in Les Journaux Intimes. Both major streams of criticism have seen little contribution to their particular point of view in Les Tableaux parisiens.

We feel moreover that critics such as Antoine Adam miss a vital point when they conclude that it is vain to assume or to pretend to show that the Tableaux parisiens should, by virtue of any rigorous exigency, follow Spleen et Idéal, and mark a new phase in any supposed dialectic of Les Fleurs du Mal.¹⁷ Such an assumption is once again based on the belief that Baudelaire did not wish to impose either an external or an internal structure on his work -- a belief that we have already rejected on several occasions. Yet even if one were to reject any notion of dialectic in Les Fleurs du Mal it would be impossible to assign Les Tableaux parisiens any other position than immediately following Spleen et Idéal since almost half of the former's poems were carved out of the latter. Thus while Spleen et Idéal gained nineteen poems in 1861, which strengthened the universal portrait of spleen it also lost eight poems which in a large measure had dealt with the social face of spleen. Thus we are faced with the fact that Baudelaire in 1861 had chosen to introduce the social face of the poet in the vitally situated "L'Albatros" while at the same time removing the social face of spleen from Spleen et Idéal through the transfer of the following poems to Les Tableaux

parisiens:

FROM SI TO TP

Le Soleil.

A Une Mendiante rousse

Le Crépuscule du soir

Le Jeu

"Je n'ai pas oublié voisine..."

"La servante au grand coeur..."

Brumes et pluies

Le Crépuscule du matin

By removing these poems from Spleen et Idéal Baudelaire has not weakened the social face of spleen in Les Fleurs du Mal. On the contrary he has restored it to a new position of authority which while not as pronounced as would have been its role in what we know of Les Limbes is nevertheless more pronounced than in 1857 when social factors found their greatest expression in a small group of poems clustered at the end of the spleen cycle.

Few poems illustrate the shift better than "Le Soleil" because of its dramatic repositioning within the work (from number 2 to number 87). In 1857 it had been number two in the Fleurs du Mal occupying a most prestigious position between "Bénédiction" and "Elévation". In this initial soaring section of Les Fleurs du Mal Baudelaire introduced a positive portrait of the poet as a vital social force. Associated with the elan of "Elévation" and the poet's power as seen in "Correspondances", "Le Soleil" is the closest Baudelaire ever comes to the traditional Romantic notion of the artist as a positive and creative force in alleviating the lot of a variety of social types.¹⁸

Ce père nourricier, ennemi des chloroses,
 Eveille dans les champs les vers comme les roses;
 Il fait s'évaporer les soucis vers le ciel,
 Et remplit les cerveaux et les ruches de miel.
 C'est lui qui rajeunit les porteurs de béquilles
 Et les rend gais et doux comme des jeunes filles,
 Et commande aux moissons de croître et de mûrir
 Dans le cœur immortel qui toujours veut fleurir!

Quand, ainsi qu'un poète, il descend dans les villes,
 Il ennoblit le sort des choses les plus viles,
 Et s'introduit en roi, sans bruit et sans valets,
 Dans tous les hôpitaux et dans tous les palais.

If indeed we can accept Baudelaire's self criticism that the 1857 edition contained certain base flatteries addressed to democracy and to contemporary journalists and his statement that he planned to remove them in 1861,¹⁹ the fate of the poem "Le Soleil" is vital. No other poem has experienced such a change in context as did "Le Soleil" from one edition to the other. What more flattering portrait of the poet could be found than that of "Le Soleil" in 1857 within the context of "Bénédiction", "Elévation" and "Correspondances"? It is indeed a flattering concession to the tastes of the time which expected the artist to be socially useful. The extent to which any such message is removed in 1861 is evident not only in the removal of "Le Soleil" from its original context but also in its replacement by "L'Albatros" with its directly opposite conclusion. Whereas "Le Soleil" had portrayed the poet bringing joy and light to society, "L'Albatros" portrays the ridicule with which this purveyor of dreams is greeted by a society which sees in his giant wings a source of ridicule rather than a source of inspiration. By this substitution of poems Baudelaire has ruled out the possibility of believing, even in the opening ascending poems of Les Fleurs du Mal, that the poet can ever achieve a role of arbitrator

in society through the use of his gift for perceiving the expansion of infinite things²⁰ or his ability to understand without effort the language of flowers and silent things.²¹

From the beginning of the 1861 edition therefore the social face of Midas has been transformed. From "Le Soleil's" banefully traditional image of the poet who can transform iron into gold, "L'Albatros" prepares the reader for the line from "L'Alchimie de la douleur" in which the poet reverses the entire image so that it reads:

Tu me rends l'égal de Midas
Le plus triste des alchimistes;

Par toi je change l'or en fer
Et le paradis en enfer.²²

This complete reversal of the comparison to Midas as it applies to the social role of the poet is in agreement with an earlier observation that Jacques Crépet has attributed to Baudelaire and which dates from the euphoric days of Le Salut Public and 1848.

Le peuple n'aime pas les gens d'esprit! et il donnera tous les Voltaires et les Beaumarchais du monde pour une vieille culotte.

Ce qui le prouve, aux Tuileries rien n'a été saccagé comme sculpture et peinture que l'image de l'ex-roi et celle de Bugeaud; un seul buste a été jeté par les fenêtres!... Le buste de Voltaire.²³

As we have already seen in Chapter II of our study, Baudelaire never really did believe that the artist could be a vital social force or arbitrator even at the height of his political journalism. That such a tone is present in the 1857 Fleurs du Mal is but one more tribute to the extent that Baudelaire had swung the full weight of his priorities

to a belief in the saving grace of art. That the tone of disbelief in the social mission of the artist should reappear in 1861 in such poems as "L'Albatros" and "L'Alchimie de la douleur" should not be seen as an original development for Baudelaire. Rather, these poems merely reassert a long-standing aspect of Baudelaire's view of the poet as a social person.

Yet while the 1861 Fleurs du Mal restates the lack of social influence of the poet, the creation of the Tableaux parisiens restates another long-standing facet of the artist's mission: that of social observer.

Seen as a unit, Les Tableaux parisiens brings together and gives independent status to the theme of the city for the first time in Baudelaire's work.²⁴ Whereas the city had formed an impressionistic background in Les Limbes and in sections of the 1857 Fleurs du Mal, in 1861 it is given a role that stands side by side with the themes of love, elevation, degradation, evasion, revolt and death. The Tableaux parisiens provide a new step in Baudelaire's aesthetic evolution in that for the first time the setting of the human tragedy is treated independently from (although naturally a part of) the tragedy itself. Initially there is a tendency to see the Tableaux parisiens as a further development of the aesthetic principle stated in the new poem "Un Fantôme".

Comme un beau cadre ajoute à la peinture
 Bien qu'elle soit d'un pinceau très vanté,
 Je ne sais quoi d'étrange et enchanté
 En l'isolant de l'immense nature.

The recognition that the frame can contribute to any portrait no matter how great the artist, and the recognition that the frame itself can be separated from "l'immense nature" in order to be studied separately are two vital points to remember when studying Les Tableaux parisiens.

What indeed are the characteristics of the frame in this chapter and to what extent does it contribute to the portrait contained therein?

In the immediate context of Les Fleurs du Mal, Les Tableaux parisiens immediately follows a series of sixteen poems concluding Spleen et Idéal all of which had succeeded in pushing man to a new low point. Having reached the depths of hopelessness the tone of Les Fleurs du Mal suddenly seems to reverse course in the first two poems of Les Tableaux parisiens. Our first observation should be however that in these two poems ("Paysage", "Le Soleil") any note of optimism is now set out against the pervading shadows of Spleen rather than against the brightness of Idéal as had been the case with "Le Soleil" in 1857.

In "Paysage" we find a tone similar to that which we discovered in "Le Soleil" and a setting which forms a suitable prelude to the poet's descent into the streets in the latter poem to bring light to his fellow man. "Paysage" introduces the theme of the poet as observer of society into the Tableaux parisiens. Isolated in his garret, his chin in his hands, the poet looks out across the city and bathes his glance in the spreading cityscape. At the same time there is a feeling of power in this portrait of the artist, a power that not only allows him to superimpose a total vision on the diverse elements of the city because of the height from which he is observing, but which also allows him to turn off at will his observation by closing the shutters against the cold winter of reality.²⁵ This ability to shut out the real world

at will is a particularly striking note in "Paysage" and it is a theme most befitting the Baudelaire as he came within the orbit of the Art for Art movement of the mid 1850's. The following lines from "Paysage" show how the power of the poet's imagination forms a protective shield even against social disorder beating vainly against his window:

Alors je rêverai des horizons bleuâtres,
 Des jardins, des jets d'eau pleurant dans les albâtres,
 Des baisers, des oiseaux chantant soir et matin,
 Et tout ce que l'Idylle a de plus enfantin.
 L'Émeute tempêtant vainement à ma vitre,
 Ne fera pas lever mon front de mon pupitre;
 Car je serai plongé dans cette volupté
 D'évoquer le Printemps avec ma volonté,
 De tirer un soleil de mon cœur, et de faire
 De mes pensées brûlants une tiède atmosphère.

In the second last line of the above poem Baudelaire speaks of drawing "un soleil" from his heart -- a suggestion which "Le Soleil" answers in 1861 (a fact that transcends coincidence and adds but one more example to the feeling that there is indeed a very open architecture in Les Fleurs du Mal). In "Le Soleil", as we have seen, the poet, by exercising his own freedom of choice, turns outward toward society with the same sense of joy with which he had been able to isolate himself in "Paysage". The perspective offered by these two introductory poems to the Tableaux parisiens is fascinating and is perhaps best captured for a twentieth century audience by referring to cinematographic techniques with which we are familiar since "Paysage" provides us with the wide-angle and overview shot of the Parisian frame. The city is seen from such a height that only its more visible landmarks (tuyaux, cloches, ces mâts de la cité, les brumes, les fleuves de charbon) are

perceived. The perspective is too vast to capture the presence of people and while their presence is suggested in images such as "l'atelier qui chante et qui bavarde" and "L'Émeute tempêtant vainement à ma vitre", they are not seen. In "Paysage" the poet is alone with the cityscape, thus establishing the first and most general aspect of the social frame.

In "Le Soleil" the wide angle lens has been replaced as the poet begins to narrow his focus. Here we see at last the presence of people even though the perspective is still sufficiently wide so as to blur their identity as individuals. They are seen as groups (les porteurs de béquilles, des jeunes filles). As the chapter continues the tide sweeps on until finally the reader can distinguish faces and a last one in particular: the beggar girl in front of the Véfour restaurant. Thus from the wide angle shot in "Paysage" to the close-up of "A une Petite Mendiante rousse", Baudelaire has orchestrated a descent from the warm-hearted communion with the city as a whole to the first notes of the human tragedy in the contrast between the opulence of the Véfour restaurant and the beggar girl whose tender skin shines through the holes of her tattered clothes.

Faced with this new and superb introduction the critic is sometimes tempted to ask himself if it really matters to know that "A Une Mendiante rousse" was to be part of Les Limbes and that "Le Soleil" was part of a quite different context in 1857. Naturally such details are important in the overview of the poet's life and work. At the same time however they must not distract the reader from recognizing that in 1861 they make a statement within the Fleurs du Mal that need not necessarily correspond to statements they may have made before or with

which they have been associated. What is important is the recognition that in 1861 they are given a specific arrangement which presents a view of the city that evolves from cosmology to anthropocentricity -- from the city as a global entity in itself to the city as the frame for the individual. Thus the apparent optimism of "Paysage" and "Le Soleil" is not a contradiction for the tone already established in Spleen et Idéal. They serve merely as the mechanism by which the poet changes perspective. From the universality of the message in "L'Horloge"²⁶ to the very contemporary social portrait in "A Une Mendiante rousse", Les Tableaux parisiens reawaken that notion of the important role that the temporal, the transitory and the modern must play in art. These are concepts which had been put forward in his early Salons. By focusing down from a cosmological to an anthropocentric view of the city the poet provides in his introductory three poems the key to the entire chapter.

The city which had appeared as a gateway to the "grands ciels qui font rêver d'éternité" in "Paysage", completes its transition from symbol of freedom to prison in the next three poems of the chapter. In a series of poems dedicated to Victor Hugo ("Le Cygne", "Les Sept Vieillards", "Les Petites Vieilles") Baudelaire presents us with the vision of the city as the frame for, yet at the same time the creator of, the social exile and the socially oppressed.

"Le Cygne" with its image of the swan is an important introduction to the theme of the political exile.

Un cygne qui s'était évadé de sa cage,
Et, de ses pieds palmés frottant le pavé sec,
Sur le sol raboteux traînant son blanc plumage.
Près d'un ruisseau sans eau la bête ouvrant le bec

Baignait nerveusement ses ailes dans la poudre,
 Et disait, le coeur plein de son beau lac natal:
 "Eau, quand donc pleuvras-tu? quand tonneras-tu foudre?"

There is in these lines a depth of meaning that goes beyond the mere image of the exile and the prisoner. From his cage to the confusion of a changing city, the swan has merely exchanged one prison for another. If anything he appears even less free outside of his cage than he might have been within. His escape into the city is described in terms reminiscent of those used to describe the giant wings of the albatross which had found himself to be the prisoner of the crewmen, the boat deck and even of gravity itself. The city, as seen in "Le Cygne" at close-up range, is no longer the static element that characterized "Paysage". It is seen in "Le Cygne" as a living changing organism. As such it is capable of inflicting harm on its victims especially those who are seeking a sense of permanence and who find such permanence only in an overpowering sense of melancholy.

Paris change! mais rien dans ma mélancolie
 N'a bougé! palais neufs, échafaudages, blocs,
 Vieux faubourgs, tout pour moi devient allégorie,
 Et mes chers souvenirs sont plus lourds que des rocs.

Aussi devant ce Louvre une image m'opprime:
 Je pense à mon grand cygne, avec ses gestes fous,
 Comme les exilés, ridicule et sublime,
 Et rongé d'un désir sans trêve! (...)

(...)

A quiconque a perdu ce qui ne se retrouve
 Jamais, jamais! à ceux qui s'abreuvent de pleurs
 Et tettent la Douleur comme une bonne louve!
 Aux maigres orphelins séchant comme des fleurs!

Ainsi dans la forêt où mon esprit s'exile
 Un vieux Souvenir sonne à plein souffle du cor!

Je pense aux matelots oubliés dans une île,
Aux captifs, aux vaincus! ... à bien d'autres encor!

The note of personal melancholy in "Le Cygne" gives way to a more humanitarian portrait of the melancholy of others in the remaining poems dedicated to Hugo. It is to a specific group of others that the poet turns particular attention, a group symbolically represented by the old and the poor. By using these helpless yet stoic people at the heart of the social metaphor the poet gives us a universal portrait of the downtrodden in society without falling into the pitfalls of political Romanticism or socialistic Utilitarianism.

In "Les Sept Vieillards" the city assumes a new dimension. In addition to being the physical frame, the "Fourmillante cité", bathed in its sea of dirty yellow fog, becomes like the soul of an actor.²⁷ The city thus becomes the spiritual frame as well as the physical one for the participants in this social miniature of the great human tragedy. And in this city of snow, mud and noise²⁸ the tragedy is played out in the costumed rags of an ever present poverty. In certain aspects "Les Sept Vieillards" contains elements already found in the section Révolte of the first edition. Baudelaire projects into the seven old men the same smoldering hatred that had gnawed at the entrails of Cain's descendants and of the various social types that had seen Satan as a liberator in "Les Litanies de Satan". The following lines from "Les Sept Vieillards" capture the pent-up fury of this hatred:

16. Sans la méchanceté qui luisait dans ses yeux,
17. (...) On eût dit sa prunelle trempée
18. Dans le fiel; son regard aiguïsait les frimas
28. Hostile à l'univers plutôt qu'indifférent.

However, even though this hatred is as vitriolic as is the case in "Abel et Caïn", there is no longer any question of a physical revolt. This is made clear in the portrait of a physically broken (cassé) old man as well as by the more intangible image of the old man reproducing himself symbolically on his way to the infinite. Even those, who on the one hand would extend a humanitarian hand to this figure, or who on the other hand would laugh at the poet's concern, are reminded of the universal symbolism in the image:

Que celui qui rit de mon inquiétude,
Et qui n'est pas saisi d'un frisson fraternel,
Songe bien que malgré tant de décrépitude
Ces sept monstres hideux avaient l'air éternel!

At the conclusion of the poem the poet once again attempts to flee the reality and the absurdity of the city and seeks isolation behind the closed doors of his room just as he had done in "Paysage".²⁹ This time however there is no possibility of a retreat to the wide angle overview escape of the previous poem. Reality in "Les Sept Vieillards" is now an invading and conquering force and the poet's reason is unable to control his own impressions which are adrift in a monstrous and shoreless sea.

Because of the inability to retreat to the heights "Les Sept Vieillards" marks a new step in Les Tableaux parisiens. It provides the final chapter of the albatross who has descended into the city in order to observe more clearly the specific face of the human tragedy and whose reason has become so sufficiently troubled that he will never again be able to regain the heights of abstraction or indifference.

In "Les Petites Vieilles" the poet seems to accept this new exile on the ground and turns completely toward the subject at hand. On reading this poem one is reminded of a theme which Baudelaire had introduced into Spleen et Idéal through the poem "Horreur sympathique":

Je ne geindraipas comme Ovide
Chassé du paradis latin.

Cieux déchirés comme des grèves,
En vous se mire mon orgueil,
Vos vastes nuages en deuil

Sont les corbillards de mes rêves,
Et vos lueurs sont le reflet
De l'Enfer où mon coeur se plaît.

In this poem Baudelaire suggests a stoic approach both as a general exhortation to the reader, faced with the spectacle of the human tragedy, and to himself faced with the problems of his own life. There is also the suggestion that as an artist there is a need to find some joy in the hell in which he has been placed. "Les Petites Vieilles" provides a moving portrait of an element within society that has stoically and nobly accepted its fate. Whereas the old men of "Les Sept Vieillards" had symbolized the socially defeated who continue to hate (and who by consequence continue to be hated), the old women of "Les Petites Vieilles" represent those who have found dignity in defeat whether such defeat has been inflicted politically by their country, domestically by their husbands, or spiritually by their sons.³⁰ And in the octogenarian Eyes the poet finds a new facet of the human face from which he had so decidedly turned in the 1857 Fleurs du Mal. Through the rags, the cold, the isolation and the spectacle of the aging poor shaken by the cacophony of

the modern metropolis, Baudelaire has rediscovered a face of man worthy of immortality and artistic expression. Whereas the Salons of 1845 and 1846 had called for a new modernism by giving le frac bourgeois its rightful place in art, "Les Petites Vieilles" gives this place to the rags and the nobility of the urban poor.

By inserting this very contemporary social portrait into the broader context of universal suffering Baudelaire has once again sounded a note that was familiar to his readers before the period of social disillusionment beginning in 1852. By capturing this new heroism "Les Petites Vieilles" is the first poem of the new Tableaux parisiens in direct lineage of Les Limbes of almost a decade before.

LES PETITES VIEILLES

IV

Telles vous cheminez, stoïques et sans plaintes,
A travers le chaos des vivantes cités,
Mères au coeur saignant, courtisanes ou saintes,
Dont autrefois les noms par tous étaient cités.

Vous qui fûtes la grâce ou qui fûtes la gloire,
Nul ne vous reconnaît! un ivrogne incivil
Vous insulte en passant d'un amour dérisoire;
Sur vos talons gambade un enfant lâche et vil.

Honteuse d'exister, ombres ratatinées,
Peureuses, le dos bas, vous côtoyez les murs;
Et nul ne vous salue, étranges destinées!
Débris d'humanité pour l'éternité mûrs!

Mais moi, moi qui de loin tendrement vous surveille,
L'oeil inquiet, fixé sur vos pas incertains,
Tout comme si j'étais votre père, ô merveille!
Je goûte à votre insu des plaisirs clandestins:

Je vois s'épanouir vos passions novices;
Sombres ou lumineux, je vis vos jours perdus;
Mon coeur multiplié jouit de tous vos vices!
Mon âme resplendit de toutes vos vertus!

Ruines! ma famille! ô cerveaux congénères!
 Je vous fais chaque soir un solennel adieu!
 Où serez-vous demain, Eves octogénaires,
 Sur qui pèse la griffe effroyable de Dieu?

It is interesting to note that Baudelaire applies the same adjective cassé to both the old men and the old women of the two poems in question.³¹ This adjective describes not only a physical state but also the spiritual state of humanity's debris framed by an indifferent city whose stone and marble have no ears. This indifference of the modern city and the indifference of society in general to the plight of particular individuals is captured most poignantly in the seventh poem of Les Tableaux parisiens, "Les Ayeugles". Here the poet chooses the blind to represent the helpless in the same way as the aged had done in "Les Sept Vieillards", and "Les Petites Vieilles". The reality of the blind is to search the skies which they can never see. They in particular are condemned to an exile on this earth and to the indifference of the noisy city which swirls around them.³² And while the individual is submerged and ignored by the impersonal features of the city of stone he is also incapable of establishing meaningful links of communication with other people. In "A Une Passante" for example the poet evokes the specifically urban spectacle of those ships which no longer pass in the night but which pass each other in the sallow light of the noisy city.

La rue assourdissante autour de moi hurlait,
 Longue, mince, en grand deuil, douleur majestueuse,
 Une femme passa, d'une main fastueuse
 Soulevant, balançant le feston et l'ourlet;

(...)

Un éclair... puis la nuit! --Fugitive beauté
 Dont le regard m'a fait soudainement renaître,
 Ne te verrai-je plus que dans l'éternité?

Ailleurs, bien loin d'ici! trop tard! jamais peut-être!
 Car j'ignore où tu fuis, tu ne sais où je vais,
 O toi que j'eusse aimée, ô toi qui le savais.

In such a setting as is being created within Les Tableaux parisiens the already familiar poem "Le Crépuscule du soir" takes on a new sense of importance and a more highly developed sense of humanitarianism than had previously been the case with its association in Les Limbes and the first edition. By presenting night as the consoling force for the worker while at the same time presenting it as the sister, lover and mother of debauchery, Baudelaire's poem finds a worthy setting in Les Tableaux parisiens. With its narrowing focus and its preoccupation with the social face of spleen, Les Tableaux parisiens gives greater strength to the image of night as the consoler to these same rejected social elements, as well as to the city at night as a force capable of dehumanization. In "Le Crépuscule du soir" prostitution comes to life in the streets and through this image of prostitution all the vices of the city as well as the city itself are transformed into a giant worm bent on robbing the worker of all that he had managed to snatch from its grasp during the day.³³ The city as the most immediate representative of society is thus seen as a negative force. Whereas Baudelaire sometimes portrays it as indifferent to the human drama in Les Tableaux parisiens, in "Le Crépuscule du soir" we see again the spectre of society as an active participant in the degradation of its citizens and in the further degradations of those social elements least able to defend themselves.

The three poems that follow ("Le Jeu", "Danse Macabre", "L'Amour du mensonge") present us with other children of the night which are more closely associated now with the social framework of the city than with the broader frame of Spleen et Idéal.

The structure of the closing section of Les Tableaux parisiens is as interesting as was the opening one. Having focused his attention on the specific face of man's social tragedy the concluding poems present the same cycle of evasion and resignation that had characterized Spleen et Idéal and which conforms to the general structure of the entire work in 1861. In the two poems "Je n'ai pas oublié" and "La servante au grand coeur" the poet presents two poems which offer a form of evasion into the past and the memory of a time when the city had been a more comforting frame for him. While both these poems are of youthful composition,³⁴ their specific place within Les Tableaux parisiens gives them an element of attempted evasion in much the same way as the poet had sought sanctuary in evoking the past in poems like "La Chevelure", "Le Balcon" and "L'Invitation au voyage" in Spleen et Idéal.

"Brumes et pluies" opens a second evasion theme. Returning to the present tense the poet seems prepared to accept the reality of passing time if only he can find an escape in love:

Rien n'est plus doux au coeur plein de choses funèbres,
 Et sur qui dès longtemps descendent les frimas,
 O blâfardes saisons, reines de nos climats
 Que l'aspect permanent de vos pâles ténèbres,
 --Si ce n'est, par un soir sans lune, deux à deux,
 D'endormir la douleur sur un lit hasardeux.

The second last poem of Les Tableaux parisiens presents another familiar avenue for escape: art. In "Rêve parisien" the poet attempts to give independent artistic life to the city of stone and metal. In terms that remind us of the power he had attributed to the poet in "Paysage" Baudelaire projects himself as capable of banning all that is irregular and of concentrating only on those aspects of the city capable of enduring a plastic representation.

Le sommeil est plein de miracles!
Par un caprice singulier
J'avais banni de ces spectacles
Le végétal irrégulier,

Et, peintre fier de mon génie,
Je savourais dans mon tableau
L'enivrante monotonie
Du métal, du marbre et de l'eau.

"Rêve parisien" however is about as far removed from the Art for Art movement as one might hope to be. Both in context and in content it is not an illustration of the possible but of the futile. The whole movement of Les Tableaux parisiens has been one which has seen the poet descend from his ivory-tower overview of the city into the crowded and dirty streets from which he is now unable to escape. "Rêve parisien", written and published in 1860 marks the definitive break with the underlying philosophy of the 1857 edition in which Art had offered a certain measure of evasion for the poet and had provided him with an element of protection against the passage of time and the face of reality. "Rêve parisien", part I, is, after all, only a dream from which the poet awakens to see that Art like love and memory is but an illusion from which we must all awake.

II

Et rouvrant mes yeux pleins de flamme
 J'ai vu l'horreur de mon taudis,
 Et senti, rentrant dans mon âme,
 La pointe des soucis maudits;

La pendule aux accents funèbres
 Sonnaît brutalement midi,
 Et le ciel versait des ténèbres
 Sur le ffisté monde engourdi.

The reality to which the poet awakens is of course the reality of man's existence and his degradation and exile in a hostile universe.

Had Baudelaire chosen to end the Tableaux parisiens here, "Rêve parisien" with its reference to la pendule would have provided an exact parallel to the closing of Spleen et Idéal with "L'Horloge". The chapter however has one more poem which takes us that one step further than the blackness of Spleen et Idéal. In "Le Crépuscule du matin" the poet shows how we also must awake to the condition of the oppressed for in this spectacle there can be yet found an element of human dignity.

"Le Crépuscule du matin" contains an old and familiar message. In 1852 in the context of Les Limbes this poem with its stoic portrait of those who accept their lot without question seemed somewhat out of place at a time when there were still occasional flashes of hope that social betterment was still possible. In 1857 the poem had formed a minor part of the social face of spleen. Even in 1857 however the message of the need to accept and to submit seemed vaguely out of place in a work whose conclusion was still moderately optimistic. Almost a decade after its first publication "Le Crépuscule du matin" has at last been placed in a position of authority as the conclusion to Les Tableaux parisiens.

The poet has descended from the heights into the labyrinth of the city. He has found himself incapable of escaping the mire through the traditional routes of memory, love and art. By making "Le Crépuscule du matin" the conclusion Baudelaire uses the symbol of the morning, or beginning, as a concluding statement. The poet thus seems to prolong the awakening of "Rêve parisien" by suggesting that we have little choice but to accept our human condition and that we should do this with a sense of dignity known only to the defeated. In the context of Les Tableaux parisiens this general awareness has been given a marked social context yet it extends beyond the social frame. After his attempts at personal escape the poet turns outward towards others by breaking his sense of personal solitude with a spirit of fraternity directed towards others. The working population of Paris in "Le Crépuscule du matin" shows its ability to accept life as it has been given to them. This acceptance in turn provides its own form of heroism -- its own contribution to modern life.

Les maisons çà et là commençaient à fumer.
 Les femmes de plaisir, la paupière livide,
 Bouche ouverte, dormaient de leur sommeil stupide;
 Les pauvresses, traînant leurs seins maigres et froids,
 Soufflaient sur leurs tisons, et soufflaient sur leurs doigts.
 C'était l'heure où parmi le froid et la lésine
 S'aggravent les douleurs des femmes en gésine;
 Comme un sanglot coupé par un sang écumeux
 Le chant du coq au loin déchirait l'air brumeux;
 Une mer de brouillards baignait les édifices,
 Et les agonisants dans le fond des hospices
 Poussaient leur dernier râle en hoquets inégaux.
 Les débauchés rentraient, brisés par leurs travaux.

L'aurore grelottante en robe rose et verte
 S'avavançait lentement sur la Seine déserte,
 Et le sombre Paris, en se frottant les yeux,
 Empoignait ses outils, vieillard laborieux.

While the reader must continue to develop the individual images of Les Tableaux parisiens he must not miss any opportunity possible to deal with all eighteen poems as a unit nor must he lose sight of the contribution of this unit to the Fleurs du Mal.

As a starting point one is led to ask oneself the extent to which the words Tableaux parisiens might be considered an effective title. To what extent is it possible to accept Claude Pichois' judgment that Baudelaire is the poet that has the most complete understanding of Paris yet whose exterior details and views are the least developed and the least easy to transform into imagery?³⁵ In external points of reference Baudelaire's social frame offers us far less than that of Balzac, Hugo, Nerval or Coppée. There is only one precise geographical reference to the new Carrousel in "Le Cygne". Three other locations are mentioned through the references to the Vefour restaurant in "A Une Mendiante rousse", the evocation of Frascati and Tivoli in "Les Petites Vieilles" and the small white house of his youth at Neuilly in "Je n'ai pas oublié voisine de la ville". All other references are limited and are of the most general nature: the Seine, the book stalls, the streets, the mists etc. And that is all. What therefore does Pichois mean when he states that Baudelaire was the poet who best knew Paris?

While the word Tableaux may indeed promise the reader more than he receives in a pictorial sense, we have seen to what extent it is accurate in describing a series of sensations that the reader retains from his brief contact with the Parisian and social frame. These impressionistic tableaux are more orientated to those senses other than sight. To this extent Les Tableaux parisiens is part of the

continuity of Baudelaire's poetry. A sense of the constant noise of the city for example, combined with a sense of tactile and odour allows us to almost feel and smell the mists and the mire that bathe the various districts. It is evident from the opening poem of the chapter therefore that the Tableaux parisiens is not designed to present the city for the city's sake. Instead of a banefully traditional tour of the city's monuments or slum sections we are given a psychological tour of the city's impact on the comportment of its inhabitants. In his portrait of the interrelationship between the individual and society Baudelaire has shown himself to be a far greater sociologist than a socialist. In fact his message runs counter to the artistic current of the day for he sees no hope for society's outcast save the recognition that in deprivation there can be dignity and that in exile there can be heroism.

The art in Les Tableaux parisiens is neither in the subject nor in exact and realistic truth; it is in the manner of feeling. Baudelaire thus gives full artistic realization to his own 1846 definition of Romanticism.³⁶ By merely suggesting the social decor he engages the reader's imagination which in turn is called upon to complete the sketch. In this way the reader is drawn into the scene in much the same way as the poet himself had been attracted to the city in "Paysage". In the same way as the poet, the reader allows himself to be drawn toward the flame, and like the poet there comes a moment when he recognizes that he has come too close to the face of humanity and that escape is no longer possible. Like the poet the reader himself begins his own path of identification with the flotsam of a changing society in order to understand the heroism of distress that the poet

wishes to portray.

The Tableaux parisiens do not revolutionize Les Fleurs du Mal. In fact they are merely a restatement in miniature of the essential movement of the entire work. By using the social framework Baudelaire does however revitalize our interest in the new chapter structure given to the 1861 edition.

Le Vin with its search for consolation for the working poor finds a greater sense of purpose in 1861 by being placed immediately after Les Tableaux parisiens. In 1857 Baudelaire had split up many of the former Limbes poems, placing a certain number of the more socially motivated ones at the end of Spleen et Idéal while situating others of similar tone in Le Vin which became chapter IV. Thus in 1857 it appears as a weak chapter particularly in relation to the total architecture. It is difficult to establish what purpose Baudelaire held for it in 1857 when it follows both Fleurs du Mal and Révolte. Perhaps one can accept the idea that it was meant to hold out the possibility of some consolation and hence integrate itself into the moderately optimistic conclusion of the 1857 edition. By creating Les Tableaux parisiens and moving Le Vin in 1861, Baudelaire rules out any attempt at social optimism. At the same time he reunites poems that had at one time shared a common bond in the 1852 Limbes projections. Both chapters however no longer take their meaning from the general motivation of Les Limbes. They have become instead social illustration of the universal pessimism established by the augmented Spleen et Idéal of 1861.

Having clearly predicted the outcome of the human struggle in the first three chapters, Baudelaire inevitably is led to place Fleurs

du Mal and Révolte in the same general context. They become even more clearly exercises in the futile. While we were able to ascertain this from an internal examination of the poems in Révolte in the 1857 edition, its contribution as a chapter was as dubious as had been Le Vin. In 1857 revolt appeared as but another evil flower in man's evolution. Since it preceded Le Vin it became little more than a stepping stone in a long series and was followed by the consoling forces held out in Le Vin and La Mort. In 1861 however, Révolte is seen as the final futile gesture of man before death. Thus the familiar call to overthrow God and the government must be seen within the new context of the last battle as developed in Spleen et Idéal and strengthened by Les Tableaux parisiens. On the social level the new position of Révolte seems doubly incongruous if compared to the heroism of those who accept their defeat in "Les Petites Vieilles" and "Le Crépuscule du matin". On the other hand however Révolte does open the way for the new ending in La Mort in which the poet has come to accept the magnitude of his defeat. Like Sisyphus however he is now prepared to shoulder his rock once more. In this role as prelude Révolte seems tinged with a new note of anarchy. Revolt for revolt's sake, in the full knowledge that there is nothing to be gained through it, is a thought in keeping with the closing line of "Le Voyage":

O Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps, levons l'ancre!
 Ce pays nous ennue, ô Mort, Appareillons!
 Si le ciel et la mer sont noirs comme de l'encre,
 Nos coeurs que tu connais sont remplis de rayons!

Verse-nous ton poison pour qu'il nous reconforte!
 Nous voulons, tant ce feu nous brûle le cerveau,
 Plonger au fond du gouffre, Enfer ou Ciel qu'importe?
 Au fond de l'inconnu pour trouver du nouveau!

In addition to helping to sharpen the focus of the external architecture of the 1861 edition, Les Tableaux parisiens also sets out a theme that is the key to those social elements that Baudelaire uses in his poetry: poverty, and the poor. In the same way that there was scarcely any visual portrait of Paris so also is there little visual portrait of the society of the day. Neither the word 'aristocrate' nor 'bourgeois' are found in Les Fleurs du Mal. Extensive use is made however of the word 'peuple' both as it applies to that majority of the population lacking political or economic power and to all humanity.³⁷ By using the word in a variety of contexts Baudelaire clearly removes the critic's ability to make any automatic conclusion every time it is found. Yet just as the presence of Paris was sensed rather than seen, so also is the presence of classes and social structure present even though carefully integrated into a broader vision. The classes of power and privilege are sensed in the numerous references to wealth, luxury and ease which the poet evokes both in memory and in the hope of deliverance from his own problems. Only three brief references are made to the bourgeoisie as a force within society. In "Le Crépuscule du soir" we have seen how he compares the image of the business man to that of the demons awaking while in "Abel et Caïn" he speaks of the rapid growth of a race which is clearly bourgeois in character. The final direct reference came in "Les Litanies de Satan" where he speaks of Crésus, the substitute word for banker.³⁸

What has been drawn to our attention however by the prism of Les Tableaux parisiens is the theme of poverty. The word 'pauvre' is used even more extensively than the word 'peuple' and with the same ability to cover a wide range of sentiments.³⁹

In Le Désespéré Léon Bloy states that poverty is the most enormous of crimes and the only one for which there can be no extenuating circumstances in the eyes of an equitable judge.⁴⁰ Within the limits of moderation this is a thought that we can apply to the Fleurs du Mal. From his days on the Salut Public to his article on Pierre Dupont the young Baudelaire had shown an interest in the working class poor. Direct mention of financial poverty however is as absent from the Fleurs du Mal as it is omnipresent in Baudelaire's correspondence. The word 'money' had appeared only once in the 1857 edition and was removed by 1861 when Baudelaire altered the line in "Abel et Caïn" from "l'argent fait aussi ses petits" to "Ton or fait aussi des petits". By transforming the image Baudelaire has made the concept more poetically forceful while at the same time eliminating the direct reference to money from the work. Few however would sustain the argument that by banning the word Baudelaire has in any way weakened the portrait of luxury, power and decadence in Les Fleurs du Mal.

A similar phenomenon occurs with the concept of poverty. The word pauvreté occurs only once in the volume in reference to the beggar girl in "A Une Mendiante rousse".⁴¹ It would be equally incorrect to assume that poverty is not as important a theme as luxury since the two concepts are used in both social and extended metaphors. In the section Spleen et Idéal the idea of poverty is usually associated with a broad metaphor outlining the misfortunes of man in general. From the preface poem "Au Lecteur" on, these images become increasingly sharp. In the first stanza of "Au Lecteur" for example, the poet suggests that we nourish their vermine.⁴² Used in order to underline the condition of man in general this specific social image escapes those who lack an

ability to conceptualize poverty outside the context of a sociology manual. "Au Lecteur" also presents us with the contrast between the images of the rich metal of our will and the spectacle of the poor debauched individual who kisses and gnaws the martyred breast of an old prostitute.⁴³ This striking use of the wealth-poverty image is an example of how comparisons that have their roots in social reality can be used to develop the poet's idea. Through such images Baudelaire points out a fundamental element in the gulf that lies between Spleen and Idéal. The images of poverty come in flashes, however and never in any sustained sequence. In "Don Juan aux enfers" for example it is of interest to note that it is a beggar who rows the boat⁴⁴ while in "Le Poison" there is the belief that wine can cover up the tragic spectacle of the most sordid hovel.⁴⁵

The images of poverty in Spleen et Idéal are all the more striking when contrasted to the idea of wealth and particularly to that with which Baudelaire surrounds women in his numerous dream sequences. In "La Chevelure" the poet evokes the rubies, pearls and sapphires in Jeanne Duval's hair.⁴⁶ This dream is the oasis where the poet drinks the wine of memory. Happiness however does not last and when Woman becomes in her turn a symbol of spleen, the frame that surrounds her is transformed into miry grandeur.⁴⁷ When spleen takes over the images of poverty, veiled references to the poet's own financial worries return. In the second of the four Spleen poems the dream and reality are forced to lie side by side in the same drawer where lines of poetry, love letters and locks of hair must share the same space with law suit notices and notes concerning debts.⁴⁸ The dream of "L'Invitation au Voyage" where all had been order, calm and luxury is steadily opposed

by images of social reality with its references to the cold, to illness, to the painfully thin and to the mire of an ever-present poverty.

And is it not in the midst of this reality after all that the poet must live and assume his responsibilities as an artist? It is the framework to the reality of "La Muse Vénale" where during the dark torments of snowy nights the poet's most pressing need is for a log to warm numbed feet. In this particular world, which is the world of so much of the author's correspondence, the man with the empty purse must be content with harvesting his gold from his own imagination; it is a world where to earn a living the poor must perform rituals that have little meaning. In a poem like "La Muse Vénale" Baudelaire is his most direct in showing the role that society can play in shaping the artist. Here in poetry we have the portrait of a man who is forced to make those very same concessions to democracy and public taste of which he accused himself in the discarded prefaces to the second edition.

LA MUSE VÉNALE

O muse de mon coeur, amante des palais,
Auras-tu quand Janvier lâchera ses Borées,
Durant les noirs ennuis des neigeuses soirées,
Un tison pour chauffer tes deux pieds violets?

Ranimeras-tu donc tes épaules marbrées
Aux nocturnes rayons qui percent les volets?
Sentant la bourse à sec autant que ton palais,
Récolteras-tu l'or des voûtes azurées?

Il te faut, pour gagner ton pain de chaque soir,
Comme un enfant de chœur, jouer de l'encensoir,
Chanter des Te Deum auxquels tu ne crois guère,

Ou, saltimbanque à jeun, étaler tes appas
 Et ton rire trempé de pleurs qu'on ne voit pas,
 Pour faire épanouir la rate du vulgaire.

Thus from the beginning of Les Fleurs du Mal poverty has become an important image yet an image that would have been merely taken as poetic licence had not the presence and the message of Les Tableaux parisiens drawn the particular attention of the reader to this subject. And once our attention is drawn to it we see that it too undergoes the same variety of treatment as is so evident in many other facets of Baudelairian imagery. For almost all of the first chapter there is a standard melodramatic identification of poverty with the forces of blackness and degradation while wealth seems inevitably associated with those things to which the poet aspires. Nevertheless in the third Spleen poem Baudelaire suggests a new element.

Je suis comme le roi d'un pays pluvieux,
 Riche, mais impuissant, jeune et pourtant très vieux,
 Qui, de ses précepteurs méprisant les courbettes,
 S'ennuie avec ses chiens comme avec d'autres bêtes.
 Rien ne peut l'égayer, ni gibier ni faucon,
 Ni son peuple mourant en face du balcon.

Whereas wealth and vigour had been a standard Baroque comparison in such poems as "La Vie antérieure"⁴⁹, the above Spleen poem gives us the image of a rich yet impotent king unable to respond even to the agony of his people dying beneath his balcony. By expanding beyond wealth as an exclusive symbol of human happiness, Les Fleurs du Mal in 1861 gives increasing emphasis to the search for human dignity in poverty (and all that it may metaphorically imply), a poverty which

slowly ceases to be the symbol of human baseness and becomes in Les Tableaux parisiens the symbol of our great dignity.

It is toward this end that Les Tableaux parisiens is instrumental in giving new prominence to an old theme. By giving new focus to the image of the poor Baudelaire moves from a highly aristocratic view of the theme in many of the Spleen et Idéal poems to a more humanitarian approach in Les Tableaux parisiens, an approach which also has repercussions throughout the remaining chapters' role in the dialectic of the work.

Almost imperceptibly the shadow of poverty -- at first a purely social question in Les Limbes-- has become the shadow of the tragedy of human existence. This is seen in the evolution of the Baudelairean metaphor between 1857 and 1861 which sees an increase in the reference to precise social reality and a decrease in Satanic imagery.⁵⁰ The face of spleen is increasingly more precise and decreasingly Satanic in nature. With the creation of Les Tableaux parisiens Baudelaire thus makes a significant step in restoring the temporal to its rightful place in his poetry. To this end he uses poverty as a frequent wedge in the door beyond which we glimpse a far greater symbolism.

The importance of Les Tableaux parisiens above and beyond its role of social voice in the dialectic of spleen, is that it serves to refocus our attention on the new anthropocentric revival which is seen not only in the chapter itself but in so many of the thirty two new poems in the second edition. In 1857 the essential preoccupations of Les Fleurs du Mal had been cosmological in nature -- i.e., the emphasis was on the desire to commune with the abstract be it Art, Love, Exile,

Man or God. Individuals appear to be deduced from abstract concepts and the reality of our human condition became a mere silhouette against a series of aesthetic aspiration. In 1861 however Les Tableaux parisiens takes the lead in restoring the basic Christian need to perceive the infinite through the finite and not in spite of it. By reaching out first to the individuals that surround him and by descending into the city from the wide-angle solitude of the heights the poet gives a social, and by extension, a human outreach to his poetry which at long last restores a sense of balance to the Baudelairean aesthetic that had been singularly lacking in 1857.

The human outreach that began as a trickle in the Tableaux parisiens will later become a torrent in Le Spleen de Paris. In this sense therefore Les Tableaux parisiens and the Fleurs du Mal of 1861 form a watershed in the poet's development as an artist. Through them Baudelaire appears as a man who is not embarking on a course to find something new but rather something he seemed to have lost. By restoring contemporary social reality to a place of honour in his poetry he again returns to that definition of art as the combination of the eternal and the temporal with which he began -- a journey not unlike that in T.S. Eliot's moving lines from the poem "Little Gidding":

We shall not cease from exploration
 And the end of all our exploring
 Will be to arrive where we started
 And know the place for the first time.
 Through the unknown, remembered gate
 When the last of earth left to discover
 Is that which was the beginning;

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The six poems condemned were:

- 20. Les Bijoux
- 30. Le Léthé
- 39. A Celle qui est trop gaie
- 80. Lesbos
- 81. Femmes Damnées "A la pâle clarté(...)"
- 87. Les Métamorphoses du vampire

FM, "L'Albatros," p. 31:

Le Poète est semblable au prince des nuées
 Qui hante la tempête et se rit de l'archer;
 Exilé sur le sol au milieu des huées,
 Ses ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher.

The question of the date of composition of "L'Albatros" is extensively treated in FM, ed. Adam, pp. 266-268n. The estimates range from 1843-46 (Prarond, Nignard) to 1859 (Pammier) to a compromise solution which makes the first 3 stanzas of early composition and the later of 1859 vintage.

While such speculation is of historical interest it does not alter the fact that first publication and positioning came in 1861, and the inner meaning is best revealed through context of the Fleurs du Mal rather than date of composition.

FM, "L'Albatros," p. 31.

L'un agace son bec avec un brüte-geule,
 L'autre mime, en boitant, l'infirme qui volait!

FM, "L'Albatros," p. 31.

A peine les ont-ils déposés sur les planches,
 Que ces rois de l'azur, maladroits et honteux,
 Laissent piteusement leurs grandes ailes blanches
 Comme des avirons traîner à côté d'eux.

Ce voyageur ailé, comme il est gauche et veule!
 Lui, naguère si beau, qu'il est comique est laid!

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5.

FM, "Le Masque," p.58.

--Elle pleure, insensé, parce qu'elle a vécu!
 Et parce qu'elle vit! Mais ce qu'elle déplore
 Surtout, ce qui la fait frémir jusqu'aux genoux,
 C'est que demain, hélas! il faudra vivre encore!
 Demain, après-demain et toujours! -- comme nous!

6

FM, "Hymne à la beauté," pp.59-60.

3. Verse confusément le bienfait et le crime.

15. Et le Meurtre, parmi les plus chères breloques

25-28

De Satan ou de Dieu qu'importe? Ange ou Sifène,
 Qu'importe, si tu rends, --fée aux yeux de velours,
 Rythme, parfum, lueur, ô mon unique reine!--
 L'univers moins hideux et les instants moins lourds?

7.

FM, "La Chevalure," p.63.

Longtemps! toujours! ma main dans ta crinière lourde
 Sèmera le rubis, la perle et le saphir,
 Afin qu'à mon désir tu ne sois jamais sourde!
 N'es-tu pas l'oasis où je rêve, et la gourde
 Où je hume à longs traits le vin du souvenir?

8

FM, "Semper Eadem," p.89.

3-4

--Quand notre coeur a fait une fois sa vengeance,
 Vivre est un mal. C'est un secret de tous connu.

12. Laissez, laissez mon coeur s'enivrer d'un mensonge.

9

FM, "Obsession," p.148.

De l'homme vaincu, plein de sanglots et d'insultes,

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10

FM, "Le Goût du néant," p.149.

5-10

• Résigne-toi, mon coeur; dors ton sommeil de brute.

Esprit vaincu, fourbu! Pour toi, vieux maraudeur,
L'amour n'a plus de goût, non plus que la dispute;
• Adieu donc, chants du cuivre et soupirs de la flûte!
Plaisirs, ne tentez plus un coeur sombre et boudeur!

Le Printemps adorable a perdu son odeur.

15. Avalanche, veux-tu m'emporter dans ta chute?

11

FM, "Un Fantôme," p.84.

Je suis comme un peintre qu'un Dieu moqueur
Condamné à peindre, hélas! sur les ténèbres;
Où, cuisinier aux appétits funèbres,
Je fais bouillir et je mange mon coeur,

12

FM, "Chant d'automne", pp.118-119.

J'aime de vos longs yeux la lumière verdâtre,
Douce beauté, mais tout aujourd'hui m'est amer,

The theme that everything troubles him is also found in FM, "Sonnet d'automne", eds. CBP, p.131.

--Sois charmante et tais-toi! Mon coeur, que tout irrite,
Excepté la candeur de l'antique animal,

13

FM, "A Une Madone", p.120.

Je veux bâtir pour toi, Madone, ma maîtresse,
Un autel souterrain, au fond de ma détresse,
Et creuser dans un coin le plus noir de mon coeur,
Loin du désir mondain et du regard moqueur,
Une niche, d'azur et d'or tout émaillée,

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14

FM, "Bénédiction," p.30.

--Soyez béni mon Dieu, qui donnez la souffrance
 Comme un divin remède à nos impuretés.
 Et comme la meilleure et la plus pure essence
 Qui prépare les forts aux saintes voluptés!

Je sais que vous gardez une place au Poète
 Dans les rangs bienheureux des saintes Légions,
 Et que vous l'invitez à l'éternelle fête
 Des Trônes, des Vertus, des Dominations.

Je sais que la douleur est la noblesse unique
 Où ne mordront jamais la terre et les enfers,
 Et qu'il faut pour tresser ma couronne mystique
 Imposer tous les temps et tous les univers.

15

FM, "Horreur sympathique," p.151.

--Insatiablenent avide
 De l'obscur et de l'incertain,
 Je ne geindrai pas comme Ovide
 Chassé du paradis latin.

Cieux déchirés comme des grèves,
 En vous se mire mon orgueil,
 Vos vastes nuages en deuil

Sont les corbillards de mes rêves,
 Et vos lueurs sont le reflet.
 De l'Enfer où mon coeur se plaît.

16

FM, "Chanson d'après-midi", p.123.

Mon âme par toi guéri,
 Par toi, lumière et couleur,
 Explosion de chaleur
 Dans ma noire Sibérie!

Lloyd James Austin, "Baudelaire, Poet or Prophet" in Studies in Modern French Literature presented to P. Mansell Jones (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1961), p.32 states:

"Restated in abstract terms, the 'message' of Les Fleurs du Mal is one

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of withering pessimism and despair, at least as far as the world is concerned."

See also, A.F. Baillot, "Le Pessimisme de Baudelaire." Quo Vadis (Jan-March 1857).

"Le pessimisme inconsistant de René, après s'être précisé chez Vigny sous une forme plus dense, s'épanouit chez Baudelaire comme une étrange orchidée aux fleurs enivrantes(...) Le pessimisme baudelairien, tout en continuant la tradition de Vigny, coïncide aussi avec les premières importations de la doctrine schopenhaurienne (p.66).

"Pour Baudelaire comme pour Schopenhaur, 'vivre est un mal'" (p.67). See "Semper Eadem".

Despite these several interesting observations, Baillot's theories follow the inevitable fate of any theory, if pushed to its rational limit. By applying pessimism as his universal yardstick Baillot arrives at the following conclusion which our own study shows to be quite false:

"La conséquence d'un tel pessimisme, c'est un désir d'anéantissement général. Baudelaire ne peut plus supporter la vie, car elle ne lui offre aucune compensation, si ce n'est la contemplation des formes plastiques (...). L'aboutissement logique du pessimisme baudelairien, c'est la négation de tout."

17

Antoine Adam, ed. Les Fleurs du Mal (Paris: Garnier, 1966), p.375n.

18

Here are but a few of the clearer statements:

"(...); l'influence qui n'est pas émue, mais qui émeut. Les poètes sont les législateurs non reconnus du monde."

(Percy B. Shelley, Une Défense de la Poésie, 1821, trad. Rabbe)

"Sans parler même ici de son influence civilisatrice, c'est à lui qu'il appartient d'élever, lorsqu'ils le méritent, les événements politiques à la dignité d'événements historiques."

(Victor Hugo, Les Voix intérieures, Préface, 1837)

"Il doit marcher devant les peuples comme une lumière et leur montrer le chemin. Il doit les ramener à tous les grands principes d'ordre, de morale, d'honneur;"

(Victor Hugo, Odes et Ballades, Préface de 1824)

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"Je crois fermement en une vocation ineffable qui m'est donnée, et j'y crois à cause de la pitié sans bornes que m'inspirent les hommes, mes compagnons en misère, et aussi à cause du désir que je me sens de leur tendre la main et de les élever sans cesse par des paroles de commisération et d'amour."

(A. de Vigny, Stello)

19

The appropriate parts of these prefaces are found on pp.278-279 of our study. The full text can be found in FM, eds. CBP, pp.361-367.

20

FM, "Correspondances," p.34.

Ayant l'expansion des choses infinies,
Comme l'ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l'encens,
Qui chantent les transports de l'esprit et des sens.

21

FM, "Elévation," pp.32-33.

Heureux celui qui peut d'une aile vigoureuse
S'élançer vers les champs lumineux et sereins;

Celui dont les pensées, comme des alouettes,
Vers les cieux le matin prennent un libre essor,
--Qui plane sur la vie, et comprend sans effort
Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes!

22

In his projected epilogue for Les Fleurs du Mal (FM, ed. Adam, p.219) Maudelaire wrote:

"Car j'ai de chaque chose extrait la quintessence,
Tu m'as donné ta boue et j'en ai fait de l'or."

This epilogue as the prefaces were never used. While one can only speculate on the reason it is nevertheless clear that Epilogue is similar in tone to both "Paysage" and "Le Soleil" and that the whole tone of Les Tableaux parisiens goes far beyond this making gold out of mud, or art out of misery. While we recognize our own temerity in attempting to speculate what the author might or might not have said we feel that the tone of Les Tableaux parisiens might better have produced a line like this: "Tu m'as donné ta boue et je l'ai rendue digne."

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André Bessière, "Dissertation française à l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de Baudelaire." L'Information Littéraire, No.5 (Nov-Dec., 1957), pp.227-230 devotes an entire essay to showing how the line "Tu m'as donné ta boue et j'en ai fait de l'or" is the key to Baudelaire's vision of Paris. We feel however that M. Bessière misses a vital point by relying too heavily on art. The whole article relates to a concept found in the dream sequence of Part I of Rêve parisien. The critic should read carefully part II of the same poem.

23

"Bon Sens du peuple," Le Salut Public, -OPI, p.196.

24

The theme of Baudelaire as a Parisian poet is one of the most frequently treated themes. In addition to the frequent references to Paris in any biography the following people in our bibliography have contributed special studies to Baudelaire and Paris: Bessière, Beucler, Caillois, Citron, Cuénot, Delafarge, Delvau, Easton, Gallioti, Gauthier, M., Georgesco, Joxe, Lebeau, Le Dantec, Legrand-Chabrier, Pichois, Putter, Soupault, Walton and Zimmerman.

One of the most perceptive comments on Baudelaire and Paris is made by Lloyd Austin, "Les Tableaux parisiens un siècle après," RSH, 127 (1967), p.436.

"La création de cette nouvelle rubrique ne représente nullement une découverte tardive de la part de Baudelaire de tout ce que Paris offrait comme source d'inspiration (...). Mis à part les poèmes inspirés par le voyage réel sous les tropiques ou par les voyages imaginaires dans les pays de rêve, Les Fleurs du Mal sont d'un bout à l'autre le produit d'une vie de poète parisien, parisien dans l'âme."

25

FM, "Paysage," p.161.

Je verrai les printemps, les étés, les automnes;
Et quand viendra l'hiver aux neiges monotones,
Je fermerai partout portières et volets
Pour bâtir dans la nuit mes féeriques palais.

26

FM, "L'Horloge," p.157.

Souviens-toi que le Temps est un joueur avide
Qui gagne sans tricher, à tout coup, c'est la loi.

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Le jour décroît; la nuit augmente, souviens-toi
Le gouffre a toujours soif; la clepsydre se vide.

27

FM, "Les Sept Vieillards," p.171.

Et que, décor semblable à l'âme de l'acteur,

Un brouillard sale et jaune inondait tout l'espace,
Je suivais, roidissant mes nerfs comme un héros
Et discutant avec mon âme déjà lasse,

28

FM, "Les Sept Vieillards," p.171.

Le faubourg secoué par les lourds tombereaux.

29

FM, "Les Sept Vieillards," PP.173-174.

--Mais je tournai le dos au cortège infernal.

Exaspéré comme un ivrogne qui voit double,
Je rentrai, je fermai ma porte, épouvanté,
Malade et morfondu, l'esprit fiévreux et trouble
Blessé par le mystère et par l'absurdité!

Vainement ma raison voulait prendre la barre;
La tempête en jouant dérouterait ses efforts,
Et mon âme dansait, dansait, vieille gabarre
Sans mâts, sur une mer monstrueuse et sans bords!

30

FM, "Les Petites Vieilles," p.177.

L'une, par sa patrie au malheur exercée,
L'autre, que son époux surchargea de douleurs,
L'autre, par son enfant Madone transpercée,
Toutes auraient pu faire un fleuve avec leurs pleurs!

A note of political interest is drawn to our attention in FM, ed. Adam,
p. 384 n7:

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"Baudelaire semble faire allusion aux femmes des réfugiés politiques, Italiens surtout et Polonais, alors si nombreux à Paris. Il connaissait au moins une réfugiée italienne, celle qu'il appelait la Sisina."

31

FM, "Les Sept Vieillards," p.172.

Il n'était pas voué, mais cassé, ...

FM, "Les Petites Vieilles," p.176.

Où dansent, sans vouloir danser, pauvres sonnettes
Où se pend un Démon sans pitié! Tout cassés.

Qu'ils sont ...

32

FM, "Les Aveugles," p.180.

Ils traversent ainsi le noir illimité,
Ce frère du silence éternel. O cité!
Pendant qu'autour de nous tu chantes, ris et beugles,

33

FM, "Le Crépuscule du soir," p.185.

La Prostitution s'allume dans les rues;
Comme une fourmière elle ouvre ses issues;
Elle remue au sein de la cité de fange
Comme un ver qui dérobe à l'Homme ce qu'il mange.

Joseph Aynard, Petite Histoire de la bourgeoisie française (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941), pp. 49-50, makes the following comment on the new sense of futility affecting the working class:

"Au XIXe siècle apparaît quelque chose de nouveau dans le peuple ouvrier des villes, une misère non pas accidentelle, ou attachée à la pauvreté des ressources du pays, mais qui apparaît inhérente à la condition de l'ouvrier, et particulièrement de celui qui a une famille, le salaire trop bas pour vivre, parce qu'il y a toujours une réserve de main d'œuvre inoculée, une population ouvrière en surplus sur la demande."

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34

The most complete collection of opinions concerning these early poems are found in FM, ed. Adam, pp.394-395.

35

Claude Pichois, Baudelaire à Paris, photographies de Maurice Rué (Paris: Hachette, 1962), p.27.

See also, L.J. Austin, "Les Tableaux parisiens un siècle après." op. cit. p.440.

"Le Paris de Baudelaire est un Paris très secret, très mystérieux, très personnel. Le Paris du second Empire était en train de devenir le centre légendaire des plaisirs et de la frivolité."

36

CE, "Salon de 1846," p.90.

"Le romantisme n'est précisément ni dans le choix des sujets ni dans la vérité exacte, mais dans la manière de sentir."

37

Three word indexes were used in preparing this thesis:

W.T. Bandy, A Word Index to Baudelaire's Poems (Madison, 1939).

R.T. Cargo, A Concordance to Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du Mal (Chapel Hill: U. of N. Carolina Press, 1965)

B. Quemada, and K. Menemencioglu, Baudelaire: "Les Fleurs du Mal" Concordance, Index et Relevés Statistiques (Paris: Larousse, 1965).

The following references to poverty are part of the Quemada study and refer to the Crépet, Blin (1949) edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. The first 3 figures refer to the number of the poem while the last figures refer to the line in the poem.

pauvre
PRE017 ainsi qu'un débauché pauvre qui baise et mange
007001 ma pauvre muse, hélas! qu'as-tu donc ce matin?
020025 pauvre grande beauté! le magnifique fleuve
042001 que diras-tu ce soir, pauvre âme solitaire
045025 pauvre ange, elle chantait; votre note criarde:
045020 ce pauvre agonisant que déjà le loup flaire!
089602 pauvre et triste miroir où jadis resplendit
090051 et mon âme dansait, dansait, pauvre gabare
096021 et mon cœur s'effraya d'envier maint pauvre homme

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116005 regardez, après tout, c'est une pauvre terre.
 116045 pauvre pendu muet, tes douleurs sont les miennes!
 116049 devant toi, pauvre diable au souvenir si cher,
 119012 crient la faim comme un pauvre chien
 119016 tremble de froid, pauvre chacal!
 122013 c'est la bourse du pauvre et sa patrie antique,
 126041 ô le pauvre amoureux des pays chimériques
 140006 le-pauvre, le méchant, le tortu, l'hébété,
 149010 dit au pauvre, qu'il a noyé dans les ténèbres:
 155001 tes beaux yeux sont las, pauvre amante!

pauvres

005022 ô pauvres" corps tordus, maigres, ventrus ou flasques,
 091015 ou dansent, sans vouloir danser, pauvres sonnettes
 100004 les morts, les pauvres morts, ont de grandes douleurs,
 111026 pauvres soeurs, je vous aime autant que je vous plains,
 122000 la mort des pauvres
 122011 et qui refait le lit des gens pauvres et nus;
 137080 pauvres enfants maudits, vous disparaîtrez tous!
 137091 et l'esprit souriait à ses pauvres enfants!

pauvresses

103015 les pauvresses, traînant leurs seins maigres et froids

pauvreté

088003 laisse voir la pauvreté

38

FM, "Le Crépuscule du soir," P.185.

Cependant des démons malsains dans l'atmosphère
 S'éveillent lourdement comme des gens d'affaire,

FM, "Abel et Caïn," p.241.

Race d'Abel, aime et pullule!
 Ton or fait aussi des petits.

FM, "Les Litanies de Satan," p.245.

Toi qui poses ta marque, ô complice subtil,
 Sur le front de Crésus impitoyable, et vil,

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39

Quemada, Concordances, p.138.

peuple

PRE022 dans nos cerveaux ribote un peuple de démons,
 059006 excitant à l'assaut un peuple sans souliers,
 077006 ni son peuple mourant en face du balcon.
 078011 et qu'un peuple muet d'infâmes araignées
 105024 ils apportent la gloire au peuple ivre d'amour!
 120017 qui damne tout un peuple autour d'un échafaud.
 120023 où dort enseveli le peuple des métaux
 126096 et le peuple amoureux du fouet abrutissant;
 126096 et le peuple amateur du fouet abrutissant;
 105021 se dressent devant eux, solennelle magie!
 105022 et dans l'étourdissante et lumineuse orgie
 105023 des clairons, du soleil, des cris et du tambour,
 105024 ils apportent la gloire au peuple ivre d'amour!
 105021 et jurant qu'ils rendront toujours leur peuple heureux
 105022 mais nul n'a jamais vu les hauts faits glorieux,
 105023 les triomphes bruyants, les fêtes solennelles,
 105024 qui s'allument alors au fond de leurs cervelles,

peuples

001056 lui dérobent l'aspect des peuples furieux:

40

Léon Bloy, Le Désespéré (Mercure de France), p.307.

"La pauvreté est le plus énorme des crimes, et le seul qu'aucune
 circonstance ne saurait atténuer aux yeux d'un juge équitable."

41

FM, "A Une Mendiante rousse," p.164.

Blanche fille aux cheveux roux,
 Dont la robe par ses trous
 Laisse voir la pauvreté
 Et la beauté,

Pour moi, poète chétif,
 Ton jeune corps maladif
 Plein de taches de rousseur,
 A sa douceur.

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42

FM, "Au Lecteur," p.21.

Et nous alimentons nos aimables remords,
Comme les mendiants nourrissent leur vermine.

43

FM, "Au Lecteur," p.21.

11-12

Et le riche métal de notre volonté
Est tout vaporisé par ce savant chimiste

17-18

Ainsi qu'un débauché pauvre qui baise et mange
Le sein martyrisé d'une antique catin,

44

FM, "Don Juan aux enfers," p.50.

Un sombre mendiant, l'oeil fier comme Antisthène,
D'un bras vengeur et fort saisit chaque aviron.

45

FM, "Le Poison," p.106.

Le vin sait revêtir le plus sordide bouge
D'un luxe miraculeux,
Et fait surgir plus d'un portique fabuleux
Dans l'or de sa vapeur rouge,
Comme un soleil couchant dans un ciel nébuleux.

46

FM, "La Chevelure," p.63.

Already quoted in note 7 of this chapter. See also "Un Fantôme,"
p.86 and "L'Invitation au voyage," p.112, for further illustrations
of this point.

47

FM, "Tu mettras tous l'univers(...)," p.65.

Quand la nature, grande en ses desseins cachés,
De toi se sert, ô femme, ô reine des péchés,

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-- De toi, vil animal, -- pour pétrir un génie?

O fangeuse grandeur! sublime ignomie!

48

FM, "J'ai plus de souvenirs(...)", p.143.

J'ai plus de souvenirs que si j'avais mille ans.

Un gros meuble à tiroirs encombrés de bilans,
De vers, de billets doux, de procès, de romances,
Avec de lourds cheveux roulés dans des quittances,
Cache moins de secrets que mon triste cerveau.

49

FM, "La Vie antérieure," p.47.

Les houles, en roulant les images des cieux,
Mêlaient d'une façon solennelle et mystique
Les tout-puissants accords de leur riche musique.
Aux couleurs du couchant reflète par mes yeux.

C'est là que j'ai vécu dans les voluptés calmes,
Au milieu de l'azur, des vagues, des splendeurs
Et des esclaves nus, tout imprégnés d'odeurs,

50

In 1861, 32 new poems were added to the Fleurs du Mal. In general these poems confirm and strengthen the already dominant voice of spleen. Of these poems only 9 speak of Satan, while 14 use social images to develop the theme. Poem and line references refer to the Crépet, Blin, Pichois (1968) edition.

Those poems in which Satanic imagery are used are:

Hymne à la beauté (021001) (021009) (021021) (021025)
Duellium (035012)
Le Possédé (037014)
A Une Madone (057025)
Gravure Fantastique (071001)
Alchimie de la douleur (081010)
Horreur sympathique (082014)
Les Petites Vieilles (091016)
Le Voyage (126105) (126143)

Those poems which present social references are:

L'Albatros (002015)
Chant d'automne (056006)

5

6

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A Une Madone (057004)
Chanson d'après-midi (058040)
Paysage (086007) (086021)
Le Cygne (089002) (089029) (089035) (089052)
Les Sept Vieillards (090001) (090012) (090013) (090046)
Les Petites Vieilles (091001) (091008) (091010) (091026) (091045)
(091054) (091062) (091072)
Les Aveugles (092010 - 011)
A Une Passante (093001)
Le Squelette Laboureur (094002)
Danse Macabre (097053)
Rêve parisien (102054)
Le Voyage (126009) (126045) (126048) (126080) (126095) (126110)

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL FACE OF 'MODERNITE'

Les Tableaux parisiens, representing as it does a restoration of the temporal, the immediate and the social to a place of honour in Baudelaire's aesthetic vision, is not utterly unique in the period that stretches from the publication of the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal in 1857 to the appearance of Les Petits Poèmes en prose. Much of Baudelaire's critical writing during this period captures the same flavour, thus serving as a vital introduction to the prose poetry. Using the Tableaux parisiens as a rough point of division it is interesting to note the general tone of what he wrote from 1857 to 1861 as contrasted with the tone of his post-1861 critical writings.

On October 1, 1857, just a few months after the publication of Les Fleurs du Mal, Baudelaire published an important appraisal of caricature entitled Quelques Caricaturistes français.¹ In this work he speaks in complimentary tones of an artist that had not been given a major role to play in Les Fleurs du Mal, namely the artist as a political and social observer. Despite his reference to numerous caricaturists,² Quelques Caricaturistes français is really a tribute to Daumier in much the same way that Baudelaire's Salons are frequently an excuse for writing articles on Delacroix. And as is the case with Delacroix, Baudelaire is uncompromising to the point of singlemindedness in his belief in Daumier's importance and genius.³ Daumier is presented

in two main frames of reference: the fact that he had chosen to realize his art through political and social observation and the apparent injustices that are seen through his observations on the relations between the bourgeoisie and the poor.

Daumier is first seen as a vital participant in the political and social struggles of the July Monarchy. By adding his work to what Baudelaire describes as a prestigious satanic comedy,⁴ Daumier becomes a source of vital insight into the physical and spiritual character of the times. On the one hand Daumier appears to Baudelaire as a castigator of the bourgeoisie. Speaking of this general trend in caricature Baudelaire himself pens one of the most vitriolic portraits of this class.

Dans tous ces dessins, dont la plupart sont faits avec un sérieux et une conscience remarquables, le roi joue toujours un rôle d'ogre, d'assassin, de Gargantua inassouvi, pis encore quelquefois. Depuis la révolution de février, je n'ai vu qu'une seule caricature dont la férocité me rappelât le temps des grandes fureurs politiques; car tous les plaidoyers politiques étalés aux carreaux, lors de la grande élection présidentielle, n'offraient que des choses pâles au prix des produits de l'époque dont je viens de parler. C'était après les malheureux massacres de Rouen. -- Sur le premier plan, un cadavre, troué de balles, couché sur une civière; derrière lui tous les gros bonnets de la ville, en uniforme, bien frisés, bien sanglés, bien attifés, les moustaches en croc et gonflés d'orgueil; il doit y avoir là dedans des dandys bourgeois qui vont monter leur garde ou réprimer l'émeute avec un bouquet de violettes à la boutonnière de leur tunique; enfin un idéal de garde bourgeoise, comme disait le plus célèbre de nos démagogues. A genoux devant la civière, enveloppé dans sa robe de juge, la bouche ouverte et montrant comme un requin la double rangée de ses dents taillées en scie, F.C. promène lentement sa griffe sur la chair du cadavre qu'il égratine avec délices. -- Ah! le Normand! dit-il, il fait le mort pour ne pas répondre à la Justice. (CE, 410-411)!

An important source of Baudelaire's admiration for Daumier lies in the fact that the latter goes beyond mere politics and gives a soul

to his characters -- even the bourgeois. On the one hand the reader is advised that Daumier's work contains a fantastic and moving microcosm of all the great city has in terms of living monstrosities. Yet at the same time Baudelaire detects a compassion for these monstrosities including the bourgeois monstrosities. Baudelaire portrays Daumier as one who knows the spirit of the bourgeois, having lived intimately with him.⁶ Combined therefore with an advanced talent for observation⁷ Daumier becomes the model against which Baudelaire portrays favourable caricaturists such as Carle Vernet or improper ones such as Charlet who has two great impediments to genius: the fact that he is exclusively an artist of circumstance and a patriot.⁸

Daumier reaches out beyond the contemporary detail and captures the essential dignity of his subject. It is also important to both the development of Les Tableaux parisiens and Le Spleen de Paris to note that Baudelaire is particularly attracted to Daumier's face of the poor. In reference to the work dealing with the Transnonain street massacre, Daumier through his subject and Baudelaire through his sympathetic attraction to it reveal an aspect of human grandeur totally lacking in Charlet.

A propos du lamentable massacre de la rue Transnonain, Daumier se montra vraiment grand artiste; le dessin est devenu assez rare, car il fut saisi et détruit. Ce n'est pas précisément de la caricature, c'est de l'histoire, de la triviale et terrible réalité. -- Dans une chambre pauvre et triste, la chambre traditionnelle du prolétaire, aux meubles banals et indispensables, le corps d'un ouvrier nu, en chemise et en bonnet de coton, gît sur le dos, tout de son long, les jambes et les bras écartés. Il y a eu sans doute dans la chambre une grande lutte et un grand tapage, car les chaises sont renversées, ainsi que la table de nuit et le pot de chambre. Sous le poids de son cadavre, le père écrase entre son dos et le carreau le cadavre de son petit enfant. Dans cette mansarde froide, il n'y a rien que le silence et la mort. (CE, 411-412).

Few artists of the time could have resisted the temptation to etch every detail of this inhuman tragedy into the brain of their reader. By sketching the details of proletarian life in impressionistic terms such as "chambre pauvre et triste", or "meubles banals et indispensables" and by avoiding a moralizing conclusion Baudelaire is certainly not indifferent to the injustice of the scene. By avoiding the dotted "i's" and crossed "t's" of superficial realism, Baudelaire allows his reader to appreciate realism on a much higher level. This vision of injustice as it applies to the life of the proletariat is seen on two other occasions in Quelques Caricaturistes français: his comments on Daumier's Le Dernier Bain and a painting by Trimolet.

In the former work Baudelaire comments on the figure of someone committing suicide. Here is no poet trying to create a scene⁹ and hoping to be pulled out, but a man whose shabby clothes and skeletal frame show that he is one of society's victims who has chosen to end it all by jumping into the river within sight of a round-bellied and contemplative bourgeois fishing peacefully on the opposite bank. In his attraction to, and comment on, the painting by Trimolet Baudelaire goes even further in identifying both the artist and himself with the plight of society's outcasts while at the same time introducing an element of the stoic acceptance of one's fate that characterizes much of Les Tableaux parisiens.¹⁰

Un jour, Trimolet fit un tableau; c'était bien conçu et c'était une grande pensée; dans une nuit sombre et mouillée, un de ces vieux hommes qui ont l'air d'une ruine ambulante et d'un paquet de guenilles vivantes s'est étendu au pied d'un mur décrépi. Il lève ses yeux reconnaissants vers le ciel sans étoiles, et s'écrie: "Je vous bénis, mon Dieu, qui m'avez donné ce mur pour m'abriter et cette natte pour me couvrir!" Comme tous les déshérités harcelés par la douleur, ce brave

homme n'est pas difficile, et il fait volontiers crédit du reste au Tout-Puissant (CE, 425).

Quelques caricaturistes français is, in conclusion, an article which, while synonymous with the publication dates of the 1857 Fleurs du Mal, shows none of the Art for Art's sake tendencies of the latter much of which had been composed much earlier than 1857. In 1857 this article presents a certain concept of modernism which is important in understanding the 1861 edition and later prose poetry. It is also an article which helps explain certain aspects of Baudelaire's literary output in the vital period between the two editions of Les Fleurs du Mal.¹¹

The precept that the artist must be an observer of society (yet far more than a fanatical observer of detail) as reestablished in Quelques Caricaturistes français and its companion, Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers,¹² is taken up in the Salon de 1859. Like its predecessors in 1845, 1846 and 1855, the Salon de 1859 makes a major contribution to understanding the varying emphasis given to parts of Baudelaire's aesthetic vision.

The most outstanding aspect of the Salon de 1859 is that it totally subordinates the paintings to Baudelaire's own theories on the role of imagination in art. All opinions expressed therein are in some manner associated with this general proposition.¹³ Some critics however have gone as far as to conclude that Baudelaire's preoccupation with imagination is a clear indication that he had abandoned modernism in this Salon and had come to reject totally the concept of realism.¹⁴ Such a conclusion however is premature. A careful reading of the Salon de 1859 produces an impression not unlike that achieved in reading

Quelques caricaturistes français. The latter work gives particular emphasis to a form of artist who is a social observer. Not once however had Baudelaire ever suggested that the true artist should ever limit himself merely to depicting reality.

The Salon de 1859 gives particular attention to that side of art which Baudelaire loosely terms imagination, or the use of this queen of all our faculties.¹⁵ For Baudelaire, imagination is first and foremost a form of sensitive analysis and synthesis; it is imagination that teaches man the moral sense of colour, of contour, of sound and of odor; it is imagination that has created analogy and metaphor since the beginning of the world for it allows the artist to assemble and disassemble creation at his will in order to create a new world. Since imagination is viewed by Baudelaire as the master of both truth and the possible which is one of truth's provinces, it is seen as a vital link with the infinite.

Thus, without imagination all other faculties lack the ability to communicate with the infinite and are as useless to the artist as if they had never been.

Lest any reader should be tempted to see this article in purely aesthetic terms Baudelaire continues by stating that imagination is also seen to be the foundation of morality since what is virtue without imagination? It would be the same as virtue without pity or virtue without heaven, i.e. something hard, cruel and sterilising -- a situation that has led to bigotry in some countries and Protestantism in others.¹⁶

If one ignores the author's own clear definition of imagination as a sensitive form of analyse and synthèse his preoccupation with this faculty might lead some to see this Salon as supportive of certain Art

for Art theories of the Exposition universelle de 1855 and hence further preparation for the symbolist movement. If however we accept that imagination is that sensitivity that privileged minds apply to analysis and synthesis we see that Baudelaire's interpretation of the role of imagination does not exclude a role for detail, the social or the real. Just as they alone could never constitute art,¹⁷ imagination too, taken by itself, can be as equally non-productive. The message is repeated several times in the Salon de 1859. In the first example Baudelaire makes it clear that he does not equate imagination with fantasy in any of its forms.

(...); car la fantaisie est d'autant plus dangeureuse qu'elle est plus facile et plus ouverte; dangeureuse comme la poésie en prose, comme le roman, elle ressemble à l'amour qu'inspire une prostituée et qui tombe bien vite dans la puérilité ou dans la bassesse; dangereuse comme toute liberté absolue (CE, 310).

Imagination must therefore be strengthened by attention to contemporary detail.

Malgré tous les magnifiques privilèges que j'attribue à l'imagination, je ne ferai pas à vos lecteurs l'injure de leur expliquer que mieux elle est secourue et plus elle est puissante, et, que ce qu'il y a de plus fort dans les batailles avec l'idéal, c'est une belle imagination disposant d'un immense magasin d'observations (CE, 276).

On yet another occasion the poet speaks of the art of sculpture as providing the realistic counterbalance to imagination:

De même que la poésie lyrique ennoblit tout, même la passion, la sculpture, la vraie, solennise tout, même quelque chose d'éternel et qui participe de la dureté de la matière employée (CE, 349).

Thus from imagination to detail, from nobility to the artistic durezza, Baudelaire's Salon de 1859 spans the full range of modernism such as he had always defined it -- i.e. the simultaneous blending of the temporal and the eternal. It is a modernism where the choice of subject is thus as important as is the sensitive manner in which the subject is portrayed.¹⁸ It is moreover this vital choice of subject and sensitive portrayal that Baudelaire finds absent in numerous artists in the Salon but particularly present in the three men who earn his highest praise in the article: Delacroix, Legros and Meryon.

While the need for detailed observation is praised in the Salon it is clear from the outset that Baudelaire rejects the political and patriotic subject because they are far too limiting to the total vision that the art form proposes to capture. Politics and patriotism are seen as an exclusive passion which is foreign to art.¹⁹ It is little wonder therefore that Baudelaire's own critical works contain few such references and the Fleurs du Mal none.

Another aspect of social reality that Baudelaire rejects completely in the Salon de 1859 is that aspect of our daily existence used for the sake of pure detail without any thought for its greater meaning. Under such circumstances even a portrait of the suffering poor becomes abhorrent when it ceases to be sensitive and becomes purely clinical instead.

Voyez, par exemple, cette Gaule! La première forme que la Gaule revêt dans votre esprit est celle d'une personne de grande allure, libre, puissante, de forme robuste et dégagée, la fille bien découplée des forêts, la femme sauvage et guerrière, dont la voix était écoutée dans les conseils de la patrie. Or, dans la malheureuse figure dont je parle, tout ce qui constitue la force et la beauté est absent. Poitrine, hanches, cuisses, jambes, tout ce qui doit faire relief est creux. J'ai

vu sur les tables de dissection de ces cadavres ravagés par la maladie et par une misère continue de quarante ans. L'auteur a-t-il voulu représenter l'affaiblissement, l'épuisement d'une femme qui n'a pas connu d'autre nourriture que le gland des chênes, et a-t-il pris l'antique et forte Gaule pour la femelle décrépète d'un Papou? Cherchons une explication moins ambitieuse et croyons simplement qu'ayant entendu répéter fréquemment qu'il fallait copier fidèlement le modèle, et n'étant pas doué de la clair-voyance nécessaire pour en choisir un beau, il a copié le plus laid de tous avec une parfaite dévotion (CE, 352-353)•

The above passage is important in that it underlines the importance of subject while at the same time showing that no subject can stand clinically alone in art. It is neither a condemnation of social reality as a presence in art nor an example of indifference to the poor nor a rejection of the concept that the social tragedy is totally foreign to the concept of Beauty. On this particular point the Salon de 1859 is quite specific when, through a magnificent play on words, Baudelaire suggests that Beauty need not necessarily be beautiful.²⁰

Having accepted the principle that beauty can be found in all subjects Baudelaire proceeds to give strong praise to three artists: Delacroix, Legros and Meryon. As usual it is Delacroix whom he uses to illustrate the totality of his own artistic vision. Delacroix expresses for him the infinite in the finite; he is the concept of the dream interpreted as a vision produced by intense meditation or by excitable less fertile brains. In short, Delacroix is the painter of the soul.²¹ Lest the critic be too quick to transform both Baudelaire and Delacroix into symbolist painters of the abstract he should remember that the key line around which Baudelaire orientates these comments on Delacroix is "C'est l'infini dans le fini". The finite is not ignored but merely transformed through the revelation of its inner and secret self.

Nor is Baudelaire prepared to leave the concept of the finite to the sovereign interpretation of the reader. His comments on Legros and Meryon show that for Baudelaire in 1859, social forces are a vital part of this finite. Just as he had attacked "La Gaule" for having dealt with a socially realistic theme in clinically realistic terms, he now praises Legros and Meryon for having captured the social aspect of the finite in terms that remind us of the infinite. Legros' use of the trivial is seen as a form of seasoning for the charity of tenderness, thus giving his subject a taste of celestial delights. The following comments on Legros contain a series of motifs that Baudelaire himself integrates into the Tableaux parisiens two years later:

(...); mais cet aspect villageois, tout ce petit monde vêtu de velours, de coton, d'indienne et de cotonnade que l'Angelus rassemble le soir sous la voûte de l'église de nos grandes villes, avec ses sabots et ses parapluies, tout voûté par le travail, tout ridé par l'âge, tout parcheminé par la brûlure du chagrin, troublait un peu ses yeux, amoureux, comme ceux d'un bon connaisseur, des beautés élégantes et mondaines. Il obéissait évidemment à cette humeur française qui craint surtout d'être dupe, et qu'a si cruellement raillée l'écrivain français qui en était le plus singulièrement obsédé. Cependant l'esprit du vrai critique, comme l'esprit du vrai poète, doit être ouvert à toutes les beautés; avec la même facilité il jouit de la grandeur éblouissante de César triomphant et de la grandeur du pauvre habitant des faubourgs inclinés sous le regard de son Dieu (...)! Ce qui prouve que M. Legros est un esprit vigoureux, c'est que l'accoutrement vulgaire de son sujet ne nuit pas du tout à la grandeur morale du même sujet, mais qu'au contraire la trivialité est ici comme un assaisonnement dans la charité de la tendresse (...). Ainsi l'enfant du pauvre, tout embarrassé de sa contenance, goûte en tremblant, aux confitures célestes (CE, 287-288).

In the same way that Baudelaire is attracted to Legros for having extracted grandeur from humble subjects he is also attracted to Meryon who has captured the black majesty of the most disquieting of capitals: Paris. Here again are a series of remarks which this time praise an artist for having extracted the heroism of the modern city:

J'ai rarement vu représentée avec plus de poésie la solennité naturelle d'une ville immense. Les majestés de la pierre accumulée, les clochers montrant du doigt le ciel, les obélisques de l'industrie vomissant contre le firmament leurs coalitions de fumées, les prodigieux échafaudages des monuments en réparation, appliquant sur le corps solide de l'architecture leur architecture à jour d'une beauté si paradoxale, le ciel tumultueux, chargé de colère et de rancune, la profondeur des perspectives augmentée par la pensée de tous les drames qui y sont contenus, aucun des éléments complexes dont se compose le douloureux et glorieux décor de la civilisation n'était oublié (CE, 342-343).

(...), et qui avait dit adieu aux solennelles aventures de l'Océan pour peindre la noire majesté de la plus inquiétante des capitales (CE, 343).

Vous traversez une grande ville vieillie dans la civilisation, une de celles qui contiennent les archives les plus importantes de la vie universelle, et vos yeux sont tirés en haut, sursùm, ad sidera; car sur les places publiques, aux angles des carrefours, des personnages immobiles, plus grandes que ceux qui passent à leurs pieds, vous racontent dans un langage muet les pompeuses légendes de la gloire, de la guerre, de la science, et du martyr(...) Fussiez-vous le plus insouciant des hommes, le plus malheureux ou le plus vil, mendiant ou banquier, le fantôme de pierre s'empare de vous pendant quelques minutes, et vous commande au nom du passé, de penser aux choses qui ne sont pas de la terre (CE, 347).

This series of quotations serves once again to remind us of a traditional Baudelairian theme in which the object of any art is to portray the infinite. The above show that the temporal and the contemporary are a vital part of that infinite since the poet attains the infinite through the finite. Within this framework the Salon de 1859 stakes but a vital role for contemporary themes in art. Rejecting contemporary French taste for politics, patriotism or trivial realism as being too limited in scope, it nevertheless reserves a role for the city and for the spectacle of the human drama played therein. In addition, it praises this role when developed by the hands of a master such as Legros or Meryon who have given it all its potential for grandeur.²²

To suggest therefore that modernism has been abandoned in the Salon de

1859 is to weigh one aspect of the poet's comments more than the other. Modernism is indeed present in the Salon thus indicating a shift in emphasis from the Exposition universelle de 1855²³ toward the creative modernism in the 1861 Fleurs du Mal. On this particular point the Salon de 1859 best sums up much of Baudelaire's social thought in the period between the two editions.

In the first instance this period is characterized by a bitter series of attacks on the century in general and on France in particular. Without doubt the frequency and pointedness of such remarks are due to his continuing frustration over the trial and the suppression of parts of Les Fleurs du Mal. His remarks aimed at France as a nation are far more pointed than anything found even at the height of the political turmoil of 1848. These attacks begin in Quelques caricaturistes français with his remarks on the limiting face of politics and patriotism in art. Charlet was herein described as a fabricator of national stupidities and a salesman of political proverbs (CE, 406). At times the Salon de 1859 appears as a barricade behind which the poet plays his role of political and social sniper. He describes his century as one in which mediocrity reigns more than ever before, and where smallness, puerility and lack of curiosity have taken over from ardour, nobility and turbulent ambition (CE, 258-259). It is an age of unbridled artistic liberty and hence, a century adrift without a sense of purpose as defined by any form of discipline (CE, 276). It is an age which leads Baudelaire to accept Chenevard's emblematic linking of the ages of man and humanity which places the nineteenth century in the period of 'vieillesse' which will be dominated by America and industry.²⁴ It is a century in which the poetic spirit of grandeur and spirituality

have been replaced by philosophy and moralizing which leads the poet to decry the fact that he was born in a century dedicated to prose.²⁵ Baudelaire has come to view this century as one in which only the political vignette is in fashion, with the result that Théophile Gautier has little influence on the masses since he refuses to participate in a form of literature that Baudelaire describes as 'populacier'.²⁶ It is a century where the wind blows to madness and one in which artists, in order to be popular, have given themselves whole heartedly to portraying humanity's dirty laundry in public.²⁷

Thus Baudelaire, like most other French writers since Molière, sets himself up as an observer of his age. While rejecting moralizing as a motivation for the creative artist (both editions of Les Fleurs du Mal are examples of how Baudelaire followed his own advice) his literary and artistic criticism is filled with it. Nowhere is this more true than during the period 1857 to 1861. Having decried the lack of spirituality of both the contemporary artist and public (we are reminded of his attacks on the bourgeois artist as early as the Salon de 1846) he takes a further step in the direction of social observer by pointing out that the origin of this decline in spiritual values is due to the bourgeois spirit with its credo of material progress.

Once again it must be said that Baudelaire is neither alone nor terribly original in his attacks against progress. His remarks are of interest however for the poetic conciseness of the attack and for the framework into which the critic must integrate his creative endeavours such as Les Fleurs du Mal and Le Spleen de Paris.

Le Salon de 1859 is particularly rich in attacks on progress. Progress is herein defined as the rapidity with which the poet feels his

century is giving ground to the progressive domination of matter and that it is suppressing an infinite search for Beauty by an infinite search for Truth.²⁸ In this light, poetry and progress are seen as two great ambitions whose mutual hatred is instinctive. Because of such opposition there can never be any compromise between them; one must always give way to the other.²⁹ In his article on Théophile Gautier he speaks of the folly of progress as being at the very heart of the century's vanity (AR, 151).

As an observer of his times moreover, Baudelaire does not become lost in pure abstractions about progress and his century in general. At times he is very specific. While the face of progress is seen as a general sign of the age, Baudelaire releases a particularly stinging series of attacks on France in particular and how he feels that certain weaknesses within his country have made it particularly vulnerable to the general malady. In the following quotations we see that Baudelaire was as capable of attacking France as he would attack Belgium in later years. These comments from Baudelaire as a national observer however, must be sketched against the more general background of the fear that there is no place left in France or in his century for imaginary and spiritual things.

In Quelques Caricaturistes français, France is seen as a limiting force in art:

(Charlet) a cela de commun avec un autre homme célèbre, que je ne veux pas nommer parce que les temps ne sont pas encore mûrs, qu'il a tiré sa gloire exclusivement de la France et surtout de l'aristocratie du soldat. Je dis que cela est mauvais et dénote un petit esprit (CE, 402-403).

In Le Salon de 1859 he blames his country in particular for having failed to produce enough talent for the exposition:

(...): mais malheureusement, dans un esprit critique tant soit peu exercé, le patriotisme ne joue pas un rôle absolument tyrannique, et nous avons à faire quelques aveux humiliants (CE, 258).

The poet considers the banality of the times as a particular failing of the French people:

Je ne le crois pas, et je considère ces horreurs comme une grâce spéciale attribuée à la race française. Que ses artistes lui en inoculent le goût, cela est vrai; qu'elle exige d'eux qu'il satisfassent à ce besoin, cela est non moins vrai; car si l'artiste abêtit le public, celui-ci le lui rend bien. Ils sont deux termes corrélatifs qui agissent l'un sur l'autre avec une égale puissance (CE, 266-267).³⁰

The final statement above is of interest. In Baudelaire's criticism from 1857 to 1861 there is a frequent preoccupation with the intertwining roles of the artist and of society -- a society often politically defined in national terms. The give and take relationship between the artist and society is perhaps best summed up in the following lines from the Salon de 1859:

"Quel homme digne du nom d'artiste, et quel amateur véritable a jamais confondu l'art avec l'industrie?" Je le sais, et cependant je leur demanderai à mon tour s'ils croient à la contagion du bien et du mal, à l'action des foules sur les individus et à l'obéissance involontaire, forcée, de l'individu à la foule. Que l'artiste agisse sur le public, et que le public réagisse sur l'artiste, c'est une loi incontestable et irrésistible; d'ailleurs les faits, terribles témoins, sont faciles à étudier; on peut constater le désastre. De jour en jour l'art diminue le respect de lui-même, se prosterne devant la réalité extérieure, et le peintre devient de plus en plus enclin à peindre, non pas ce qu'il rêve, mais ce qu'il voit (CE, 271-272).

Baudelaire returns to this sociological theme of the relationship between the poet and his society in the article Charles Asselineau, La Double Vie. He is particularly attracted to certain sections of this work because it shows that the proverb 'vouloir c'est pouvoir' is one which leads the artist from one deception to another. The reason is that an obstacle exists that prevents the artist from attaining a total escape into a world of fancy. This obstacle is the gulf that exists between him and the other people who exist around him. In this form of relationship with society the equilibrium and the equation are destroyed -- a situation that Baudelaire compares to Ovide's exile.³¹

The relationship between the artist and society is once again seen as a preoccupation in his article on Théophile Gautier. Toward the conclusion Baudelaire draws a detailed portrait of the social climate in which the contemporary artist must exist.

Hélas! la France n'est guère poète non plus(...): la France n'est pas poète, elle éprouve même, pour tout dire, une horreur congéniale de la poésie. Parmi les écrivains qui se servent du vers, ceux qu'elle préférera toujours sont les plus prosaïques. Je crois vraiment, -- pardonnez-moi, vrais amants de la Muse! -- que j'ai manqué de courage au commencement de cette étude, en disant que, pour la France, le Beau n'était facilement digestible que relevé par le condiment politique. C'était le contraire qu'il fallait dire: quelque politique que soit le condiment le Beau amène l'indigestion, ou plutôt l'estomac français le refuse immédiatement. Cela vient non-seulement, je crois, de ce que la France a été providentiellement créée pour la recherche du Vrai préférablement à celle du Beau, mais aussi de ce que le caractère utopique, communiste, alchimique, de tous ces cerveaux, ne lui permet qu'une passion exclusive, celle des formules sociales. Ici chacun veut ressembler à tout le monde, mais à condition que tout le monde lui ressemble. De cette tyrannie contradictoire résulte une lutte qui ne s'applique qu'aux formes sociales, enfin un niveau, une similitude générale. De là, la ruine et l'oppression de tout caractère original (AR, 175-176).

Thus Baudelaire perceives contemporary French society as a

leveling force in which utopians, communists and alchemists wish to resemble everyone providing everyone resembles them. It is from this very contradictory tyranny that the artist must seek to disengage himself. And despite his portrait of Gautier as the man for whom art alone seeks its justification, the conclusion of his article shows that even Gautier can not escape the pull of gravity. Gautier is seen to have weakened over the previous years to the point that he is not above certain flatteries for Sir Progress and Lady Industry.³² Yet far from strongly criticizing this compromise with reality Baudelaire seems to accept it as inevitable since the artist must live in peace even with industry and progress which are the sworn enemies of art.

While it is impossible to organize the development of the poet's thought so that it fits neatly onto a prearranged curve, there are certain conclusions that one can offer on the critical writings seen between 1857 and 1861 as they apply to Baudelaire's social attitudes and the role these attitudes have in shaping his aesthetic philosophy.

On an artistic level we see that such articles as Quelques Caricaturistes français and Le Salon de 1859 have begun again to show to what extent the temporal and the milieu have a proper role to play in art. Yet at the same time Le Salon de 1859 and Théophile Gautier clearly state that the poet's priorities are still heavily weighted toward capturing in art the more abstract ideals of spirituality and beauty.

On a social or political level the 1857-1861 works are characterized by a very negative tone which shows that Baudelaire seems content to criticize and to point out those aspects of the temporal that should not form part of art. Of these aspects the most noticeable

are the patriotic and the political, touched in nationalistic or bourgeois ideals.³³ In his articles on Gautier there still remains a hint of the aristocratic nature of the artist which many prefer to see as the only Baudelaire.³⁴ There is however no suggestion that this aristocratic view of the artist is seen in anything more than an intellectual sense; he clearly states on two occasions that his form of aristocracy is one which isolates the author and surrounds him with solitude. Nor can we substantiate any belief that this intellectually superior artist is in any-way led to give preference to aristocratic subjects. In fact, the contrary might be seen to be true in light of his remarks on Daumier, Legros and Meryon.

On the whole however, the period 1857 to 1861 is marked by a sense of dynamic tension. Certain objectives concerning art as either a social force or as a social portrait are counterbalanced by residual beliefs in the saving power of Art which date from the mid 1850's. Any attempt to see a new sense of direction in his opinions on Meryon, Legros and Daumier is counterbalanced by his continuing admiration for Théophile Gautier. Yet even within the articles on Gautier there is a sense of tension in his equal admiration for Balzac with his attention to contemporary social detail and for Hugo with his preoccupation with the past. The admiration for all three authors expressed simultaneously is a clear indication that Théophile Gautier's values alone are not the only ones admired by Baudelaire in 1859. This indicates that his aesthetic vision is in a process of widening. No longer does the poet simply write off schools such as the utopians in L'Ecole palenne (1852) when he had called upon art to deal more realistically with contemporary events³⁵; nor is he prepared to negate completely the

contribution of Victor Hugo's social and historical involvement as he had done in the Exposition universelle de 1855.³⁶

The appearance of Les Tableaux parisiens in 1861 stands almost midway in Baudelaire's writings from 1857 to the major blocks of prose poetry. By their concentration on certain aspects of the social theme the Tableaux parisiens seem to indicate that Baudelaire has made a form of choice between the path of Meyron and that of Gautier. They reveal to us in poetry an aspect of the contemporary scene that should be included in art. We must not use the Tableaux parisiens however as an absolute dividing line for this period. It does however seem clear to those who study Baudelaire's criticism in chronological order that his writings after Les Tableaux parisiens continue to evolve in the direction of showing that the contemporary social scene is worthy of immortality in art. The culmination of this trend is reached in the 1863 study on Constantin Guys, Le Peintre de la vie moderne. This work gives us an indispensable summary of what Baudelaire means by modernism, which is in itself an indispensable key to understanding the aesthetic and social outreach of Les Petits Poèmes en prose.

Jonathan Mayne reminds us that whether or not we agree that Baudelaire was justified in glorifying Guys to the extent that he did, it is generally conceded that Le Peintre de la vie moderne is one of his prose masterpieces. In it Baudelaire builds his fully developed theory on the relationship of art to modern life around the delightfully gifted yet minor artist, Constantin Guys.³⁷ Le Peintre de la vie moderne is without doubt both the conclusion and the point of departure for much of Baudelaire's artistic awareness since 1857. This awareness has seen a renewed interest in the same heroism of modern life, which

was found in the conclusions of the 1845 and 1846 Salons. The essay acts as a conclusion since its 1863 publication marks the date of the author's last major aesthetic treatise. It is a point of departure and rallying point since all critical editions show that it was composed in 1859-1860, some three to four years in advance of its publication. It is for this reason that any study of Baudelaire's art criticism that immediately enters into, or follows, the Tableaux parisiens should begin by studying Le Peintre de la vie moderne before approaching works like Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains, Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris, L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix, as well as a list of shorter works from 1861 to 1864.³⁸

The interpretation of modernism is one that has drawn the attention of numerous critics and numerous articles.³⁹ Yet while it is important that one constantly reacquaint oneself with the extensions of meaning that Baudelaire attributed to the concept, it is equally vital that we transpose this knowledge to the author's own work. One of the greatest gaps in Baudelaire studies has been the failure to apply Baudelaire's theories of modernism to Baudelaire. We have seen to what extent the Tableaux parisiens have captured a fleeting glimpse of the human tragedy of the modern city. Beyond this it is also important to ask to what extent does Baudelaire, the art critic, manage to capture the heroism of the political, social, and all too temporal face of the Second Empire? Such a question can only be answered however when the reader is aware of what Baudelaire meant by modernité.

First of all it is essential to recognize that modernité is not synonymous with art itself; it is merely an ingredient of art -- the complement to, rather than the opponent of, spirituality and imagination.

La modernité, c'est le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent, la moitié de l'art, dont l'autre moitié est l'éternel et l'immuable (...). Cet élément transitoire, fugitif, dont les métamorphoses sont si fréquentes, vous n'avez pas le droit de le mépriser ou de vous en passer. En le supprimant, vous tombez forcément dans le vide d'une beauté abstraite et indéfinissable comme celle de l'unique femme avant le premier péché (...). En un mot, pour que toute modernité soit digne de devenir antiquité, il faut que la beauté mystérieuse que la vie humaine y met involontairement en ait été extraite (AR, 66-68).

Yet lest the reader assume that the straightforward statements above are the definitive word on modernism, a rapid summary of similar remarks in Le Peintre de la vie moderne shows to what extent this is a comforting illusion. The painter of modern life is also one who can capture the customs and the morals of the time in order to give historic value to the present as well as to the past (AR, 50); he captures the relationship between the art of the period and the values of the period, a relationship summed up as "la morale et l'esthétique du temps" (AR, 50-51). The modern artist must be prepared to extract the meaning and the spirituality from even the clothes of the period (AR, 51 & 66) since beauty is a double postulation whereby the relative element cloaks the eternal element like "l'enveloppe amusante, titillante, apéritive, du divin gâteau" (AR, 52). The painter of modern life must have intimate knowledge of the dictionary of modern life (AR, 54). He becomes a form of modern Renaissance man since he must be an Homme du Monde who understands the entire world and its workings (AR, 58). The crowd is his domaine and he loves the crowd (AR, 62); he extracts the surprising beauty from the great modern capital cities (AR, 63); he captures the spiritual essence represented by material things (AR, 68); he evokes the particular stamp that the epoch gives to our own particular series of sensations (AR, 69); he captures the flavour of his epoch,

and his century since each has its own personal grace. (AR, 85).

It is also clear that Baudelaire does not wish the reader to confuse modernism with realism because he continues to maintain his attack on trivial detail just as he had done in those works appearing before 1861.⁴⁰ Even the haughty attitude of the dandy is explained as an attempt to combat and destroy the trivial detail of our day-to-day lives (AR, 90). Guys is admired as an artist because, like all true artists, he paints from memory or from the vision in his brain, not from the presence of the model (AR, 71). The painter of modern life must therefore sift and select for if he spends his time studying detail he destroys the harmony of the whole and introduces an element of anarchy into his work (AR, 72).⁴¹

And so it is seen that Baudelaire's concept of modernité in Le Peintre de la vie moderne can not be capsulized into several handy phrases through which we attempt to fathom the depths of his mind in a few seconds. Nevertheless, the concluding remark above on the dangers of detail can stand as a constant beacon with reference to the methodology of the search for modernism. It is as true with Baudelaire as with any artist that too much attention to detail tends to obstruct an overview of the work at hand. A case in point is the very concept of modernism. Not only do the various facets of Le Peintre de la vie moderne fail to dissolve into a compact unit, but so also do the varying approaches to modernism that we have seen from the Salon de 1845 to the Salon de 1859. Added to this existing complexity is the fact that the period 1861-1864, being the most involved with the concept of modernism, is also the period with the broadest interpretation of the idea.

Speaking of Victor Hugo in 1862, Baudelaire returns to a theme

previously used to describe Delacroix and Gautier. The poet (and in this case Hugo) is praised since he is capable of painting all things.⁴² Such a surprising statement, added to the already lengthy lexicon of *modernité* would reserve even a legitimate role for realistic detail in art. Yet it must be a limited role as outlined in the article on Théodore de Banville in the same year. Here, Baudelaire reserves a place for detail in the novel.

Ensuite, nous observons que tout mode lyrique de notre âme nous contraint à considérer les choses non pas sous leur aspect particulier, exceptionnel, mais dans les traits principaux, généraux, universels. La lyre fuit volontiers tous les détails dont le roman se régale. L'âme lyrique fait des enjambées vastes comme des synthèses; l'esprit du romancier se délecte dans l'analyse (Ar, 354).

Amazingly enough, the most frequent error that Baudelaire scholars make is that they forget that they are dealing with a poet. Thus there is a natural tendency to conclude that Baudelaire's criticisms are universally applicable to all art forms. The fact that Baudelaire saw no place for excessive detail in lyric poetry should not necessarily lead us to conclude that it held no value for him in any other art form. A similar observation is necessary when discussing politics or social theory in relation to Baudelaire.

The same article on Banville goes on to highlight another key aspect of modernism: the choice of subject.

Mais ce que je dis du choix de moyens s'applique avec non moins de justesse au choix de sujets, au thème considéré en lui-même. Jusque vers un point assez avancé des temps modernes, l'art, poésie et musique surtout, n'a eu pour but que d'enchanter l'esprit en lui présentant des tableaux de béatitude, faisant contraste avec l'horrible vie de contention et de lutte dans laquelle nous somme plongés (AR, 358-359).

Thus another piece of the modernité mosaic falls into place. Despite his great admiration for Guys the reader is forced to conclude that his work in many ways resembles another tableau de béatitude since Baudelaire never describes his work as depicting the horrible life of contention and struggle in which we are immersed. If Constantin Guys were the only modern artist that Baudelaire praised in this period we would be obliged to see a serious contradiction between the dictum that the true artist must know how to paint all things (savoir tout peindre) and the vast portions of contemporary reality missing in Guys' work. Other artists are also praised by Baudelaire however and it is through these artists that the full spectrum of modernité is seen.

In the period 1857 to 1864 Guys stands at a crossroads where the road to the right leads to Delacroix and the road to the left to Victor Hugo. Despite all the efforts of the anti-Hugolian forces to show that Baudelaire may have ulterior motives,⁴³ the dedication of three key poems in the Tableaux parisiens and the general rehabilitation of Hugo in Baudelaire's eyes between 1857 and 1864 remain dominant landmarks of Baudelaire's aesthetic vision during this period.

In Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains Baudelaire speaks of Hugo's renovation of French poetry (AR, 302) and of the fact that no artist is more universal than Hugo (AR, 303). In terms that remind one of those used to describe Delacroix, he speaks of Hugo as a "génie sans frontières" (AR, 308) who has mastered the art of knowing how to describe everything (AR, 307). Thus Hugo provides a link in a growing chain of observations -- only a link however since in the same year Baudelaire remarks that a study of Hugo must be completed by one on Gautier.⁴⁴ By referring to Hugo's indefatigable qualities (AR, 361)

and by placing him in the company of Ronsard and Gautier (AR, 347) it is clear that Baudelaire does not consider Hugo as an absolute model. Nevertheless, it seems equally clear that Baudelaire had come to appreciate certain aspects of Hugo's greatness.

The aspect that most concerns the study of Baudelaire's social attitudes is found in his review of Les Misérables. It is historical fact that Baudelaire's correspondence to his mother is critical of the book.⁴⁵ It is artistic fact that on April 20, 1862 he published a most comprehensive and most flattering review. Marcel Ruff sees that Baudelaire was always both émerveillé and exaspéré by Hugo to the point that he was probably sincere in both cases.⁴⁶ We would add to M. Ruff's observations that the make-up of the Tableaux parisiens and Les Petits poèmes en prose would tend to indicate clearly which was the more long-lasting sincerity.

In his article on Les Misérables Baudelaire states that he has been attracted by the moral atmosphere in Hugo's poems (AR, 381). It is in this article that he admires in Hugo a quality to which he himself gives artistic voice in the Tableaux parisiens.

En revanche, mais par une tendance différente dont l'origine est pourtant la même, le poète se montre toujours l'ami attendri de tout ce qui est faible, solitaire, contristé; de tout ce qui a besoin d'être protégé ou consolé. C'est de la force même, et de la certitude qu'elle donne à celui qui la possède que dérive l'esprit de justice et de charité. Ainsi se produisent sans cesse dans les poèmes de Victor Hugo ces accents d'amour pour les femmes tombées, pour les pauvres gens broyés dans les engrenages de nos sociétés, pour les animaux martyres de notre glotonnerie et de notre despotisme (...). Il ne s'agit pas ici de cette morale prêchante qui, par son air de pédanterie, par son ton didactique, peut gâter les plus beaux morceaux de poésie, mais d'une morale inspirée qui se glisse invisible dans la matière poétique, comme les fluides impondérables dans toute la machine du monde. La morale n'entre pas dans cet art à titre de but. Elle s'y mêle et s'y confond comme dans la vie elle-même. Le poète est moraliste sans le vouloir, par abondance et plénitude de nature (AR, 382).⁴⁷

The poet as moralist is the unifying theme in Baudelaire's comments on Les Misérables. Quoting from Hugo's introduction to the book Baudelaire reminds us that it is a work that shows how laws and customs have conspired to create areas of social damnation and prodigious chasms of social misery (AR, 383). Another theme is one that we found suggested in Les Tableaux parisiens: the striking contrast between wealth and poverty. Hugo describes this contrast as the strangeness by which poverty becomes a black spot on the sun of wealth or how, conversely, wealth becomes a bright mark on the immense shadows of misery. Baudelaire concludes that any author would have to be a monster not to be moved at times and intrigued to the point of anguish by this spectacle.⁴⁸

Baudelaire sums up his opinions of Les Misérables by stating that despite certain philosophical and artistic weaknesses such a book is never without use.

Les Misérables sont donc un livre de charité, un étourdissant rappel à l'ordre d'une société trop amoureuse d'elle-même et trop peu soucieuse de l'immortelle loi de fraternité; un plaidoyer pour les misérables (ceux qui souffrent de la misère et que la misère déshonore), proféré par la bouche la plus éloquente de ce temps. Malgré tout ce qu'il peut y avoir de tricherie volontaire dont, aux yeux de la stricte philosophie, les termes du problème sont posés, nous pensons exactement comme l'auteur que des livres de cette nature ne sont jamais inutiles (AR, 390-391).

In the period that forms the prelude to Les Petits Poèmes en prose Baudelaire's article on Les Misérables is not the only time that he turns to the spectacle of the urban poor. This class provides the concluding panel of the total vision of society and of modernité in mid nineteenth-century Paris. In his article on Victor Hugo in

Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains, which appeared a month and a half after the article on Les Misérables, Baudelaire restates much of what he had said about the poet's natural attraction to the weak, solitary, saddened and orphaned.⁴⁹ In August 1862 we see a similar sympathy with the portrait of the poor in the article on Pierre Dupont.

While Marcel Ruff is quite right in pointing out that Baudelaire's praise of Dupont's work is more modest than in 1851⁵⁰ we do not hesitate to suggest that Baudelaire's 1862 reservations are based more on artistic grounds. His sympathetic comprehension remains, as ever, a strong attraction to Dupont where he sees the sadness and joys of the poor and the same contrast between the rich and the poor transmitted through le regard.

Je sais que les ouvrages de Pierre Dupont ne sont pas d'un goût fini et parfait; mais il a l'instinct, sinon le sentiment raisonné de la beauté parfaite. En voici bien un exemple: quoi de plus commun, de plus trivial que le regard de la pauvreté jeté sur la richesse, sa voisine (AR, 364)

The above conclusion is drawn from Baudelaire's attraction to the song,

les Paysans:

Mal vêtue, logés dans des trous,
Sous les combles, dans les décombres,
Nous vivons avec les hiboux
Et les larrons amis des ombres.

Cependant, notre sang vermeil
Coule impétueux dans nos veines;
Nous nous plairons au grand soleil
Et sous les rameaux verts des chênes. (AR, 364)

It is a song which might lead a traditional social thinker to decry the injustice in the disparity between rich and poor. Baudelaire however, sees Dupont's genius in the aspiration (AR, 365) rather than in the disparity. In this sense Baudelaire sees a form of heroism in this vital facet of contemporary reality. Thus, Baudelaire sees more than simply universal charity in Dupont; he sees one who, like Hugo, has captured immortal beauty in his art.

Mais au sentiment de la tendresse, de la charité universelle, il ajoute un genre d'esprit contemplatif qui jusque-là était resté étranger à la chanson française. La contemplation de l'immortelle beauté des choses se mêle sans cesse, dans ses petits poèmes, au chagrin causé par la sottise et la pauvreté de l'homme (AR, 367).

His praise of Dupont is indeed more modest than in 1851 to the extent that Baudelaire has matured as an artist and as a critic and to the extent that he is less given to unbridled euphoria than a decade earlier. Nevertheless, by sensing certain universal aspects in Dupont, Baudelaire has confirmed and possibly strengthened his affiliation with Dupont's songs.

A similar attraction to the lower classes as part of the modern scene is seen in September 1862 in the article Peintres et Aquafortistes. Baudelaire returns here to the discussion of painters like Courbet who he feels has contributed to reestablishing a taste for simplicity and frankness in painting (AR, 112) and like Manet and Legros who unite a penchant for reality to one for contemporary reality. Supporting these observations Baudelaire restates several observations already seen in the Salon de 1859. In particular, we refer to his attraction in Peintres et Aquafortistes to Legros' L'Angelus with its study of the poor.

Paris (AR, 112) and to Meryon's human drama in the great city (AR, 117).

This attraction to the theme of the lower classes is also seen in *Le Peintre de la vie moderne* in references to Gavarni, Daubier and Balzac whom he describes as "peintres des moeurs" (AR, 54) and to Trimollet and Traviès, "ces chroniqueurs de la pauvreté et de la petite vie" (AR, 55).

By returning again and again to the theme of poverty and the lower classes, the reader is reminded that whenever possible he must look at the global Baudelaire. By studying his comments on the complete range of artists that come under his pen from 1861 to 1864 we see the extent to which the definitions of modernité as they apply to Gays are really only a starting point and not a conclusion. Through these varied comments we see that there is no limitation to the scope of modernité. The true artist must be able to address himself to all aspects, to all levels and to all that is both beautiful and ugly in the society of the day.

Aesthetic theory can be satisfying in the hands of a professional critic. In the hands of a dynamic artist like Baudelaire it is merely an appetizer. Having analyzed his theories on modernism the reader should then ask himself several important questions. To what extent does Baudelaire the artist take the advice of Baudelaire the critic? To what extent can Baudelaire himself be called the painter of modern life? To answer these questions two approaches should be followed, by searching for those elements of modernism that are found in the art criticism and those found in the creative prose poetry.

In his art criticism from 1861 to 1864 Baudelaire makes certain political and social references which open an intriguing window on a

turbulent era. As usual, the political observations are less numerous; yet they do provide us with a series of flashes that remind us of Baudelaire's nineteenth-century background. While Baudelaire is increasingly strident in his rejection of politics in art (a fact that led him into problems with Eugène Crépet over several articles in Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains),⁵¹ he nevertheless makes numerous political references in his art criticism.

Initial examples of the specific nineteenth-century context to his work are his references to four men: Fourier, Saint-Simon, Lamennais and Joseph de Maistre. Only Marx is missing from an otherwise balanced cross-section of the social and political thought of the day.

In Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains Baudelaire makes it clear that he has lost whatever sympathy he might have had for Fourier.

«Ceux qui ne sont pas poètes ne comprennent pas ces choses. Fourier est venu un jour, trop pompeusement, nous révéler les mystères de l'analogie. Je ne nie pas la valeur de quelques-unes de ses minutieuses découvertes, bien que je croie que son cerveau était trop épris d'exactitude matérielle pour ne pas commettre d'erreurs et pour atteindre d'emblée la certitude morale de l'intuition. (AR, 304-305).

In an article on Marceline Desbordes-Valmore written also in 1862, Baudelaire speaks of Fourier and Saint-Simon together and refers to them as sacreligious forces in art.

Nous avons connu la femme, auteur philanthrope, la prêtresse systématique de l'amour, la poétesse républicaine, la poétesse de l'avenir, fouriériste ou saint-simonienne; et nos yeux, amoureux du beau, n'ont jamais pu s'accoutumer à toutes ces laideurs compassées, à toutes ces scélératesses (il y a même des poétesse de l'impiété), à tous ces sacrilèges pastiches de l'esprit mâle (AR, 326).

As for Laménais there is only a passing reference (AR, 345) in his highly critical article on Hégésippe Moreau. Fourier, Saint-Simon and Laménais are merely light contemporary touches. Their systems are not discussed here yet their names evoke an era in the same way that Baudelaire saw an era in Guvis' portrait of contemporary clothes or carriages.

Joseph de Maistre, the fourth social thinker on the list, is treated as fleetingly as the other three. The art criticism of this period mentions him only three times,⁵² none of which is directly attached to a political or social observation which would lead us to assume that Baudelaire shared his social thought with de Maistre any more than with the other three. If anything, Baudelaire's admiration for Mgr Bienvenu (AR, 387), who is described as "plutôt gallican qu'ultramontain" in *Les Misérables*, might lead us to speculate that Baudelaire disagrees with de Maistre on what was a burning political issue in the nineteenth century: the question of the subjugation of national interests to Rome's interests in matters of church and state relations.⁵³

In addition to the men whose thought characterized the era, Baudelaire also makes passing references to the interplay of politics and classes at that time. In his article on Pétrus Borel he refers to the republicanism of the lower classes as being essentially misanthropic.⁵⁴ The question of the lower class is addressed on several occasions. In his article on Pierre Dupont he refers to them as the disinherited classes.

Ce chant était-il un des ces atomes volatils qui flottent dans

l'air et dont l'agglomération devient orage, tempête, événement? Était-ce un de ces symptômes précurseurs tels que les hommes clairvoyants les virent alors en assez grand nombre dans l'atmosphère intellectuelle de la France? Je ne sais, toujours est-il que peu de temps, très-peu de temps après, cet hymne retentissant s'adaptait admirablement à une révolution générale dans la politique et dans les applications de la politique. Il devenait, presque immédiatement, le cri de ralliement des classes déshéritées (AR, 365).

By speaking of the disinherited classes Baudelaire uses terminology common to all the contemporary social thinkers. Nevertheless, he does not allow himself to become obsessed with the lower class as a literary theme. In his stinging attack on Hégésippe Moreau, Baudelaire reveals himself to have attained a form of prophetic modernism in his ability to see how the contemporary artist is exploiting personal and social poverty for his own ends -- a practice that Baudelaire describes as vanity in misfortune.

J'ai dit vanité du malheur. Il fut un temps où parmi les poètes il était de mode de se plaindre, non plus de douleurs mystérieuses, vagues, difficiles à définir, espèce de maladie congéniale de la poésie, mais de belles et bonnes souffrances bien déterminées, de la pauvreté, par exemple, on disait orgueilleusement: j'ai faim et j'ai froid! Il y avait de l'honneur à mettre ces saletés-là en vers(...). Hégésippe donna dans ce grand travers anti-poétique. Il parla de lui-même beaucoup, et pleura beaucoup sur lui-même(...), il se jeta tout d'abord dans la foule de ceux qui s'écrient sans cesse: O marâtre nature! et qui reprochent à la société de leur avoir volé leur part. Il se fit de lui-même un certain personnage idéal, damné, mais innocent, voué dès sa naissance à des souffrances imméritées (AR, 343-344).

In an article on Léon Cladel's Les Martyrs ridicules Baudelaire returns to the theme of the working class in art and how art has been sacrificed to utilitarianism. Speaking of four types of Parisian gentry Baudelaire sees that one is rich and adores what money can buy; the second is rich and adores money for its own sake.

Il y a une troisième espèce de jeunes gens qui aspirent à faire le bonheur du peuple, et qui ont étudié la théologie et la politique dans le journal le Siècle; c'est généralement de petits avocats, qui réussiront, comme tant d'autres, à se grimer pour la tribune, à singer le Robespierre et à déclamer, eux aussi, des choses graves, mais aussi moins de pureté que lui, sans aucun doute; car la grammaire sera bientôt une chose aussi oubliée que la raison, et, au train dont nous marchons vers les ténèbres, il y a lieu d'espérer qu'en l'an 1900 nous serons plongés dans le noir absolu (AR, 418).⁵⁵

Baudelaire's art criticism of the period also provides an insight into an interesting contemporary alliance: bourgeois Orléaniste democracy and the Romantic movement in France. Speaking of Pétrus Borel he weaves a tapestry of these themes.

Cet esprit à la fois littéraire et républicain, à l'inverse de la passion démocratique et bourgeoise qui nous a plus tard si cruellement opprimée, était agité à la fois par une haine aristocratique sans limites, sans restrictions, sans pitié, contre les rois et contre la bourgeoisie, et d'une sympathie générale pour tout ce qui en art représentait l'excès dans la couleur et dans la forme, pour tout ce qui était à la fois intense, pessimiste et byronien; dilettantisme d'une nature singulière, et que peuvent seules expliquer les haïssables circonstances où était enfermée une jeunesse ennuyée et turbulente. Si la Restauration s'était régulièrement développé dans la gloire, le Romantisme ne se serait pas séparé de la royauté; et cette secte nouvelle qui professait un égal mépris pour l'opposition politique modérée, pour la peinture de Delaroche ou la poésie de Delavigne, et pour le roi qui présidait au juste-milieu, n'aurait pas trouvé de raisons d'exister (AR, 339-340).⁵⁶

With reference to the same theme, Baudelaire also shows himself to be an astute political observer in a January 1862 letter entitled Une Réforme à l'Académie. In this letter Baudelaire thanks Sainte-Beuve for recent comments made on the former's candidacy for the Académie Française. Here again Baudelaire portrays a direct link between literary values and the bourgeois Orléaniste faction. It is of interest to remember that both Sainte-Beuve and Baudelaire had nothing to lose by

attacking this faction. On the contrary, one wonders if Baudelaire were not attempting to salvage some of his image with the Imperial faction. In either case both Baudelaire and Sainte-Beuve recognize that in changing times the Orléaniste faction is no longer the voice of the future, but of the past.

M. Sainte-Beuve attire sur lui toutes les rancunes de ce parti politique, doctrinaire, orléaniste, aujourd'hui religieux par esprit d'opposition, disons simplement: hypocrite, qui veut remplir l'Institut de ses créatures préférées et transformer le sanctuaire des muses en un parlement de mécontents; "les hommes d'Etat sans ouvrage", comme les appelle dédaigneusement un autre académicien qui, bien qu'il soit d'assez bonne naissance, est littéralement parlant, le fils de ses oeuvres(...).

M. Sainte-Beuve, qui, dans tout son courageux article, ne cache pas trop la mauvaise humeur d'un vieil homme de lettres contre les princes, les grands seigneurs et les politiquaillers, ne lâche cependant qu'à la fin l'écluse à toute sa bile concentrée: "Etre menacé de ne plus sortir d'une même nuance et bientôt d'une même famille, être destiné, si l'on vit encore vingt ans, à voir se vérifier ce mot de M. Dupin: "Dans vingt ans, vous aurez encore à l'Académie un discours doctrinaire"; et cela quand tout change et marche autours de nous; -- je n'y tiens plus, et je ne suis pas le seul; plus d'un de mes confrères est comme moi; c'est étouffant, à la longue! c'est suffocant (OP1, 212-213). 57 --

The final linking of bourgeois Orléanisme and art is found in Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser. Here Baudelaire refers to Wagner's misplaced hope that a revolution in the political order would favour the cause of revolution in art. Baudelaire refers to the peculiar paradox that Tannhäuser was performed in France was only under the direct patronage of a despotic Emperor.

Baudelaire also portrays how the Romantic revolution had been favoured by a particular form of monarchy while the liberals and republicans remained attached to the routine of the classical tradition. 58

Other facets of the contemporary scene to which Baudelaire

refers are the two great Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. In an article on Auguste Barbier he refers to the Revolution of 1830 as one which inspired great lyricism but which unfortunately contributed to excessive bourgeois moralizing in art.

Cette grandeur naturelle, cette éloquence lyrique, se manifestèrent d'une manière éclatante dans toutes les poésies adaptées à la révolution de 1830 et aux troubles spirituels ou sociaux qui la suivirent. Mais ces poésies, je le répète, étaient adaptées à des circonstances, et, si belles qu'elles soient, elles sont marquées du misérable caractère de la circonstance et de la mode. Mon vers, rude et grossier est honnête homme au fond, s'écrie le poète; mais était-ce bien comme poète qu'il ramassait dans la conversation bourgeoise les lieux communs de morale naïve? (...). J'ai remarqué (je le dis sans rire) que les personnes trop amoureuses d'utilité et de morale négligent volontiers la grammaire, absolument comme les personnes passionnées (AR, 321).

In his projected article L'Esprit et le style de Villemain we find the following series of cryptic notes which support the idea that Baudelaire had come to view all revolutions as futile -- an idea already suggested at a very early date and enshrined for all time in the section Révolte of Les Fleurs du Mal.

La révolution de 1830 fut donc bonne, celle de Février mauvaise(!).

Citer le mot de Sainte-Beuve, profond dans son scepticisme. Il dit avec une légère tédigne de la chose en parlant de 1848: "..."

Ce qui implique que toutes les révolutions se valent et ne servent qu'à montrer l'opiniâtre légèreté de l'humanité (OPI, 303).

Completing the series of remarks on the futility of revolution is the previously mentioned reference to Richard Wagner's deception that political revolution failed to have any effect on the artistic tradition (AR, 211).

The only artist who seems to have drawn any success from revolution is Guys. Baudelaire sees this as part of his portrait of modern life in that he was able to create a number of picturesque compositions from the popular movements, the clubs and the solemnités de 1848 (AR, 83-84). On the whole however, Baudelaire's art criticism from 1861 to 1864 confirms the long standing fact that he himself had ceased to be a revolutionary mainly through his disillusionment from having seen that each new political order makes no significant change in the basic human condition. In addition to this we are led to see how the concept of revolution can become a negative force in art as Delacroix becomes the symbol of the artist who has come to abhor all for which revolution stands.

Sceptique et aristocrate, il ne connaissait la passion et le surnaturel que par sa fréquentation forcée avec le rêve. Haïsseur des multitudes, il ne les considérait guère que comme des briseurs d'images, et les violences commises en 1848 sur quelques-uns de ses ouvrages n'étaient pas faits pour le convertir au sentimentalisme politique de nos temps (AR, 21).

As part of his century, Baudelaire intersperses his comments with references to the Emperor Napoleon III and the Napoleonic tradition which is so bound up with the cause of revolution in nineteenth-century France. Because of the tendency to place Baudelaire on an unattainable pedestal of abstractions it is frequently difficult to imagine him as an Imperial subject of a strangely alien regime -- alien at least to the twentieth-century mind.

Initially it is clear that Baudelaire rejects the validity of the Napoleonic legend. He attacks Edgar Quinet's Napoleon for having enlisted poetry in the service of the political thesis,⁵⁹ In addition

he comes the closest (during this period) to a direct confrontation with Hugo over Hugo's contribution to the creation of the Napoleonic legend.

Quand Victor Hugo, dans ses premières poésies, essaye de nous montrer Napoléon comme un personnage légendaire, il est encore un Parisien qui parle, un contemporain ému et rêveur; il évoque la légende possible de l'avenir; il ne la réduit pas d'autorité à l'état du passé (AR, 315).

So while Baudelaire is willing to compliment Hugo for having created in La Légende des Siècles an epic poem indicative of the times and for having borrowed from history the elements of legend, myth and fable which are the reservoirs of a people (AR, 315-316) it is clear that for Baudelaire the time had not yet come to integrate the Napoleonic legend into this reservoir. Baudelaire's indifference to Napoleon I is also sensed in the projected article L'Esprit et le style de Villemain. Here, Baudelaire identifies himself with one of Balzac's passions concerning Chateaubriand.

Le sédentaire maître d'école (Villemain) trouve singulier que le voyageur se soit habillé en sauvage et en coureur des bois. Il lui reproche son duel de célébrité avec Napoléon. Eh bien! n'était-ce pas là un substantif qui signifie domination, et, règne pour règne, quelques-uns peuvent préférer celui de Chateaubriand à celui de Napoléon (OP1, 306).⁶⁰

Finally we see a further jab in the direction of the Napoleonic myth in Baudelaire's reference to the well-intentioned yet ultimately misguided rallying of both Voltaire's and Rousseau's descendants to the Napoleonic standard (AR, 21).

Few writers of the nineteenth century show such a marked

indifference to the great Napoleon. Standing outside the aura of the legend around the name, Baudelaire's comments on the nephew, Napoleon III, are concerned with a realistic approach to the individual; they lack completely the constant implied comparison with his uncle which is the hallmark of so much that has been written on the two men.

Baudelaire's comments on Napoleon III fluctuate with the issue at hand.

In Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser for example, the question of censorship is alluded to. On the one hand the Emperor is complimented for having issued an edict that allowed Tannhäuser to be performed. On the other hand Baudelaire's remaining comments accurately reflect the impossible situation of a despot who has at long last decided to liberalize his regime. Baudelaire shows no loyalty to the despotic regime such as it existed and while he praises liberalization for allowing Tannhäuser before the public, he simultaneously criticizes the sudden relaxation of controls that have allowed envious people to exploit their new-found freedom by attacking the first artist to gain Imperial favour -- in this case the revolutionary Wagner himself.⁶¹ On this particular point Baudelaire becomes part of the contemporary French scene which saw error in whatever direction the Emperor's policies took. It would, we feel, be premature to conclude that Baudelaire saw himself as part of a dying regime in a purely political sense. He must however have been aware of how critics were prepared to damn the regime for its autocracy no less vehemently than they damned it for its liberalizing tendencies in the 1860's. The twentieth century would later call such an impossible position for a government an "unbridgeable credibility gap". Baudelaire becomes part of the window on the era which shows how the government of Napoleon III lived the reality of the "credibility gap" long before

political scientists coined the phrase.

True to his own theories on moralizing Baudelaire avoids (in an age of censorship a good dose of self-interest is always a possibility) commenting on the role of the Emperor. Nevertheless the Emperor and the imperial structure is a very visible part of an era whose riches both Guys and Baudelaire tap. Here again Guys is complimented for his ability to capture the grace and flavour of the time. Yet through his attraction to Guys' drawings Baudelaire himself captures in prose the fleeting sense of the Imperial family -- of particular appeal to the twentieth century which, in its turn, is experiencing a great period of disillusionment with the present and which searches increasingly for its heroes and settings in the past. In the following portrait Baudelaire captures a fleeting moment of his own contemporary scene and gives it the stature of legend.

Dans les collections de M.G., on rencontre souvent l'empereur des Français, dont il a su réduire la figure sans nuire à la ressemblance, à un croquis infailible, et qu'il exécute avec la certitude d'un paraphe. Tantôt l'Empereur passe des revues; lancé au galop de son cheval et accompagné d'officiers dont les traits sont facilement reconnaissables, ou de princes étrangers, européens, asiatiques ou africains, à qui il fait, pour ainsi dire, les honneurs de Paris. Quelquefois il est immobile sur un cheval dont les pieds sont aussi assurés que les quatre pieds d'une table, ayant à sa gauche l'Impératrice en costume d'amazone, et, à sa droite, le petit Prince impérial, chargé d'un bonnet à poils et se tenant militairement sur un petit cheval hérissé comme les poneys que les artistes anglais lancent volontiers dans leurs paysages; quelquefois disparaissant au milieu d'un tourbillon de lumière et de poussière dans les allées du bois de Boulogne; d'autres fois se promenant à travers les acclamations du faubourg Saint-Antoine. Une surtout de ces aquarelles m'a ébloui par son caractère magique. Sur le bord d'une loge d'une richesse lourde et princière l'Impératrice apparaît dans une attitude tranquille et reposée; l'Empereur se penche légèrement comme pour mieux voir le théâtre, au-dessous, deux cent-gardes, debout, dans une immobilité militaire et presque hiératique, reçoivent sur leur brillant uniforme les éclaboussures de la rampe. Derrière la bande de feu, dans l'atmosphère idéale de la scène, les comédiens chantent, déclament, gesticulent harmonieusement; de l'autre côté s'étend un abîme de

lumière vague, un espace circulaire encombré de figures humaines à tous les étages: c'est le lustre et le public (AR, 82-83).⁶²

We have seen in Chapter III some of Baudelaire's unflattering remarks about the Emperor in the Journaux Intimes and his correspondence. Attempting to bridge the gap between what the author confided to his intimate circle and what he put in print has led some to reject the Emperor as a point of importance in Baudelaire's social awareness. Le Peintre de la vie moderne however, clearly addresses the artistic point that the Emperor and the Imperial presence, as a part of the contemporary scene, have a part to play in the global concept of modernité.

In addition to the framework of political references just seen, Baudelaire's art criticism from 1861 to 1864 makes a series of interesting social observations.

In a comment on Baudelaire's death A. Desonaz affirms that Baudelaire was a nervous being born in what could be called a nervous era.⁶³ In "Le Cygne" Baudelaire had summed up some of this nervousness as he exclaimed: "Paris change! mais rien dans ma mélancolie/ N'a bougé!" While direct references to a society in the process of rapid change are few, they nevertheless give us a glimpse of the poet caught up in the winds of change. Baudelaire's vision of this change is characteristically pessimistic as he sees society's changing face in terms of decomposition rather than reconstruction.⁶⁴ In typical fashion also he reduces this decomposition to the most immediate level: Paris. In an article on Théodore de Banville he writes:

Paris n'était pas alors ce qu'il est aujourd'hui, un tohubohu, un parphrasim, une Babel peuplée d'imbéciles et d'inutiles, peu délicats sur la manière de tuer le temps, et absolument rebelles aux jouissances littéraires. Dans ce temps-là, le tout Paris se composait de cette élite d'hommes chargés de façonner l'opinion des autres, et qui, quand un poète vient à naître, en sont toujours avertis les premiers (AR, 350).

A further indication of his awareness of the changes going on around him is seen in the previously quoted passage (OPI, 213) where he attacked the Orléaniste politicians in Une Réforme à l'Académie.

How then does the artist interrelate with this society which he perceives to be in the active process of devolution? Whereas much of what he wrote in the decade 1851-1861 had been content to merely point out the weaknesses of contemporary society, the works after 1861 present fewer attacks and place greater emphasis on the survival techniques necessary to preserve the integrity of the individual and art. On one occasion Baudelaire even goes so far as to speak of his own sense of personal patriotism in his outrage that all France might be judged according to the hostile reaction it accorded Tannhäuser (AR, 250) -- a far cry from the consistent attacks on everything French in earlier years. Nevertheless, the sensitive artist is still portrayed as a nomad in a civilized world⁶⁵ or even a walking dictionary of Bohemianism like Mürger.⁶⁶ Increasingly moreover Baudelaire has recourse to the concept of aristocracy and of the dandy to explain the nature of the relationship between the artist and society. Not since his own participation in such movements in the 1840's has Baudelaire spoken of the dandy with the same insistence as shown in Le Peintre de la vie moderne.

We have seen how Baudelaire saw Delacroix as a curious mixture

of scepticism, politeness and dandysm (AR, 21). Dandysm however can not be simply reduced to any single definition. Once again the most productive starting point is found in Le Peintre de la vie moderne. Here we see that Baudelaire had come to accept the concept of dandysm as being almost as vast as that of modernité. A key phrase is found when he describes dandysm as "une institution vague" (AR, 87).

In Chapter 8 of Le Peintre de la vie moderne, Baudelaire begins a study of the dandy by presenting the traditional social portrait of the dandy as one of a rich man of leisure. Dandysm is seen as a bizarre institution which resists social gravity and which exists outside the laws of social pressure since the dandy has no need to work for a living and has a sufficient fortune to pay for all his fantasies (AR, 88). The dandy is he who has both the time and the money to put his dreams into action. This social portrait is presented almost in passing. Naturally, Baudelaire, like all of us, should be neither praised nor criticized for indulging in a little day dreaming about the financially independent man who can thumb his nose at society and his superiors. It is clear however, that Baudelaire's new dandy is a far cry from the rather foppish prototypes of the 1830's and 1840's.

In Le Peintre de la vie moderne, his costume, once an art in itself, is merely the external symbol of his aristocratically superior spirit (AR, 89). Aristocracy however is not defined in social terms but in intellectual terms as a class so haughty as to have survived the search for happiness in other people and to have become "une espèce de culte de soi-même" (AR, 89). Going beyond the social confines of the dandy Baudelaire sees him as one who is confined to spiritualism and

stoicism (AR, 89) so that the dandy is never "un homme vulgaire". Both social and intellectual dandyism are perceived as a form of religion both in elegance and originality (AR, 90). The dandy is characterized by a uniform sense of revolt and a desire to combat and destroy the triviality that surrounds him (AR, 90). This then is what Baudelaire sees as explaining his haughtiness.

Using these few references from Le Dandy in Le Peintre de la Vie moderne as a starting point, we see that the renewed concept of the dandy permeates Baudelaire's criticism from 1859 on. This is not to say that the idea of the intellectually and sensitively superior hero has not always been a part of Baudelaire's heroes from Delacroix to Poe and Gautier. It is however an idea that evolves with time and which runs counter to the theory of the static Baudelaire. Pierre Flottes defines dandyism as a mask which Baudelaire frequently applied to his face, but a mask which would have become a serious hindrance had not Baudelaire made various attempts at defining the dandy. Such an attitude is seen to be incomprehensible if we do not feel a sense of perceptual evolution with the years.⁶⁷ The reintegration of the long-standing superior intellect with the contemporary nineteenth-century social phenomenon of the dandy is a good example of Baudelaire's own development in presenting universal concepts in contemporary garb.

In an article on Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire defines the distinctive character of de Lisle's poetry as a sentiment of intellectual aristocracy which explains his unpopularity in France where any attempt at perfection is seen as unpopular (AR, 373). Both Leconte de Lisle and Gautier share the same spirit of universal love, not for humanity in itself, but for the different forms that man has, according

to the era and the climate, dressed beauty and truth (AR, 374).

It is important to recognize that Baudelaire's concept of modernité is as open to the aristocratic theme as to all others, including, as we have seen, the lowest end of the social ladder.⁶⁸

A further linking of the themes of aristocracy and stoicism is seen in the article on Léon Cladel's Les Martyrs ridicules. In a generally complimentary article Baudelaire nevertheless criticizes Cladel for not disciplining his own sense of indignation and for not remaining impassive (as an artist) in front of his subject.

Tout à coup l'indignation de l'auteur se projette d'une manière stentorienne, par la bouche d'un de ses personnages, qui fait justice immédiate de ces divertissements de rapins. Le discours est très-éloquent et très-enlevé; malheureusement la note personnelle de l'auteur, sa simplicité révoltée, n'est pas assez voilée. Le poète, sous son masque, se laisse encore voir. Le suprême de l'art eût consisté à rester glacial et fermé, et à laisser au lecteur le mérite de l'indignation. L'effet d'horreur en eût été augmenté. Que la morale officielle trouve ici son profit, c'est incontestable; mais l'art y perd, et avec l'art vrai, la vraie morale: la suffisante, ne perd jamais rien (AR, 423).

The reader must recognize here that Baudelaire is not urging Cladel to remain impassive to his subject as a man but as an artist. It is but one more example of how carefully the critic must tread when attempting to correlate Baudelaire's views of himself as an individual and himself as an artist with regard to the present themes of aristocracy and the dandy.

Similar admiration for the author-dandy is expressed in references to another minor writer: Paul de Molènes. According to Baudelaire, M. de Molènes belonged to the literary order of refined dandys and that despite certain tics he was characterized by such native

grandeur that even his faults became gracious ornaments (OP1, 300).

It is not without a sense of déjà vu that Baudelaire should hail his traditional hero Delacroix as a great dandy. Delacroix is one who in his youth is seen to have given himself up to the materialistic and social pleasures of the dandy movement (AR, 25). In later years however Delacroix transformed external dandysm into a form of intellectual aloofness that refused to become emotionally involved in the conflicts that surrounded him. Baudelaire remarks that only Paul Delaroche was able to provoke coarse words from "cette bouche aristocratique" (AR, 34). Delacroix's aloofness is seen to extend to politics for the same reason as has been noted with Baudelaire: a general belief in the ultimate futility of all systems.

Ai-je besoin de vous dire que le même esprit de sagesse ferme et méprisante inspirait les opinions de M. Delacroix en matière politique? Il croyait que rien ne change, bien que tout ait l'air de changer, et que certaines époques climatiques ramènent invariablement des phénomènes analogues. En somme, sa pensée, en ces sortes de choses, approximait beaucoup, surtout par ses côtés de froide et désolante résignation, la pensée d'un historien dont je fais pour ma part un cas tout particulier (...). Je veux parler de M. Ferrari, le subtil et savant auteur de l'Histoire de la raison d'Etat. Aussi, le causeur qui, devant M. Delacroix, s'abandonnait aux enthousiasmes, enfantins de l'utopie, avait bientôt à subir l'effet de son rire amer, imprégné d'une pitié sarcastique; et si, imprudemment, on lançait devant lui la grande chimère des temps modernes, le ballon-monstre de la perfectibilité et du progrès indéfinis, volontiers il vous demandait: "Où sont donc vos Phidas? où sont vos Raphaël?" (AR, 23-24).

Thus Delacroix is seen at this period of Baudelaire's life as an artist who has triumphed over the various pressures and philosophies of his time by an aristocratic sense of aloofness, which makes him an illustration of one facet of Baudelaire's portrait of the dandy.⁶⁹

The degree to which Baudelaire's portrait of the dandy is

complex is observed in its multi-sided approach. This is seen particularly well if we juxtapose his comments on Delacroix and Guys. If Delacroix is a hero because he is the symbol of the dandy so also is Guys who is the anti-symbol.

Je vous ai dit que je répugnais à l'appeler un pur artiste, et qu'il se défendait lui-même de ce titre avec une modestie nuancée de pudeur aristocratique. Je le nommerais volontiers un dandy, et j'aurais pour cela quelques bonnes raisons; car le mot dandy implique une quintessence de caractère et une intelligence subtile de tout le mécanisme moral de ce monde; mais d'un autre côté, le dandy aspire à l'insensibilité et c'est par là que M. G., qui est dominé, lui, par une passion insatiable, celle de voir et de sentir, se détache violemment du dandysme. Amabam amare, disait saint Augustin, "J'aime passionnément la passion", dirait volontiers M.G. Le dandy est blasé, ou il feint de l'être, par politique et raison de caste. M. G. a horreur des gens blasés. Il possède l'art si difficile (les esprits raffinés me comprendront) d'être sincère sans ridicule. Je le décorerais bien du nom de philosophe, auquel il a droit à plus d'un titre, si son amour excessif des choses visibles, tangibles, condensées à l'état plastique, ne lui inspirait une certaine répugnance de celles qui forment le royaume impalpable du métaphysicien. Réduisons-le donc à la condition de pur moraliste pittoresque, comme la Bruyère (AR, 61).

Constantin Guys is admired yet he is the opposite of Delacroix. Even though we can accept the distinction that Gaëton Picon draws between Baudelaire's fervour for Delacroix as a painter as contrasted to a greater attraction to Guys' models⁷⁰ who can say in all conscience that Baudelaire shared his loyalties with only one artistic school? Who can say that Baudelaire saw himself as only one particular definition of the dandy in 1863?

From his art criticism of the period we must conclude that Baudelaire is a man of sincerely varying admirations. From Delacroix to Gautier or from Wagner to Guys and Hugo, Baudelaire is capable of appreciating each man for the individual stamp he placed upon his

greatness. Thus he can admire Delacroix for his aloofness while at the same time he can admire Guys whose domaine is the crowd and who despises any man who could be bored with the multitude. (AR, 6-63).⁷¹

And what of Baudelaire the artist? As one picks up a copy of Les Petits Poèmes en prose one recognizes that they represent a culmination in creative prose of Baudelaire's artistic theory of the period. After having established a set of principles which show that the great artist is he who captures the eternal and the contemporary; and having turned his admiration in the direction of men like Hugo and Guys whose canvas is the multitude, it is with a sense of curiosity that one approaches Baudelaire's prose poetry in order to see to what extent it has become the agent of Baudelaire's own theories on modernism such as those found in Le Peintre de la vie moderne, a work which Georges Blin describes as "le plus grand des poèmes en prose de Baudelaire".⁷²

*
* * *

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1

The article was presented to the *Revue Française* in April, 1857. Its composition therefore precedes the Fleurs du Mal. See CE, p. 502n and CG2, Letter to Poulet Malassis, 27 April 1857.

2

Carle Vernet, Pigal, Charlet, Daumier, Monnier, Grandville, Gavarni, Trimolet, Taviès, Jacque

3

The following quotations are all from Quelques Caricaturistes français:

"Je veux parler maintenant de l'un des hommes les plus importants, je ne dira pas seulement de la caricature, mais encore de l'art moderne, d'un homme qui, tous les matins, divertit la population parisienne, qui, chaque jour, satisfait aux besoins de la gaieté publique et lui donne sa pâture (...). Jusqu'à présent les artistes seuls ont compris tout ce qu'il y a de sérieux là-dedans, et que c'est vraiment matière d'une étude. On devine qu'il s'agit de Daumier" (CE, 406-407).

"Daumier a éparpillé son talent en mille endroits différents. Chargé d'illustrer une assez mauvaise publication médico-poétique, la Némésis médicale, il fit des dessins merveilleux" (CE, 414).

"Pour conclure, Daumier a poussé son art très-loin, il en a fait un art sérieux; c'est un grand caricaturiste" (CE, 417).

"Il a un talent d'observation tellement sûr qu'on ne trouve pas chez lui une seule tête qui jure avec le corps qui la supporte (...).

(...). Sa caricature est formidable d'ampleur, mais sans rancune et sans fiel" (CE, 418).

4

Quelques caricaturistes français: "C'est véritablement une oeuvre curieuse à contempler aujourd'hui que cette vaste série de bouffonneries historiques qu'on appelait la Caricature, grandes archives compliquées, où tous les artistes de quelque valeur apportèrent leur contingent. C'est un tohu-bohu, un capharnaüm, une prodigieuse comédie satanique, tantôt bouffonne, tantôt sanglante, où défilent, affeublées de costumes variés et grotesques, toutes les honorabilités politiques" (CE, 407).

"C'était avec cette même fureur que la Caricature faisait la guerre au gouvernement. Daumier joua un rôle important dans cette escarmouche permanente" (CE, 411).

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5

CE, p. 504n. Jacques Crépet identifies Lafayette as the démagogue and Frank-Carré, a Rouen magistrate, as F.C.

6

Quelques Caricaturistes français: "Feuilletez son oeuvre, et vous verrez défiler devant vos yeux, dans sa réalité fantastique et saisissante, tout ce qu'une grande ville contient de vivantes monstruosités (...) Nul comme celui-là n'a connu et aimé (à la manière des artistes) le bourgeois, ce dernier vestige du moyen âge, cette ruine gothique qui a la vie si dure, ce type à la fois si banal et si excentrique. Daumier a vécu intimement avec lui, il l'a épié le jour et la nuit, il a appris les mystères de son alcôve, il s'est lié avec sa femme et ses enfants, il sait quel esprit fait vivre la maison du haut en bas" (CE, 415).

Baudelaire also expresses the need to extract the comic from the bourgeois in Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers: "N'avez-vous pas remarqué souvent que rien ne ressemble plus au parfait bourgeois que l'artiste de génie concentré" (CE, 443).

7

See our note 3 of this chapter: "Il a un talent d'observation(...)" (CE, 418). See also Le Salon de 1859: "Daumier est doué d'un bon sens lumineux qui colore toute sa conversation" (CE, 260).

8

Quelques caricaturistes français: "Un homme étonnant fut ce Carle Vernet. Son oeuvre est un monde, une petite Comédie humaine; car les images triviales, les croquis de la foule et de la rue, les caricatures, sont souvent le miroir le plus fidèle de la vie" (CE, 394).

Speaking of Charlet, Baudelaire also attacks Béranger (CE, 403n): "C'est un artiste de circonstance et un patriote exclusif, deux empêchements au génie. Il a cela de commun avec un autre homme célèbre, que je ne veux pas nommer parce que les temps ne sont pas encore mûrs, qu'il a tiré sa gloire exclusivement de la France et surtout de l'aristocratie du soldat. Je dis que cela est mauvais et dénote un petit esprit. Comme l'autre grand homme, il a beaucoup insulté les calotins: cela est mauvais, dis-je, mauvais symptôme, ces gens-là sont inintelligibles au delà du détroit, au delà du Rhin et des Pyrénées" (CE, 402-403).

Another attack on Charlet's nationalism: "En résumé: fabricant de niaiseries nationales, commerçant de proverbes politiques, idole qui n'a pas, en somme, la vie plus dure que toute autre, il connaîtra prochainement la force de l'oubli (...)" (CE, 406).

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9

CE, 413. The example of Baudelaire's own attempted suicide in 1844 is a tempting comparison.

10

One is also drawn to the concluding stanzas of "Bénédiction", FM, p.30, whose message is so poignantly developed in Les Tableaux parisiens and illustrated in his comments on the Trimolet painting.

11

The following list of works conforms to that found in Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Marcel Ruff, p.759. An asterisk indicates that the date has been assigned since publication was posthumous.

- | | |
|---|-----|
| - Quelques Caricaturistes français (1857) | CE |
| - Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers (1857) | CE |
| - Salon de 1859 (1859) | CE |
| - L'Art philosophique (1859*) | AR |
| - Puisque réalisme il y a (1859-60*) | OP1 |
| - L'abbé Bélanger, Histoire de Neuilly | |
| - Gustave Flaubert, <u>Madame Bovary</u> (1857) | AR |
| - Lettre au Figaro, 13 juin (1858) | CG2 |
| - Charles Asselineau, <u>La Double Vie</u> (1859) | AR |
| - Théophile Gautier (1859) | AR |

An interesting article which brings together the themes of modernism and caricature is: Yoshio Abé, "La Nouvelle Esthétique du rire. Baudelaire et Champfleury entre 1845-1855." Journal of the Faculty of Literature, Chou University, Japan, No. XXIV, March, 1964. The following are a few quotations of interest from this article:

"Ainsi, Baudelaire ne voit dans la caricature ni un simple instrument de satire politique ou sociale, ni de simples documents de mœurs, ni de simples curiosités divertissantes. A ses yeux, les caricaturistes sont des pionniers de ce qu'il appelle 'l'art moderne'" (p.23).

"En un mot, Baudelaire découvre chez eux un beau nouveau, le merveilleux dans le quotidien, dans le 'réel' " (p.24).

"Quand en 1857(sic) Baudelaire eut l'idée de lui dédier ses Curiosités Esthétiques (Abé is speaking of Champfleury), il l'offrait à son ami et compagnon de lutte. L'un et l'autre combattaient pour la même cause, la 'modernité' dans l'Art" (p.28).

"Comme pour Flaubert, un sens aigu du comique et du grotesque fut pour Baudelaire un moyen de connaissance très efficace. Il lui permettait de découvrir le réel dans ses aspects inattendus et d'opérer cette transformation artistique, poétique dont il rêvait. Envisagée sous ce jour, son oeuvre nous apparaît dans sa 'modernité', dans sa radicale nouveauté" (p.30).

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The artist as social observer in Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers:

"Dans Seymour, comme dans les autres Anglais, violence et amour de l'excessif; manière simple, archibrutale et directe, de poser le sujet. En matière de caricature, les Anglais sont des ultra" (CE, 434).

"Goya est toujours un grand artiste, souvent effrayant. Il unit à la gaieté, à la jovialité, à la satire espagnole du bon temps de Cervantes, un esprit beaucoup plus moderne (...)" (CE, 437).

"Le grand mérite de Goya consiste à créer le monstrueux vraisemblable. Ses monstres sont très viables, harmoniques. Nul n'a osé plus que lui dans le sens de l'absurde possible (...); en un mot, la ligne de suture, le point de jonction entre le réel et le fantastique est impossible à saisir; c'est une frontière vague que l'analyste le plus subtil ne saurait pas tracer, tant l'art est à la fois transcendant et naturel" (CE, 439-440).

"On voit que Pinelli était de la race des artistes qui se promène à travers la nature matérielle pour qu'elle vienne en aide à la paresse de leur esprit, toujours prêts à saisir leurs pinceaux(...), de ces sujets tout faits, qui, pour des artistes plus imaginatifs, n'ont qu'une valeur de notes(...)"

(...) Je voudrais que l'on créât un néologisme, que l'on fabriquât un mot destiné à flétrir ce genre de poncif, le poncif dans l'allure et la conduite, qui s'introduit dans la vie des artistes comme dans leurs oeuvres" (CE, 443).

In terms of preference, Baudelaire prefers the "capharnaüm diabolique et drôlatique" of Brueghel le Drôle to "des allégories politiques" of the same painter (CE, 445).

13

Salon de 1859: "Je m'étais imposé de chercher l'Imagination à travers le Salon, et, l'ayant rarement trouvée, je n'ai dû parler que d'un petit nombre d'hommes" (CE, 364).

14

A.H. Adamson, "Baudelaire and Courbet; Idealism, Realism and the Romantic Situation." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1962, p.42.

Adamson feels that Baudelaire's use of terms is neither consistent nor reliable (p.43); The failure in Mr. Adamson's approach is that he sees inconsistency as synonymous with unreliability. If we accept that Baudelaire evolved certain concepts with the years then certain contradictions need not shock us.

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The article "Puisque Réalisme il y a" is a case in point where Baudelaire is evolving a new definition of realism. Without rejecting the word he is altering the traditional interpretation. Note the apparent contrasts:

"Champfleury porte en lui son réalisme" (OP1, 297).

"Dès lors, réalisme villageois, grossier, et même rustré, malhonnête" (OP1, 298).

"--Comme il étudie minutieusement, il croit saisir une réalité extérieure. Dès lors, réalisme, -- il veut imposer ce qu'il croit son procédé" (OP1, 298).

"Tout bon poète fut toujours réaliste" (OP1, 298).

"La Poésie est ce qu'il y a de plus réel, c'est ce qui n'est complètement vrai que dans un autre monde" (OP1, 299).

As with modernité and with dandy it is vital that the reader who wishes to apply these terms to Baudelaire be aware of Baudelaire's own particular ideas on these words as well as the general historical background.

15

Salon de 1859: "Elle est l'analyse, elle est la synthèse; et cependant des hommes habiles dans l'analyse et suffisamment aptes à faire un résumé peuvent être privés d'imagination. Elle est cela, et elle n'est pas tout à fait cela. Elle est la sensibilité, et pourtant il y a des personnes très-sensibles, trop sensibles peut-être, qui en sont privées. C'est l'imagination qui a enseigné à l'homme le sens moral de la couleur, du contour, du son et du parfum. Elle a créé, au commencement du monde, l'analogie et la métaphore. Elle décompose toute la création, et, avec les matériaux amassés et disposés suivant des règles dont on ne peut trouver l'origine que dans le plus profond de l'âme, elle crée un monde nouveau, elle produit la sensation du neuf. Comme elle a créé le monde (on peut dire cela, je crois, même dans un sens religieux), il est juste qu'elle le gouverne" (CE, 274).

"L'imagination est la reine du vrai, et le possible est une des provinces du vrai. Elle est positivement apparentée avec l'infini.

Sans elle, toutes les facultés, si solides ou si aiguës qu'elles soient, sont comme si elles n'étaient pas(...)" (CE, 275).

"Mais un grand peintre est forcément un bon peintre parce que l'imagination universelle renferme l'intelligence de tous les moyens et le désir de les acquérir" (CE, 284).

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Salon de 1859: "Enfin elle joue un rôle puissant même dans la morale; car, permettez-moi d'aller jusqu-là, qu'est-ce que la vertu sans imagination? Autant dire la vertu sans pitié, la vertu sans le ciel; quelque chose de dure, de cruel, de stérilisant, qui dans certains pays, est devenu la bigoterie, et dans certains autres le protestantisme" (CE, 275).

17

Baudelaire uses the developing science (he refuses to say art) of photography to illustrate the barbarity of pure realism -- realism without the saving grace of imagination. See Salon de 1859, CE, 267, 268-269, 270, 272, 289, 335. Such realism is best summed up when Baudelaire states: "Ceux qui n'ont pas d'imagination copient le dictionnaire. Il en résulte un très-grand vice, le vice de la banalité, qui est plus particulièrement propre à ceux d'entre les peintres que leur spécialité rapproche davantage de la nature extérieure(...)" (CE, 280).

18

Salon de 1859: "Vous voyez, mon cher ami, que je ne puis jamais considérer le choix du sujet comme indifférent, et que, malgré l'amour nécessaire qui doit féconder le plus humble morceau, je crois que le sujet fait pour l'artiste une partie du génie, et pour moi, barbare malgré tout, une partie du plaisir" (CE, 344-345).

We must remember therefore that Paris and the poor form part of this deliberate choice of subjects for Baudelaire.

19

Salon de 1859: "(...) j'éprouverais une immense jouissance à prendre le ton lyrique pour parler des artistes de mon pays; mais malheureusement, dans un esprit critique tant soit peu exercé, le patriotisme ne joue pas un rôle absolument tyrannique, et nous avons à faire quelques aveux humiliants" (CE, 258).

"Les victoires françaises engendrent sans cesse un grand nombre de peintures militaires (...). Pour moi, je ne crois pas que le patriotisme commande le goût du faux ou de l'insignifiant. Ce genre de peinture, si l'on y veut bien réfléchir, exige la fausseté ou la nullité" (CE, 306).

"Voyez, mon cher, jusqu'à quelle folie une passion exclusive et étrangère aux arts peut entraîner un écrivain patriote: (...)" (CE, 308).

20

Salon de 1859: "Parce que le Beau est toujours étonnant, il serait absurde de supposer que ce qui est étonnant est toujours beau" (CE, 268).

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Salon de 1859: "(...) doué d'une plus riche imagination, il exprime surtout l'intime du cerveau, l'aspect étonnant des choses (...). C'est l'infini dans le fini" (...) En un mot, Eugène Delacroix peint surtout l'âme dans ses belles heures" (CE, 298).

22

Baudelaire's own taste for grandeur is seen in the following from the Salon de 1859: "Car il faut, mon cher, que je vous fasse un aveu qui vous fera peut-être sourire: dans la nature et dans l'art, je préfère, en supposant l'égalité de mérite, les choses grandes à toutes les autres(...), je crois que là dimension n'est pas une considération sans importance aux yeux de la Muse" (CE, 312-313).

23

In particular we are referring to the solitary and exclusive aspects of art cut off from temporal reality as seen in the following from Exposition Universelle de 1855:

"Peu d'hommes ont, -- au complet, -- cette grâce divine du cosmopolitisme; (...) Les mieux doués à cet égard sont ces voyageurs solitaires qui ont vécu pendant des années au fond des bois(...). Ils ne critiquent pas, ceux-là: ils contemplent, ils étudient" (CE, 220-221).

"(...): je me suis contenté de sentir; je suis revenu chercher un asile dans l'impeccable naïveté" (CE, 223).

"Le beau est toujours bizarre" (CE, 224).

"L'artiste ne relève que de lui-même. Il ne promet aux siècles à venir que ses propres oeuvres. Il ne cautionne que lui-même. Il meurt sans enfants. Il a été son roi, son prêtre et son Dieu (CE, 229).

These quotations alone, stacked against the general tone of Baudelaire's art criticism after 1857 should suffice to question seriously anyone who still believes in the static Baudelaire.

24

L'Art philosophique (AR, 126-127).

25

L'Art philosophique (AR, 472). Society's lack of spiritualism is also attacked in Gustave Flaubert, Madame Bovary, La Tentation de saint Antoine (AR, 394-395, AR, 398-399).

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26

Théophile Gautier (AR, 148).

27

Théophile Gautier: "le vent du siècle est à la folie" (AR, 161);
"le linge sale de l'humanité" (AR, 162).

28

Salon de 1859: "(j'entends par progrès la domination progressive de la matière), (...)" (CE, 267).

29

Salon de 1859: "La poésie et le progrès sont deux ambitieux qui se haïssent d'une haine instinctive, et, quand ils se rencontrent dans le même chemin, il faut que l'un, des deux serve l'autre" (CE, 270).

30

In his article on Théophile Gautier, Baudelaire even goes so far as to suggest that other countries are better for the artist: "Aussi ce n'est pas seulement dans l'ordre littéraire que les vrais poètes apparaissent comme des être fabuleux et étrangers; mais on peut dire que dans tous les genres d'invention le grand homme ici est un monstre. Tout au contraire, dans d'autres pays, l'originalité se produit touffue, abondante, comme le gazon sauvage. Là les mœurs le lui permettent" (AR, 176).

31

Charles Asselineau, La Double Vie: "(...), tous les malentendus, résultant de la disproportion créée désormais entre lui et le monde terrestre. L'équilibre et l'équation sont détruits, et, comme un Ovide trop savant pour son ancienne patrie, il peut dire: Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor illis" (AR, 415).

We are reminded of how Baudelaire uses the same image of Ovide to show how we must accept stoically this exile in "Horreur sympathique", FM, p. 151.

32

Théophile Gautier. Gautier like Delacroix is seen to have adopted what attitudes he does through a sense of despair at reforming anything: "C'est sans doute ce même désespoir de persuader ou de corriger qui que ce soi, qui fait qu'en ces dernières années nous avons vu quelquefois

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Gautier faiblit, en apparence, et accorder par-ci par-là quelques paroles laudatives à monseigneur Progrès et à très-puissante dame Industrie(...) il veut vivre en paix avec tout le monde, même avec l'Industrie et le Progrès, ces despotiques ennemis de toute poésie (AR, 180).

33

Baudelaire's remarks about the bourgeoisie at this period are usually made in passing reference to other themes. See Salon de 1859 (CE, 325, 358); L'Art Philosophique (AR, 127); Théophile Gautier (AR, 161, 167, 168).

34

Théophile Gautier: "En littérature comme en morale, il y a danger, autant que gloire, à être délicat. L'aristocratie nous isole" (AR, 148).

Georges Blin and Jean-Paul Sartre are two champions of the theory that Baudelaire was never more than a solitary, aristocratic dandy. See Georges Blin, "Baudelaire et la différence." Mercure de France (Nov. 1, 1939), pp. 52-82. In particular the reader should consult pp. 56, 61, 63, and finally: "Baudelaire ne se prostituera donc point dans la lutte pour l'homme. Solitude hermétique et sans nul recours" (p. 66).

Jean-Paul Sartre, Introduction aux Ecrits Intimes de Baudelaire (Paris: Editions du Pont du Jour, 1946).

Sartre refers to Baudelaire's dandyism as a personal reaction to the social situation of the writer. In the 18th century the artist had been aristocratisé since his public and his patron was noble. Thus there was the need to create an idea of 'caste' in a century with new bourgeois masters. (pp. cxiii-cxiv). Sartre's Baudelaire remains aloof and static since he denies any evolution in the poet (p. cxxxix). Thus Baudelaire's dandyism is always a defence against others (p. cxxv).

If Baudelaire had written nothing after his 1859 article on Théophile Gautier one might be willing to entertain the validity of the above conclusions by Messieurs Blin and Sartre.

35

In particular we refer the reader to the amusing portrait of the scholar who is so absorbed by a new discovery about Isis and Osiris that he does not even notice the revolution going on around him. L'Ecole païenne (AR, 292-293).

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36

Exposition universelle de 1855: "Mais M. Victor Hugo est un grand poète qui a l'oeil fermé à la spiritualité" (CE, 247).

37

Jonathan Mayne, Trans. and ed. Charles Baudelaire, The Painter of Modern life and Other essays (London: Phaidon, 1970), p. xiv.

38

The following list of works conforms to that found in Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Marcel Ruff, p. 759. An asterisk indicates that the date has been assigned since the publication was posthumous.

- Réflexions sur quelques uns de mes contemporains. AR
- * several articles refused by E. Crepet and published posthumously.
- Léon Cladel, Les Martyrs ridicules (1861) AR
- Victor Hugo, Les Misérables (1862) AR
- Une Réforme à l'Académie (1862) OPI
- Paul de Molènes (1862) OPI
- Duranty. JJ
- L'Esprit et le style de Villemain (1862*) OPI
- Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris (1861) AR
- Peintures murales d'E. Delacroix à Saint-Sulpice (1861) AR
- Exposition Martinet (attributed by W.T. Bandy)
- L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix (1863) AR
- Peintres et Aquafortistes (1862) AR
- Le peintre de la vie moderne (1863) AR

We have chosen 1864 as the outside date since publication of Le Peintre de la vie moderne extended into December, 1863.

39

The question of modernism is extensively treated by Baudelaire scholars. See the bibliography under: Achard, Adhémar, Baudouin, Beauvain, Blin, Bodart, Bondeville, Caume, Fowlie, Geoffroy, Grant, Gregory, Hornbeak, Jiménez, Joxe, Löugen, More, Nadeau, Pellegrini, Sangiglio, Shcoppenhorst, Williet.

40

Erance Joxe, "Ville et modernité dans Les Fleurs du Mal," Europe XLV, No. 456-457 (1967), pp. 139-162: Joxe quite correctly sees that Baudelaire's concept of modernité is increasingly one of attitude rather than detail and this attitude represents a deliberate choice of the present as opposed to the past -- "elle implique le choix du présent dans

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la mesure où il est rupture avec le passé et germe d'avenir" (p.139). Because Baudelaire saw that the eternal must be drawn from the temporal Baudelaire is seen as paradoxically closer to Picasso than was Apollinaire (p.140).

41

Le Peintre de la vie moderne: "Plus l'artiste se penche avec impartialité vers le détail, plus l'anarchie augmente" (AR, 72).

42

Réflexions sur(...) contemporains -- Victor Hugo: "Ainsi Victor Hugo possède non-seulement la grandeur, mais l'universalité" (AR, 307).

"Celui qui n'est pas capable de tout peindre, les palais et les masures, les sentiments de tendresse et ceux de cruauté, les affections limitées de la famille et la charité universelle, la grâce du végétal et les miracles de l'architecture, tout ce qu'il y a de plus doux et de tout ce qui existe de plus horrible, le sens intime et la beauté extérieure de chaque religion, la physionomie morale et physique de chaque nation, tout enfin, depuis le visible jusqu'à l'invisible, depuis le ciel jusqu'à l'enfer, celui-là, dis-je, n'est vraiment pas poète dans l'immense étendue du mot selon le cœur de Dieu (AR, 308).

43

Baudelaire scholars are divided on the Hugo issue. Maurice Kunel, Baudelaire en Belgique (Paris: Schleicher, 1912), concludes that Baudelaire detested Hugo, the social poet (p.67).

Georges Blin, "Baudelaire et la différence," MF, No.991 (Nov., 1939) states that Baudelaire never experienced a moment of social charity and hence his insults for Michelet, Sand, and Hugo (p.66).

R. Périé, "Victor Hugo et Baudelaire, pacifistes," La Paix par Le Droit, 29, 7-8 (Jul.-Aug., 1919) on the other hand is the culmination of the exaggeration in the other direction as he attempts to prove how both Hugo and Baudelaire would have supported Wilson's League of Nations (p.310).

The following critics present a more balanced pro-Hugo face:

Léon Céliier, "Critique de Max Milner, Le Diable dans la littérature française..." RHLF, I (Jan-March, 1964). "Le parallèle entre Hugo et Baudelaire serait-il devenu un leit-motiv des historiens du Romantisme, enfin guéris du snobisme hugophobe" (p.115)?

N.H. Clement, Romanticism in France (New York: MLA, 1939). "Hugo was great reformer among the Romanticists, the great apostle of the ideas of progress and universal love. He was the champion of the poor, the

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unfortunate, of the outlaw and the déclassé, in brief of all the victims of an inequitous social system" (p.255).

Antoine Fongaro, "Les Misérables, Baudelaire et la littérature contemporaine," Studi Francesi, III, 9 (1959). "Et je ne puis m'empêcher de penser que ces 'choses parisiennes' qui constituent la plus grande partie du recueil des Petits Poèmes en Prose, sont Les Misérables de Baudelaire" (pp. 431-432).

G. Cély, "Baudelaire et Hugo: Influences réciproques," RHLF, 62 (Oct.-Dec., 1962), "Mais ces passants inquiets, ces 'fantômes débiles' de vieillards, ces 'êtres décrépits et charmants' qui hantent les tableaux parisiens et s'acheminent doucement vers la mort, n'est-ce pas chez V. Hugo surtout que Baudelaire a pu apprendre à les aimer" (p.592)?

Thierry Maulnier, "Cet ardent sanglot qui roule d'âge en âge," in Baudelaire, Collection Génies et Réalités (Paris: Hachette, 1961). Maulnier speaks of the chain of French Romantics extending through Hugo until one reaches the 'frisson nouveau' that Hugo attributes to Baudelaire (pp.271-272). "Baudelaire est le chaînon unique et puissant, ou plutôt l'étroit-goulet à travers lequel le romantisme se continue et s'incorpore à ce qu'il a lui-même appelé la 'modernité'" (p.272).

Jean Prévost, Baudelaire, essai sur l'inspiration et la création poétiques (Paris: Mercure de France, 1953). "Par malheur Hugo est en ce moment le plus mal connu et le plus méconnu de nos poètes(...). Il faudrait arracher Hugo à ses détracteurs et à ses dévôts" (p.11).

We have chosen to end with M. Prévost's remark since it most closely parallels our own view of the changing relationship between Hugo and Baudelaire.

44

Réflexions sur(...) contemporains -- Théophile Gautier (AR, 334).

45

Letter to Madame Aupick, 11 Aug. 1862. "Ce livre est immonde et inepte. J'ai montré, à ce sujet que je possédais l'art de mentir. Il m'a écrit, pour me remercier, une lettre absolument ridicule. Cela prouve qu'un grand homme peut être un sot" (CG3, 100).

46

Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Marcel Ruff, p. 493.

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Les Misérables: "Dès le principe, disons-le, dès les débuts de son éclatante vie littéraire, nous trouvons en lui cette préoccupation des faibles, des proscrits et des maudits. L'idée de justice s'est trahie de bonne heure, dans ses œuvres, par le goût de la réhabilitation" (AR, 384).

"Ce livre est un livre de charité, c'est-à-dire un livre fait pour exciter, pour provoquer l'esprit de charité; c'est un livre interrogeant, posant des cas de complexité sociale (...) (AR, 385).

"Mgr Bienvenu donne tout, n'a rien à lui, et ne connaît pas d'autre plaisir que de se sacrifier lui-même, toujours sans repos, sans regret, aux pauvres, aux faibles et même aux coupables" (AR, 386-387).

48

Les Misérables (AR, 383-384).

49

Compare "Victor Hugo, Les Misérables (AR, 382) and "Victor Hugo" in Réflexions sur(...) (AR, 310).

50

Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Marcel Ruff, p. 484n.

51

The following articles were rejected by Eugène Crépet: Pétrus Borel, Hégésippe Moreau.

Some of Baudelaire's most bitter attacks on politics are found in: August Barbier (AR, 319); Théodore de Banville, (AR, 359); Pierre Dupont, (AR, 369).

52

The three references are: Victor Hugo, Les Misérables (AR, 389); L'Esprit et le style de Villemain (OPl, 305); Le Peintre de la vie moderne (AR, 93).

Gaëtan Picon, "Les Derniers Ecrits esthétiques de Baudelaire," Mercure de France cccxxv (Oct., 1955) is one of those critics who on so little evidence is still prepared to state categorically that Baudelaire's and Balzac's politics come from de Maistre (p.281).

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The Gallican-Ultramontain question is well dealt with by M.B. Finch and E. Allison Peers, The Origins of French Romanticism (London: Constable & Co., 1920). They describe Joseph de Maistre as the "ultimate in Ultramontanism" (pp. 263-277).

54

Baudelaire makes an excellent summation of the Republican spirit of 1830 in Réflexions (...) Pétrus Borel (AR, 339-340). In a conference on Delacroix delivered in Brussels, Baudelaire returns to this theme and shows to what extent he has grasped the swirling tides of the movement: "Vous savez, messieurs, qu'en 1848, les républicains qu'on appelait républicains de la veille, furent passablement scandalisés et dépassés par le zèle des républicains du lendemain, ceux-là d'autant plus enragés qu'ils craignaient de n'avoir pas l'air assez sincère" (Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Ruff, p: 542).

55

Further attacks on hypocritical democrats are found in Réflexions (...) Hégésippe Moreau (AR, 345).

A complete analysis of the Cladel-Baudelaire relationship and Baudelaire's part in the composition of Les Martyrs ridicules is given by William F. Aggeler, "Baudelaire's Part in the Composition of Léon Cladel's Les Martyrs ridicules," Studies in Philology, LVIII (Oct., 1961), pp. 627-639.

56

The following observation is interesting when juxtaposed against Baudelaire's observation in the Pétrus Borel article: Claude Estaban, "La Mort qui console," NRF, XV (Oct., 1967) -- "Le Citoyen moche, petit-bourgeois gravé, c'est le triomphe louis-philippard du Pharisien. Demain il se nommera Ubu" (p. 686).

57

Other examples of anti-Orléaniste sentiment are seen in the following:

"(...) si M. Dufaure avait consenti à la douce violence qu'on voulait lui faire, il eût été le dix-septième ministre de Louis-Philippe dans l'Institut, et le neuvième dans l'Académie française" (OP1, 213).

"M. Cuvillier-Fleury (...) qui veut tout voir, même la littérature, par la lucarne de l'orléanisme(...)" (OP1, 214).

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An interesting observation on the climate of political tolerance at the time is made by Horace Gregory, "The Modernity of Baudelaire," Commonweal, LXVII (March, 1958) -- "The real weakness of the Parnassians was that they had nothing to say. Of this group Catulle Mendès was a typical figure; his verse was facile, alert, correct in external appearances, easily read, understood and forgotten. The Parnassians shied away from the 'internal abyss' of human consciousness; they reflected, and with technical skill, the more brilliant surfaces of sentiment and social attitudes. However far 'Right' they seemed to lean and were, their cause was joined with the extroverted demands of the 'social-minded' poets, for both groups accepted the standard of direct communication with their readers -- the majority of the Bourgeois, or 'the masses' " (p.662).

Une Réforme à l'Académie is only one of numerous occasions when Baudelaire does not fit the above description of certain artists of the time.

One of the best studies on the frustrations of the artist confronted with the Orléaniste spirit is done by César Graña in Bohemian versus Bourgeois. French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Basic Books, 1964): "If there is a dominant strand in the literature of the Orleanist period, it is not Hugo's democratic optimism, but the wounded rancor at democratic betrayal found in de Vigny's Chatterton whose hero (or victim) is typically the young poet pushed to self destruction by the blindness of a democratic public to the needs of the artist" (pp. 40-41).

"For Baudelaire, Flaubert, and Stendhal, a discussion of modern culture unavoidably converged on the middle class as the chief instrument of modern values" (p.97).

58

"Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris" (AR, 211).

59

(AR, 315, 514n).

The Napoleonic legend is one of the intriguing historical developments of the nineteenth century.

Henri d'Alméras in La Vie parisienne sous le règne de Louis-Philippe (Paris: Albin Michel, 1925), gives a complete list which shows the development of the legend in the theatre (pp. 167-171).

Beranger's contribution is well analyzed by N.H. Clement, Romanticism in France, p. 387.

Hugo's contribution is studied by Alfred Bourgeault in Précis

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historique et chronologique de la littérature française depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Librairie Delegrave, 1883), pp. 310-315.

60

Finch and Peers in The Origins of French Romanticism, remind us that Chateaubriand was no liberal. We must therefore not conclude that because Baudelaire preferred him to Napoleon, it was for democratic reasons: "Chateaubriand, of course, was far from being an apostle of liberty; it was in the name of the despotism of the Church and King that he opposed the despotism of the Emperor" (p. 142).

61

Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris (AR, 244 & 252).

62

We feel that Marcel Achard in Préface de La Vie parisienne du temps de Guys, Nadar, Worth (Paris: Musée Jacquemart-André, 1959), like so many others, overlooks the vital contribution that Baudelaire made when he wrote the following.

"Quelle poésie dans ces robes démodées au bout d'une saison, qui nous conservent cependant, le souvenir de celles qui les portèrent! Quelle mélancolie n'y a-t-il pas à constater que la robe a survécu aux yeux dont elle devait rehausser l'éclat.

Grâce aux lorettes de Guys, aux portraits et aux scènes de Nadar et de ses contemporains, aux robes de Worth, aux meubles qui vont du style Louis-Philippe au style Troisième République, trois époques, celle de Chateaubriand, celle de Victor Hugo et celle de Labiche reviennent pour nous.

Les fantômes d'un temps heureux reviennent nous souffrir, d'un temps plus éloigné de nous que le Moyen Age, auquel le XXe siècle s'apparente, hélas! tant par la cruauté que par le manque d'espoir" (n. ch.)

One also wonders if Baudelaire was portraying with his ever subtle brush a thought similar to that found in James MacDonnell's France Since the First Empire (London: Macmillan, 1879) -- "The courtiers assumed that power and splendour were things to be enjoyed while they lasted (...) The wild gaieties of the court throw some light on the amazing decline of political morality among the servants of the Empire" (p.255).

George Ridge, "The 'Femme Fatale' in French Decadence." The French Review, 34 4 (Feb., 1961) -- refers to the Second Empire as a "baroque tragicomedy" (p.352).

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A Desonaz, "L'Avenir National, 2 Sept 1867. -- "C'était un être nerveux, né dans ce que nous pouvons appeler une époque nerveuse."

The above was drawn to our attention by Raoul Besançon, "La Mort de M. Baudelaire, littérateur français (Revue de Presse, 1866-1867)," Revue Palladienne (Feb.-March, 1949), p. 279.

64

Peintres et Aquafortistes: "Depuis l'époque climactérique où les arts et la littérature ont fait en France une explosion simultanée, le sens du beau, du fort et même du pittoresque a toujours été diminuant et se dégradant" (AR, 111).

We are reminded there of an observation by Wallace Fowlie in "Baudelaire and Eliot: Interpreters of their Age," Sewanee Review, 74, I (1966): "Eliot was especially impressed by Baudelaire's feeling for his age. Baudelaire's art represented an awareness of man's situation in the modern world" (p.294).

"For Eliot, Baudelaire was much more than a poet. He was the inventor of a significant attitude, an outlook on the disorder he saw everywhere. He was also the inventor of a way of feeling, a way of understanding disorder" (p.295).

65

Réflexions(...) Hégésippe Moreau (AR, 342).

66

Léon Cladel, Les Martyrs ridicules (AR, 424).

67

Pierre Flottes, Baudelaire, l'homme et le poète (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1922), p. 35.

For Baudelaire's reaction to Poe as a dandy, see: Maurice Z. Schroder, "Charles Baudelaire and the Mirror of Narcissus," in Icarus: The Image of the Artist in French Romanticism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 206.

As always, Sartre sees the static dandy -- see his introduction to the Écrits Intimes, pp. lxxviii-lxxix.

68

We refer the reader to an interesting book by H.A. Needham, Le Développement de l'esthétique sociologique en France et en Angleterre au

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XIXe siècle (Paris: Champion, 1926).

Needham gives the following definition of the Art for Art movement:

1. Importance of Form
2. Search for the bizarre and the exotic
3. Independence of Beauty and Art
4. Their uselessness and self-sufficiency
5. Antagonism between art and industry
6. Hatred of the bourgeoisie
7. Necessity of an aristocratic public to be appreciated
8. suppression of artist's personality
9. pronounced tendency to pessimism and sensualism

"Ces éléments, -- comme on l'a souvent montré -- sont tous opposés aux principes de l'esthétique sociologique" (pp.98-99)

Needham also makes a comparison between Baudelaire and Leconte de Lisle stating that Baudelaire is more liberal than de Lisle concerning l'esthétique sociologique in art (pp. 101-102).

69

W.T. Bandy in "What's in a Name? (Variant Signatures in Baudelaire's Letters)" Revista di Letteratura Moderna e Comparate, Vol. XII, No. 1 (March 1959), sees aloofness in the way he signed letters to his closest friends and in the avoidance of the "tu" (p. 72).

70

Gaëton Picon, "Les Derniers Ecrits esthétiques de Baudelaire," p. 280.

71

Several critics are hampered by their desire to reduce the concept of the dandy to simple terms:

Georges Blin, "Baudelaire: Recherches sur la modernité," L'Annuaire du Collège de France, LXIXe année (1969-1970): "Le dandysme, par exemple s'il est la 'concentration' intérieure d'un monotype, ne jure-t-il pas avec un idiotisme de la foule dont il se sépare ou qui l'imiterait" (pp.525-526)?

The greatest oversimplification of the Baudelairean theme of the dandy that we have discovered is given by Jean Massin in Baudelaire entre Dieu et Satan (Paris: Julliard, 1946): "Que le dandy soit essentiellement le héros de l'animalité baudelaireenne, c'est ce dont ne nous permet pas de douter la comparaison instituée entre lui et la femme" (p.265).

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This type of oversimplification would seem farcical if it were not done regularly by leading Baudelaire scholars.

72

°Georges Blin, "Recherches sur la modernité," p. 525.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LES PETITS POÈMES EN PROSE

As an artistic unit, Les Petits Poèmes en prose is a posthumous publication appearing two years after Baudelaire's death.¹ Unlike Les Fleurs du Mal it is impossible to say that this work is greater than the sum of its parts since the master poet did not supervise its final format despite his own instructions concerning the order of the fifty poems.² The reader is also drawn to Baudelaire's comment in the preface dedication to Arsène Houssaye that the work is projected as one with neither head nor tail but one where everything is both head and tail.³ A study of its parts however shows that, with the exception of five poems, all had been published during Baudelaire's lifetime in rather substantial blocks from 1857 to 1865.⁴ The prose poetry therefore is in many ways parallel to much of Baudelaire's creative and critical writings of the period. In other ways it forms an artistic conclusion to a final chapter in Baudelaire's work with regards to various social themes and their expressions in art.

The social glances presented in the prose poetry are best appreciated when studied from the specific to the general following the poet's trail of political references through his social references and finally to his conclusions on such universal themes as the old, the

poor, the crowd, the individual, and the dignity of man.

Political References

Of all the varying windows that Baudelaire opens on his era, the smallest is the political window. As was the case in his art criticism the poet makes few direct political references to contemporary events or preoccupations. The few that he does make are worthy of isolation and comment.

Baudelaire's concept of the artist as citizen of a country is the first political reference of interest. In "L'Etranger" for example he shows that the true artist has no other country than the clouds and that he is completely unaware of the concept of country in any longitudinal or latitudinal sense.⁵ Even if the prose poetry fails to develop a positive image of country any more than Baudelaire's previous writings, its existence is nevertheless mirrored in negative images in poems such as "Le Gâteau" and "Mademoiselle Bistouri". In the former poem the poet finds himself seated in a idyllic mountain scene that lends itself spontaneously to a Rousseauistic communion with nature. Unlike that of Rousseau, Baudelaire's world is one of omni-present reality which manifests itself in "Le Gâteau" through the presence of two urchins who wage a sanguinary battle over a crust of bread. There is a pointed social and political observation in this metaphorical evocation of a fratricidal war caused by such fundamental inequalities within a country where even the simplest of life's staples takes on the air of luxury. Unlike Rousseau's belief in the goodness of man this spectacle of man's neglect of his brother-in "Le Gâteau" succeeds in

clouding a brief moment of forgetfulness. The conclusion of the poem is both a reflection on the condition of man and a criticism of a society founded on inequality.

Ce spectacle m'avait embrumé le paysage; et la joie calme où s'éboudissait mon âme avant d'avoir vu ces petits hommes avait totalement disparu; j'en restai triste assez longtemps, me répétant sans cesse: "Il y a donc un pays superbe où le pain s'appelle du gâteau, friandise si rare qu'elle suffit pour engendrer une guerre parfaitement fratricide" (PPP, 43).

In "Mademoiselle Bistouri" which is the story of a strange woman's mysterious attraction to all doctors, Baudelaire evokes fleetingly a country of disorder and repression by referring to the numerous civil disturbances that had afflicted France since the early days of the July Monarchy. In this poem the characters share a decided sympathy with the insurgents and a disgust for the oppressor and the informer.

Tiens, voilà K., celui qui dénonçait au gouvernement les insurgés qu'il soignait à son hôpital. C'était le temps des émeutes. Comment est-ce possible qu'un si bel homme ait si peu de cœur (PPP, 136)?

Yet even though references to his country are rare in Les Petits Poèmes en prose, references to a concept of régime, to various social types and to the concept of class struggle provide us with a somewhat larger view of Baudelaire's impressions of the society of his day.

In "Les Bons Chiens" and "Le Miroir" the poet refers to the concept of a republic and to the principles of 1789. In the former he seems to indicate that his sympathies no longer lie with the idea of a republic where time is spent trying to obtain man's happiness at the

expense of his honour.

Que de fois j'ai contemplé, souriant et attendri, tous ces philosophes à quatre pattes, esclaves complaisants, soumis ou dévoués, que le dictionnaire républicain pourrait aussi bien qualifier d'officieux, si la république, trop occupée du bonheur des hommes, avait le temps de ménager l'honneur des chiens (PPP, 149)!

In "Le Miroir" the concept of the republican principles of liberty and equality are satirized in that they seem to contradict the fundamental laws of common sense. A man of incredible ugliness who insists on admiring himself in the mirror, becomes the poetic symbol of the same type of abuse of freedom that he denounced in the critics who had tarnished the glory of Richard Wagner.

L'homme épouvantable me répond: "Monsieur, d'après les immortels principes de 89, tous les hommes sont égaux en droits; donc je possède le droit de me mirer; avec plaisir ou déplaisir, cela ne regarde que ma conscience."

Au nom du bon sens, j'avais sans doute raison; mais, au point de vue de la loi, il n'avait pas tort (PPP, 120).

Commenting on this passage Robert Kopp draws our attention to similar references in other parts of Baudelaire's writings. We regret however that Mr. Kopp does not seek to interpret "Le Miroir" in terms other than an assumption that it is more proof that Baudelaire had rallied to the philosophy of Joseph de Maistre.⁶ "Le Miroir" however does not exist in isolation, so that while "La Femme sauvage et la petite maîtresse" supports the satire of the bureaucratic excesses of an egalitarian society,⁷ "Une Mort héroïque" goes far beyond this rather commonplace satire of the middle class by being just as satirical in its portrayal of monarchical tyranny.

It is difficult to restrain the attempt to make a detailed comparison between the society of the pretentious little principality of "Une Mort héroïque" and that of the Second Empire. Suffice it to say that the general tone of the two societies is similar and that we would be overlooking a very obvious parallel if we did not assume that Baudelaire were borrowing some models from contemporary political and social reality. Whereas certain sections of Le Peintre de la vie moderne showed how Baudelaire was sensitive to the qualities of heroism in the Imperial court, the following examples from "Une Mort héroïque" (an almost Lorenzaccio parallel in which the court jester has been arrested and condemned for plotting against the prince) show that an Imperial court has its despotically seamy side as well.

Baudelaire begins by relating how the court jester becomes obsessed with the notions of liberty. The jester is denounced to the prince making this the second time in the prose poetry that Baudelaire has spoken of secret denunciations to the government. Then follows a portrait of the prince which reveals him to be both a tragic and petty tyrant who is simultaneously author and victim of his destiny and whose general characteristics resemble those of the artist.

Le Prince n'était ni meilleur ni pire qu'un autre; mais une excessive sensibilité le rendait, en beaucoup de cas, plus cruel et plus despote que tous ses pareils. Amoureux passionné des beaux-arts, excellent connaisseur d'ailleurs, il était vraiment insatiable de voluptés. Assez indifférent relativement aux hommes et à la morale, véritable artiste lui-même, il ne connaissait d'ennemi dangereux que l'Ennui, et les efforts bizarres qu'il faisait pour fuir ou pour vaincre ce tyran du monde lui auraient certainement attiré de la part d'un historien sévère, l'épithète de "monstre", s'il avait été permis, dans ses domaines, d'écrire quoi que ce fût qui ne tendît pas uniquement au plaisir ou à l'étonnement; qui est une des formes les plus délicates du plaisir. Le grand malheur de ce Prince fut qu'il n'eut jamais un théâtre assez vaste pour son génie. Il y a de jeunes Nérons qui

étouffent dans des limites trop étroites, et dont les siècles à venir ignoreront toujours le nom et la bonne volonté. L'imprévoyante Providence avait donné à celui-ci des facultés plus grandes que ses Etats (PPP, 81-83).

The above lines represent one of the most complex portraits of tyranny ever written. Elementary parallels with Napoleon III are seen in the references to a man who considers his estate too small for his genius. Whether in Italy or Mexico, Napoleon III's ambitions were always in excess of his own talent and his own courage to see a project through to the end. The joining of the themes of despotism and Providence is also one that makes us think back to his views on Napoleon III's providentiality and the preface of La Vie de Jules César.⁸

And while one is hesitant in attempting to extend the parallel as concerns artistic sensitivity (even though Baudelaire was grateful that he allowed Wagner to perform *Tannhäuser*), the final solution whereby the prince destroys his jester by destroying his dignity reestablishes the comparison. By stripping the jester of his artistic dignity the despot renders life unbearable and hence futile.

Who then personifies the artist in this poem? Is it the artistically sensitive despot or the jester who, having lost the last vestige of human dignity, dies heroically before the packed galleries? While one is justified in seeing elements of the artist in both characters, "Une Mort héroïque" leaves at least the internal message that it is the death of the jester that remains engraved on peoples' minds. Baudelaire's opinions on the despot's motives are of considerable interest in this regard.

Cependant, pour un oeil clairvoyant, son ivresse, à lui, n'était pas sans mélange. Se sentait-il vaincu dans son pouvoir de despote? humilié dans son art de terrifier les coeurs et d'engourdir les esprits? frustré de ses espérances et bafoué dans ses prévisions (PPP, 84)?

Baudelaire's portrait of the prince is both complex and human and shows us how frail are the foundations of even despotic power. To this extent one might be prepared to accept a parallel between Baudelaire and de Maistre in that each perceives the fundamental weaknesses of all men. On a social level however, Baudelaire's failure to establish a clear choice of identity between the Prince, symbol of terrestrial authority, and the jester, who seeks to dethrone despotism by liberty, is significant. By giving a tragic legitimacy to both constituted authority and the forces that would overthrow it Baudelaire expresses social views which are decidedly un-Maistrian.⁹

Nor does the society created by despotism escape satire. In "Une Mort héroïque", a society which in its collectivity would ape the refinements of the individual dandy is seen as a negative force living parasitically off the feeble resources of the state.

Enfin, le grand jour arrivé, cette petite cour déploya toutes pompes, et il serait difficile de concevoir, à moins de l'avoir vu, tout ce que la classe privilégiée d'un petit Etat, à ressources restreintes, peut montrer de splendeurs pour une vraie solennité (PPP, 83).

Thus we must conclude that the dictatorial monarchy is as fallible as any other system. And despite the author's oft quoted claim to have been depoliticized after the events of December 2, 1851, it is clear that this does not extend to maintaining total silence on political

systems even in his creative work. Here, as at points we have already seen in his art criticism, Baudelaire satirizes the weaknesses of all political systems. It is a point to remember whenever one hears him described as a political conservative. This satire however is subtle in nature and "Une Mort héroïque" is a good example of how the few political references in the prose poetry are deliberately understated, thus avoiding intrusion into art of that foreign element, politics, that Baudelaire had outlined so well in his art criticism. In "Portraits de Maîtresses" he even goes so far as to satirize politics by comparing its extremes to those of love (PPP, 127).

There are also several examples of how Baudelaire altered the original manuscript of more than one poem with the intent of toning down political references which he felt to be too strident. Modifications to "Les Projets" represent an example of this transition toward a more moderate political tone. The original text¹⁰ makes several pointed references to the author's anti-monarchical bias and to his dislike for Louis XIV in particular. The definitive text removes all of these references as can be seen by comparing the two passages below:

Original Text

Mais à quoi bon de si beaux décors? Insensé! J'oubliais que je hais les rois et leurs palais. -- Non ce n'est pas dans un palais que je voudrais te posséder et jouir de ton amitié! Nous n'y serions pas chez nous. D'ailleurs ces murs gauffrés, galonnés, insolents, éblouissants comme des militaires, ressemblent à l'âme du Grand Roi, qui n'avait point de coins pour l'intimité (PPP, 73n).

Definitive Text

En passant plus tard dans une rue il s'arrêta devant une

boutique de gravures, et, trouvant dans un carton une estampe représentant il se dit: Non! ce n'est pas dans un palais que je voudrais posséder sa chère vie. Nous n'y serions pas chez nous. D'ailleurs ces murs criblés d'or ne laisseraient pas une place pour accrocher son image; dans ces solennelles galeries, il n'y a pas un coin pour l'intimité (PPP, 71).

few I think would quarrel with the view that the definitive text is infinitely more poetic, just as Baudelaire felt art could be, once the foreign elements have been removed. It is clear that the above changes were made for artistic reasons so that the reader can concentrate more readily on the universal outreach of the prose poem. As for the biographical Baudelaire it is impossible to say whether the changes occurred at the same time as any change in his opinions on the monarchy.

A similar phenomenon occurs in a manuscript variant of the poem, "Assomons les pauvres". In a poem which states outright that equality belongs only to those who earn it, and liberty to those who conquer it, Baudelaire suppresses the aside, "Qu'en dis-tu citoyen Proudhon?" This is the only major variant between the manuscript submitted to the Revue Nationale in 1865, and the posthumous publication. Robert Kopp has assembled a prestigious amount of material on this question much of it in answer to Jacques Crépet's theory that Baudelaire suppressed the unflattering aside to Proudhon because he still had some respect for him as an economist.¹¹ We are more inclined to accept Mr. Kopp's observation however that there can be no definite solution to the suppression since we do not know what manuscripts were used by Banville and Asselineau when they prepared their edition (PPP, 359). Moreover, within the context of our most recent remarks we

would suggest that the motivation for removing the aside is once again quite possibly artistic, rather than philosophic, in origin. In keeping with the author's own views on the role of politics in art, and in light of the changes made to "Les Projets" we find the suppression of the references to Proudhon perfectly consistent with the advice Baudelaire had given so many other artists.

It is this type of textual variant that shows us that Baudelaire was set upon the course of making the narrow window opened on the politics of his era even narrower. This is not the case however with his more general social observations as they apply to the relationship between classes, between individuals and between the artist and society.

Social References

Beginning our study with the concept of social classes we see that Baudelaire conveys to the reader an atmosphere of fluidity and conflict. Only in "Les Dons des fées" does he present a sympathetic view of any class. Here he compares the upper middle class and heavenly society as being both run by men who must succumb to the speed and pressures of contemporary life.

En vérité, elles étaient aussi ahuries que des ministres en jour d'audience, ou des employés du Mont-de-Piété quand une fête nationale autorise les dégagements gratuits. Je crois même qu'elles regardaient de temps à autre l'aiguille de l'horloge avec autant d'impatience que des juges humains qui, siégeant depuis le matin, ne peuvent s'empêcher de rêver au dîner, à la famille et à leurs chères pantoufles. Si, dans la justice surnaturelle, il y a un peu de précipitation et de hasard, ne nous étonnons pas qu'il en soit de même quelquefois dans la justice humaine
Nous serions nous-mêmes, en ce cas, des juges injustes (PPP, 56).

The appeal for patience and comprehension of the pressures that lead to miscarriages of justice (his own trial being a classic example) is extremely short-lived in Les Petits Poèmes en prose. On all other occasions society's classes are portrayed with the same impatience that the good fairies would have us avoid. In fact the very ending of "Les Dons des fées" castigates another aspect of the middle class. This time a Parisian shop-keeper provides us with several notes of inviting satire as he illustrates the motto that the rich get richer without knowing what to do with true wealth.

Ainsi la puissance d'attirer magnétiquement la fortune fut adjugé l'héritier unique d'une famille très-riche, qui, n'étant doué d'aucun sens de charité, non plus que d'aucune convoitise pour les biens les plus visibles de la vie, devait se trouver plus tard prodigieusement embarrassé de ses millions. (PPP, 56).

In a moment of forgetfulness a merchant's son is assigned a last-minute substitute.

Donc la bonne Fée répondit, avec un aplomb digne de son rang: "Je donne à ton fils... je lui donne... le Don de plaire!"

"Mais plaire comment? plaire...? plaire pourquoi?" demanda opiniâtrement le petit boutiquier, qui était sans doute un de ses raisonneurs si communs, incapables de s'élever jusqu'à la logique de l'Absurde.

"Parce que! parce que!" répliqua la Fée courroucée en lui tournant le dos; et rejoignant le cortège de ses compagnons, elle leur disait: "Comment trouvez-vous ce petit Français vaniteux, qui veut tout comprendre, et qui ayant obtenu pour son fils le meilleur des lots, ose encore interroger et discuter l'indiscutable" (PPP, 57).

From the bourgeoisie in "Les Dons des Fées" we see in "Les Veuves" a typical Baudelairian linking of the idea of past glories with an aristocratic theme (PPP, 35-36). On a social level we have

Already seen his satirical portrait of the parasitic aristocratic class in "Une Mort héroïque". The full spectrum of class definition is completed in a poem like "La Belle Dorothee". In a setting of tropical splendour which reminds us of the mountain grandeur of "Le Gâteau" Baudelaire introduces the sombre notes of the economic servitude of the lower classes to the mindless economics of the propertied class.

Dorothee est admirée et choyée de tous, et elle serait parfaitement heureuse si elle n'était obligée d'entasser piastre sur piastre pour racheter sa petite soeur qui a bien onze ans, et qui est déjà mûre, et si belle! Elle réussira sans doute, la bonne Dorothee; le maître de l'enfant est si avare, trop avare, pour comprendre une autre beauté que celle des écus! (PPP, 77)

The presence of all social divisions is therefore seen in Les Petits Poèmes en prose. Their relationship with each other is characterized by the same sense of struggle that had provided an aspect of the dramatic tension in Spleen et Idéal. Two of the clearest examples of this social confrontation are found in "Un Plaisant" and "Le Joujou du pauvre". In the former an elegantly dressed reveller mocks a humble beast of burden as it passes him on New Year's Eve. We feel no need to push the interpretation of this confrontation any further than the obvious encounter between the fatuous attitude of the man of leisure and the silent dignity of the hard-working ass. While one hesitates to state categorically that Baudelaire intended to show us a direct confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the worker, it would certainly be more accurate a conclusion than that which sees the plaisant as the albatross and the âne as Baudelaire's sadism.¹²

The last line of the prose poem sums up Baudelaire's frustration with

his own country where such confrontations seems routine.

Comme l'âne allait tourner l'angle d'un trottoir, un beau monsieur ganté, verni, cruellement cravaté et emprisonné dans des habits tout neufs, s'inclina cérémonieusement devant l'humble bête, et lui dit, en ôtant son chapeau: "Je vous la souhaite bonne et heureuse!" puis se retourna vers je ne sais quels camarades avec un air de fatuité, comme pour les prier d'ajouter leur approbation à son contentement.

L'âne ne vit pas ce beau plaisant, et continua de courir avec zèle où l'appelait son devoir:

Pour moi je fus pris subitement d'un incommensurable rage contre ce magnifique imbécile, qui me parut concentrer en lui tout l'esprit de la France (PPP, 13).

In this brief symbolic encounter between the dandy and the worker, "Un Plaisant" leaves no doubt where its author's sympathies lie at that given moment.

In "Le Joujou du pauvre" Baudelaire removes himself completely from the text leaving only the portrait of the bars that separate, both physically and spiritually, the rich from the poor. Yet since the protagonists are children they still view each other fraternally from the depths of their innocence; they have not yet adopted the stoic downcast eyes of l'âne or the supercilious condescension of the beau monsieur ganté. Their teeth are still of equal whiteness, a point Baudelaire does not want us to overlook when he gives emphasis to the word, égal.

A travers ces barreaux symboliques séparant deux mondes, la grande route et le château, l'enfant pauvre montrait à l'enfant riche son propre joujou, que celui-ci examinait avidement comme un objet rare et inconnu. Or ce joujou, que le petit souillon agaçait, agitait et secouait dans une boîte grillée, c'était un rat vivant! Les parents, par économie sans doute, avait tiré le joujou de la vie elle même.

Et les enfants se riaient l'un de l'autre fraternellement, avec des dents d'une égale blancheur (PPP, 54).

This rather idyllic understanding whereby representatives of two social groups laugh with each other instead of at each other is the only single moment of social harmony in the Petits Poèmes en prose.¹³ But be it moments of harmony or conflict, it is impossible to establish a consistent treatise. In "Assommons les pauvres" Baudelaire even goes so far as to satirize his own attempts at forming one in his youth.

Pendant quinze jours je m'étais confiné dans ma chambre, et je m'étais entouré des livres à la mode dans ce temps-là (il y a seize ou dix-sept ans); je veux parler des livres où il est traité de rendre les peuples heureux, sages et riches, en vingt-quatre heures. J'avais donc digéré, -- avalé, veux-je dire, -- toutes les élucubrations de tous les entrepreneurs de bonheur public, -- de ceux qui conseillent à tous les pauvres de se faire esclaves, et de ceux qui leur persuadent qu'ils sont tous des rois détrônés. -- On ne trouvera pas surprenant que je fusse alors dans un état d'esprit avoisinant le vertige ou la stupidité.
(...)

Et je sortis avec une grande soif. Car le goût passionné des mauvaises lectures engendre un besoin proportionnel du grand air et des rafraîchissants. (PPP, 141-142)

Baudelaire's few direct references to France, régimes, political events and class struggles are merely the tip of the poetic iceberg of perpetual conflict. The apparent harmony of "Le Joujou du pauvre", having come from "La Morale du joujou" first published in 1853, seems almost an intrusion from another decade.¹⁴ The symbolic bars are nevertheless there to remind us of a much broader theme in Baudelaire's work which is the theme of the individual and the artist in society -- the theme of the sensitive mind trapped like the albatross on the deck and struggling in its ugliness to regain former beauty and freedom.

The Artist and Society

Until the Tableaux parisiens the relationship between the artist and society had been seen in Baudelaire's work as an essential desire to escape the encumbering forces of social obligation and oppression. Through the Tableaux parisiens Baudelaire introduces an aspect of modernism that characterizes so much of his art criticism from Le Salon de 1845 to Le Peintre de la vie moderne. Nevertheless, the Tableaux parisiens did not alter the basic message of Les Fleurs du Mal; they merely contributed a new social dimension to a work already characterized by dynamic tension. The tension between the desire to flee the multitude and the desire to contemplate its face in Les Tableaux parisiens is also one of the most powerful themes in Les Petits Poèmes en prose.

Despite Baudelaire's probable condemnation of the middle class dandy in "Un Plaisant" there are still numerous examples within the prose poetry to show that the author has not abandoned a desire to achieve a state of intellectual and social aloofness such as he had admired in Delacroix and Leconte de Lisle. Society is for him a source of perpetual struggle as seen in the following reference to a local carnival in "Le Vieux Saltimbanque":

En ces jours-là il me semble que le peuple oublie tout, la douleur et le travail; il devient pareil aux enfants. Pour les petits c'est un jour de congé, c'est l'horreur de l'école renvoyée à vingt-quatre heures. Pour les grands c'est un armistice conclu avec les puissances malfaisantes de la vie, un répit dans la contention et la lutte universelles (PPP, 37).

Confronted by a society of contention and universal struggle the poet gives frequent expression to his sense of isolation and exile. In "La Chambre double" he introduces an autobiographical note in the person of the dreamer who is constantly harrassed by his social obligations.

Mais un coup terrible, lourd, a retenti à la porte, et, comme dans les rêves infernaux, il m'a semblé que je recevais un coup de pioche dans l'estomac.

Et puis un Spectre est entré. C'est un huissier qui vient me torturer au nom de la loi; une infâme concubine qui vient crier misère et ajouter les trivialités de sa vie aux douleurs de la mienne; ou bien le sauté ruisseau d'un directeur de journal qui réclame la suite du manuscrit. (PPP, 15).¹⁵

He describes this world of harrassment as one that is too narrow and from which only laudanum offers any escape (PPP, 16). The theme of social exile is also captured through the image of the woman rattling the bars of her cage in "La Femme sauvage" (PPP, 38). In "Le Vieux Saltimbanque" we see that a part of this exile stems from the fact that the poet-saltimbanque must confront the ingratitude and incomprehension of his public without the support of family or friends (PPP, 40). This frequent indifference and sometimes hostility engenders in some an anti-social comportment. In "Le Gâteau" we see that the children have learned to distrust man (PPP, 53) while in "Le Crépuscule du soir" the author speaks of a friend who, having been wounded in his ambition, takes his revenge on society by becoming increasingly anti-social as night falls.¹⁶

As part of the traditional defence against the traditional enemy Baudelaire assumes the now familiar mask of the dandy in Les

Petits Poèmes en prose. In "Les Foules" for example, he states that one can only bathe in the multitude if one has been given at birth the gifts of the disguise and the mask.¹⁷ There are even moments when he seems to suggest a complete turning inward in an attempt to draw art exclusively from his own personal sense of exile. At one point, in response to the temptation to forget himself completely in others, the poet offers the Romantic response that while he remembers himself with shame there is nothing he wishes to forget.¹⁸ Calling the desire to mingle with the crowds a form of fraternal prostitution (PPP, 69) Baudelaire seeks to glorify his sense of isolation and solitude. In "Les Vocations" such is the situation of the fourth boy who is perpetually happy there where he is not.

Enfin le quatrième dit: "Vous savez que je ne m'amuse guère à la maison; on ne me mène jamais au spectacle; mon tuteur est trop avare; Dieu ne s'occupe pas de moi et de mon ennui, et je n'ai pas une belle bonne pour me dorloter. Il m'a souvent semblé que mon plaisir serait d'aller toujours droit devant moi, sans savoir où, sans que personne s'en inquiète, et de voir toujours des pays nouveaux. Je ne suis jamais bien nulle part, et je crois toujours que je serais mieux ailleurs que là où je suis (PPP, 103).

This young man sums up the image of the Bohemian outcast which was such a preferred theme of the Romantic generation. Even the boy's heroes are saltimbanques who are going nowhere in particular and who sleep with their faces to the stars in the contentment that comes from the freedom from social obligations. Baudelaire describes this boy as one who is already misunderstood.

L'air peu intéressé des trois autres camarades me donna à penser que ce petit était déjà un incompris. Je le regardais attentivement; il

y avait dans son oeil et dans son front ce je ne sais quoi de précocement fatal qui éloigne la sympathie, et qui, je ne sais pourquoi, excitait la mienne; au point que j'eus un instant l'idée bizarre que je pouvais avoir un frère à moi-même inconnu (PPP, 105).

A sense of glorification and personal exile is also highlighted in "Les Bienfaits de la lune" as the moon comforts the dreamer with the following words:

Tu aimeras ce que j'aime et ce qui m'aime; l'eau, les nuages, le silence et la nuit; la mer immense et verte; l'eau uniforme et multiforme; le lieu où tu ne seras pas; l'amant que tu ne connaîtras pas; les fleurs monstrueuses; les parfums qui font délirer; les chats qui se pâment sur les pianos et qui gémissent comme les femmes, d'une voix rauque et douce (PPP, 115).

This rather traditional portrait of a Romantic exile is accompanied in the prose poetry by the traditional hostility of the dandy who confronts a society from which he wishes to flee, but to which he is chained. In "Le Port" he speaks of the dandy as one who has affected love of leisure which gives a mysterious and aristocratic pleasure to those who have neither curiosity nor ambition (PPP, 121). In "Déjà" the solitary traveller never wishes to set foot on the land. His solitary déjà confronts the universal enfin even though he himself recognizes the beauty of the land from which he seeks exile.¹⁹

As an inevitable result of trying to escape reality the poet turns to the task of attempting to create his own reality. In "Les Fenêtres" as in "Paysage" of the Tableaux parisiens, the poet dreams of imposing his own concept of reality upon situations that might otherwise become too difficult to bear. And as with the wide-angle overview of "Paysage", the poet imposes this vision in "Les Fenêtres" because he

is either observing from a great height or from an isolated vantage point. Thus he feels able to create the legend of the old woman through the pure exercise of his artistic imagination.

Par delà des vagues de toits, j'aperçois une femme mûre, ridée déjà, pauvre, toujours penchée sur quelque chose, et qui ne sort jamais. Avec son visage, avec son vêtement, avec son geste, avec presque rien, j'ai refait l'histoire de cette femme, ou plutôt sa légende, et quelquefois je me la raconte à moi-même en pleurant.

Si c'eût été un pauvre homme, j'aurais refait la sienne aussi aisément.

Et je me couche fier d'avoir vécu et souffert dans d'autres que moi-même.

Peut-être me direz-vous: Es-tu sûr que cette légende soit la vraie?" Qu'importe ce que peut être la réalité placée hors de moi, si elle m'a aidé à vivre, à sentir que je suis et ce que je suis (PPP, 111).

If one were to advance no further than these past references from "Les Fenêtres", one would see in Baudelaire little more than the stereotyped portrait of the Parnasséan artist who relates to society through the aristocratic aloofness of the dandy and who has the Parnasséan pretention (no matter how sincerely motivated) to impose his own concepts of reality on the society around him and upon Creation in general. If this were the only Baudelaire to manifest himself in the prose poems we would be more willing to accept Laforgue's interpretation of "Le Chien et le flacon" as being representative of a mood of isolation and unpopularity which has led the poet to effect a total break with the public.²⁰

In support of this tentative conclusion there are even a few examples from within the poems that show that the break with the public is violent in nature. In "Le Mauvais Vitrier" for example, we see the deliberately anti-social man who drops a flower pot on the wares of a poor glass merchant who is accused of selling reality rather than

dreams in the poor section of the city.²¹ Lest however anyone be prepared to assume that Baudelaire is recommending this form of anti-social outburst, he should not forget that the poet himself defines his act as one of those nervous pleasantries which are not without danger and of which one can often pay dearly (PPP, 25). What are the motives of this act? The protagonist of "Le Mauvais vitrier" is the antithesis of the brash and aloof dandy; on the contrary, he is the symbol of abject timidity.

Un autre, timide à ce point qu'il baisse les yeux même devant le regard des hommes, à ce point qu'il lui faut rassembler toute sa pauvre volonté pour entrer dans un café ou passer devant le bureau d'un théâtre, où les contrôleurs lui paraissent investis de la majesté de Minos, d'Éaque et de Rhadamanthe, sautera brusquement au cou d'un vieillard qui passe à côté de lui et l'embrassera avec enthousiasme, devant la foule étonnée.

Pourquoi? Parce que... parce que cette physionomie lui était irrésistiblement sympathique? Peut-être; mais il est plus légitime de supposer que lui-même il ne sait pas pourquoi (PPP, 23).

Once again Mr. Robert Kopp has done an excellent job of assembling Baudelaire's scattered references to the theme of timidity as well as the diverse interpretations of this poem.²² It is our opinion moreover that through an excessive concentration on the violent act and its motives, the context of the act is overlooked. While the act of destroying the glass is inexplicable, so also is the sudden act of embracing an old man in the street. Thus whether it is the very pro-social act of the embrace or the anti-social act of the destruction, the contradiction of their results suggest that they are not motivated by any single sociological, psychological or Satanic impetus;²³ they appear merely as the irrational acts of a timid nature confronted by a

spontaneous social stimulus.

Another false conclusion would be to assume that the prose poetry is dedicated exclusively to a defence of the aloofness of the dandy or to the call for isolation. The poems most often quoted in support of such a hypothesis are "A Une Heure du matin" and "La Solitude". "A Une Heure du matin" captures the dream of solitude in the following moving lines:

Enfin! seul! On n'entend plus que le roulement de quelques fiacres attardés et éreintés. Pendant quelques heures, nous posséderons le silence, sinon le repos. Enfin! la tyrannie de la face humaine a disparu, et je ne souffrirai plus, que par moi-même.

Enfin! il m'est donc permis de me délaisser dans un bain de ténèbres! D'abord, un double tour à la serrure. Il me semble que ce tour de clef augmentera ma solitude et fortifiera les barricades qui me séparent actuellement du monde.

Horrible vie! Horrible ville! (...).

Mécontent de tous et mécontent de moi, je voudrais bien me racheter et m'enorgueillir un peu dans le silence et la solitude de la vie. Ames de ceux que j'ai aimés, âmes de ceux que j'ai chantés, fortifiez-moi, soutenez-moi, éloignez-moi le mensonge et les vapeurs corruptrices du monde; et vous, Seigneur mon Dieu! accordez-moi la grâce de produire quelques beaux vers qui me prouvent à moi-même que je ne suis pas le dernier des hommes, que je ne suis pas inférieur à ceux que je méprise (PPP, 26-27).

In "La Solitude" this traditional portrait of the misanthropic dandy is reinforced by his reference to "nos races jacassières" (PPP, 68) from which the artist wishes to flee. And in his desire to prove that the individual need not share his joy he quotes La Bruyère and Pascal in support of the general premise that our misfortunes stem from our desire for fraternity and from not knowing how to stay in our rooms.²⁴

In attempting to fathom the complexities of Baudelaire's social attitudes it has never been our intention to suggest that this basic

desire to flee society is not a vital part of his poetic universe. Yet have we not seen this scenario played out before? Have we not witnessed already the desire for locked doors? Indeed, a swift glance through the opening movement of Les Tableaux parisiens shows how the poet had attempted to barricade himself in his attic so he could contemplate the city from the heights of his ivory tower and create spring through the exercise of his will in the same manner that he recreates reality in "Les Fenêtres".²⁵ The momentary dream of isolation and artistic superiority is therefore a familiar tale which has found at least one dénouement in the form of Les Tableaux parisiens. Here the poet was drawn from the isolation of his room into contemplating more closely the faces of the men in the streets; and having seen at too close a range the suffering on those faces he accepts the fact that, for good or for evil, he is now irrevocably bound to them. While longing to regain a state of solitude he accepts stoically that he is forever bound to the crowd.

A comprehensive approach to the prose poems in their totality reveals that the dénouement, like the scenario, remains essentially unchanged from Les Tableaux parisiens. While on one side of the balance sheet we see a number of examples of the poet's anti-social longings and outbursts, on the other side we see an extensive list of examples of the contrary postulation: the desire to flee towards the crowd. The "bain de ténèbres" which he had longed for in "A Une Heure du Matin" contrasts sharply with the "bain de multitude" in the following excerpts from "Les Foules".

Il n'est pas donné à chacun de prendre un bain de multitude:
jouir de la foule est un art; et celui-là seul peut faire, aux dépens

du genre humain, une ribote de vitalité, à qui une fée a insufflé dans son berceau le goût de travestissement et du masque, la haine du domicile et la passion du voyage.

(...)

Le promeneur solitaire et pensif tire une singulière ivresse de cette universelle communion. Celui-là qui épouse facilement la foule connaît des jouissances fiévreuses, dont seront éternellement privés l'égoïste, fermé comme un coffre, et le paresseux, interné comme un mollusque. Il adopte comme siennes toutes les professions, toutes les joies et toutes les misères que la circonstance lui présente.

Ce que les hommes nomment amour est bien petit, bien restreint, bien faible, comparé à cette ineffable orgie, à cette sainte restitution de l'âme qui se donne tout entière, poésie et charité, à l'imprévu qui se montre, à l'inconnu qui passe (PPP, 31-32).

Despite this very pronounced movement toward the crowd it must be seen from the outset that Baudelaire never abandons completely an element of self-control. In "Les Veuves" for example he speaks of the glances he casts in the direction of the crowds that cluster at the gates of a public concert as being motivated by curiosity rather than a sense of universal sympathy (PPP, 35). Yet in "Le Joueur généreux" he speaks kindly of an atmosphere of fraternal sympathy that characterizes the crowds that throng the gambling den (PPP, 91). The crowd in "La Corde" is perceived differently again -- this time symbolizing the anonymity and indifference of the large city. In response to his calls for help when he discovers that his protégé has hanged himself he is greeted by silence, the silence of the city crowd who does not wish to become involved in the affairs of others (PPP, 97). The desire to reach out to the crowd has its setbacks therefore.

First of all Baudelaire makes it clear that the danger in reaching out to the crowd is that it can become a search for a new solitude and oblivion. He captures this in the middle section of "Les Foules" which contrasts with the opening and closing sections which

seem to serve as a credo for a total involvement with the masses. By bringing the far flung elements of contrast into focus Baudelaire sounds a social note which is reminiscent of the poetic and spiritual theory in Correspondances.

Multitude, solitude: termes égaux et convertibles pour le poète actif et fécond. Qui ne sait pas peupler sa solitude, ne sait pas non plus être seul dans une foule affairée (PPP, 31). 26

Despite the apparent duality inherent in titles such as Spleen et Idéal it is generally accepted that Baudelaire's aesthetic vision is animated by a profound belief in the unity of all aspects of Creation. By the fact that all things are tributaries of the same unity all things are inter-related like the sounds, colours and odours in Correspondances. The abolition of opposites and their blending into the simultaneous reflection of the same unity is perhaps best expressed in his article on Richard Wagner and Tannhäuser where despite the external struggle between good and evil for man's heart (AR, 220) there is a recognition that God has created the world as a complex and indivisible totality (AR, 206). It is not surprising therefore that the fusion of opposites which is the foundation of the bitter-sweet style of the Baudelairean metaphor should be applied to social images as well. The equation of the word 'solitude' and 'multitude' is frequently done by twentieth-century writers in order to convey the idea that man is always alone. For those who have come to appreciate the depth of Baudelaire's imagery the question is not as simple as the using of one concept to develop the other. The problem is understanding the extent to which a new idea may have been created by the total fusion of two old

ones.

Is Baudelaire merely creating a new form of solitude in the crowd? Quite the contrary would seem to be the answer. The prose poetry is very careful to point out that the artist must not reach out to the crowd looking for this solitude or oblivion. In "Les Tentations" the first temptation that the demons offer the poet is this very escape.

Il me regarda avec ses yeux inconsolablement navrés, d'où s'écoulait une insidieuse ivresse, et il me dit d'une voix chantante: "Si tu veux, si tu veux, je te ferai le seigneur des âmes, et tu seras le maître de la matière vivante plus encore que le sculpteur peut l'être de l'argile; et tu connaîtras de plaisir, sans cesse renaissant, de sortir de toi-même pour t'oublier dans autrui, et d'attirer les autres âmes jusqu'à les confondre avec la tienne" (PPP, .59).

One begins to sense in quotations such as the above a sense of tension between two simultaneous postulations within the poet as concerns his social milieu. On the one hand we see the desire to flee the terrible human face while on the other hand we see the desire to reach out and touch it. In many ways this is a social parallel to the spiritual concern raised in the Mon Coeur mis à nu when he described the simultaneous desire to ascend and descend that afflicts all men.²⁷

While we sense this same tension as it applies to the poet-in-society in Les Fleurs du Mal the new medium of prose and the intervening years give the message far greater scope in Les Petits Poèmes en prose.

While the prose poetry singles out the limitations set upon the poetic thrust toward the crowd it also singles out a familiar aspect of the crowd to which the poet is willing to give himself without reserve: the old and the poor as symbols of all that are victims.

Here we have an excellent example of how the medium of prose allows Baudelaire to go beyond the impressionistic sketch techniques with which he had treated the same theme in Les Tableaux parisiens. Without exception the old are always poor in the prose poetry and the combination of the two factors provides a strong introduction to this facet of the crowd in a superbly artistic and humanitarian fashion. As for the theme of poverty itself, it provides the single most powerful and consistently unifying series of images in the prose poetry.

The first combination of the old and the poor comes in "Le Désespoir de la vieille". Here the old woman becomes the symbol of a generation rejected by the young. The title containing both the words désespoir and vieille provides a convenient introduction to the poem and to the themes of poverty and old age in the prose poems as a whole. There is a silent dignity in her portrait as she withdraws into her eternal solitude and weeps for the fact that she has come to inspire only horror in those whom she would love (PPP; 110). The same sense of the noble poor is momentarily captured in the stoic portrait of the âne in "Un Plaisant" while the setting of "La Femme Sauvage" is created in the opening paragraph with its evocation of the sexagenarian beggars waiting for scraps of bread at the doors of the cabaret.

The theme of poverty however is much broader than simply the old. There are even autobiographical notes that creep into "La Chambre double" where the poet traces the origin of his melancholy to the miserable nature of his room (PPP, 16) or into "Le Mauvais Vitrier" where the state of poverty seems to justify even the most anti-social acts. Yet while one perceives that Baudelaire feels a sense of identity on more than just an intellectual level with the poor, his own biography

is not the key element in the prose poems. It is to others that he turns and in "Les Veuves" he comes the closest to that attraction for the poor, the weak and the orphaned that had attracted him to Hugo in Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains.²⁸

Ces retraites ombreuses sont les rendez-vous des éclopés de la vie.

C'est surtout vers ces lieux que le poète et le philosophe aiment diriger leurs avides conjectures. Il y a là une pâture certaine. Car s'il est une place qu'ils dédaignent de visiter, comme je l'insinuais tout à l'heure, c'est surtout la joie des riches. Cette turbulence dans le vide n'a rien qui les attire. Au contraire, ils se sentent irrésistiblement entraînés vers tout ce qui est faible, ruiné, contristé, orphelin.

Un oeil expérimenté ne s'y trompe jamais. Dans ces traits rigides ou abattus, dans ces yeux cavés et ternes, ou brillants des derniers éclairs de la lutte, dans ces rides profondes et nombreuses, dans ces démarches si lentes et si saccadées, il déchiffre tout de suite les innombrables légendes de l'amour trompé, du dévouement méconnu, des efforts non récompensés, de la faim et du froid humblement, silencieusement supportés (PPP, 33-34).

In "Le Gâteau" we see how the theme of poverty has taught the children to distrust their fellow man (PPP, 53) while in "Les Tentations" poverty is expanded to embrace the universal misery of man as the tatoos on the demon's belly transform the traditional images of the poor into an Apocalyptic nightmare.²⁹ In "La Fausse Monnaie" poverty is seen behind the image of the beggar's silent eyes as he holds out his hat for alms (PPP, 87); in "Les Fenêtres" it becomes the key to the legend that the poet wishes to weave around the old woman; in "Mademoiselle Bistouri" Baudelaire even embarks momentarily on the theme that there is something purifying in poverty. His young intern in this poem conforms to the bourgeois image of a young man forced by poverty into a life of hard work and consequent honesty.³⁰ This latter portrait of poverty as a positive force is of extremely short duration

in the poems. In fact it is the only note of its kind in a work where poverty becomes the universal social manifestation of human degradation in its broadest sense.

An even more powerful portrait of the plight of the poor is gained from the numerous examples of direct confrontation between the rich and poor. Just as all opposites draw their meaning from each other, so also does poverty when confronted with ostentatious wealth. This confrontation between rich and poor which had only been suggested in poems like "A Une Petite Mendiante rousse" now becomes a dominant leitmotif in Les Petits Poèmes en prose.

In "Les Veuves" the author contrasts the sterility of the life of the wealthy, as an artistic subject, to the fertility of the subject matter to be drawn from the life of the poor (PPP, 33). An initial contrast is established by showing how each shows his grief. The absence of harmony in the clothes of the poor makes his suffering look twice as great while the rich man always wears his grief fashionably (PPP, 34). In "Le Vieux Saltimbanque" the pathos of the aging saltimbanque is created from his own personal poverty contrasted with the frivolity, gaiety and general air of prosperity with which a people on holiday surround him. In "Le Gâteau" the same contrast is achieved by contrasting the self-satisfied revery of the solitary wanderer, about to eat his picnic lunch, with the anxiety and furtiveness of the waifs who know nothing but permanent hunger. In "L'Invitation au Voyage" the poet transforms the contrast into pure imagery thus contrasting the luxury of the land he hopes to visit with the froides misères of the reality in which he must live (PPP, 48). Even in "La Corde" the poet contrasts the life of poverty from which he rescued the

child and the life of luxury which eventually led the lad to crime and suicide. It is as if the new life were responsible for his death. And as the scene returns to focus on the mother, now forced to sell the rope to earn a few francs, we see that the reality from which the child escaped has not evaporated in the meantime. It is still there waiting to reclaim its own.

The contrast between rich and poor is not always handled in an abstract fashion moreover. Using gates, bars, and barriers Baudelaire evokes the unbridgeable gulf that lies between rich and poor. In a scene even more powerful than the ballroom scene in Madame Bovary, "Les Veuves" concentrates on the symbolic barriers that divide two worlds at an outdoor band concert.

L'Orchestre jette à travers la nuit des chants de fête, de triomphe et de volupté. Les robes traînent en miroitant; les regards se croisent; les oisifs fatigués de n'avoir rien fait, se dandinent, feignant de déguster indolemment la musique. Ici rien que de riche, d'heureux; rien qui ne respire et n'inspire l'insouciance et le plaisir de se laisser vivre; rien excepté l'aspect de cette tourbe qui s'appuie là-bas sur la barrière extérieure, attrapant gratis, au gré du vent, un lambeau de musique, et regardant l'étincelante fournaise intérieure. C'est toujours chose intéressante que ce reflet de la joie du riche au fond de l'œil du pauvre. Mais--ce jour-là à travers ce peuple vêtu de blouses et d'indienne; j'aperçus un être dont la noblesse faisait un éclatant contraste avec toute la trivialité environnante (PPP, 35).

In "Le Joujou du pauvre" the division is again marked by the presence of iron bars. Nevertheless the most tragic confrontation takes place with the bars removed in "Les Yeux des pauvres". As is the case in all the confrontation poems ("Les Veuves", "Le Vieux Saltimbanque", "Le Gâteau", "L'Invitation au voyage", "Le Joujou du pauvre", "Les Yeux des pauvres", "La Corde", "Assommons les pauvres") Baudelaire

creates a dynamically dual role for himself. Spiritually he finds himself on one side of a barrier looking in since he is in complete sympathy with the poor. Socially however he always finds himself seated on the opposite side of the barrier with the oppressor. This realistic assessment of his own role as oppressor and oppressed sets Baudelaire above much of the trivial humanitarianism of the writers of the age. It is difficult to imagine a Lamartine, a Sand or a Hugo, viewing themselves as both victim and executioner in their Romantic portraits of the suffering working class.³¹

Pierre-Jean Jouve has remarked that Baudelaire seems less masked in Les Petits Poèmes en prose than in Les Fleurs du Mal. Jouve feels that the value of fugitive things can be seen in the prose poetry and that the poems give us for the first time the idea of total innocence for some people.³² Exploiting this basic idea a little further, one can only conclude with regret that M. Jouve did not see the beginnings of this theme of innocence as far back as Les Limbes or at the very latest Les Tableaux parisiens. As for the poet, he always remains both executioner and victim just as he outlined in "L'Héautontimorouménos".

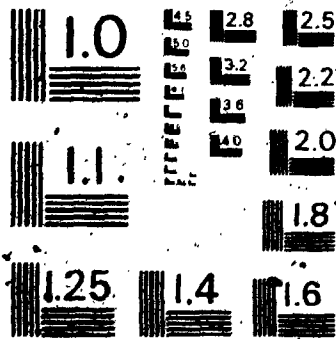
On a social level this means that the poet is always aware of the part he plays in the origin of his own suffering and that of others. In Les Fleurs du Mal moreover the general tone implies that this is a universal law meant to apply to all mankind. The prose poetry is original however in the sense that it does produce a new and strikingly innocent set of heroes (never the poet himself) who are seen as genuine victims of something totally beyond their control.

Baudelaire captures superbly his own dual role in "Les Yeux des

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pauvres", while at the same time associating his dinner companion only with guilt and the poor family on the sidewalk only with innocence.

Using the symbol of a new luxury restaurant rising from the ruins of the old Paris he sets the large stage for a confrontation of epic grandeur and simplicity.

Le café étincelait. Le gaz lui-même y déployait toute l'ardeur d'un début, et éclairait de toutes ses forces les murs aveuglants de blancheur, les nappes éblouissantes des miroirs, les ors des baguettes et des corniches, les pages aux joues rebondies traînés par les chiens en laisse, les damés riant au faucon perché sur leur poing, les nymphes et les déesses portant sur leur tête des fruits, des pâtés et du gibier, les Hébés et les Ganymèdes présentant à bras tendu la petite amphore à bavaroises ou l'obélisque bicolore des glaces panachées; toute l'histoire et toute la mythologie mises au service de la goinfreterie.

Droit devant nous, sur la chaussée, était planté un brave homme d'une quarantaine d'années, au visage fatigué, à la barbe grisonnante, tenant d'une main un petit garçon et portant sur l'autre bras un petit être trop faible pour marcher. Il remplissait l'office de bonne et faisait prendre à ses enfants l'air du soir. Tous en guenilles. Ces trois visages étaient extraordinairement sérieux, et ces six yeux contemplaient fixement le café nouveau avec une admiration égale, mais nuancée diversement par l'âge.

Les yeux du père disaient: "Que c'est beau! que c'est beau! on dirait que tout l'or du pauvre monde est venu se porter sur ces murs." -- Les yeux du petit garçon: "Que c'est beau! que c'est beau! mais c'est une maison où peuvent seuls entrer les gens qui ne sont pas comme nous." Quant aux yeux du plus petit, ils étaient trop fascinés pour exprimer autre chose qu'une joie stupide et profonde.

Les chansonniers disent que le plaisir rend l'âme bonne et amollit le cœur. La chanson avait raison ce soir-là, relativement à moi. Non-seulement j'étais attendri par cette famille d'yeux, mais je me sentais un peu honteux de nos verres et de nos carafes, plus grands que notre soif. Je tournais mes regards vers les vôtres, cher amour, pour y lire ma pensée; je plongeais dans vos yeux verts, habités par le Caprice et inspirés par la Lune, quand vous me dites: "Ces gens-là me sont insupportables avec leurs yeux ouverts comme des portes cochères! Ne pourriez vous pas prier le maître du café de les éloigner d'ici?"

Tant il est difficile de s'entendre, mon cher ange, et tant la pensée est incommunicable, même entre gens qui s'aiment (PPP, 79-80)!

In the portrait above we see that the poor are also a symbol of dignity which is another leitmotif in the prose poetry. And, as

above, it is a portrait of the poor as the last remnant of human dignity which has been sacrificed by all other classes on the altar of gluttony and self-satisfaction. The stoic dignity of man which had been a vital part of Les Tableaux parisiens thus becomes a basic theme in Les Petits Poèmes en prose.

To achieve this end Baudelaire frequently uses allegory as is seen in "Les Sept Vieillards" from Les Fleurs du Mal and in the prose poem "Chacun sa chimère". Each poem presents a progression of monsters but the prose poem has an infinitely more sympathetic identification. Whereas the eyes of the old men still gleam with hatred in "Les Sept Vieillards",³³ no traveller in "Chacun sa chimère" seems to be irritated with the monster around his neck. The tired faces show no sign of despair and their features reveal the resignation of those forever condemned to hope (PPP, 18). A similar allegorical treatment of universal distress is found also in "Le Fou et la Vénus". In the silent orgy of universal ecstasy a clown weeps at the feet of a colossal Venus and begs her to have pity of his distress, since even the lowliest of men have the right to say: "Cependant je suis fait moi aussi pour comprendre et sentir l'immortelle Beauté!" (PPP, 20). Examples of allegory in the prose poetry are few and Baudelaire relies more and more on the direct social metaphor to convey the clown's basic message that there are those among us forever cut off from being able to reach out to touch a sense of Beauty.

In "La Femme Sauvage" we are confronted by the spectacle of those who invoke an ideal while their feet are bound to the mud beneath (PPP, 30). In "Les Veuves" the poor widow who must raise her child is seen as "seule, toujours seule" (PPP, 36); she becomes the symbol of all

that the poet describes as "une fierté de stoïcienne" (PPP, 34).

In "Le Crépuscule du soir" the familiar theme of the dignity of the working man bent beneath the burden of his labour is again manifested; in "La Fausse Monnaie" there is silent dignity in the beggar. This dignity of the poor and the useless who only stand and wait is evoked in the following lines from "Les Bons Chiens":

Arrière la muse académique! Je n'ai que faire de cette vieille bégueule. J'invoque la muse familière, la citadine, la vivante pour qu'elle m'aide à chanter les bons chiens, les pauvres chiens, les chiens crottés, ceux-là que chacun écarte, comme pestiférés et pouilleux, excepté la pauvre dont ils sont les associés, et le poète qui les regarde d'un oeil fraternel (PPP, 146).

It is through the eyes of the poor that Baudelaire catches a glimpse of the legend buried in each man; and it is through this legend that he at last captures a facet of modern heroism for which he had so often called in his critical writings. The following lines from "Mademoiselle Bistouri", one of the five posthumously published prose poems, are a tribute to the spiritual depth which Baudelaire had achieved in observing the social phenomén around him:

Quelles bizarreries ne trouve-t-on pas dans une grande ville, quand on sait se promener et regarder? La vie fourmille de monstres innocents. -- Seigneur, mon Dieu! vous le Créateur, vous le Maître; vous qui avez fait la Loi et la Liberté; vous le souverain qui laissez faire, vous le juge qui pardonnez; vous qui êtes plein de motifs et de cause, et qui avez peut-être mis dans mon esprit le goût de l'horreur pour convertir mon coeur comme la guérison au bout d'une lame; Seigneur, ayez pitié, ayez pitié des fous et des folles! O Créateur! peut-il avoir des monstres aux yeux de Celui-là seul qui sait pourquoi ils existent comment ils se sont faits et comment ils auraient pu ne pas se faire (PPP, 138).

Yet while the dominant portrait of the poor is expanded to its limits and thus becomes the poetic evocation of all of life's disinherited, there are, nevertheless, two notable exceptions in the prose poetry when poverty is allowed to become the symbol of total defeat. In "Le Vieux Saltimbanque" the old man has abdicated his dignity; he has submitted totally to his destiny.³⁴

Il ne riait pas, le misérable! Il ne pleurait pas, il ne dansait pas, il ne gesticulait pas, il ne criait pas; il ne chantait aucune chanson, ni gaie ni lamentable, il n'implorait pas. Il était muet et immobile. Il avait renoncé, il avait abdicé. Sa destinée était faite. (PPP, 39).

The reaction of the author to the old man is one of such pity that he refuses to enter his tent for fear of embarrassing him. Four years later³⁵ the poet confronts a similar situation in "Assomons les pauvres" with entirely contrasting results. Moved by the sense of hopelessness in the eyes of the old beggar the poet leaps upon him, beating him mercilessly with his fists and a tree branch. Unlike the anti-social act of smashing the glass merchant's wares which was explained as a spontaneous and inexplicable act, his anti-social behaviour against the old tramp is no longer Satanic; at least on the surface it is motivated by profound spiritual and social aims.⁷

Tout à coup, -- ô miracle! ô jouissance du philosophe qui vérifie l'excellence de sa théorie! -- je vis cette antique carcasse se tourner, se redresser avec une énergie que je n'aurais jamais soupçonnée dans une machine si singulièrement détraquée; et, avec un regard de haine qui me parut de bon augure, le maladein décrépît se jeta sur moi, me pocha les deux yeux, me cassa quatre dents, et avec la même branche d'arbre me battit dru comme plâtre. -- Par mon énergique médication, je lui avais donc rendu l'orgueil et la vie.

Alors, je lui fis force signes pour lui faire comprendre que je considérais la discussion comme finie, et me relevant avec la

satisfaction d'un sophiste du Portique, je lui dis: "Monsieur, vous êtes mon égal (PPP, 143-144).

It is quite amazing to what extent this poem has been integrated into the broader theme of Baudelaire's cruelty.³⁶ Such attempts ignore the years of background to "Assommons les Pauvres". What we have is an attempt, no matter how exaggerated, to rekindle the dying embers of a man's dignity. The option of passing by as was the case in "Le Vieux saltimbanque" or of taking action as in "Assommons les pauvres" once again illustrates to what extent Baudelaire's art is a world of contrasts. Yet because of its uniqueness within the Petits Poèmes en prose it would be unfair to describe "Assommons les pauvres" as the model the poet intends us to follow. It does however indicate that his own "Démon d'action, ou Démon de Combat" is being awakened again by 1865 and that perhaps the period of stoic acceptance of fate is drawing to an end in his art.

This however is only speculation since Baudelaire's major literary production comes to a halt with Les Petits Poèmes en prose. With their dynamic portrait of the poet torn between the simultaneous postulations of fleeing from and toward the crowds we reach the final stage of the evolution of Baudelaire's unsystematic yet important social thought. It is an evolution that is both, inspiration for, and the result of, a parallel aesthetic evolution which changes according to the different manners with which the poet views his art and those around him.

We have seen how the youthful Baudelaire in 1845 calls for the artist to perform a new role in the revelation of contemporary heroism

to contemporary man. Never the Romantic social or political leader Baudelaire nevertheless stakes out an important social function for his art. By attempting to reveal contemporary greatness his early art criticism sets out to be a positive social force. Abused and disillusioned by the events of his personal life and the collapse of the ideals of 1848 we have seen how he sought consolation in art during the mid-1850's.

While never totally abandoning the desire for solitude and aloofness that he acquired during this period and which are developed to their maximum potential in the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, it has been increasingly clear since the Salon de 1859, Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains and Le Peintre de la vie moderne, that Baudelaire has been slowly restoring the social role of the poet to a place of balance in his aesthetic vision.³⁷ Les Tableaux parisiens and finally the prose poetry are the artistic manifestation of the new evolution.³⁸ In both works the poet longs for solitude and the security of the closed room; in both works he is inevitably and irresistibly drawn to the crowd and in particular to the poor. For it is in the face of the poor and through the social metaphor that Baudelaire identifies with all victims of oppression and exile; it is in the face of these 'éclopés de la vie' that he finds the true heroism of modern city life -- the ability to endure in the face of unbearable adversity.

The significance of the prose poetry is of a dual nature therefore. While lacking the poetic conciseness of the Fleurs du Mal they exploit more forcefully the social face of spleen through the freedom of their prose.³⁹ Like the Tableaux parisiens the prose

poetry brings the metaphor back to earth by showing us that the most immediate and pressing face of spleen is to be found in the here and now, in the tortured relationships of the exile within the collectivity. As Baudelaire moves the object of his art from an exclusive contemplation of the clouds to a study of the face of man in the 1860's so also does he move the source of man's agony from the more abstract Satanic metaphor to a more socially orientated metaphor. As such, Les Petits Poèmes en prose represents the final step in the concretization of the Baudelairean image such as already has been seen in some of his early poems destined for Les Limbes. No longer is man's sense of futility and exile exclusively described in the abstract terms of advancing age, lost love, artistic impotence, and a spiritual longing to regain the mystic unity of Creation before the Fall. In the prose poetry Baudelaire firmly grounds the themes of futility and exile in contemporary Parisian landscape, in the real, in the tangible, in the day-to-day reality of a changing and indifferent society which blindly rewards the powerful and grinds the victim further into the mire of the crowded streets of the modern city -- a form of concrete hell from which there is no escape. In terms of imagery Baudelaire is moving in the direction of making the broader vision of the Creation, the Fall, and the search for the lost Unity more accessible to the average reader.⁴⁰ From an artistic viewpoint the prose poetry marks a full halt in the evolution toward what future generations would call 'Symbolism'. The reemergence of the social metaphor and its triumph in the prose poetry is indicative of a swing away from a reliance on pure art and pure symbol.

The other main contribution of the prose poetry is that it

stands as a sobering comparison with Baudelaire's last artistic projects. The fact that he has awakened his own "Démon d'action" again in "Assommons les pauvres" is of interest in that it provides a minor conclusion within the broader one. The thesis that it is the artist's role to teach society object lessons is developed nowhere else in Baudelaire's creative writing. Even at the height of his revolutionary writings from 1848 to 1851 he never lost sight of the ridicule of those authors who pretended to be a dominant social force. For Baudelaire it was the aspiration for truth and beauty which must be the only purpose of art thus setting the tone for others to imitate. This has been the only dominant social role that Baudelaire ever assigned to his art (and only when he saw the need for a social role at all) until "Assommons les pauvres"; it is also the role that continues to dominate those poems destined for the third edition of Les Fleurs du Mal which was not published in his lifetime.⁴¹

The theme of the poet as chastizing and enlightening prophet in "Assommons les pauvres" is however the dominant social theme of what Baudelaire planned for Pauvre Belgique. This last projected work is of greater biographical than artistic interest since it is little more than a series of rough notes. Driven from Paris by his debts and the dream of a new life and career in Brussels, increasingly depressed by his poverty and failing health, tormented by an exile now real, Baudelaire lashes out at society in the notes to Pauvre Belgique like an irate castigator. The tone and directness of the political or social comment is so foreign to the tone of Baudelaire's creative and critical writing that it is manifestly unfair to attempt to interpret the author's creativity or his social attitudes by using

these fragments. Nor are they that much use in understanding Baudelaire the social man since they are such an exclusive reflection of the final painful months of his life. They merely confirm a degree of pettiness that the author himself would have probably denied as his, only a few months before. For this reason we have decided to place all references to politics and society in Pauvre Belgique in an appendix to our study.

Baudelaire's exile in Belgium and his early death thus leave the prose poetry alone as the last major work of self-interrogation. If the prose poetry is short on explanations for his frequently anti-social behaviour it does contribute nevertheless one final piece to the Baudelairian mosaic. In "Le Vieux Saltimbanque" the poet allows the reader to catch a fleeting glimpse behind the mask of the dandy -- a face we always suspected was there but which for so long remained carefully hidden.

Mais quel regard profond, inoubliable, il promenait sur la foule et les lumières, dont le flot mouvant s'arrêtait à quelques pas de sa répulsive misère! Je sentis ma gorge serrée par la main terrible de l'hystérie, et il me sembla que mes regards étaient offusqués par ces larmes rebelles qui ne veulent pas tomber (PPP, 39).

In a moment the poet is swept away by the crowd and nobody will ever know that the dandy had been moved, except the poet and the reader. The image of the tears and the true face behind the mask is a familiar one in Les Fleurs du Mal.⁴² The presence behind the dandy's mask has often been felt in La Fanfarlo, Les Limbes, Les Tableaux parisiens and his attraction to the work of numerous artists from Daumier to Hugo. Yet it is his final work, the prose poems, that

bring into focus the twin worlds of biography and art⁴³; they show us that Baudelaire as citizen and subject is not all that unlike Baudelaire the artist, the lover and the prophetic visionary. Torn between two extremes he becomes the man of ultimate non-solution. To this end Les Petits Poèmes en prose glorify both the dandy and the humanitarian as vital and noble postulations of the artistic temperament. As such the prose poetry lives up to the message in the dedication to Arsène Houssaye: both Prince and jester, both dandy and beast of burden, there is neither social tail nor social head -- all is both tail and head.

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CHAPTER IX

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1 Charles Baudelaire, Les Petits Poèmes en prose, ed. Robert Kopp (Paris: Corti, 1969), pp. iii-xiv. The Petits Poèmes en prose were first published in 1869 by Asselineau and Banville and formed volume IV of the Oeuvres Complètes along with three other major prose works.

For studies on the prose poems please see the following names in our bibliography: Clayton, Daniel-Ropp, Drieu La Rochelle, Durry, Ellrich, Elsen, Fairlie, Fryer, Guisan, Guiette, Hubert, Jones, Jouve, Lebois, Massari, Moreau, Pia, Ridge, Romains, Ruff, Schröder, Truchet, Van Roosbroek, Wagner.

2 Robert Kopp, ed. PPP, pp. 378-401. Mr. Kopp draws to our attention a signed note of Baudelaire's now kept at the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet. He feels this note was used in establishing the order of the poems. Thus we can presume that Baudelaire did have some say on the order to the published edition, even though he never considered the work as finished.

André Lebois, "Prestiges et actualités des Petits Poèmes en prose de Baudelaire," Archives des lettres Modernes, 18 (Dec. 1958), p. 426, states that the title was not chosen by Baudelaire and that it refers to the form of the work and not to the content. He feels Baudelaire would have chosen another title.

3 PPP, p. 7. "Mon cher ami, je vous envoie un petit ouvrage dont on ne pourrait pas dire, sans injustice, qu'il n'a ni queue ni tête, puisque tout, au contraire, y est à la fois tête et queue, alternativement et réciproquement."

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	6	L'Invitation au voyage	18
1861	7	Les Foules	12
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	9	Le Vieux Saltimbanque	14
1862	10	L'Etranger	1
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	45	Le Tir et le Cimetière	45
1869	46	Le Galant Tireur	43
	47	La Soupe et les nuages	44
	48	Perte d'auréole	46
	49	Mademoiselle Bistouri	47
	50	Assommons les pauvres	49

5

PPP; "L'Etranger", p. 9. "Qui aimes-tu le mieux, homme énigmatique, dis? (...) Ta Patrie? -- J'ignore sous quelle latitude elle est située. (...) J'aime les nuages... les nuages qui passent..."

6

Baudelaire's references to the principles of 89: JI, 67; QP2, 140; HE, xviii.

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-7

"La Femme sauvage et la petite maîtresse," PPP, p. 29. The satire lies in the expressed need to obtain a permit, "avec permission des magistrats, cela va sans dire" to exhibit one's wife in a sideshow.

8

Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, "Préface de L'Histoire de Jules César," 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1865), pp. i-vi.

Our discussion of Baudelaire's reaction to this preface is found in Chapter III. The references from the Correspondance Générale are: CG5, 59, 61, 67-68.

Other references to the Emperor are: CG1, 216-217; CG3, 111-112, 275° (see AR, 79); CG4, 31; CG5, 309; JI, 76, 79.

9

Georges Blin, Le Sadisme de Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1948), never ceases to amaze us with his ability to create portraits of Baudelaire based on material that we can not find or which M. Blin alone knows how to interpret. Note the following description of Baudelaire: "Ame dure, et que nulle chaleur ne jetait à la rencontre d'autrui, il semble ainsi avoir pu, grâce à Maistre, sublimer son macabre et ses instincts de sang jusqu'à ce point où le sadisme apparaît comme la chirurgie du rachat et le masochisme comme la forme à la fois la plus égoïste et la plus pénitente d'un impénitent esprit de charité" (p. 72).

Marius Boisson, Les Compagnons de la vie de bohème (Paris: Tallandier, 1929), p. 172 is another author bent on keeping alive the myth of the authoritarian Baudelaire. "Ce catholicisme devait le conduire -- comme il conduisait Lamartine à la démocratie, -- à l'autoritarisme intransigeant."

10

"Les Projets" was first published in Le Présent, 24 Aug. 1857. Robert Kopp, PPP, pp. 71-74, provides an excellent summary of the variants between the two texts.

11

Jacques Crépet, Les Petits Poèmes en prose (Paris: Conard, 1926), pp. 344-347. See also Robert Kopp, PPP, pp. 357-359.

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12

The theory is that of H. Lemaitre as quoted by Robert Kopp, PPP, p. 194. This is a good example of how critics are always trying to push interpretation beyond the simple social metaphor. Mr. Kopp himself offers the following interpretation: "L'âne est préféré au Plaisant à peu près comme le "pur animal" est préféré à l'enfant dans la conclusion de Veuves" (PPP, 194).

13

Robert Kopp shows how the first part of the poem evokes the 'paysage surnaturaliste' that had been used in "Incompatibilité," a poem inspired by an 1838 trip to the Pyrénées with his parents. Mr Kopp sums up by stating: "Pourtant, un élément est absent de ces vers: la coïncidence du promeneur avec soi-même et son harmonie avec le monde extérieur. Moments privilégiés, rares chez Baudelaire, qui insiste avant tout sur leur caractère éphémère, voire illusoire. Car à peine sont-ils nés, qu'ils tournent au désenchantement, dans le présent texte, comme dans Le Confitéor de l'Artiste, La Chambre double, ou Le Fou et la Vénus" (PPP, 239).

14

La Morale du joujou was first published in Le Monde Littéraire, 17 April, 1853. Other publications were in Le Portefeuille, 19 Aug. 1855 and Le Rabelais, 13 June 1857.

Robert Kopp draws our attention to the major change which occurs in the reworking of the portrait of the poor boy. The following is the description from La Morale du joujou: "(...) de l'autre côté de la grille, sur la route, entre les chardons et les orties, il y avait un autre enfant, sale, assez chétif, un de ces marmots sur lesquels la morve se fraye lentement un chemin dans la crasse et la poussière" (PPP, 260).

Mr. Kopp's summary of the change is well worth noting. He refers en route to Suzanne Bernard, Le Poème en prose de Baudelaire à nos jours (Paris: Corti, 1959): "La portée du poème est différente. Comme l'a justement remarqué Suzanne Bernard (Le Poème en prose, p. 116), Baudelaire met l'accent sur le symbole, en développant l'idée contenue dans les "barreaux de fer symboliques" dont l'inanité est illustrée par la conclusion. Ce trait final, l'auteur l'a soigneusement préparé: le joujou du pauvre n'est plus ni "simple" ni "triste", et son propriétaire n'est plus un marmot crasseux, mais un marmot-paria idéalisé. On s'étonnera peut-être que les deux enfants contrairement à ce qu'affirme Baudelaire ailleurs (AR, 97, 132) préfèrent le jouet naturel au jouet artificiel. Mais de façon générale, "l'enfant voit tout en nouveauté", il s'extasie "devant le nouveau, quel qu'il soit" (AR, 59, 60)."

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To this excellent summary we would add but one small comment. We do not need to be surprised at the above if we integrate Le Joujou du Pauvre into the general context of what Baudelaire is doing with the image of the poor in the prose poetry. Here one sees the growing shift away from the artificial dandy which had been his idol in the 50's but who is coming under increasing attack (see "Un Plaisant") in the 60's.

15

Baudelaire's letters are filled with frustration with the trivial details of his life that prevent him from working. In particular he blames the type of quarters in which he must live on a lack of money. See: CG1, 129-131, 147, 192, 193, 205, 226, 232, 313-314, 329, 339; CG2, 5, 108, 130, 189, 269, 398; CG3, 76; CG4, 68, 98, 133, 186, 260; CG5, 111, 161, 237-238.

These references are not complete but they suffice to show that Baudelaire considered his financial situation as the single greatest obstacle to his artistic mission. The transformation of these worries in poetry without direct references is part of the greatness of Baudelaire's poetry.

16

"Le Crépuscule du soir". (PPP, p.64): "L'autre, un ambitieux blessé, devenait, à mesure que le jour baissait, plus aigre, plus sombre, plus taquin. Indulgent et sociable encore pendant la journée, il était impitoyable le soir; et ce n'était pas seulement sur autrui mais aussi sur lui-même, que s'exerçait rageusement sa manie crépusculaire."

17

"Les Foulés", PPP, p.31: "Le goût du travestissement et du masque,".

See Léopold Levaux, Les Masques de Baudelaire (Bruxelles: Les Cahiers du Journal des Poètes, 1938), p. 29. Mr. Levaux states: "Le seul masque de Baudelaire, c'est l'Art transfigurateur, qui est hélas aussi défigurateur et prévaricateur."

18.

"Les Tentations ou Eros (...)", PPP, 59: "Et je lui répondis: "Grand merci! je n'ai que faire de cette pacotille d'êtres qui, sans doute, ne valent pas mieux que mon pauvre moi. Bien que j'aie quelque honte à me souvenir je ne veux rien oublier;".

19

"Déjà," PPP, p.110: "En disant adieu à cette incomparable beauté,

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je me sentais abattu jusqu'à la mort; et c'est pourquoi, quand chacun des mes compagnons dit: "Enfin!" je ne pus crier que: "Déjà!"

Cependant c'était la terre, la terre avec ses bruits, ses passions, ses commodités, ses fêtes; c'était une terre riche et magnifique, pleine de promesse qui, nous envoyait un mystérieux parfum de rose et de musc, et d'où les musiques de la vie nous arrivaient en un amoureux murmure."

20

"Le Chien et le Flacon," PPP, p.21: "Ah! misérable chien, si je vous avais offert un paquet d'excréments, vous l'auriez flairé avec délices et peut-être dévoré. Ainsi, vous-même, indigne compagnon de ma triste vie, vous ressemblez au public, à qui il ne faut jamais présenter des parfums délicats qui l'exaspèrent, mais des ordures soigneusement choisies."

Robert Kopp (PPP, p.207) has drawn our attention to this quotation from Laforgue, Oeuvres Complètes, Mélanges posthumes (Paris: MF, 1903), p.115: "Le premier -- écrit Laforgue de Baudelaire -- il a rompu avec le public. -- Les prêtres s'adressaient au public (répertoire humain); lui, le premier s'est dit: La poésie sera chose d'initiés. Je suis damné pour le public. Le public n'entre pas ici."

Certainly the above remark represents a tendency in Baudelaire but the contrary tendency is in equal evidence in the prose poetry.

21

"Le Mauvais Vitrier," PPP, p.24: "--Comment? vous n'avez pas de verres de couleur? des verres roses, rouges, bleus, des vitres magiques, des vitres de paradis? Impudent que vous êtes! vous osez vous promener dans des quartiers pauvres, et vous n'avez pas même de vitres qui fassent voir la vie en beau!"

22

Robert Kopp, PPP, pp.209-213.

The principal autobiographical references are: J1, p.66 and CG5, pp.9-10. The autobiographical references to timidity are: J1, p.15; CG2, p.77; CG5, p.254.

See Jean-Paul Sartre, Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1947), p.185. Sartre sums up this gratuitous act by the following: "La mystification, les actes gratuits, deux des rites essentiels du dandysme, deviennent brusquement le résultat d'impulsions maudites et extérieures. Baudelaire n'est plus qu'un pantin dont on tire les ficelles. C'est le repos de pierre et des êtres inanimés: peu importe au fond qu'il attribue ses

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actes au Diable ou à l'Hystérie; l'essentiel c'est qu'il n'en soit pas la cause, mais la victime. Après cela, notons qu'il a, comme de coutume, laissé une porte ouverte: il ne croit pas au Diable."

Sartre like so many others builds his theory around the single destructive act. What of the other impulsive acts? What of the man who inexplicably shows affection to the old man? Is Baudelaire a puppet-like victim of this too?

23

Many of the arguments concerning a Satanic explanation of these events are based on a letter Baudelaire wrote to Flaubert, 26 June 1860 (CG3, 125): "... j'ai été obsédé par l'impossibilité de me rendre compte de certaines actions ou pensées soudaines de l'homme, sans l'hypothèse de l'intervention d'une force méchante, extérieure à lui."

See George Ridge, "Images of Original Sin in Baudelaire's Prose Poems," Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly, 7, 1 (1960). Mr. Ridge typifies the danger of trying to reduce the prose poetry to a single concept. Speaking of "Le Mauvais Vitrier" the critic says: "The narrator in "Le Mauvais vitrier", for example, is a little Hamlet who inexplicably destroys a glazier's ware. He acts gratuitously, for no reason, as an imp of the perverse, for original sin uses him as its instrument" (p.19).

Once again one asks how would Mr. Ridge explain the sudden burst toward the crowd. As if oversimplifying one poem were not bad enough, Mr. Ridge proceeds to make the entire collection fit his theory: "Baudelaire conceives sin imaginatively as a poet, not analytically as a theologian. As sadist, satanist, artist, esthete; the hero of the prose poems is always the imp of the perverse. His acts are gratuitous, unmotivated; hence they are pure evil. The recurrent image of the imp of the perverse, personifies original sin" (p.19).

There is of course an element of truth in what Mr. Ridge says. His main error is that he tries to make his imp of the perverse theory a universal cover-all.

24

"La Solitude," PPP, p.69; "Ce grand malheur de ne pouvoir être seul!..." dit quelque part La Bruyère, comme pour faire honte à tous ceux qui courent s'oublier dans la foule, craignant sans doute de ne pouvoir se supporter eux-mêmes.

"Presque tous nos malheurs nous viennent de n'avoir pas su rester dans notre chambre," dit un autre sage, Pascal, je crois, rappelant

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ainsi dans la cellule du recueillement tous ces affolés qui cherchent le bonheur dans le mouvement et dans une prostitution que je pourrais appeler fraternitaire, si je voulais parler la belle langue de mon siècle."

25

"Paysage," FM, p.162: "Car je serai plongé dans cette volupté/ D'évoquer le Printemps avec ma volonté,/ de tirer un soleil de mon cœur, et de faire/ De mes pensers brûlants une tiède atmosphère."

"Les Fenêtres," PPP, p.111: "Avec son visage, avec son vêtement, avec son geste, avec presque rien, j'ai refait l'histoire de cette femme; ou plutôt sa légende,"

26

Robert Kopp, PPP, p.xlii. Mr. Kopp is quite right when he states that Le Peintre de la vie moderne finds its prolongation in "Les Foules". However this prolongation is found in parts I and III of the prose poem. Section II still retains elements more commonly associated with his articles on Delacroix, Gautier, or Poe.

27

JI, p.62: "Il y a dans tout homme à toute heure, deux postulations simultanées, l'une vers Dieu, l'autre vers Satan. L'invocation à Dieu, l'autre vers Satan. L'invocation à Dieu, ou spiritualité est un désir de monter en grade; celle de Satan, ou animalité est une joie de descendre."

Commenting on Baudelaire's curiosity to reach out and discover things and people Alison Fairlie, "Observations sur les Petits Poèmes en prose," RSH, 127 (1967), p.458, states: "Comme toute ambition chez Baudelaire pour qui toutes les impulsions humaines ont des possibilités doubles, elle est également analysée comme une dangereuse tentation".

28

The parallel sections are found in AR, p.310 and AR, p.383. Comments on the parallel are given by Jacques Crépet, Petits Poèmes en prose (Paris: Conard), p.35 and Robert Kopp; PPP, pp. 230-231.

29

"Les Tentations," PPP, p.60: "C'était un homme vaste, à gros visage sans yeux, dont la lourde bedaine surplombait les épaisses, et dont toute la peau était dorée et illustrée, comme d'un tatouage, d'une foule de petites figures mouvantes représentant les formes nombreuses de la misère universelle."

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30

The poverty of the young intern closely parallels that of Balzac's Bianchon in La Messe de l'athée. Whereas poverty almost destroyed the atheist Desplein when he was an intern, it was the force that led Bianchon to success by fortifying his character-- much like the young intern in Baudelaire's poem. We feel that this might be a possible source for Baudelaire.

Nevertheless, we have not forgotten Robert Kopp's prophetic warning: "Le terme de 'source', qui a jeté tant de discrédit sur l'histoire littéraire, ne doit être employé qu'avec la plus grande prudence" (PPP, xi).

31

We are grateful to Donald H. Gauthier, "Le Poète maudit," Regards sur Baudelaire, Actes du Colloque de London (Paris: Minard, 1974), pp. 45-46.

Ending with a quote from "L'Héautontimorouménos," FM, p.154, Mr. Gauthier states: "Avant lui, le poète a attribué son malheur à la tension qui existait entre lui et son milieu social; avec Baudelaire, le malheur naît surtout d'un conflit psychologique, mais d'un conflit spirituel qui provient de la recherche de l'impossible. Avant lui, le poète, tout en subissant la malédiction, se révoltait et retournait la malédiction contre la société. Baudelaire, lui aussi, subit la malédiction et la retourne contre la société, mais il l'assume. Pour lui, le poète est en conflit, non seulement avec la société, mais aussi avec lui-même.

Je suis la plaie et le couteau!
Je suis le soufflet et la joue!
Je suis les membres et la roue!
Et la victime et le bourreau!"

32

Pierre-Jean Jouve, "Le Spleen de Paris," MF, 1093 (1954), p.39.

33

"Les Sept Vieillards," FM, p.172: "Et dont l'aspect aurait fait pleuvoir les aumônes, / Sans la méchanceté qui luisait dans les yeux!"

See Jean Prévost, "Ce que Baudelaire doit à Goya," Formes et Couleurs, 5 (1943), n.ch. M. Prévost shows the parallel between Goya and Baudelaire in this poem. In addition he points out how Baudelaire creates a symbol that touches the realm of universal human reality of what had been merely a political symbol for Goya.

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34

See André Bessière, "Dissertation française (à l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de Baudelaire)," L'Information Littéraire, 5 (1967), p. 228. M. Bessière feels that in all his references to poverty Baudelaire lived up to the projected motto he planned for Paris in the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal: "Tu m'as donné ta boue et j'en ai fait de l'or."

We would remind the reader however that in poems like "Paysage" and prose poems like "Les Fenêtres" the poet attempts this transformation of reality. The context of both works shows however that he saw himself to be unsuccessful.

35

"Le Vieux Saltimbanque" was published in 1861. "Assommons les pauvres" was ready for publication in 1865 but was rejected by the Revue Nationale. It did not appear therefore until after Baudelaire's death.

36

Using this poem as one of his examples André Lebois, "Prestiges et actualités des petits poèmes en prose," Archives des lettres modernes, 18 (1958), p. 4, states that elements of charity are still recognizable under the black dominos of cruelty, blasphemy and sarcasm.

Raymond Hubert, Le Mysticisme de Baudelaire dans 'Les Fleurs du Mal' et dans les 'Journaux Intimes' (Nice: l'auteur, s.d.) finds evidence of sodomy in Baudelaire's work -- even in the word "bandits" in the epilogue of the prose poetry.

Important Baudelaire scholars such as George Blin, Le Sadisme de Baudelaire, op.cit., also abuse this theory of cruelty in Baudelaire. Blin sums up his opinion of the prose poetry by the following: "C'est un travail de malade et qui se place sur les frontières de la stérilité. Les Petits Poèmes en prose portent l'empreinte du malheur."

The following remarks are all taken from George Blin's writings:

"Ce réalisme ne va pas sans parti pris de cruauté. Les Petits Poèmes en prose contiennent des pages très dures." Georges Blin, Le Sadisme de Baudelaire, p.171.

"Les Poèmes en Prose et les Lettres à sa Mère trahissent une instinctive horreur de la face humaine." Georges Blin, "Baudelaire et la différence," MF, 991 (1939), p. 54.

"Lui qui connaît si bien le peuple et la rue n'a pas un moment de vraie charité sociale. 'Assommons les pauvres!'" Ibid; p.66.

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"Baudelaire ne se prostituera donc point dans la lutte pour l'homme. Solitaire, hermétique et sans nul recours." Ibid.

It is our own impression that only a few selected and isolated quotations can back up M. Blin's remarks on Baudelaire's cruelty. The Baudelaire of the call for a new heroism as seen in the prose poetry is unrecognizable in much of M. Blin's writings.

37

See Charles Mauron, Le Dernier Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1966), pp. 34-35. M. Mauron reaches a conclusion which is quite opposite to ours. Speaking of Baudelaire after 1857 he says: "Si la liberté du moi créateur demeure presque entière, celle du moi social ne compte plus. Une variable de l'équitation a été éliminée; le problème critique en devient plus facile."

M. Mauron admits however to a basic prejudice in his approach: "J'ai bien reconnu, alors, que, sans abandonner mes recherches critiques, je prenais le parti du moi créateur contre un moi social vraiment trop névrotique."

It is our conclusion that not only does the 'moi social' not disappear after 1857 but that, on the contrary, it is strengthened.

38

We see the prose poetry as the concluding step, not an absolute beginning as stated by Georges Blin, Le Sadisme, p. 143. If M. Blin means prose poetry as an art then our last note of chapter VIII shows that he later came to champion the Peintre de la vie moderne as the greatest prose poem. If he means an absolute beginning in terms of certain social reactions or ideas then we feel that much of the preparatory work has been ignored.

39

CGS, p. 286. Letter to Jules Troubat, 19 Feb. 1866. "Je suis assez content de mon Spleen. En somme, c'est encore Les Fleurs du Mal mais avec beaucoup plus de liberté, et de détail, et de raillerie."

The question of freedom is well treated by Donald S. Fryer, Poems in Prose by Clark Ashton-Smith (Sauk City, Arkham House, 1964), p. xiii, when he states: "Baudelaire discarded Bertrand's division of the poem in prose into more or less equal staves, employing instead a more fluid and subtle system of paragraphing dictated by the actual needs of the subject."

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Alison Fairlie, "Observations sur les Petits Poèmes en Prose, RSH, 127 (1967), p. 451, sums up the new freedom as the ability to integrate the smell of "French fries" into the universal vision of the work.

40

Many such as André Lebois, "Prestiges et actualités des Petits Poèmes en prose," op.cit., p. 18, still believe in a dual Baudelaire. M. Lebois sees Baudelaire as a Manichean and that the PPP represents the classic struggle between God and Satan.

41

Two major publications precede the 3rd edition: (1) Les Epaves (Bruxelles: February 1866); (2) Les Nouvelles FLEURS DU MAL published in Le Parnasse Contemporain, 31 March 1866.

The following breakdown of the 1868 edition shows that while the new poems contribute more examples to old themes they merely strengthen the Fleurs du Mal and do not alter it.

The abbreviations E and NFM show that the poem was also part of Les Epaves or Les Nouvelles FLEURS DU MAL.

LES FLEURS DU MAL
1868

Au Lecteur

SPLEEN ET IDEAL

	16.	A Théodore de Banville
<u>E</u>	61.	Vers pour le portrait d'Honoré Daumier
	72.	Sépulture d'un poète maudit
	85.	Le Calumnet de paix, imité de Longfellow
	86.	La Prière d'un Païen
	87.	Le Couvercle
<u>E</u>	88.	L'Imprévu
<u>NFM</u>	89.	L'Examen de Minuit
<u>NFM</u>	90.	Madrigal triste
<u>NFM</u>	91.	L'Avertisseur
<u>E, NFM</u>	92.	A une Malabraise
<u>E, NFM</u>	93.	La Voix
<u>E, NFM</u>	94.	Hymne
<u>NFM</u>	95.	Le Rebelle
<u>E, NFM</u>	96.	Les Yeux de Berthe
<u>E, NFM</u>	97.	Le Jet d'eau
<u>E, NFM</u>	98.	La Raçon
<u>NFM</u>	99.	Bien loin d'ici

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- E 100. Le Couché du soleil romantique
E 101. Sur le Tasse en prison d'Eugène Delacroix
NFM 102. Le Gouffre
NFM 103. Les Plaintes d'un Icare
NFM 104. Recueillement

TABLEAUX PARISIENS

- E 110. Lola de Valence
 111. La Lune offensée

LE VIN

FLEURS DU MAL

- NFM 133. Epigraphe pour un livre condamné

REVOLTE

LA MORT

42

"Le Masque," FM, p.58. "Elle pleure, insensé, parce qu'elle a vécu!/. Et parce qu'elle vit!/. Mais ce qu'elle déplore/ Surtout, ce qui la fait frémir jusqu'aux genoux, / C'est que demain, hélas! il faudra vivre encore!/. Demain, après-demain et toujours!--comme nous!"

43

Daniel-Ropps, "Baudelaire poète en prose," La Grande Revue, 136 (1931), p.535, feels that both Baudelaire as man and poet reveal themselves in the PPP which makes the PPP a human document which deserves to be placed fraternally beside the FM.

We feel however that M. Ropps goes a bit too far when he attempts to explain the artistic side of the PPP, and especially changes to certain poems, by the following: "... l'histoire des Poèmes n'est que le récit des étapes douloureuses d'un calvaire à la fois risible et pathétiques" (p.536).

Charles Mauron, Le Dernier Baudelaire, op.cit., pp.45-46, tries to explain the chronology of the PPP as being one that accompanies Baudelaire's growing hatred of society.

On the biographical presence we have been pleased by Melvin Zimmerman's introduction to his edition of Les Petits Poèmes en prose, Diss. University of Wisconsin, p.xi, where he states: "If he was embittered, he was not disheartened." His hatred of the meanness and the

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stupidity he encountered was sublimated into the biting, yet intellectually pleasing irony of such prose poems as Le Mauvais vitrier, A Une Heure du matin, Le Chien et le flacon and Assommons les pauvres."

Our one criticism of Mr. Zimmerman's approach is its almost exclusive attempt to explain the PPP by references to Baudelaire's letters and other biographical detail. In this fashion the art form seems to play a secondary role.

CONCLUSION

In our introduction to this study we sensed the need for a close examination of the social Baudelaire in order to understand the role that his social attitudes played in the development of his personality and his art. At the same time we pointed out our own sense of frustration with a trend in Baudelaire criticism which makes the author conform to a consistent philosophy and which insists on measuring the length and breadth of his literary production with a common yardstick, be that yardstick Catholicism, Satanism, Existentialism, Sadism or the unique search for aesthetic perfection.

To use our conclusion therefore to go beyond what we have already shown and to reduce Baudelaire to the same excessive oversimplification which we have attributed to others would negate much of what we have tried to say. By fixing a goal as limited as the study of a great poet's social attitudes we have constantly attempted to avoid distorting completely the traditional view which the general public holds of the author. By setting ourselves the exclusive task of illustrating certain poorly treated aspects of the Baudelairian phenomenon we hope that this contribution to the global mosaic might in some way contribute to a greater understanding of the man and the artist.

Beyond the universal outreach of his work we have seen to what extent Charles Baudelaire is above all a nineteenth-century poet about whom one will continue to invent myths until such time as

many of his varying attitudes are seen to be responses to the political and social framework of his life and not always to inner intellectual or Satanic stimuli.

Social attitudes, even more than philosophical attitudes, vary with the years and the events. So it was with Baudelaire. From his early defence of Louis-Philippe to his later recognition that the July Monarchy had irrevocably corrupted its youth is but one of the steps in his evolving attitudes. Nor is there any single social thinker who functions as a universal beacon in the way that Delacroix dominated his artistic life. Fourier, Proudhon, Béranger, Dupont, Hugo and Lamennais are praised or criticized depending on the moment and the event.

Yet while there is no lineal unity in either Baudelaire's social thought or attitudes we find ourselves repeatedly returning to two very general preoccupations. In 1846 Baudelaire states that to appreciate the harmony of a painting one must stand far enough back so that one can no longer distinguish the subject or the lines (CE, 97). By applying this principle to Baudelaire's social thought, we have seen that its harmony stems from two dominant colours: a sense of victimization, and a spiritual awareness of the price of Original Sin. These are not new discoveries however for they are the same underpinnings of his aesthetic and spiritual thought.

With reference to victimization it is clear that Baudelaire is the classic example of a social victim -- not in any vague or Romantic way but in a very real and precise manner. Lacking Balzac's tenacity or Flaubert's wealth, Charles Baudelaire never really was in control of his own life. With the exception of a few brief months when

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he first attained his majority he was always a man who was taking orders rather than giving them. Combined with a very personal view of himself as the victim of his own poverty it is not surprising that one of the dominant themes of his literature is that of the social exile or social alienation. And it is from this alienation that one facet of the Baudelairean legend develops: the traditional portrait of the exiled Ovid who situates himself with respect to the frustration which was summed up within the line *Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor illus* (AR, 415).

Yet Baudelaire's social attitudes have shown to what extent he was a dual person even on a social level. Throughout his life he lived at the axis of his own social spleen and ideal conflict, i.e., his desire to remain aloof from society combined with a simultaneous desire to be recognized and admired by society. How else can we explain his anti-social behaviour in the 1840's combined with a call for social reconciliation. We feel that the theory that he was being hypocritical does not go far enough especially when we see that two decades later he was able to share his admiration for both Delacroix who represents the aloof and aristocratic dandy, and Guys whose subject matter was the crowd. Thus on a personal and artistic level the dual Baudelaire searches in vain for a way of unifying his own contradictory aspirations.

The second great point to which our study of the poet's social attitudes has repeatedly returned has been the concept of Original Sin -- rarely expressed in precisely this term but always present (except for a brief moment in Les Petits Poèmes en Prose) in his belief in the corrupted nature of man and of the fallibility of

all men and all human systems. From his first participation in the Salut Public it is clear that this belief in man's fallibility is the true source of Baudelaire's depoliticization long before he attributed the fact to the coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

Viewing his own life and existence in general through this point of view he develops his artistic vision. At times this vision concentrates almost exclusively on the eternal aspects of the human tragedy. At others it concentrates almost exclusively on the social aspect of the same tragedy, as represented by the working poor in the great modern city. And in most instances elements of both are present.

By concentrating heavily on these latter temporal images we have never once tried to minimize the importance of the former. Our purpose has been to restore to the reader a view of the temporal Baudelaire. By attempting to place a little human flesh on these ethereal bones we have seen that one of the many great aspects of Baudelaire is that he too has a great contribution to make to the theme of social morality in art. For this reason we can say of Charles Baudelaire in the same way that he himself described Victor Hugo:

Il ne s'agit pas ici de cette morale prêchante qui, par son air de pédanterie, par son ton didactique, peut gâter les plus beaux morceaux de poésie, mais d'une morale inspirée qui se glisse, invisible, dans la matière poétique, comme les fluides impondérables dans toute la machine du monde. La morale n'entre pas dans cet art à titre de but. Elle s'y mêle et s'y confond comme dans la vie elle-même. Le poète est moraliste sans le vouloir, par abondance et plénitude de nature (AR, 382).

APPENDIX

PAUVRE BELGIQUE

On June 4, 1864 Baudelaire mentions his intention of writing a book on Belgium (CG4, 255). Immediately after he informs his mother that he wishes to exploit his trip to Belgium for financial gain (CG4, 259). Pauvre Belgique is one of those projects which were destined to remove some of his financial difficulties but which turned into a series of notes, few of which bear any resemblance to the other works and many of which are in very bad taste. The following political and social references have been taken from the work so that the reader can compare certain common threads that reappear. We have grouped the quotations under the following headings: politics, the individual and society, France and the Emperor, democracy and conservatism.

The following two quotations show to what extent all Baudelaire's opinions were coloured by his growing sense of isolation:

Atmosphère hostile.

Le regard et le visage de l'ennemi, partout, partout.
(...)

En Belgique on sent partout l'ennemi. Tyrannie de la face humaine, plus dure qu'ailleurs (OP3, 81).

POLITICS

"Le positivisme en Belgique, M. Hannon, et M. Altmevèr (sic); celui que Proudhon appelait: cette vieille chouette! Son portrait; son style.

Tact remarquable des écrivains français correspondants de l'Indépendance à propos de la mort de Proudhon (OP3, 98).

Le Grand duc héritier de Russie est mort à Nice. On dit que l'Empereur aimait beaucoup son fils. Il est permis de douter de l'amour paternel de certains Sires. (Espiegle, Semaine politique.)

Je suppose que le trait d'esprit pivota sur le mot: Sire. Bel échantillon d'esprit belge démocratique (OP3, 99).

Le plaisir de voir un homme politique très ridicule. Il eût été français, que cela m'eût fait le même plaisir.

M. De Fré, un radical. L'art utile. Rubens aurait dû soutenir de son pinceau le protestantisme.

En somme, le socialisme français, devenu hideux. C'est l'éléphant, imitant le fandango ou la danse des oeufs.

Fouriérisme.

Malas! il était ivre, un Représentant!

Persécuteur de M. Proudhon, dans un pays de liberté (OP3, 124)..

Le parti clérical et le parti révolutionnaire.

Tous les deux ont des torts réciproques.

Mais quelle violence!

Cé que sont les Révolutionnaires. Exemple, De Fré.

Ils croient à toutes les sottises lancées par les libéraux français (OP3; 125).

Eloquence Belge:

Grotesque discussion sur les précautions électorales.

Le Meeting républicain. Contrefaçon du Jacobinisme.

La Belgique, toujours en retard, à l'horloge des siècles.

(OP3, 130).

Histoire baroque de la Révolution brabançonne, faite contre un Roi philosophe, et se trouvant en face de la Révolution française, révolution philosophique.

Un Roi constitutionnel est un automate en hôtel garni. -- La Belgique est la victime du cens électoral. Pourquoi personne ne veut ici du suffrage universel. La constitution n'est qu'un chiffon: Les constitutions sont du papier. Les moeurs sont tout. -- La liberté belge est un mot. Elle est sur le papier; mais elle n'existe pas, parce que personne n'en a besoin.

Situation comique de la Chambre à un certain moment. Les deux partis égaux, moins une voix. -- Magnifique spectacle des élections.

comme disent les journaux français.

Peinture d'une assemblée électorale. -- Parleries politiques. Eloquence politique. Emphase. Disproportion entre la parole et l'objet (OP3, 153).

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

"La pauvreté, grand déshonneur" (OP3, 68).

"En s'associant, les individus se dispensent de penser individuellement.

La société des Joyeux.

Un Belge ne se croirait pas heureux s'il ne voyait pas d'autres gens heureux par les mêmes procédés. Donc il ne peut pas être heureux par lui-même" (OP3, 69).

"Avarice générale. Grandes fortunes. Pas de charité. On dirait qu'il y a conspiration pour maintenir le peuple dans la misère et l'abrutissement" (OP3, 78).

La misère, qui dans tous les pays, attendrit si facilement le cœur du philosophe, ne peut ici, que lui inspirer le plus irrésistible dégoût, tant la face du pauvre est indélébilement originellement marquée de vice et de bassesse incurable (OP3, 83)!

La Belgique est ce que serait peut-être devenue la France, si elle était restée sous la main de la Bourgeoisie. La Belgique est, sans vie, mais non sans corruption. -- Coupé en tronçons, partagé, envahi, vaincu, rossé, pillé, le Belge végète encore, pure merveille de mollesque. -- Noli me tangere, une belle devise pour elle. -- Qui donc voudrait toucher au bâton merdeux? -- La Belgique est un monstre. Qui voudrait l'adopter, (OP3, 207)?

FRANCE AND THE EMPEROR

"Idées bizarres des Belges sur la tyrannie impériale.

(Les bottes de l'Empereur pleines de mercure.)

Ils se croient libres parce qu'ils ont une constitution libérale.

Ils ne savent pas l'être.

La Constitution (papier) et les mœurs (la vie)" (OP3, 60).

"Le Grélot dit, en parlant de Napoléon III: "On le dit très malade. Peu nous importe. Il mourra de ce qu'il doit mourir (sic)" -- pour de ce qui doit le tuer.

D'ailleurs quand on dit ici que l'Empereur se porte bien, on passe pour mouchard. Il est d'usage, chez les gens de bonne compagnie, de dire qu'il est très malade" (OP3, 91).

Le Roi Léopold et ses enfants reçoivent une indemnité de l'Empereur Napoléon III pour leur part disparue dans la fortune saisie des princes d'Orléans. (M'informer de la vérité du fait.)

Ces d'Orléans sont-ils assez infâmes et adorateurs de Moloch (OP3, 172)?

DEMOCRACY

Comme on chantait chez nous, il y a vingt ans, la liberté, la gloire et le bonheur des Etats Unis d'Amérique! Sottise analogue à propos de la Belgique (OP3, 19).

Peu de trottoirs, ou trottoirs interrompus (conséquence de la liberté individuelle, poussée à l'extrême) (OP3, 28).

La question du Tabac, Inconvénients de la liberté. (OP3, 36).

Le "libre-penseur" belge dont la principale caractéristique est de croire que vous ne croyez pas ce que vous dites, puisqu'il ne le comprend pas. Contrefaçon de l'impiété française. L'obscénité belge, contrefaçon de la gaudriole française (OP3, 57):

(Rien de plus ridicule que de chercher la vérité dans le nombre.)

Le suffrage universel et les tables tournantes. C'est l'homme cherchant la vérité dans l'homme (!!!)

Le vote n'est donc que le moyen de créer une police, C'est une mécanique, en désespoir de cause, un désideratum (OP3, 130).

A propos de la vie à bon marché; la seule chose à bon marché est un fauteuil à la Chambre. Une élection ici n'est pas trop chère. Il y a des députés qui n'ont pas payé la leur plus de 30.000 fr. C'est bon marché comparativement à l'Angleterre et aux Etats Unis. Cela prouve qu'une conscience belge n'est pas chère, et que le palais belge n'est pas délicat (OP3, 133-134).

Anvers veut être libre. Gand veut être libre. Tout le monde veut être libre. Et tout bourgmestre veut être Roi.

Autant de partis que de villes.

Autant de Kermesses que de Rues. Car il y a des Kermesses de Rues (OP3, 154).

CONSERVATISM

° 17. Impiété Belge. Un fameux chapitre, celui-là! ainsi que le suivant.

° Insultes (au) contre le pape. -- Propagande d'impiété. -- Récit de la mort de l'archevêque de Paris (1848) (OP3, 103).

La grande plaisanterie belge, la plus raffinée, à l'égard du pape est de l'appeler pio nono. Et dire le nom du pape en italien, c'est pour le troupeau des singes belges le moyen infallible de le rendre ridicule (OP3, 104).

° (Abolition de la peine de mort. Victor Hugo domine comme Courbet. 'J'apprends'. On me dit qu'à Paris 30.000 pétitionnent pour l'abolition de la peine de mort. 30.000 personnes qui la méritent. Vous tremblez, donc vous êtes déjà coupables. Du moins, vous êtes intéressés dans la question. L'amour excessif de la vie est une descente vers l'animalité.) Chez nous l'athéisme est poli. Ici, il est violent, sottiser, emphatique.

La sottise belge est une énorme contrefaçon de la sottise française, c'est la sottise française élevée au cube (OP3, 125).

La Belgique est le tréteau du cens électoral. Que serait devenue la France, en abaissant le cens (?) Abrutissement constitutionnel.

Le cens est à 30 fr.

Le suffrage universel la mettrait à la merci des prêtres. C'est pourquoi les libéraux n'en veulent pas.

Toujours la grande question de la Constitution (papier écrit) (lettre morte) et des moeurs (constitution vivante).

En France, tyrannie dans la loi, tempérée par la douceur et la liberté des moeurs (OP3, 156).

En France, la liberté est limitée par la peur des gouvernements.

--En Belgique, elle est supprimée par la bêtise nationale.

--Peut-on être libre, et à quoi peut servir 'un décret constitution...' de décréter la liberté dans un pays où personne ne la comprend, (et) où personne n'en veut, où personne n'en a besoin?

La liberté est un objet de luxe, comme la vertu. Quand le Belge est repu, que lui faut-il de plus? à Mexico, il y aura du gigot (OP3, 156).

Je suis contre l'annexion. Il y a déjà bien assez de sots en France, sans compter tous nos anciens annexés, Bordelais, Alsaciens, ou autres.

Mais je ne serais pas ennemi d'une invasion et d'une razzia, à la manière antique, à la manière d'Attila. Tout ce qui est beau pourrait être porté au Louvre. Tout cela nous appartient plus légitimement qu'à la Belgique, puisqu'elle n'y comprend plus rien.

--Et puis, les dames belges feraient connaissance avec les Turcos,

qui ne sont pas difficiles.

La Belgique est un baton merdeux; c'est là surtout ce qui crée son inviolabilité. Ne touchez pas à la Belgique (OP3, 159)!

Plus de politesse dans l'armée que dans le reste de la nation. A cela, rien de surprenant. Partout l'épée anoblit, ennoblit et civilise (OP3, 165).

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- CE Curiosités esthétiques 1 vol.
- CG Correspondance Générale, 6 vols.
- E Eureka 1 vol.
- GP Aventures de Gordon Pym 1 vol.
- HE Histoires extraordinaires 1 vol.
- HGS Histoires grotesques et sérieuses 1 vol.
- NHE Nouvelles Histoires extraordinaires 1 vol.
- OP Oeuvres posthumes 3 vols.
- PA Les Paradis Artificiels 1 vol.

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