

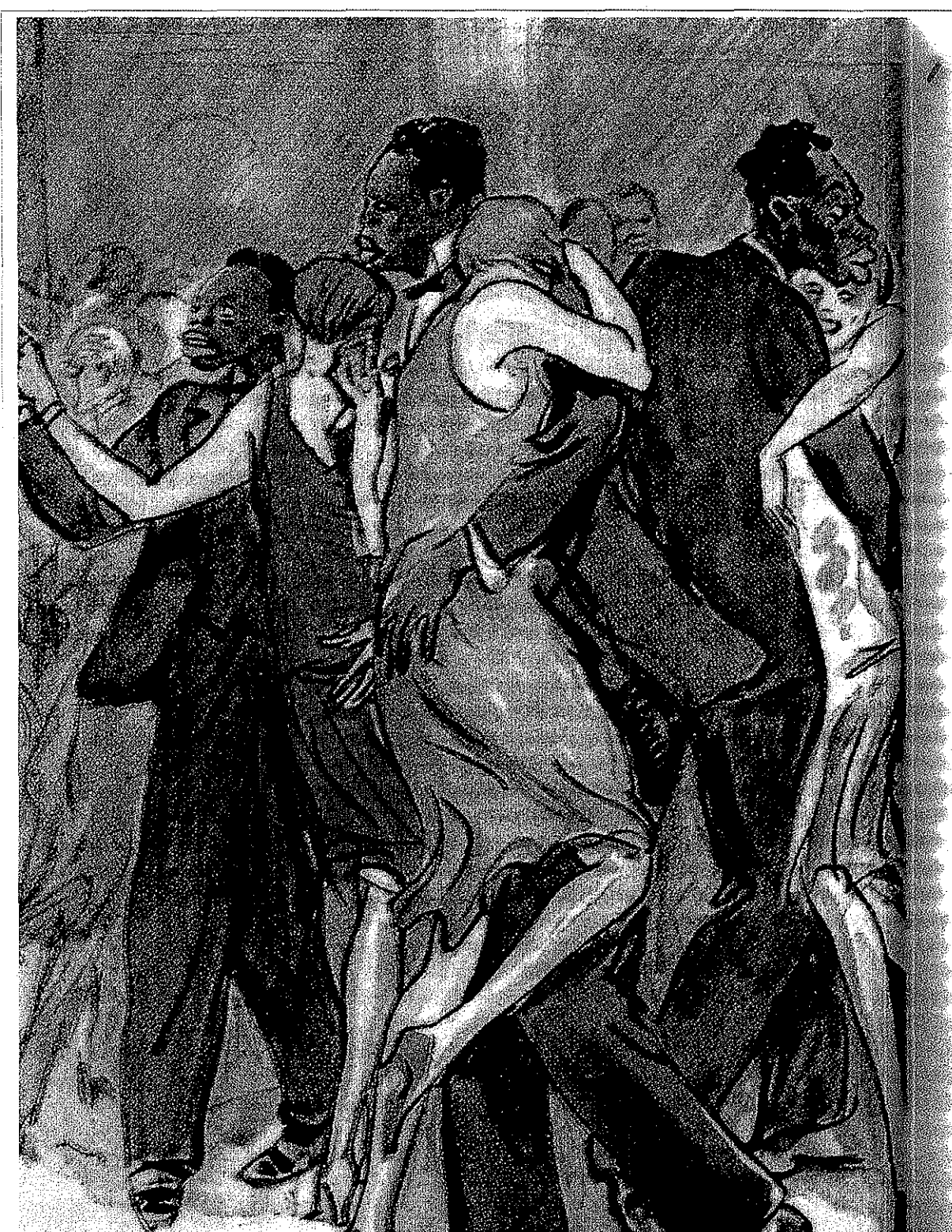
**Negrophilia**  
Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture  
in the 1920s

Petrine Archer-Straw

With 123 illustrations



**Thames & Hudson**



*Negrophilia* is about how the white avant-garde in Paris responded to black people during the 1920s, when interest in black culture became highly fashionable and a sign of being modern. The book traces the development of the negrophilia craze from an era of traditional stereotyping of blacks in the nineteenth century to one of more modern images influenced by African sculpture and contemporary African-American culture. Concentrating on the decade 1920–30, it looks at how art resulting from a clash of black and white cultures in the 'jazz age' both reflected the European avant-garde artist's anarchic interests and challenged prevailing colonialist views. Advertisements, painting, sculpture, photography, popular music, dance and theatre, literature, journalism, furniture design, fashion and *objets d'art* – all are scrutinized to see how black forms were appropriated, adapted and vulgarized by whites. The book also raises questions about the avant-garde's motives, and suggests reasons and meanings for its interest. The personalities whose lives, loves, images and ideas pioneered the passion for black culture are central to the discussion. Their 'African' style influenced a larger European audience anxious to be in vogue.

'Negrophilia', from the French *nérophilie*, means a love for black culture.<sup>1</sup> In the 1920s, the term was used positively by the Parisian avant-garde to affirm their defiant love of the negro. The word's origins, however, are not so flattering. To be called a 'negrophile' or 'nigger lover' in the nineteenth century was to be damned as a supporter of liberal attitudes towards slavery and its abolition. Even more negatively, negrophiles were sometimes accused of having a deviant sexual appetite for blacks, thereby placing them outside 'civilized' society's moral boundaries.

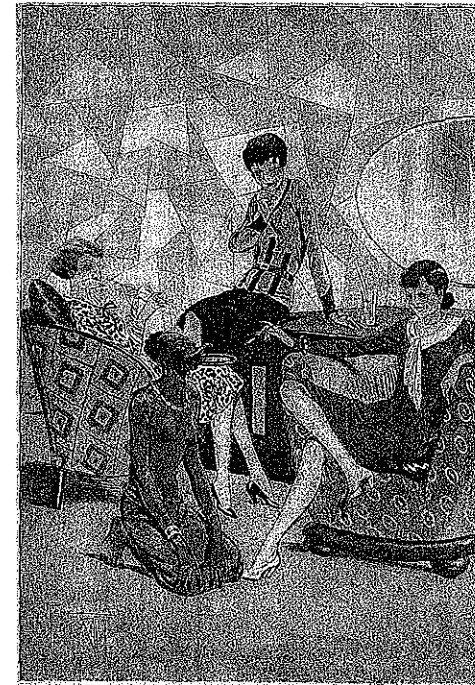
Today, many might want to forget such words, believing that they have no place in any society that is conscientiously and overtly attempting to rid itself of bigotry and xenophobia. But 'Negrophilia' is an apt title for a book that explores the historical ambiguities and racial complexities of 1920s Paris. As used by the Parisian avant-garde, the word was meant to be provocative and challenging to bourgeois values. Now,

however, it is being redeployed to examine aspects of Western thinking itself. It joins a list of other words popular in the nineteenth century, such as 'primitive', 'tribal', 'savage' and 'civilized', that today can tell us more about the societies that used them than the ones they were supposed to describe. Such introspection is an important tool for analysing the negrophile misfits of the colonial period.

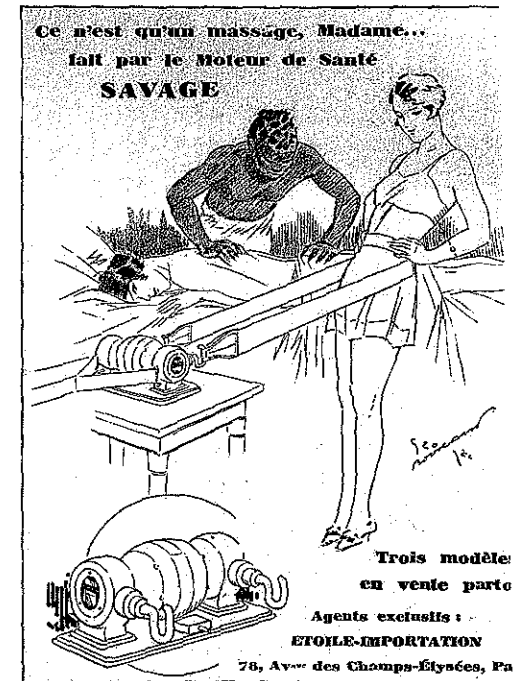
*Negrophilia* grew out of my studies of primitivism in the 1980s. I was aware that although art historians discussed black culture's influence on the Parisian avant-garde there was no text that looked at the avant-garde's motivations outside of artistic imperatives. Redressing this imbalance called for an examination of rarely considered tropes within European art history that reinforced negative stereotypes of blacks, especially in respect to primitivism. Further, when the relationship between black people and Parisian artists was addressed, it was often glamorized with jazzy language and flagrant descriptions that contrasted sharply with other areas of modernist discourse. It was as though the mere mention of black culture called for a lightening of the spirit and for more-frivolous prose. It seemed that even my own writing was affected by perceptions of the period. I was curious to know why black culture's influence on 1920s Paris had been framed in this way, and keen to test the validity of its up-beat image. I wanted *Negrophilia* to offer a critique of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century primitivism. This required a closer reading, and a questioning of European ideas of the primitive.

In 1984, art history's interest in these ideas revived as a result of the exhibition 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art', staged at The Museum of Modern Art in New York. In the catalogue accompanying the exhibition, curator William Rubin provided an art-historical appraisal of primitivism to show how twentieth-century artists came to appreciate art forms from other cultures such as Africa.<sup>2</sup> He explained that when artists called art 'primitive' they meant it as a term of praise. He employed their positive response to other cultures and their use of the term 'primitivism' to justify the title of the exhibition and the catalogue.

Rubin was correct in saying that for members of the Parisian avant-garde the 'primitive' was an antidote to a stifling and civilizing bourgeois modernity; but their positive use of the word could not avoid the negative connotations that it had acquired, particularly during the nineteenth century. Rubin refused to acknowledge these associations, and instead insisted on separating the art-historical meaning of 'primitive' from its more dubious connections with nineteenth-century race theories. He distinguished art history's 'Primitivism' by giving the word a capital 'P' and by placing it between quotes. His labelling of



RENÉ GIFFEY 'The personnel crisis - The true maid - Batoualette, very practical ashtray at drinks', from *Fantasio*, 1 November 1929



'It's only a massage, Madame ... given by the Savage slimming machine', a French advertisement, 1929

the MOMA exhibition showed that little had been done to challenge the nineteenth-century ideology that had shaped and defined primitivism.

Although the term 'primitive' is now more often used within art history to describe the cruder, non-classical painting of medieval Italians, its application from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards to works and people from other cultures was directly related to an intellectual interest in racial difference. 'Primitive' was the bottom line in a hierarchy of categories that placed European civilization at its pinnacle. The Parisian avant-garde exploited the word's more negative readings - its links with blackness, savagery and deviance - because it suited their need to outrage. It also expressed their romanticized interest in origins, the prehistoric, the archaic and meso-American cultures.

Whether the term 'primitive' has any descriptive validity at all with regard to other cultures is questionable. It was a label conferred by nineteenth-century Europeans in an act of self-definition. The 'Primitive' was created to be oppositional to or to complement the Western rational 'I'.

The Primitive represented the process through which Europeans suggested their own superiority by placing inferior status on others. This process was entirely one-sided: it was simply a way for Europeans to project their fear of difference onto other races.

Even though in its strictest sense European colonial rule has long been surrendered, its 'civilizing' mission remains influential. The language inherited from the colonial era is still prevalent enough and potent enough to affect how other cultures are described. *First world* versus *third world*, *developed* versus *underdeveloped*, *West* versus *the rest* are paired opposites just like *savage* versus *civilized*. These constructs stem from colonialism's binary way of thinking, which through language enforced European superiority. Terms such as 'primitive' and 'primitivism' are similar expressions of this power relationship and thus need to be re-examined and replaced. They form part of the outstanding debt not yet settled between the colonizer and the colonized.

If primitivism is viewed as a product of the European psyche, then what seems to be a relationship between two parties – the 'civilized' and the 'savage' – is in fact singular, involving only the self and its actions. If any duality exists it is in the act of one party 'primitivizing' the other. So this book changes perspective, looking only at the 'primitivized', rather than the 'primitive'.

This shift in focus redirects our attention inwards, and suggests a way of viewing history that is introspective and self-critical. It challenges terms often taken for granted that point a finger outwards and allow for self-avoidance. It brings a new awareness of how relationships with people from other cultures are perceived and articulated. By taking a close look at the language and visual expressions of the early years of the twentieth century, this book teases out the prejudices that still pander to European taste and sensibility. In doing so, it challenges the more usual 'Eurocentric' art-historical writing about other cultures: *Negrophilia's* perspective is essentially non-European.

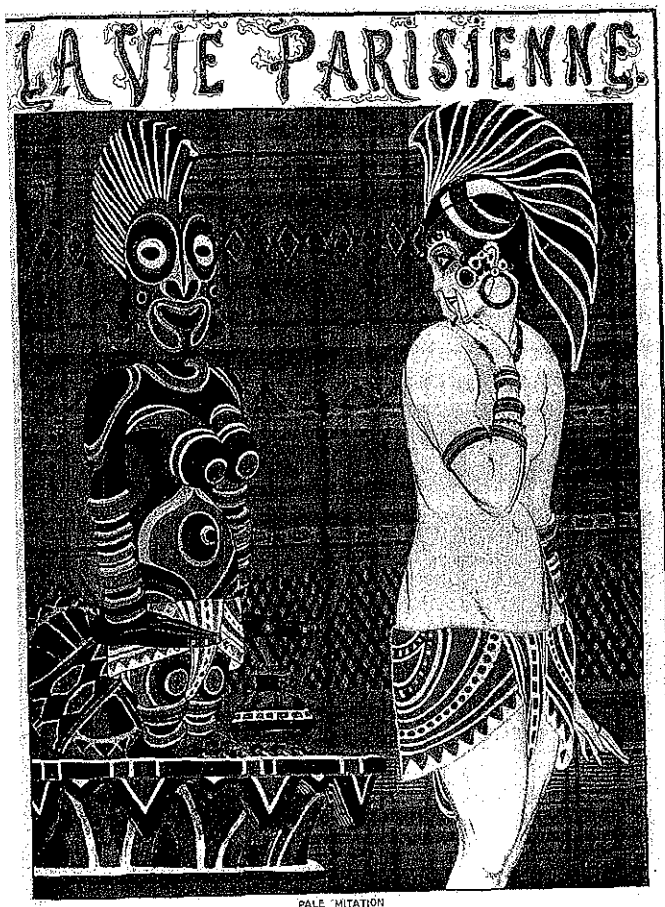
The need for a revolutionary use of language to level the playing field was one of the first concerns of the 'negritude' poets of the 1950s, who represented a 'neo-colonial' movement for change.<sup>3</sup> 'Negritude' itself was a neologism coined by the Martiniquan poet Aimé Césaire to challenge Western fallacies about black culture and literature. Similarly, literary theorist Edward Said's seminal work of the 1970s, *Orientalism*, stemmed from a literary and critical tradition that challenged European discourse.<sup>4</sup> In much the same way that neologisms like 'negritude' and 'orientalism' are used, the term 'negrophilia' finds a new twist here. Its revamping is designed to oppose diametrically the historical and nega-



ALEXANDRE IACOVLEFF *The Expedition Team*, one of the paintings produced by Iacovleff after the 1925 'La Croisière noire' expedition across Africa, of which he was the official artist, 1927

tive conceptual connotations of primitivism. Consequently, this book focuses primarily and critically on the actions of the white or European partner in the negrophiliac relationship, unlike other approaches that are more preoccupied with mythologizing the black and black culture.

Europe's 'conquering' of Africa and the 'new world', and its exploration and discovery of different cultures, created 'primitive' types and functioned as a kind of collective therapy to maintain European esteem and belief in its various nationalisms. In a sense, Western cultural arrogance could be assured and sustained only through the exercise of colonialism. Beyond Europe's primary motive to exploit Africa's human and environmental resources, conquering 'the dark continent' allowed Europeans to act out roles and to reinforce notions of control. The reality of the black man and the mystery of the land he represented became fertile psychological landscapes in which the white man could create and satisfy his desires. The line of demarcation between the real and the unreal became increasingly blurred. For Europeans, Africa and the black man were framed in notions of high adventure, savagery, fear, peril and death. Products of the outer reaches of the imagination, these fantasies



'Pale imitation', from *La Vie parisienne*, 25 October 1919

necessitated distance in real and psychological terms. 'Africa' and 'blackness' were merely signifiers of the unknown, however, and as such could be applied to any culture or race. Similar notions of intrigue could be used in reference to the native American 'Indian', or to an infatuation with the Near East (orientalism), the Far East (*japonisme*) or the Pacific Islands (melanomania).

In the negrophiliac relationship, both Europeans and Africans owned stereotypical views about each other. They formed what can be called an 'other' relationship whereby their attraction fed off their dif-

ferences rather than their similarities. The process of 'othering' allowed both partners to act out myths and fantasies. For whites, the negrophiliac relationship provided a space for rebellion against social norms. They naïvely considered blacks to be more vital, more passionate and more sexual. Their fantasies were about being different, even about being black. Living out these ideas involved 'getting down' with black people. No social evening was complete without black musicians and dancers. Even aristocrats such as Baroness de Rothschild, Countess de Noailles and the Prince of Wales fraternized with black people; and entertainers like Ada 'Bricktop' Smith, Josephine Baker and Cole Porter found themselves in demand at charleston parties held in wealthy homes. For some whites, the fantasies went beyond 'high jinks and dancing' and involved flaunting taboos by dating blacks. For black

'Chochotte takes her Chocolat in bed', from *Le Rire*, 7 July 1900





people, the attraction for the 'other' was equally strong, the negrophiliac relationship validating their sense of worth. Accessibility to whites and their lifestyles gave them a sense of power, albeit a limited one. Life in Paris afforded them freedoms and excesses rarely experienced by blacks in America: they believed themselves equal.

*Negrophilia* is about how the two partners of this relationship negotiated their identities in the Parisian milieu of the 1920s. In that era, 'the black' and 'the white' came face to face with each other's realities and dreams. How they related, circumvented each other by alternately concealing and exploiting their differences, and redefined themselves as a result is explored here.

Paris of the 1920s offers several advantages for highlighting the cultural paradigms introduced in this book. The artistic climate then was sensitive and experimental, as reflected in its *mélange* of modernist art styles. African art's influence on the Parisian avant-garde in the prewar years had stimulated such works as Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger* (1907), and subsequently black forms were slowly absorbed into the Cubist vocabulary. Amid the hyper-inflation of the 1920s and a sense of hysterical optimism, Art Deco, Cubism's design offspring, became a commercially successful style. By the end of the decade the African forms that had provided an initial spark to the modernist vision had become the icing on the cake.

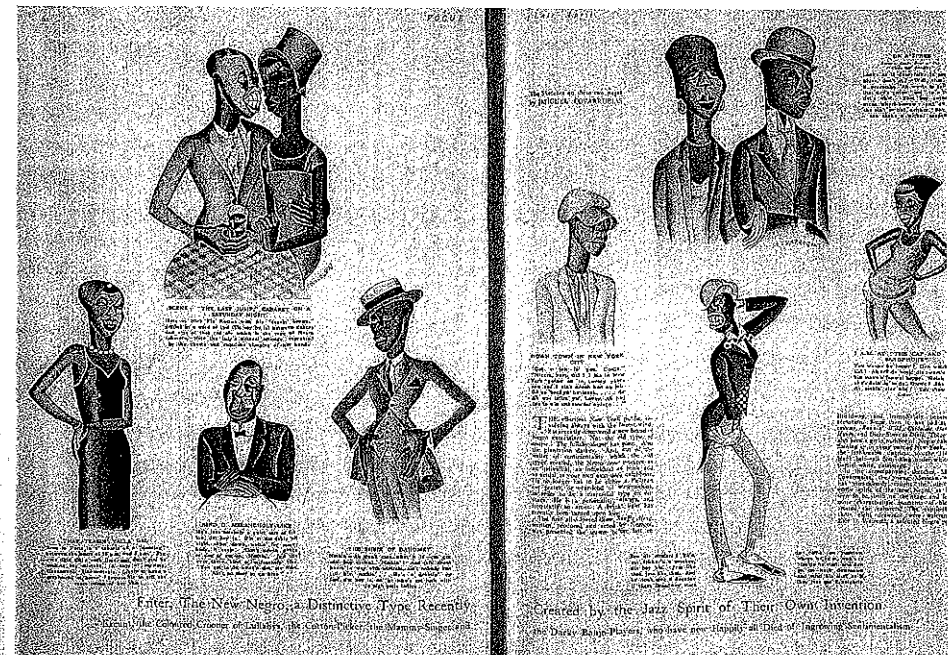
The black forms that Parisian artists fetishized varied from wood and stone carvings (trophies from African expeditions) to 'live' African models posing in the artist's studio. African sculpture, up to then the preserve of explorers and ethnographers, had spent years neglected in dank museums such as the Trocadéro in Paris awaiting its (re)discovery. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century was it recognized as a source for fresh artistic ideas and Cubist problem-solving. Similarly, in the years following the First World War, real Africans and African-Americans were celebrated for the entertaining remedies they provided for the ailments of modern life. In jazz nightclubs, urbanites and the avant-garde could have physical contact with blacks to lend fact to their fantasies.

After the First World War, Africans and African-Americans who had served in Europe stayed there or returned there because they saw better employment opportunities and the chance to enjoy social mobility. They found fewer racial restrictions in Paris than existed in America, and began to develop a new sense of identity as their social status improved. But their place in the power structure remained the same: the white man was still master in economic terms; only the context changed, from one urban setting to another.

Further emigration of blacks to the cities of Europe meant even more contact with urban whites and provided a new common ground for both groups. The two races were intrigued with their new bedfellows (so to speak, given the sexual nature of many initial meetings). Still, the relationship was a superficial one: the myth of the black man was now substantiated with the proliferation of his image based on a cursory assessment. Enter *Vogue*'s depiction of the 'New Negro', a type that came straight out of white fantasies, with all the old traits of the savage and the erotic concealed beneath street-smart suiting. Of course, this 'new negro' had nothing to do with the one the intellectuals around the Harlem Renaissance were busy defining. He was closer to an American Jim Dandy, an effete and overdressed travesty.

A similar process of reappraisal was also taking place as far as the role of women in society was concerned: they, too, had experienced a change of circumstance reinforced by the war. It was a difficult transition for the white male artist to come to terms with, caught as he was between seeing the female as subject of erotic fantasy or as idealistic

MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS 'Enter the New Negro', from *Vogue*, April 1927

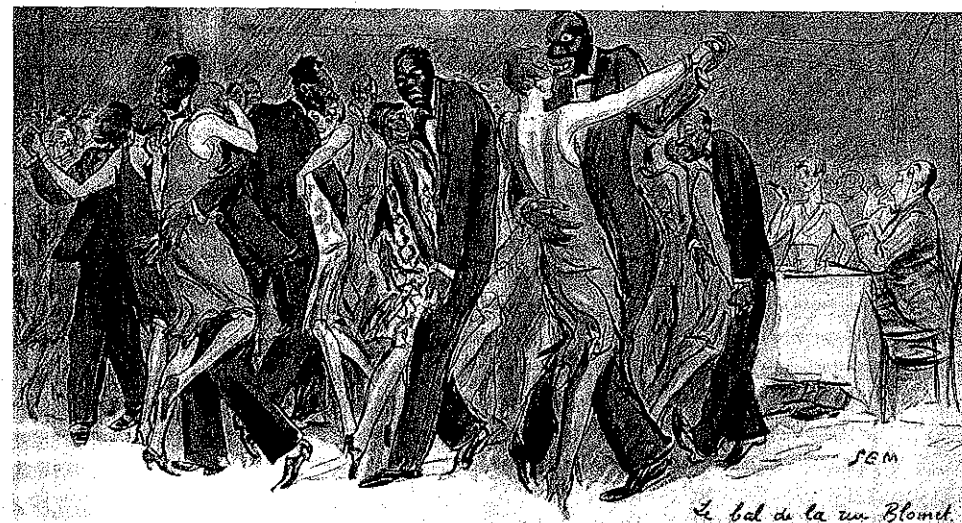


muse. This ambivalence towards women, combined with those about race, added to the collage of images produced during the 1920s.

That Paris rather than New York, London or Berlin should be the city where these notions were played out is understandable, if not predictable. The French capital had long been a haven for émigrés such as White Russians and Europe's Jews, offering tolerance and even appreciation of cultural diversity. Postwar Paris welcomed African-American soldiers who did not want to return to America's racial restrictions. The city's acceptance of black culture contrasted sharply with America's racial bigotry. Its reputation as the bohemian capital meant that it also attracted itinerant black artists, writers and musicians keen to imbibe and join its street culture, avant-garde exhibitions and nightclubs. Paris's modernity was characterized by its openness to black culture and jazz in particular, the improvised and anarchic musical form that seemed to sum up the unpredictability and anxieties of a new age. For the fragile Parisian psyche, susceptible to wave after wave of new crazes, negrophilia was just another fashion like *chinoiserie*, *japonisme* and *mélomanie*, to be sported and then discarded. Yet, for all negrophilia's superficial qualities, and Paris's desire for the vogue, there was an underlying integrity that stemmed from the French credo '*liberté, égalité, fraternité*'. There was also an honesty about Paris's need for black culture that stemmed from lost confidence in European rationalism, science and materialism. In the aftermath of a debilitating war, Paris's intellectuals and avant-garde were the first to question Europe's material and moral progress and its 'civilizing' mission.

Unlike that of their British neighbours, French interest in their colonized peoples went beyond economic considerations. The avant-garde's admiration and borrowing of negro forms was as much to satisfy its own need for the 'exotic' and the 'real' (something that was lacking in its own culture) as it was economic exploitation. The allure of black culture was that it stood for a spiritual wholeness that had been obscured in an increasingly 'civilized' and mechanized environment by layers of material development. The assimilation of black forms into Parisian sub-culture was remedial and therapeutic. The Parisian artist became a modern primitive who acted out a ritual function as magician or shaman by absorbing and re-creating these fetishes in his work. Thus the image and depiction of 'blackness' served as an antedote for easing the psychic and spiritual needs of its dislocated and disenchanting bohemian society.

Why the Parisian avant-garde chose to primitivize black culture can be understood by taking a closer look at the cultivated lifestyles of the negrophiles of the 1920s. The photographs, writings and memorabilia of



SEM *Le Bal de la rue Blomet, Paris, 1923*

figures such as the poet Guillaume Apollinaire, the African-art collector Paul Guillaume, the shipping heiress and publisher Nancy Cunard, and the dissident surrealist Michel Leiris all re-create the atmosphere of a city in the grip of a *virus noir*. The world of these negrophiles centred around the jazz haunts of Montmartre and Montparnasse, the *soirées nègres*, and the self-conscious posturing that the influence of Hollywood's burgeoning film industry, photography, fast cars and fashion provoked. The negrophiles who fraternized with blacks cultivated a shadowy world of nightclubs and bohemianism; their interests were in conflict with mainstream, 'traditional' values. 'Blackness' was a sign of their modernity, reflected in the African sculptures that scattered their rooms, in the look of natural furs that fringed their coats, and in the frenzy of their dancing that mimicked the black bottom. Only rarely are black people depicted in this world. They and their mystique are the invisible presence in a multitude of negrophiliac images and texts from the era; their anonymity is fused with the fashion, style and fetish-ridden interiors that are integral to this book. A reading of what such images and texts communicated to their audiences requires an understanding of a complex semiology of signs and symbols whereby every mark has a history of silent meaning. The developments of some of these stereotypes, and questions about the way they were used by the avant-garde, are of concern here.

The blacks who found themselves in Paris were courted for their sense of style and vitality. Some were discharged soldiers anxious not to return to the racial restrictions of North America as harshly spelt out by the black activist William Edward Burghardt Du Bois in his 1919 *Crisis* editorial 'Returning soldiers'.<sup>5</sup> Jamaican writer Claude McKay's novel *Banjo* aptly describes their improvised lives in Europe, calling them 'black monkeys ... created by the conquest of civilisation'.<sup>6</sup> Many were musicians and entertainers, such as Josephine Baker and Sidney Bechet from the *La Revue nègre* troupe and Ada 'Bricktop' Smith, who found that white interest in the charleston, lindy hop, black bottom and shimmy dances could earn them a significant income. So they stayed.

But not all blacks in Paris were hustlers or entertainers. Many black intellectuals and artists came to the city because it was perceived as the centre of the artistic world. Like others, they wanted to participate in its mythic modernity, freer race relations, and artistic integrity. As Henry Crowder so optimistically stated in the 1934 anthology *Negro*, being coloured in France was 'never a mark of inferiority'.<sup>7</sup> James Weldon Johnson's statement that Paris gave him the 'freedom to be a man',<sup>8</sup> rather than a black man, suggested that the city allowed blacks to escape the burden of their blackness. Jack Johnson, Josephine Baker, Sidney Bechet, Claude McKay and Langston Hughes are just a few of the many blacks whose lives in Paris impacted on negrophilia. Their rarely stated views demonstrate the complexities of how blacks and whites related to each other and to their own identities during the 1920s.

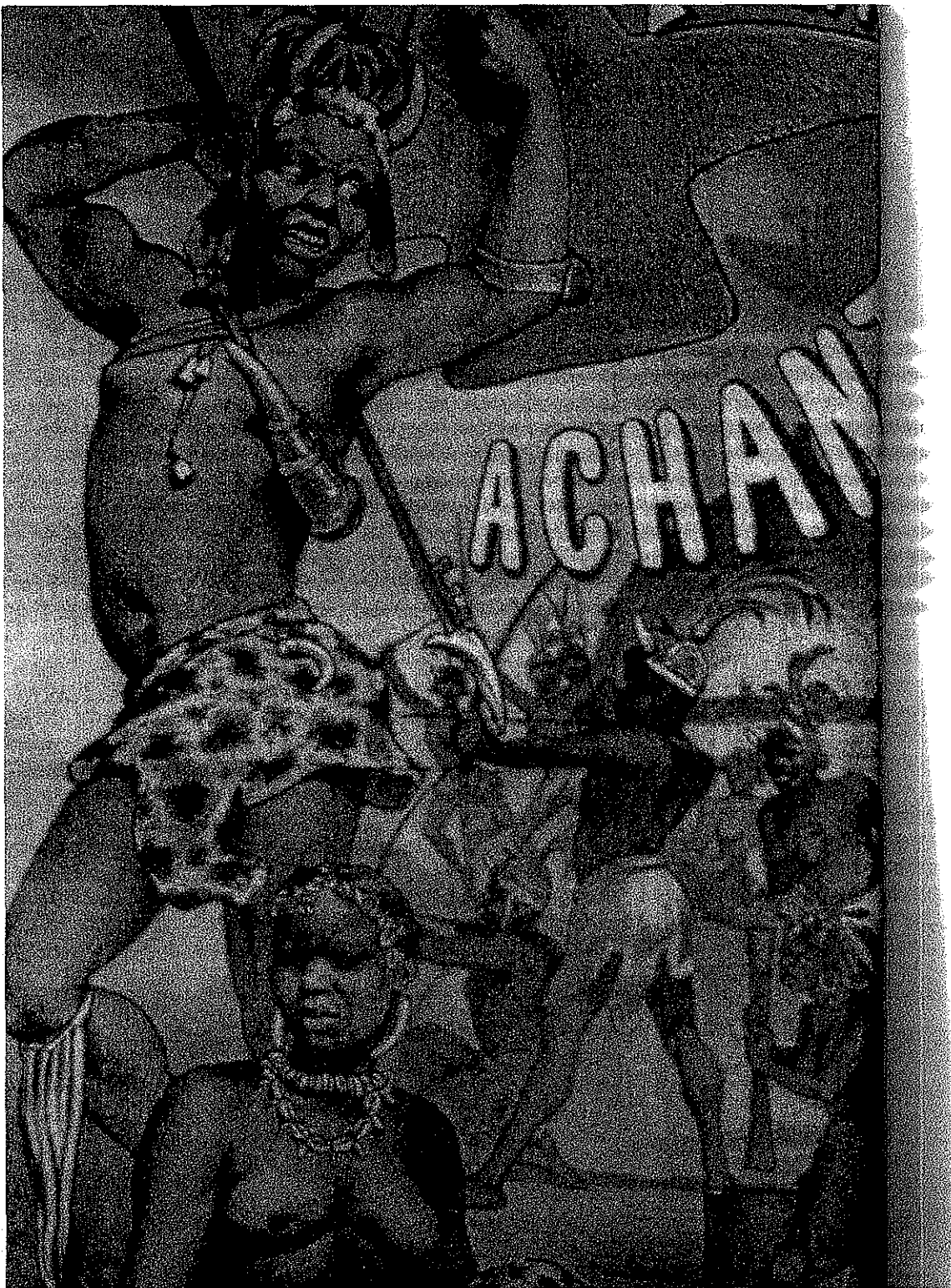
In his book *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy describes what he calls 'cultural insiderism', a form of ethnic snobbism that perpetuates racial, cultural and national difference.<sup>9</sup> The converse applies to Paris in the 1920s. The avant-garde cultivated what can be called a 'cultural outsiderism' as a statement against the violence of nationalisms experienced during the war. It admired blacks for their sense of difference and for their links with another culture that it saw as primitive and therefore positive. Meanwhile, blacks who travelled to Paris hoped that they could exchange their historical sense of displacement and dislocation for membership in the avant-garde's postwar cosmopolitanism. They saw avant-garde patronage as a route to international status. But they were ill-equipped for Paris's bohemian culture and the distortions they had to endure for their ambitions.

By comparing the aspirations and conditions of 'real' negroes with the lifestyles and ephemera of negrophiles, this book explores notions of 'otherness', 'identity' and 'masking' essential to any understanding of the darker side of Paris's modernity. *Negrophilia* suggests that it was

white people's own ideas about blacks, rather than an accurate reading of black culture itself, that underpinned avant-garde modernity. The negrophilia craze's impact on modern art then becomes one of a complex network of images and messages with hidden meanings, often confrontational, and often difficult to interpret. But these meanings need to be demystified and decoded. Only through this process can a clearer picture of how blacks and whites interacted be recovered.

Today, in a shrinking world, black culture informs a wider, global popular culture. Black music and fashion are particularly seductive. The black image in movies, magazines, videos and computer games is now a permanent icon. But even as it is being lucratively marketed worldwide, there is still discussion about its 'negative' influences. The black image engages white consciousness intimately and fearfully, evoking many age-old anxieties. The only way to avoid this circle, whereby fear breeds stereotypes that invite racism and yet greater fear, is to revisit the reasons for those original anxieties. It seems relevant now that a reappraisal of the history of this relationship, with all its miscommunications, should break the cycle.





Images of black people in European popular culture at the end of the nineteenth century conformed to the perceptions of those who depicted them. And these perceptions were based on only cursory knowledge because of the limited interaction between Europeans and Africans. Caricatures depicting blacks as colonial subjects, savage heathens, promoters and providers of exotic products, and entertainers gave Europeans a stock of ideas and images that black people were powerless to challenge. Such depictions reveal a history of mixed fortune for blacks that could swing between positive and negative, depending on their race's shifting relationship with Europe.

Nineteenth-century advertising assimilated black imagery into popular European culture through the marketing of foreign products that called for an engaging 'exotic' kind of representation. This was done by using stereotypes that portrayed blacks negatively but with humour and attractive packaging, preparing the way for the popularity of the black image in the next century. Images linked to advertising, the circus, vaudeville and burlesque entertainment, and boxing made blacks part of a world that was seen as modern, fast-paced and chic. By the end of the century, European ideas about blacks had shifted significantly, provoking fashionable images that were more positive, if not a little *risqué*. A comparison of negrophobic and negrophiliac images seen in Paris before and after 1900 demonstrates a transition from the derogatory to the *de rigueur*. That transition is the subject of this chapter.

The images of blacks that circulated through Europe during the nineteenth century thrived on an accumulation of myths and beliefs from previous centuries. Together, these beliefs reflected a steady decline in the status of the black over several millennia. Images of Nubian blacks in ancient Egypt's temples and tombs show them perfectly integrated into that surprisingly cosmopolitan society. For the Greeks and Romans of antiquity, blacks signified difference and the far-off lands where these Mediterraneans had established healthy trading relationships. Only with the advent of Islam, and the association of

blacks with North Africa and the Infidel, did the image of the black become significantly degraded.

Christianity influenced Europe's perception of blacks more than any other contributing factor. Biblical tradition originally cast the race into a subordinate role as the children of Ham, the unfortunate soul who had been cursed by his father Noah for failing to cover the older man's naked body while he slept.<sup>1</sup> The curse condemned Ham's children to be servants for future generations. Biblical analogies that associated light with truth and knowledge, and dark with evil and sin, further linked blacks with degeneracy, and accounted for their black skin tones and their separate development in Africa. By the seventeenth century these notions about blackness, reinforced by commercial imperatives, were used to justify slavery. Blacks were cast uncomfortably at the lower end of the Christian hierarchy and were regularly referred to as barbaric heathens and violent savages.

In the eighteenth century the image of the black became a popular addition to European art and literature. This reflected the developing contacts of blacks and whites that had arisen because of the African slave trade between Europe and the Caribbean. William B. Cohen, discussing the status of blacks in France midway through the century, estimates that there were about five thousand Africans living in the country, mostly abandoned or freed slaves and stranded seamen, whose lives as jugglers, boxers and servants in the underworld of port cities merely reinforced the negative stereotypes of writings such as Abbé Prévost's spurious *Histoire générale des voyages* and Count Buffon's *L'Histoire naturelle* travel journals.<sup>2</sup>

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that a systematic documentation of 'other' cultures was first introduced in the fields of anthropology, ethnography and ethnology. These new sciences, informed by the evolutionist theories of Charles Darwin in his *On the Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man*,<sup>3</sup> triggered a general interest in origins in the areas of prehistory, tribal societies, infancy, archaeology and the arts. Darwin's suggestion that the white race was superior in the human species had the impact of providing a pseudo-scientific justification for European expansion and imperialism. In France, the most influential text in this regard was Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's essay on the equality of races,<sup>4</sup> which claimed that a little racial mixing created superior hybrids like the Germans, but that too much led to degeneration. European superiority was central to the new sciences that advocated the ordered and scientific study of every aspect of man's existence. These disciplines developed from the premise that Western man

was the arbiter of civilization and had a monopoly over what was perceived to be rational behaviour. It was the white man alone who had the right to study, label and define those of other cultures, the labels 'savage' and 'primitive' being reserved for blacks, who were considered the least of the species. Within an evolutionary schematic, the black man was thus believed to occupy the lowest rung on the ladder: even his humanity was questioned. Such trends in nineteenth-century philosophical and scientific thought helped to shape popular stereotypes of blacks and to define them as primitive.

The presence of black people in European painting demonstrated their importance in conceptual, artistic and symbolic terms. In the eighteenth century, the image of blacks in portraiture could serve many different purposes. If they were represented as diminutive and adoring servants, they reflected their owner's status and wealth. Alternatively, after the French Revolution, when debates about race, intelligence and 'the noble savage' were philosophical preoccupations, making a black person the subject of a painting, or giving him equal status within it, such as in Anne-Louis Girodet's *Portrait of Citizen Belley* (see page 26), could communicate political statements about French humanitarianism and the victories of abolition and racial equality.<sup>5</sup>

Paintings of blacks also served to demonstrate an artist's technical skill and his ability to weave their portraits into the historical, mythological and biblical narrative scenes popular in French salons. In the first half of the nineteenth century, and into the second, as France's colonial preoccupation with North Africa and the Middle East, or what was popularly called the 'Orient', developed, the image of the black found a place in epic salon paintings such as Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1819), Eugène Delacroix's *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827; see page 27) and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Odalisque with a Slave* (1839). These artists' careful studies, verisimilitude and judicious painting of blacks ennobled their black models; but by placing blacks within imaginative, exotic, violent and sexualized settings they merely reinforced the use of the paintings as artistic tools and aids for the European imagination, thus implicating themselves within colonialism's racist agenda.

In painting, the process of 'othering' the black operated through the use of a powerful network of images and symbols that, by association, could conjure up deep-seated fears, the deepest of which were regression and loss of racial purity. The inclusion of black people in paintings summarized all the subliminal fears and phobias that posed a threat to nineteenth-century Western society. Spurious symbolism continued to link 'blackness' with sin, death, ignorance, sexual deviancy, virility,

fecundity – traits that at the same time validated 'whiteness' as pure, chastened and enlightened. Paintings were thus visual constructions that could be used to support prevailing racial myths about black people that had already been communicated in writing.

These ideas of blacks as a separate and subordinate species had, of course, been entrenched in the slavery movement, which in turn had inherited them from Christianity. Nineteenth-century scientific theories about race were an outgrowth of such religious thinking and came about

ANNE-LOUIS GIRÔDET *Portrait of Citizen Belley*, 1797



'Like a succubus, Africa weighs on the repose of Europe', parody of Fuseli's *Nightmare*, from *Le Rire*, 18 April 1896

EUGENE DELACROIX *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827

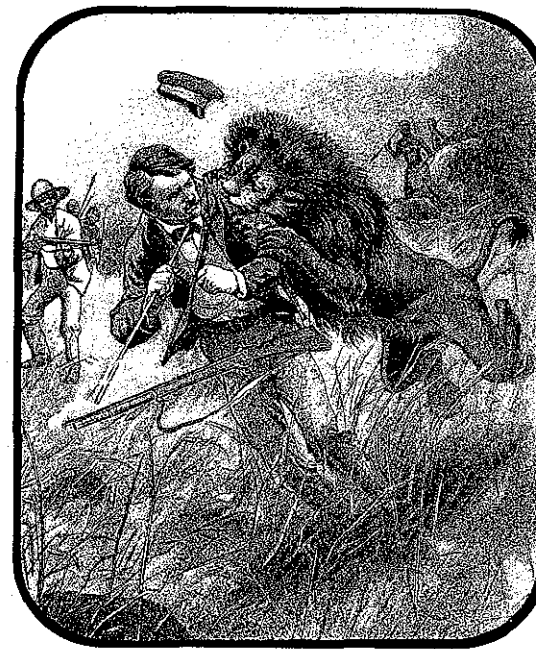


JOSIAH WEDGWOOD Seal designed for the Slave Emancipation Society, 1786

in direct response to abolition. The image of the black man on bended knee, enchained, yet uplifted by the prayer 'Am I not a man and a brother?', summarized this history of subordination, and it became the emblem of the abolitionists. But the image is at odds with the rhetorical question it poses. There is nothing equal or fraternal about the depiction. Most abolitionists, such as William Wilberforce, were not only committed Christians but also advocates of the new sciences that pioneered studies of race. It was their interest in race as a natural, scientific and cultural phenomenon that led them to an abhorrence of slavery, not a belief in the fundamental equality of blacks and whites. The abolitionists were thus responsible for their own myth-making, because they operated from the false premise of the black man's intellectual inferiority to the white man. The image of the slave's clasped hands, pleading gesture and subordinate position perfectly suited their needs. It reflected liberal European beliefs about what the black man ought to be, by conveying sympathy while maintaining the white liberator's sense of superiority.

Both religious beliefs and the evidence of the new sciences fed the ideology of a burgeoning colonialism that progressed out of slavery. Initially, colonialism used this ideology to justify its 'philanthropic' expansionism abroad; but eventually its motivation became more one of profit-making than one of philanthropy. The mainstay of colonialism, particularly in the Caribbean, was the transatlantic trade in products such as sugar, coffee, tobacco and rum; in Africa, it was the trade in minerals.

At the start of the nineteenth century, sub-Saharan Africa was relatively virgin territory for European exploration, which until then had centred around the establishment of trading posts along the coastline and the Cape Colony. Even with Europe's mercantilist interests, most of the European powers were reluctant to establish more formal relationships or to assume additional imperial responsibilities in Africa. From the middle of the century, much of the exploration of the continent's interior was based on the actions of highly motivated individuals, such as Henry Morton Stanley and David Livingstone in the Congo, the Frenchman Count Pierre-Paul-François-Camille Savorgnan de Brazza in Gabon, Harry Hamilton Johnston in Angola, Cecil Rhodes in southern Africa, and the German Carl Peters in eastern Africa. In the European mind, the adventures of these expeditioners were associated with notions of hazard, danger and heroism. For example, the painting and glass lantern slide which depicted the tale of Livingstone's innocuous encounter with a lion in a highly dramatic form became part of Victorian England's collective consciousness.<sup>6</sup>



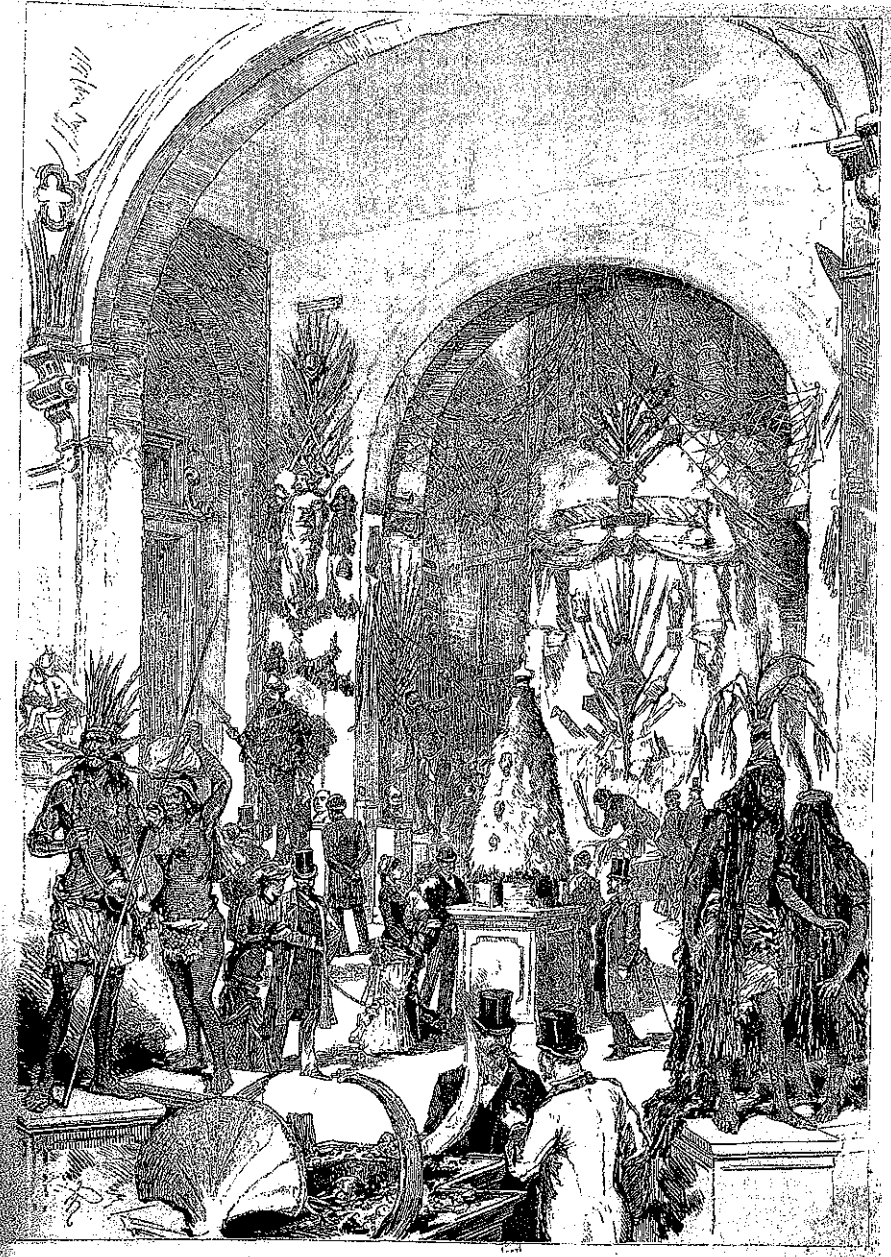
ANONYMOUS *Livingstone and the Lion*, glass lantern slide, c.1900



Such tales of adventure roused the interest of those back home in Europe, who were impressed with the novelty of travel. The press, travel journals and innovative picture postcards now reproduced previously only imagined scenes and accounts of faraway lands, both catering for and fanning the public's enthusiasm. From the 1860s, Africa operated on the levels of the real and the unreal, at once the site of civilizing missions and scientific expeditions and the 'heart of darkness' where every expedition was like a personal journey into the unknown to confront one's own fears and phobias. Africa was the dark continent in both geographical and psychological terms, fuelling fantasies for the driven, disillusioned and disaffected of European society who sought a place either to lose, to find or to expand oneself.

Similar phantasms were accorded to the exotic materials, artefacts and 'live' Africans that returning explorers brought back with them to Europe. Much of the plunder from European campaigns in Africa found its way into museums specially designed to accommodate Europe's new scientific approaches to the world and the collection of its objects. The establishment and expansion of ethnographic museums in Berlin, London, Rome, Leipzig and Dresden paralleled Europe's many imperial successes abroad. In 1868, the Berlin Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde was founded; in Paris, the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques (the precursor of the Musée du Trocadéro) followed in 1878; and, while the British Museum had been in existence in London since 1753, its collection was significantly expanded during the 1880s. These collections were boosted by private donations from individual expeditioners, by the many artefacts brought to Europe for display in the popular universal and colonial exhibitions of the period, and sometimes by 'booty' seized on punitive expeditions. France's military campaigns in Dahomey reaped the benefits of significant statues and carvings from the royal court of Abomey, later displayed in the Trocadéro museum; and in 1897, museums and private collectors throughout Europe scrambled to purchase more than a thousand bronze plaques and other royal treasures confiscated by the British in an act of reprisal against the *oba* (kings) of Benin.<sup>7</sup>

One of Paris's earliest experiences of live Africans came in a form that promoted these fantasies. Following the whites' conquest of southern Africa, the closing decades of the nineteenth century saw numerous 'philanthropic' impresarios bringing troupes of Zulu and Ashanti tribespeople back to Europe to re-enact key colonial battles for the benefit of Western theatregoers. Jules Chéret's poster promoting one such performance at the famous Folies-Bergère theatre hall in Paris



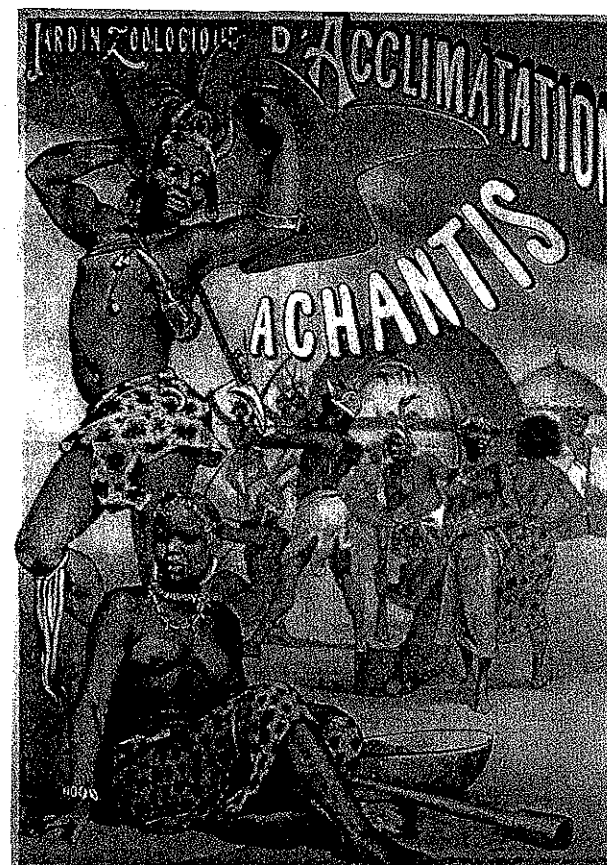
AFTER DE HAENON 'The entrance hall of the Musée ethnographique in Paris', from *Le Monde illustré*, 16 May 1882





JULES CHÉRET Poster for *Les Zoulous* at the Folies-Bergère, 1878

in 1878 shows a frenzied scene of Africans, replete in costume and carrying shields and spears, conducting a warrior dance. The Dahomeyan Wars in 1892 similarly stirred up French colonial fever. Newspapers and magazines such as *Le Journal illustré*, *Le Tour du monde* and *Le Petit Journal* supplemented their accounts of the French victory over Dahomey with sensational stories of African savagery and cannibalism. Tales of Dahomey became a particularly popular source of Parisian entertainment, as epitomized by another theatrical re-enactment, this time at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin in 1892. In advertisements for the show, African men and women are shown half naked, hands



Poster for the Ashanti troupe at the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation, Paris, 1895

flaying in the frenzy of battle. By contrast, the French soldiers are shown fighting back in an orderly and organized fashion, always the disciplined victors. These images, and the grotesque tales that accompanied them, served to divert the public's attention from colonial atrocities in Africa and to justify French conquests.

In Paris, colonial imagery, academic theory and advertising converged in the ethnographic exhibits and events that celebrated the French empire. The biggest of these events were the universal exhibitions, initiated in 1855, which strengthened public opinion on France's colonial destiny. Towards the end of the century, these exhibitions



F. BAC 'La belle négresse', from *Le Journal amusant*, 1899

became elaborate affairs that vied for popularity with similar events throughout Europe. It was in this atmosphere that the Universal Exhibition of 1889 was held at the Hôtel des Invalides, close to the newly erected Eiffel Tower. Here, a main pavilion surrounded by model huts mimicking villages in Africa and Asia – so-called *villages indigènes* – brought the colonies to life for the Parisian visitors. African sculptures, colonial produce and animals were all displayed as trophies of empire. Entertainment came from Algerian dancers and black soldiers, the latter seen in Paris for the first time. Such spectacle served as colonial propaganda and set a precedent for the exhibitions that followed, such as the Universal Exhibition of 1900, held across the river in the gardens of the Trocadéro, where re-creations of Dahomeyan and Congolese villages, complete with Africans in native dress, added a feel of authenticity.<sup>8</sup>

These colonial exhibitions, world fairs and universal expositions held across Europe, and later throughout the rest of the colonial world, were displays of imperial might designed to mobilize trade and to propagate the message of empire to a much larger and more varied audience.

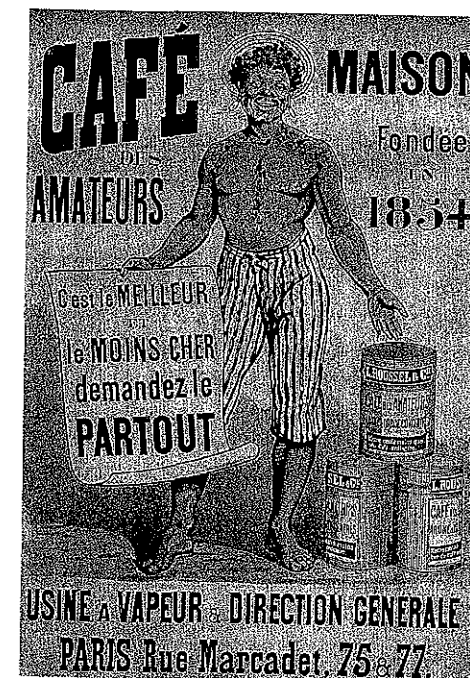
Annie Coombes, discussing the notion of national and cultural identities, has written that colonial exhibitions and the like were:

notable for precisely the lack of ... a monolithic structure and an apparent lack of rigorously imposed control over the viewing space. This semblance of endless choice and unrestricted freedom was an important factor in the effectiveness of these exhibitions in obtaining a broad basis of consent for the imperial project. Through the rhetoric of 'learning through pleasure', the exhibitions achieved the sort of popular appeal that the museums dreamed of.<sup>9</sup>

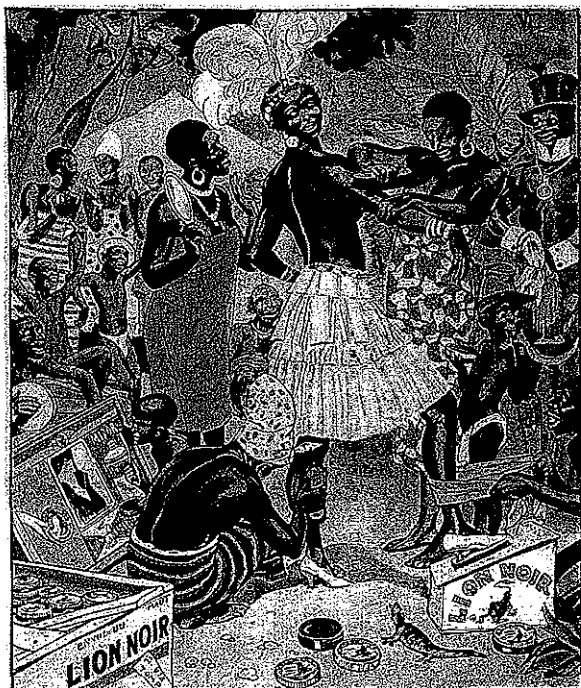
The extensive influence of colonial and scientific thinking in the second half of the nineteenth century is reflected in the advertising of the period. Images of blacks were used regularly to advertise exotic items that came from places considered new, exciting and different, such as the European-owned plantations in the Caribbean. Promoters of rum, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, sugar and spices used the black image to



PRIMERIE CAMIS Advertisement for La Négrita rum, 1892



ANONYMOUS Advertisement for Café des amateurs coffee, Paris, 1875



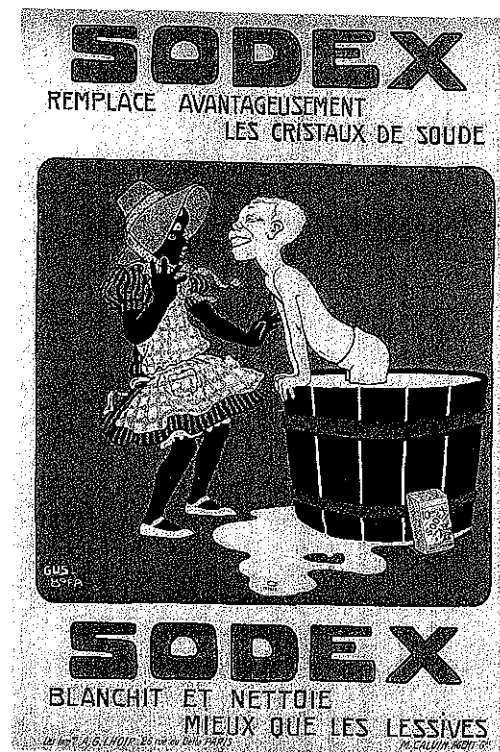
UN GRAND MARIAGE EN AFRIQUE

R. MORITZ Advertisement for Lion noir polish, from *Le Petit Journal*, 27 June 1926

emphasize these products' difference and their newness to the European palate. In such advertisements, Africans and the diaspora blacks of the Americas and the Caribbean were usually depicted differently. Caribbeans, considered more familiar to Europe because of their cultural similarities, shared values and closer colonial contact with whites. Unlike Africans, they were depicted as creolized, with clothes, gestures and settings that suggested their mixed cultural heritage. They also benefited from their close association with the luxury products they represented: there is collusion between their seductive smiles and the packaging of the exotic produce they offer. Additionally, their successful assimilation into ethnically mixed societies is acknowledged by their cheerier dispositions and more colourful garb, and by being set against a backdrop of industry and productivity.

In the twentieth century, advertising for cleaning products such as soaps, toothpastes and polishes reflected Western societies' growing

preoccupation with hygiene and cleanliness.<sup>10</sup> Advertisements for Savonnerie nationale de Genève soap (c.1900), L'Odontophile toothpaste (c.1910) and Lion noir shoe polish (1926) used the negro's blackness as a way of selling the products' particular qualities. The contrast between black skin and white teeth, for example, reinforced L'Odontophile's efficiency as a cleaning agent. In 'Un Grand Mariage en Afrique', an advertisement for Lion noir, the brand name's links with Africa are further stressed by the narrative imagery, where the skin of the bride, Mademoiselle Bamboula, is polished to a high sheen in preparation for her wedding ceremony. Conversely, advertisements like that for Sodex (c.1910) reinforced traditional Christian values related to spiritual cleansing. A boy emerges from a soap-filled tub absolutely white, startling his black female companion: 'washing a nigger white' was the miracle promised by exaggerated advertising.



GUS BOFA Advertisement for Sodex washing soda, c.1910



THOS. DE LA RUE & CO. LTD., 110, BUNHILL ROW, LONDON.

ANONYMOUS English advertisement for the popular Golliwogg card game, 1895



ACHILLE MAUZAN Italian advertisement for Autolave washing powder, 1921

That blacks were packaged exotically for the market-place at the same time that race theories defined them as lesser beings, and colonialism treated them as such, is ironic but also understandable. It was only by presenting them as different and exotic, by showing them as slaves, servants, entertainers and humorous characters related to animals, that their racial inferiority could be communicated. Advertising fed off these negative depictions, and converted European fears of difference into 'safe' accessible images where whites were given control. For instance, it made black savagery cuddly in the form of the golliwog, the most popular black caricature in late-nineteenth-century England; it took colonialism's slaves and depicted them as willing servants and providers of luxury, like Sambo, Uncle Remus and Uncle Ben in America; and it neutered black males' sexuality by representing them as childlike or effeminate, or as eunuchs of the Turkish harem. Conversely, it enhanced the black female libido with naked imagery that vacillated between the French writer Charles Baudelaire's *'Vénus noire'* and Aunt Jemima's

generous 'black mama' persona representing abundant nature and the tradition of wet-nursing. Through repetition, advertising reinforced these stereotypes and packaged them for European households.

That Paris should have bought into these stereotypes so readily suggests the city's obsession not only with blacks but also with America at the time. By the turn of the century, New York with its high-rise buildings, subway system and rapidly growing urban beau monde was the epitome of the modern city. Beyond its evident material progress, America also represented a new world in terms of being a model of modern civilization. Like France, it believed in an egalitarian society, and the two countries shared principles that had grown out of their own respective social revolutions. Although cultural exchange between New York and Paris did not reach its high point until after the First World



AUGUSTE ROUBILLE 'A negro dandy and an African woman', from *Le Rire*, 6 December 1902

War, it had existed since at least the middle of the eighteenth century, and black American culture was high on the list of French imports.

In America, too, the black image had been manipulated to accommodate both Western fantasies and the demands of the market-place. As early as 1893, the San Francisco midwinter fair followed Paris's lead by using live Africans as part of their display. When the Africans could not arrive on time it was decided to substitute them with African-Americans.<sup>11</sup>

It was through America's export of produce and images that European countries like France were first made aware of this different kind of black. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the stereotype of the African-American as a comic, banjo-playing 'darky' slowly filtered through to Parisian popular culture. Paris's exposure to blacks as entertainers did not come from black performances, however, but from the tradition of minstrel entertainment: an imitation of black culture born out of America's popular theatre. Slavery in the southern states of America ensured that minstrel buffoonery was traditionally related to African-Americans. Nathan Huggins, discussing the principal characters that emerged out of so-called 'black theatre' at the turn of the century, rightly asserts that the minstrel theatre's traditional types, such as Jim Crow and Jim Dandy, 'are unlike any concept of the plantation black or even the Sambo stereotype', and he sees 'these supposed mimics of slaves' as 'really standard American comedy types underneath the burnt cork'.<sup>12</sup> The fact that whites should have adopted these types in the belief that they were enjoying black culture suggests the myopic nature of white society at this time. Black-face minstrelsy merely covered for white America's inadequacies and its need to escape a code of conduct that purported propriety, industry and success – it was what Huggins calls the 'antithesis of the Protestant Ethic'. The black-face minstrel was a foil through which white America could act out and laugh at its own anxieties about living up to the high expectations that its 'new-world' democracy and civilization promised. It was a subversive role that was vulgar, lazy and lacking in decorum, and that provided escape from personal and cultural responsibilities. That this character should take the form of a black man was understandable given the inferior and abused position that blacks had suffered historically.

One of the first minstrels was Thomas D. Rice, who in 1828 became famous throughout America, and after 1834 also in Europe, for his mimicry of blacks. His performance, based on a black man with a deformed leg whom Rice claimed to have actually met, involved blackening his face and hands and accentuating his eyes and mouth by enlarging them and painting them white. His most famous song,



Johnny Hudgins in a scene from Jean Renoir's film *Sur un air de charleston*, 1926

performed in a negro dialect, was 'Jim Crow', a tragicomic piece about the negro condition accompanied by an awkward dance that mimicked the crippled man's movements:

Weel about and turn about and do jus' so,  
Eb'ry time I weel about, I jump Jim Crow.

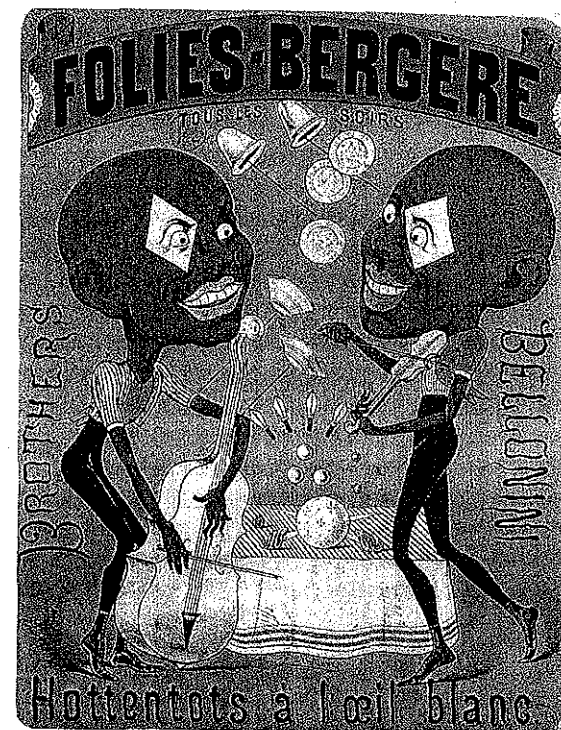
Although most songs of the Deep South sentimentalized the negro condition, minstrel performances were to become far more racist and sexualized as they were transferred to the stages of North America. The most popular songs performed by minstrels up to the 1890s were 'coon' songs, the term 'coon' referring to the animal raccoon, whose thievery and guile were associated with blacks. The white markings on the minstrel's faces echoed this relationship, and also at the same time alluded to a more historical association of blacks with animals. Coon songs were normally racist in content. They, and the music sheets on which they were printed, depicted blacks as careless, lazy, melon-eating tricksters or buffoons.



The minstrel performance represents a model case of negrophilia in this period. It provided white audiences with pseudo-black entertainment using white actors; it allowed whites a form of show that vented their ambivalences about themselves, as well as those about the blacks in their midst; and it expressed their mixed feelings about slavery at a time when the abolition debate was at its height. By fashioning themselves as black, whites used the minstrel image to mimic and to mock the negro while reinforcing support for the system of slavery. The minstrel performance also allowed whites to define the negro character in ways that were non-threatening and that afforded engagement with so-called black culture without being intimate with it. The travesty reflected in black-face minstrel performances was merely the grotesque exaggeration of white America's negative self. The strutting, the contortion of bodies, the distortion of lips, the flamboyant speech and the mannered gestures merely projected another, weaker side of the American psyche – one that was safer to package in black skin. Despite the minstrel's black looks, the alter ego that informed them was white at heart.

Numerous French posters demonstrate the popularity of the minstrel shows in France during the 1880s. They also reveal how the minstrel performance was adapted to suit the negrophiliac needs of European audiences. Minstrels, whether black or white, are dressed in Uncle Sam garb, thus defining these characters as black but also American. On the poster for the Brothers Bellonini's performance at the Folies-Bergère in 1885, the brothers are described as 'white-eyed Hottentots', conflating a traditional French characterization of blacks with minstrelsy. Toulouse-Lautrec's lithographs of the African-American circus performer Chocolat, who tap-danced his way to popularity in Paris in the 1880s and '90s, are similar.<sup>13</sup> Although he was not depicted as a minstrel, his name and comic act defined him as black. The cartoon featuring Chocolat reproduced on page 15, with a caption saying that women of ill-repute prefer their chocolate in bed, shows how such buffoonery lent itself to European abuse of black male sexuality.

That the negrophiliac relationship was reciprocated by blacks is evidenced in the forms of entertainment they adopted after emancipation. Locked into their roles as jesters and clowns, they perpetuated white characterizations of themselves by also adopting minstrel roles. In French advertisements for these performances at circuses and burlesque revues, blacks are shown sporting costumes of stars and stripes that identified them with minstrelsy and America's Yankee Doodle Dandy. This parodying of themselves was one of the few forms of entertainment work available to blacks in vaudeville and burlesque theatres. The same



CHARLES LÉVY Poster advertising the Brothers Bellonini's show *Hottentots à l'œil blanc* at the Folies-Bergère, 1885

stereotypes would be carried through from the stage into film, as reflected in the titles of early silent movies such as *Wooing and the Wedding of a Coon* (1905), *The Dancing Nig* (1907) and the 'Rastus' series of films (*How Rastus got his Turkey*, *Rastus' Riotous Ride* and *How Rastus got his Chicken*, c.1910–11).<sup>14</sup> These performances stemmed from a historical imperative whereby blacks learned to perform to white needs in order to survive in white societies. At the same time, it entrenched within blacks a self-loathing and a desire to be the masters of the whites rather than their slaves.

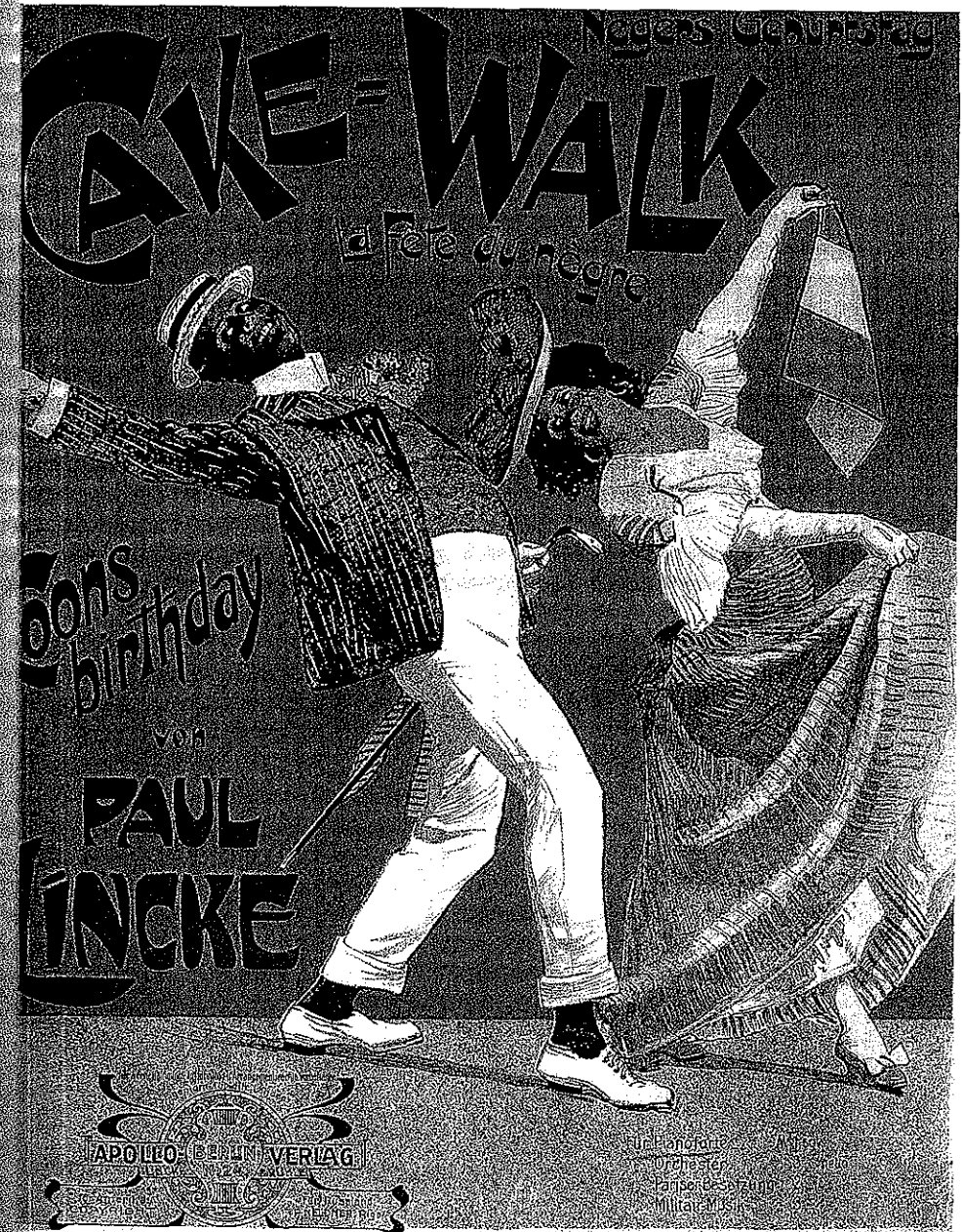
Nowhere is this aspiration more apparent than in the 'cake walk', a dance phenomenon that hit the streets of America and Europe at the turn of the century. The cake walk was rooted in the experiences of plantation life, and was thought to be related to the Christmas-time entertainment when negroes were allowed to strut in front of their

owners in the pretence of being rich and white. The dance itself was based on a formal European *quadrille d'honneur* and was performed by blacks in fancy dress who mimicked high-society 'white folks'. It involved much strutting and prancing and mannered gestures. The cake walk dance was initially a city phenomenon among the many blacks who had migrated north in search of higher status. It reflected their desire to better themselves by mimicry. In Manhattan in 1890, the cake walk was the finale of Sam T. Jack's Creole Show; after that it became the craze among blacks and whites alike as it crossed over into vaudeville performance.<sup>15</sup>

The Parisian journal *Le Rire* marked the cake walk's popularity in the French capital by dedicating the cover of its 1903 special edition to the phenomenon. In the cover image, roles are reversed so that a top-hatted black and others look on, suggesting ironies inherent in a dance that was essentially European in origin. The cake walk has been described as one of the first forms of black entertainment to be appreciated by whites, but there was little that was genuinely black about it, other than blacks' long-learned ability to assimilate. The dance was but another instance of blacks accommodating, and to some extent mocking, white culture.

Perhaps the first challenge to white dominance of the negrophiliac relationship came in the form of pugilism, or boxing, as it was popularly called. Boxing had always straddled both gentlemanly patronage and working-class low life, despite its heroic classical origins. Like minstrelsy, the ring legitimized the upper classes' fraternity with brute force, commonly associated with lower classes. It was a form of entertainment where both classes could vent feelings of anger in a tempered and regulated way. Black participation in the boxing arena added a racial dimension to the class tensions and contradictions already apparent in the sport. Boxing became a vehicle through which blacks and whites could express their contempt for one another and ritualize their humiliation of each other.

In America, during slavery, blacks had often been forced to spar to demonstrate one plantation-owner's worth over another. Black and white boxers never fought in rings together; strict race codes operated to keep them apart. Only in the late 1890s did the idea of black heavyweights fighting with whites, and winning, become a possibility in America. The first indication of this was the heavyweight title fight between the West Indian-born Peter Jackson and the American Jim Corbett. In 1891 they went a cruel sixty-one rounds together in a contest that was eventually announced a draw; but, significantly, it suggested that a black world champion would someday become inevitable. That champion eventually came in the form of African-American Jack Johnson, who beat Tommy



The cover of the sheet music for 'Cake-Walk: Negers Geburtstag, La Fête du nègre, Coons birthday', a hit tune by the German composer Paul Lincke, 1903

Burns in a world-title fight in 1908 and followed this up with victory over Jim Jefferies in 1910, thus establishing his notoriety throughout the world. Johnson's victories brought a new racial dimension to boxing that helped to promote and revive interest in the sport. In America it aroused the wrath of the white supremacists, who recognized its significance. What was still more infuriating for white Americans was Johnson's cocky attitude inside and outside the ring. Johnson had a penchant for courting white women. His flaunting of unwritten colour codes made his victories over white men both physically and sexually humiliating.

Paris's reception for Johnson was different. Boxing had been introduced to French culture after the 1789 Revolution through an Anglophile sporting society. Despite its English origins, the revival of 'la boxe', as the French called it, came to Paris via America and was associated with fairground and circus attractions. Blacks who participated in boxing events were fêted for their feats of strength and likened to their African brothers. These 'bad niggers' were greeted with fascination and curiosity. Unlike America, Paris posed no restriction to their fighting with whites, and after 1900 many black boxers gravitated to the city in search of title fights. Johnson came to Paris in 1913 and participated in a number of boxing exhibitions organized by the Nouveau Cirque.

The boxing matches imported into Paris from America carried with them a showmanship and a menacing low life of pimps and prostitution that contrasted sharply with the gentleman's sport that had crossed the Channel from England a century before. Black fights created even more interest because they provided an arena in which the myth of black savagery could be explored and confirmed and even supported. It was boxing's dichotomies that provoked the interest of Paris's extremists, such as the Dada and surrealist groups, who were quick to pick up on the sport's cultural and class contradictions. Boxing's ritualized order meant that it was possible for savage and civilized to meet and to challenge each other on equal terms. It thus offered the possibility to upset the 'natural' order of things.

Dada affiliates courted crassness that cut across mainstream bourgeois values. Roger Lloyd Conover, writing about boxing at this time,<sup>16</sup> quotes a typical Dadaist statement of cynicism from the period that advises those Frenchmen who wished to be American to learn how to box, despise women, chew gum, spit, swear, and pretend to be negro. It is easy to see how the juxtaposition of a black and a white man in the ring fighting for different values appealed to such Dadaists, and how it was perceived as being anarchic and modern. The blackness of boxers like Johnson was also seen as a mark of primitiveness that

Vingtième année. N° 528. — 15 Mars 1913.

UN AN  
Paris et Départements, 10 fr.  
Etranger, 14 fr.  
SIX MOIS  
France, 5.50 — Etranger, 7.50

# Le Rire

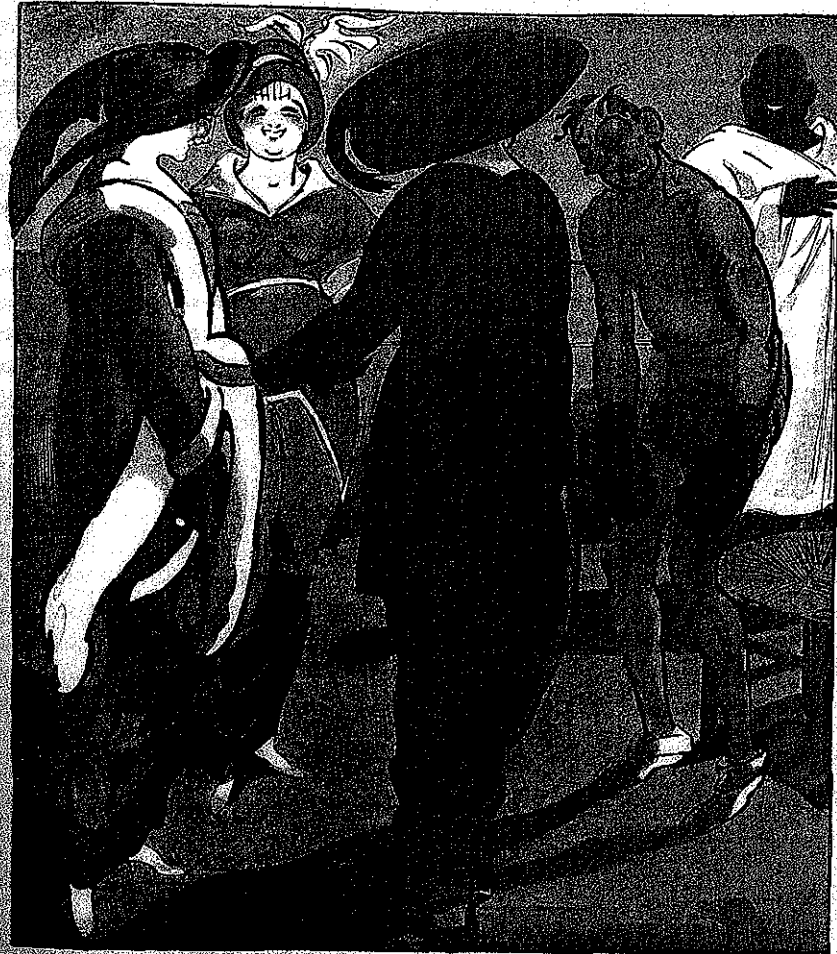
JOURNAL HUMORISTIQUE PARAISSANT LE SAMEDI

20 centimes.

BUREAU  
1, rue de Châteaufort  
PARIS  
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GENTY CONTRE JOHNSON

A Tristan Bernard, boxeur-honoraire.



LE VAINCU. — Parbleu ! il a pris une petite chartreuse entre le deuxième et le troisième round ; c'est ce qui a changé la face du combat.  
LES PETITES FEMMES. — Et la tiennne aussi, mon vieux !

Dessin de MIRANDE.

MIRANDE 'Genty contre Johnson', from *Le Rire*, 15 March 1913

