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THE DRAWINGS OF HONORE DAUMIER

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INTRODUCTION

"Daumier, wasn't he a cartoonist?"
So many people have asked me that question when I told them the intended subject for my thesis. Well, "he was, and he wasn't" I suppose is the answer. He did work for nearly forty years drawing caricatures for the journals La Caricature and Le Charivari; but this is the more public side to the man. He also worked extensively in painting, sculpture and my particular love, in drawing.

He was an artist who had a very down-to-earth, straightforward attitude to himself and his work. Sometimes with "great" artists we get dazzeled by the hype, the glamour, they seem somehow larger than life. For example, in a recent copy of Italian Vogue[1] I came across an article on Julian Schnabel, a modern artist. Not understanding Italian I could not read the article, but there were many glossy photographs, Schnabel in a silk dressing gown, an aerial shot of his studio with the artist lying on his settee in striped pyjamas; or Schnabel putting the finishing touches to "Rockets red glare in Paradise". All things considered if there was the same system of communications in the 19th century, Eugene Delacroix would probably have merited a similar magazine article.

This glamourous, "larger than life" image of artists is

a little alienating. In studying Daumier I found an unpretentiousness and human quality in his work and attitude to life.

Initially, I knew he was involved in lithography, and this was relevant to me as my current field of specialization is printmaking. Yet lithography in the early 19th century was a very different thing to what it is now. Today we have high speed off-set lithography to print magazines such as Italian Vogue, and fine-art lithography used by artists. Daumier worked in lithography when it was primarily used for commercial reasons. It is not until one sees the standard of contemporary lithographs, such as those by Grandville and Travies that the full extent of Daumier's talent can be seen. Rigid, boring images that relied heavily on captions were replaced by Daumier's fresh, immediate images. His lithographs are also a fascinating study on the political and social pre-occupations of 19th century Paris.

So, one acknowledges Daumier's contribution to lithography and caricature - but his personality permeates some of his lithographs - a certain drollery, a quiet smile at the absurdities of life shines through. Looking at Daumier's drawing which is perhaps the more 'personal" side to the man, I began to see a subtility and complexity that is not apparent from his lithographs.

He was not an intellectual, concerned with the philosopical questions of the day, but his was a very personal intelligence. Without sounding as if I am glamourizing the banal, Daumier was interested in the drama of human life, with the tragic and comic often intermingling.

He lived and worked in Paris of the 19th century; which was one of the first modern cities. It was developing and there were many struggles for power which involved almost everybody. It was (and is, I suppose) a city where people love watching people, where appearances and social behaviour are up front. Studying Daumier is in a sense studying Paris of the 19th century as he was closely involved with the events of his time. For me it was living history, having spent a year there; my study of Daumier has given that city definition, and made my study of Daumier more relevant to me.

Yet is was his drawings that attracted me. The way he drew with such confidence, flexibility, was astonishing. His drawings were vibrant and exciting: he used water-colour, pencil, gouache, chalk, anything it seems that came to hand. Delacroix, Daumier's contemporary was also a great draughtsman. Drawing took on a new importance in the 19th century.

Looking at Daumier's life and his work there is a

certain 'sincerity' that strikes you, with all his ups and downs and efforts to make a living he indulged himself in the things he loved: socializing with his friends, living well and of course his drawing. There was no intellectual justification for his drawing, no self-consciousness, the enjoyment is evident in his work. He was not a terribly ambitious man and I suppose he could be accused of being a bit plodding or un-imaginative; but his intelligence was lively and his drawings have an energy and beauty that is refreshing; and sadly under-rated.

Footnote:

1) Italian Vogue, November 1984, pp 306 - 311

Chapter 1

Chapter 1

M. Serullaz curator of the Cabinet des Dessins in the Louvre writes[1] that

> the mastery of the graphic arts is the key to the exceptional continuity of French art. Artists were inspired, sustained and nourished by the persistant interest in the techniques and possibilities of drawings.

Yet, only in the last two hundred years have artist' drawings been considered worth preserving; and only in recent times have they been given serious study and close attention.

Perhaps this is due to the recent greater emphasis on individualism, taking the argument that an artist' sketches are the more 'private' side to his/her nature, the finished work of art his 'public' statement. Sketches can reveal the private obsessions and thoughts of an artist.

The idea of self-exploration is a modern one. The very notion of privacy was alien to the Middle Ages, the prevalent idea of the solitary man was the saintly hermit communing with God. The sketch book of Villard de Honnecourt stems from the medieval tradition, yet his drawings and comments often express, if not the "inner man" a distinct individual, curious about the

world and eager to transmit and record his observations. They are still a very long way from the highly personal sketches of Toulouse-Lautrec or Picasso.

In spite of the greater individualism of Renaissance artists, their sketch books, especially in Italy, deal more with esthetic and mathematical problems than with private fantasies and psychological self revelation. Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks are a source of endless fascination, but it was the complexities of the universe, not his own psyche, that aroused his imagination. With Albrecht Durer, in northern Europe, there is already a hint of the modern idea of art as self-exploration. He recorded his dreams, the state of his health, and the things he saw on his travels with equal seriousness and assiduity.

In the Baroque period, when artists worked mainly for the aristocracy and wealthy merchant class, the distinction between the "public" and "private" man became more apparent, though never absolute.

In the 17th century an artist's personal sketch book, his quick sketches of life around him, would not have been thought worth recording. Today we are as interested in "work in progress" as in the finished result.

Although in the 18th century there was more interest

in the spontanaiety of drawings and sketches, the 19th century was the golden age of the sketch book. Perhaps it is due to the greater emphasis on the individual, but drawing came into its own in the 19th century. The rigid constraints of the "classical" painters such as David and Ingres were being broken. In the romantic era with artists such as Delacroix, the artist's ties with society had become more tenuous. The expression of emotion and fantasy, and the personal discovery of new aspects of nature came to be regarded as part of the creative process. Emile Zola's definition of art as "a corner of nature seen through a temprement" reflected this growing individualism.

So, in the 19th century the utility and intrinsic beauty of drawing is reasserted. Draughtsmanship is now practiced by artists as a natural means of capturing and detailing what they see; or, as in the case of the colourists, of establishing an overall conception for a future work. In this respect linear art is becoming more concerned with tone and colour, as it makes increasing use of watercolours. In short, never has drawing been so free and diversified as in the 19th century when anything may be treated as a subject.

The century begins, however with a painter like David, who returns to the grand manner. Yet draughtsmanship is the basis of his art. Classicism was beginning to

break down to make way for a more "expressive" art.

Gericault had broken with the purely linear approach to drawing (as in the drawings of David and Ingres) yet his forms were often more sculptural than pictorial. When Gericault painted his "Raft of the Medusa", he began at one end of the canvas and completed a section before going further, following David's methods, although Gericault's forms were bolder and more dynamic. His sense of bodily conflict always broke through the classical mould.

Delacroix depended less on muscular energy than Gericault, and more on nervous energy; his approach was more fluid, emotional and "painterly", and in his drawings as in his paintings, he sought to express the sensation of the whole, rather than the individual parts. This explains why, during Delacroix's lifetime and for many years afterward, colour was the only quality his critics and many of his admirers would concede him. Such criticism prompted Baudelaire, an ardent champion of Delacroix and the most perceptive critic of the 19th century, to retort that there were only two men in Paris who could draw as well as Delacroix - Ingres and Daumier. This remark was all the more shocking because it mentioned the high priest of classicism in the same breath with a man who was thought of as a clever newspaper cartoonist.

It is this image of Daumier that remains, even to this day. It is unfortunate, as his talents were far more wide reaching. Jean Adhemar[2] claims that "they are among the most powerful and most modern of the drawings of the 19th century". Yet Daumier's drawings were despised by connoisseurs as he sold them so cheaply; fifty francs each. Not until 1900 did his works acquire commercial success; before that date, artist's sketches were despised by connoisseurs. Fellow artists like Corot, Van Gogh and Cezanne collected and admired Daumier's drawings during his lifetime and after his death.

Daumier worked with lithography, drawing caricatures to earn his living. He was a sort of artistic journalist, commenting on the trends and politics of contemporary Paris. More than any other artist Daumier was responsible for transforming political caricature in 19th century France from a minor fleeting art form to a vehical for significant artistic expression.

Although he produced over 4,000 lithographs in his lifetime, and very many woodcuts as well, he was also active as a painter, draughtsman and sculptor. Yet, while not ignoring other aspects of his artistic oeuvre, to appreciate his drawings we must view them independently, seeing them not merely as preparations for other works but as autonomous creations.

His activity as a lithographer and caricaturist did, however, take up much of his time. In Daumier's time lithography was a revolutionary new printing method. It offered a directness of means not afforded by other print media which was generally more laborious technically. It had more subtle modelling than an incised line. In 1829 the application of the medium underwent a further major expansion when the lithograph began to enter the pages of the daily and weekly newspapers.[3]

Lithographs are drawings on stones, but Daumier's lithographs while often inspired do not always render the essence of what their creator would have liked to convey.

Daumier had to reckon with the directors of periodicals - for example Le Charivari in particular, which, depending on the taste of their public imposed on the artist a heavy touch and rounded modelling even after he had given up the style in his sketches.

The proof of this lies in the few unpublished lithos spread out over the whole of his years of production and preserved only through some fortunate chance. These lithographs, of which there remains only one or two proofs are far in advance of the illustrations current at the same period. I would see Daumier's drawings as being the essence of his oeuvre, although his lithographs had some influence on his drawing. For example,

the simplification of silhouettes studied for their attitudes. In "Le Spectacle" (fig. 1), the figures are sketched rapidly, intermingling outlines are drawn, and drawn over; heavily accentuated. Also, the simplification of form and the poetic exaggeration that verges on expressionism, as in the wonderful, late Don Quixote paintings and watercolours all show the influence of his activity as a caricaturist.

Daumier himself felt bitter at having to do caricatures. Apparently in 1865 a young artist aspiring to be a caricaturist showed Daumier some of his lithographs. Daumier is reported to have said:

> Not bad, but why the devil, young as you are, do you want to do caricatures? I have been doing them for about thirty years and every time I hope it is my last one.[4]

Daumier was once described as having the soul of Don Quixote in the body of Sancho Panza. He rose above the mediocrity of his circumstances by means of his personality, his genius, while remaining nevertheless tied to them by his way of life.

He was a plump, heavy set man, who resembled the solid bourgeois types he satirized. He was not an intellectual, he read little, all he knew of literature was through comedy and poetry of the "theatre du boulevard".

Daumier possessed none of the innate breeding, elegance and refinement of Delacroix (who was received everywhere); neither had he the rusticity, the intentional and exaggerated untidyness of Diaz, with his wooden leg, threatening to "kick in the pants" all those who did not agree with him. Daumier undertook a scathing campaign of invective against the bourgeoisie, but he led the life of his bourgeois contemporaries. He made fun of them at his own expense, for he was really one of them.

He was not a great thinker, his one great love was the love of liberty. He was a son of the French Revolution. He was also a man of the 19th century which on three different occasions had seen revolutions in France in the cause of liberty and overthrowal of tyrants (1830, 1848, 1870). On this sphere his conviction was absolute and enduring.

He was astonishingly farsighted in politics. For two years he persistantly warned the French people of the danger of dictatorship which threatened them in the advent of Napoleon III. For three years he showed them the danger of a world war and the absurdity of an obsolete diplomacy.

He had his limits, however. Born in an age of progress, of great inventions he couldn't take them seriously.

He only saw the comic side, the absurdity of the railways for example. He himself, preferred the old-fashioned stage coach.

Love, on the other hand seems to have played only a secondary role in his life, although he depended much on friendship. He seems to have ignored the storms of passions which swept the romantics - his contemporaries. The absence of curiosity about women is very striking in his work.

Daumier was extremely home loving, at a time when everyone travelled and new countries were being explored he never left Paris. For years he never left his own neighbourhood, he lived first in the Cite, for a longer period in the Ile St. Louis, then at Montmartre. Until about 1850 (when Daumier was 45 years old) his excursions were limited to neighbouring suburbs. It was only much later that he lived in Valmondois, in the countryside outside Paris.

Daumier's father, Jean-Baptiste Daumier wrote verse in the classical style, published a volume or two, came to Paris from Marsaille in search of his fortune and did not find it. Daumier's mother was an uneducated seamstress who followed her husband with their family to Paris.

Honore Daumier must have gone to school in Paris,

though not for very long as his father could not afford to keep him there. When he was 13 he was placed as an errand boy for a bailif. He worked at various odd jobs, which brought him into contact with the street life of Paris. This education from the streets was to feature greatly in Daumier's work. His work and message were based essentially on city life, a theme that inspired many lithographs, paintings and drawings.

Paris in the mid-nineteenth century was the prototype of a modern city. The population was both growing and changing in character. The countryside already supported as many as it could under existing conditions and the bulk of the population increase took refuge in the towns. There had been little industrial development to give work to these people and little increased agricultural development to provide food. The standard of living of the urban population had deteriorated drastically since the 18th century. The government, dominated by laissez-faire principles as well as by class interests made no attempt to improve conditions.[5]

Eventually Daumier decided he wanted to pursue an artistic career. He informed his parents of his decision, and on consultation with a family friend Alexander Lenoir, the boy began to receive artistic tuition.

Lenoir, the founder and director of the Musee des

Monuments Français was distinguished in the art world, not only as an archaeologist, collector and connoisseur but as a minor artist and follower of David. It is generally thought that he instilled into Daumier his love of sculpture, which was later to become evident in his drawings.

Lenoir vainly tried to instill severe Davidian principles into his pupil. Given Daumier's robust temperament and his early influences from the Louvre[6], his drawing was inevitably closer to the dynamic "open" forms of Delacroix than to the "closed" contours of David and Ingres, but he possessed far more than Delacroix a sculptural feeling for mass and volume. He also had a more down to earth approach to everyday reality, and always felt himself close to the people. In an age of timid conservatism and complacent materialism, Daumier was a fearless champion of justice and freedom. His political ideas were based not on dogma, but on a "radient good sensë" to quote Baudelaire.

After a few years studying under Lenoir, Daumier moved to the Acadamie Suisse, an open studio with life drawing and studio space. Here he met many young artists of his own age. The life drawing started very early in the morning. Many of the artists sketched in the morning and worked in illustration or newspaper offices in the afternoon.

Among his new friends, Daumier made the acquaintance of Charles Ramelet who is thought to have introduced him to lithography. By 1825, having left the Acadamie Suisse, Daumier was apprenticed to Zephirin Belliard, a publisher of prints and a popular but mediocre portraitist. Like any other "rapin" (art student) Daumier had among his tasks in the studio to prepare or "grain" the lithographic stones and to clean the rooms at the end of the day. He had the opportunity of following the whole process of inking and running off proofs. He also saw the distribution side of the trade since he and his friends took the newly printed lithographs round to the print merchants and booksellers in the capital.

Daumier was about 14 years old when he started to make lithographs. This process was invented in 1798 by the German Aloys Senefelder; it utilizes the mutal antipathy of grease and water. Drawing with a greasy crayon on a finely ground slab of limestone, the artist can achieve a variety of tones from silvery greys to velvety blacks, a wider range than offered by any other print medium. In 1816 Count Charles Lasteyrie had opened in Paris the first lithographic shop with hand presses. A short time later a number of other shops opened, and the new medium soon became fashionable. The printing of lithographs became an important business, although colour lithography was not developed until the 1870s.

The increasing popularity of the caricature was largely helped by the mechanization of the printing press, imported from England at the end of the 1820s. It doubled the number of exemplars that could be produced hourly and therefore cut the cost in half. Hence, the growth of the press is spectacular in the 19th Century.[7]

Footnotes for chapter 1

1) Maurice Serullaz, Drawings in the Louvre, The French Drawings, p. 7

2) Jean Adhemar, Honore Daumier, Drawings and Water-colours

3) It was not until the late 19th century with Odilon Redon that lithography became a technique used as a means of artistic expression. Colour printing was developed only in the latter half of the century.

4) Claude Marks, From the Sketchbooks of the Great Artists, pp 262 - 263

5) Judith Weschler, A Human Comedy, Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris

Richard Sennett claims in his introduction to Weschler's book that the growth of cities was quite bewildering to people in the 19th century. There was a confusion about who was in the city and what the city would become. Parisians of the last century felt very impermanent. He says there was a desire to impose order, to fix meaning, to arbitrate in the midst of chaos. Caricature and stylized gesture were such codes of arbitration. The essence of this art was that it presented a fixed character, a stable

personality, an ideogram. The uncertainty of the city populace made them willing to believe in a code system which froze personality into fixed and static forms. A stranger became a figure whose nature could be understood by analyzing appearance.

6) Daumier used to frequent the Louvre, looking at art works and sometimes copying the masters.

7) By 1832 with increased mechanization and lower subscription fees the number of newspapers sold in France jumped by 50% and this percentage continued to rise.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2

From about the time he was fifteen, Daumier was to be seen in the editorial rooms of various republican papers, where he met artists and article writers, quite possibly including Charles Philipon. In 1830 Philipon became Daumier's editor, beginning to publish his drawings on 22nd July of that year. The first of these appeared in La Silhouette, Philipon's first journal published 1829 - 1830.

Philipon was a free lance artist of sorts with more ideas than talent, but acquainted with a considerable number of artists, chiefly caricaturists. With the popularity of lithography continually growing, Philipon saw an opportunity to realise some of his ideas and brought from Lyons to Paris his brother-in-law Gabriel Aubert, a notary who had bankrupted himself through speculations. With Philipon as his silent partner, Aubert opened a shop at 15 Galerie Vero-Dodat, which for many decades remained one of the most successful print shops in Paris. From 4th September 1830, Aubert was to publish the greater part of Daumier's works, either singly or in albums, separately from their appearance in journals.

After some experience publishing La Silhouette (a pot-pourri magazine which featured in each issue an

original lithograph by artists such as Charlet[1] and Travies along with satirical articles by Philipon, Balzac and others), Philipon created the weekly periodical La Caricature, which first appeared on 4th November, 1830. Philipon gathered around him young artists and writers with Republican beliefs similar to his own who formed his "equipe" or "gang". Philipon served as manager and Aubert as publisher. Philipon referred to La Caricature as the journal La Silhouette under another name.

La Caricature consisted of four pages of text (two leaves) and two, one page lithographs or one double lithograph on heavy paper, often hand coloured. Lithographs were displayed separately in Aubert's large, well located shop window. For those unable to read - and in the mid-19th century, half the population of Paris was still illiterate - someone was available to read the captions aloud. Even though its circulation only reached 850, the paper gained wide notoriety.

It was not immediately concerned with political issues however. The first fourteen issues of La Caricature contained amusing illustrations and in the eighth issue of 23 December, 1830 the first political subjects appeared. These were by Alexandre Decamps and Raffet[2] and still mild in comparison with the later vituperative excoriations to be produced by Travies, Grandville and Daumier.

During Daumier's years of study and hackwork, he had observed the gathering storm of discontent with the Bourbon Restoration of Louis XIII and Charles X. This dissatisfaction grew out of strict censorship, countless arrests, the Jesuit domination over Charles X, and the appointment to the council of his favourite the Prince de Polignac, a rabid royalist who conceived the infamous Ordinances of 1830, one of the principle catalysts setting off the July Revolution. The Ordinances issued on 25 July, 1830, prohibited the publication of any journal of less than twenty five pages without official authorization; it dissolved the chamber of deputies and called for new elections; and it restricted the franchise to the wealthiest 25% of the existing electors. The journalists retaliated with a manifesto calling on all France to resist, and there followed rioting on the streets during the "Three Glorious Days" (Les Trois Glorieuses) of 27, 28 and 29 July.[3]

Daumier probably mounted one of the barricades which sprang up during the brief July Revolution. It is said that he procured a scar on his forehead from one of the skirmishes against the reluctant troops of the elder Bourbon line. While the people carried on fighting, the scheming and wily politicians pulled the strings. Charles X fled, Louis-Phillipe was made "King of the French", a somewhat less lofty title than that of the earlier monarchs, who had been known as kings"of

France and Navarre". The newspapers dubbed this neophyte king "the July Catastrophe" as he quickly surrounded himself with unpopular ministers and parasites.

The Revolution of 1830 gained two important objectives: freedom from the dull, narrow-minded, Church dominated royal court, and the relaxation of the censorship of Charles X's reign. During the several months required for the July monarchy to become partially stabilized the new regime was cautious where newspapers were concerned, particularly in August while the new Chamber of Deputies was rewriting the Charter. The Government at first took care to observe one of the main provisions of the new Charter in regard to the press, that "every French man has the right to express his opinions". Daumier and others took full advantage of this respite from censorship to draw many caricatures which previously would have been considered seditious.

Daumier's first depiction of the new king showed Louis-Phillipe shearing a flock of Republican Sheep. In another early caricature, a Bonapartist mob around the Vendome Colum is being dispersed by Marshal Lobau squirting syringes. Actually fire hoses were used, for the first time in history in such an incident. The syringe became one of the many symbols used to characterize the new ruler and his July Monarchy.

Daumier's early lithographs were drawn in the style of

Charlet and Raffet. Louis-Phillipe and his members of Parliament continued to be Daumier's dominant subject-matter throughout the duration of his work for La Caricature. But whereas his lithographs for 1833 were largely single figure caricatures, he increasingly depicted groups in his subsequent work bringing to them a compositional clarity welcome in French pictorial satire. Attendant on this was Daumier's preference for brief captions in the believe that strong visual caricature requires little or no explanation. Earlier french practice favoured lengthy inscriptions often because the images were weakly conceived and ineffectual without accompanying text. Daumier's only captions tended to be terse, although as far as it was possible to ascertain, many of the captions accompanying his lithographs were written by others, notably Philipon.

Daumier was not initially considered by Philipon to be his best artist - at least not in the first five months of their collaboration. Like many Le Charivari readers, he put Grandville and Gavarni above Daumier. These two artists we must remember were five and four years older than Daumier and were already well known. Most readers of political journals looked for strokes of wit - or of the pencil that made them laugh at the first glance, a form of compensation for their impotent anger at the government. If the caricature was successful it was smiled at, passed around and forgotten as soon as

the next day's appeared. The joke, the caricature was precisely what the reader expected; the drawing might be polished, but it was not a work of art. The term 'caricature' itself restricted its artistic worth. Daumier's achievements were greatest when he went beyond caricature. The reader might be impressed by Daumier's drawing, but he was too absorbed in his day-to-day politics to appreciate its qualities: the beauty of line, the amazing precision of each gesture, the volume, the splendid equilibrium in the attitudes of his figures. Only those who did not take a narrow view of things, men such as Balzac or Victor Hugo could appreciate Daumier as an artist.

Yet Daumier continued to work as a caricaturist and his popularity increased.

Within a few months, criticisms of the July Monarchy began to appear in the editorial pages of Philipon's weekly La Caricature, one of the three journals in Paris at that time that represented the opposition, the other two being the large dailies of power and authority, Le National and La Tribune. A little later Le Charivari was to join them, along with many smaller sheets.

Of them all La Caricature was the most formidable attacker of Louis-Phillipe and his henchmen. The censors

sent police almost daily to raid Aubert's newspaper offices and gallery, while several printers kept him supplied with more works of art to sell in order to pay the mounting fines.

In its existence of almost five years, from 4 November 1830 to 27 August 1835, La Caricature published every Thursday an issue of four pages of text, with many sarcastic articles written by Philipon and his staff, plus a column titled "Pochades" (Rough Sketches) chiefly concerning current events. Each issue also contained two original lithographs printed on fine white paper (blanc de chine). These lithographs, some hand coloured as was the practice in the 19th century, were declared by Philipon to be "masterpieces" which he said were bound to increase in value. In most issues of La Caricature Philipon gave an explanation of the lithograph along with the name of the artist. He failed to do so only when he was in prison serving one of his many sentences for "exciting contempt for the government and insulting the person of the king".[4]

Philipon himself contributed ten drawings to La Caricature. One of his early abusive blasts, not published in the paper but offered for sale at Aubert's during the first week of May 1831, was titled "Soap Bubbles". It was a line of soap bubbles evaporating in the air each labelled as one of the "Promises of July" (1830).

In reply the police raided the print shop and confiscated the stone and Philipon was brought to trial for sedition.

In his trial Philipon and his lawyer, reiterating that freedom of the press had been promised by the July Monarchy, insisted "the pen is free, the crayon ought to be.... the promises of July have been a cruel hoax." The trial dragged on for months, with the day to day proceedings reported at great length by Philipon in La Caricature. Proclaiming as his motto, "War on the abuses", Philipon protested: "It is the mission of caricature to probe, to investigate the ridiculous, to do justice".[5] Nevertheless he was sentenced to prison in mid-July 1831.

During one of his numerous trials (14th November 1832) Philipon quickly sketched a four-part transformation sequence changing a front view of Louis-Phillipe into a pear with a face by cleverly incorporating the king's wig and side whiskers as stem and leaves. This greatly amused the jury ('poire' means fool in french as well as pear) but, although Philipon maintained that the pear was not an insult, that no limit should be placed on the freedom of artists and that there were similar resemblances to be found throughout nature, his arguments were to no avail and La Caricature was fined again. This symbol of Louis-Phillipe was to become

famous as an illustration in history books for years to come. (fig 2)

The first record of Daumier's full acceptance on Philipon's staff is the rare lithograph "Gargantua" (fig 3), reviving the hero of the famous satire by Rabelais. The subject matter is a fat pear-headed glutton, seated on a throne which resembles a commode, in the Place de la Concorde (the Palais de Bourbon where the deputies met is seen in the background). Baskets full of coins are being dumped into Gargantua's mouth by means of a ladder. Servants carry the baskets up the ladder and a starving crowd is laying the coins at Gargantua's feet. This idea may have been thought up by Philipon, but the drawing shows the artist's own growing awareness of balanced composition and interpretation. The print is signed with the soon to become famous 'h. Daumier'.

The print first appeared on the 15th December 1831; raids on Aubert's shop occurred for three days, the prints being seized by the police. Daumier was brought to trial in February 1832 and given a sentence of six months in Sainte-Pelagie, the prison for political offenders, where Philipon had already been serving his sentences. Daumier's sentence was postponed but, like the publisher Aubert and the printer Delaporte, he was fined 500 francs.

It is quite possible that Daumier might never have

served a sentence for the publication of "Gargantua", but with the appearance of "The Washermen" printed on 22nd August, 1832 his trial was revived. This showed the Attorney-General Persil scrubbing the tri-colour flag of the Republic while the minister d'Argout of the famous nose and old Marshal Soult hold the corners of the flag. The caption reads "The blue will be alright, but this damnable red sticks like blood!" (An all- white flag was a symbol of the Bourbon monarchy.)

Daumier was arrested, taken to Sainte-Pelagie but transferred to the private prison-hospital of Dr. Pinel through the influence of Philipon, who by this time was serving a sentence there. It was not too unpleasant an experience, for many of Daumier's most liberal friends shared his captivity.

Fired with enthusiasm, after his release from Dr. Pinel's in January 1833, he returned at once to lithographing the two lengthy series of portraits of the eminent men surrounding Louis-Phillipe. As models for these drawings of the important ministers and deputies, Daumier produced some thirty-six small busts in clay, exaggerating the outstanding features of each.

As with his lithographs and drawings, the modelling was done entirely from memory. These astonishing little caricatures in three dimensions are, despite their

small size among the most "modern" sculptures produced in the 19th century, with a violent exuberance which is almost expressionist.

Working in sculpture gave a solidity and trust to Daumier's drawing and he often used these heads as a basis for his lithographs in La Caricature. For many of the bust lithographs, Daumier contrived a symbolic coat of arms, sarcastically detailing the person's characteristics. Although only five of the bust portraits appeared in La Caricature the series was continued in Philipon's new paper Le Charivari.

Philipon had begun publication of his new daily journal, Le Charivari on 1st December, 1832. From this time on until his retirement forty years later, Daumier was a constant contributor, except for the short period in the 1860s when he was temporarily dismissed.

The year 1834 was a particularly prolific and accomplished one for Daumier, who between January and July produced all five of his prints for the Association Mensuelle Lithographique. It was under this title that Philipon published and sold monthly a large single print in order to off-set the fines incurred by La Caricature. Among them are some of Daumier's finest creations, including "Le Ventre Legislative" (fig 4) and "Rue Transnonian"(fig 5). The latter shares with

many of his lithographs of that year a new sombreness reflective of current political events.

A new law restricting the formation of political and literary associations was passed in March and in the following month a weavers strike in Lyons was suppressed by force. In reaction rioting broke out in Paris which led to the National Guard massacre of the occupants of a house on the Rue Transnonian. One thousand, five hundred people were arrested and the Chamber of Peers, voting itself a High Court, began prosecuting the leaders of the insurrection. The trial lasted nine months and the fact that the proceedings were as much political as legal was the subject of great controversy.

Discontent mounted and in the early summer of 1835 references to an expected attempt on Louis-Phillipe's life began to appear in several of the newspapers, La Caricature among them. An assasination attempt was in fact made on 29th July, the anniversary of the July Revolution of 1830. The king survived, but a number of by-standers were killed. The government regarded the incident as conclusive proof that the press incited treasonous activity and should be more heavily supervised. In Septmber 1835 new censorship were proclaimed.

Prints were singled out for special control. The government managed to circumvent the Charter of 1830 (which

secured the printed word a measure of protection) by arguing that pictures were the equivalent of action not words and therefore more harmful. On this basis every lithograph, etching and drawing was required to receive the prior authorization of the Minister of the Interior in Paris or a prefect in the provinces before it could be published or displayed.

Political caricature in France was effectively brought to an end, for the time being at least. After four years and ten months in publication, La Caricature announced its own demise in its last issue of 27th August, 1835, reprinting in the shape of a pear the article of the new law that pertained to caricature. The final lithograph was authored by Daumier and entitled "So this is all we got ourselves killed for!"

Daumier's energies as a lithographer were thereafter redirected primarily into social caricature, especially as a contributor to Le Charivari, which because of its broad based content survived the September laws. Political caricature would not reappear in France until after the revolution of 1848, and then only briefly, and not again until then end of the Second Empire. Nevertheless between 1830 and 1835, especially through Daumier's contributions to La Caricature, it had been elevated with a vengeance to a position worthy of serious attention; so much so that it was pictorial

rather than written journalism that provoked government prohibitions.

Footnotes for Chapter 2

1) Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet was the artist admired by all the young artists when Daumier was young. He was brought up in a Bonapartists fervour and always remained faithful to it. He was passionately against the restoration government, and his presence in Le Charivari demonstrated the journal's republican/ anti-monarchy stance.
See Roger Passeron, Daumier, pp 38 - 39.

2) Raffet was a student of Gros and Charlet who entered the Academie Suisse in 1823. He witnessed in his lithography a remarkable mastery of the clair-obscur; he was the author of an 'Album de Crimee' and of a 'Campagne de Rome' but his talent shone above all in the prints where he worked an unreal light in the Napoleonic period, eg. 'La Grand Revue Nocturne'.

3) The Revolution was actually engineered by the manoeu-vrings of Tallyrand and the banker supporters of the Duc d'Orleans, Louis-Phillipe of the younger Bourbon line. See Alfred Cobban, A History of Modern France, Volume 2: 1799 - 1871, pp 90 - 97.

4) Charles F. Ramus, Daumier, 120 Great Lithographs, p 11.

5) Charles F. Ramus, Ibid., p 12.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3

Turning to the human comedy, Daumier began his production for Le Charivari and several other journals that eventually totalled more than 3,500 lithographs that gently mocked the morals and manners, the happy days and the times of sadness and tribulation, of the poor and middle classes. While the early genre subjects lacked the powerful drawing of his portraits and his abusive political caricatures, they were carefully done, and the many different series soon began to show more freedom in drawing.

One of the first genre series was 'French Types' not original in subject matter since other artists before Daumier had drawn tradesmen and craftsmen. He drew them under such titles as "The Little Law Clerk", "The Cook" or "The Butcher". At times months separate the start and end of a Daumier series, and often several series overlap. This is the case with "Sketches of Expressions", which ran from January 1838 through March 1939, overlapping both "Caricaturana" and "Course in Natural History".

The long series of "Caricaturana", one hundred lithographs comprising the overall career of Robert Macaire was begun by Daumier on 20th August 1836 and continued to 25th November, 1838. Unfortunately this famous

series is at times somewhat tedious becaus of the lengthy captions concocted by Philipon. Without the superb drawings, the series would be almost uninteresting today. While it was running in Le Charivari this set, depicting the typical business promoter, was extremely popular since a money-making craze was sweeping over France.

Because the reign of Louis-Phillipe saw a great expansion of industry, many new businesses were springing up. The financial mischief and skullduggery of the period were admirably displayed by Robert Macaire, adroit swindler, and his stooge Bertrand. The character of Robert Macaire, the archetype of charlatans, first portrayed by the talented and inventive actor Frederick Lemaitre became, through Daumier's drawings, one of the most important caricatural symbols of the nineteenth century - the confirmation of the existence of widespread corruption in the governmental and business worlds.

Daumier's "Caricaturana" lithographs were extremely popular, enjoying an unmatched success, with Le Charivari's subscriptions jumping to 3,000 copies while Aubert's shop was selling some 2,500 individual prints and 6,000 with text. The drawings, appearing in the paper two or three times a week were already being sold in albums before the series ended.

During the period of more than two years that Daumier worked on these lithographs, he began to lose his rather dry and precise genre manner; his drawing became more loose, with added feeling, more expressive gestures, sharper accentuations. His personality as an artist began to appear under a different light as his humanism, took on a richer quality. "Caricaturana" was to become one of the most famous series he ever created.

Turning from the early influence of his classics-imbued father and his instruction under Lenoir in his drawing from antique casts, Daumier had taken an anti-academic point of view. In many of his prints in the series "Sketches of Expressions" he particularly satirized the classical theatre (fig 6). The comic spoofs of mythological characters in the series "Ancient History" continue this attack upon the classical school. During the period from December 1841 to January 1843 Daumier drew several small series, "Silhouettes", "Monomanias" and a second Robert Macaire set of twenty prints. There also appeared fifteen half-length figures in "Tragico-Classical Faces", again lampooning the classical theatre.

During the 1840s, Daumier produced his series on lawyers and Judges, "The Men of Justice". This is perhaps Daumier's best known series of lithographs. Some of the most beautiful watercolours by Daumier, sought by

collectors since the nineteenth century are associated with this series. In these versions of daily courtroom antics and corridor scenes, as well as in the water-colours and oils painted later in his life, Daumier shows the venal courts and legal practitioners in a candid light. He portrays judges asleep at the trials, and emphasises the arrogance of the double tongued attorneys.

Daumier worked extensively on the theme of both lawyers and actors. He saw lawyers as actors, of comedy or tragedy more engrossed in their performance than in their clients. Out of this situation, which is on the whole rather tragic, Daumier's crayon and brush created comedy. To illustrate this view let us take the example of the "Men of Justice" series.

This lithograph (fig 7) shows three people leaving the courtroom, all three dressed in black: a lawyer, a woman and her child. The woman and child are down cast. The child is crying. Both are leaning forwards bent by the weight of their distress; the lawyer however, is very upright, his head thrown back, his eyes closed, while a profound expression of satisfaction radiates from his face. The caption, which this time is by Daumier himself reads, "Admittedly you have lost your case, but surely you must have enjoyed listening to my pleading". The combination of drawing and caption

is staggering. The fate of the widow and orphan is tragic. But the mastery of Daumier's drawing translates this trio into a dimension that transcends the tragic aspect and uses it to pillory the lawyer, in the form of a joke at first sight.

The composition of the lithograph also merits closer examination. The three figures rise like a sheaf; its sinews are formed by the folds in their clothes, especially the lawyer's. His head forms the focal point which Daumier sets high above the rest, standing out clearly against the white background. Note too the gestures of his hand, the fingers playing absently with the jabot. Everything about the lawyer reveals his character.

Many of Daumier's drawings and watercolours are concerned with the subject of lawyers and judges. There are a certain number of preparatory sketches for the series "Men of Justice" which have survived and many drawings and watercolours on the same theme dating largely from the second half of the nineteenth century.

Hardly any of the studies for the litho series the "Good Bourgeois of the July Monarchy" and none of the sketches for the "Robert Macaire" series of 1838 has survived.

After the watercolours of "Lawyers and Judges" of 1845

we must wait until 1848 to find more drawings. Daumier had kept quantities of them - portfolios swollen with sketches and studies. It is thought that Daumier must have destroyed them because he considered that he had not been able to realise his ideas to the full until after the February Revolution.[1] In this he was partly right. Before that date his drawing already showed power, sustained by memories of sculptors of the past, Michelangelo or Puget - but it had a certain sameness, too rounded a contour which tended in the long to become monotonous and boring. Fortunately, the drollery of his silhouettes and the absurdity of his situations save his chalk drawing from a trace of vulgarity it otherwise might possess.

Daumier never drew from life. He had a great memory. He strolled about with his hands behind his back and stored images in his brain. His method of working accounts for the diversity of his technique. Sometimes he drew in black chalk, sometimes he washed with flat tones of watercolour, and sometimes he drew with a pen and retouched with chalk for strengthening of shadows and lines.

He never used a sketch book. He drew on a very wide range of paper of all sizes and qualities; unfortunately few of his drawings were fixed so many were lost.

From 1848 onwards, Daumier's style really changed. It

was at this time that he discovered that forms are modelled by light, that light dissolves contours and that it causes even the solid centres of objects to appear vague, seen with the effect of shadow.

Daumier's drawings of actors and lawyers in this period, can perhaps show his interest in depicting movement, the play of light upon figures and his interest in dramatic gestures.

Daumier had always been interested in theatre. He must have been influenced by the stage when he accompanied his father to the rehearsals of his play "Phillipe II" and later when he saw it, from the auditorium, during performances. This would have made an impression on a young child. Daumier certainly remembered it. His interest in the theatre is illustrated eloquently in lithographs, drawings, watercolours and paintings. Several well known actors were his friends, and he had access to all performances at certain theatres as well as to the wings and back stage areas.

No artist before Daumier had treated the theatre, a world in which the ridiculous and the marvellous go hand in hand amidst passions and illusions. The audience is an anonymous constantly changing crowd, a source of facial expression that never stales. The theatre lighting is a central feature in Daumier's work, and

it yields a wealth of effects. He would observe individual actors and long before Toulouse-Lautrec he noted the effect of the footlights on the performer's faces. Daumier's drawings and paintings of the theatre were all done from memory, and he found the enraptured (or bored) audiences as interesting as the action of the stage.

A lithograph which shows the audience is "A Literary Discussion in the Upper Circle (fig 8). Although executed as a lithograph the drawing is fresh and dynamic. Two members of the audience disagree and are coming to blows under the horrified eyes of a dozen or so spectators, some of whom are trying to separate them while others opt for safety. This piece shows him as an undisputed master of gestures and facial expressions.

Daumier's concern with the effect of light on figures, to suggest movement, to create dynamic effect is evident in his two drawings "Scene from a Moliere Comedy" (fig 9) and "Le Malade Imaginaire" (fig 10).

"Scene from a Moliere Comedy", a pen and ink drawing and wash shows Daumier breaking down the figures into a web of lines and shadows which make them a vibrant mass of light and dark suggesting movement.

"Le Malade Imaginaire" is also a pen and ink drawing

and wash. It is one of Daumier's finest surviving drawings on this subject. The drawing demonstrates Daumier's sensitive draughtsmanship and his dramatic use of light and dark; and the lovely, fluid gestures of the figures.

Daumier's drawings of lawyers and judges from this period, the same subject matter as his early lithographic series show the same flexibility; his ability to suggest form and modeling by light, by breaking up the contour of a figure so that it became a web of nervous lines blocked in with watercolour washes.

"The Council for the Defence" (fig 11) is another strong drawing; pleading forcefully, the barrister, in a powerfully stretched gesture, points to a disturbing figure in the dock. The hands and arms play a vital role in interpreting and underlining what is being said. The hands are open, arms are outstretched and lowered - these are signs that evidence is being presented. The movement of the sleeve as the dishevelled lawyer seems to call the court as witness to his client's dim-wittedness gives a dynamic and theatrical feel to the drawing. The lawyer is addressing himself perhaps to the judge or jury and this point, out of the picture frame seems to be the light source of the drawing. A soft yellow light moulds the features of the lawyer, throws the folds of his massive

gown into shadow and gently defines the features of the accused.

"Barrister Pleading" (fig 12) is a pen and ink drawing with wash. This drawing is the most characteristic of Daumier's sketches of arm movements, sweeping wildly, to produce shock effects on the judge and jury. There is no real contour of the figure, he is a mass of twisting, nervous pen lines, given definition by the well-handled watercolour washes.

"In Camera" also known as "Testimony of a minor" (fig 13) is a drawing of three judges questioning a little girl. It is a pen and ink drawing with watercolour wash and gouache. The light from a high window seems to be pouring down over the judge and his two assessors. Thus the judges are seated against the light, which falls straight on the little girl's face. She is embarrassed and overawed, speaking softly, and the judge leans towards her, and asks her to repeat what she has said so he can understand clearly. In this drawing Daumier relies almost totally on the modelling effect of light and dark, while he uses the barest of outlines to sketch in details.

Politically, developments were occurring in Paris at the time. The February Revolution of 1848 came unexpectedly, caused by a crisis in trade and industry and

by Louis-Phillipe's refusal to accept any measures of reform. With mobs of protestors in the streets, the National Guard failed Louis-Phillipe, the Hotel de Ville (City Hall) was taken over by the people and on 24th February, 1848, Louis-Phillipe abdicated.

After the insurrection and the bloody days of June 1848, there followed the short-lived provisional government and the election of Louis-Napoleon as president, with his quick change to Emperor in 1852.

The Provisional Assembly, following Louis-Phillipe's abdication, gave encouragement to art. It ordered a competition for a painting or sculpture of the Republic to replace the portrait of the old King at the Hotel de Ville. Of some nine hundred entries, twenty sketches were accepted in April 1848 with Daumier's canvas awarded eleventh place. Although only a preliminary sketch, "The Republic Nourishes and Instructs Her Children" poses a powerful and dignified woman seated as she nurses two small boys, while a third sits at her feet reading a book. Two commissions came to Daumier from the Ministery of the Interior, but he was dilatory in filling these orders and in 1850 was still promising to deliver his painting "The Republic", which he never finished. At the same time he worked on the bas-reliefs of "The Fugitives", but this large sculpture like many of his paintings, seemed never to reach a finished state.

In 1850 the detestable figure of Ratapoil (Hairy Rat) resembling Louis-Napoleon with his pointed beard and drooping moustache, began to appear in Daumier's lithographs as a personification of militarism. Ratapoil, as Daumier conceived him, was the agent - supporter of Louis-Napoleon, the propagandist, outshouting the people in his mad endeavour to engineer Louis' confirmation as President of France and, eventually, his assumption to the title of Emperor. In drawing Ratapoil, Daumier was striving to undermine the insidious popularity and 'Caesarism' of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte.

By a decree of 17th February, 1852, the press was brought under more severe control than it had known since the First Empire. No journal dealing with political or social questions was to be issued without the permission of the government; the list of press offences was enlarged and penalties increased; those accused were to be tried without a jury; after three warnings a journal might be suspended or even suppressed. Under this strict censorship of political caricature, Daumier once again turned to the streets of Paris for the daily happenings and fads of the time.

Footnotes for Chapter 3

1) The February Revolution came unexpectedly, caused by a crisis in trade and industry and the refusal of Louis-Phillipe to accept any measures of reform. A bloody battle was fought in Paris and Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte became the new president of the Republic on December 10, 1848. See Jan Rie Kist, Honore Daumier 1808 - 1879.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4

Louis-Napoleon had succeeded Louis-Phillipe in the February Revolution of 1848; yet his was not a smooth transition of power. He had to win over the confidence of the ruling classes, and the "people". The new ruling-class, Louis-Napoleon and his ilk, had won political power only in alliance with the people. They had to further their own interests while keeping the masses contented. If they were not to be overthrown in their turn, they had to meet the material demands of the people. Thus a campaign of the expansion of credit, railways, industry, trade and even the rebuilding of Paris created an atmosphere of economic development which was necessary for Louis-Napoleon to stay in power.

An age of materialism and money-making was opening, selfish and hagridden with class hatred, but all classes were striving, with varying success, for the same thing - a higher standard of living.

Daumier reflected the changing pre-occupations of the Parisians in his lithographs of this period: the hoop-skirt craze (see fig 14 and 15), the fashion of giant women's skirts which complemented the new wide boule-vards, the Chinese Vase mania, music halls, amateur actors, the new omnibuses, the stock exchange, the

great excitement over the appearance of several comets (fig 16).

Daumier did not fail to express his opinion to the vast re-construction of Paris by Baron Hausemann (Prefect of the Seine from 1853 to 1870) at the instigation of Napoleon III. This project led to the demolition of many houses, most of them working class homes to create the great thoroughfares we know today. One of the reasons for the creation of these thoroughfares was the study undertaken by military strategists for the Revolution of 1830, the riots of 1834 (Rue Transnonian), the Revolution of 1848 and the battles of June in that year. The army became bogged down and broke into splinter groups in the narrow populous streets between the barricades they demolished and those that went up again almost immediately. This prevented the use of artillery and inhibited mobility and thus the deployment of massive military forces during disturbances.

The republicans and Daumier were well aware of these anti-revolutionary motives, but they could not say anything. So Daumier showed some of the small everyday happenings, the upheavals in the daily routine: the couple in bed who wake up one fine morning to find workmen looking in at their window, asking them to get out so the house can be demolished; or the new look of Rue Rivoli, where everyone is stumbling about in

the rubble in the thick of dangerous hackney-cab traffic. These lithographs do not go very far, even on the level of art, since the lithographs are undistinguished. Yet this is the only kind of protest possible against the government's decisions.

In 1859, Daumier introduced his first personal adaption of Monnier's character Joseph Prudhomme, the typical representative of the middle-class. This consummate example of bourgeois taste and manners was to reappear intermittently over several years in more than forty of Daumier's lithographs.

In February 1860, Daumier was dismissed by Le Charivari. It was probably due to an editorial dispute; some sources[1] say that Philipon told Daumier that subscribers had threatened to cancel their subscriptions as long as Daumier, who kept repeating old themes, continued there; others dispute this.[2] While he was now free at last from "hauling his cart"[3] as he described his journalistic labours, free to paint and create sculpture, he was to know wretched poverty for nearly two years, and his income was so low that he was forced to take odd jobs.

Previously, in the years 1853 - 54, Daumier who had not left Paris since 1815, spent the summer at Langrune and the spring at Barbizon. Here he discovered the sea

and the country. He associated with the painters at Fontainbleu whom Millet introduced him to. His palette was enriched, and he was encouraged to draw. He then drew in wash, then chalk and pencil lines. After his dismissal from Le Charivari in 1860, his drawing underwent a change. The preceeding use of watercolour wash disappeared to give way to the use of black chalk applied in heavy strokes for the broad modelling of forms. This stroke, alone or heightened by watercolour or gouache was maintained until about 1865.

This was the period of railway carriages and omnibuses to which Daumier owed his first patron, Mr. Lucas the American collector. These were favourite subjects with Daumier. He was always fascinated by the way human beings were thrown together at random, packed helplessly in a verhicle to which they had entrusted themselves. It produced a rich source of expressions and attitudes which he never tired of studying and describing.

"The Third Class Waiting Room" (fig 17) is a crayon drawing with watercolour. Daumier's watercolours are in reality coloured drawings. This is very clear in this work whose outstanding quality is due to the priority given to the drawing. The figure of the standing woman is drawn in simple broad strokes. Her figure and her child are emphasised while the other passengers

are sketched in lightly with a deceptive simplicity.

"The Third Class Carraige" (fig 18) is oil on canvas, but the precision and emphasis of the drawing is outstanding - in the hands and the body of the peasant woman with the sleeping child in her arms, for example. So careful a treatment, indicates the domination of the preliminary drawing or traced design that has come down to us. The figures are confidently described by the strong line work.[4]

Daumier did find some work after leaving Le Charivari, however. When Carjat founded Le Boulevard late in 1861, he announced that Daumier was to produce a group of lithographs for the new paper. The first appeared in March 1862. There were ten drawings in all, among the best compositions Daumier ever lithographed. Carjat left Daumier totally free to produce what he liked. Many of Daumier's prints for Le Boulevard dealt with the changing habits of the bourgeoisie and the changing times of Paris. While he had lost his Le Charivari income he had gained immeasurably in his breadth of vision, his more subtle composition, his humanism and understanding of character.

It was reported that towards the end of 1862 Daumier was suffering from "cruel penory" and that he was forced to sell some of his furniture possibly to pay

moving expenses from the Ile Saint-Louis to Montmartre, where a number of artists had established a new colony.

A large series of wood engravings drawn for the paper Le Monde illustre ran from January 1862 to April 1869. These were reprinted several times from the original blocks for Le Journal illustre, and La Presse illustree.

The editors of Le Charivari becoming aware of how much their subscribers were missing Daumier's works and how much inferior in drawing, and interpretation were the lithographs by Beaumount, Cham, Vernier and others appearing in the paper, invited Daumier to return and gave a banquet in his honour. Along with his first new lithograph on 18th December, 1863, appeared the notice:

> We announce with a satisfaction that will be shared by all our subscribers that our old collaborator Daumier, who for three years had left lithography in order to devote himself entirely to painting, has decided to take up again the crayon which has merited him so much success.[5]

This set the seal on Daumier's rehabilitation. The previous three years since his dismissal from Le Charivari had been years of desperate poverty, but now his financial problems were over. He was earning several hundred francs a month. In 1865 he went to live at Valmondois,

but he kept his Paris rooms at Boulevard de Clichy until 1869.

In the fine weather Daumier liked to get out of Paris; and in the summer he also liked to go and stay with his painter friends. We have seen that he went to Barbizon. Towards 1863 he often went to Auvers-sur-Oise and to Valmondois. These trips were good for his painting. He found it stimulating to leave his Paris studio and stay with painter friends, see their studios and works and talk with them. Daubigny and others asked him for paintings or made him sell some of his works.

Around the year 1864, his drawing style altered once again. His sight was failing, he no longer had the acuteness of the 1840s. He now used pen to draw very broadly to give the effects of mass and the summary modelling that his black chalk - often combined with red - could do no more than suggest.

Sometimes he drew with the pen alone. He shows an astonishing economy of line - obtaining an effect of grandure and majesty previously unknown in his drawings. The subjects also changed, it was the period of clowns and mountebanks.

These drawings tended to be in mixed media usually with a basic structure in black chalk, the contours, re-inforced in ink, had watercolour applied to model

and colour the forms. Drawings of clowns and mountebanks have been seen as images of the urban unrest in France in the late 1840s and early 1850s.[6]

Daumier's drawings of street theatre continue his interest in performers and audiences attaching to it as much importance as to the classic theatre if not more. The fair, the eternal theme of the show, the parade, the mountebanks, the clowns, all those fascinated Daumier. Yet there is particular significance in why he chose this theme near the end of his career. He may have delighted in the spectacle the performers offered, but he also saw the reality of their position. After the entertainment was over, the clowns and acrobats were of no interest to anyone. They were simply there to entertain. Perhaps Daumier could see a similar comparison to his own life. He entertained the people of Paris for nearly forty years and he still felt precarious about his existence - if he failed to amuse, he was redundant; like the street performers. Whenever Daumier portrays people who are poor and whose lives are insecure, he exhibits great compassion and fellow feeling. Nothing arouses these feelings in him more than travelling players, whose possessions amount to no more than what they stand up in and can carry with them: a rickety chair, a drum, a tattered rug, a not very fresh clown's costume. The life of such people inspired some of Daumier's most moving works.

"The Show" (fig 19) is a crayon drawing with wash. It shows an acrobat, as circus barker beating the drum to warn the public that the show is about to start. This is one of Daumier's six works on the subject of the "Tumbler Playing the Drum". In this final water-colour, only the drum player remains in the same position, but he is set in a very busy street, with a tressel of fairground accessories behind him. This group of works shows how earnestly Daumier came to grips with a given subject. With the drum beater, Daumier's drawing seems effortless as in a few lines he gives us the essential pose of the man, the mechanical way he beats the drum and casts a cynical eye on us, the spectators. The cynicism of the man's face is alleviated by the comical pose of the rigid thin man standing on a chair behind him and the contrasting sketch of the "fat lady".

There are two drawings by Daumier on both sides of a sheet of paper showing two acrobats (see fig 20 and 21). Both are crayon drawings. These two drawings demonstrate Daumier's mastery in portraying the human body. The outlines, the proportions, the masses, the gestures are all authentic. They show how closely Daumier studied the attitudes of his subjects before incorporating them in the final composition.

Fairground athletes provide Daumier with a chance to

draw superb male nudes - which he always did very modestly - like "The Athlete" (fig 22). It was probably drawn at the time when Daumier was working on the subject of wrestlers - paintings and drawings - and of fairground strongmen.

Daumier's clowns remind him of his own life - his fatigue and bitterness at making the Parisians laugh regularly once a week. This feeling of an apparently wasted life gives a pathetic note to the drawing done at the end of his career. This same idea led him to do a series of Don Quixote drawings with which about 1868 he was to end his activity as a draughtsman.

The theme of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza was quite popular among the artists Daumier associated with. The theme appealed to Daumier however, who considered that he himself had been a type of Don Quixote; but he drew a great Sancho Panza beside Don Quixote - another aspect of his character - he was a joyous "bon vivant". This aspect to his character - being aware of tragedy and pathos, and at the same time still able to laugh at himself is also reflected in his drawings and watercolours of the clowns and mountebanks.

The Don Quixote series of drawings and watercolours are perhaps the most fluid, most "abstract" graphic works of Daumier. He sums up with a few delft washes

of his brush and crayon the essential movement and character of the two heroes.

The only lithograph that Daumier did on Don Quixote (fig 23) was never printed in his lifetime. Marcel Lecomte the dealer who came to own the lithographic stone, had a printing made by Fernand Mourlot, the master lithographer. It seems as if Daumier, haunted by the subject, had amused himself by drawing it, just to please himself, on a small unused stone lying in his studio. As the subject was of no interest to Le Charivari or to the other newspapers, it had no printing.[7]

Daumier's increasing simplicity in his drawing style from this time is also evident in his lithographs. By 1864 Daumier began his long series warning France of war. The agitation for hostilities, aroused by national and international disturbances throughout Europe, was continuing with the Civil War in the United States and the rush of European powers for control in Mexico, South America and the Orient.

The "Current Event" lithographs Daumier produced from this time on show his last change in style. His figures and groups become more monumental, large in concept, yet classically simple, stripped of all minute details, often appearing as stark silhouettes against bare

backgrounds. This development in style can also be seen in his Don Quixote drawings with their refinement and simplicity. His political lithographs appeared about once a week, as he kept abreast of local elections and foreign campaigns, with the continued prophetic warnings of the ever increasing danger to France from the Prussian war machine. Yet most of the French people ignored these graphic predictions of approaching disaster (see fig 24 and 25).

Among the many symbolic characters Daumier bequeathed to caricaturists in future ages was his personification of France as a beautiful young woman, a majestic figure in classical attire, appearing first in Le Charivari in 1834, and continuing until 1872, at times symbolizing Liberty, the Republic, the National Assembly, Universal Sufferage and the Free Press. The same statuesque figure with a small crown represents Europe (fig 25), while in other variations she may be Justice or Peace. Opposed to this ideal figure, young and pleasing is the old woman Diplomacy, ugly and wrinkled, who sometimes is labelled Conference, Monarchy, the Reactionary Press, or at other times represents the enemies of the moment: England, Austria or Prussia.

The remainder of Daumier's lithographs up to his retirement in 1872 chiefly cover current events. In one of Daumier's last prints he lays to rest two of the

characters he had created, showing Basile the Jesuit, symbol of perversity and hypocrisy, supported by a crutch and holding ontothe arm of Ratapoil, the embodiment of militarism, who is leaning on a club. Daumier's last lithograph appeared in Le Charivari on 24th September, 1872. Daumier stopped drawing in 1869, except for the few lithographs he did for Le Charivari up until 1872.

In October 1877, a committee of thirty important people in the world of arts and letters with Victor Hugo as chairman, arranged an exhibition of Daumier's works. This first showing the only one in Daumier's lifetime, opened the following spring, running from 17th April to 15th June, 1878, at the Galeries Durand-Ruel. In the first room one hundred and twelve lithographs were shown, with the exhibit changing weekly, while in other rooms were drawings and paintings and ten of the 1832 busts, loaned by the Philipon family. The catalogue of the exhibition lists ninety-four paintings, and one hundred and thirty-nine drawings and watercolours. Thirteen of Daumier's friends loaned works to the show, and sixty-six art collectors contributed works they had acquired.

During this notable exhibition another World's Fair was in progress in Paris. It has been suggested that the death of Pope Pius IX earlier in the year may have

kept people away from an art exhibition; or on the other hand, catholics may have avoided the showing because of Daumier's long association with the republican cause. At any rate the attendance was less than expected, and a deficit of some four thousand francs remained, but the exhibition gained Daumier many favourable reviews and increased the sale of his paintings. Through the efforts of his friend Burty, the art critic, Daumier's pension of 1,200 francs was raised by the Ministry of Fine Arts to 2,400 francs beginning in July 1878.

Daumier had not long to enjoy his increased income and fame. In the winter of 1878 - 79, he and his wife gave up the appartment in the city and moved to Valmondois. He died on 11th February, 1879. He was buried at Valmondois on 14th February. Since Daumier had expressed a desire to rest near his friend Corot, who had died in February 1875, his remains were transferred to the Pere Lachaise cemetry in Paris on 16th April, 1880. His wife was also buried there upon her death in 1895.

The originality of Daumier's subject matter, his unusual perception of life around him, can be seen to be important features in his graphis works. Nobody before him had conceived of the idea of representing only the humbler aspects of everyday life; depending solely on the simplest individuals while deliberately avoiding

all anecdote. He studied people's unaffected poses, their features, their pleasures and their troubles.

In Daumier's work women do not feature very prominently, his world is predominantly composed of men; it is upon men that all Daumier's interest concentrates. He does not show us the labourer, the struggling peasant as Millet does, or the worker in the mine. He shows us the man and his companion at home, in the midst of their family occupations or relaxation. His urban scenes, or views of Parisian suburbs are also a great innovation hitherto neglected by artists.

Daumier also introduced a new style of drawing. He dared to despise the usual conventions for finished effects, for which his activity as a lithographer had given him such a distaste; and leaned more towards the concept of a "master drawing" of a Rembrandt or a Goya.

It is hard to see how Daumier learnt to do it for his early years and his first studies are still wrapped in mystery. Daumier's drawings, together with his paintings and sculptures contain the essence of his oeuvre - his caricatures kept him in funds and were at the same time excellent in their own right but he put his whole self into his drawings. He sketched because he simply loved drawing, and his work bears witness to this.

Footnotes for Chapter 4

1) Jan Rie Kist, Honore Daumier 1808 - 1879.

2) Roger Passeron, Daumier.

3) Charles F. Ramus, Daumier, 120 Great Lithographs, p 17.

4) For a long time Daumier found it hard to sell his paintings and watercolours. When he painted for his own pleasure, he would sketch in the work very broadly, then often put it aside in the corner of his studio, working at it again as the fancy took him. When he decided he had adequately expressed his feelings at the first try he would leave the painting as it was. But sometimes a prospective purchaser would ask for a more finished work. In such a case Daumier would resign himself to a great deal of preliminary work, he would make line drawings, square up his sketches, transfer them to the canvas, and only then begin painting. Such was the case in "The Third Class Carraige".
See Robert Rey, Daumier, p 132.

5) Charles F. Ramus, Daumier, 120 Great Lithographs, p 13.

6) T.J. Clarke, The Absolute Bourgeois, pp 119 - 123.

7) In 1935, the stone, which had never been prepared for printing was inked and prints were run off by Fernand Mourlot. Forty copies were printed with a tint from a second stone to obtain an ochre background. Only a single proof had been run off "sur blanc" (on blank) previously. The stone was subsequently perforated and preserved.
See Roger Passeron, Daumier, p. 255.

APPENDIX

Chronological Table

c. 1815 18 June: Napoleon Bonaparte defeated at Waterloo.
22 June: Second Restoration with Louis 18th.

1825 Charles 10th succeeds Louis 18th.
Daumier starts to work at Belliard's.

1830 Les Trois Glorieuses, Revolution in July.
Louis-Phillipe (Citizen-King) succeeds to the throne.

1831 Daumier draws his lithograph "Gargantua";
accepted on to staff of La Caricature.

1832 Le Charivari published.

1834 Silk workers revolt in Lyon.
Daumier draws lithograph "Rue Transnonian".

1835 Government imposes extensive censorship laws.
La Caricature disappears.
Daumier moves to non-political/genre lithographs.

1836 Daumier's "Robert Macaire" series.

1848 Revolution.
Abdication of Louis-Phillipe.
Election of Napoleon III as president.

Government sponsored competition -
Daumier commissioned to do a painting.

1850 "Ratapoil" begins to appear in Daumier's lithographs.

1852 17th February - extensive restrictions on the Press. Proclamation of Napoleon as Emperor.

1854 War with Russia.

1859 Daumier's personal adaption of Monnier's character Joseph Prudhomme.

1860 Daumier loses job with Le Charivari.

1861 Government's expedition to Mexico.

1862 Daumier does series of lithographs for Le Boulevard.

1863 Daumier returns to Le Charivari.
Salon des Refuses exhibition.
Manet's "Le Dejuner sur l'herbe".

1864 Maximilian proclaimed Emperor in Mexico.

1866 Austro-Prussian War.
French troops evacuate Mexico.

1870 19th July French declaration of War on Prussia.
1st September Surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan.
19th September Paris beseiged.

1871 28th January Armistice.

1872 24th September Daumier's last lithograph in
Le Charivari.

1877 Exhibition of Daumier's Work.

1879 Daumier dies.

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A collection of 19th Century French Drawings.1982.

23) Daumier, Un accusateur de la Bourgeoisie.
Arts et Livres de Provence.

24) Daumier and La Caricature.
Karen A. Finlay.
The Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984-5.

25) Encyclopedia Brittanica. Volume 7. p 91.

26) French 19th Century Drawings in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

27) Histoire Generale de la Press Française de 1815 a 1871. Volume II.
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28) Honore Daumier 1808 - 1879.
Lithographs in the South African National Galleries.
Anton Hendriks Collection.
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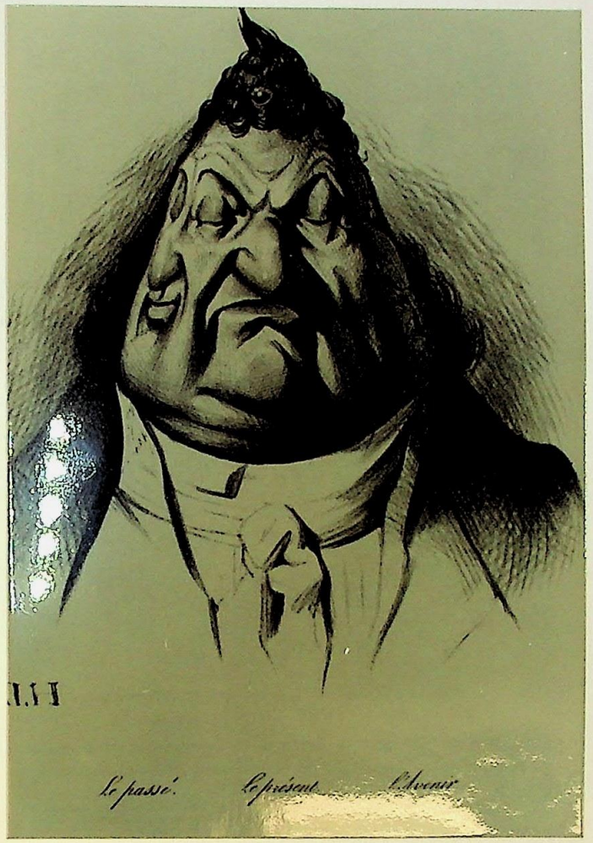
October/November 1970.

29) Master Drawings and Watercolours of the 19th and 20th Centuries.
The Baltimore Museum of Art.
Introduction by Victor Carlson.

30) Le Parisian chez lui au XIXe siecle. 1814 - 1914.
Archives Nationales.
Hotel de Rohan, Novembre 1976 - Fevrier 1977.

31) Microfilm copies, La Caricature, November 1830 to September 1835, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
Microfilm copies, Le Charivari, December 1832 to December 1836, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

1) Le Spectacle - black chalk drawing
   33.4 x 25 cm.



2) Variation on the depiction of Louis-Phillipe
as a pear ('poire' = fool)
9 January, 1834

3) Gargantua, Lithograph
15th December 1831
21.4 x 30.5 cm.

4) Le Ventre legislative - lithograph

1834

5) Rue Transnonian - Lithograph

August-September, 1834.

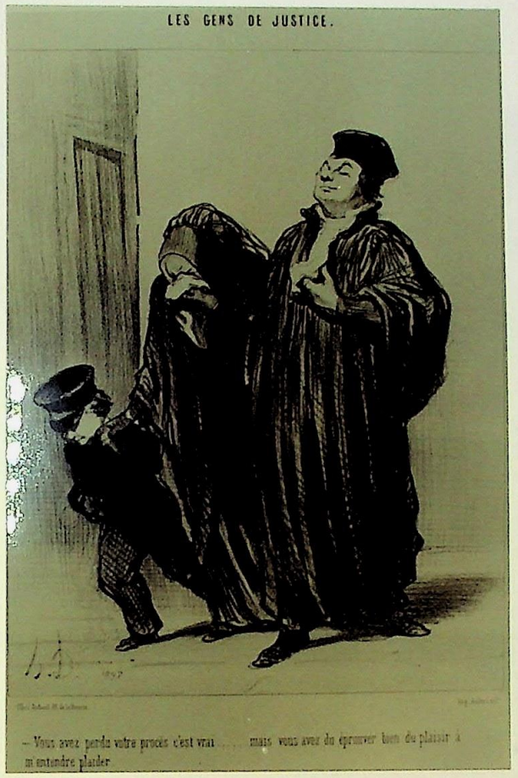
PHYSIONOMIES TRAGICO-CLASSIQUES

Sortez!... (Bajazet.)

6) Get out!.... (Bajazet). Lithograph

11 May, 1841

19.7 x 27.4 cm.



7) You have lost your case.... Lithograph

27 April, 1848

23.9 x 18.3 cm.

Une discussion littéraire à la deuxième Galerie .

8) A Literary Discurrion in the Upper Circle

February 27, 1864.

9) Scene from a Moliere Comedy
Pen and Ink drawing and wash
13.5 x 19.5 cm.

10) Le Malade Imaginaire

Pen and Ink drawing and wash

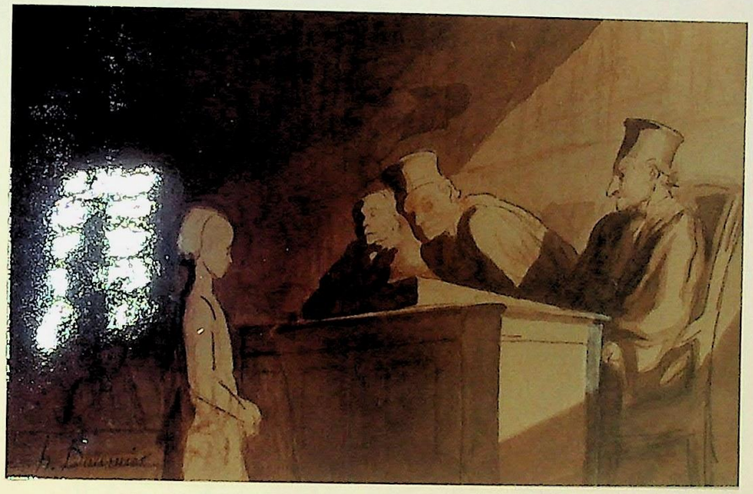
31.9 x 35.6 cm.

11) The Council for the Defence
Crayon and pen and ink with wash
23 x 35.9 cm.

12) Barrister Pleading

Pen and Ink drawing and wash

26.5 x 18.7 cm.



13) In Camera

Pen and Ink drawing, wash and gouache

21.5 x 34.5 cm.

Manière d'utiliser les jupons nouvellement mis à la mode.

14) How to use the now fashionable petticoats.

Lithograph. Le Charivari, 16.4.1856.

LA CRINOLINE EN TEMPS DE NEIGE

15) The Crinoline in Snowy Weather

Lithograph

13.9.1858.

16) Discussing the disasters caused by the comets.

Lithograph

October 30, 1858.

17) The Third Class Waiting Room
Crayon and Watercolour drawing
26.5 x 21 cm.

18) The Third Class Carraige, 1863-5

Oil on canvas

65.5 x 90 cm.

19) The Show

Crayon drawing and wash

40.6 x 29.5 cm.

20) Sketch for a Show
Crayon and charcoal drawing,
heightened with pen and ink
32 x 23.5 cm.

21) Sketch for a Show (verso of fig 20)

Crayon drawing

32 x 23.5 cm.

22) The Athlete

Crayon Drawing

24.5 x 8.7 cm.

23) Don Quixote and Sancho Panza (litho)

circa 1860

11 x 15 cm.

- Pauvre vieux!

111 An old, dazed "Conference" attempts to patch up the battered veteran "European Balance of Power." [Jan. 26, 1869]

24) Pauvre Vieux! lithograph

January 26, 1869.

25) The gifts for Christmas 1868

December 25, 1868

Lithograph.

26) Clown. Coloured crayon drawing

36.5 x 25.9 cm.

27) Two Barristers in Conversation

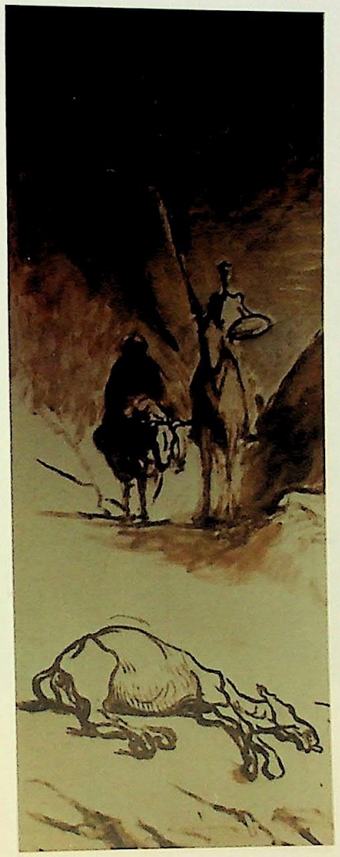
Crayon and pen and ink drawing and watercolour

24 x 17.5 cm.

28) A Confidence

Pen drawing in black-and-red ink on charcoal

23 x 18.5 cm.



29) Don Quixote and the Dead Mule. 1867

Painting

137 x 59 cm.

30) The Drinking Song
Charcoal Drawing
15 x 23.2 cm.