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THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN

HONORÉ DAUMIER'S PRINTS AND THE VICISSITUDES OF
19TH CENTURY REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE.

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INTRODUCTION.

During the 19th Century the people of France lived under many different kinds of governments - monarchy, oligarchy and dictatorship, each brought about by a revolution. During this period the Industrial Revolution came about, bringing with it dramatic changes in the lifestyles of man. For thousands of years, man had changed his way of life very little. Now, within the space of two or three lifetimes, the modern age had begun. New inventions led to increased production. Jobs were now to be found in factories. Rural people crowded into the cities in search of better standards of living. Paris began to undergo staggering growth. During the 19th Century Paris was Europe's largest city with nearly three million people in 1870.

This age was one of achievement with new developments in science and technology, transport, communication and commerce. With this progress, there came many negative elements. France was governed by a Monarchy who was largely supported by the French bourgeoisie, the upperclass, which was made up of shopkeepers, bankers etc. Many of these were the new rich who were making their money due to the Industrial Revolution. A materialistic attitude prevailed amongst the bourgeoisie and the supporters of the King. It was a case of the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. 1

The ideology of 19th Century France was opportunist and one of individualism. The general belief held was that man's pursuit of his own interest would serve the best interest of all.

This theory was the background motivation for the bourgeoisie, for them life meant a struggle for success and this was to be achieved at all costs. With this success came a smug egotistical selfsatisfaction which was widespread among the upperclass.

This was the background of the artist Honore Daumier 1808-1879. Daumier was very much involved in commenting on this background and times. Continually through out his life his works portray a passion for change. He ambitiously endeavoured to change the negative aspects of his society. He was involved in attempting to change political issues, social and even the ideology of 19th Century revolutionary France.

Daumier's work was a reaction against the rapidly growing capitalist society of France. He was revolted by the new craving for wealth and material goods, brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Money and luxury in Daumier's view brought with them a loss of values and morals. 2 The greed for money obsessed the bourgeoisie and caused many social injustices. For Daumier this was embodied in the monarchy government of the day. In many of his prints he attacks the Monarchy of the day, but it must be pointed out that the King was attacked for the simple reason that he embodied, (for Daumier) many social wrongs, inequality being a major one. Daumier belived in equality for all French men and this took the form of a Republican government. Throughout his life Daumier relentlessly strove for a Republic of France. The King and the monarchy government stood in its way, therefore, Daumier attacked this system with the use of his prints and propaganda. 3

For Daumier a Republic of France would spell freedom and perfection, a Kind of utopia where all men would be equal. Those in government who stood in its way found themselves depicted unkindly in his prints.

" But the man who takes to the back streets and alleys because he cannot endure the broad highway will be the first to discover the psychic elements that are waiting to play their part in the life of the collective. Here the artists relative lack of adaption turns out to be his advantage, it enables him to follow his own yearning far from the beaten path, and to discover what it is that would meet the unconscious needs of his age."⁴

This quote from Carl Gustav Jung in his discussion on "the artist" was made in 1966. Although stated a good 87 years after Daumier's death, this quote is significant in understanding the ethos of Daumier's work which was strongly committed to social change. Daumier's "lack of adaption" to the bourgeoisie dominated society of 19th Century France, did indeed allow him to follow his own "yearnings". These "yearnings" were of course for change, equality for all and justice, all of which were to be found under the umbrella of Republican government. These personal yearnings on behalf of Daumier were in turn answering the "unconscious needs" of the majority of suppressed French people of his era. Thus it may also be said that Daumier in his answering to society's needs was in fact emotionally and psychically in tune with his society. The critic, Roger Passeron, commends on this point in his statement about Daumier.

"The artist was deeply affected by his country's vicissitudes".⁵

It must be pointed out here that this link, connecting Daumier's mood swings to that of society's, should not be taken to embrace French society as a whole, but only the deprived classes.

In my thesis, I shall be proposing to trace the effects of social vicissitudes on Daumier's work and vice versa. I shall be tracing this emotional link as Daumier answers to society's unconscious needs. This link in the case of Daumier revealing itself in highly political terms. Daumier executed political prints in the hope of inducing events which would fulfil some of society's needs.

I shall also be charting changes in Daumier's style and variations in his creative motivation. I shall be relating these directly to society's moods and to changes in political events of that era. I intend to emphasise four main moods inherent in Daumier's life's work. These moods swinging firstly from enthusiasm to secondly, a downward path to disillusionment, thirdly, stagnated disillusionment and finally to frustrated anger. Peculiar to each mood a variation in Daumier's style is apparent.

In my first chapter I shall be dealing with Daumier's early enthusiastic mood. The style obvious in this phase is satirically critical. Daumier uses caricature in a direct humorous approach. During this youthful phase he employs physiognomic codes to chide the ruling King and his ministers. Daumier's prints executed during this period, although biting critical, are light hearted and facetious.

This general facetious mood found in Daumier's prints from 1831 to 1834 may be accounted for, by the analogous mood of the majority of French men of this period. The French revolution of 1830 had seen the abdication of the conservative Monarchy Charles X and his replacement, Louis Philippe was a more lenient King. France became an oligarchy with the bourgeoisie as the central axis of power. Although things were far from satisfactory this government was a vast improvement on the previous one. There prevailed a climate of expectancy among French people. It seemed reasonable for them to anticipate improved conditions under this new government, for after all many republican men had their given lives during the Revolution of 1830 in the hope of change.

An additional factor which was conducive to this enthusiastic mood was the Industrial Revolution which brought with it a marked increase in prosperity. Although it was largely the bourgeoisie who were to benefit from this increased prosperity, the working class Frenchman's circumstances did improve slightly. The nearness of the setting up of a Republic government after the Revolution of 1830 had rekindled the fire of hope for such a government.

It was to be a combination of such social and political factors which were to greatly influence Daumier's work of this period. His work is reflective of the prevailing mood of expectancy. An answer to society's needs did seem possible. In answer to these needs Daumier's work is satirically flippant as he utilises caricature to its full potential as he endeavours to bring about a Republican government.

In my second chapter, I shall be proceeding into a more serious development in Daumier's work. This being a movement from humourous, satirical prints which directly attack the King and ministers to a more subtle indirect attack on the bourgeoisie.

Daumier's work during this period which extends from the rioting of 1834 to the revolution of 1848 is heading towards disillusionment. Caricaturing qualities previously apparent in Daumier's prints now are replaced by charged emotionally qualities. It must be pointed out that this period in Daumier's work still retains an element of subtle humour and hope. However, Daumier was on the way towards total disillusionment.

Inevitably, there are of course social and political reasons as to why Daumier's work changed so acutely into this phase. By February 1834 growing discontent was evident among the working class French. After three years of government under Louis-Philippe and his bourgeoisie supporters the plight of the working classes had not improved in the least. It seemed that those who died during the Revolution of 1830 had died in vain. The gap between the upper classes and lower classes increasingly widened.

The turning point in Daumier's work came after the rioting of 1834, resulting from the deprived classes mood swing towards revolt. Riots broke out in Lyon due to a reduction made in the wages of the silk weaves. These riots spread to Paris. These riots were quelled, resulting in a drastic episode which was the massacre of innocent people by the Kings soldiers. Due to this revolt the King had the press completely censored.

A serious mood of discontent set in among the people. Circumstances were much too serious for flippant prints. With heavy censorship Daumier turned to criticism of the bourgeoisie who were the King's pillar of strength. This turn in Daumier's work mirrored the growing distrust of the working classes for the bourgeoisie. Daumier seriously attacked the bourgeoisie during this period by employing a controversial symbolic figure entitled "Robert Macaire".

In my third chapter I shall be dealing with Daumier's years of disillusionment which span the years of 1848 to 1868. This disillusionment is to be seen clearly in his prints. The prints of these years are repetitive and stagnant, verging on boredom. Daumier returned to old safe methods of cliched caricaturing. He returns to the use of "Big Head", boring depictions of politicians with large heads and small bodies. Daumier employs a symbolic character called "Ratpoil" during this period, however this symbol itself is not new, it is based on the old bourgeois figure of Robert Macaire. Although some of these prints are indeed powerful, Daumier's development appears to have stagnated. Daumier reverts backwards to old and safe methods which had previously proved successful. His work seems to have lost all expectancy for change. Critical optimism has vanished from Daumier's prints. We are left only with empty uncommitted repetitive statements. Clearly Daumier was disillusioned, completely at a loss for new tools to implement change.

There are depressing social reasons for Daumier's sterile prints of this period. In 1848, due to a combination of events a revolution came about. This revolution led to the setting up of a republic government and the abdication of Louis-Philippe. At last a Republic was to come to fruition this was to be the "utopia" of the French people. However with the coming Republic came much fighting between radical republicans and moderate republicans as they battled for leadership. This battling resulting in 3,500 killed and much devastation. Daumier and the republicans were themselves devastated with their dreams now to come true there was still war and hardship. Governmental matters were to deteriorate even further when Napoleon III was elected to presidency of the Republic. Napoleon III was to become a dictator and again a Republic was to vanish from sight. The working class people were yet again to come under another suppressive regime.

While the disappointment of the working classes with these events, was immense, Daumier's disappointment was extreme. So much so that he lost all creative vitality and lapsed into repetitive stagnation.

The final phase in Daumier's work I shall be dealing with is that which, spans the years 1868 to the end of his life. During this period Daumier unleashes a fury of pent up anger. Anger, which he had suppressed throughout his life was now unfurled at Napoleon III. The prints of this period are emotionally powerful and moving. No element of comedy is to be found, humour is totally devoid. No particular individual is depicted, strong, single symbols are used. Strong contrasts of dark and light are used, producing dark despairing angry prints. There are several reasons for this drastic awakening of anger and despair on behalf of Daumier.

Napoleon III led France into war with Prussia in 1870. This attack on Prussia in Daumier's eyes was typical of Napoleon III's aggressive striving for power and typical of the ideology of the times. This war went very badly for France resulting in Germany laying siege on Paris. The Proud Parisians refused to surrender throughout the cruel winter of 1870 - 1871. Finally in early January they did so. France was required to pay a war indemnity to Germany of £200 million. After the hardship of war, civil war was then to break out among the French people. This revolt was yet again quelled violently, 20,000 died, 13,000 imprisoned and 7,000 deported.

Daumier's prints reflect the French people's desperation. France had been broken and burdened by debt and many Frenchmen were dead. The moral of the people was sapped by this hardship. However, amidst this hardship and desperation it may be noticed that towards the end of Daumier's life a strong element of hope appears in his prints. The nearness and the finality of this Republic was again to install hope in Daumier and the working class French even after so many years of bitter disappointment.

Through each period in Daumier's life and work, I shall be linking together a common factor apparent in each. This shall be his strong critical attitude which may not be ignored. I hope to portray this criticism as largely constructive as Daumier pinpoints the corrupt sections of his society. By Daumiers use of constructive criticism he hoped to purge out those rotten sections which he felt contaminated the morals of the rest of society. It may be said that although Daumier was in tune with society he was not simply just reflecting its moods and emotion. He was in fact instrumental in endeavouring to change its negataive moods to that of optimistical hope by his use of constructive criticism.

NOTES.

1. An example of the prevailing attitude of 19th Century France, is summed up in a short statement made by a prominent figure in French politics M. Guizot - the monarch's right-hand man. This was "Enrich yourselves", - A History of Modern France, Volume 2 1799-1877 Alfred Cobban. Penguin Books 1965.
2. The sources of the views of Duamier may be found and elaborated on, in the writing of the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau whose work was influential during ^{Although Rousseau believed} the time that luxury did contribute to the welfare of Society, in his opinion moral rectitude was absolutely essential for the very survival of society, and luxury was dramatically opposed to such rectitude. He felt that although luxury gave birth to the arts, it corrupted its offspring. Rousseau thought that evidence of this moral decay was clear to be seen in France of his day. He stated it was clear to him that luxury had destroyed virtue and wealth would not buy morals or happiness. Rousseau called for the use of art to educate people in the virtues of good morals.
3. For Daumier art was to be used for educational purposes, a voice which rebelled against injustice. Daumier had a great passion for paint but he sacrificed this in order to speak politically through his prints as they could reach the public more efficiently.

4. Jung (Carl Gustav)

"The Spirit of Man, Art and Literature" [Volume 15] Editors : Sir. H. Read, M. Jordan and Gerhard Adler, London. Routledge and Kegan Paul (1966).

5. Roger Passeron

"Daumier"

Phaidon Press Limited, Oxford (1981)

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CHAPTER I.

France, before the Revolution of 1830, was ruled by a Monarchy, Charles X (1757-1836), who was extremely conservative. However, there did exist a French parliament, "The Chamber of Deputies", which was very undemocratic. Only the very rich had the right to vote in elections for this parliament. Even so this Chamber of Deputies had no real power. The Monarchy ignored them, making most of his decisions with the help of some close advisors.

During the year of 1830 there was much discontent throughout France. The population of France had increased by nearly two and a half million between 1815 and 1830, without any marked increase in agricultural or industrial productivity. Misery and starvation prevailed throughout France. In July 1830 a rebellion began in the streets of Paris. The Republican leaders fought, supported by a large majority of Parisians. The Revolution was so popular it lasted only 3 days - 27th-29th July "The three glorious days". Charles X, the last Bourbon King of France, unable to control the city had to flee the country.

For the Republicans (who were largely made up of the working classes) this was a victorious battle and for Daumier it appeared that, as a young man of 22, he would see his maturing ambition (a Republic of France) fulfilled. This was not to be so. The events which were to follow in the forming of a new government, were to help install in the lower classes and in Daumier a great distrust for the bourgeoisie. For instead of a Republic we see a clever move on the behalf of the bourgeoisie to install a King which they could manipulate and who would condone their greedy ways.

The Republican leaders had a candidate ready for President of the new Republic, the Commander of the National Guard, Lafayette (A hero in the eyes of Daumier), but the politicians, financiers and men of property (the bourgeoisie) most of whom had supported the Revolution were still opposed to a Republican government. These men associated it with terror and instability. For the bourgeoisie this turbulent environment was a major threat to their materialistic aspirations, for which they needed equilibrium. This equilibrium, would take the form of a King, but this King would differ largely from Charles X in that he would not be so concerned in increasing his own power. It was also necessary for the bourgeoisie to have the ability to exercise a considerable amount of power over the King. The ideal King was found in the form of Louis-Philippe (1773-1850) the Duke of Orleans. Initially in 1830 Louis-Philippe proved willing to share power with his parliament, the Chamber of Deputies. However, France during 1830 to 1840 was far from democratic. Adamantly so from the viewpoint of the Republicans and Daumier less than one percent of the French population had the right to vote in 1842, this was only the very wealthy. France under Louis-Philippe was an "oligarchy" a country where only a small percentage of the people had a say in government. Louis-Philippe was to rule France for 18 years during which the French bourgeois were to have a field day.

During the reign of Louis-Philippe the bourgeoisie were to see their aspirations come into fruition. Now they were free to follow their ideals of perfection, but this spelt perfection in opportunism. For Daumier the reign of this King was to be a constant battle for his ideals, but ideals of a very different type of perfection. Daumier was to seek the perfection of freedom of all men.

Charles Baudelaire called for the artist who would express in

"form and colour the struggle of the noble, sensitive individual against the moral and spiritual decadence of the bourgeois world"⁶

Daumier in his reactionary work of this period appears to have strove to do just this.

It was after the Revolution of 1830, Daumier, then a young man of 22, appears to have first realised his republican convictions. It was upon the coronation of the King Louis-Philippe he first seems to have become aware of the emotional needs of the working class French. In doing so, Daumier joined the Republican Journal La Caricature - founded by Charles Philipon in 1830.⁷

For the next 3 years Daumier was to wage war through his prints on this new King and his Chamber of Deputies. The King was to symbolise for Daumier the disappointment of our failed Republic. The prints of these three years retain a certain optimism although extremely critical. These prints echo the general feeling among the public, although they were disappointed by the failed Republic they still retained a certain hope for an improved future under this new King. While Daumier's prints echo this expectancy they also show a sharp perception of futuristic events and a sinister warning to the people. Through this warning Daumier hoped to change pending political events.

Daumiers first lithograph which was to cause a sensation both within the government and public circles was entitled "Gargantua" (Glutton) December 1831. Lithograph, 21.4 x 30.5 in (Fig.1.) This lithograph is not excellent as regards Daumiers drawing skills, but as a political statement it was satirically dramatic. This print although bitingly satirical is quite humourous because of caricaturing qualities.

"Gargantua" depicts a large gluttonous man in the likeness of Louis-Philippe, seated on a throne which is also a commode. Paris is drawn in the shadows of the background. Louis-Philippe has a large belly, a code Daumier always used to evoke a sense of greed. His huge mouth opens a ladder. On this ladder the poor people of France clumsily struggle with baskets of food and coins, which they deposit into the mouth of Louis-Philippe. This scene is reminiscent of the unwanted cuckoo in a nest of a poor bird who toils to feed it. At the bottom of the ladder gathers a group of ragged, destitute people, some whom are being forced to place coins in one of the baskets. Here Daumier portrays the King as draining the poor people of the little they have. As the food and coins move upwards on the ladder some scraps fall off and into the hands of a group hidden under the ladder. This group symbolises the Chamber of Deputies who were also benefiting from this draining of the poor. Another group is seen near the bottom of the Kings commode, these are the bourgeoisie and the shopkeepers. They applaud as the King defecates medals and money through this chair/commode. This print is a satirical comment on Louis-Philippe's distribution of insignias of the Legion of Honour, to the bourgeoisie and shopkeepers. These honours only coming about at the expense of the poor and ordinary people.



Fig. 1. "Gargantua" 15 December 1831.

Lithograph, 21.4 x 30.5 cm.

Daumier's chiding of the King's distribution of insignias is facetious. The working class French had not yet been directly effected by this new King, his distribution of insignias did not immediately bring hardship to them. Daumier could therefore be flippant. For the time the working class could actually afford to laugh at the thought of this King defecting insignias to shopkeepers. This print was a serious undermining of the King's authority and government. Daumier as a young man of 22 was yet enthusiastic and optimistic about the future. To rid France of this King did not appear an insurmountable problem. Circumstances were still healthy enough for the working class French to hope for change.

This lithograph was to make Daumier famous. His work was to be considered a serious threat to the government proving Daumier was beginning to threaten the world of the bourgeoisie.⁸

At this time Louis-Philippe began to exercise his power, he hit the press hard with heavy censorship fines. Philipon himself was also imprisoned. La Caricature was heavily prosecuted and had to bear crippling fines. In order to function without such heavy censorship fines a more subtle means of satirical cartooning had to be found.⁹ This is where we find a strong utilisation of the theories of physiognomy ¹⁰ codes, puns, emblems and symbols were now employed to communicate the same message, but in a much more indecipherable fashion, to the great annoyance of government censors.

It was Philipon who developed the political emblem of the pear as a representation of Louis-Philippe. The King's body was fat and pudgy and quite like a pear, therefore the King was depicted as a pear with a head which was also a pear. However, there were more serious puns to be drawn from this pear likeness. The word pear in French slang meant "fat-head", fat-head meaning stupid. This clever code, arrived at by Philipon proved extremely popular and an effective tool in the cartoonist war. The code of the "pear" is a clear example of the developing interest and power of Physiognomy in France of the 19th Century. The development of the pear code shows a strong enthusiasm among writers and cartoonists alike to find alternative means to satirize the King. While this fact may portray a hope for change among the Revolutionary sector, the emergence of the pear code also portrays worsening conditions as the King enforces his authority. It was no longer safe to attack the King directly but subversive means had to be found. A general awakening by the working class to this tyrannical King was beginning to unfold.

Daumier took up the symbol of the pear and utilised it to its full satirical potential in his attacks upon the King.

In Daumier's print of 1833 "Mr. Thing, First Saltimbanque of Europe" (Fig. 2.) it is apparent that Daumier fights the regime with flippant comedy retaining his hope for change, however a more sinister element is hinted at.



Fig. 2. " Mr. Thing, First Saltimbanque of Europe". 1833.

Lithograph, 25 x 21.2 cm.

Louis-Philippe is depicted as a pear balancing precariously on a tight rope. the King is about to topple off and fall into the Seine. Daumier's message here is a direct warning to the King and his supporters. It emphatically states that the Kings position is very unstable. All of Europe is watching this fool in his pathetic attempt to stay in power in France. It is only a matter of time before he will fall off this diplomatic tight rope. This print appears quite comical, the King depicted as a fat pear, denoting stupidity, is about to fall into the Seine. However, the sinister warning and veiled bitterness become apparent when one sees the King's inconspicuous long talon like finger nails. These nails evoke a cruel vulture like demeanour. For the working class French, this print on first glance would appear humourous but on a more careful scrutiny its full sinister implication becomes apparent.

In May 1834 a blow was to come for the Republican supporters which was to dampen their hopes for a Republic. Daumier's mood, of course, was to swing with that of the disappointed republicans, Lafayette died. Lafayette has already been mentioned, as the republicans had unsuccessfully nominated him for president of the new Republic after the revolution of 1830. Lafayette had been a symbol of the could be republic of France. Lafayette for Louis-Philippe had always been a thorn in his side. Lafayette had a lot of support among the people, he had become hostile towards Louis-Philippe when the King refused his proposal for increased suffrage and power sharing. On the death of Lafayette, Louis-Philippe was relieved of a certain amount of opposition as hopes of a republic faded away with this old hero.

For the public Louis-Philippe had to feign sorrow, after all Louis-Philippe was elected by the bourgeoisie who had joined in the fight for a type of Republic.

Daumier was well alerted to the fading hopes of the Republic in the death of Lafayette. In an asserted confident manner he attempted to warn the public of Louis-Philippe's hypocritical sorrow. In his print of 1834 "Take that, old thing", (Fig.3.), he does so. Caricaturing is apparent in this print but there is an air of sorrow in his execution. However, this print is potent and full of zeal in its ardent warning.

Louis-Philippe is dressed in old black clothes and trails far behind the funeral procession. He is not part of the mourning crowd. Louis-Philippe stands right in the centre of the print in his old clothes and tattered hat, his figure evokes the feeling of a greedy slovenly man. His head is bent in what appears to be grief. On closer inspection there appears to be cynical smile on his face. We see just a hint of a sneer. This sneer is hidden behind clasped praying hands. Although this sneer and false sorrow is not immediately obvious, and once aware of it, its impression takes over totally.

This print^{is} making quite a subtle statement on first glance. The portrayal of the King in old clothes is quite burlesque and amusing. On closer examination this print's satirical power becomes apparent. Daumier, in this print is calling for a closer scrutinisation of the King and in doing so his true corrupt characteristics will be unearthed. Daumier's mood as is society's is beginning to swing downwards. Daumier's criticism is an zealous attempt to avert this downward swing.



Fig. 3. "Take that, old thing".

May 1834

Lithograph, 42 x 29.1 cm.

Daumier not only attacked the King, but also his ministers. His treatment of the ministers of this period is similar to that of his treatment of the the King. In his prints the ministers are rebuked and scolded, however, this chidden is again concealed in humour. Daumier perceived these ministers as conceited opportunists interested only in feathering their own nests, with no conscience or humanitarian feelings for the ordinary man of France. These men Daumier portrayed with humourous, aminalistic and bird like qualities, taking full advantage of the theories of physiognomy to warn the public of each individual minster's personality. This was usually negative, for after all Daumier viewed these men as the strengthening pillars behind the King.

It was after April 1832 that Daumier's prints of the King's ministers took on a new power. These were a series of bust-portraits which were celebrations of physiognomy. Each minister's features are exaggerated to humourous animalistic qualities. These new drawings appeared to be modelled in sculptural terms. The reason for this new powerful, three-dimensional quality was that Daumier had made a series of small clay heads 5" to 7" high. From these clay heads Daumier produced new drawings. These heads had the beneficial effect of clarifying and strengthening the individual features in Daumier's drawings. It must be pointed out that Daumier created these sculptures not for sale, but for sole reason of improving his drawing ability and therefore his ability to speak clearly to the public of the dangers of trusting such deceitful men. This new development in Daumier's work shows an enthusiastic striving to better and strengthen his technique in order to fight and speak more efficiently.

The Daumier of this period was a resourceful and zealous artist with anticipating determination who searched for innovative methods to further enhance his struggle.

A clear example of Daumier's new strenthened work may be seen in the lithograph of "Dupin the Elder" (Fig. 4.) This print not only shows a drawing of strong modelling, but also a shrewd depiction of character. Dupin is given ape-like features, he becomes a repulsive, stupid looking being. The head appears to be harshly sculptured with no element of flesh or softness. Just a hard, cold skull. His hairy side burns also adds to the impression of a hairy ape-like person - a man devoid of culture or warm human qualities. His lips are enormously greedy. The eyes are hidden by glasses, but even if the glasses were eliminated the eyes are too small and mean to be noticed. Over all, this portrait evokes only a personality of stupidity and greed.

One wonders why Daumier treated this mininster with such bitterness. On researching Dupin, I find he was an outstanding lawyer, far from being stupid as Daumier portrays him. Dupin even defended in court, Beranger - a republican poet and song writer. Was Daumier just being critical for the sake of it? As Dupin's career continued it became clear why Daumier treated Dupin so harshly. Dupin became a staunch supporter of Louis-Philippe reflecting his republican views. He then went on to become a close advisor of the King and to become president of the Chambre des Deputes.

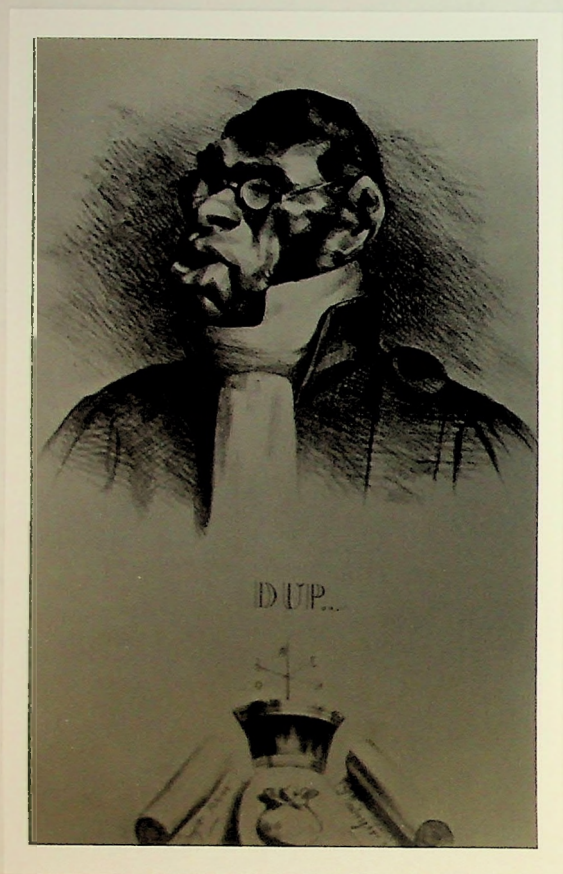


Fig. 4. "Dupin the Elder".

June 1832,

Lithograph, 28 x 15.4 cm.

Daumier believed that it was greed for power and money which enticed Dupin away from republicanism. Thus Daumier portrayed Dupin as a man stupified by his greed for money and position. This print of Dupin is again quite facetious, working class French men were still capable of laughing at their politicians. Their true characteristics had not yet been fully unearthed.

Daumier with his unusual insight into character was aware of the selfish aspirations of these politicians. The print "Dupin the Elder", was a typical example of Daumier's subtle warnings of these negative characteristics.

The last print of the King's ministers I shall deal with is one of a band of 35 ministers assembled together. "The Legislative Body (or Paunch): Aspect of the ministerial bench in the prostituted chamber of 1834"(Fig.5). No member of the public of that time on seeing this print could maintain any element of confidence in these men. The print is quite hilarious in terms of cartooning. But it is also sinisterly frightening for the ordinary man whose future is in these men's hands.

On immediate viewing of the print one can read each individual. Their physique at once may be associated with personality traits. If one was to look through the entire group in the hope of finding a trustworthy man one would be disappointed. The majority of these men are overfed and fat, obesity being a common factor among all. Daumier's use of obesity was utilised to portray greed. Throughout the group, are flushed, fat, sweaty faces, bursting buttons and complete boredom. All in all a slovenly lot of sinister men.



Fig. 5. "The Legislative Body (or Paunch): Aspect of the ministerial bench
in the prostituted chamber of 1834".

1834,

Lithograph, 22.4 x 25.5 cm.

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Towards the left of the print there is a clandestine group who remain alert. But this group is whispering snidely. Amongst this group is the owl-like minister Louis-Adolphe Thiers.¹¹ His companions are gaunt underhand-looking men with harsh skulls and long sharp hawk-like noses. Daumier states clearly in his print that those ministers who are not sitting apythetically are sinister opportunists. What hope does this leave the ordinary French man of fair government, if it is to be in the hands of these apythetic men who are sleeping in the knowledge of their own personal achievements.

We now come to the close of this particular phase in Daumiers work. For these three years Daumier had worked in an energetic vein, employing inovative tactics to chide the King and his ministers. His facetious mood was one of expectance as was the mood of the deprived classes. However, Daumier was not gullible artist who simply produced prints motivated by the deprived classes mood. He was foresighted and perceptive enough to warn this class of the danger of trusting such men.

NOTES:

6. "The idea of Art as Propaganda in France".

1750/1799

James A. Leith,

University of Toronto 1965

7. When Charles Philipon founded the La Caricature 1830 and its sister journal Le Charivari 1832 it was with the sole purpose of propaganda. Philipon commented that through illustrations and writing they were to weigh "warfare every day upon the absurdities of every day".

La Caricature was a slip sheet which sometimes had articles by the French novelist Bailzac under the name the mysterious "Count Alexandre de B----", it also had one large picture or several smaller ones. It lasted 4 years and 10 months, all the time dealing with crippling fines from the Monarchy. La Caricature ended in 1835 due to fines but its sister paper Le Charvari survived for 14 years.

Illustrations for these papers took the form of caricature which is the distorted presentation of a person type. Usually a feature is exaggerated, or animal features are drawn in place of a human feature.

8. Daumier was brought to court and found guilty of producing a print which was "inciting to hatred and contempt of the government and insulting the King" he was sentenced to six months imprisonment and fined 500 francs. This sentence was suspended a month or two later but in mean time Daumier undeterred continued to produce more satirical prints. He was sent to the prison of Sainte-Pelagie for 5 months. This term in prison proved only to increase Daumier's popularity among Revolutionary circles and instill an even stronger reaction and dedication in Daumier against the "oligarchy".

9. Caricature was very popular in France of the 19th Century, there were several reasons for this.

1. Because the vast majority of French people were illiterate and therefore with the aid of visual drawing they could understand what was happening in politics without having to read captions.

2. In 19th Century Paris almost everybody was a stranger this was due to the great migration of people away from from the rural areas into the cities seeking a better standard of living. These people were not only French men but also from rest of Europe. So Paris at this time was a huge conglomeration of people from different backgrounds many with different languages. Some form of communication was necessary in order to understand and observe other individuals and politicians of the day. Here again cartoons crossed the language barrier, as it placed individuals into personality types.

10. At this time in France and Europe the two theories of physiognomics and pathognomics flourished. From these two theories Daumier was to borrow heavily. Physiognomic is the classification of people into character types according to outward bodily signs such as the shape of the eyes, forehead and mouth etc. The most popular physiognomists in France at this time were Le Brun and Lavater, they believed there was a direct correspondence between peoples inner being and their outer physical appearance. An example of this correspondence, being high foreheads receding at the top, was linked with materialist traits (a link used by Daumier) domes heads stood for ideological type persons. Le Brun and Lavater had believed also that the gesture of the hand, the shape of the skull, a nose, the colour of the eyes all could be used as codes to reveal the character of a person. They also believed that animal and human parallels could be found. Le Brun linked a man with a pointed nose and pinched mouth to a sinister owl. A ram likeness stood for a stupid person, a donkey likeness portrayed a boorish individual. There were many more such codes which Daumier employed in his work. All of this usual physical correspondence was used in his work for the purpose of informing the public of the corrupt personalities who were in charge of the country.

11. The Minister Louis-Adolphe Thiers was in particular depicted quite cynically by Daumier. Thiers in Daumier's prints was always likened to an owl-like character. Le Brun used the physiognomic comparison of the owl to codify a miser a man of deceit and concealment. Thiers was an opportunist, he changed his politics and loyalties on several occasions, in order to stay in power.

CHAPTER II.

By February 1834 growing discontent was evident among the working class French. After three years of government under Louis-Philippe and his bourgeoisie supporters, the plight of the working classes had not improved in the least. All republican hope seemed to be fading. Those who died during the Revolution of 1830 appeared to have died in vain. Conditions were rapidly deteriorating. The bourgeoisie were seen to benefit greatly under the governing of this new King. Distrust for the bourgeoisie from Republican quarters began to grow. Emotions were to intensify.

Finally, in February 1834 riots broke out in Lyon. The silk merchants reduced their rate of payments to the silk weavers. A ten day strike failed and the weavers returned to work. The government arrested six leaders of the strike and in anticipation of rioting sent 10,000 troops into Lyon. A rising broke out, but was crushed almost immediately.

In Paris, unlike any other towns, the cause was taken up. Some Republicans erected barricades in an isolated riot at Rue Transnonain. The Kings National Guards crushed this riot. It was during this quelling that the unfortunate massacre remembered as the "Rue Transnonain" occurred. A shot was issued from a tenant house on the Rue Transnonain, this fatal shot was to kill one of the National Guards. A hysterical reaction on the behalf of the National Guards was to be the outcome. They stormed the tenant house, shooting everyone on sight. Women, men and children were all murdered alike. Eleven people were to die while a great many more were wounded.

This massacre provoked much anger, not only in Paris but throughout France and Europe also. Emotions ran high especially among the deprived classes.

This incident was to initiate a turning point in Daumier's work. The "Rue Transnonain" marked Daumier's first disembarkment from humorous prints. Gradually after the Rue Transnonain massacre Daumier's prints lapse towards emotionally charged statements devoid of comedy. From this point Daumier embarks on the road towards total disillusionment. This gradual lapse, extends from 1834 to the Revolution of 1848.

With emotions still high after the massacre, Daumier was to produce what is said to be one of his best prints. This print entitled "Rue Transnonain" (Fig.6) is devoid of Daumier's usual biting humour instead it is charged with intense emotional sorrow. In this print salient horrifying silence the aftermath of a bloodbath is apparent. No captions are necessary to know who the murderers are. They are - the King, the bourgeoisie and those who have. The wealthy, money obsessed classes having murdered these poor, innocent people in their greed for possession. The dead people portrayed in the print are clearly labouring people. The scene is one of a banal bedroom, an impoverish room containing a tossed bed and a few sticks of furniture. The *mean* bedroom acts as a metaphor for the ~~meagre~~ existence of the deprived class. Sprawled across the centre of the print on the floor lies a dead man. His body is foreshortened, he lies innocently in his night shirt and cap. His legs are those of a strong hard working labourer. This dead man is the apitomy of the deprived classes of France.



Fig. 6. "Rue Transnonain".

July 1834,

Lithograph, 44.5 x 29 cm.

His heavy muscular body crushes the body of a baby who lies, face down in a pool of blood. The dead baby may be taken to symbolise the dead hope for the future. Two other dead bodies are apparent as they lie in deathly shadows.

This print depicts an atrocity carried out on ordinary labouring French people. Any French man of this class would identify with the dead man and seek revenge. The King and his government realised this print's implication and had his soldier seize the original.

In June 1835 an assassination attempt was made on the King, this was used as an excuse for censoring the press. This new censorship was derived to have complete silence. A paragraph from the new Sept Laws of 1835 read as follows:

" Article 7 of the Chapter proclaims that French men have the right to circulate their opinions in published form. But when opinions are converted into actions by the circulation of drawing, it is not a question of opinions, it is an incitement to action not covered by Article 7." 12

This new Sept law was to lead to further embitterment on Daumier's part. No longer was it possible for him to directly attack the King and his ministers. In general suppression under this King began to grow. An alternative means of attack had to be found. La Caricature was to close down. Its final issue was dated 27th August 1835 and with it came the end of Daumier's political prints for the next 14 years.

Its sister paper Charivari had to change its focus to social prints. Philipon listed the satiric fields.

"Moral, literary, theatrical, artistic industrial, medical, surgical, agricultural etc. The field, believe me, is rich, very rich everywhere in vices, in absurdities, in swindling, in follies of every kind." 13

These fields were to be the alternatives Philipon and his employees were to turn to.¹⁴ These were in fact, the core of the bourgeoisie society, its corruptions and vices were to be found malignant throughout Paris of that time.

The bourgeoisie were opportunists with no social conscience totally blinded by their materialistic aspirations. Republicans blamed them (correctly so) for the installation of this now deplored King. The bourgeoisie in the eyes of the deprived classes were to be blamed for their pathetic circumstances. The bourgeoisie had a great dislike for the aristocracy. Although they disliked the aristocracy, they tried to ape their ways, they married their children to the children of aristocracy, in an attempt to climb the ladder and strive towards success.

The bourgeoisie loved regularity, and craved social stability for with these conditions business flourish describes this class as

" Ambitious climbers - The man of middle station was indeed a contradiction made flesh. A creature whose effort to initiate the polished manners of the gentry had to be made at the cost of his more natural self, who might own an expensive a house as the nobleman yet show forth his magnificence unnobly. He had become a human paradox by Daumier's time."¹⁵

It was upon this class, the bourgeoisie, that Daumier fell, producing critical exposure of their ways, he continued to do this for the next 14 years. Daumier in these new prints was to echo the distrust of the deprived classes for the bourgeoisie Daumier's prints for the next 14 years were to be serious with only a slight hint of humour, if any at all. A serious mood of discontent set in among the working classes as the bourgeoisie settled down to 14 undisturbed years of prosperity. Daumier in his new sedate and changing style devoid of jest or frivolity attempts to uncover and expose the depravity of the bourgeois classes.

In November 1834 came an important development for Daumier which was to break through the barrier of censorship. This break through a series of Lithographs using a character who symbolised the whole regime of materialism "the world of the bourgeois". More importantly for Daumier this character was to carry political implications.

This character was named "Robert Macaire" a con-man, whose character satired the oligarchy. Through the figure of Robert Macaire, the whole bourgeois society under Louis-Philippe was satired in a direct simple statement. Robert Macaire was a witty scoundrel, a blackguard, a sly creature without scruples or morals, yet he maintained pose and humour. This characteristic is significant in that it clarifies the bourgeois aping of the aristocratic life style. Macaire, in short is a crook with a great love of money and industry. In Daumier's drawings he becomes a shareholder, journalist, broker, lawyer, land-owner and many other money obsessive positions.

It had been Philipon who hit on the idea of Robert Macaire and published the large series of 100 lithographs done on this theme. Daumier producing the drawing while Philipon produced the captions.¹⁶ The Macaire series ran in Charivari from 20th August 1836 to 25th November 1838. Not only did the figure Macaire symbolise the depravity of the bourgeois classes but also drew references to the King. The correspondence here being formed by the top-hat worn by Macaire, although it is battered, the top-hat had long been a symbol of the King. Another figure of lesser importance who always appear with Macaire was "Bertrand". To this figure Daumier gave the gaunt features of the minister Guizot, Louis-Philippe's right-hand man.

An interesting point about this series of prints is that they carry a two pronged attack. One being an indirect attack on the King and his ministers and the other being an attack on the bourgeois materialistic society. Daumier's mood inherent in these prints echoes the mood of the deprived classes. This being a serious discontented one.

The prints of Macaire sometimes hint at humour but this is undermined by the usual ruthless episode depicted in the prints. The bourgeoisie despicable acts against the poorer classes were too serious for Daumier to be flippant.

In Daumier's first print of Robert Macaire (Fig. 7), Macaire is shown in an aggressive arrogant stance. Although Macaire is dressed in rags there is an aristocratic air about him. His battered top hat shades his eyes in deep shadow. Macaire's mouth is concealed by a greasy scarf. This concealment of features evokes an uncanny feeling of a shady untrustworthy character. In his hand he carries a cane. This cane is slung back to rest on his arm in a manner that indicated its use as a weapon. Consolidating this threatening appearance the cane is like a short, thick club.

Standing beside Macaire/Louis-Philippe, Bertrand appears less violent, somewhat simple but snide. Bertrand's/Guizot's thin gaunt figure and features evoke a mean hardness. He stands, staring unintelligently at Macaire. Macaire is clearly the leading culprit of the two. Macaire remarks to Bertrand in the form of the underlying caption:

" I adore industry. If you wish we will start a bank, but a real bank! Capital - one hundred millions of pounds and one hundred million of billion of shares. We will smash the Bank of France, we will sink everybody." "Yes, says Bertrand, but what about the police?".

" Macaire answers, "How stupid you are! Does one ever arrest a millionaire?"



Fig. 7. Robert Macaire.

Bertran, I adore industry. If you wish we will start a bank, but a real bank! Capital one hundred millions of pounds and one hundred million of billion of shares. We will smash the Bank of France we will sink everybody? - Yes, but what about the police? - How stupid you are - does one ever arrest a millionaire.

1836

Lithograph, 28 x 15.5 cm.

This print and caption epitomises the unscrupulous society of the 1830's. Daumier was openly pointing the finger at this section of society, in which money was their God. Daumier in this print exposes the unjust fact that millionaires were exempt from the law. Throughout the law of 19 Century France corruption and bribery ran rampant. The cause of this corruption was of course, the bourgeoisie many of whom were lawyers and judges. Those who were not lawyers and judges were prepared to pay large bribes without any conscience, in order to free themselves.

In a later print, executed in the same year of 1838 (Fig. 8.) Daumier again reinforces the point that those with money are exempt from the Law. This time Macaire and Bertrand are personifying the role of lawyer and client. Robert Macaire is clad in the usual heavy gown of the lawyer. He appears hugely commanding in it dark folds. His stance and pose is one of authority, his arms thrown forward in confident gesture. Again there is a subtle likeness to the King. The lower half of the face is in sinister concealment, suspicion is evoked due to this concealment and added too by the heavy gown. Bertrand, his client, sits on a wooden bench in a pathetic state, his hands fidgetting nervously. Bertrand is extremely thin and appears to be starved. Macaire conceitedly is drawing up a deal. The caption reads and is explanatory to the print:

" My dear Bertrand give me a hundred e cus and I'll have him taken care of rightaway - "No, I've no money - "All right , give me a hundred france - I haven't a penny - you don't have ten francs? - Not a farthing - Then give me your boots and I'll plead extenuating circumstances."



Fig. 8. "Robert Macaire, Attorney".

1836,

Lithograph.

The Lawyer believing his client to have money had no hesitation of assuring him he would have him acquitted. On hearing Bertrand had no money he then changes his approach. Macaire makes it clear that his degree of conviction will depend on the size of his fee. Through this print Daumier not only shows that the law is corrupt, a poor man having no hope of justice, he also shows the bourgeoisie attach no importance to friendship. "Dear Bertrand" is considered worthless by Macaire when hearing of his poor financial circumstances. Friendship for the bourgeoisie was only feasible when it resulted in climbing the social ladder.

Daumier's style in these prints is sedate. Caricature is utilised in his depiction of Macaire and Bertrand. But humour is slight, for Daumier's repulsion for the unscrupulous bourgeoisie was too great. This class was blinded by their materialistic aspirations to any of the social needs of the working class.

Daumier's dislike for the men of law had a strong link with the government of the day. Many of the King's ministers had aspired to their positions, by using the law courts as a stepping stone after the Revolution of 1830. Take for example the already mentioned Dupin, a judge whom Daumier portrayed with an ape-like stupidity. Also the minister Theiers had been a lawyer, a man Daumier portrayed as a sinister owl.

Philipon wrote on this very topic in Caricature 1831.

" The government is made up of smooth talkers, we are governed by lawyers. An instrument in control of the few, protecting their rights, the Law discriminated against the unpropertied many, the poor. The Law has given the powerful middle class security."17

Clearly for Daumier an attack upon the corruption of the Law was also an attack upon the bourgeoisie, the ministers and the King. As time continued conditions worsened the plight of the lower classes became unbearable. Misery and poverty prevailed. All this time the middle class prospered and acquired possession by exploitation under this bourgeoisie government.18

REFERENCE
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NOTES:

12. Daumier

Roger Passeron

Phaidon Press Oxford 1981

13. A Human Comedy

Physionomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris

Judith Wechsler

Thames and Hudson, London 1982

14. Daumier was only one of many other cartoonists, whom Philipon recruited into his journal. Many of these cartoonists used similar codes of physiognomics as Daumiers, but none of these other artist's prints seem to embody the powerful passionate emotions of Daumier's work. However, it is totally unfair to rule out Daumier's contemporaries in Philipon's Journal, for they were important figures during that period. Although among these cartoonists, were many varying styles, collaborations were made over prints. Ideas and captions were sometimes swapped. Some of the following artists worked using similar codes as Daumier but in a very different style.

Grandville (Jean Isidore Gerard 1803-46) born in Nancy, he worked in a very different style than Daumier, more abstract and fantastic. He drew animals who were dressed and behaved like people to portray personality types. His imagery was more appreciated by Surrealists and Symbolists than it ever was in his day.

Henry Mannier (1799-1877) actor, writer and caricaturist had a sensitive and painterly style and portrayed scenes of bourgeoisie life in a mild irony.

15. Daumier and his world

Howard P. Vincent.

Northwestern University Press Evanston 1968.

16 Philipon had not been the inventor of Robert Macaire. The public were already aware of this figure. He was played by Frederick Lemaitre (a young man aspiring actor) in the theatre. Lemaitre had stumbled across a character just like him in the streets and it was from him he drew his inspirations. In a play entitled "The life and Resurrection of Robert Macaire", Lemaitre appeared as Macaire made up as Louis-Philippe. The government then began to recognise Macaire's implications and there was threat they would suppress it. It was at this point Daumier first started to use the image of Macaire. Macaire was to take on a new life in the hands of Daumier.

17. A Human Comedy

Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris

Judith Wechsler

Thames and Hudson, London 1982.

18. Daumier was not alone in his commentary on the horrors of the Industrial Revolution and the materialistic bourgeoisie, nor in his work produced which was to be inspired by the French Revolutions. During the period between 1789 and 1848 artists were directly inspired by and involved in public affairs. Artists were at work in their own particular fields. Mozart wrote a propagandist opera for the highly political Free masonry (The Magic Flute in 1790), Beethoven dedicated the "Eroica" to Napoleon as the heir of the French Revolution, Dickens wrote novels to attack social abuses, Dostoevsky was to be sentenced to death in 1849 for revolutionary activities. Wagner and Goya went into political exile. Balzac's "Human Comedy" was a work of social awareness.

CHAPTER III.

In 1848 drastic changes in Government were to occur. These changes were to have a dramatic effect on the mood of the Republicans and therefore Daumier. These changes in Government were the result of a Revolution which happened almost accidentally.

Guizot (Bertrand) had been Prime Minister for the five years leading up to 1845. Odilum Barrot and Theirs joined forces in order to shift Guizot. They proposed to do this by demanding parliamentary reform and proposing a more extended suffrage. They also proclaimed that Guizot's party was corrupt and pushed ahead a criminal trial in 1847, which brought out evidence of large bribes among Guizot's Ministers. Theirs was using similar tactics as Daumier in order to remove Guizot from power. However, while Daumier used these tactics in the hope of toppling the whole government, Theirs only wished to shift Guizot from the position of Prime Minister, so that he himself might step in to power under Louis-Philippe.

In July 1847 Theirs organised a series of banquets at which Guizot and his comrades were denounced. In January 1848 Guizot prohibited further banquets, Theirs agreed to gather for a banquet in Paris but disperse when a Police order came through. Had Theirs gone ahead and ignored this Police order, the threat would have been too great to the oligarchy.

Theirs did not realise the amount of emotion he had stirred up among the people. General dissatisfaction with the government was widespread. France had been affected by bad harvests in 1846, Potato blight had also affected France as it did the rest of Western Europe. There was also an industrial crisis, bringing with it widespread unemployment. There was little or no public charity. A combination of these factors plus Theirs's agitation proved explosive.

When the frightened Theirs called off the planned banquet of 22 February 1848, the people protested in the streets. The National Guard was called in but would not fight against the people. The King was forced to dismiss Guizot replacing him with Theirs. This was not enough to pacify the aroused crowds. During a peaceful march an unfortunate incident caused the death of 80 French marchers.¹⁹ This massacre caused crowds to storm the National Assembly and the Tuileries (where the King's throne was housed). King Louis-Philippe was forced to abdicate on the 2nd March 1848. A type of diluted Republic was set up, a combination of several parties. The 1835 September Law of censorship was abolished and universal male suffrage was established.

If one was to expect a new vitality and excitement in Daumier's work, one would have been proven wrong. Daumier in his usual foresight realised this Revolution was premature. In his print "The Paris Urchin at Tuileries" (Fig. 9). Daumier arrests to this depressing fact. The Republic was only to last four years and during these four years conditions for the deprived did not improve.

ght he was taking a great interest in the
already scented Napoleon III. On 2 December 1848¹⁷ *Charivari* publishe
ograph showing the future emperor at sea, standing in a boat—a hug
leonic hat—about to land: he is holding a line attached to an eagle, th



LE SAMIR DE PARIS AUX TUILERIES
- Cristi! ... comme on s'enfoncé la dedans

Fig. 9. "The Paris Urchin at Tuilenies".

4 March 1848.

Lithograph 25.5 x 22.7 cm.

The Republicans were to murder each other in a struggle for power, as the parties forming this provision government were to split into quarrelling factions. It seemed that man himself and not just the upper classes was an unscrupolous beast.

The print "The Paris Urchin at Tuilenies" whispers the coming of desperate disillusionment for Daumier. The print depicts a rowdy crowd storming into the Tuilenies. A scraggy youth throws himself into the abdicated King's throne, his legs kicking in the air. He exclaims "Crikey!... how comfortable I am here". Each person queueing up in order to take his turn to sit on the throne. (This predicts the instability of the Republican government). To the left of the print a young man stands with a sword raised evoking a violent feeling. Although this print is energetically executed, its message is too sinister, to believe that Daumier truly welcomed this new Republic. Daumier's hesitant mood in this print was of course proven right.

Initially all parties joined together in a strange combination of legitimists, republicans, clericals, anti-clericals, liberals, socialists to form a revolutionary government. But as time went on a split occurred. The main division was between radical republicans and moderate republicans. The moderates of course came from the bourgeoisie section and the church (who had enormous power over the country peasants). This group again wished for stability and order and were terrified of the red republicans. The radicals were found mainly among the working classes in the cities.

Fighting broke out on the 25th June between the two parties. This was to be one of the most vicious battles in France during Daumier's lifetime. This battle was remembered as "Bloody Sabbath". 500 were killed during the battle and another 3000 afterwards. The moderates were victorious and formed a new assembly protected by the army and National Guards. The radical republican who Daumier supported were defeated, its leaders killed or exiled. A true Republic had once again been crushed, the deprived classes again beaten. Daumier was devastated, a mood of doom hung over the working classes. The chance of a Republic had been so near, if only man could agree to fair division of power. Daumier became silent, overcome with bitter disappointment.

For a short while Daumier turned to painting. However, he returned again to political prints in the fall of the same year 1848. This return was to be premature and for the 20 years Daumier's work was to reek of disillusionment. This so called Republic was for Daumier totally unsatisfactory, as it was again in the control of the bourgeois (the moderate republicans), however, he was prepared to protect it from what he considered a much greater threat - Napoleon III.

Daumier's work of this period is reflective of the total loss of hope among the lower classes. Having fought this bloody battle, in the name of republicanism, the bourgeoisie still remained in power, and they were there under the name of a Republic. Due to this, there is a loss of conviction in Daumier's work. Although he attempts to protect this Republic his heart is not in it. Daumier the innovative and energetic artist of constructive criticism no longer existed.

He returns to old and safe methods which now lack fire. The prints of these years are repetitive and stagnant verging on boredom.

The new moderate Republic formed a new constitution. This took the form of a single chamber with a president who was allotted the chief power. This president was to be kept in check by limiting his office to 3 years. This constitution unknowingly, by electing a president and allotting him such power, was in fact, given an open invitation to a dictator. The person for this position was to be elected by the people, as there now was universal male suffrage. The Presidential election was to be held in December 1848.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was gaining popularity quickly, for surrounding him was a great myth of the old Emperor Napoleon I.²⁰

Victor Hugo, a prestigious poet, turned politician (a man who carried a lot of influence) rallied to the support of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Hugo's support of Napoleon was to cause a critical warning from Daumier, for Daumier could see the looming danger this man was to bring to the Republic.

This warning came in the form of the print "Messrs. Victor Hugo and Emile Girardin attempting to raise Prince Louis on the Shield of Battle - a not too firm support" (Fig. 10) The print depicted Hugo and Girardin attempted to support Napoleon on a shield. Hugo is struggling under the pressure and is clearly distressed. Napoleon is presented in an unlikable fashion with a large moustache and cruel hawk-like features. Napoleon III hoisted up upon a shield is unsteadily trying to retain his balance. Daumier warns HUGO that he is being deceived by Napoleon III.



Fig. 10. "Messrs. Victor Hugo and Emile Girardin attempting to raise Prince Louis on the shield of Battle - a not too firm support".

1848

Lithograph 25 x 21.5 cm.

Napoleon III, Daumier states will not live up to Hugo's expectations. He also states that Hugo's dealings in supporting Napoleon III shall only result in his disillusionment. This print was to be very fore-sighted, for indeed Napoleon III was to disappoint Hugo. Ironically Hugo was to become one of Napoleon III's strongest opposers.

Although this print was to have been quite important in political terms, Daumier's artistic style had reverted backwards. Censorship had been lifted so Daumier now could have produced any type of print he liked. Instead of pursuing new tactics he utilises old methods. These prints have been termed as "Big-heads" a cartooning type which had been long in use. For the French public this print contained nothing new or startling. Clearly Daumier was not fully convicted to the struggle of preserving this new Republic.

Despite Daumier's efforts, Napoleon was elected to power on 10th December 1848 with more votes than all other candidates combined together. Daumier watched as Napoleon III began to replace republican ministers with monarchists and conservatives. The freedom of the press was then attacked, as Napoleon III made moves to grasp full power. In May 1850, a law was passed by which, 3 million men, nearly 1/3 of those with the right to vote, lost this right.

It was due to these new pressures that Daumier created the character "Ratapoil". Ratapoil was a symbol of Napoleonism. Ratapoil was based on the Bonapartist agents, half-officer, half-policeman, who travelled across France to gather support for Napoleon.

This character Ratapoil was of course, derived from the old bourgeoisie symbol "Robert Macaire". Daumier's prints using Ratapoil are quite powerful, as we shall later see. However, they do cover ground already covered. Daumier had already exhausted this tactic in his struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Daumier's reversion back to the old safe symbol of Macaire, which had proven quite successful, shows a tiredness and a loss of enthusiasm. Daumier's commitment had left him, he no longer retained the energy to search for a new alternative tool, with which to fight the pending dictatorship. "Ratapoil" could never have the same impact that Macaire had, for the French public had become too familiar with this symbol.

The title Ratapoil, meant "Ratskin" the rat being associated with filth and sly dealings. On first appearance he appears inoffensive and even commands a certain elegance. On closer inspection he is sinister and coy. (Here the typical characteristics of Macaire are repeated). Using this connection Daumier attempts to warn the public of Napoleon III's underlying power hungry personality.

In a print executed only a few weeks before Napoleon III was to forcefully take over full power, Daumier depicted this coming threat through Ratapoil²¹. This print (Fig. 11) is drawn strongly unlike Daumier's "Big-heads". Ratapoil is shown extending his arm to the Republic of France. The republic is portrayed as a strong heroic type female. Ratapoil is thin and rakish, the epitome of immorality. He is darkly shaded and appears wiry and sly. Held behind his back he grasps a cane, this cane (as was Macaire's) is likened to a club. Ratapoil's goat-like appearance holds sinister reflections of the hooved devil beast. Ratapoil is a despicable character of bad intentions. Ratapoil question the Republic -

" Fair lady, will you take my arm?" The republican from whom light radiates snubs him saying "I cannot believe in your passion, it is too sudden."

This print on Daumier's behalf is more a wish or a dream than a warning, for Daumier had lost his zeal. Daumier now mechanically produced repetitive prints without expectancy. His strong energetic critical prints were now replaced by empty statements. In the above prints Daumier wishes the Republic to snub Napoleon III, when he seeks re-election after his 3 year term as president had been completed. From Daumier's print it maybe also taken that if the Republic does snub Napoleon III, he shall obtain his power anyway, by use of his club.



Fig. 11. "Fair lady, will you take my arm?"

25 September 1851.

Lithograph, 25.6 x 22 cm.

Future events were yet again to prove Daumier's predictions correct. On the night of the 1st December 1851 Napoleon III had the army placed in strategic positions around the city. Sixteen members of the Assembly and another 80 known opponents to Napoleon III were rounded up and imprisoned. 20 thousand citizens went into exile. The Republican Assembly was dissolved and Napoleon III stood in power.

On the 3rd December Victor Hugo and a few republicans formed a committee to organise an opposition (This fact showed Daumier's prediction of Hugo's disillusionment with Napoleon III coming true. Barricades were erected but very few joined the republicans. This resistance was crushed within a few hours by Napoleon III's men and Hugo went into voluntary exile.

Napoleon III's dictatorship was to begin. On the 17 February 1852, the press was brought under control. No journal dealing with political or social questions was to be issued without permission from the Government. Those accused of press offences were to be tried without a jury. Daumier was to turn back to social drawings, he had no choice. Daumier used the themes of manners, physiognomy types, lawyers and street scenes. He took up the subjects the Impressionists were beginning to portray - cafe scenes and theatre scenes. Again these drawings were strong and asthetic but they lack Daumier's conviction and zeal.

NOTES:

19. Victor Hugo describes this massacre quoted in Alfred Cobban's book, *A History of Modern France, Volume 2: 1799-1871*. Pelican Press 1965.

He writes "The crowds which I had seen start cheerfully singing down the boulevards, at first went on their way peacefully without resistance. The regiment, the artillery, the cuirassiers opened their ranks everywhere for their passage. But on the boulevard de Capucines a body of troupes, both infantry and cavalry, was massed on the two pavements and across the road, guarding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its unpopular minister, M. Guizot. Before this impassable obstacle, the head of the popular column tried to stop and turn aside, but the irresistible pressure of the huge crowd weighed on the front ranks. At this moment a shot rang out, from which side is not known. Panic followed and then a volley. Eighty dead or wounded remained on the spot. A universal cry of horror and fury arose: Vengeance!

20. The old Emperor Napoleon I stood for the glorious days when France controlled most of Europe. He was remembered as a restorer of economic prosperity, as a great military hero and a man of liberal ideas. Louis Napoleon III, his nephew, was unwillingly associated with this old hero in the hope of a better future.

21. Napoleon III sent his men out into the countryside to gather support for him. These men would threaten and bully the peasants into loyalty to Napoleon.

CHAPTER IV.

During the Napoleon Empire economic conditions were to improve.

" An age of materialism and money-making was opening, selfish and hag-ridden with class hatred, but all classes were striving with varying success for the something - a higher standard of living."22

Railway development flourished due to increased production of coal and iron. In Agriculture new improvements were made, thus increasing production. Growth of the French population slackened, so the increased wealth of the country was not automatically absorbed.

Napoleon III was not satisfied in strengthening internal affairs in France. His drive for power and recognition led to his interest in asserting the role of France among the Great Powers of Europe. Inevitably Napoleon's greed for power was to lead to his downfall, he was to drag France with him.

France had always regarded a disunited Germany as essential for her own security. Napoleon had no intentions of allowing a united Germany threaten France's title as a Great Power. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Germany had not been a united country. It was divided into 39 independent states of which the Kingdom of Prussia in the north, and the Austrian Empire in the south, were the two strongest. Austria and Prussia rallied against each other for control over the coming united Germany.

Otto von Bismarck was Prime Minister of Prussia, a conservative who wished to expand the power of Prussia. Bismarck declared war on Austria, but first he made sure of France's neutrality. Bismarck secured this, by making a promise to Napoleon III, that France, could expand her frontiers to the Rhine. Bismarck won the war quite easily and joined the North German states under the leadership of Prussia. Napoleon III then tried to finalise Bismarck's promise but was turned down.

The historian Alfred Cobban, describes this move on the part of Bismarck -

" In 1866 came the Austria-Prussian War, in preparation for which Bismarck had played Napoleon III like a cynical animal trainer with a greedy but rather stupid beast, enticing him into the desired position with the offer of choice morsel - of no clearly specified territory on the Rhine - but all the time intending to snatch it away at the last moment."23

The greedy insulted Napoleon III could not let this incident pass. On 19th July 1870, war was declared on Prussia. Napoleon III, was expected by the French people and taught himself to be a military genius. This was proven to be detrimentally incorrect for France was cruelly defeated. Military tactics were confused, supplies were inadequate and unevenly distributed. Napoleon III was captured at Sedan. On the 1st September and on the 2nd September he surrendered to William I of Prussia.

Back in Paris the Empire was dissolved and a Republic was proclaimed with Gumbetta as President, (A man whom Daumier had met and predicted to go far). The German forces laid siege on Paris. The proud Parisians refused to surrender. During the winter of 1870-71, food and fuel ran very low and on 28th January, they surrendered. In February 1871, elections were held in France for a National Assembly. This new Assembly was to sign the Peace Treaty with Germany. France agreed to pay a war indemnity of £200 million to Germany. After the hardship of war and siege, civil war yet again broke out in Paris. The newly elected National Assembly was very unpopular. This revolt was crushed by the government, resulting in 20,000 dead, 13000 imprisoned and 7000 deported.

Considering these social and political facts, we now arrive at the final phase of Daumier's work. This phase of Daumier's career differs dramatically from his previous one of disillusionment. Disspirited disillusionment is now replaced by frustrated anger. This anger being unleashed to produce Daumier's most powerful and emotional prints. These prints are to be similar in mood to the print "Rue Transnonain" done in reaction to the massacre of the same title.

In this new and final phase, it seems the pent up emotions Daumier had been forced to suppress under Napoleon III's strict censorship now exploded. This explosion was to take the form of a severe attack on Napoleon III. Daumier was again to echo the working classes feelings. The Republicans had been badly beaten on Napoleon III'S first move to power. They were then strictly suppressed under his government.

When economic conditions were beginning to pick up, even for the working classes, Napoleon was to lead a reluctant France to war. This war bringing with it devastation and yet another bitter civil war and more hardship for the poor. Daumier felt justified in his attack on Napoleon III. These attacks differ extremely from those humorous flippant attacks made on Louis-Philippe. While Louis-Philippe had headed an extremely unfair government he had not led France into futile war, resulting in the breaching of France. Daumier felt that France suffered such torture because of Napoleon III's arrogant, selfish greed for power.

The resulting prints of these angry emotions are emotionally extreme, tortured statements. No particular individuals are depicted, instead strong, monumental symbols are used. Stark contrasts of darkness and light are utilised, producing dark despairing prints. It would be incomprehensible to even remotely consider humour in these prints. Desperation and anguish are the emotions evoked.

The first print I shall examine is titled "A page of History" (Fig.12), this was printed on the 16th November 1870 a month after Napoleon III was captured and surrendered at Sedan. Daumier held no regret for the defeat of Napoleon III only a realisation that Napoleon III was reaping the rewards of his power hunger cravings.

In "A page of History" an eagle lies flattened to the ground, it lies on its back in an empty bleak landscape. Its once great proud body lies in shreds, outlined by heavy shadows. Crushing the breast and body of this fallen eagle weighs Victor Hugo's book "Les Chatiments".



dangerous situation into which France had fallen.¹⁴ In a similar vein *République nous appelle* ('The Republic summons us'), which is drawn so
out with a vigour matching the subject.¹⁵ *L'Empire c'est la Paix* ('The Em-
pires peace') is a terrible indictment of a misleading slogan.¹⁶ In *Page d'*
the 1870-71 war.

Fig. 12. 'A page of History'.

16 November 1870

Lithograph 22.7 x 18.8 cm.

The book appears an enormous weight as it ruthlessly smothers Napoleon III. *Le Chatiments* had been written by an angry Hugo exiled in the Channel Isles. *Les Chatiments* launched an attack on Napoleon III calling him "Napoleon le Petit". In the background of the print a streak of lightning flashes from a dark cloudy sky. The streak killing the eagle by a blow to its cruel hooked beak. The lightning symbolises the wrath of the Gods as it punishes Napoleon III for his avaricious ways. Daumier is powerfully direct in his condemnation of Napoleon III.

"France - Prometheus and the eagle-vulture"(Fig. 13), was to be one of Daumier's next prints. This print was executed in February 1871 after that crucial winter of 1870-71 when Germany laid siege on Paris. The Parisian people had been forced to eat rats as the German forces victoriously marched across their country. In this monumental print Daumier again angrily blames Napoleon III for the hardship this war and siege had brought to the French people. The working classes and the deprived people had suffered most severely during this Paris siege.

In this print only two strong symbols are utilised. Dark stones are constricted against stark whiteness giving a strong dramatic effect. A diagonal composition evokes a disturbing unstable quality. France-Prometheus is portrayed as a half-naked woman crucified on a rock. Her strong body is cruelly bound and stretched. The head is flung back in anguish as she is left to the vulture to prey upon. The cruel bird of prey savages his beak towards France's liver as it feed on her entrails. As the bird devours, its talons sink into France's skin. The bird of prey entitled "eagle-vulture" is of course Napoleon III.



Fig. 13 'France-Prometheus and the eagle-vulture'.

13 February 1871.

Lithograph, 22.7 x 19cm.

The eagle had been used previously by Daumier as a symbol for Napoleon III. This symbol has become more savage as it is now likened to the more cruel vulture. The horror of the siege had provoked Daumier to anger and through this stabbing print he speaks bitterly of the atrocities his people had undergone.

These two prints "A page of History (Fig. 12) and "France-Prometheus and the eagle-vulture (Fig.13), although powerfully emotional do not hold any hope for the future. There appears no constructive criticism only negative blaming. These unoptimistic prints were not to be Daumier's last statements evoked by societies vicissitudes. Although France had suffered severely, complete hope has not yet expired. After the civil war of 1871 the National Assembly was in power not a Monarchy, oligarchy or a dictatorship. Daumier's hope for a Republic again was to be rekindled when so close to his pending death.

One of the last prints Daumier was to produce was entitled "If the workmen fight, how can the building be restored?" (Fig. 14). This print is worked in the same strong vein as the two previously mentioned prints. It is again powerfully dramatic. In this new print a turmoiled scene of a street battle is in progress - Men are viciously beating and killing each other. To the right of the print two men savagely wrestle. One of these wild men determinedly throttles the other, who lies gasping on the ground, his hands snatching blindly at the throat of his attacker. The complete area is a shambles. Large blocks of stones congest the picture frame. A confused violent brawl is in progress.



Fig. 14. If the workmen fight, how can the building be restored?
17 May 1872.
Lithograph, 23 x 21.2 cm.

Daumier in this print echoes the French people's wish for peace, after the violence of the past few years they were now prepared to settle down in peace. It was necessary to rebuild France's economy and government. This would never be achieved if factional groups continued to fight.

In January 1875 the Assembly of France voted for the Third Republic by a majority of one vote. The constitution of the Third Republic has at last arrived although at a high cost of life. This Third Republic lasted 65 years until it was destroyed by Hitler in 1940.

Daumier died in 1879 having seen his dream come to fruition. However, had Daumier lived longer he would have seen many problems and elements of corruption inherent in this Republic. It seemed mans unscrupulous and avaricious ways could never change. But who knew this better than Daumier himself although he largely chose to ignore this fact in his constant search for a "Utopian Republic".

NOTES:

22. A History of Modern France. Volume 2:1799-1871

Alfred Cobban.

Pelican Books 1961. London.

23. A History of Modern France:

Volume 2: 1799-1871.

Alfred Cobban.

Pelican Books 1961. London.

CONCLUSION.

Paradoxically Daumier's search for perfection and for the unobtainable Utopian social condition of a Republic appears similiar to the ideology of the bourgeoisie by whom he was repulsed. E.J. Hobsbaun suggests the similarity between the bourgeoisie and the socialists (Daumier) in his book "The Age of Revolution"

" For in a sense there was only one Weltanschauung of major significance, and a number of other views which whatever their merits were at bottom chiefly negative critiques of it, the triumphant, rationalist, humanist "Enlightenment" of the 18th Century. Its champions believed firmly that human history was an ascent rather than a decline or an undulating movement about a level trend. They could observe that man's scientific knowledge and technical control over nature increased daily. They believed that human society and individual man could be perfected by the same application of reason, and were destined to be so perfected by history. On these points bourgeoisie, liberals and revolutionary proletarian socialists were at one".²⁴

In the case of the bourgeoisie this constant struggle was towards success and wealth while for Daumier and the socialists it was a struggle towards freedom and equality. Both these struggles were for perfection, although Daumier's path and that of his enemies were dramatically opposed. The bourgeoisie were to take unscrupulous measures to achieve what they wanted - material gains. Daumier was to use harsh criticism to achieve what he wanted - freedom and equality for all French men.

Daumier, because of this harsh criticism, has been accused in many cases of being an "old puritan".

It is hard to excuse him (Daumier) for so constantly denouncing a certain inhuman frigidity in the face of suffering, but never admitting the heroic, abregation, kindness and charity practiced by men far too modest to boast of their good deeds."²⁵

This statement also complies with accusations directed at Daumier, that his approach is over critical. Accusation similar to the above, may be put into proper prospective when serious consideration is given to the already discussed social and political factors, which were conclusive to Daumier's work. Those critics who accuse Daumier of being over critical have missed the point by failing to be totally aware of the political and social climate of Daumier's era. The main reason for this lack of awareness may be blamed on the fact that while Art Historians discuss Daumier's prints in artistic terms they totally ignore indepth reference to political events of the time. These events are of course vital traumatic sources for Daumier's work. Only through careful consideration of these factors may Daumier's work be fully appreciated and placed in prospective. It shall only then become evident that the measures Daumier took were relevant and inevitable in a period when many of his contemporaries were to turn to violence in a more drastic attempt to procure similar aspirations.

NOTES:

24. The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848.

E.J. Hobsbaun. London.

Cardinal 1973.

25. Murder as quoted by Robert Philippe in Political Graphics/Art as a
weapon.

Oxford. Phaidon. 1950.

BIOGRAPHY.

- 1808: February 26: Birth of Honoré Daumier in the Place Saint Martin, Marseilles.
- 1822: Becomes protégé of Alexandre Lenoir, an important early influence.
- 1823: Enters the Académie Suisse. Halting attempts at lithography. Works for Belliars, lithographer and publisher of contemporary portraits.
- 1824: First political cartoons.
- 1829: Political weekly La Silhouette is founded; it publishes Daumier's satirical treatment of Charles X and leading politicians.
- 1830: The July Revolution.
- 1831: December 15: Publication of the lithograph Gargantua.
- 1832: February 23: Daumier sentenced by the Cour d'Assises to six months in prison and fines 500 francs for "inciting to hatred and contempt of the government and insulting the King". Sentence suspended.
- August 31: Arrested and sent to the prison of Sainte-Pelagie.

- 1833: February: Daumier is released and takes an apartment in Rue Saint-Denis. Forms close friendships with the painters Narcisse Virgile Diaz, Philipper Auguste Jeanron, Paul Huet, and Gabriel Alexandre Decamps. Spends long hours in the Louvre.
- 1834: Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834 (lithograph).
- 1835: New laws limiting freedom of the press compel Daumier to abandon political subjects.
- 1846-48 Frequents the painter Boissard de Boisdénier, who lives in the Hotel Lauzun, where he meets prominent artists and writers among them Baidelair. Produces large number of lithographs.
- 1848: February Revolution;
Louis Philippe dethroned.
- 1851: Louis Napoleon overthrows the Republic and becomes Emperor Napoleon III. Daumier's sculpture Ratapoll.
- 1852: Slight changes in his lithographic technique. Baudelaire, Champfleury, and Théodore de Banville publish essays in which Daumier is highly praised.
- 1860: March: Le Charivari informs him that it will no longer take his lithographs.

1860-62 Years of joyless work and discouragement.

1863: Daumier moves from the Ile Saint-Louis to Montmartre, where his successive addresses are Boulevard Rochechouart, 26 Rue de l'Abbaye (the present Rue de Abesses), and 36 Boulevard de Clichy. Spends his summers at Valmondois.

1864: Le Charivari offers him a new contract. He continues producing humorous lithographs for a living.

1867: Daumier meets Gambetta.

1868: Death of Theodore Rousseau and of Baudelaire.

1877: Daumier is almost blind. The government grants him an annual pension of 2,400 francs.

1878: Big Daumier exhibition at the gallery of Durand-Ruel. Favourable notice. Daumier undergoes two eye operations. His pension is increased to 4,800 francs.

1879: February 11: Death of Daumier.

April 16: His remains transferrred to Pere Lackarie cemetery.

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