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**Théodore Géricault's *Grande suite anglaise*:  
Sources, Iconography and Significance**

**by**

**Alec Mishory**

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
The City University of New York**

**1997**

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Abstract

### THEODORE GERICAULT'S "GRANDE SUITE ANGLAISE": SOURCES, ICONOGRAPHY, SIGNIFICANCE

by

Alec Mishory

Adviser: Prof. Diane Kelder

Théodore Géricault began making lithographs in 1817, after his return from Italy. His fascination with the new medium stimulated a renewed concern with contemporary subject matter as well as a search for a modern style. His most important contribution to this medium is the suite of twelve prints entitled *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone (The English Suite or La grande suite anglaise)* which he executed in London in 1821. As opposed to Géricault's oil paintings and drawings, which have been analysed and researched in detail, scholars have been satisfied so far with formal descriptions of his print *oeuvre*. This dissertation presents a thorough analysis of the twelve prints comprising the *English Suite*. The series, as its title suggests, is indeed varied. Nine of the prints deal with horses and their tenders: working horses, horses groomed for riding, horses in military use and horses in the process of being shod. Through a realistic rendering Géricault succeeded in conveying the hardships of the English working class, referring indirectly to various aspects of contemporary social abuse. He contrasted these with the allure and elegance of high-bred horses, thus referring to the gaps which separate between the various English social classes. The three prints dedicated to the London urban scene refer to the horrible conditions of the poor and the insane. Rather than read these works as genre, anecdotal renderings, this dissertation argues that Géricault's depictions are based on a veristic approach, devoid of idyllic or genre tendencies. The prints exhibit the artist's creation of symbols for human suffering, whose

objectivity has no parallel in contemporary English or French art. In the *English Suite* Géricault touched upon themes shunned by his contemporaries but recognized by authors and artists many years after his death. The depiction of such themes is one of the first artistic attempts at making a 'low' subject into a great modern masterpiece. Géricault's lithographs show a virtuoso mastering of the new technique of lithography: the series can be counted as one of the first cases of European art in which prints equal large scale oil paintings in their powerful, communicative and expressive formal traits. The detailed iconographic and formal analyses of the *English Suite* allows one to further appreciate Géricault's realist tendencies and establish him as a most significant precursor of French Realism.

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70. Théodore Géricault, *Study of a Farrier*, pencil and ink washes on paper, 209x134 mm, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw, New York. from Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1971.
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- 71a. Théodore Géricault, *An Arabian Horse*, detail.
72. Théodore Géricault, *An Arabian Horse (Cheval Arabe)*, 1822, lithograph, 232x188 mm., from the series *Études de Cheveaux*, Rouen, Musée des Beaux- Arts.

73. Carle Vernet, *Arab on Horseback*, c. 1818, lithograph. from *Circa 1800, The Beginnings of Modern Printmaking, 1775-1835*. Rutgers University Art Gallery, 1981, fig. 122.
74. Théodore Géricault, *Horses Exercising*, lithograph, 293x414 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
75. Théodore Géricault, *Groom and Horses*, watercolor on cream colored paper, 291x373 mm., Fogg Museum of Art. from Klaus Berger. *Drawings and Watercolors by Géricault*. New York: H. Bittner and Co., 1946, fig. 30.
76. Théodore Géricault, *Two Horses Taken for a Ride by a Jockey (Deux chevaux promenés par un jockey)*, 1822, lithograph. 388x327 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts.
77. Théodore Géricault, *The Epsom Derby*, 1821, oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre. from Eitner. *Géricault's Life and Work*. London: Orbis Publishing, 1983.
78. Edward Muybridge, *Galloping Horse*. 1883-1885, photographs. The Gernsheim Collection. Humanities Research Center. The University of Texas, Austin. from Meisels, *Art in the Technological Era*. Tel-Aviv: The Open University Press. 1981.
79. Théodore Géricault, *Two Grey Spotted Horses Taken for a Ride (Deux chevaux gris pommelé que l'on promène)*, 1822, lithograph. 290x422 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
80. By and after Henry Alken, *Bringing Up to the Bar: 'That seat will do well, Master George,'* 1823, colored soft-ground etching, 18.5x24.5 cm., The Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon Collection. from F.L. Wilder. *English Sporting Prints*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974, 114.
81. J. Harris after Henry Alken, *The First Steeple Chase on Record*, 1803, colored aquatint with etched outline, 27x37 cm., The Print Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. from F. L. Wilder. *English Sporting Prints*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974, 65.
82. Charles Turner after James Ward, *Ralph John Lambton. His Horse and Hounds (Calling Hounds Out of Cover)*, mezzotint printed in color, 50x74.2 cm., 1821. from F. L. Wilder. *English Sporting Prints*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974, 113.



83. Théodore Géricault. *A Party of Life Guards*., 1821, lithograph, 272x343 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 83a. Théodore Géricault, *A Party of Life Guards*, detail.
84. Théodore Géricault, *Battle of Chacabuco (Bataille de Chacabuco)*, c. 1819, lithograph, 490x388 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts.
85. Théodore Géricault, *Battle of Maipu (Bataille de Maipu)*, c. 1819, lithograph, 520x377 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
86. Théodore Géricault, *An Officer of the Carabineers*, c. 1813, pen and ink wash, watercolor, 390x310 mm., Paris Musée du Louvre. from Klaus Berger. *Géricault Drawings and Watercolors*. New York: H. Bittner and Co., 1946.
87. Théodore Géricault (?). *A Study of a British Guardsman and a Study for 'The Giaour'*, 1819 (?), red chalk for the Guardsman, graphite for 'The Giaour', drawing, 31.3x23.1 cm, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. from Philippe Grunhech. *Master drawings by Géricault*. Washington D.C. : International Exhibitions Foundation, 1985-86.
88. Edme Bouchardon (etched by Comte de Caylus), *Balais Balais (Vendor of Brooms)*, 1768, etching and engraving, 233x177 mm., from the second edition of the series *Les Cris de Paris en 8 suites, gravés d'après les Dessins de Mr. Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy en 1768 à Paris chez Crepy-Rue S. Jacques n. 257 aux Deux Colonnes*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. from Dwight Miller. *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen in European Prints*. (catalogue of an exhibition). Stanford, California: Stanford Art Gallery, 1970, 18.
89. Edme Bouchardon, *Des Couteaux, des Ciseaux, des Peignes (A Vendor of Knives, Scissors and Combs)*, 1768, etching and engraving, 233x177 mm., from the second edition of the series *Les Cris de Paris en 8 suites. gravés d'après les Dessins de Mr. Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy en 1768 à Paris chez Crepy-Rue S. Jacques n. 257 aux Deux Colonnes*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. from Dwight Miller. *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen in European Prints*. (catalogue of an exhibition). Stanford, California: Stanford Art Gallery, 1970, 18.
90. Thomas Rowlandson, *Do You Want any Brick Dust*, number 4 of the series *Cries of London*, 1799, hand colored etching, 288x193 mm., printed by R. Ackermann, London. from Dwight Miller. *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen in European Prints*. (catalogue of an exhibition). Stanford University, California: Stanford Art Gallery, 1970.

91. Thomas Rowlandson, *Old Cloaths, any Old Cloaths*, number 7 of the series *Cries of London*, 1799, hand colored etching, 288x193 mm., printed by R. Ackermann, London. from Dwight Miller. *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen in European Prints*. (catalogue of an exhibition). Stanford, California: Stanford Art Gallery, 1970.
  
92. Francis Wheatley, *Fresh Gathered Peas, Young Hastings*, 1793, engraving, 39.8x28.5 cm., Achenbach Foundation, San Francisco. from Dwight Miller. *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen in European Prints*. (catalogue of an exhibition). Stanford, California: Stanford Art Gallery, 1970, 27.
  
93. Thomas Busby, *A Match Girl*. 1820, from the series *Costumes of the Lower Orders of London*, hand colored engraving. from Lynn Matteson. "Géricault and English Street Cries." *The Burlingtone Magazine* 106 (1977), 305.
  
94. Théodore Géricault, *Sketch*. black chalk on paper, 20x28.5 cm., Dr. Fritz Nathan and Dr. Peter Nathan Collection. Switzerland. from Lynn Matteson. "Géricault and English Street Cries." *The Burlingtone Magazine* 106 (1977), 305.
  
95. Théodore Géricault, *The Piper*. 1821. lithograph, 314x233 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux - Arts.
  
- 95a. Théodore Géricault *The Piper*. detail.
  
- 95b. Théodore Géricault *The Piper*. detail.
  
- 95c. Théodore Géricault *The Piper*. detail.
  
96. Théodore Géricault, *The Organ Grinder*, pen on white paper, 210x280 mm., Collection Philippe Huart, Rhode Island School of Design. from Klaus Berger. *Géricault Drawings and Watercolors*. New York: H. Bittner and Co., 1946.
  
97. Théodore Géricault, *Study of a Piper at the Door of a Bakery*, graphite, 198x270 mm., Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts verso. (recto shows *Study of a Lion*). from Philippe Grunhech. *Master drawings by Géricault*. Washington D.C.: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1985-86, 174.

98. Théodore Géricault, *The Bagpiper*, pen with ink washes on buff paper, 220x150 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, from Klaus Berger. *Géricault Drawings and Watercolors*. New York: H. Bittner and Co., 1946.
99. Bartolomeo Pinelli, *The Pipers (Li pifferari)*, 1810, etching, from the series *Nuova Racolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e costumi di Roma*. from Fagiolo and Marini. *Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781-1836) e il suo tempo*. Rome: 1983.
100. Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Pipers Next to the Theater of Marcello (I pifferari presso il teatro di Marcello)*, 1810. etching from the series *Nuova Racolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e costumi di Roma*. from Fagiolo and Marini *Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781-1836) e il suo tempo*. Rome: 1983.
101. Théodore Géricault, *The Bagpiper*, pen with ink and washes on buff paper, 220x150 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts. from Klaus Berger. *Géricault, Drawings and Watercolors*. New York: H. Bittner and Co., 1946.
102. Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, 1821, lithograph, 222x315 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 102a. Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail.
- 102b. Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail
- 102c. Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail
- 102d. Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail
103. Théodore Géricault, *A Burial in London*, sepia wash and graphite, 195x280 mm., Paris, Private Collection, from Philippe Grunhech. *Master Drawings by Géricault*. Washington D.C.: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1985-86, 167.
104. Théodore Géricault, *Study for a Carriage*, drawing on white paper, 168x286 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts. from François Bergot. *Géricault, Tout l'oeuvre gravé et pièces en rapport*. Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, 1982, 59.

105. Théodore Géricault. *A Paralytic Woman*. grey wash over crayon, 156x205 mm., Paris, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Olivier Debre. from Philippe Grunhech, *Master Drawings by Gericault*. Washington D.C.: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1985-1986, 169.
  
106. Thomas Rowlandson, *A Scene at Bath*, (no date), drawing, The Albert H. Wiggin Collection in the Boston Public Library. from Arthur W. Heitzelman. *The Watercolor Drawings of Thomas Rowlandson*.
  
107. *Italian Wheelchair of the Eighteenth Century*. from Herman Kamenetz. *The Wheelchair Book, Mobility for the Disabled*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1969.
  
108. *The Dying Infidel, or The Judgement of God Displayed in the Awful End of Miserable Sinners*, broadside, 155x320 mm., from Thomas Gretton. *Murders and Moralities. English Catchpenny Prints, 1800-1860*. London: a Colonade Book, 1980, 59.
  
109. Bartolomeo Pinelli. *A Poor Woman in Rome (Una povera stroppia [sic] a Roma)*, 1810, etching, from the series *Nuova Racolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e costumi di Roma*. from Fagiolo and Marini. *Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781-1836) e il suo tempo*. Rome: 1983.
  
110. Théodore Géricault. *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Born (sic) him to Your Door*. 1821. lithograph, 315x374 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
  
- 110a. Théodore Géricault. *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Born (sic) him to Your Door*. detail.
  
- 110b. Théodore Géricault. *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Born (sic) him to Your Door*, detail.
  
- 110c. Théodore Géricault. *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Born (sic) him to Your Door*, detail.
  
111. James Gillray, "*Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*", *Vide, Scene in Bloomsbury Square*, 1796, engraving, (colored impression), 13.9x9.25 inch., London, The Prints and Drawings Collection of the British Museum. from M.D.George. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum*. London:1942.

112. William H. Pyne. *The Dustman*, etching, plate 28 from the series *The Costume of Great Britain*, London, 1808. from Lynne Matteson. "Géricault and English Street Cries," *Apollo* 106 (1977), 306.
113. Théodore Géricault. *The Dustmen*, (*Les Boueux*), 1823, lithograph, from the series *Études de chevaux*, 195x244 mm.. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 113a. Théodore Géricault, *The Dustmen* (*Les Boueux*), detail.
- 113b. Théodore Géricault. *The Dustmen* (*Les Boueux*), detail.
114. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet. *The Coal Wagon* (*Le chariot de charbon*), 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études de chevaux*, 370x283 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
115. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet. *The French Farrier* (*Le maréchal français*), 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études de chevaux*, 360x270 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
116. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet. *Horses conducted to a Fair* (*Chevaux conduits à la foire*), lithograph, 1822, from the series *Études de chevaux*, 350x250 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
- 116a. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *Horses conducted to a Fair* (*Chevaux conduits à la foire*), detail.
- 116b. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *Horses conducted to a Fair* (*Chevaux conduits à la foire*), detail.
117. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The English Farrier* (*Le maréchal anglais*), 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études de chevaux*, 370x283 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
118. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The Flemish Farrier* (*Le maréchal flamand*), 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études de chevaux*, 325x243 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
- 118a. Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The Flemish Farrier* (*Le maréchal Flamand*), detail.

119. Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Two Post Horses at the Entrance to a Stable (Deux chevaux de poste à la porte d'une écurie)*, 1822, lithograph, 43x34 cm., from the series *Études de chevaux*, Paris. Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts.
  
120. Théodore Géricault, *Two Post Horses at the Entrance to a Stable (Deux chevaux de poste à la porte d'une écurie)*, c. 1822-1823, oil, Paris, Musée du Louvre, from Lorenz Eitner. *Géricault, his Life and Work*. London: Orbis Publishing, 1983, fig. 207.
  
121. Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Horses Conducted to be Flayed (Chevaux conduits à l'ecourcheur)*, 1823, lithograph, 198x 110 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts.
  
122. Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Two Harnessed Horses (Les deux chevaux harachés)*, 1823, lithograph, 172x128 mm., from *A Series of Eight Little Pieces (Suite des huit petites pièces)*, Paris. Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux- Arts.
  
123. Théodore Géricault, *A Horse from Hanover (Cheval d'Hanovre)*, 1822, lithograph, 245x180 mm., from the series *Études de chevaux lithographiés par Géricault*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux- Arts.
  
124. Théodore Géricault, *Flemish Horses (Chevaux flamands)*, 1822, lithograph, 215x162 mm., from the series *Études de chevaux lithographiés par Géricault*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux- Arts.
  
125. Théodore Géricault, *Cheval Cauchois*, 1823, lithograph, 226x178 mm., from the series *Études de chevaux lithographiés par Géricault*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École de Beaux - Arts.
  
126. Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Woman Suffering from Obsession of Envy (Monomanie de l'envie)*, c. 1822, oil, Lion, Musée des Beaux-Arts. from Lorenz Eitner. *Géricault, his Life and Work*. London: Orbis Publishing, 1983.
  
127. Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Woman Addicted to Gambling (Monomanie du jeu)*, c. 1822, oil, Paris, Musée du Louvre. from Lorenz Eitner. *Géricault, his Life and Work*. London: Orbis Publishing, 1983.

128. Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Man Suffering from Delusions of Military Rank (Monomanie du commandement militaire)*, c. 1822, oil, Winterthur, Reinhardt Collection. from Lorenz Eitner. *Géricault, his Life and Work*. London: Orbis Publishing, 1983.
  
129. Théodore Géricault, *The Lime Kiln (Le four à plâtre)*, 1823, oil on canvas, 500x610 mm.. Paris, Musée du Louvre. from Lorenz Eitner. *Géricault, his Life and Work*. London: Orbis Publishing, 1983.
  
130. Honoré Daumier, *Rue Transnonain. April 15, 1834*, 1834, lithograph, Vienna, Albertina Museum. from Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson. *Art of the Nineteenth Century, Painting and Sculpture*. 1984, fig. 144.
  
131. Eduard Manet, *Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. from Linda Nochlin. *Realism*. New York: Penguin Books, 1971, 57.
  
132. Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village (Les demoiselles du village)*, 1852, oil on canvas, 195x261 cm.. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. from Linda Nochlin. *Realism*. New York: Penguin Books. 1971, 125, fig. 68.
  
133. Paul Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevalier), "*Hunger? Laziness!*", 1847, lithograph, 20.15x18.2 cm., from *Parisian Nonsense (Baliverneries Parisiennes)* series, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. from Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson. *Art of the Nineteenth Century, Painting and Sculpture*. 1984, fig. 146.
  
134. Paul Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevalier), "*V'la l'coco!*" (*The Chocolate Vendor*), ca. 1855-57, watercolor, Walters art Gallery, Baltimore, from Gabriel Weisberg. *Social Concern and the Worker: French Prints from 1830-1910*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1974, 12.
  
135. Jean-Jacques François Monanteuil, *Two Bell Ringers (Les deux sonneurs)*, pencil drawing, graphite, 358x258 mm.. Alençon, Musée d'Oze. from Gabriel Weisberg. *Social Concern and the Worker: French Prints from 1830-1910*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1974.
  
136. Jean-Jacques François Monanteuil, *Itinerant Musician (Musician ambulant)*, pencil drawing, graphite, 362x262 mm.. Alençon, Musée d'Oze. from Gabriel Weisberg. *Social Concern and the Worker: French Prints from 1830-1910*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1974.

137. Gustave Doré, *A Poor Woman in London (Pauvresse à Londres)*, 1869, pen and ink drawing on grey blue tinted paper. 460x300 mm., Strassbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts. from Hans Haieg. *Gustave Doré. Catalogue des oeuvres originales et de l'oeuvre gravé conservés au musée de Beaux-arts de Strasbourg*. Strasbourg, 1954, no. 28.
138. Gustave Doré, *Wentworth Street Whitechapel*, 1872, engraving, from the series *London - a Pilgrimage*. from Marina Henderson (ed.). *Gustave Doré, Selected Engravings*. Academy Editions, 1971.
139. Gustave Doré, *The Organ in the Street*, 1872, engraving, 24.2x19 cm., from the series *London - a Pilgrimage*. from Marina Henderson (ed.). *Gustave Doré, Selected Engravings*. Academy Editions, 1971.
140. Louis-Léopold Boilly. *Smokers and Snuff-takers*, from *Recueil de grimaces*, 1823, lithograph, Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. from Petra ten-Doesschate Chu., and Gabriel P. Weisberg. *The Popularization of Images. Visual Culture Under the July Monarchy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1994. 23, fig. 8.

#### *Plates in the Text*

- plate I Bernard Picart, *Ceremony of Washing the Feet of Twelve Poor People on Holy Thursday (Cérémonie de laver les pieds à douze pauvres le Jeudi Saint)*, 1723, engraving. from Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde présentées par des Figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart, avec une Explication Historique. & quelques Dissertations curieuses*, Tome second, Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, MDCCXXIII (1723).
- plate II William Blake, *Holy Thursday*, from *Songs of Innocence*, 1789, colored etching. from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience Shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul 1789 . 1794 The Author and Printer W Blake*. Reproduction in the original size of William Blake's Illuminated Book, with an introduction and Commentary by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, plate 19.
- plate III William Blake, *Holy Thursday* from *Songs of Experience*, 1794, colored etching. from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience ....*, plate 19.
- plate IV Francois-André Vincent. *Belisarius (Bélisaiare réduit à la mendicité secouru par un officier des troupes de l'Empreur Justinien)*, Salon of 1777, Montpellier, Musée Fabre. from Michael Fried. *Absorption and Theatricality, Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.



plate V Perspective construction of Géricault's *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*. illustration by the author.

plate VI Donatello, *The Feast of Herod*, c. 1425, gilded bronze relief, 62x62 cm., Siena, Baptistery. from Alec Mishory. *Renaissance Art in Italy*. Tel-Aviv: The Open University Press, 1991. 51.

plate VII perspective construction of Géricault's *Entrance to the Adelpi Wharf*, illustration by the author.

plate VIII perspective construction of Géricault's *The English Farrier*, illustration by the author.

plate IX perspective construction of Géricault's *The Flemish Farrier*, illustration by the author.

## INTRODUCTION

"...on ne peut arriver au beau dans les arts que par des comparaisons".  
Théodore Géricault, *letter to Horace Vernet*, May 6, 1821.<sup>1</sup>

"Géricault, pour beaucoup, reste à découvrir".  
Regis Michel<sup>2</sup>

Théodore Géricault began making lithographs in 1817, after his return from Italy. His interest in this new medium was probably encouraged by his friend Horace Vernet, and it stimulated a renewed concern with contemporary subject matter as well as a search for a modern style. Although Géricault subsequently produced a substantial group of lithographs in Paris, it was his trips to England in 1820 and 1821 that served as a catalyst for his most important contribution to this medium and to the development of his future artistic endeavor in Paris, namely, the suite of twelve prints entitled *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone (The English Suite or La grande suite anglaise)* which he executed in London in 1821. The series was published by Charles Hullmandel, one of London's leading publishers of lithography. It is comprised of twelve large prints (thirteen, including the frontispiece), nine of which deal with horses and their tenders, the remaining three depicting scenes from the streets of London.

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<sup>1</sup> "One can find beauty in the arts only through comparisons". Quoted in Charles Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique et critique, avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre du maître* (Paris: 1879, repr., Paris: Léon Laget Éditeurs, 1974) 201.

<sup>2</sup> "Géricault, for the most part, remains to be discovered". Regis Michel, "Géricault - fin du mythe?" in *Géricault*, (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), XII.

The *English Suite* is commonly discussed within the general context of Géricault's English sojourn, suggesting the possible influence of English art on his style and his search for new subject matter. The prints represent but a small part of the large volume of one hundred lithographs executed by Géricault during the last seven years of his life.

As opposed to Géricault's oil paintings and drawings, which have been analysed and researched in detail, his print *oeuvre* has not been the subject of any comprehensive research. Scholars have been satisfied so far with formal descriptions of the prints and with annotating them. The following chronological history of the scholarship devoted to Géricault in the past seventy years will show that serious preliminary studies of his work began only during the 1960's. As expected, these were concerned primarily with his monumental works, i.e., his paintings. The significant role played by the lithographs within the overall context of his artistic work is still open for research and study.

When Géricault died in 1824, only three paintings - *The Charging Chasseur* of 1812, *The Wounded Cuirassier* of 1814 and *The Raft of the Medusa* of 1819 - and a number of published lithographs were known to the public. Only his closest friends had knowledge of his entire work. From the auction of his studio contents (1824) the *Medusa* went to the Louvre, *The Chasseur* and *Cuirassier* went to the Galerie d'Orleans at the Palais Royale.<sup>3</sup> The remaining hundreds of paintings and drawings were scattered among private collectors for almost a hundred years. Most of them remained inaccessible to researchers: only a few connoisseurs and specialists were able to

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<sup>3</sup> Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1971) 7.

study them. Any scholarly approach to Géricault's works dealt only or mainly with the museum works. The very few exhibited works by Géricault were bound to take disproportionate prominence; the artist came to be known as *le peintre de la 'Meduse'*.<sup>4</sup>

A complete volume of Géricault's lithographs is in the collection of three French public institutions: the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Bibliothèque de l'École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris and the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen.<sup>5</sup> In 1850, twenty six years after the artist's death, Hippolyte Bellangé, the curator of the Rouen Museum and a great collector of prints (including those by Géricault) began acquiring works by Géricault for the museum's collection. The main bulk of Géricault's prints was acquired more than twenty years later. On May 12 1876, the mayor of Rouen acquired the large volume of Géricault's prints from the collection of the baron Henri de Triqueti (1802-1874), an artist and print collector. De Triqueti bought his collection *en bloc* from Alexis Jamar, one of Géricault's students.<sup>6</sup> The person responsible for making the connection between the baron de Triqueti and the Rouen museum was Charles Clément, the primary source for all future scholarly research devoted to Géricault's work.

Charles Clément was the first to draw his information about Géricault's art from collectors and surviving friends of the artist, and from the works themselves. His exemplary monograph

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> In fact, the Rouen collection is complete except for two prints and so is the collection of the Bibliothèque de l'École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The only collection which possesses the full volume of Géricault's prints is the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See François Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé et pièces en rapport* (Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1982), 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 12. Alexis Jamar will be referred to especially in chapter six, as one of the persons responsible for executing some of Géricault's lithographs of 1822-1823.

*Géricault, étude biographique et critique* was written in the 1860's, published for the first time in Paris in 1867, and republished as a definitive edition in 1879. Clément, like Géricault, was born in Rouen (1821). He studied philosophy, first in Berlin and then in Tuebingen where he received his doctorate in 1846.<sup>7</sup> Sometime in 1848, Clément came to Paris and devoted himself to the study of art. He became a friend of the artist Charles Gleyre through whom he met Gustave Planche, the art critic of the *Revue des deux-mondes*, who in 1851 published an early appraisal of Géricault's work.<sup>8</sup>

In 1863 Clément became the art critic of the *Journal des débats*, writing the reviews of the annual Salons. His function as an art critic and a journalist brought about his interest in the artists of the generation preceding his own. He embarked on writing a series of monographs on Prud'hon (1869), Léopold Robert (1875), Gleyre (1877), the first of which was dedicated to Géricault.<sup>9</sup> The available literature on Géricault in the 1860's consisted of appraisals within the larger context of nineteenth-century art. Such was Charles Blanc's *Histoire des peintres français au XIXème siècle* of 1845 and Ernest Chesneau's "Le mouvement moderne en peinture" in *Revue européenne*, XVII of 1861.<sup>10</sup> Each scholar made Géricault's art fall into Romantic, Classicist or Realist general contexts. A biographical approach was taken by Louis Batissier in 1842, who published his

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<sup>7</sup> Lorenz Eitner, "Clément and Géricault", in *Charles Clément: Géricault, a Biographical and Critical Study, with a Catalogue Raisonné of the Master's Works, Reprint of the definitive edition of 1879, Introduction by Lorenz Eitner* (New York: Da Capo, 1974), V.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., VI.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., VII.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., IX, XV.

“Biographie de Géricault” in the *Revue du XIXème siècle*.<sup>11</sup> Batissier’s documentation was based on a letter written by Théodore Lebrun, a friend of Géricault, to a journalist who was interested in information concerning the life of the artist. Batissier added verbal information, anecdotes and other letters supplied to him by friends of Géricault like Dedreux-Dorcy and Delacroix.<sup>12</sup>

Clément used most of Batissier’s documentaion but went much further in obtaining information from people who knew Géricault intimately or had some contact with his artistic endeavors. He was the first scholar to base his study on first hand material; his research resulted in an exemplary *catalogue raisonné*, including many little known works found mainly in private collections and thus it forms a detailed and a profound view of Géricault’s artistic work.<sup>13</sup>

The main parts of Clément’s text and the *catalogue raisonné* of Géricault’s work appeared in installments in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* during 1867. The final edition of his monograph on Géricault was published in 1879. In his work Clément noted that Géricault’s lithographic work is comprised of one hundred pieces executed by the artist himself between 1817-1824.<sup>14</sup> Each entry in his *catalogue raisonné* included a formal description of the print, noting the inscriptions on its margins, including the names of the publishers as well as the printers, the particular state of the

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<sup>11</sup> Batissier’s text was republished by Pierre Courthion in *Géricault raconté par lui-même et par ses amis* (Vézénas-Genève, 1947), 23ff.

<sup>12</sup> Eitner, “Clément and Géricault”, IX.

<sup>13</sup> Eitner, *Géricault* (1971), 9.

<sup>14</sup> Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 369.

print, and the print's measurements. Whenever possible, Clément added a possible source for the print - a drawing or a painting.<sup>15</sup>

The *catalogue raisonné* includes the number of existing copies of each print, thus referring to the rarity of each one. The letter *R* appearing before the description of the print in the list designates that it is 'rare'. *RR* designates a rarer print; *RRR* - a very rare print.<sup>16</sup> The only defect one can find in Clément's *catalogue raisonné* is that it is not illustrated.<sup>17</sup>

Forty-five years after Clément's publication, a new *catalogue raisonné* of Géricault's prints was published by Loys Delteil. *Théodore Géricault* (Volume XVIII of Delteil's classic *Le peintre-graveur illustré*) appeared in 1924, the centennial of Géricault's death. Delteil annotated Géricault's prints with details on their provenance and sales. He mentioned every possible state of the print known at the time and quoted Clément's accounts of the history of each print. The addition of illustrations to his *catalogue raisonné* made a tremendous contribution in updating Clément's catalogue.

In the centennial year of Géricault's death the complete volume of his lithographs (from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen) was exhibited for the first time in the exhibition held in Paris.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The formal description of *The Flemish Farrier*, for example, is accompanied by the following statement: "Mr. Jamar possesses a drawing which had served [as a source] for this print". ("M. Jamar possède un dessin qui a servi pour cette lithographie." Ibid., 388.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 370.

<sup>17</sup> The definitive edition of Clément's book includes reproductions of thirteen lithographs out of the one hundred listed. They are scattered throughout the book.

<sup>18</sup> Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 12.

The small catalogue<sup>19</sup> lists the lithographs within the general chronological order in which the works were presented. It does not describe them and has no reproductions. Parts of the Rouen collection were exhibited again in 1962-1963 in *Géricault, a Romantic Realist* (*Géricault, un réaliste romantique*), an exhibition held at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Charleroi, yet, again, the prints were neither described nor reproduced in the catalogue. In 1963, the complete Rouen collection was exhibited at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen with no description or reproductions.<sup>20</sup>

In 1940 Frederick Antal published «Reflections of Classicism and Romanticism»<sup>21</sup>, a pioneering study of the art of Géricault which served as a point of departure for later scholars.

*The Graphic Work of Géricault*, an exhibition held at the Yale University Art Gallery in 1969 and the *Géricault* exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, organised and curated by Lorenz Eitner in 1971, mark the beginning of the renewed scholarly interest in Géricault's work in the past twenty-five years. The *Géricault* exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum included only paintings and drawings; Géricault's prints in general and the *English Suite* in particular were

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<sup>19</sup> Bergot states that this exhibition did not include a catalogue ("l'exposition du Centenaire, organisée à Paris, en 1924, à l'hôtel de Jean Charpentier: mais l'exposition ne comporta pas de catalogue") but he is mistaken; a small catalogue was issued for this particular exhibition. Ibid. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Frederick Antal, "Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism," *Burlington Magazine*, 1940, subsequently republished in *Classicism and Romanticism, With Other Studies in Art History* (London: 1966).



referred to only in the short essay included in the catalogue. Needless to say, the prints were not reproduced at all.

An updated *catalogue raisonné* of Géricault's works appeared in 1978: *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Géricault*, with an introduction by Jacques Thuillier and the documentation prepared by Philippe Grunhech. The catalogue, as its title suggests, listed Géricault's paintings; it did not deal with the artist's prints at all.

In 1982, the need for an updated, systematic *catalogue raisonné* of Géricault's lithographs was finally realized by the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen. François Bergot curated *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé et pièces en rapport* (*Géricault, All the Prints and Related Works*), an exhibition of his prints and drawings which was accompanied by an illustrated catalogue, following the model established by Clément.

Bergot's catalogue for the Rouen exhibition in 1981-1982 placed Géricault's prints in the general context of his artistic work. By showing every relevant related work for each of the prints, he succeeded in establishing a coherent flow of events in Géricault's creative process. Each print entry in the catalogue includes its title, measurements, dates, inscriptions, collection marks, museum marks, provenance, other states of the print and copies made after it. An updated list of catalogues and exhibitions in which the print was exhibited was added as well. Each print in the catalogue entry is accompanied -- if the case allows -- by a drawing, which served either as a visual source to be partially cited in the print or as a preparatory drawing per-se. Finally, each print is given a formal description, at times taken entirely from Clément's catalogue or elaborated upon. It was Bergot's intention to show that Géricault's artistic genius is no less manifested in his

prints than in his oil paintings. He succeeded in doing that by seriously analysing (in the introduction to the catalogue) Géricault's mastering of lithography.

In 1982, Philippe Grunhech, curator of the Bibliothèque de l'École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris, published *Géricault. dessins et aquarelles de chevaux* (*Géricault, Drawings and Watercolors of Horses*). His book makes a significant compilation of the subject which occupied Géricault both in life and in his art. Grunhech's book is significant for the analyses of Géricault's lithographs since some of the drawings and watercolors contained in it were used by the artist as sources for some of the prints' compositions.

Lorenz Eitner's *Géricault. his Life and Work*. (1983), is certainly the most extensive monograph on the artist's work. Eitner's book combines a step by step biographical history of the artist's life with special sections devoted to stylistic and iconographic analyses of his works. He deals with Géricault's lithographs as an integral part of his *oeuvre*. They are referred to in general chronological order. A special chapter in Eitner's book deals with Géricault's English sojourn. It includes a brief formal description and stylistic analyses of *some* of the *English Suite* prints. Eitner was the first scholar to divide the *English Suite* prints into groups, according to their subject matter.<sup>22</sup>

Philippe Grunhech's *Master Drawings by Géricault*, a travelling exhibition, held at the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York, at the San Diego Museum of Art (1985) and at the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston (1986), gathered a large volume of the master's drawings. The

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<sup>22</sup> Eitner's division will be referred to in chapter 3.

aim of the exhibit was to establish the stylistic and thematic relationship that exist between the drawings and thus to gain a sharp perception of Géricault's occasionally complex pattern of procedure, of the perpetual recurrence of themes, and also of the elements in the vocabulary of his forms.<sup>23</sup> One of the important contributions of the material gathered in this catalogue for the present study is the large collection of reproductions of Géricault's drawings: some of them were the preparatory drawings for his lithographs and thus they serve in tracing the creative process of the artist.

The major exhibition of Géricault's works out of France was held in Japan in 1987-1988. It travelled from the Museum of Modern Art of Kamakura to the National Museum of Modern Art in Kyoto, and then to the Museum of Fine Arts of Fukuoka. Twenty two museums from France, Belgium, Switzerland and the United States loaned their works to the exhibition. Géricault's paintings were exhibited chronologically<sup>24</sup> as were the drawings and the lithographs. The paintings gathered for the exhibition could not quite represent the complete *oeuvre* of the artist: among them was a copy of *Le radeau de la Meduse*, a copy of *Le Cuirassier blessé*, one original *Landscape*, two *Portraits of the Insane* and one painting of *Decapitated Heads*. The large number of drawings, in comparison, served to represent the various stages in Géricault's development as an artist. The most relevant part of the Japanese exhibition catalogue for this research is Hidebumi Hashi's short essay, "Géricault lithographe, ses recherches et son originalité."<sup>25</sup> Hashi describes

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<sup>23</sup> Philippe Grunheec, *Master drawings by Géricault* (Washington, D.C. : International Exhibitions Foundation, 1985-86), 24.

<sup>24</sup> The paintings were shown in the following groups: 1808-1812, 1817-1820, 1820-1824. *Géricault* (Japan: Journal Mainichi Publishers, 1987).

<sup>25</sup> "Géricault the lithographer, his research and originality", *Ibid.*, 179-181.

fifteen (out of one hundred) of Géricault's lithographs. He sees the *English Suite* mainly as reflecting Géricault's melancholy during his London sojourn. Hashi does not dwell on any of the prints' technical aspects, nor does he relate to them formally. His catalogue entry does not present them in a way which would shed new light on François Bergot's commentaries (in the Rouen catalogue, 1982) of six years earlier. The Japan catalogue, however, is the first publication which reproduces the entire volume of Géricault's prints. Each reproduction is accompanied by a short commentary based, in most cases, on Clément's entries and on those of Delteil and Bergot's.

A recently published biography of Géricault is *Géricault* by Jean Sagne (1991). The book offers a detailed account of Géricault's life, including discussions of his psychological disorders. It is based on a thorough research of historical, cultural and artistic backgrounds. The author discusses the Liberalist atmosphere at the studio of Horace Vernet, the reign of Louis XVIII, the English art scene during Géricault's sojourn, and the French artistic *milieu* both in Rome and in London. Sagne offers brief formal descriptions of Géricault's works. His book is based on the most recent scholarship on Géricault (up to 1990). The chapters devoted to the artist's English trips include very brief descriptions of a few of the *English Suite* prints, hardly relating to them stylistically or treating their subject matter.<sup>26</sup>

The most up-to-date scholarly research of Géricault's work was represented in the *Géricault* exhibition held at the Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais in Paris, 1992. More than sixty museums loaned their works for this most comprehensive view of Géricault's art. A tremendous

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<sup>26</sup> Some of Sagne's general descriptions were not based on close observation of Géricault's prints; his assumptions, as to some of them, will be referred to in chapters 4 and 5.

amount of work went into the preparation of the catalogue for the Grand Palais exhibit. It included a most valuable overview of all aspects of Géricault scholarship.

The enormous catalogue that accompanied the exhibition contains the following parts:

a. Division into twenty subjects,<sup>27</sup> all of which are discussed in a special essay and accompanied by reproductions of relevant works.

b. *Géricault: a life (Géricault: une vie)*:

A step by step documentation of significant events in Géricault's life. Each one is based on and backed by almost all possible sources: government files, Géricault's letters, Clément's findings, contemporary newspaper articles and more (not to mention the thorough citing of every article which is relevant to the particular event).

c. *Documents*:

includes the *Monfort manuscript*: Antoine Monfort, a student of Géricault, whose written recollections of the master are the only written material used by Clément in his monograph on Géricault. It is published in the catalogue in its entirety.

d. *Letters and documents*

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<sup>27</sup> The categories are as follows:

1. An autodidactic artist (Un artiste autodidacte) 2. An original copyist (Un copiste original) 3. The *Chasseur* of the Guard (Le chasseur de la garde). 4. The depth of reality (La profondeur du réel) 5. *The Wounded Cuirassier (Le Cuirassier blessé)* 6. The races of Rome (Les concours de Rome) 7. The voyage in Italy (Le voyage en Italie) 8. Antique Italy (L'Italie antique) 9. *The Race of the Riderless Horses (La course de chevaux libres)* 10. Painting thought (Peindre la pensée) 11. Dead landscapes (Paysages lethaux) 12. The Fualdés affaire (L'affaire Fualdés) 13. *The Raft of the Medusa (Le radeau de la Meduse)* 14. The miseries of War (Les malheurs de la guerre) 15. The paradox of the Orient (le paradoxe de l'orient) 16. Proletarian London (Londres prolétaire) 17. Work of affliction (Travail du deuil) 18. Liberalism and interest in negroes (Libéralisme et Négritude) 19. *Portraits of the insane (Portraits de fous)* 20. The artist's myth (Le mythe de l'artiste).

contains some documents which were published in the nineteenth-century and have escaped the attention of modern scholars. Other letters or documents which were known only in part merited complete republication.

e. *Catalogue of works exhibited:*

The number of works gathered for the exhibition was enormous. Yet each work is annotated in the catalogue and put in the general context of Géricault's work. This includes entries for each work participating in the exhibition (Géricault's works as well as related or relevant works by other artists). The essays of two categories included in the overall division of the exhibition relate specifically to the *English Suite: Proletarian London (Londres prolétaire)* and *Work of Affliction (Travail du deuil)*. They discuss Géricault's English experience and his interest in the Horse as a work force.<sup>28</sup>

The two publications most relevant to the study of Géricault's *English Suite* are François Bergot's study and the Grand Palais catalogue of 1992. Yet, though the entries and the essays in the Rouen and the Grand Palais catalogues mention Géricault's *English Suite*, they offer but limited understanding of it since they deal primarily with the provenance of the prints and give basic formal descriptions which only mention the figures and the settings appearing in them but do not analyse their iconography. They do not examine the subject matter of the prints, nor consider their cultural, stylistic, symbolic and social contexts.

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<sup>28</sup> The Grand Palais catalogue (1992) was supposed to be published in two volumes. So far, only the first volume appeared. The second volume was meant to contain various articles and essays and a detailed Géricault bibliography.

As the most recent manifestation of Géricault's scholarship, the Grand Palais catalogue meticulously quotes every single reference to Géricault's prints included in the above mentioned publications. It certainly makes a superb index of all former material dealing with the prints, yet it does not offer any interpretations of them.

Three scholars have referred, generally, to the question of influence of other sources on Géricault's art and specifically to a possible influence on the *English Suite*. Suzanne Lodge's "Géricault in England" (1965)<sup>29</sup> discussed for the first time the possible influence of English art on Géricault during his English sojourn. Lynn Matteson<sup>30</sup> established a connection between the *English Suite* and the long English (as well as French) tradition of visual renderings of urban 'street-criers'. She also pointed to a possible influence on works created by Géricault in Italy by the Roman artist Bartolomeo Pinelli.<sup>31</sup> In the discussion of the lack of female subjects in Géricault's *oeuvre*, Linda Nochlin provided a specific interpretation of *one* print of the *English Suite: A Paralytic Woman*.<sup>32</sup>

Though Eitner and Bergot pointed to the significant role played by Géricault's prints in the overall context of his artistic endeavor, they have established only a preliminary, though significant

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<sup>29</sup> Suzanne Lodge, "Géricault in England," *The Burlington Magazine* 107 (December 1965): 616-27.

<sup>30</sup> Lynne Matteson, "Géricault and English 'Street Cries'," *Apollo* 106 (October 1977): 304-306.

<sup>31</sup> Lynne Matteson, "Observations on Géricault and Pinelli," *Pantheon* 38 (January 1980): 74-78.

<sup>32</sup> Linda Nochlin, "Géricault, or the Absence of Women," *October* (1994): 45-59.

ground for future, more detailed analysis of the prints' social, political, cultural and stylistic aspects.

This study will be a first attempt at a thorough analysis of the twelve prints comprising the *English Suite*. One of its aims will be to analyse the larger significance and artistic value of the *English Suite* not only as an early, fine example of the use of lithography but as individual masterpieces in their own right. A part of this study will be devoted to the reassessment of previous scholarly argument, with regard to the actual degree of English influence on Géricault's artistic endeavor. It will dwell on his keen concern with the poor, maimed, and marginal elements of society and his veristic depictions of various types of horses and tenders which sets him apart from the artistic conventions of his time and thus will seek to expand our understanding of his interest in contemporary subjects.

The most direct effort of this study will be given to the iconographic analysis of each print included in the *English Suite* and the documentation of its visual sources. The systematic review of the *English Suite* will closely examine Géricault's lithographic methods in order to promote new findings pertaining to the materials and techniques utilised in his production of the prints. The thorough analysis will provide an inner look into the creative process of the *English Suite*, a most varied series, as its title implies. It will purport to show that the *English Suite* is Géricault's finest achievement in the new medium of lithography. The *English Suite* clearly establishes Géricault as a significant precursor of Realism. It is the intention of this study to show that because of the prints' limited public exposure, Géricault's works did not have a first hand influence on future Realist artists yet they contained sophisticated germs of Realist themes.



Referring to the *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, Lorenz Eitner maintained that the objectivity with which Géricault pictured suffering and human decay in their actual urban setting had no close parallel in English art of the period.<sup>33</sup> Eitner's observation is certainly valid; only during the 1840's or 1850's is this subject treated by great masters such as Daumier and later, Manet. The everyday scenes of the London streets and the back scenes of horsemanship, as observed and depicted by Géricault in this series are unprecedented. They manifest verism as opposed to genre renderings, and reflect his interest in contemporary life and his deep concern for social abuse.

Such themes were anything but popular among contemporary print collectors. The common demand was for the English tradition of sporting prints. Géricault's publishers did put some pressure on him concerning the subject matter for his prints. In the *English Suite* he succeeded in avoiding such pressure almost entirely; his compilation of subject matter is extremely personal. Géricault tried to repeat the successful *English Suite* when he came back to Paris after his English sojourn. But the lithographs printed by Gihaut fail to compare with their English models. The innovations of subject matter and the technical virtuosity of the *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone* stand as unique achievements in the early history of lithography.

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<sup>33</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 229.

**PART ONE:**  
**POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC BACKGROUND**

## CHAPTER 1

## GÉRICAULT AND LITHOGRAPHY

"...Il [Géricault] eut soupçonné à soixante-dix ans d'avance les tendances de notre naturalisme".  
Henri Bouchot, *La Lithographie*, 1895.<sup>1</sup>

*Géricault's Return From Italy: Liberalist Ideas at the Studio of Horace Vernet*

Géricault participated in two of the three examinations for the *Prix de Rome* in March 1816.<sup>2</sup> On March 30, his entry was rejected and he was thus excluded from the competition. Six months after his failure he left for Italy: one of the reasons was his desire to quiet his mental torment, a consequence of an amorous affair.<sup>3</sup> He carried three letters of recommendation: one from his teacher Guérin (to an unknown person in Florence), one written by Gros to Céleste Meuricoffre, a singer in Naples, and one written by Laneuville to the painter Francois-Xavier Fabre (1766-1837) in Florence. On November 15 1816 Géricault arrived in Rome. He met many artists there, including Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. He also met Jean-Victor Schnetz (1787-1870), a pupil of David, who received the second prize of the *Prix de Rome* competition that same year,<sup>4</sup> and the English

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<sup>1</sup> "He [Géricault] had guessed our tendencies of naturalism seventy years in advance". Henri Bouchot, *La Lithographie* (Paris: Librairie d'Education Nationale, Alcide Picard & Kaan, Editeurs, 1895), 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 275.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 275, 278.

architect Charles Robert Cockerel (1788-1863)<sup>5</sup> whom he would meet again during his English sojourn.

Géricault roamed the streets of Rome and made many drawings. The Roman Carnival of February 1817 which culminated in the Barberi Race, was a model for many sketches he intended to use for a giant painting which was never realized.<sup>6</sup> A two-month stay in Naples was a “happy” period for Géricault during which he produced many drawings made after antique sources. After his return to Rome he left Italy and returned to France in September 1817.<sup>7</sup> During his stay, the city of Rome was almost in chaos: executions were common, especially on carnival days. Two drawings - *A Public Hanging in Rome* and *A Poor Family* - made by Géricault during his Roman sojourn<sup>8</sup> show the beginnings of his interest in contemporary events and the germ of his concern for social abuse.

Upon his return to Paris in 1817, Géricault went to live with his father at 23 rue des Martyrs, in Montmartre, next door to his friend Horace Vernet. Vernet, a Bonapartist, enemy of the Bourbon government, and left-wing sympathizer, was the main animator of an informal group of political dissidents - painters, writers, musicians, politicians and former Napoleonic officers - who

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>6</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 66.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> The two drawings will be referred to later in connection with *A Public Hanging*, a drawing made by Géricault in London.

gathered in meetings in his studio.<sup>9</sup> Loyalists to the Emperor and liberals, who were enemies before Waterloo, now found themselves in the same intellectual circle, voicing their dissatisfaction with contemporary events.<sup>10</sup> The period was rife with agitation. The South American and Spanish revolutions occurred against the disquieting setting of a wave of libertarian uprisings, subversive plots, and individual acts of terrorism that swept both Europe and South America in the early 1820's. The uprising in Spain took place in January of 1820 and finally replaced the repressive regime of King Ferdinand VII with a constitutional monarchy. The South American and Spanish rebels based their ideology on the principles of the French Revolution. The Liberalists' support of these revolutions was regarded by conservatives as an international conspiracy dedicated to the worldwide dominance of republicanism.<sup>11</sup> This republican principle was often labeled as *la liberté des peuples*. In Restoration France the struggle for liberty took the form of a heated conflict between a left-wing (Liberal - Bonapartist) opposition and the right-wing government.<sup>12</sup>

Among the many people who frequented the studio of Horace Vernet, Géricault encountered Cramer, an officer who served with the National Armies of Liberation of South America. He made a series of four lithographs for him - free of charge.<sup>13</sup> Two of the lithographs were portraits of heroes of the South American Revolution: Manuel Belgrano and Jose de San Martin. The other two

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<sup>9</sup> Jean Sagne, *Géricault* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 137.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>11</sup> Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Liberals of the World Unite: Géricault, His Friends and La Liberté des Peuples," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 66 (December, 1990): 227.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>13</sup> Sagne, *Géricault*, 214.

depicted famous battles between loyalists and the rebel groups on the plains next to the Andes Mountains. In *The Battle of Chacabuco* (*Bataille de Chacabuco* fig.84) and *The Battle of Maipu* (*Bataille de Maipu* fig. 85), General Jose de San Martin, the head of the Nationalists, occupies the center of the composition. Leaders such as San Martin, Simon Bolivar, and General Belgrano were revered by Vernet's circle as reviving the ideas of the French Revolution, which served as their model for the liberation of their countries.<sup>14</sup>

The politics of Vernet's circle were more chauvinistic than liberal.<sup>15</sup> Géricault's own views are vaguely known but he was more concerned with the aspect of human suffering caused by political events than with the events themselves or their political implications.

*The Raft of the Medusa* was not a sensation at the 1819 Salon. Disappointed by the response of the conservative Paris audience, the artist welcomed the opportunity to have the *Medusa* shown in London and Dublin in 1820-1821. His decision to organize a private show was brave and innovative. Clément tells us that Géricault went to England at the beginning of 1820, a short while after the closing of the exhibition in Paris.<sup>16</sup> Rosenthal<sup>17</sup> and Sells<sup>18</sup> have discovered that the artist took two trips (rather than one) to London. Accompanying his masterpiece, Géricault arrived in

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>15</sup> Eitner, 1971, 14.

<sup>16</sup> "Géricault partit pour Londres tout au commencement de 1820, très-peu de temps après la clôture de l'exposition...." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 83.

<sup>17</sup> Donald A. Rosenthal, "Ingres, Géricault and Monsieur Auguste," *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (January, 1982): 10.

London on April 10-11, 1820 and remained there for about two months. Towards the end of his first stay, he was present at the opening of the *Medusa* exhibition. He returned to France on June 18-19 of the same year.<sup>19</sup>

The English experiences of art and life affected him deeply. By the time he arrived in London, Géricault was an accomplished lithographer. His London stay, and especially his close relations with his printer Charles Hullmandel, enriched his experience with the new medium and the *English Suite* would become a major catalyst for subsequent investigation of its creative potential. Before turning to this important group of prints, a brief history of the medium will seek to place Géricault's engagement with it in perspective.

### *The Invention of Lithography*

Since the invention of printing by Guttenberg, nothing influenced printmaking so much and directed it into such new channels as the invention of 'Chemical Surface Printing', commonly known as lithography.<sup>20</sup> The process is based on the principal of greasy materials' resistance to water. The artist draws his design on the ground with a greasy ink or crayon which is later treated with chemical solutions so that the greasy content of the drawing is fixed to the ground's surface.

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<sup>19</sup> Christopher Sells, "New Light on Géricault, his Travels and his Friends," *Apollo* 123 (June 1986): 390.

<sup>19</sup> *Géricault*, (Paris: Grand Palais), 288. The second English sojourn during which Géricault produced the *English Suite* will be discussed in chapter 2.

<sup>20</sup> Felix H. Man, *Artists' Lithographs, a World History From Senefelder to the Present Day*, (London: Studio Vista, 1970), 7.

Water is then applied to the surface of the ground slab. The moisture is repelled by the greasy areas but is accepted by the remainder of the porous surface of the ground. The ground is now rolled with greasy ink which adheres to the drawing. The rest of the surface, because of its dampness, remains impervious. A sheet of paper is placed on the ground, the whole is passed through a lithographic press. The result is an exact replica of the drawing, transferred in reverse to the paper. However the name 'litho' (greek - litho = stone) is misleading since the process of surface printing can be done on other materials. Indeed, the inventor of lithography, Alois Senefelder, first experimented with this new method on metal plates rather than on stone slabs.

Senefelder, son of an actor, was born on November 6, 1771 in Prague. Although his father was opposed to his wish to follow in his footsteps, Senefelder did not entirely forsake the world of the theater and was known as a writer of plays. The cost of having his plays printed was a heavy burden for him; in order to reduce the printing expenses he considered establishing a printing shop of his own. His experiments with new techniques of printmaking led him in turn to his invention of lithography in 1798.

The important point of Senefelder's invention was that it was a purely chemical process. This distinguished it from all other printing techniques in use since Guttenberg's invention in the fifteenth-century. For the first time it was possible to make prints without any mechanical intervention such as used in relief printing or intaglio. The new technique did not require the service of any tool such as a burin or a needle.<sup>21</sup> Senefelder discovered that a material coated with gum

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<sup>21</sup> In relief prints (such as woodcuts) the artist employs a knife with which he creates raised surfaces on the block of wood which in turn receives a coat of the ink before printing. The



arabic<sup>22</sup> would resist printer's ink and that while coating it with a greasy substance it would willingly accept the ink. From these two discoveries he developed his chemical printing. He described this principle in his book on lithography:

The chemical process of printing is totally different...Here it does not matter whether the lines be engraved or elevated; but the lines and points to be printed ought to be covered with liquid, to which the ink, consisting of a homogenous substance, must adhere, according to its chemical affinity and the laws of attraction, while, at the same time, all those places that are to remain blank, must possess the quality of repelling the colour. These two conditions, of a purely chemical nature, are perfectly attained by the chemical process of printing: for common experience shews that all greasy substances, such as oil, butter etc., or such as are easily soluble in oil, as wax, bitumen etc., do not unite with any watery liquid, without the intervention of a connecting medium; but that, on the contrary, they are inimical to water, and seem to repel it. The principle dissolving and uniting liquid for the above mentioned substances is alcali, which by proper management, forms a sort of soap, soluble in water.<sup>23</sup>

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process of making incisions in the wood block is mechanical; so is the process of creating fine incisions on a metal plate either in the drypoint or mezzotint techniques or with the aid of acid and wax in the etching technique.

<sup>22</sup> Gum arabic is the most favoured gum substance obtained from a species of the acacia tree (the best are from the Sudan and Senegal). Plant gums, which set hard through evaporation, are soluble in water. Gum arabic has been used as painting medium since ancient times. *The Oxford Companion to Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), s.v. "Gum."

<sup>23</sup> Aloys Senefelder, *A Complete Course of Lithography Containing Clear and Explicit Instructions, Different Branches and Manners of that Art: Accompanied by Illustrative Specimens of Drawings to which is Prefixed a History of Lithography from its Origin to the Present Time* (London: R. Ackermann, 1819. repr., as *A Complete Course of Lithography by Alois Senefelder* (with an introduction by A. Hyatt Mayor) (New York: A Da Capo Paperback, 1976), 93.

Senefelder's original intention was to create a new, cheaper method for printing his plays and later on he directed it towards the publication of musical scores. At no point had he considered the creative aspects of this new technique nor its possibilities for painters. However, within twenty years, it developed into an ideal medium for artists.

Lithography enables the artist to execute a free-hand, quick drawing, an easy and most direct way of creating an array of endless light and dark effects, a most satisfying means for creating subtle areas of tonal gradations from the weakest greys to the deepest blacks. The technique is much easier, quicker and more responsive than aquatint. Above all, lithography enables the artist to err: he can make alterations in his original design on the stone slab, a possibility which other printing processes do not easily afford him. Once the soft thin lines are engraved on a copper plate in the drypoint technique, the artist can hardly change them. There are ways to 'erase' them -- by flattening the surface of the plate -- but by so doing, the artist risks an unintentional erasure of certain parts of the drawing. The same is true of etching: a certain area of the plate which the artist wants to rework can be erased by the biting of the acid. After the biting, this particular area becomes flat. Due to the biting, the plate's surface changes; this subtle change leaves an impression in the final print. Since lithography is essentially a surface printing technique, there are neither grooves left on the surface of the plate nor any protruding parts. Moreover, since the materials used in this process are all erasable -- with chemical solvents such as turpentine or benzine -- an erasure of the visual image created by the artist on a lithographic

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stone does not leave any marks on its surface. Erasure, or changes, then, are less risky, less complicated, and undetected in the final print.

Special circumstances made the spread of 'chemical surface printing' throughout Europe almost simultaneous. While Germany was the initial center of lithography, England and France quickly followed. Senefelder and his partners had carefully organised the diffusion of the new printing technique: In 1799 Senefelder signed his first contract for the use of the printing method with the music publisher Johann Anton Andre in Offenbach, Germany.<sup>24</sup>

Andre was a successful businessman and a man of culture. He owned a tin-printing works and was interested in the printing of music. He visited Senefelder's Munich printing office in the autumn of 1799 and admired its efficiency: in a quarter of an hour, he found, it was possible to print seventy-five sheets. Andre proposed that Senefelder "pass on to him the art in all its details in return for which he would receive suitable remuneration". For two thousand florins Senefelder revealed the secrets of the new invention to his guest and undertook to go to Offenbach, 'set up a press and train the men to write properly on stone and print therefrom'.<sup>25</sup>

Senefelder travelled to London but his visit was brief; he discovered that in order to establish a new business, a patent had first to be claimed by the inventor in person. He arrived in London again towards the end of 1800. His second stay lasted between six to seven months. Finally, in

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<sup>24</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 14.

<sup>25</sup> Wilhelm Weber, *A History of Lithography* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966), 20.

June of 1801, King George III granted him a patent that was valid exclusively for the Kingdom of England.<sup>26</sup>

In 1801 Senefelder sold his patent to Andre. He, in turn, appointed his brother Philip as the London representative of his printing business.<sup>27</sup> With Philip Andre a turn in the aspect of lithographic printing has taken place: he wanted to develop lithography as a graphic art. In London, then, lithography was used for the first time in the service of artists.

### *Early English Lithography*

After having made the necessary arrangements with Philip Andre, Senefelder returned to Germany in July 1801. After Senefelder's return, Philip Andre established his London business at Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square.<sup>28</sup> He approached almost all artists of importance, asking them to try out the new medium and supplied them with the necessary materials. His chief concern was to produce drawn images as a sort of 'promotion' for the new method of printing. Finally, in 1803, Andre published the first series of artist's lithographs. When he edited his first portfolio, he chose twelve prints, all pen and ink drawings, which were issued to the public in two series of six prints

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<sup>26</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Richard T. Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain, a General History From Its Beginnings to the Present Day* (Oxford: Pahidon, 1978), 85.

<sup>28</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 16.

each under the title *Specimens of Polyautography* (fig. 1).<sup>29</sup> The text on the frontispiece of Andre's print series reads as follows:

By his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent  
Specimens of Polyautography  
Consisting of Impressions  
Taken from  
Original Drawings  
Made purposely for this work  
London Published 30th April 1803.

The frontispiece carefully advertises the uniqueness of the series by stating that it is made in a new technique newly patented (with Royal approval) and that it includes original drawings and not copies made after originals. The series included works by Benjamin West, Thomas Hearne, Richard Cooper, Henry Fuseli and James Barry.<sup>30</sup> The subjects of these early prints published by Andre were by no means limited: they included landscapes with and without figures as well as allegorical drawings. It was Andre's intention to prove that the new printing method was suitable for artists working in any style, and he was successful in his efforts to attract well known artists to his ambitious project.

Benjamin West's *Angel of the Resurrection* (fig.2), a pen drawn lithograph, is considered the first lithograph of real artistic excellence.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the only major criticism one can make of it

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>30</sup> Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 85.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

is that West's cross-hatching technique was related to etching and failed to exploit the freedom of line which lithography offers. West's print shows traits shared with the other artists participating in Andre's enterprise: most of them displayed a considerable use of cross-hatching, as can be seen in the rendering of the tree trunk of Thomas Hearne's *Landscape: Old Tree* (fig. 3). It is obvious that while these artists conducted their first experiments with the new medium of lithography, they were still working as they had in etching and engraving.

Despite the high quality of the prints, Andre's publication was not a commercial success. One of the reasons for this early failure was the excessive zeal with which the German kept its technical aspects a great secret. Paul Sandby (1725-1809), the topographical artist, known for his watercolor drawings, who was not among those invited by Andre to contribute a drawing for the series, wrote to a friend that "The German keeps the art a profound secret, and will not divulge the mystery to anyone: he takes impressions off himself, and will only give [the opportunity to lithograph to] a few such artists as [those who] give him the drawings".<sup>32</sup> According to Paul Sanby, the reason lithography failed to gain popularity among collectors was caused by the firm decision taken by the German inventors and holders of rights to keep it a secret and to make it very difficult for artists to use. The artists themselves were reluctant to comply. It was a closed circle in which neither publisher nor artist could develop the new medium in order to gain more popularity for it among the collectors. Another reason for lithography's early failure in England was the high duty on lithographic stones imported from Germany and the high cost of their transportation.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Letter of Paul Sandby of 1806, quoted in Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 86.

<sup>33</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 25.

In 1805 Andre returned to Germany, after passing control of the London office to G. J. Vollweiler.<sup>34</sup> In 1806 Vollweiler reissued the twelve lithographs in Andre's series with an addition of twenty-four prints by other artists including the landscape and genre painter Thomas Barker of Bath (1769-1847) and Henry Fuseli. Yet again, the publication was a failure.<sup>35</sup> In August 1807, Vollweiler gave up the effort, and returned to Germany.<sup>36</sup> Lithography, which had made such a great artistic start in England in 1801, was on the decline. After 1807 it almost ceased for a decade until Rudolph Ackerman and Charles Hullmandel undertook its revival in 1818.<sup>37</sup>

### *Early Lithography in France*

While the first phase of lithographic activity in France is generally considered to encompass the period of the Restoration, the medium was actually introduced during the reign of Napoleon. Napoleon was perhaps the first Frenchman to have understood all the resources of lithography. It is moreover significant that Dominique Vivant Denon, his artistic adviser, the Director-general of the

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 24, Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 86. Rudolph Ackerman and Charles Hullmandel will be referred to later on.

*Musée Napoléon* in Paris, not only promoted lithography but practiced it himself.<sup>38</sup> His visit to Munich in the autumn of 1809 led to the introduction of lithography in France.<sup>39</sup>

Thanks to two Frenchmen – Gottfried (Godefroy) Engelmann of Mulhouse (1788-1839) and Count Charles-Philibert de Lasteyrie (1759-1849) – lithography gained its primary status in France.<sup>40</sup> In 1812 Charles de Lasteyrie had gone to Munich to learn about the new printing process. He studied there with Senefelder himself. When he returned to Paris he had sent for skilled workmen from Munich and established his printing press in 1816. Though Lasteyrie had been early in the field, he found an eager competitor at the time of his second journey to Munich in Engelmann, then only twenty six years old. The son of a wholesale merchant in Mulhouse, Engelmann had been trained in the French speaking part of Switzerland before moving to La Rochelle, Bordeaux, and finally to Paris where he studied under Regnault.<sup>41</sup>

In October of 1815 Engelmann sent examples of his lithographic prints to the *Société d'Encouragement* in Paris. The commission of this society, of which de Lasteyrie was a member, judged them favourably. Lasteyrie reported that Engelmann's work matched in perfection that of the Munich presses. On January 10 1816, the president of the *Société d'Encouragement* wrote: "You are the first in France to have come so near perfection in this technique".<sup>42</sup> This praise, and

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<sup>38</sup> Weber, *A History of Lithography*, 45.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>40</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 35.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Weber, *A History of Lithography*, 52.



the visit to Alsace by the painter Pierre-Antoine Mongin, encouraged Engelmann to set up a lithographic establishment in Paris. The press was opened in June 1816 and Engelmann devoted himself to original lithography with zeal. Within two months he submitted to the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* prints by his old teacher Regnault, Mongin, Girodet, and Carle Vernet, all printed at the *Imprimerie Engelmann*. These first efforts by French printers showed that the technical side of lithography was developing. Production became so extensive that three new printing establishments were opened: Motte, Gihaut and Lemer cier.<sup>43</sup>

The two main figures of the early publications of French lithographs were Horace Vernet and Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet. Horace Vernet's early lithographs, which were published by Delpech,<sup>44</sup> show his ability as a draughtsman. He was mainly preoccupied with line. As with the early English lithographs, Vernet's show the same tendency of not exploiting to the full the new medium's aspects. In his essay on the history of French lithography, Henry Bouchot described the lithographs of Vernet published between 1819-1820 as "light pencil sketches, uniform, scarcely shaded in greys and looking like they are devoid of color".<sup>45</sup> Bouchot concluded that these qualities – though 'flat' – were adopted by Nicholas Toussaint Charlet and other artists because the public seemed to prefer them.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 35.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>45</sup> "Toutes les planches isolées, tous les recueils édités entre 1819 et 1820 paraissent à l'oeil de légères esquisses au crayon, d'aspect uniforme, à peine estompées de gris, et comme passés de couleur." Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 69.

<sup>46</sup> "Pour ne prendre dans la pléiade des lithographies d'alors que les plus connus, Lami, Charlet, Marlet... avaient franchement adopté ce genre un peu terne parce que le goût du public paraissait s'en accommoder de préférence." Ibid.

Charlet's prints of this period indicate that he had partially mastered the new medium. Indeed, he was the first to instill true vitality into it.<sup>47</sup> "From a strict technical point of view, Charlet was an incomparable virtuoso," Bouchot wrote. "His drawings on stone have all the tastes of a water-color drawing where color acts as an equal ingredient to the intensity of the composition".<sup>48</sup> Charlet, a water colorist and painter, really grasped the possibilities of lithography and recognised it for what it was, a new language. By varying the number of crayons used, he succeeded in producing an infinite variety of gradations in his blacks and was constantly enriching his works with the results of fresh discoveries made during the course of execution.<sup>49</sup>

The popularity enjoyed by Charlet's work in the 1820's undoubtedly contributed to the vogue for lithography which found an early outlet in the form of illustrations for books such as Baron Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*.<sup>50</sup>

Bouchot's words, comparing Charlet's lithographs' appearance to that of water-color drawings, reveal a trend of thought common to artists and critics at the initial stages of mastering

<sup>47</sup> Claude Roger-Marx, *Graphic Art of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1962), 45.

<sup>48</sup> "Au strict point de vue de la technique, Charlet fut un virtuose incomparable. Ses dessins sur pierre ont toute la saveur d'une aquarelle soignée où la couleur égale l'ampleur de la composition," Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 80.

<sup>49</sup> Roger-Marx, *Graphic Art*, 43.

<sup>50</sup> This book was published in parts by Nodier, Taylor and Cailleux; Géricault contributed two prints for this publication, illustrating *Normandie: Guillaume le Conquérant* published on November 26, 1822, and *L'Eglise Saint-Nicolas de Rouen* published on October 11, 1823. Géricault (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 302.

the new medium of lithography: their expectations for some fluid values in the lithographic prints which could not be seen in them yet. It is obvious that the medium could offer something beyond linear values. These could be achieved in the traditional techniques of etching and mezzotint. Color gradations and shading, aspects which, until the invention of lithography, could be best realized in prints only in aquatint or in mezzotint (by means of cross-hatching) took only an embryonic shape in the first lithographs produced around 1818-1819. A subtle rendering of shading and an illusion of depth can be detected in Charlet's *The Baptism of Fire* (fig. 4), though it is still done with the aid of the traditional cross-hatching method.

Charlet's gradual mastering of the tonal range which the medium offered was only one aspect of his popularity. He exemplified a residue of sentiment invested in the Empire, and in 1818 the nostalgia for it was palpable. His prints referred to the political situation in France or to recent historical events. Their subject matter had, perhaps, greater influence on the public. Charlet created a cunning mirror of his contemporary society. "Charlet is the Empire in its most seductive aspect, viewed through the little tip of the opera-glasses because he groups the impressions so well," Bouchot wrote.<sup>51</sup>

Lithography in France played a significant part in portraying political unrest. Thus it served as an effective tool for channeling emotional patriotic feelings. "All we say about the tight connection between lithography and politics will never be enough", wrote Bouchot. "It is Horace

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<sup>51</sup> "Charlet, c'est l'Empire par le petit bout de la lorgnette le plus séduisant parce qu'il groupe mieux les effets. Toutes ses excursions en dehors de son thème favori sont restées lettre morte il vaut autant n'en rien dire." Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 80.

Vernet who prepared the movement, Charlet who determined the attack and the less shrewd followed without doubting anything".<sup>52</sup>

After 1815 France saw the complete restoration of the Bourbon line. Defeated soldiers returned from the war to face unemployment, poverty, and a monarch who was the enemy of Napoleon. The Napoleonic legend, based upon romantic nostalgia for past glory, was perpetuated through the lithographs of Carle and Horace Vernet, Charlet and, of course, Géricault. The prints glorified the wounded and the defeated French soldiers and idealized the concept of military *camaraderie*. They kept the dream for Imperial France alive in many people's hearts.<sup>53</sup> The role of lithography in France in those years is best explained by Bouchot:

[in order to understand] its [lithography's] first success in France, we have to take into consideration the special disposition in which it developed. Its diffusion in Germany, the country in which it originated, in England or in Italy, was lesser [than that in France] due to political and social causes. It [lithography] came to us at the right time. The fallen Empire had left profound traces in the *bourgeoisie* and the general public. We are in 1818, [a year] of full legitimatist reaction and the ancient master [Napoleon], in agony, is on this far away rock [Saint Helena], to which popular sentiment wanted to follow him. Who knows what the future hides? ...the Napoleonic legend was growing, with hope and follies. Artists' liberalism, a little timid

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<sup>52</sup> "On ne dira jamais assez combien la lithographie eut chez nous une connexion étroite avec la politique. C'est Horace Vernet qui prépara le mouvement, Charlet qui détermina l'attaque, et les moins avisés suivirent sans même s'en douter." Ibid., 62.

<sup>53</sup> Phillip Denis Cate, "Circa 1800: The Beginnings of Modern Printmaking, 1775-1835" in *Circa 1800: The Beginnings of Modern Printmaking, 1775-1835* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1981), 17.

in its beginning, found in the renewal of the Imperial epic a privilege which the Restoration was losing from day to day. Returning *émigrés* have forgotten nothing nor learnt anything. This brought about a certain criticism: each shop-front they set their eyes upon brought back to them signs of their predecessors. The army we used to call "The Great Army" was [then] reconstituted on paper with its souvenirs of glory. The medium which makes one angry in front of such tranquil things, inoffensive in their appearance, in front of Vernet's Hussars, his grenadiers, these bearded men fighting against Cossacks...All these, very naively, created a sudden turn of opinion, supporting hope and preparing the future revolutions.<sup>54</sup>

The power of prints in general, and in particular of those created with the new medium of lithography, is well documented in Bouchot's words. Prints had become such a significant enterprise that their publication was very meticulously documented. The *Bibliographie de la France*, a paper announcing the publication of new books (and prints) appeared weekly (on Saturdays) between 1819-1826. It listed all books published in France in the preceding week,

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<sup>54</sup> "...Nous devons faire compte de l'état special à l'époque où elle se développa. Si la diffusion fut moindre en Allemagne, son pays d'origine, en Angleterre ou en Italie, la cause en est toute politique et sociale. Ceci venait chez nous à son moment. L'Empire tombé avait laissés des traces profondes dans la bourgeoisie et dans le peuple. Nous sommes en 1818, en pleine réaction légitimiste, et l'ancien maître agonise là-bas sur un rocher lointain, ou le sentiment populaire l'a voulu suivre. Qui sait ce que l'avenir cache?...la legende napoléonienne grandit, avec ses espérances et ses folies. Un peu timide au début, le libéralisme des artistes trouvait dans ce renouveau de l'épopée impériale une faveur que la Restauration perdait de journée en journée. Les gens de l'émigration rentrés en France n'avaient rien oublié ni n'en appris; ce fut une façon de critique que de mettre sous leurs yeux, à chaque devanture de boutique, les gestes des leurs devanciers. L'armée que nous appelions la Grande Armée se reconstituait sur le papier avec ses souvenirs de gloire. Et le moyen de se fâcher devant ces choses tranquilles, d'apparence inoffensive, devant ces hussards de Vernet, ces grenadiers, ces hommes barbus, luttant contre les Cosaques, lesquels, très naïvement, créaient un revirement d'opinion, entretenaient l'espoir et préparaient les révolutions futures". Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 62.

numbering them continuously from the first issue of the year through the last. The print section provided valuable evidence for the publication dates of engravings and lithographs and for the changing patterns of visual fashion from week to week.<sup>55</sup> Topics of popular interest and political importance were immediately reflected in prints. The dates under which they were listed in the *Bibliographie* seem to have been about a fortnight after they were submitted to the *Direction de la librairie et de l'imprimerie*.<sup>56</sup>

Lithography became a powerful means of communication and the publishers took great advantage of its popularity and demand. A large number of printers made contact with the foremost artists and large editions were being sold to the public. From a modest beginning – the publisher Delpech is known to have paid between six to twelve francs for each drawing to be lithographed<sup>57</sup> – artists began to receive large payments for their drawings. The diary kept by Horace Vernet's wife reveals to what extent the income of a well-known artist was enlarged by lithography if he was in favour with the public:

|              |                                            |                     |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1817 Mars 7. | Un dessin lithogr. pour M. de De Lasteyrie | ..Fracs. 120        |
| 1818 Fev. 18 | Une lithogr. pour M. Delpech.....          | ..... .. Fracs. 600 |
| Juillet 29.  | Une lithogr. pour Mme. Delpech             | Fracs. 800          |
| Novembre     | Une lithogr. pour M. de Forbin             | Fracs. 1000         |

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<sup>55</sup> Paul Joannides, "Towards Dating of Géricault's Lithography," *The Burlington Magazine* 115 (October 1973): 666.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 668.

<sup>57</sup> Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 75.

By 1822 Horace Vernet's price for a lithograph had risen to 1500 francs each and his income from lithography alone in 1822 was 9000 francs in gold, a large sum in those days.<sup>58</sup>

This aspect of lithography - as a significant means of income for artists - was not ignored by Théodore Géricault when he decided to visit England to exhibit *The Raft of the Medusa*. At the time of his visit to London, the city did not have a public gallery (the National Gallery was not founded until 1824). For the large public who came to see his masterpiece Géricault lithographed a small reproduction of it (fig. 24), a pen drawing which he printed at Hullmandel's. His share in the sales amounted to 17,000 shillings.<sup>59</sup>

#### *Charles Hullmandel and the 'Revival' of English Lithography*

After the beginnings of 1801-7, few of the important artists, neither Constable nor Turner, made lithographs.<sup>60</sup> The reluctance towards lithography was not specifically towards this kind of printing method. In England, printmaking was considered an inferior art form, especially regarding the effects of chiar'oscuro which could be achieved in it - compared with those of watercolor drawings. The great artists of the period like Turner and Constable would have their oil paintings 'translated'

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<sup>58</sup> Armand Dayot, *Les Vernets* (Paris: 1898), quoted in *Man, Artists' Lithographs*, 37.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

into prints. Since they were known for their rich work in color and *chiar'oscuro*, they worked with printmakers who were supposed to 'translate' these values into the language of prints -- quite a complicated and frustrating job. The two printing techniques with which a printmaker could best approximate *chiar'oscuro* effects achieved in oil painting were aquatint and mezzotint.<sup>61</sup> Turner's engravers had to replicate his most atmospheric and translucent washes of color into black and white by thousands of delicately etched or engraved lines.

Constable's dramatic light effects could be represented in a print only through the medium of mezzotint. The artist supervised his engraver's work, giving him minute suggestions and demands as to what areas in the print should be darker, lighter, etc. The more suitable technique for such renderings of color gradations and *chiar'oscuro* effects was aquatint. But in England this technique was thought of as a low branch of art. Its prestige was not as high as mezzotint or engraving. This may be one of the reasons why Turner, for example, turned to the more prestigious and dramatic medium of mezzotint for the 'translation' of some of his works,<sup>62</sup> a decision which was probably based on the popular demands of collectors rather than on any artistic concerns. Another fact which might have contributed to the 'low' prestige of aquatint is that many landscape prints sold by printsellers such as Rudolph Ackermann were colored by hand (Ackermann is known to have employed a battery of lowly paid colorists),<sup>63</sup> a phenomenon which a master such as Turner could not have accepted.

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<sup>61</sup> Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 83.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.



Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834) was famous for the splendor of his books on topography and travel. He set up a publishing and bookselling business in London in 1795. From the beginning of the nineteenth-century his establishment produced a series of magnificent illustrated books on various subjects. He took the principles of printmaking, and developed them to great excellence in the combination of large editions with high standard illustrations. He published the English translation of Senefelder's textbook on lithography in 1819. When aquatint began to lose its popularity in the 1830's, his firm was able to maintain its lead by changing over to lithography.

It was through Ackermann's endeavors that "The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce" (RSA) finally acknowledged the commercial as well as artistic aspects of the new medium of lithography.<sup>64</sup> The RSA<sup>65</sup> gave prizes for excellence in various fields: from premiums for encouraging and improving the manufacture of wicks for candles and paper from raw vegetable substances to die-cast medals and engravings<sup>66</sup>. It is rather remarkable that it did so little for printing in general and for lithography in particular, in connection with which there were practically no awards of any importance. In 1819 the RSA finally awarded a gold medal to Aloys Senefelder as the inventor of lithography. Ackermann's translation and publication of Senefelder's book helped to redirect attention to the new medium. In 1821 The Royal Society of Arts decided to include lithography in its program of premiums for the encouragement of

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<sup>64</sup> Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (London: Paladina Granada Publishing, 1968), 131.

<sup>65</sup> The RSA will be mentioned later on in connection with Géricault's *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*, one of the lithographs included in the *English Suite* (fig. 49).

<sup>66</sup> Henry Trueman-Wood, *History of the Royal Society of Arts* (London: 1913), 305.

manufacturing of all sorts; in its list of requirements for submission of entries for financial aid, those for lithography were as follows:

#### Lithography

161. For the best specimen in this art - *the Silver Medal*. A Particular account of the process employed, with six impressions of the drawing, to be produced to the Society.<sup>67</sup>

In the same year that Senefelder was honoured by the RSA, a silver medal was awarded to Charles Hullmandel "for a lithographic drawing".<sup>68</sup> Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789-1850), son of a German musician, was born in London. After travelling on the continent and making sketches and studies, he turned his attention to lithography and in 1818 published *Twenty Four Views of Italy*, drawn and lithographed by himself. In order to learn the process employed by Engelmann, Hullmandel set up a lithographic press in London in 1817. As opposed to Ackermann, who was more of an impresario and a technologist, Charles Hullmandel was an artist, a fact which may explain why he was so interested in the creative aspects of lithography and not merely in its reproductive character. His main ambition was to develop lithography as a tonal method which could rival and eventually replace the use of aquatint in the production of topographical watercolors. In order to learn the process of lithography employed by Engelmann, the well known

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<sup>67</sup> *The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce Premium Offers 1821*, XXIV.

<sup>68</sup> Trueman-Wood, *History of the Royal Society of Arts*, 306. I am grateful to Ms. Susan Bennett, Library Administrator of the RSA and to Dr. Allen, Historical Adviser to the Society for their kind efforts in sending me copies of the information concerning the awarding of the prize to Charles Hullmandel and for copies from Henry Trueman-Wood's book *History of the Royal Society of Arts*.

publisher in Paris, Hullmandel entered in 1821 into an arrangement with him which proved unsatisfactory and was terminated in 1826.<sup>69</sup>

In his book *The Art of Drawing on Stone* published in 1824, Hullmandel gave an account of the difficulties lithography had to overcome in England: "Prints of every description find purchases in France amongst those classes of society which in England view them with as much concern as they would hieroglyphics...."<sup>70</sup>

In 1821 Charles Hullmandel published various kinds of lithographs; artistic as well as ones depicting contemporary events. He also published his own lithographs made from drawings he had sketched in Italy. Hullmandel printed Bartolomeo Pinelli's series of etchings,<sup>71</sup> *Costumes and Picturesque Motifs of Rome*, which he 'translated' into color lithographs in 1820.<sup>72</sup> Géricault's *English Suite* was printed and published a year later.

Lithography could have supplied the English masters with a perfect means of 'translation', which none of the aforementioned techniques could afford them. Yet, they chose to ignore it. It seems that Charles Hullmandel's extremely sensitive and realistic grasp of the London printselling scene drove him to an obvious conclusion: he needed a name. He needed a great master. By

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<sup>69</sup> Steven Leslie, *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), s.v. "Hullmandel".

<sup>70</sup> Man, *Artists' Lithographs*, 38.

<sup>71</sup> The Italian artist Bartolomeo Pinelli will be referred to later on in connection with Géricault's *English Suite* prints.

<sup>72</sup> Dwight Miller, *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen in European Prints* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1970), 30.

choosing to work with such a man who would produce the expected masterpieces in the new printing method, the medium of lithography would gain the prestige it lacked. The enlistment of a major artist would make an excellent 'promotion' for lithography in England. Since the English masters were reluctant to employ the new medium, Hullmandel found one from across the channel.

Théodore Géricault was a perfect choice: he was an accomplished master, known for the prizes he won at the Salons in Paris. He was French, thus representing a different, more successful approach to lithography, as Paris was known to be lithography's leading center. Géricault already was successful in London through showing his masterpiece, which brought him great public fame and popularity. The combination of a shrewd businessman and a great master produced the *English Suite*: the first artistic masterpiece created in the relatively new and modern medium of lithography.

#### *Géricault and Lithography Prior to his Arrival in England*

Eitner claims that on Vernet's suggestion and with his help Géricault taught himself the new technique of lithography.<sup>73</sup> Apart from his own engagement with the medium, Géricault greatly admired the lithographs of Charlet. In 1818 he began to purchase Charlet's lithographs the moment they were published. At the time he did not know Charlet personally; he used to describe the beauty of Charlet's works in detail to his friends. Géricault's desire to meet Charlet became an

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<sup>73</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 151.

*idée fixe*, "almost a nightmare" as Clément described it.<sup>74</sup> When the two finally met, their friendship was immediate and Charlet was to accompany Géricault on his London sojourn. In his first lithographs Géricault was experimenting and searching for his own personal voice. "He was 'feeling the ground'", as Clément called it, employing the lithographic crayon and working with a pen either separately or in combination.<sup>75</sup>

The subjects that both Horace Vernet and Charlet treated in their lithographs were drawn from the military and the Napoleonic legend. Their works, like those by other popular artists of the period, emphasized the droll or sentimental sides of military life and excelled in creating narratives.<sup>76</sup> Géricault's prints dealing with similar subjects are anything but anecdotal. Few of his lithographs refer to a particular event or contain a definite narrative; his 'actors' create a dramatic atmosphere, usually far from being pleasant. Bouchot described them:

These [the lithographs] have such vigour in [their] appearance and [in their] contrasts that they singularly push aside the supporters of the old system; they overpower similar works by Horace Vernet, [or] those by Guérin in a manner similar to a comparison between a Rembrandt canvas with one by Boucher or Drouais....[Géricault's] lithography is a reflection of his painting; it is heavy, a little coarse, charmless. It is a mighty woman, with

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<sup>74</sup> "Il les achetait avidement dès qu'elles paraissaient, et prenait vif plaisir à en détailler les beautés à ses amis." "...il voulut à tout prix faire la connaissance de Charlet; ce désir était devenu chez lui une idée fixe, un véritable cauchemar". Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 183-184

<sup>75</sup> "Ces premiers essais ont un intérêt tout particulier. Géricault cherche sa manière et tâte en quelque sorte le terrain. Il emploie le crayon, la plume, le lavis, soit seuls, soit simultanément". Ibid., 207.

<sup>76</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 153.

features of a man. The intensity of the shades [in the lithographs] is not always pleasant, even for biased people who are already convinced [of the quality of his work].<sup>77</sup>

Such are the qualities of *The Return from Russia* (*Retour de Russie* fig.5) and *The Swiss Sentry in the Louvre* (*Le factionnaire Suisse au Louvre* fig. 6). The drama without words is manifested in them by gestures. The crippled veteran opens his jacket to reveal his cross of honour to the sentry who bars his entrance to the Louvre. The crippled soldier in *The Return from Russia* is leading and guiding with his left hand (his right hand is amputated) a blind soldier who, in turn, rests his hand on his shoulder. The first print deals with a past glory and with sacrifice that has no meaning and no longer commands respect. the second with the real *camaraderie* of two people helping each other's misery.

A comparison of these two prints with Charlet's *The Death of the Cuirassier* of 1817 (fig. 7) points to Géricault's drama, as opposed to the more anecdotal and sentimental approach taken by Charlet. The dying Cuirassier in Charlet's print is depicted in a quasi 'classical' gesture of either a 'dying Gaul' or the figure of Christ in a traditional rendering of the *Pietà*. The *camaraderie* is shown here in three 'stages': first, the dying Cuirassier came to help a companion and found him dead; in turn, he is held by the kneeling soldier who has just jumped off his horse (at the left of the print). Apart from a depiction suffused with almost 'religious' piety, Charlet evokes no other

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<sup>77</sup> "Ceux-ci ont une vigueur d'aspect et d'oppositions qui déroutaient singulièrement les tenants du vieux système; elles écrasent les travaux similaires d'Horace Vernet, de Guérin, de Lami comme ferait une toile de Rembrandt d'un Boucher ou d'un Drouais. Au strict point de vue de milieu, sa lithographie est le reflet de sa peinture; elle est lourde, un peu grossière, depourvue de charmes. C'est une femme puissante, aux traits d'homme. Les ombres y ont une intensité qui n'est pas toujours plaisante, même pour les gens prévenus et convaincus". Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 84.

human feeling. There is no anger, no frustration, no cruel irony, no curse or deep insult. All of the above are to be found in Géricault's works of the period, an aspect which makes them so evocative of human emotions and suffering.

Géricault's lithographs of 1818-1819 are a mirror of his ambitions for dramatic historical subjects. His desire to create large monumental canvases is reflected in them. The large number of lithographs he executed coincided with his extensive work on the *Medusa*. They show an extraordinary passion for this mode of journalistic expression.<sup>78</sup> Bergot suggested that the lithographs were subversive at the time of their publication: they were directed both against academicism and royal authority. Their subversive counterpart in Vernet's circle were the poems by the poet Beranger.

Beranger's poems expressed the vindictive spirit of the Bonapartists in strong acidulous lines. They were published as early as the first days of the Restoration. He wrote the first poem of opposition in June 1814 followed in 1815 by a collection.<sup>79</sup> During the Restoration the *chanson*, or popular poem, served to support political messages, a similar function to the one it served during the French Revolution.<sup>80</sup> For his 'incorrect' political activities, Beranger was condemned to three months in prison and to a fine of 500 francs. He became a martyr and his aura seemed to grow

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<sup>78</sup> Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 6.

<sup>79</sup> Sagne, *Géricault*, 137-138.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

from day to day. Each time he showed up at the Vernet studio, he was compelled to recite his repertoire.<sup>81</sup>

"In spite of their beauty, in spite of their actuality" wrote Clément, "these first lithographs by Géricault had no success whatsoever".<sup>82</sup> It is not surprising; Géricault's prints' stark realism made them sad reminders of a glorious Imperial past. Instead of glorifying it, they depicted its horrid consequences. A small anecdote Clément cites about Géricault's effort in trying to sell them reveals what the dealer - let alone the public --thought about them:

Just after he finished one of his vigorous plates - *The Loot of Artillery* [fig.8], he

[Géricault] asked Mr. Jamar to go to Madame Delpech, the printer, to see some proofs.

'Since Mr. Géricault does not have to work for a living' she told him, 'he would do better to renounce this trade.'<sup>83</sup>

Eitner claimed that in the years 1818-1819 the role of lithography in Géricault's return to modern subject matter and dramatic realism was a crucial one. The lithographs of 1818 mark the point in his development at which he found a way of reconciling stylistic discipline with realistic observation. In these works he first achieved the union of the grand and the natural that he hoped to

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> "Malgré leur beauté, malgré leur actualité, ces premières lithographies de Géricault n'avaient aucun succès." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 211.

<sup>83</sup> "Lorsqu'il fit une de ses plus vigoureuses planches, un Caisson d'Artillerie, il chargea M. Jamar d'aller chez l'imprimeur, Mme. Delpech, lui chercher quelques épreuves. 'Puisque M. Géricault n'a pas besoin de travailler pour vivre' lui dit celle-ci 'il ferait bien mieux de renoncer à ce métier'". Ibid., 212.



realize on the much more ambitious scale of his projected Salon painting.<sup>84</sup> Géricault's starting difficulty was to find subjects taken from immediate reality, an actual event that could be transformed into an image of superhuman scale and power.

During the laborious process of painting the *Medusa*, these subjects were manifested in the 1818-1819 lithographs. Bergot's description of them best sums up their particular characteristics:

[Géricault] doesn't reduce an entire army of tin soldiers into a single composition; rather he describes one episode which turns into a formidable relief which inhabits all the available space...

Because he was a master lithographer, Géricault could transform the various aspects of the anecdote into a quasi emblematic form. [This he did] by passing with triumphant sensibility from graded delicate greys to the most velvety deep blacks.<sup>85</sup>

By 1821 Géricault's manifest skill as a lithographer could embrace greater technical challenge. His initial venture in England, the creation of a modest souvenir print executed at Hullmandel's for the purpose of publicising the exhibition of the *Medusa* would lead to the production of the extraordinary *English Suite*. Géricault brought to these prints the dramatic characteristics and the penetrating understanding of the human soul that emerged in the lithographs he produced in Paris two years earlier. The exploding psychological energies of *The Return from Russia* and *The Swiss*

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<sup>84</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 155.

<sup>85</sup> "Il ne réduit pas des batailles entières au format d'une armée de soldats de plomb, mais un seul épisode chez lui prend un relief formidable, envahit tout l'espace disponible... Parce-qu'il domine impérieusement la technique de la lithographie, Géricault peut transformer le fait-divers de l'anecdote en une forme quasi emblématique des gris dégradés, délicats et soyeux aux noirs de velours les plus profonds". Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 6.

*Sentry in the Louvre* were now fueled by yet another significant factor: his fascination with English culture.

## CHAPTER 2

### GÉRICAULT AND ENGLISH ART

#### *'Anglomania'*

While it is not clear whether Géricault was a student of Carle Vernet or simply frequented his studio, the contact between the two is evident.<sup>1</sup> Carle Vernet was known especially for his sea-scapes and military scenes. He was attached to the Royal Court of Louis XVI. He also established his reputation as a painter of horses and became an official painter during the Empire. In 1808, the year Géricault came to his atelier, he was made a member of the *Légion d'honneur* by Napoleon.<sup>2</sup> Géricault found in Vernet a spiritual father who introduced him to a fashionable world of luxury and sophistication.<sup>3</sup> Vernet was known for his *anglomania*: the love and admiration for English culture which was manifested in his art as well as his life style. It may have been a legacy of his English mother, but was furthered by his association with horse-racing and hunting, organized by the Comte d'Artois and the Duc d'Orléans who constituted the center of English influence in France before the 1780's. This milieu and the imitation of English sporting prints

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<sup>1</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Sagne, *Géricault*, 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

which can be traced in his works, made Vernet's style quite unique against the general context of Neoclassicism dominated by J-L. David, his students and disciples.<sup>4</sup>

There was a thriving export trade in prints between England and France throughout the eighteenth-century, a phenomenon which came to a halt during the French Revolution<sup>5</sup> and Napoleonic era. Carle Vernet was known for his 'admiration for things from across the channel'. English manufacture was held in high esteem by the French who appreciated the modern methods developed in England. They considered English design, for example, to be superior to and much more modern than the French. The manufacture of carriages and its relation to the care and use of horses – a subject significant for Carle Vernet (as well as for Géricault) – may serve as an example for the vast dimensions of the *Anglomania* phenomenon.

The carriage manufacture in France was mainly influenced by English models. The names of the most elegant and modern French carriages in the nineteenth-century speak for themselves: "*charette anglaise*", "*tilbury*", "*dog-cart*", "*carrick*", "*cab*" (2-wheel vehicles); "*le spider*", "*le pony-parc*", "*le mail-coach*", "*le dorsay*" (4-wheel vehicles).<sup>6</sup> A French Encyclopedia entry from the 1890's, dealing with the history of carriage manufacture in France, displays much admiration for the English models and sees in them one aspect of *Anglomania*:

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<sup>4</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 14-15.

<sup>5</sup> Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 66.

<sup>6</sup> M. Anthoni, "Voitures" in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de l'Industrie* (Paris: 1888), quoted in *La grande encyclopédie inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres* (Paris: H. Lamirault et Cie., Éditeurs, 1890), s.v. "carrosserie."

The English carriage manufacturers merited their reputation for the incontestable progress which they have made in the manufacturing of carriages; the period of *anglomania* begins. The writings and the dossiers of the Restoration and in part of the reign of Louis-Philippe testified to the public's admiration for things from across the channel, particularly concerning transport vehicles. One has to recognize at least to a certain degree that this admiration was justified. The English manufacturers were constantly superior to others.<sup>7</sup>

French carriage manufacturers learned from the English the taste for simple, elegant lines and the habit of making them comfortable. In the beginning of the nineteenth-century French manufacturers went to London to study the English models. But 'the admiration for things from across the channel' carried the risk of becoming 'un-patriotic', a concern for French patriotism that brought the writer of *La grande encyclopédie* to include this closing statement in his entry on carriage manufacture in France:

...but they [the French manufacturers] have quickly freed themselves from these patrons [the English]. Recent exhibitions demonstrated that the laborious efforts of the French carriage manufacture were crowned with success and that she [France] remains today, throughout the world the leader of this industry...<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> "Les carrossiers anglais profitent largement des progrès incontestables qu'ils ont fait faire à la profession du carrossier; la période de *l'anglomanie* commence. Les écrits et les dossiers de la Restauration et d'une partie du règne de Louis-Philippe témoignent de l'engouement du public pour les choses d'Outre-Manche, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les voitures. Il faut reconnaître néanmoins que, dans une certaine mesure, cet engouement était justifié; les types des fabricants anglais étaient bien supérieurs aux autres". Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "...mais ils s'affranchirent vite de cette tutelle. Les dernières expositions ont démontré que les laborieux efforts de la carrosserie française ont été pleinement couronnés de succès et qu'elle tient aujourd'hui, dans le monde entier, la tête de cette industrie...". Ibid.

Such a dichotomous attitude towards England, and the 'things from across the channel' can be traced in Théodore Géricault's feelings towards *anglomania*. In a letter to Horace Vernet he described David Wilkie's painting, *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo* (1822). Géricault confessed his admiration for a particular part of Wilkie's painting as well as other paintings he saw in London, yet in his description his tone seems apologetic. His admiration for a "foreign" art made him afraid that his words would be interpreted wrongly and would make him "un-patriotic." He wrote these things to Vernet because he believed his friend appreciated English painting:

I told my father the other day that there is only one thing lacking in your talent: it is your strong opinion concerning the English school and I repeat it to you because I know that you appreciate it [the English school even] from the few examples you have seen of it...

One can arrive at Beauty in the arts only through comparisons. Every [artistic] school has its own character. If one could arrive at the reunion of all qualities, wouldn't one attain perfection? This demands continuous efforts and a great love. I see them here [the English] complaining of not having a good expression in drawing and envying the much more accomplished French school. Why aren't we complaining about our own faults? What foolish arrogance causes us to close our eyes? Is it only through refusing to see the good where it is and in stupidly repeating that we are the best that we can honor our country? Are we always to be our own judges? Will one day our works, mixed in galleries [with other works], stand witness to our vanity and to our presumptions? I took a vow at the Exhibition

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to see in our museums a quantity of pictures which I have seen with my eyes. I would like them to become a useful lesson....

I am not afraid that you will accuse me of *anglomania*. Like me, you know the good we [the French] possess as well as what we lack.<sup>9</sup>

Géricault's acquaintance with English art began even before his trip to England. *The Boxers* (*Les Boxeurs*), a print he made in 1818 (fig. 9) is based on English sporting prints. Eitner has shown that English prints served as a model for this print but that Géricault made preparatory drawings for it from live models as well (fig. 10).<sup>10</sup> The claim that Géricault made drawings from

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<sup>9</sup> "Je disais l'autre jour a mon père qu'il ne manquait qu'une chose a votre talent, c'était d'être trempé a l'école anglaise, et je vous le répète, parce que je sais que vous avez estimé le peu que vous avez vu d'eux...On ne peut arriver au beau, dans les arts, que par des comparaisons. Chaque école a son caractère. Si l'on pouvait parvenir à la réunion de toutes les qualités, n'aurait-on pas atteint la perfection ? Cela demande de continuels efforts et un grand amour. Je les vois ici se plaindre de n'avoir pas un bon caractère de dessin et envier l'école française comme beaucoup plus habile: que ne nous plaignons-nous aussi de nos défauts? Quelle est *cet sot orgueil* qui nous porte à fermer les yeux dessus, et est-ce en refusant de voir le bien où il est et en répétant follement que nous sommes ce qu'il y a de mieux, que nous pouvons honorer notre patrie? Serons-nous toujours nos juges, et nos ouvrages, un jour, mêlés dans les galeries, ne porteront-ils pas témoignage de notre vanité et de notre présomption ? Je faisais, à l'Exposition, le voeu de voir placés dans nos musées une quantité de tableaux que j'avais sous les yeux. Je désirais cela comme une leçon qui serait utile...Je ne crains pas que vous me taxiez d'anglomanie. Vous savez comme moi ce que nous avons de bon et ce qui nous manque." *A letter dated May 6th* (no year mentioned, usually dated to 1821), *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 291. Laveissière believes it is from 1820. The entry in the catalogue does not quote the letter in its entirety. It skips the part in which Géricault explains to Vernet what he liked about Wilkie's painting and dwells on the fact that Géricault saw a preliminary sketch of Wilkie's work rather than the finished painting. The rest of the letter, cited by Clément, will be referred to later in connection with Géricault's impression of Wilkie's painting. For the entire letter see Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 199-203.

<sup>10</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 153. Early English sporting pictures were mostly commissioned by the nobility and gentry, portraying sedate hunting or racing subjects to be engraved and published in colour with suitably pompous dedications. See F.L. Wilder, *English Sporting Prints* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 7.

live models has validity since boxing was introduced into France at precisely that period.<sup>11</sup>

Géricault copied many sketches of boxers which he found in Horace Vernet's studio.<sup>12</sup> By portraying one of the fighters of this boxing match as a black man, Géricault imbued the print with a symbolic meaning, which makes it into something beyond a mere rendering of a realistic boxing match.

François Bergot explained the battle between white and black fighters in Géricault's *The Boxers* by the fact that it was based on a story known to Géricault, a story or an anecdote which can not be traced.<sup>13</sup> The treatment of a battle between "white and black" can be well understood if one takes into consideration Géricault's preoccupation with the theme of the abolition of slavery for which he made several drawings in preparation for a large, unrealized painting. He was a member of a liberal society which devoted itself to such causes as the Greek struggle for independence, the prohibition of the African slave trade, and prison reform.<sup>14</sup>

The confrontation of a black person and a white opponent in the ring was not yet authorised in France (although it was already quite popular both in England and in the United States).<sup>15</sup> In this

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<sup>11</sup> "Ce sport ne se pratiqua en France, qu'à partir de la Restauration, alors, qu'en Angleterre et aux Etats-Unis il connaissait une grande vogue." Sagne, *Géricault*, 315, note 13.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>13</sup> "La représentation de ce combat entre Noir et un Blanc a dû être inspirée à Géricault par un récit ou une rencontre, dont nous n'avons pu retrouver la trace." Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 34.

<sup>14</sup> Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Géricault's Severed Heads and Limbs: The Politics of the Scaffold", *Art Bulletin* 74 (December, 1992): 608.

<sup>15</sup> Sagne, *Géricault*, 145.



context, Géricault's decision to portray one of the fighters as a black person imbues the fight with symbolic aspects; the ring and war were the only realms in which the confrontation of races was accepted. By depicting one of the fighters as a black man Géricault did not merely create a visual contrast; he was showing his concern with the rights of man.<sup>16</sup>

An English sporting print which may be regarded as closest in time and subject to Géricault's *The Boxers* is Thomas Rowlandson's *Boxing Match....* (fig. 11) of 1810. The poses of the two boxers in Géricault's print show some resemblance to the ones drawn by Rowlandson. The figures surrounding them are given 'Michaelangesque', or 'antique' poses, a typical approach of Géricault's Roman period. Taking Eitner's suggestion that Géricault was encouraged and had a free hand in browsing through Carle Vernet's collection of English prints<sup>17</sup> while visiting his studio, one may assume that the artist knew Rowlandson's print of *Boxing Match....* This assertion is further strengthened by the fact that in his sketch of *Studies of Boxers* (fig. 10), Géricault depicted the two boxers in several poses. Yet, the pose he chose for his lithograph from all of them is almost identical to the one appearing in Rowlandson's print.

Géricault's rendition of a boxing match is yet another manifestation of his interest in a contemporary phenomenon. It also shows his interest in English customs and points to a departure in his search for modern subject matter.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 15.

*Géricault and the English Art Scene of the 1820's*

Eitner recounts that in the winter of 1820 Géricault recovered from a state of depression. He thought that travelling would cure his ills. The artist's need to escape to far away places was explained by Battissier<sup>18</sup> who claimed that after seeing some of Gérard's paintings, Géricault told this artist of his "great desire to take a trip to a far away place and to try to lead an adventurous life in strange countries, unknown to our civilization. He [Géricault] talked about visiting the Orient and going to Jerusalem. Gérard, surprised, tried to divert him from this project".<sup>19</sup>

The decision to go to the Orient was replaced by a trip to England. Clément tells us that Géricault decided to accompany the *Medusa* to England for its exhibition in London. "It seems that the idea was proposed to him by an *entrepreneur* before his departure."<sup>20</sup> The *entrepreneur* mentioned by Clément was James William Bullock, operator of the Egyptian Hall in London, which functioned as an auction house, an exhibition gallery and a cabinet of curiosities. The presence of Bullock in France was proved by Sells in quoting the *Enregistrement chronologique de la correspondance reçu par le Ministère de l'Intérieur*, an archival source which records the

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<sup>18</sup> Battissier, "Biographie de Géricault," *La Revue du XIXème Siècle* (Paris: 1842).

<sup>19</sup> "[Géricault] lui exprima un jour 'le vif désir qu'il avait de faire quelque voyage lointain, et de chercher à mener une vie aventureuse dans les pays étrangers à notre civilisation. Il parlait de visiter l'Orient, d'aller à Jérusalem. Gérard, étonné, cherchait à le détourner de son projet". Battissier, *Ibid.*, 14-15, quoted in *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 288.

<sup>20</sup> "Il paraît même qu'un entrepreneur lui avait fait dès avant son départ quelque proposition dans ce sens". Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 176.

issue of passports and visas during the years of the Restoration.<sup>21</sup> On September 7 1819 Bullock arrived at Calais on his way to Paris. Sells suggested that he went there in order to view Géricault's *Medusa* at the Salon, before deciding to exhibit it in London.<sup>22</sup> Although this seems a compelling reason for leaving France, there is another possible explanation for Géricault's visit to England, tied to his political involvement.

Géricault's interest in contemporary social injustice was manifested long before he came to London. He felt at home in Vernet's restless group of political malcontents. His idealism and humanitarianism made him embrace the Liberals' concern for "*la liberté des peuples*". This was hinted ironically in *Le Conservateur Littéraire*, an ultra-conservative journal, which spitefully presented Géricault's trip to London in the company of Charlet in April 1820 as an attempt by the two artists to establish contacts with fellow liberals around Europe, including the British terrorist Arthur Thistlewood (who had instigated a failed bombing attack against a group of British MPs early in 1820) and with the republican insurgents of Spain.<sup>23</sup>

M. Géricault, black musketeer in 1814...has, it is rumoured, departed for England, in order to create a collection of portraits of the most illustrious *radicals* in the three kingdoms. There will necessarily be a gap, for it seems that the French artist arrived in London after the execution of Thistlewood and his honorable colleagues...If, as it is also ascertained, the two artists intend to cross over to Spain for the same purpose, we strongly advise them not

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<sup>21</sup> Christopher Sells, "New Light on Géricault, his Travels and his Friends," *Apollo* 123 (June 1986): 390.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Liberals of the World Unite", 235.

to confuse the Josephins (i.e., supporters of former King Joseph Bonaparte) with the Liberals. It is only in France and for good reason that one can commit such an error with impunity."<sup>24</sup>

A third reason for Géricault's departure for England was proposed by Christopher Sells; he suggested that Géricault's departure for England was prompted by a specific invitation of Charles Hullmandel who asked the artist to provide drawings for his new establishment in London.<sup>25</sup> Hullmandel arrived in Calais on his way to Paris on August 16 1820. It would appear that Géricault had three strong reasons for undertaking the trip to London. Géricault's *anglomania* added to the three probably made his decision to leave France easier. The exact date of his arrival in London is not clear. The first known letter he sent from London (to Dedreux-Dorcy) is dated February 12 1821.<sup>26</sup> It led scholars to believe that Géricault arrived in London a few weeks earlier, in January of 1821.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> "M. Géricault, mousquetaire noir en 1814...est, dit-on, parti pour l'Angleterre, à l'effet d'y former une collection des portraits des plus illustres radicaux des trois royaumes. Il y aura nécessairement lacune...car il paraît que l'artiste français n'est arrivé à Londres qu'après l'exécution de Thistlewood et de ses honorables collègues...Si, comme on l'assure également, les deux voyageurs se proposent de passer en Espagne pour le même objet, nous leurs conseillons bien, dans l'intérêt de leur sécurité personnelle, de se garder d'y confondre les Josephins avec les Libéraux. Ce n'est guère qu'en France, et pour bonne raison, qu'on peut commettre impunément une pareille bétise". *Le Conservateur littéraire*, 1820, 15e livraison, June 1820, 292-293, quoted in Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Liberals of the World Unite", 235.

<sup>25</sup> Sells, "New Light on Géricault", 390.

<sup>26</sup> Clément, *Géricault. étude biographique*, 192.

<sup>27</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 294.

England, at the time of Géricault's arrival, emerged as a world power after Napoleon's defeat in 1815. 1820 brought to an end the Regency period. King George III died in January 1820 and was succeeded by George IV. Although there was a marked improvement in the economic situation in 1817, 1819 was one of the most troubled years of the nineteenth-century. In that year working class distress took a hard political form. The main cause for the social and political strife was unemployment.<sup>28</sup> In addition to unemployment, English parliamentary opposition was protesting against the antiquated, unjust number of seats in the parliament. It could not tolerate the high prices of bread, which affected the poor in particular. Reform ideas were voiced in the daily newspapers, and by public orators, who delivered their messages in crowded street gatherings.<sup>29</sup> One such social reformer was Henry 'Orator' Hunt.

On 16 August 1819, thousands of workers from Manchester and its environs gathered peacefully in St. Peter's Field to listen to one of Henry 'Orator' Hunt's speeches. The magistrates, fearing an uprising, employed the local yeomanry to arrest him. After this force proved inadequate, regular cavalry forces were summoned to disperse the crowds.<sup>30</sup> A savage struggle followed during which some people were trampled to death and four hundred were wounded. Within a few days, the damning term 'The Peterloo Massacre' had been sarcastically coined, reminding one of Wellington's Waterloo victory, a victory over real enemies rather than innocent victims.

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<sup>28</sup> Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867* (London: 1980), 208.

<sup>29</sup> Franklin L. Ford, *Europe 1780-1830* (Tel-Aviv: The Open University Press, 1970), 378.

<sup>30</sup> Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, 210.

The 'Peterloo Massacre' was followed by six acts of parliament limiting public meetings and proclaiming further means of restriction of freedom of the press. The political agitation reached its peak in the following year. In February 1820, a few weeks after King George III died, there was an attempt to murder all the cabinet members. The leader of the plot was Arthur Thistlewood, a radical orator, who opposed the new rules of parliament and the ascent of George IV to the throne. He and his colleagues planned to murder the Tory ministers during a formal dinner, to take over the Bank of England, and to form a revolutionary government. One of the conspirators turned out to be a police informer who brought about the arrest which led to the execution of all the members of the clandestine group.<sup>31</sup> As previously mentioned, Géricault was in London when Thistlewood's execution took place. There is no doubt that he witnessed the turbulent political atmosphere during his London visit.

To reconstruct Géricault's contacts with the English art world, it is very important to note whom he met, where and when, and whom he did not meet. Information about his encounters with English artists is based primarily on the letters he wrote to his friends in France: Horace Vernet, Alfred Dedreux-Dorcy and Charlet. Clément initially quoted these letters in his biography and scholars continue to use them as a main source in their attempts to show the English influence on the artist's *oeuvre*. The names of David Wilkie, Edwin Landseer, James Ward and Charles Cockerell have been cited as potentially influential artists whereas Turner, Constable, and Blake are not mentioned at all.

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<sup>31</sup> Ford, *Europe 1780-1830*, 380.

The omission of the names of the great English masters in connection with Géricault's stay in England does not prove his ignorance of their work -- he referred at least once to Constable's *Haywain* and to his landscapes. Géricault admired the English landscape artists as well as the great English portraitists but did not bother to mention them by name. In other words, Géricault's letters, as important evidence as they are, should be taken with more precaution and should not be considered the only source in evaluating the importance of the English experience on his artistic development. Aside from the well-documented appreciation for David Wilkie's work, other -- contemporary as well as past -- painters should be mentioned<sup>32</sup> in the overall English art scene which Géricault witnessed: Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797), George Robert Lewis (1782-1871), John Linnel (1792-1882) and Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740-1812).

The works of these artists represent a particular approach to English plein-air painting which made an impression on Géricault. However, the most popular -- and saleable - art style in England at the time of his stay were genre and animal paintings, which did not escape his attention.

### *Géricault and English Genre Painting*

English genre painting was inaugurated by William Hogarth. The native tradition of genre painting retained its popularity in England for nearly two hundred years and was without parallel in other countries. By the opening of the nineteenth-century genre had become firmly established as

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<sup>32</sup> The possible influence of the following artists on Géricault's work will be referred to later on.

the representative mode of British painting.<sup>33</sup> The quasi 'sentimental' concept of English nineteenth-century genre painting was best summed up by Richard Redgrave:

In the English school, genre pictures are said to take their rise from Hogarth. The English public cared little for battle pieces...It was soon found that pictures to suit the English taste must be pictures to live by; pictures to hang on the walls of that home in which the Englishman spends more of his time than do the men of other nations.

No doubt our school suffered somewhat by this change from heroic and religious to familiar art -- suffered in the grandeur of its attempts at least, more especially in the estimation of Continental nations -- and really suffered by adopting too generally subjects of a somewhat tame and familiar class to the exclusion of the ideal and the poetical... We find that soon after the beginning of the present century [nineteenth], several painters almost simultaneously rose into notice - David Wilkie, Mulready and Leslie.<sup>34</sup>

Redgrave's description boasts of English national pride. His words clearly point to the difference between the English and the continental school of painting concerning the concept of historical painting. In Protestant Britain history painting in the grand style, sponsored by the Catholic monarchies of continental Europe never took root.<sup>35</sup> British artists, unlike their European contemporaries, were mostly trained at home. No system of state and church patronage intervened

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<sup>33</sup> E. D. H. Johnson, *Painting of the Social Scene from Hogarth to Sickert* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986), 12, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Redgrave and Samuel Redgrave, *A Century of British Painting* (1947; repr., Oxford: Phaidon, 1981), 288-289.

<sup>35</sup> Johnson, *Painting of the Social Scene*, 12.



between them and the general public with whose tastes they were closely attuned. Hogarth's rendering of contemporary scenes had much in common with Henry Fielding's novels: richness of narrative texture, profound characterization and a sharp eye for detail.<sup>36</sup> Hogarth's legacy was manifested in English genre painting in which minute naturalistic renderings of every part of the setting and the objects created an easy to understand visual 'record' of an everyday occurrence. In some cases, English genre painting touched upon history painting in that the contemporary scene it was rendering was not an everyday phenomenon but rather one within the context of a significant historical event. Such was David Wilkie's *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo* (fig. 12).

The painting was commissioned by the Duke of Wellington himself who "wanted it [the painting] to be a number of soldiers of various descriptions seated upon the benches of the door of a public house with porter and tobacco, talking over their old stories".<sup>37</sup> In a letter to the painter Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) Wilkie wrote:

I said this would make a most beautiful picture, and that it only wanted some story, or a principal incident, to connect the figures together. He [Wellington] said perhaps playing skittles would do, or any other game, when I proposed that one might be reading a newspaper aloud to the rest, and that in making a sketch of it many other incidents would occur".<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>37</sup> A letter by David Wilkie dated December 12, 1816, quoted in Johnson, Ibid., 149.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

Wilkie's concept for the painting differs from conventional depictions of a military engagement such as the Battle of Waterloo. Wellington's proposal, to which Wilkie agreed, brought about a work in which genre would be the main element. From this suggestion grew the conception that would bring *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo* within the province of history painting: the introduction as a focal point of interest of the bulletin announcing the British victory on the field of Waterloo, which had occurred the previous year.<sup>39</sup>

Wilkie's picture contains many figures (no fewer than sixty); they fall into several groups, forming a great compositional crescent. The figures' attitudes are best summed up by Johnson:

The attitude of the old warriors, whose easy conviviality has been interrupted by the news of Britain's great victory bears witness to the historic nature of the occasion. At the same time, the carefully observed uniforms, emblematic of gallant actions of former days, challenging the informed viewer (of whom there were, of course, many at the time) to reconstruct the scene's context in appropriately heroic terms.

One might linger indefinitely over the reading of Wilkie's masterpiece... but the identification of some of the participants will serve to suggest its imaginative scope. The dispatch... is being read aloud to the jubilant gathering by an old soldier... the listeners include a sargent of the 42nd regiment, a Glengary Highlander... a member of the Hanoverian Legion, a corps which distinguished itself at Waterloo...an Irishman of the 12th

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

Dragoons at the end of the table, relaying the news to a deaf oldtimer...who has dropped his pipe in astonishment...

The spectacle is further diversified by the woman who anxiously bends forward to hear the roll call of her husband's regiment which suffered heavy losses... nor should one overlook the originality of the domestic touches which the artist has introduced into the scene through the figures at the right - the jovial family group with the sergeant holding up his baby and in contrast, the ...seated woman who does up her hair with the unruffled serenity of a seasoned camp follower.<sup>40</sup>

Wilkie finished his picture and exhibited it in 1822. Over a period of several years he made a large number of preparatory sketches for it. More than eighty of these and four oil sketches survive. They show his concern for accuracy and detail.<sup>41</sup>

Since Géricault was already back in France in December of 1821,<sup>42</sup> he obviously did not see Wilkie's finished painting. However, he had seen the preparatory drawings and probably some of the oil sketches. He related his impression of Wilkie's painting in a letter to his friend Horace Vernet:

How useful it is to see the touching expressions of Wilky (sic)! In a small picture of a very simple subject, he knew how to draw an admirable group. The scene takes place at

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<sup>40</sup> Johnson, *Painting the Social Scene*, 149-152.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Géricault's presence in France is attested by a letter he sent from Paris to Jules-Robert Auguste, dated 16-26 December 1821. *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 297.

a disabled soldiers convalescent home; it implies that due to the news of a [certain] victory, these veterans are reunited for reading the *Bulletin* and rejoicing. He [Wilkie] varied his characters with great sensibility.

I will talk to you only about a single figure which I found the most perfect, whose pose and expression bring tears... She is a soldier's wife, preoccupied with her husband, peeping with a scared and troubled look at the list of the dead...Your imagination would tell you everything that her twisted face expresses. There is no sign of sorrow; the wine, in contrast, flows on all tables and the sky is not marked with lightnings as a forthcoming sign of a terrible disaster. It [the disaster] appears during the last excitement like in nature itself. I am not afraid that you would accuse me of 'anglomania'.<sup>43</sup>

Of all figures appearing in this painting, Géricault was moved most by the single figure of the soldier's wife (fig. 13) who awaits, dumbfounded, to find out if her husband is still alive. He was moved by a particular part of Wilkie's painting in which the artist shows his power of rendering the sub-plot, a particular trait Géricault loved the most. He was impressed mostly by the realistic rendering of a single figure's expression which tells the whole story of human suffering in a minimal, straightforward way.

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<sup>43</sup> "Combien aussi seraient utiles à voir les expressions touchantes de Wilky (sic)! yDans un petit tableau, et du sujet le plus simple, il a su tirer un parti admirable. La scène se passe aux Invalides ; il suppose qu'à la nouvelle d'une victoire, ces vétérans se réunissent pour lire le *Bulletin* et se réjouir. Il a varié tous ses caractères avec bien du sentiment. ...Je ne vous parlerai que d'une seule figure qui m'a paru la plus parfaite, et dont la pose et l'expression arrachent les larmes, quelque bon que l'on tienne. C'est une femme d'un soldat qui, tout occupée de son mari, parcourt d'un oeil inquiet et hagard la liste des morts... Votre imagination vous dira tout ce que son visage décomposé exprime. Il n'y a ni crêpes ni deuil ; le vin, au contraire, coule à toutes les tables, et le ciel n'est point sillonné d'éclairs d'un presage

As already suggested, the letter to Vernet is one of the most important sources for the appreciation of Géricault's response to English art. For Suzanne Lodge "The development of Géricault's art can best be traced in terms of the influence of Wilkie... the influence of such pictures [*The Chelsea Pensioners...*] is seen in Géricault's lithograph *The Piper*."<sup>44</sup> Lodge ascribed Wilkie's genre painting much more relevance to Géricault's *oeuvre* than it deserves. Eitner claimed that though Géricault's letter is an important document testifying to his response to English art, it must be read with caution.<sup>45</sup>

An important concept in Eitner's interpretation of Géricault's letter dwells on the person to whom it was sent. Eitner believes that Géricault did not share all his impressions with Vernet but only the things he thought his friend would like to hear. This is why Géricault mentioned Wilkie, the anecdote painter, whose approach to art and whose style were similar to Vernet's and why he did not mention Constable, Ward or Landseer. "There is a pleasant irony and perhaps some unwitting malice in the fact that he [Géricault] should have addressed his observations on French complacency and on the importance of being willing to learn from others to the most chauvinistically French of French painters", Eitner concluded.<sup>46</sup>

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funeste. Il arrive cependant au dernier pathétique comme la nature elle-même. Je ne crains pas que vous me taxiez d'anglomanie." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 199-203.

<sup>44</sup> Lodge, "Géricault in England", 625.

<sup>45</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 218.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

Indeed, this letter shows that Géricault chose his words very carefully. His description avoids any mentioning of the Battle of Waterloo, the very occasion which brought the English veterans together in Wilkie's painting. They have gathered, according to his recount, "qu'à la nouvelle d'une victoire" - "due to the news of a certain victory". This, coming from Géricault, is very surprising. He, in particular, should have been very sensitive to a general labeling of a work of art rather than calling it by its proper name. In the Salon exhibition of *The Raft of the Medusa*, the painting was intentionally labeled as *A Scene of a Storm at Sea*, because of its political implications. Mentioning the specific English victory to a Frenchman such as Horace Vernet would have spoiled the whole impression. Géricault must have been well aware of how such a mentioning would be received by Horace Vernet and admitted it by closing his letter with an apology for his *anglomania* ("I am not afraid that you would accuse me of *anglomania*").

There was not too much in English genre painting that interested Géricault nor was he interested in French genre. His lithographs of 1818-1819, published simultaneously with those of Horace Vernet, show that his work had nothing in common with the light side of genre painting. Therefore, the assumption that he was influenced by English genre painting such as David Wilkie's is not convincing. "Fortunately", Eitner wrote, "his artist's instinct kept him from taking this lesson [Wilkie's], though his eyes were certainly not closed to French defects and English qualities."<sup>47</sup>

Another English artist whose works could have influenced Géricault was Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797). Wright was the first professional painter to express directly the spirit of the

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 220.

Industrial Revolution.<sup>48</sup> From the mid-1760s Wright perpetuated the interests and innovations of science and industry in a series of paintings which fall into the category of genre. He made no distinction between scientific discoveries and the mechanical inventions which announced the Industrial Revolution. Wright was preoccupied with the problem of depicting light in painting. He made important experiments in painting unusual effects of light, particularly moonlight and candlelight. As a painter of artificial and natural light effects, he links the chiar'oscuro style of Carravaggio and his followers (Gerard Honthorst and George de la Tour) with English Romantic naturalism.

In *The Blacksmith's Shop* (fig. 14) Wright depicted an everyday scene at a smithy by a light emanating from a hot piece of metal which the blacksmith has just taken out of the furnace. As in a Baroque painting, the figures closest to the light source are flooded with light while the rest of the setting is in semi-darkness. Wright projected the subject of *A Blacksmith's Shop* as follows:

Two men forming a bar of iron into a horse shoe, from whence the light must proceed. An idle fellow may stand by the anvil in a time-killing posture, his hands in his bosom, or yawning with his hands stretched upwards, and a little twisting of the body. Horse shoes hanging upon ye walls, and other necessary things faintly seen, being remote from the light. Out of this room shall be seen another, in which a farrier may be shoeing a horse by the light of a candle. The horse must be saddled, and a traveller standing by...The moon may appear, and illumine some part of the horse if necessary.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, 46.

<sup>49</sup> *Joseph Wright of Derby's Account Book, Subject for Night Pieces*, quoted in Johnson, *Painting of the Social Scene*, 128.

The artist placed the 'idle fellow' as a brooding figure seated at the right of the painting, probably symbolising the artist himself as an observer. Yet, this 'genre' painting is characterised by realism and combined with a quiet, serious poetic rendering of an everyday event. This powerful characteristic sets Wright apart from his contemporary genre painters in whose works the element of anecdote was essential. In *The Blacksmith's Shop* Wright created a celebration of labor, a grandiose rendering of a common, everyday occurrence. He did not return to subjects such as horse-shoeing in his artistic career. One may assume that being much at odds with the sentimental and moralistic nature of English genre painting in general, a subject like this failed to appeal to popular taste.

It could, though, have had a great appeal to Géricault. Indeed, the light emanating from the hot iron bar in Wright's painting is reminiscent of Géricault's rendering of light and smoke at least in one print of the *English Suite: The Flemish Farrier* (fig. 67). Another concept he might have borrowed from Wright's *A Blacksmith's Shop* is the 'idle fellow': such an idler is found in *The Flemish Farrier*, a young man waiting for his horse to be shod.

Wright's rendering of a common contemporary scene deals primarily with labor; a similar interest in labor was taken by contemporary English landscape painters who dealt with outdoor activities as well as with the effects of industry on Nature.

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*Géricault and English Landscape Artists*

For Turner, the great English master of the nineteenth-century (and for others, like Samuel Palmer) the mystical component of landscape experience is often so pervasive that in front of it the spectator feels elevated to an other-worldly realm. But other contemporary English painters saw nature less in transcendental than in empirical terms, attempting the simple truths of a vision unclouded by thoughts of eternity. They attempted to render commonplace rural facts. During the first half of the nineteenth-century, landscape painting became for many English painters and for a large part of the picture buying public the most important branch of art. Even members of the Royal Academy, who had regarded landscape as a very poor relation of history painting, grudgingly acknowledged its new status. One of the significant features of the first decade of the century was an apparent increase in outdoor painting: Constable's and Turner's studies were not isolated instances of this activity.

In his *Hereford, Dynedor and the Malvern Hills, from the Haywood Lodge, Harvest Scene, Afternoon* of 1816 (fig.15), George Robert Lewis has shown a matter-of-fact view of a specific site at a specific time. Lewis's objectivity attempted an exact transcription of the artist's direct observation. He has painted prosaic farm life without endowing it with any 'religious' or 'mythological' associations. He created a sharp-focus document of an uneventful harvest scene. This 'factual' rendering of a common rural occurrence (harvesting) seems to have more affiliation with Géricault's keen observation of life around him than the anecdotal genre representations of Wilkie.

John Linnel's *Kensington Gravel Pits* of 1813 (fig.16) shows common laborers digging in an open air pit. Linnel was known to have gone to the Kensington gravel pits, then open country,

close to where he lived. He would sit down before any common object and paint it. His careful observation of common objects such as the open pit, the carts, the digging tools, and, of course, the common people, were not subjects sought after by the picture-buying public.<sup>50</sup>

Linnel's depiction of common laborers is one of many in early nineteenth-century English landscape art. It shows a minimal allusion to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. The reactions within the visual arts to the Industrial Revolution were varied. Many artists chose to disregard it and would not paint it at all. As opposed to the abundance of literary descriptions of the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth-century, visual depictions of the technological innovations of the period were mostly manifested in topographic illustrations and a small number of oil paintings.<sup>51</sup> When it came to contemporary depictions, artists chose a limited range of subject matter such as rural settings, artisans working in their workshops or factory, or urban life, where the preferred subject was the upper classes. Most early nineteenth-century depictions of factories were not made by well-known artists; rather, they were done by landscape artists, mainly those who were experts of topographic renderings.<sup>52</sup> Some of these artists were employed by factory owners. They were commissioned to create drawings and paintings as historical documentation of the particular plant or for use as promotional advertisement 'posters' and such.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *The Tate Gallery, an Illustrated Companion to the National Collections of British and Modern Foreign Art* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1979), 43.

<sup>51</sup> Ziva Amishai-Meisels, *Art in the Technological Era (Units 1-2)*, (Tel Aviv: The Open University Press, 1981), 8.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>53</sup> Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, 68-69.

Yet there were some artists who penetrated the phenomenon of the Industrial Revolution and saw its consequences both on human beings and on Nature itself. One of England's most famous sites, which became a symbol of the Industrial Revolution, was Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. The discovery of coal and ironstone in juxtaposition near Coalbrookdale made this region into one of the most advanced areas of the Industrial Revolution. It was here that Abraham Darby solved the problem of smelting iron ore with coke instead of charcoal. As an industrial centre, Coalbrookdale also exercised an almost irresistible attraction for the artists of the English school of landscape drawing. This was largely due to the unique circumstance that the most modern and impressive industrial enterprise of the period was situated in an exceptionally romantic landscape. It thus became, as it were, the test place for studying the new relationship between men and nature created by large scale industry. Towards the end of the eighteenth-century traffic from Coalbrookdale south across the Severn river had become too great for easy handling by ferry. It was decided to erect a single-span bridge and to build it out from iron. Designed by Thomas Farnolls Pritchard, and cast by Abraham Darby's Medeley Iron Works, the bridge was opened in 1779 and quickly became one of the wonders of the modern world (fig. 17).<sup>54</sup>

The more 'realistic' approach to the Industrial Revolution in the visual arts did not shrink from depicting its dangerous consequences to human lives. The middle-class visitor to a mine or a lime-kiln was likely to experience a sense of awe and terror due to the strangeness of the scene and the wild appearance of the men or the danger of their work. The effect produced was heightened by

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 90.

a growing consciousness that the industrial workers were beginning to form a distinct, numerous, and hostile nation.<sup>55</sup>

Into a book of lithographs designed to instruct students of drawing, Francis Nicholson (1753-1844) inserted (without warning) his *Explosion and Fire at Shiffnal* (fig. 18) as a reference to industry's disasters.<sup>56</sup> A close look at the lower right side of the print, reveals the name of the publisher: "printed by C. Hullmandel". Since it is dated 1821, the same year of Géricault's stay in London, one may assume that it was known to Géricault as were other prints depicting the disasters of the Industrial Revolution.

Another artist whose works are relevant to Géricault's English stay was Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740-1812), an Alsatian artist who emigrated to England. From 1760 Loutherbourg exhibited landscapes, seascapes, battle pieces, and rustic scenes at the Paris Salon. In 1767 he was elected a member of the French Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1771 he moved to London. After his arrival in England he embodied some of the observed realities of English life in his works. For many years, especially after 1790, he devoted himself to devising, exploiting and improving the *Eidophusikon*, a spectacle of panoramic scenery and shifting light which gave the illusion of movement in dramatic displays of battles and shipwrecks.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>57</sup> Jean-Jacques Mayoux, *English Painting from Hogarth to the Pre-Raphaelites* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 1989), 189-191. Loutherbourg's *Eidophusikon* will be mentioned later on in connection with Géricault's exhibition of *The Shipwreck of the Medusa* in London and in Dublin.

In Loutherbourg's *Coalbrookdale by Night* of 1801 (fig. 19), the factories' smokestacks blow heavy, polluted smoke which engulfs its surroundings with an almost 'mystical' fog. The scene is lit by an infernal light coming from burning furnaces hidden behind a rustic house in the left foreground of the painting. Loutherbourg juxtaposed the rural 'peaceful' surroundings -- a brook, a cart led by horses and a woman and child coming down the slope of a hill -- with industry's noise and its unnatural interference with the landscape -- furnaces, factories and iron debris which make a very early rendering of a 'junk-yard'. The painting evokes a sombre, melancholic atmosphere which distinguishes it from the traditional English landscape painting. It is an early painting which deals with the Industrial Revolution's horrific interference with Nature and thus is completely opposed to the Romantic rendering of the Sublime in Nature.

A comparison between Loutherbourg's view of Coalbrookdale with that made by William Turner points to the profound contrast of the Sublime and the naturalistic. Turner painted *The Lime-kiln at Coalbrookdale* (fig.20) in 1797. The contrast between his work and that of Loutherbourg is striking. Both are lit by the glare of the kiln. Both show the river and a winding road with men and horses. But in Loutherbourg's work everything is set in motion while in Turner's painting a profound peace reigns. It is night. The horses caught in light of the kilns are at rest. The kilns themselves are hidden by a dark bank in the middle distance, but their presence is betrayed by the glow reflected from the foliage of the trees behind them. The effect of light is supernatural. One can detect neither the source of the light nor the source of the smoke. In Loutherbourg's painting, light and smoke are a logical result of a burning process; they are depicted for what they are. One can see the kiln itself, the source of light and the smokestacks which are the conveyors of smoke.

There is no way of telling whether Géricault was familiar with the particular paintings of Lewis, Linnel or Louthembourg. Yet, their subject matter and the message they convey are much closer to his concept of art than those exhibited by the more popular aspects of English genre painting. His *Lime Kiln* of 1822 (fig. 129), painted in France after his return from England, is very close in its conception to the work of the English landscape painters previously mentioned.

### *Géricault and Popular English Art*

Géricault's rendering of a shipwreck in *The Raft of the Medusa* apparently was a subject with a long history of popular 'artistic' interpretations both in England and in France. It is no surprise then that the space in which it was shown in London was William Bullock's Egyptian Hall.<sup>58</sup> This English *entrepreneur* built on Picadilly, one of London's main streets, a museum with an 'Egyptian' facade, which he named after himself. Consecutive failures to cover building costs and the meagre success of the enterprise made Bullock take a new course of action: he organized exhibitions of 'curiosities' which began to draw large audiences. Among the curiosities exhibited at the Egyptian Hall was Napoleon's military coach, brought from Waterloo in 1816.<sup>59</sup> The English public reaction to such French 'trophies' as Napoleon's coach was mingled with patriotic feelings of great pleasure at exploiting French failures.<sup>60</sup> It goes without saying that by exhibiting

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<sup>58</sup> For a detailed history of the Egyptian Hall, its exhibitions and William Bullock see Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1978), 235-252.

<sup>59</sup> Sagne, *Géricault*, 232.

Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* Bullock was aiming at a similar public reaction: the witnessing of failure in the French navy.<sup>61</sup>

The *vernissage* or the private inauguration of the *Medusa* exhibition took place on June 10 1820. The opening to the public took place on June 12. The exhibition was a great success; it stayed open for over six months and closed on December 30, 1820.<sup>62</sup> The other location at which Géricault's masterpiece was exhibited was the "Rotunda" in Dublin which housed curiosity shows as well. The show in Dublin (which took place between February 5 and March 31, 1821), organized by Bullock, was not as successful. Géricault's masterpiece was exhibited concurrently with a "Panorama" representation by a certain Mr. Marshall. The "Panorama" was a *tableau vivant* spectacle, dedicated to the theme of the "Shipwreck of the Meduse" in six scenes of a great format, all accompanied with music. The *tableaux*, according to the public announcement, were reconstructed under the direction of one of the survivors of the shipwreck.<sup>63</sup>

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer has demonstrated that at the beginning of the nineteenth-century "horror was in fashion and people unashamedly delighted in it."<sup>64</sup> A legacy of the darker side of the Enlightenment and a harbinger of early Romantic stirrings, the infatuation with the horrific at the

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<sup>60</sup> "Les anglais n'étaient pas mécontents non plus d'exploiter un fait divers qui mettait en cause la fiabilité de la marine française". Ibid., 232.

<sup>61</sup> Some fifty thousand persons came to see Géricault's masterpiece at the Egyptian Hall. For the history of the exhibition see Altick, *The Shows of London*, 409-411.

<sup>62</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 292.

<sup>63</sup> *Saunders News-Letter*, February 17, 1821, quoted in Lee Johnson, "Raft of the Medusa in Great Britain," *The Burlington Magazine* 96 (August 1954): 251-252.

<sup>64</sup> Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Géricault's Severed Heads and Limbs", 611.

end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, was a feature of mass-produced and consumer-oriented culture. Mingling echoes of contemporary social horrors – murders, suicides, rapes or incests, touches of the fantastic and the supernatural – ghosts, vampires and devils – these themes reached heights in novels and popular entertainments prior to 1830.<sup>65</sup> Shipwrecks and sea battles were common among these subjects.

One of the people responsible for the development of such popular shows was the author of *Coalbrookdale by Night*, Philippe de Loutherbourg. He was known for his stage designs and also for his invention of the 'Eidophusikon' – a show of moving pictures with sound effects, which he first mounted in England in 1781.<sup>66</sup> Lotherbourg endowed his scenes with movement and life by all kinds of ingenious mechanical and optical effects, including clouds painted in semi-transparent colors on linen strips, mounted on stretchers, and moved slowly upwards and diagonally, illuminated from behind. Eventually Loutherbourg sold the 'Eidophusikon' and it burned down in the early years of the nineteenth-century. His stage machines led to the invention of the most popular entertainment apparatus of the nineteenth-century – the Panorama.<sup>67</sup>

In his book *London Labour and the London Poor*, Henry Mayhew, the nineteenth-century 'anthropologist', gives an account of such shows taking place in the city of London and in England's rural districts. His description is based on an 'interview' with "a man of considerable experience in the 'profession:'"

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 610.

<sup>66</sup> Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, 86.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 87.



The carawans comes to London about October, after the fairs is over. The scenes of them carawan shows is mostly upon recent battles and murders. Theatrical plays ain't good for country towns, 'cause they don't understand such things there. People is werry fond of the battles in the country, but a murder wot is well known is worth more than all fights.

There's "Halonzer the Brave and the Fair Himogen"... "The Forty Thieves" (that never done no good to me); "The Devil and Dr. Faustus"...I've "Napoleon's Return from Helba", "Napoleon at Waterloo", "The Death of Lord Nelson"...

...There are from six to eight scenes in each of the plays that I shows; and if the scenes are a bit short, why I butts in a couple of battle-scenes; or I makes up a pannerrammer for'em.<sup>68</sup>

The professional panorama maker mentioned the role of artists involved in making his show work:

Formerely we used to give a hartist 1s. to go in the pit and sketch off the scenes and figures of any new play that was a-doing well, and we thought'ud take, and after that we used to give him from 1s. 6d. to 2s. for drawing and painting each scene and 1d. each for the figures, according to the size...<sup>69</sup> In the country I works my battle-pieces. They're most pleased there with my Lord Nelson's death at the battle of Trafalgar. "That there is", I

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<sup>68</sup> Quennel, Peter, (ed.), *Mayhew's London, Being Selections from 'London Labour and the London Poor' by Henry Mayhew* (London: 1851; repr., London: Spring Books, 1969), 479-80.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

tell'em, a fine painting, representing "Lord Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar ". In the center is Lord Nelson in his last dying moments, supported by Capt. Hardy and the chaplain. On the left is the explosion of one of the enemy's ships by ours. That represents a fine painting, representing the death of Lord Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar, wot was fought on the 12th of October, 1805.<sup>70</sup>

Géricault's masterpiece had to endure the 'competition' of such popular 'sea-battles', 'murders' and 'shipwrecks' spectacles. Since they were performed in the same premises as *The Raft of the Medusa*, one may assume that the artist was familiar with such popular art forms. A different aspect of such popular horror-disaster themes was manifested during this period in popular prints. In France they were called *imagerie populaire* (fig. 21) and for lack of a better name, their English equivalent was 'catchpenny prints', the label given them at the time mostly by those who held them in contempt. Henry Mayhew called them "street literature": their most appropriate label is "broadside imagery".<sup>71</sup> The catchpenny prints were sold by pedlars on the streets of London and usually contained sensational stories of murders, political and moral scandals and descriptions of terrible disasters.

*The Dreadful Shipwreck of the Francis Mary* (fig.22), by James Catnach, one of London's most successful publishers of broadside imagery prints, shows the disastrous happenings of the

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas, Gretton, *Murders and Moralities, English Catchpenny Prints 1800-1860* (London: Colnaghe Books, British Museum, 1980), 8.

sinking ship and contains a lettered key with explanations.<sup>72</sup> The images used for the popular prints usually came from damaged or outdated wood blocks from a periodical or a bankrupt printer's stock. They were used where at all appropriate - not too much attention was given to the authenticity of the image. Such was the case of the catchpenny print *Just Published, the Whole Particulars of the Dreadful Shipwreck of the Cybelle* (fig. 23). An old woodblock depicting Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* was used for the "Cybelle". The woodblock itself was probably cut after the lithograph Géricault made at Hullmandel's (fig. 24).

### *Géricault in London*

As soon as he came to London Géricault was very much aware of contemporary political and social unrest. He devoted most of his time to the *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*' series, as well as several drawings and a few other lithographs. The subjects he was interested in were the following:

1. scenes indicative of political and social unrest.
2. everyday life in the street, stable and workshop.
3. poverty and decay, showing compassion for distressed human beings and overworked animals.
4. English elegance, especially fashionable equitation.

Public hangings, a brutal practice he had already fought in Paris, caught his attention and he made a drawing of one in London (fig. 25). In Paris, the quantity of public executions during the Bourbon Restoration was enormous; sometimes three or four a week took place in front of the

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 61

Paris Municipality Building.<sup>73</sup> Eitner claimed <sup>74</sup> that the public hanging depicted in Géricault's drawing is that of Arthur Thistlewood, the leader of the group of London extremists, who was arrested and charged for organizing the gang to murder the members of cabinet ("The Cato Street conspiracy"). Arthur Thistlewood and his accomplices were hanged on May 1, 1820; therefore Géricault would have been in London at the time of Thistlewood's execution.<sup>75</sup>

This was not the first time Géricault witnessed a public execution: two drawings he made in Rome attest to his interest in the subject. In *A Public Execution in Rome* (fig. 26) he showed -- in an 'antique' manner -- the executioner holding the victim's head in his hands, exhibiting it to the witnessing public. The style of the drawing is 'classical'; the poses as well as the costumes. However, on the right corner of the drawing, Géricault has rendered realistically the severed head of the victim, creating a small portrait of him. In *Preparations for a Public Hanging in Italy* (fig.27) he created a realistically authentic rendering of an actual occurrence which usually took place before the execution itself: the leading of the condemned man to the executioner by the consoling members of a religious order, probably the *Misericordia* or the *Archconfraternity of San Giovanni Decollato*. The members of these religious fraternities used to cover their heads with such headdresses (as depicted in Géricault's drawing) so as to perform their righteous deeds incognito.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Géricault's Severed Heads and Limbs", 605.

<sup>74</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 223.

<sup>75</sup> Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Liberals of the World Unite", 235.

<sup>76</sup> David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 5-8.

Compared with the two Roman drawings, Géricault's *A Public Hanging in London* (fig. 25) is a far more direct rendering of a 'piece of reality'. There is no trace in it of the Roman 'classicism'. After the stark realism of the 1818-1819 lithographs and, of course, the extensive work involved in *The Raft of the Medusa*, his realistic style is summed up in every part of the drawing. Three men are being prepared for their execution by three other men. All the condemned men are shown with face covers. The one on the left still wears it on his head, before it would be lowered to cover his face. The face cover for the one on the right is shown in the act of covering his face. The face of the condemned man in the middle is already covered. The scene takes place at the gallows; in the background looms the cupola of Saint Paul's Cathedral.

The condemned man on the left gazes straight at the spectator. The one on the right looks upwards, giving the impression of complete surrender. The public officials perform their duties in a matter-of-fact way: they see to it that the condemned men's faces are covered, one of them ties the ropes onto the gallows and the man on the extreme left (with his back to the viewer) is administering the last religious rites. Géricault even included the public's reaction: as a contrast to the matter-of-fact behavior of the public attendants, a suffering woman who lowers her head in sadness, is comforted by a man (on the right). These details contribute to a 'journalistic' observation of a horrible event which takes place in front of the 'artist-observer'.

In *Ploughing in England* (fig. 28) Géricault evoked the spirit and style of labor scenes, their objectivity, melancholy and quiet grandeur. Eitner rightfully described the drawing's realism by

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saying that "Everything about this picture of men and animals working together on a dreary coastal plain has the severity of factual observation. There is no drama or striving for effect".<sup>77</sup>

We know about the early period of Géricault's stay in London through a letter he wrote to Dedreux- Dorcy:

I am not amusing myself at all and my life is absolutely the same life I lead in Paris, working hard in my room and in order to get some entertainment I roam the streets where there is always a movement and such a great variety.....

I am however more reasonable than you since at least I work and I make many lithographs. I have dedicated myself for some time now to this medium which, being so new in London, has an inconceivable vogue. With a little more tenacity, which I possess, I am sure that one can make quite a considerable fortune through it.<sup>78</sup>

Géricault 's intention in creating the first lithographs in London, as explained in this letter to Dorcy, was to make money. For that reason he had to produce lithographed images which would sell well. The seven lithographs he published in London (not included in the *English Suite* ) show his first attempts at "feeling-out" the English market. The seven prints are the following:

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<sup>77</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*. 224.

<sup>78</sup> "Je ne m'amuse pas du tout, et ma vie est absolument celle que je mène à Paris, travaillant beaucoup dans ma chambre et rodant ensuite pour me délasser dans les rues où il y a toujours un mouvement et une variété si grande...je suis cependant plus raisonnable que vous, puisqu'au moins je travaille et que je lithographie à force. Me voilà voué pour quelque temps à ce genre qui, étant tout neuf à Londres, y a une vogue inconcevable. Avec un peu plus de ténacité que je n'en ai, je suis sûr qu'on pourrait faire une fortune considérable." Letter of Géricault to Dorcy, 12 February 1821. Quoted in Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 192-193.

1. *English Jockey* (*Jockey anglais monté sur un cheval gris à une couverture d'un M*). (fig.29).
2. *Cart Horse* (*Cheval de carrosse monté par un palefrenier en veste et coiffé d'un chapeau rond*).
3. *The Sleeping Fishmonger* (*Marchand de poisson assis près de son étal et endormi*) (fig. 30).
4. *Three children Playing with a Donkey* (*Trois enfants jouant avec un âne près d'une fontaine*).
5. *The Wood Cutters* (*Les scieurs de bois*) (fig.31).
6. *A Young Woman and her Children* (*Jeune femme et ses trois enfants*).
7. *A Lion Devouring a Horse* (*Lion dévorant un cheval*).<sup>79</sup>

The compositions of these seven lithographs are dominated by depictions of human figures or animals (such as *A Lion Devouring a Horse*.) They contain but minimal suggestions of background 'settings'. *English Jockey* (fig. 29) shows a linear depiction of a horse and a rider, set in a 'typical' country landscape that is suggested by 'bushes' or 'trees' and a country mansion in the far background. The open 'field' in the foreground is suggested by lines which were scribbled quickly, a black abstract shape, drawn by repetitious lines on the 'field' area hardly suggesting the shadow cast on it by horse and rider. The everyday occurrence depicted in *The Sleeping Fishmonger* (fig. 30) and *The Wood Cutters* (fig. 31) is conveyed mainly by the human figures. Their setting is only hinted at. The 'set' of *The Sleeping Fishmonger* (fig. 30) consists of a counter displaying the 'merchandise'. *The Woodcutters* (fig. 31) show various stages in the wood sawing process: unloading the wood trunks from the cart (by the man standing in it), their actual sawing (by the two cutters in the foreground) and the transportation of the wood planks for storage (carried in a straw basket by the carrier on the left). The wood sawing shop is barely hinted at by a minimal depiction of its doorway (behind the horse). The foreground of the print shows a very

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 391-392.

schematic rendering of the 'ground', similar to the rendering of the 'field' in *English Jockey* (fig. 29).

Géricault probably tried to reflect English conventions of popular humorous prints as in *The Sleeping Fishmonger* (fig. 30) as well as a rendering of fashionable horse riding as in *English Jockey* (fig. 29). The only print among these first English lithographs that has some affiliation to the future *English Suite* is that of *The Wood Cutters* (fig. 31) in which Géricault depicted an everyday scene of common labor, a subject which will occur in the various *Farriers* appearing in the *English Suite*.

When he came to England, Géricault was already familiar with at least one aspect of English art, that of sporting prints which he apparently saw at Carle Vernet's studio. In London he was surrounded by most of the aspects of English art. On his frequent walks on the streets of London, he probably encountered the catchpenny prints which were so popular and cheap. English landscape painting must have left some impression on him. All these visual stimulations, combined with his keen, accurate observation, created the germ for the *English Suite*. In order to develop his ideas and bring them to fruition in a monumental print series, he had to make a careful compilation for its subject matter. This he did with the aid of his publisher Charles Hullmandel.



**PART TWO:**

*VARIOUS SUBJECTS DRAWN FROM LIFE AND ON STONE*

### CHAPTER 3

#### THE COMPILATION OF SUBJECT MATTER FOR GÉRICAULT'S 'ENGLISH SUITE'

##### *Division into Groups*

If we examine the prints of the *English Suite* according to the order of their publication, the series would look like this (top to bottom, left to right):



*The Piper*, Feb. 1821



*A Party of Life Guards*, Feb. 1821



*A Paralytic Woman*, April, 1821



*Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*, Feb. 1821



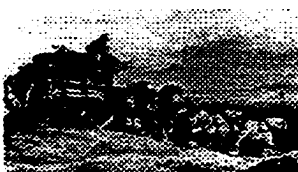
*Horses Exercising*, Feb. 1821



*The English Farrier*, (May 1821)



*Horses Going to a Fair*, Feb. 1821



*The Coal Wagon*, Feb. 1821



*Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*, May, 1821



*The Flemish Farrier*, Feb. 1821



*An Arabian Horse*, March 1821



*The French Farrier* (no date)

According to Clément, shortly after he arrived in England early in 1821, Géricault arranged to publish his series of lithographs under contract to the firm Rodwell and Martin and to the printer Charles Hullmandel.<sup>1</sup> A frontispiece and twelve plates were issued in the spring of 1821;<sup>2</sup> The first seven lithographs of the *English Suite* (Delteil 30-36) are dated 1 February 1821: *The Piper*, *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*, *Horses Going to a Fair*, *The Flemish Farrier*, *A Party of Life Guards*, *Horses Exercising* and *The Coal Wagon*. *An Arabian Horse* is dated 1 March, 1821. *A Paralytic Woman* 1 April 1821. *An English Farrier* and *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* are dated simply May 1821 and *The French Farrier* bears no date.

In referring to the sequence of publication dates Eitner claimed that "[The sequence] gives the impression of a rapid start, a sluggish continuation and, perhaps, a sudden stop".<sup>3</sup> His claim implies that Géricault worked on seven prints in one month (February 1821) and that later on he produced only one (or two) prints per month. His claim is valid specifically concerning the *English Suite* prints since the dates of publication are inscribed on the bottom of all except *The French Farrier*. However, Géricault, as already mentioned, produced other prints during his London stay; since they don't carry a specific date and are known to have been executed in 1821, there is no telling whether he did or did not execute them at the same time he was working on the *English Suite*. During March and April of 1821, when he produced only one print of the *English*

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<sup>1</sup> "Peu de temps après son arrivée en Angleterre, Géricault s'était mis en rapport avec Hullmandel, le meilleur imprimeur-lithographe de Londres, et avec les éditeurs Rodwell et Martin chez qui il publia, dans les premiers mois de 1821 les douze pièces (treize, en comptant le titre) qui forment la suite des grandes lithographies anglaises". Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 214. This is Géricault's second trip to London.

<sup>2</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 351, note 71.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

*Suite*, Géricault might have been working on other prints. Eitner's suggestion of a "sluggish continuation" in the process of Géricault's lithographic production may not have been so "sluggish" after all.

The twelve lithographs of *'Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone'* are indeed 'varied' as the title suggests. Since the prints do not confine themselves to a continuous narrative, it is difficult to divide them into specific groups. Eitner suggested the following rough division into four main groups:

1. Urban poverty: *The Piper, Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* and *A Paralytic Woman*.
2. The labor of farriers in their smithies: *A French Farrier, An English Farrier, The Flemish Farrier*.
3. Beasts of burden in various settings: *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf, Horses Going to a Fair, The Coal Wagon*.
4. The beauty of high-bred horses: *Horses Exercising, A Party of Life Guards, An Arabian Horse*.<sup>4</sup>

There is a general acceptance of Eitner's division. The latest major exhibition of Géricault's works at the Grand Palais in Paris of 1992 did not divide the prints into specific groups. The catalogue entries echo Eitner's division. Three groups may be deduced from the description: the first is similar to Eitner's (Urban poverty), the second is referred to as 'The horse as a labor and transportation force'<sup>5</sup> (*Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* and *The Coal Wagon*) and the third is the

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<sup>4</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 351, note 71.

<sup>5</sup> "Un corpus graphique d'une rare puissance qui exalte sombrement les scènes de trait, labours et transportation dont la majesté parfois sépulcrale". *Géricault* (Grand Palais, 1992), 202.

various "Farriers" which are seen as a series depicting "The muscular poetic of the mechanical arts."<sup>6</sup>

There is no doubt that the urban poverty group stands by itself. Eitner's suggestion lacks a more detailed division into groups concerning the prints which depict horses. Eitner did draw attention to the two kinds of horse's use: as a beast of burden and as a high-bred animal for leisure and fun. But a clearer division is needed for the various kinds of horses depicted by Géricault in the *English Suite*. Such a division into groups will clarify his all-encompassing concept of portraying the various aspects of the animal and its relationship with its human tender. The various uses of the horse depicted in these prints reflect the various English social classes, as will be shown later on.

In search of a more specific grouping, the series may be grouped as follows:

1. Horses and their tenders:

a. working horses

*Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf, The Coal Wagon, Horses Going to a Fair.*

b. Horses and their tenders classified according to their countries of origin:

*The French Farrier, The English Farrier, The Flemish Farrier, An Arabian Horse.*

c. Horses groomed for riding:

*Horses Exercising.*

d. Horses in military use:

*A Party of Life Guards.*

2. Misery in the streets of London:

*The Piper, Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man, A Paralytic Woman.*

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<sup>6</sup> "La série des *Maréchaux Ferrants* campent forgeron en plein labeur : poétique musculeuse des arts mécaniques." Ibid.

As Eitner suggested, Géricault's purpose in publishing the lithographs probably was to bring himself to the attention of English connoisseurs.<sup>7</sup> The variety of his series was a calculated display of versatility in which he showed himself from an entirely different side, to prove that he was capable of competing with English artists on their own ground. Eitner states that in choosing his subjects Géricault "clearly had an English public in mind"; this, it seems, was hardly the case. Eitner himself states later that the prints were not "in the most direct route to the hearts of English connoisseurs"<sup>8</sup> and that the publishers, Rodwell and Martin, no doubt let Géricault know about it in the end. Though Géricault's lithographs were well received according to Clément, the artist had no profit from them and was even compelled to contribute money of his own pocket to cover printing costs.<sup>9</sup>

It goes without saying that the three prints which depict 'miseries in the streets of London' make a complete, separate group in the whole series. They also give it its 'English' characteristics. One may assume that this was one of the reasons that they were not included in *Études de Chevaux* (*Studies of Horses*) of 1822 which Géricault published in Paris after his return from England. *Études de Chevaux* is a series of twelve prints which includes copies (and variations) of six of the *English Suite* prints excluding the 'misery in the streets of London' group.<sup>10</sup> Clément wrote:

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<sup>7</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 228-229.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "Ces estampes eurent beaucoup de succès; cependant elles furent la cause d'un nouveau mécompte pour l'artiste, car l'éditeur le frustra de tout le profit qu'il en pouvait attendre: il paraît même qu'en fin de compte Géricault dut mettre quelque chose de sa poche pour couvrir les frais." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 214.

<sup>10</sup> *Études de chevaux* will be referred to in detail in chapter 6.

The French public finally began to appreciate Géricault's prints; the Gihaut frères commissioned from him a repetition of his grand *English Suite*. But they wanted only horses. They kept six of the subjects which appeared in the English publication and Géricault made watercolor drawings for the other six. He entrusted the execution of the prints to Léon Cogniet and to Volmar<sup>11</sup> while supervising the work, looking at the proofs and making corrections here and there."<sup>12</sup>

Clément's account suggests that Géricault's horse prints appealed mainly to that segment of the French collecting public which was already predisposed to English sporting prints. Yet the horse as a subject was not the only one included in the *English Suite*. The compilation of subject matter for the series was influenced by some persons as well as by some works of art with which Géricault was familiar. Two people whose influence on the artist was more than significant at this period of his life were Charles Hullmandel, his publisher, and the Italian artist Bartolomeo Pinelli.

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<sup>11</sup> Léon Cogniet and Alexis Volmar will be referred to in chapter 6.

<sup>12</sup> "Le public français avait enfin pris goût aux lithographies de Géricault; les frères Gihaut lui demandaient une répétition de sa grande suite anglaise; mais on ne voulait que des chevaux. On conserva six des sujets de cette nature qui avaient paru dans la publication anglaise, et Géricault fit des aquarelles qui devaient servir de modèles pour les six autres. Il chargea de l'exécution du tout à MM. Léon Cogniet et Volmar, dirigeant, revoyant et corrigeant ça et ça." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 220.

*Géricault, Pinelli and Hullmandel*

In conceiving the three prints dealing with the 'misery in the streets of London' Géricault owes much to Bartolomeo Pinelli, a leading Roman etcher of popular subjects, who published large editions of his prints from 1809 and became famous throughout Europe.<sup>13</sup> We have the record that as early as 1816, while he was in Rome, Géricault was familiar with Pinelli's works. Eitner claims that there is not one among Géricault's Italian subjects for which a parallel cannot be found in Pinelli's albums: "Géricault did not directly borrow from Pinelli's plates but may have been encouraged by them to think of popular imagery as a source of subject matter".<sup>14</sup> Géricault's familiarity with Pinelli's prints was discussed by Lynn Matteson, who explained the influence of Pinelli's prints on Géricault's "Roman" subjects but did not discuss their relevance to later projects by Géricault.<sup>15</sup> Two of the three prints of the *English Suite* devoted to 'misery in the streets of London' show that Pinelli's influence did not stop in Italy, but was extended into much later periods in Géricault's *oeuvre*, as will be shown later.

In 1810 Pinelli published a series of fifty etchings entitled *Nuova raccolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e Costumi di Roma*, (*A New Collection of Picturesque Motifs and Costumes of Rome*)<sup>16</sup> in which he depicted several subjects: The people of Rome, street vendors, holidays and

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<sup>13</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 111.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>15</sup> Matteson, "Observations on Géricault and Pinelli," 74.

<sup>16</sup> Pinelli's complete series of *Nuova raccolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi/e Costumi di Roma, incisi all'acqua forte da/Bartolomeo Pinelli Romano/In Roma 1810/Presso Lorenzo Lazzari:*



popular games, religious festivities and traditions, inns and inn games, the seven hills of Rome and spectacles in the piazzas of Rome.<sup>17</sup> Pinelli was called '*Pittor de Trastevere*'; in his prints he celebrated the everyday customs of the people of Rome of the early nineteenth-century endowing them with classical grandeur.<sup>18</sup>

In *A Fight Between Prostitutes Next to the Piazza Barberini* (*Lute di Donne di Strada presso la Piazza Barberini*, fig.32) Pinelli showed a street scene in which everything in Rome takes place outdoors. Such a fight must have been a common occurrence as was a family's preoccupation with picking lice. *The Lice infested Family* (*La famiglia dei pedochiosi*, fig. 33) shows a common spectacle among Rome's poor: a girl is picking lice from her mother's hair while she, in turn, picks them from her husband's head. A young boy is pulling the lice from his dog's fur. The fact that this action takes place on the street alludes to the disastrous hygienic conditions of the poor quarters of Rome.<sup>19</sup>

Some prints from Pinelli's *Nuova raccolta* series depict the misery of mendicants in the streets of Rome. *A Miserable Person in a Cart* (*Miserabile in Carretta*, fig. 34) and *A Poor Cripple in*

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*alle Covertite N.185* appear in Maurizio Fagiolo and Maurizio Marini, *Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781-1836) e il suo tempo*, catalogue of an exhibition, (Rome: 1983), 49 numbered plates with a frontispiece, private collection, unpagged.

<sup>17</sup> Bartolomeo Rossetti, *La Roma di Bartolomeo Pinelli, Una Città e il suo popolo attraverso feste, mestieri, ambienti e personaggi caratteristici nelle piu belle incisioni del 'pitor de Trastevere'* (Rome: Newton Compton Editori, 1981), unpagged introduction.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>19</sup> "le condizioni igieniche delle abitazioni popolari erano disastrose: cimici, pulci, pidocchi, prosperavano in quei tuguri squalidi, bui umidi, senza sole, senza comodità, senza servizi igienici... In queste condizioni i parassiti del uomo prosperavano ed era un spettacolo abituale vedere una popolana fuori della porta di casa spidocchiare i figli, davanti a tutti." Ibid., 40.

*Rome (Povera Stroppia [sic] a Roma, fig. 109). The Pipers (Li Piferari, fig. 99) and Pipers Next to the Theater of Marcello (Piferari presso il teatro di Marcello, fig. 100). All of Pinelli's prints have a 'local color' which made them very popular among visitors to Rome.<sup>20</sup>*

In tracing the influence of Pinelli's prints on Géricault, Lynn Matteson showed how the latter borrowed some themes as well as formal aspects from Pinelli by discussing his *Praying to the Madonna (Prière à la Madone, fig. 35)* and its close link to Pinelli's *The Litanies in Tivoli (Le litanie a Tivoli, fig. 36)*. Though there is no equivalent in Pinelli's etchings for Géricault's *The Bull Market* of 1817 (fig. 37) which the artist painted on his return to Paris, Matteson cites Pinelli's *Bulls Being Led to Market* (fig. 38) from the *Nuova Raccolta* series as a potential source for *Mounted Herdsmen Rounding Up a Herd of Bulls*, a preparatory drawing made by Géricault for *The Bull Market* (fig. 39) as well as for a lithograph (*The Butchers of Rome* fig. 40).

While in Rome Géricault was surrounded by the works of the masters, yet, perhaps more than most of his contemporaries he exposed himself to contemporary art to kindle his imagination.<sup>21</sup> It was the simplicity of Pinelli's style and his repertoire that most appealed to him. Pinelli's etchings provided him with "a pictorial tabula rasa that he could invigorate with his own imagination."<sup>22</sup> He definitely did that in his *English Suite* as will be shown later on.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Matteson, "Observation on Géricault and Pinelli," 74.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>23</sup> The relationship of these prints by Pinelli to those of Géricault will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Apart from the two 'elegant' equestrian scenes (*Party of Life Guards*, *Horses Exercising*) and *An Arabian Horse* the other nine belong to a 'low' form of genre, without any touches of humour, sentiment, or piety that made low genre depictions such as Hogarth's bearable to the English public. Géricault was reporting on the other, darker side of England that existed beyond the scenes of high society. His prints celebrate the everyday, 'plebeian rites of farriery' as Laveissière called them.<sup>24</sup> They are devoid of any trivial, decorative traits which, in most cases were the ones specifically sought by English collectors of contemporary prints.<sup>25</sup>

The preoccupation with horses, which is almost the trade mark of Géricault, may be understood better in the context of these particular prints if we consider the most significant role of the horse in a society prior to the invention of modern means of transportation such as trains, cars, and agricultural machines. The heroic, classical approach to the depiction of horses, which Géricault had taken in works such as *The Race of the Barberi Horses*, is long forgotten in the *English Suite*. The depiction of both elegant equestrian scenes and 'low' labor scenes lacks any signs of classical heroism. The prints are dealing with a completely different concept of heroism -- that of everyday, modern life, in which the horse played a most significant part.

Of the twelve prints which make up the *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone* series, only three contain some grains of 'popular' traits: the elegant *Horses Exercising*, the

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<sup>24</sup> "[la série] où tout prend une dimension massive pour célébrer le rite de la ferrure, alliage du muscle et de la plèbe". *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 202.

<sup>25</sup> The relationship of Géricault's 'horse prints' to English sporting prints will be discussed in chapter 4.

flamboyant *Party of Life Guards* and the noble *Arabian Horse*. Their popular quality is reminiscent of English sporting prints and therefore may be regarded as Géricault's attempts to satisfy the publishers' demands. The rest of the series, the other nine prints, show very clearly why they were not so popular: their subject matter is serious and not anecdotal. It involves keen observation of social misfortunes rendered in a stark, realistic style.

In a concise, dramatic way, the prints explore the profound gap separating the English upper and lower classes. Through the twelve individual prints Géricault attempted to reconstruct a personal impression of a foreign society. The role he took upon himself is that of an observer: as such, he pretended to convey merely a reflection of the subjects he viewed. His task, then, was to reflect what was happening around him in the most true and faithful artistic means. His English 'experiments' with lithography produced not just another series of horse prints for sale to collectors but a sophisticated, hard-to-digest masterpiece.

*Title Page: A Self-portrait?*

*Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, the title of Géricault's *English Suite*, is a beautiful pun based on the various meanings of the verb 'to draw'. 'Drawing on stone' on one hand is the action taken by an artist who makes a lithograph. 'Drawing something from life' is, in other words, using life as a source for various images or extracting the essence of life for such a purpose. Géricault's pun is summing up a particular stylistic period of his *oeuvre*; it alludes to his great interest in realistic subjects drawn from life on the one hand and to his fascination with the medium of lithography on the other. The question of who coined this title has not been asked by any of the scholars dealing with the *English Suite*. Ever since Clément, scholars were preoccupied with the visual images appearing on the title page: the pun was taken for granted. In order to create such a poignant pun one had to have a thorough knowledge of the English language. Géricault's command of English was not profound (he made many grammatical as well as spelling mistakes). The natural assumption then would be that he had some help from his publisher, Charles Hullmandel.

In 1820, Hullmandel published a series of lithographs by Bartolomeo Pinelli. Hullmandel's edition rendered some of Pinelli's etchings from his series *Nuova Raccolta di Cinquanta Mottivi Pittoreschi e Costumi di Roma* in color lithographs and included some scenes he drew himself.<sup>26</sup> The English title given to Pinelli's series by Hullmandel was *Roman Costumes Drawn from Nature by Pinelli and C. Hullmandel on Stone by C. Hullmandel, London [1820]*. Here, as well as in Géricault's *English Suite*, the pun is almost identical. 'Drawn from Nature' for Pinelli's, 'Drawn

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<sup>26</sup> Miller, *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen*. 30.

from Life' for Géricault's. The pun title for Géricault's *English Suite*, is likely to have been suggested by Charles Hullmandel and accepted by Géricault.

The title page of Géricault's *English Suite* (fig.41) depicts a four wheeled covered wagon followed by a man, dressed in ragged clothes, holding a placard which carries the inscription: "SHIPWRECK OF THE MEDUSE". The title "VARIOUS SUBJECTS DRAWN FROM LIFE AND ON STONE BY J.<sup>27</sup> GERICAULT" is written on the canvas cover of the wagon. Why a cart?: what were Géricault's reasons for depicting such an image on the title page of his *English Suite*?

Eitner explained the cart image by claiming that this kind of vehicle served Géricault in transporting the crated canvas of *The Raft of the Medusa* to London and that its significance is made clear by the ragged placard bearer who follows it with the sign *Shipwreck of the Meduse*.<sup>28</sup> Laveissière suggested that at the beginning of his second London visit, Géricault wanted to place his most ambitious lithographic work under the sign of the work which had made him famous in

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<sup>27</sup> Laveissière offers an explanation for the letter "J" instead of the expected "T" for "Théodore". "The letter "J" which appears here as an initial of the surname of Géricault may be understood as a graphic mistake of the letter "T" of "Théodore", as already suggested by Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 384, or as a first letter of his first name "Jean-Louis-André Théodore". *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 386.

<sup>28</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 228.

England the year before.<sup>29</sup> Both scholars believe that the invisible content of the cart is the artist's famous canvas.<sup>30</sup>

The cart which Géricault depicted on the title page of his *English Suite* is a clumsy vehicle which, even in his own time was regarded as almost out of date. An encyclopedic entry on "Carriers," published about 50 years after the artist's English sojourn, gives a fine description of such a vehicle:

In England, the employing of wagons for carrying goods in connection with the Metropolis and provincial towns is now of old date. These carriers' wagons, greatly limited in their range by the introduction of canals and railways, are still to be seen in some of the rural districts.

A wagon of this kind is provided with four broad huge wheels; and being a heavy and clumsy engine of conveyance, is drawn by four horses, though when roads were bad in old times, six horses were not unusual. The driver ordinarily rode on a pony alongside the vehicle; now he more frequently walks, carrying a whip. The wagon has a hooped top with movable covering; and the hinder part has always been left vacant for the use of passengers, who are necessarily huddled together on straw. Travelling in the 'tail of the wagon' is now entirely gone, or nearly so; but with all its rude inconveniences, it was common till past the middle of the 18th c., and has afforded scope for some of the most grotesque descriptions of

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<sup>29</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 386.

<sup>30</sup> Eitner says that the canvas was crated; Laveissière says it was wrapped around a piece of wood. Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 228.

Fielding...The four-horse broad wheeled wagons, as already said, have almost disappeared from English roads.<sup>31</sup>

Thus described in 1872, this kind of wagon is very similar to the one which Géricault depicted on his title page. The small illustration which accompanies the encyclopedia entry (fig. 42) shows almost an exact counterpart of Géricault's wagon: it has four wheels, two small ones at the front and two larger ones at its back. The canvas cover is parted in the middle and even the small ladder and the various container-boxes at the wagon's back are included.

On the title page of his *English Suite* Géricault must have depicted a contemporary wagon. Considering his meticulous search for realistic details, one may conclude that his choice in depicting such an antiquated wagon was not fortuitous; it had to do with a wish to convey the idea that the travelling of his famous canvas was not done "in style". Rather, that it was miserably treated by being transported, without too much dignity, in a low grade vehicle.

According to English customs, the man behind the wagon was usually the driver. The man walking behind the wagon in Géricault's print is definitely not a driver since a driver would have held a whip in his hand. Since the man is not the driver of the wagon, it seems probable that Géricault borrowed his identity and thus created a mocking, ironical self- portrait. The troubles he encountered in publishing this series of lithographs, including the fact that he himself contributed to their publication may explain the ironical approach which might have driven him to depict

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<sup>31</sup> *Chambers's Encyclopaedia, a Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincot & Co., Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1872) s.v. "carriers."



himself as a mere pedlar who advertises his merchandise while walking behind the cart which carries it.

Some nineteenth-century artists who published series of prints signed them with a very personal 'signature' in the form of a self-portrait. Two such artists, very close to Géricault, were Bartolomeo Pinelli and Horace Vernet. Pinelli 'signed' his *Nuova raccolta* series twice with a self-portrait: one on the frontispiece (fig. 43) and the last print of the series, entitled *The Artist's Repose* (fig. 44).<sup>32</sup>

Pinelli's two self portraits seem to suggest "This is Rome as I see it;" the self-portrait then alludes to the fact that the costumes and picturesque motifs from Rome depicted in his print series are seen through the eyes of a particular "observer." Géricault's prints of the *English Suite* similarly are his view of English society: through them he plays the part of an observer as well.

Horace Vernet's 'signature' depicts an ironical approach to the act of making prints. *The Delivery Man* (fig. 46), shows the title page for his series of lithographs -- a scene of contemporary life of Paris in 1818. The scene takes place next to the Delpech publishing firm, at 23 Quai Voltaire. A bibliophile rummages through a *bouquiniste's* box (on the extreme left of the print), an idler looks at the Seine while leaning on the parapet (on the right), and a soldier's silhouette is seen

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<sup>32</sup> In treating these prints by Pinelli, Lynn Matteson has tried to show that Pinelli's self portrait may also be taken as a model for a supposedly "self-portrait" by Géricault (fig. 45) in which the artist is seated in his studio adorned with a skull, following the line of Pinelli's who in *The Artist's Repose* showed himself next to his drawing table looking at a 'memento mori' skull with the caption "Tutto Finisce" on top of it. See: Matteson, "Observations of Géricault and Pinelli," 77.

advancing towards the viewer.<sup>33</sup> So far these figures constitute a contemporary depiction of a particular milieu in Paris where books and prints were sold as can be seen in *The Print Seller*, a contemporary print by Charlet (fig. 47).

Yet, the main figure of Horace Vernet's print is a man carrying a stone slab on his back, climbing a stair, and turning his head towards the viewer.<sup>34</sup> A similar 'delivery man', probably an apprentice working for the Delpech firm in Paris, appears in a contemporary print by Carle Vernet, Horace's father – *The Delpech Print Shop* (fig.48). In this print the young delivery man carries the stone slab on his head and is looking at the viewer as well. In both father and son's prints the figures carrying the lithographic stone slabs exhibit a common event, typical of the printmaking scene in Paris: one of the workers carries the stone slab either from the artist's studio to the printing establishment (for printing) or to the artist's studio (for the artist's use). Horace Vernet decided to depict the title of the print series which he produced for Delpech – *Croquis Lithographiques par H Vernet, 1818* – on the lithographic stone which the delivery man carries on his back.

In treating the figure of the "delivery man" Vernet surely did not mean it to be realistic. Print sellers exhibited their wares either in stores, in stalls on the street (like the *bouquiniste's* stand which appears in the print), or carried them around town rolled up. Rather, Vernet chose to put the

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<sup>33</sup> "Vernet ci ha lasciato una scena della vita quotidiana di Parigi nel 1818: egli la colloca quasi davanti al negozio di Delpech, al 23 del Quai Voltaire; si vede un amatore di libri che fruga nella scatola di un *bouquiniste*, uno sfaccendato che guarda la Senna appoggiato al parapeto, una buffa, piccola *silhouette* di soldato che avanza verso di noi.." *Horace Vernet (1789-1863)*, (Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Accademia di Francia Rome, and at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris), (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1980), 52.

<sup>34</sup> The *Vernet* catalogue entry describes all the figures in this print except this one.

title of his print series on a lithographic stone bearing his name which thus transforms the 'delivery man' into a metaphoric image of himself.

Géricault and Horace Vernet were employed by the Delpech family at the same time;<sup>35</sup> Géricault must have known this print by Vernet and might have borrowed from it the self-mocking approach of presenting himself on the title page of his *English Suite*. The 'delivery man' in Vernet's print turned into a 'wagon driver' in Géricault's title page: the lithographic stone turned into a wagon's canvas cover. The ironic attitude towards the artist's self-image reflected in the two prints is the same.

Pinelli, Vernet and Géricault saw themselves in these prints as conduits in presenting their audiences with scenes from reality. Pinelli's straightforward metaphoric image conveyed this idea by his own probing eyes as depicted in a self-portrait. Vernet's role as a vehicle was manifested in the image of a menial worker in the printmaking trade. Géricault's depiction of what may be taken as a cart driver borders on an image of a pedlar who advertises his wares or is maybe even a travelling performer presenting his audience with scenes from 'the theater of life'.

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<sup>35</sup> François Delpech and later on his wife were the owners of 3 printing establishments in Paris. Géricault worked for them from time to time as did Vernet and Charlet. Géricault's ties with the Delpech firm are mentioned in the ledger book of Mme. Delpech and in letters of Horace Vernet. *Horace Vernet (1789-1863)*, 50.

## CHAPTER 4

### HORSES AND THEIR TENDERS

"*Un monument de science hippique*"<sup>1</sup> was the description given by Clément to Géricault's *Études de chevaux*, the series of prints dealing with horses he published in Paris after his return from England. Since some of the images he included in the series are repetitions of the ones appearing in the *English Suite*, Clément's words are very relevant to the English prints as well:

...these pictures are first of all variations on a theme which he preferred most -- the horse. He represented his favorite animal from all possible angles, in all its race variations, ages, dresses, and in all its rhythms, in a manner which would satisfy the sportsman as well as the artist.<sup>2</sup>

The germ of these all-encompassing variations on the single subject of the horse is found in the *English Suite*. Yet, as opposed to the *Études de chevaux* which could please "sportsmen as well as artists", meaning that their overall spirit was a little more decorative and 'collectible,' the horses he represented in the *English Suite* are set in meticulously calculated settings so as to endow each one of them with a much richer content.

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<sup>1</sup> "a monument to the science of horses". Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 220.

<sup>2</sup> "Ces planches sont presque toutes des variations sur le thème qu'il préférait, le Cheval. Il a représenté son animal favori sous toutes ses faces, dans toutes ses variétés de race, d'âge, de robe, dans toutes ses allures, de manière à satisfaire aussi bien le *sportman* que l'artiste." Ibid.

Géricault dedicated nine of the twelve *English Suite* prints to horses. The horse served him as a protagonist for realistic depictions of various aspects of nineteenth-century society in general and English society in particular. As opposed to English sporting prints, characterized by a decorative way of depicting horses by themselves, surrounded by merely a minimal background, the horse in Géricault's *English Suite* is never shown alone. In all cases it is accompanied by a human figure. The juxtaposition of a horse with its tender served Géricault in dwelling on the close relationship between man and animal in particular cases drawn from everyday situations: man and animal as a working force, man and animal serving each other in pleasure-seeking leisure and in the hard, dangerous and regal functions they perform in the military.

#### *a. Working Horses*

Géricault's *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* (fig. 49), *The Coal Wagon* (fig. 56) and *Horses Going to a Fair* (fig. 60) portray three aspects of horses and their tenders as a work force. In all three the artist-observer records the hardships of contemporary activities in which both man and animal perform menial jobs.

*Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*

The *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* (fig. 49) is one of Géricault's most exquisite prints. It depicts three horses (from the back) trotting into a dark arched tunnel. They are led by two workers,<sup>3</sup> holding long whips. The composition is based on a clear perspectival construction in which the vanishing point is placed inside a black void, thus creating a strong illusion that the horses and their tenders are almost sucked into the dark vaulted entrance. The scene is a depiction of daily work in one of London's industrial areas. The specific title given it by Géricault helps in locating it geographically in the Adelphi quarter of London.

In 1768, the Adelphi became the site of London's most adventurous architectural enterprise when the Adam brothers, Robert and James, the architects, and William, the financier, decided to transform what had become a slum into a fashionable quarter. They named their venture the Adelphi, from the Greek word meaning "The Brothers."<sup>4</sup> In 1764 Robert Adam published his *Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian*, some years after returning to London from his Grand Tour of Italy. The Adelphi was a private venture. The brothers planned to build a little town within a town which would carry echoes of the Diocletian ruins Robert had so admired at Spalato.<sup>5</sup>

The bold Adelphi scheme (figs. 50, 51) was carried out by the Adam brothers between 1768 and 1774. It was ultimately successful financially and artistically. The scheme, the largest group of

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<sup>3</sup> Clément called these workers "coal sellers" (charbonniers). Ibid., 387.

<sup>4</sup> Ann Saunders, *The Art and Architecture of London, an Illustrated Guide* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 123.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Hibbert, *London, a Biography of a City* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 120.

houses by the architect brothers, was based upon the building of subterranean arches, at one, two or three levels, which built up the foreshore of the Thames as yet unbanked, to the level of the Strand. The massive storage vaults, which stretched 265 feet back to the Strand, were lit by shafts of light from brick arched portholes. Upon the arches stood "Adelphi Terrace", fronting the river, in which the brothers Adam themselves had a house.<sup>6</sup> In the case of the Adelphi the commercial idea was no less grand and full of imagination than was the artistic one. The architectural scheme was a fantasy on antique motifs: enormous subterranean vaults, terrace on the river, and simple classical houses with "Pompeian" decorated pilasters executed in terracotta. The three main streets in the new quarter were Robert Street, Adam Street, and John Street (see the Adelphi quarter map, fig. 52). The Adelphi was the most dramatic and distinctive feature of the river front between the Savoy and Westminster Bridge.<sup>7</sup> It subsequently became a center of commercial life and attracted many working-class people as well as financiers.

In referring to the Adelphi quarter, François Bergot claims that Géricault "must have noticed it."<sup>8</sup> His claim merits further investigation since the Adelphi quarter, as will be shown, was much more than just 'noticeable' for Géricault. Little is known about the artist's dwelling place in London.<sup>9</sup> It has been suggested that Géricault stayed with Mr. Elmore, a horse trader, who had a

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<sup>6</sup> Hermione Hobbhouse, *Lost London, a Century of Demolition and Decay* (London: McMillan, 1971), 96.

<sup>7</sup> Hibbert, *London*, 120.

<sup>8</sup> "Adelphi est un quartier de Londres en terrasse sur la Tamise, construit sur les plans des frères Adam, où Géricault avait dû remarquer cet entrepôt." Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> "Domiciles londoniens : on les connaît mal". *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 294.

stable next to Hyde Park.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Elmore's address, not mentioned in Géricault's letters, is deduced from a letter by Delacroix, who stayed with the Elmore family during his visit to London in 1825. According to Delacroix's letter, the address was 3 John Street.<sup>11</sup>

This particular address is significant to the iconographic analysis of Géricault's *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* in particular and to the *English Suite* as a whole. John Street (see map of the Adelphi quarter, fig. 52) is situated at the back of the Adelphi quarter. It runs parallel to The Strand and to Picadilly. Bullock's Egyptian Hall, where *The Raft of the Medusa* was exhibited, was on Picadilly. John Street is also within walking distance of Marlborough Street, where Charles Hullmandel had his printing establishment at No. 51 (or 52).<sup>12</sup> If we accept it as a fact that Géricault lived with the Elmore family at 3 John Street, a location which was very close to at least two places we know he visited frequently, we can also conclude that the Adelphi Wharf was located just around the corner from his home.

The main entrance to the wharf, as it existed in Géricault's time, was from the river bank. The eighteenth-century engravings (figs. 50, 51) show a large area of the dock with a long line of arched doorways through which carts, drawn by horses, carried loads from boats moored at the

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<sup>10</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 349, note 35. Eitner quotes Géricault's letter to Auguste of 27 December 1821 (from Johnson, "The Raft of the Medusa in London", 253), in which the artist sent particular greetings to Mr. and Mrs. Elmore.

<sup>11</sup> Delacroix's letter to Pierret, 27 June, 1825, A. Joubin, *Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix* (Paris: 1935) 163, 167 quoted in Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 349, note 35.

<sup>12</sup> Hullmandel's address is printed on each one of the *English Suite* lithographs by Géricault: "London, Published & Sold by Rodwell & Martin. New Bond St. 1821 | Printed at C. Hullmandel's lithographic establishment, 51 great Marlboro'st".



wharf into the storehouses and back. There is little resemblance between the magnificent arched doorways which form the first floor of the Adelphi, facing the river, and the dark arched opening depicted in Géricault's print. The doorway he depicted must have been one of the back entrances to the wharf: either from John Street, Adam Street or Robert Street. Photographs (fig. 53, 54) of the actual entrance to the Adelphi Wharf from John Street as it exists today show a very close resemblance to Géricault's rendering of the arched doorway in his print: the brick wall, the dark deep archway and the sombre industrial look of a back entrance for workers rather than a formal entrance.

A similar doorway to the one in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* appears in *English Cart Led by Three Horses* (fig. 55), a lithograph made by Géricault during his London stay, which he did not include in the *English Suite*. It shows a cart loaded with sacks of coal,<sup>13</sup> led by a worker, coming out of a dark arched tunnel into the lit street. The most obvious affirmation that the doorway in Géricault's *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* is a back one, either located on Adam Street or on Robert Street, is revealed by the sign appearing on top of the building in *English Cart Led by Three Horses* (fig. 55), which reads as follows:

ARTS MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE INSTITUTED A.D. 1754  
ENTRANCE IN JONH (sic) STRET (sic) ADELPHI.<sup>14</sup>

One part of the Adam brothers' scheme for the Adelphi quarter which survives intact, still fulfilling its original purpose, is The Royal Society of Arts on John Street (see map of the Adelphi

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<sup>13</sup> The cart depicted in this print is a counterpart to the one appearing in *The Coal Wagon* (fig. 56), which will be referred to later.

<sup>14</sup> The inscription on the wall is described in *The Hans Buhler Collection of Pictures, Drawings and Lithographs (Théodore Géricault)* (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd., London Sale, 1985), 141.

quarter, fig. 52). It was founded in 1754 under the title of "The Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce". Its aim was to improve the standard of all three by arranging competitions for those employed in them<sup>15</sup> and was already mentioned in connection with the prize awarded to Senefelder in 1819 and with the one given to Charles Hullmandel. The actual setting of the building carrying the placard in *English Cart Led by Three Horses* must have been either on Adam Street or on Robert Street since it is directing the public to an entrance on John Street. In other words, such a self-evident statement ("Entrance on John Street") featured on a placard would not be placed on the very street to which it points, but rather on an adjoining street, in an attempt to direct the public to the building's main entrance. Therefore *English Cart Led by Three Horses*, must have been drawn by Géricault either on Adam Street or on Robert Street and not on John Street.

While drawing the *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* and *English Cart Led by Three Horses* Géricault must have been facing one of the wharf's back entrances. If we accept the argument that he lived on John Street, *The Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* may be regarded as a description of an everyday scene which took place virtually under his window. The artist did not have to go looking for subject matter; he had it right under his nose.

In his *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* Géricault did not focus on the stylish, rich facades of the Adelphi buildings, a scheme considered one of London's most dramatic and fashionable architectural achievements. Rather, he chose to depict its back entrance, the one used by the city's watermen, bargemen, and common laborers: a choice befitting his all-encompassing interest in

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<sup>15</sup> Saunders, *The Art and Architecture of London*, 96.

realistic, down-to-earth subjects, devoid of heroic or fashionable gloss. Yet with all its stark realism, there is something metaphysical about this print; it depicts an entrance into a dark, and even mysterious space through a long tunnel.

One of the most significant loads brought to the Adelphi quarter storehouses was coal. This has a bearing on the next print of the *English Suite: The Coal Wagon*.

### *The Coal Wagon*

*The Coal Wagon* (fig.56) shows a clumsy rural vehicle packed with sacks of coal, some of them exposed. A worker sits nonchalantly on the stacked sacks, his feet dangling in the air. The driver of the wagon is walking the horses down a slope of a hill. He is holding the horses' reins so that they won't skid. The stopping of the possible slide is carried out mainly by the horse closest to the cart; it is shown with its front legs held up in the air and its back feet rooted in the ground. The horses in front of it are trotting normally, on flat ground, after having passed the steep area before it. There's a storm in the background. A diagonal boat's mast points in the direction of an illusionistic "wind". A lake, or the sea with two sail boats, is seen from a hazy horizon line. The light effects suggest a particular time of day: late afternoon, before sunset.

Given its physical components, *The Coal Wagon* might be regarded as a mere 'genre' depiction of rural life with 'rustic', pastoral elements. Such an approach to the print was taken by Klaus Berger who claimed that the motif of *The Coal Wagon* had been a favorite of Géricault's during his English stay since he made some variations on the theme of a wagon drawn either by three or seven horses. Berger states that Géricault must have liked the subject particularly as he chose it for one of the lithographs in the '*Great English Series*'.<sup>16</sup> His claim suggests a kind of 'genre', anecdotal treatment of the subject, an alien approach to Géricault's style.

*The Coal Wagon* is hardly a 'rustic', pastoral scene. Compared with a contemporary image, Constable's *The Hay-Wain* (1821) (fig.57), Géricault's *Coal Wagon* does not exhibit any

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<sup>16</sup> Klaus Berger, *Géricault. Drawings and Watercolors* (New York: 1946), 29.

'harmony of man, animal and Nature', that Romantic vision of Nature usually attributed to Constable's picture. Constable's masterpiece contains a narrative which hinges on the passage of the hay-wain. Having delivered its load of hay, in the process leaving wheel marks on the sandy bank below the mill, the empty cart is turning -- as the angle of the front wheel indicates -- to travel through the cut on the right that leads to the main river. At this point is the crossing of the river to the meadows on the other side. In these meadows haymakers, one sharpening his scythe, are at work while a loaded cart is getting ready for its journey, to be replaced by the one crossing the mill stream in the foreground. This narrative is to some extent obscured by Constable's need to position the cart to best pictorial effect. But the viewer cannot help noticing that something is going on in this summer landscape, that the cart is going somewhere: one can spot the distant figures and the second hay-wain and make a connection between the two. Though Constable's painting is based on a 'logical' narrative which depicts rural field work, nothing is suggested in it of the real function of the cart. Its main emphasis, as Leslie Parris and Ian Fleming-Williams pointed out<sup>17</sup> is a masterfully rendered composition and the rustic, calm, rural atmosphere conveyed by the tremendous light effects (studied in nature itself) and the soft palette of colors.

Constable's masterpiece is a reflection of the English Romantic vision of Nature; it dwells on an overall idyllic atmosphere of man in Nature and makes not a single hint at the hard work carried out by the human figures appearing in it. In contrast, Géricault's depiction of a "Coal Wagon", seen within the larger context of the subjects he dealt with in his *English Suite*, shows yet another keen observation which leads to a down-to-earth realistic depiction of a contemporary subject: hard menial work.

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<sup>17</sup> Leslie Paris and Ian Fleming-Williams, *Constable* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1991), 204-205.

Géricault's lithograph is based on several watercolor drawings he made during his English sojourn. *The Coal Wagon* (fig.58) is almost a mirror image of the *English Suite* print and therefore must have been its primary source. Another watercolor drawing (fig. 59) shows the same type of wagon and workers (two of them holding long whips) going in the direction of London (the inscription of the signpole reads "*Route de Londres*"). The silhouette of the city, with a foggy skyline suggests that the workers are on their way into the city. The several drawings which he made on this subject show Géricault's great interest in depicting the hard labor of London's menial workers. Identical laborers appear, as already mentioned, in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*, holding long whips and dressed in long smocks and knee breeches as well.

In the *Coal Wagon* Géricault was referring to coal, one of the most significant aspects of the industrial society of his day. In 1782, James Watt perfected the steam engine so that it replaced water wheels and windmills as activators of machine power. The steam engine was fueled by coal: it was cheaper than wood and by and large became the major fuel for industry. The Industrial Revolution was to a great extent substructured on a regular supply of ever growing quantities of coal. Coal was an essential element in the manufacturing process of iron. Towards the end of the eighteenth-century it was replaced by coke (carbonite), a porous, hard substance made of almost pure carbon. Coke replaced the use of the softer charcoal and contributed to the manufacture of steel. As the major fuels, coal and coke were synonymous with industry. Coal turned into an element which had an impact on all aspects of nineteenth-century life.

The coal business was a conglomerate system which involved mining, shoveling and transportation. It employed a great number of people and affected their lives. The shoveling of coal

and its transportation is best summarized by a description of a nineteenth-century London coal-backer (or a coalporter) reported by Henry Mayhew:

...By a coalbacker, I mean a man who is engaged in carrying coals on his back from ships and craft to the waggons. The labour is very hard -- there are few men who can continue at it. ...Such accidents as overstraining are very common among the coalbackers. The labour of carrying such a heavy weight from the ship's hold is so excessive, that after a man turns forty, he is considered to be past his work, and to be very liable to such accidents. It is usually reckoned that the strongest men cannot last more than twenty years at the business.<sup>18</sup>

Coal-backers usually wore the approved fantail, and well-tarred short smock-frock, black velveteen knee breeches, dirty white stockings, and lace-up boots. Their bodies were totally covered by coal dust:

In summer, when the men strip more to their work, perspiration causes the coal-dust to adhere to the skin, and blackness is more than ever the rule...When the men are at work in whipping or filling, the only spot of white discernible on their hands is a portion of the nails.<sup>19</sup>

The coal-backing system embodied one of the most tragic and cruel cases of social injustice. The coal-whippers were employed and paid by the publicans in the neighborhood of the river. The public-house acted as an employment agency and was at its worst in the case of the coal-

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<sup>18</sup> Quennel, *Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor'*, 557.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 557.

heavers. The publican was a middle-man acting as employer. The coal undertakers, as these publicans were called, acted as agents for the coal-owners and the masters of ships in disposing their coals.<sup>20</sup> Though they could earn a pound a day and, occasionally as much as twenty-seven shillings a day for fourteen hours, the coal-backers did not on an average take home more than some shillings a week. The publicans who employed them charged each man one shilling four pence a ship, sent on board twelve shillings' worth of gin and porter per head; anyone who refused to take it lost his chance of future work and the five shillings a week maintenance money advanced by the undertakers between one job and the next.<sup>21</sup>

When a ship came to be 'made up', that is, for the hands to be hired, the men assembled round the bar in crowds and began calling for drink, and out-bidding each other in the extent of their orders, so as to induce the landlord to give them employment....For he who spent most at the public house had the greatest chance of employment.<sup>22</sup>

The publicans were thus all powerful, and were able to defy or evade the attempts made to check their activities by statute. The Act of 1758 which aimed at eliminating the undertakers proved ineffective; they continued to make deductions from wages, exact gratuities, charge for shovels, force the coal-heavers to take part of their pay in drink and favour those who drank most.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Dorothy M. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin Books, 1976), 286.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Quennel, *Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor'*, 556.

<sup>23</sup> George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 287.



The first condemnation of the practice was that of John Fielding in 1761:

...tradesmen paying their workmen at public-houses commonly called pay-tables are very injurious, as the men too often kept out of their money till late on Saturday night, out of indulgence to the publican, by which means the mechanic goes home drunk and empty handed to his family, where distress begets words then blows.<sup>24</sup>

After decades, an attempt was made to deal with the matter in an Act of 1807. No publican was to act directly or indirectly as an undertaker, and no coal heaver was to be paid in an alehouse. The act, ineffectual as it proved, was an early attempt to prevent by statute the payment of wages in public-houses. The undertakers' commission was fixed in the Act and so was the rate of coal-heavers' wages -- three shillings a chaldron each. It was not until 1843 that an Act was finally passed which rescued the poor coal-whippers from their 'thralldom to the publican'.<sup>25</sup> How terrible the effects of the old system had been is reflected in the enthusiasm with which the Act was received:

...A most miraculous change and one unparalleled in history had been produced by altering the old method of employing and paying the men...The sons are no longer

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<sup>24</sup> John Fielding, *Observation on Penal Laws*, 2nd edition, 1768, 107, quoted in George, *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

thieves and the daughters are no longer prostitutes. Formerly it was a competition who could drink the most.<sup>26</sup>

Twenty two years after Géricault's London sojourn the employment conditions of the coal brokers changed. However, during his stay, their profession represented one of England's most horrific treatments of its working poor. The corrupt social structure, which caused these poor men's conditions, was public knowledge and it did not escape Géricault's sensitivity to social abuse. Since the public houses were located on the river front, the place where coal was unloaded from barges, some of them were probably located at the Adelphi wharf area. We know that during his London sojourn Géricault "roamed the streets where there [was] always movement and such great variety".<sup>27</sup> He probably frequented the public houses (or, at least their surroundings), observing the coal porters unloading the coal stacks from the barges, loading them onto wagons and transporting them to the large storage halls at the Adelphi wharf.

Man and animal in Géricault's *The Coal Wagon* make the main subject of the work: they convey nothing but the hardships of the coal-backers' profession. These hardships are specifically conveyed by the difficulty of keeping the horses from skidding on a rough road while pulling a heavy loaded cart. By setting the scene in stormy autumn weather, Géricault deprived it of any sign of 'harmony'. It is obvious that the print is based on detailed observation. Its realism is stark, thus pointing indirectly to the misery of the coal-backers profession, without endowing it with that long-gone ideal of 'rural charm'.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Géricault's description of his stay in London in a letter to Dedreux-Dorcy, Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 102. n. 77.

*Horses Going to a Fair*

*Horses Going to a Fair* (fig. 60) has received limited attention from the scholars dealing with the *English Suite*. They seem to have been satisfied with Clément's formalist description:

Four horses led to a fair, crossing a mountainous landscape. They are just about to make a turn next to a rectangular construction. The leading horse, mounted by a worker with a coat, is emphasized by the bright clear sky [fig. 60a]. A horse dealer, walking next to his pony, is in front of a horse, the last [of the group], shown in profile.<sup>28</sup>

In this print Géricault created a "pastiche" of some of his fine studies of horses seen from different angles and depicted in different poses.<sup>29</sup> They are arranged in a compositional diagonal which enhances the illusionistic depth of the space. The print's pastiche-like quality is evidenced by a suggestion of an illusionistic wind: its direction may be discerned by the mane of the horse in the middle ground (fig. 60b). It gives the impression that the wind is blowing from right to left. However, the mane of the horse in the foreground is completely static, as if the "wind" does not affect it at all. The drawing of the horse led by the walking man (fig. 60c) is awkward; the horse

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<sup>28</sup> "Quatre chevaux, conduits à la foire, traversent un pays montueux. Ils viennent de tourner près d'une construction carrée. Celui qui tient la tête, monté par un enfant en blouse, se détache sur le ciel clair. Un maquignon à pied près de son bidet précède un cheval pié le dernier et qu'on voit de profil." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 389.

<sup>29</sup> Bergot claims that the horse in the foreground is taken from an oil painting (now at the Glasgow Art Gallery). Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 67.

seems to have only two legs (the back ones.) A minimal trace of one of the horse's front legs can be seen under the man's coat.

The study for *Horses Going to a Fair* (fig. 61) shows Géricault's preliminary compositional concept -- that of a diagonal arrangement of the horses. The horse in the foreground of the final print attests to the pastiche effect since it looks as if it was added at a later stage. The 'rectangle construction', as Clément called it, functions here as a milestone. It was used by Géricault again in the frontispiece for *Études de chevaux* (fig. 62) in which it acts as a drinking fountain.

The lighting effects created by Géricault for this print resemble those of *The Coal Wagon* (fig. 56). Rays of sunlight are coming out of the stormy clouds (on the left) and light pours on the hills in the extreme right. The greyness of the day is contrasted with white areas which highlight the scene, a natural phenomenon of an autumn day. At the far background on the print's extreme left (fig. 60, 60c), tall city buildings can be detected. They suggest the long distance which both horses and tenders still have to cover before they reach their destination.

Again in this print Géricault depicted an aspect of horsemanship: the marketing of horses as a work force. He had dealt with this aspect of horsemanship before he came to England. *The Horse Market* (*Le marché aux chevaux*, or *Cinq chevaux au piquet* fig. 63), a drawing he made in Paris probably after his return from Italy,<sup>30</sup> still shows his 'Italian' style in which 'heroic' relations between horse and tender were rendered in an almost 'antique' style. There is a suggestion of

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<sup>30</sup> Grunhech, *Master Drawings by Géricault*, 99. The 'Italian' characteristics of this drawing are found in the contemporary Roman costumes of the horse tenders. Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 343.

drama in it, achieved by the dynamic interrelations between horses and tenders. Except for the white horse on the left and the horse behind the central tender, the horses are in motion, resisting the tender's attempts to tie them to the post. The tender on the left lifts his whip in order to quiet the horse he's holding and the one on the right (seen from his back) does the same to the horse on the extreme right. The horse tender in the middle of the drawing is standing firmly on the ground, his two legs apart, serving as a counterweight to the horses' pulling. The drawing is full of energy and its dynamism is heightened by the minimal suggestion of a stormy sky.

*Horses Going to a Fair* is anything but dramatic. It shows tired, heavy horses with tired tenders. Though they seem to be in motion -- they are advancing towards the fair -- their motion is slow, almost mechanical. Géricault did not create a 'genre' scene of the fair itself, where a throng of people -- both buyers and sellers -- gather for a meeting, a perfect setting for human and animal commotion. Neither did he describe the act of the sale itself as he did in *The Horse Market*. Rather, he chose to depict the aspect of horse marketing with only two figures of the common hands, the most immediate tenders of the horses, on their way to the fair. They are two people doing their menial work of conducting the horses to the market place.

The approach Géricault took in *Horses Going to a Fair* is different from the one he had taken for *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* and *The Coal Wagon*. In these he made specific 'true to nature' renderings of occurrences he observed taking place in his immediate surroundings. The pastiche composition of *Horses Going to a Fair* enabled him to create a scene whose actual setting is only minimally suggested. The print exhibits neither heroism of any sort nor any dramatic action. Rather, it depicts a tired procession going in the direction of something; not the thing itself but its exposition. The sub-plot again.

*b. Horses and Their Tenders, Classified According to Their Countries of Origin*

*The Flemish Farrier, The English Farrier, The French Farrier*

Three of the lithographs in the series depict farriers engaged in shoeing a horse: *The French Farrier* (fig. 66), *The Flemish Farrier* (fig. 67), and *The English Farrier* (fig. 68). Though all three are engaged in the same action, each one is different, whether in the practical stage of horse-shoeing or in its background setting.

Horse-shoeing is a significant aspect of horsemanship: for its nineteenth-century clientele, the farrier's workshop was the equivalent of the twentieth-century car garage. Géricault's depictions of horse-shoeing concentrate on the 'back scene' of horsemanship, i.e., on the care of horses rather than on the heroic or graceful aspects that were so often chosen for the portrayal of horses in art. The horse, a theme so thoroughly analysed and researched by Géricault, was a very significant part of life in the nineteenth-century, something which we can hardly pretend to fathom nowadays. It is interesting to note that the entry for "Horse" in *The Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1847 runs 46 pages (!). It explains in detail the various aspects of horsemanship. The 1985 edition of the *Britannica* dedicated less than 6 pages to the entry for "Horse".

In nineteenth-century France horses were shod in a *Maréchalerie*. The head of the establishment was the *maréchal ferrant*, the farrier. It was important that he would have basic knowledge of veterinary medicine; indeed, most *maréchalleries* in the nineteenth-century were headed or guided by veterinarians who supervised the shoeing of their clients' horses. Horse-shoes, first appearing in the fourth or the fifth centuries in Europe, were meant to prevent the

consequences of the horse's hoofs' deterioration and to protect them from the coarsness of the roads. The horse-shoe also helps in establishing the regularity of the horse's equilibrium.<sup>31</sup>

The process of making a horse-shoe begins by heating a piece of iron. With the aid of a rolling mill which curves the metal in an arch form, the farrier gives it the desired shape. The matrix is put into a press which gives the shoe its final desired shape and marks the holes (but does not punch them). After this operation the shoe receives another stamping which produces its adjustment and bevelling. These operations are accompanied by projections of water meant to clean the iron from the oxidation residues left on its surface by the heating process. Finally, the shoe is cooled off and the holes are punched in it.<sup>32</sup> Horse-shoeing is usually carried out by heating the shoe before it is attached to the horse's hoof. This permits the farrier to observe and analyze its defects and to fix them accordingly, while the hot shoe is still malleable. An aide holds the horse's hoof, while the farrier removes the old shoe that is to be replaced by a new one. Once the shoe is fitted on to the horse's hoof, it is fixed in place with nails (usually between six to eight).<sup>33</sup>

The English process of horse-shoeing differed from the French. The English farrier worked without an aide. He himself lifted the horse's hoof, held it in an appropriate position, clipped the hoof and prepared it for the reception of the shoe. He then turned and adjusted the shoe, tried it on

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<sup>31</sup> *La grande encyclopédie*, s.v. "Maréchalerie."

<sup>32</sup> *La grande encyclopédie*, s.v. "Ferrure."

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

the horse's hoof and fixed it with nails. The English farrier used a special clipper or a special knife called "an English knife" (*couteau anglais*).<sup>34</sup>

In a wash drawing *Dappled Draught Horse Being Shod* (*Cheval que l'on ferre* fig. 64) which Géricault used for a lithograph (fig. 65) he depicted a horse being shod by two workers. One is holding the horse's hoof, the other nailing the shoe onto it. This must have been the regular procedure in shoeing horses. Yet his depiction of horse-shoeing in the three *English Suite* lithographs is characterized by the fact that in each one the job is carried out by a single farrier, without an aide. The three *English Suite* prints that deal with horse-shoeing show the several stages of the process as mentioned above. In *The French Farrier* (fig. 66) the farrier holds the horse's hoof, waiting for the heated horse-shoe which at the same time is prepared by his aide, seen in the back room (at the left of the print, fig. 66b). In *The Flemish Farrier* (fig. 67, 67b) we encounter the farrier in the middle of fitting the hot horse-shoe to the horse's hoof while in *The English Farrier* (fig. 68) the farrier is shown in the last stage of the horse-shoeing process: he uses a hammer in fixing the shoe with nails (fig. 68a).

Géricault's realistic rendering of the various stages of horse-shoeing could have become a mere illustration of the process which is comparable to a visual description of a garage car maintenance. But the realistic documentation of a process familiar to nineteenth-century viewers marks only a preliminary -- though significant -- part of each of the three prints. They reveal an

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<sup>34</sup> "Les Anglais, eux, procèdent dans la ferrure suivant un manuel opératoire très différent du nôtre. L'ouvrier anglais ferre sans auxiliaire. Seul il leve le pied, le maintient dans une position convenable, raccourcit sa come, la pare, la dispose pour la réception du fer, tourne et ajuste ce dernier, l'essaye et le fixe à l'aide de clous. Pour parer son pied, il se sert du rogne-pied et, au lieu de boutoir, d'un couteau particulier, à lame longue et courbée, désigné sous le nom de couteau anglais." Ibid.



almost clinical quality of observation and reportage. In each one Géricault created a specific atmosphere, fit for the establishment. In the 'Flemish' establishment (fig. 67), the mood conveyed is that of waiting and boredom, feelings that one experiences even today while waiting for a car being fixed in a garage. Géricault created this atmosphere through the figure of the waiting horse tender (fig. 67a). The figure is taken from *Cart-Horse and Postilion at the Door of a Forge* (fig. 69), a watercolor drawing made during his English stay. In it, the horse tender leans broodingly on the wall; his legs are crossed, his hands crossed over his chest and his face looks to the left. The horse tender in *The Flemish Farrier* (fig. 67a) has his legs crossed and turns his head in a similar way to that of the postillion; Géricault altered the posture of his hands and rendered them behind the tender's back as a rest against the pole. A little boy anxiously tries to get his attention by lifting both hands, signalling that he wants to leave. The horse's tender seems to show very little interest in the process of shoeing carried out by the farrier or in the boy's anxiety.

Another common phenomenon in the farrier's workshop was a stubborn horse disturbing the farrier's work. *The French Farrier's* horse (fig. 66) pulls its leg away from the farrier's hands; the latter is angry at the horse's uncooperative conduct. The relationship between horse and tender – action and reaction – must have caught Géricault's attention and he captured it in a wash drawing, *Study for a Farrier* (fig. 70) which he later incorporated in *The French Farrier*. The drawing shows the farrier's tight grip of the horse's leg. The strong grip is essential for keeping the horse still during the shoeing process. Géricault further developed the primary rendition of action and reaction in this drawing by extending it to another figure in the lithograph, that of an apprentice on the right (fig. 66a). We notice that his tending to another horse was suddenly interrupted; he turns his head to look at what has happened to his master. Though the two had not established eye

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contact, Géricault succeeded in giving the impression that a contact of some nature -- probably verbal -- has been established between the two. The contact established between farrier and apprentice creates a most convincing visual description of a realistic phenomenon, the duration of which is only a fraction of a second. Another angry attempt to quiet a horse's misconduct is depicted in *The English Farrier* (fig. 68). The farrier on the right tries to quiet the black horse with his right hand in which he holds a pliers.

In each of the three prints, the 'back scene' of horsemanship is scrupulously and selectively detailed. The documentation includes different kinds of horses, all the relevant objects and tools, architectural settings, and costume particulars. The English farrier keeps his horse-shoeing tools in a bag (bottom of figs. 68, 68a) and has a stool. The French farrier's tools are kept inside the smithy and are not shown in the farrier's immediate surroundings. The Flemish farrier's task is assisted by an apparatus into which he ties the horse's hoof so that it cannot move during the shoeing process (fig. 67, 67b).

The settings of the three farriers' shops are different. While the Flemish and English farriers work indoors, the French farrier works outdoors. Both French and Flemish shops look shabby in comparison to the English one. They are built of wood and heavy stone walls while the English shop is built of bricks. The latter looks clean, orderly, with a paved tile floor and a furnace. The settings fit the types of horses they cater to: the Flemish and French shops tend to work horses. The English establishment -- more elegant and urban -- takes care of high-bred, well-groomed horses.

There is no trace of heroism or drama in these prints; not even a sign of a temptation to exhibit the farrier's job as a modern Vulcan though the dramatic bright smoke rendered in theatrical

lighting in *The Flemish Farrier* could have referred easily to a classical smithy. There is no trace of the Baroque lighting that characterizes such works as Joseph Wright of Derby's *A Blacksmith's Shop* (fig. 14). Géricault's meticulous chiar'oscuro effects are placed entirely in the service of verism rather than drama or pathos: they render a realistic atmosphere and make a description of an everyday contemporary event.

The contact of a hot piece of metal with the organic substance of a horse's hoof results in singeing, which naturally produces smoke (and a strong odor of burning). Therefore, the depiction of smoke in *The Flemish Farrier* is 'logical', devoid of any dramatic effects which usually imbue a subject with supernatural aspects. Géricault's all encompassing 'clinical' approach in capturing action and its consequences is manifested in such a natural phenomenon as heat-producing smoke. His three prints depicting various farriers in the process of shoeing horses are really 'drawn from life'.

### *An Arabian Horse*

Though the title *An Arabian Horse* (fig. 71) suggests the classification of a horse according to its country of origin, its subject has no relation to the prints previously mentioned. It depicts an Arabian horse in profile turning to the left. Its tender, identified as an “Arab” by Clément,<sup>35</sup> holds his reins with his right hand and hugs its neck with his left. The “Arab” is a very generalized description of this horse tender (fig. 71b). His costume is that of a “Turk” rather than an “Arab”. It is rich, made of fine material (the turban) and embroidered material for the shirt. His dress doesn’t seem consistent with the desert setting he is placed in. The setting (fig. 71a) is a minimal suggestion of an oasis in a ‘desert’: a Beduin tent at the extreme left is situated next to two palm trees with five additional blurry figures and two camels on the extreme right.

The meticulous research for authentic details such as costumes and settings characteristic of the previously mentioned *English Suite* prints holds true for this print as well. Although Géricault had never been to the orient and had never seen a ‘desert’, he drew the horse, the figure of the ‘oriental’ horse-tender and the background in what seems to have been a contemporary convention that had evolved during the Napoleonic wars. The passion for ‘the East,’ Egypt in particular, in the eighteenth-century, as well as the establishment of Schools for Oriental Studies, and most of all, the Napoleonic expeditions of 1798 brought about the public attention to the Orient.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> “Un Arabe, placé en arrière”. Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 386.

<sup>36</sup> Lynne Thornton, *Les Orientalistes. peintres voyageurs* (Paris: ACR Éditions, 1994), 6.

Apart from being considered an excellent racing horse for nineteenth-century Europeans, the Arabian horse had an almost mystical allure regarding the perfect relationship between horse and tender.<sup>37</sup> The Arab steed was venerated as the embodiment of perfect beauty, virility and power. In a book about horses and dogs, published in London in 1820, the Arabian horse was described as follows:

...The fine courser of the Eastern deserts...[is a creature] perfect from the hand of nature, independent of the art of man, endowed with that just and perfect symmetry of form... which convey ideas of perfection.<sup>38</sup>

"If other countries furnished the blood, England made the race-horse",<sup>39</sup> boasted *The Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1841. The Arabian horse, cross-bred with English horses, produced the most esteemed race-horse of the nineteenth-century. The horse's characteristics were best summed up in the encyclopedia entry:

The nature and character, indeed, of the horse of the Desert, are, peculiarly adapted to an animal, who, like the race-horse, is called upon to put its physical powers to the severest test to which nature, aided by art, can submit. In the first place, the Arabian

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<sup>37</sup> "The Arabian horse has long been the object of untiring care and attention, and to this very much of the excellence of the race is certainly to be ascribed. The regard of the Arab for his horse has long been famous." *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People*, s.v. "Horse."

<sup>38</sup> John Lawrence, *The Sportsman's Repository, or a Correct Delineation of the Horse and Dog, Comprising of a Series of Highly Finished Engravings Representing the Horse and the Dog in All Their Varieties; Executed in the Line Manner by John Scott...With a Comprehensive Historical and Systematic Description of the Different Species of Each...By the Author of 'British Field Sports,'* (London: 1820), 5, quoted in Frances S. Jowell, "Géricault's 'Arabian Grey', Questions of Authorship and Inspiration," *Apollo* (May, 1993): 292.

<sup>39</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (seventh edition, Edinburgh: Simpkin Marshall and Co.; London: Hamilton Adams and Co.; Dublin: John Cumming, 1841), s.v. "Horse."

horse possesses firmness of leg and sinews unequalled by any other in the world. This excellence, which he owes to climate, arrives from his having larger muscles and *smaller bone* than other horses have: - muscles and sinews being the sole power of acting, and on them depend the lasting qualities of an animal going at the top of his speed.

Bones being the weight to be lifted, serve only to extend the parts; and it is evident that such as are small, but highly condensed, like those of the deer, and the horse of the Desert, are by occupying less space, and containing less weight, more easily acted upon by muscular force, than such as are large and porous and for a greater duration of time, without fatiguing the acting powers. But the excellence of the Arabian horse or the horse of the Desert, does not end with his highly condensed bone, and flat and wiry leg, so much esteemed by the sportsman. All the muscles and fibres of his frame are driven into closer contact than those of any other breed: and by the membranes and ligaments being composed of a finer substance, he possesses the rare quality of union of strength with blightness, so essential to the endurance of fatigue in all quick motions.<sup>40</sup>

In England, the breeding of the Arabian horse was conducted with great care -- and great expenses. It was a great business venture since such a well-bred horse could win enormous prizes:

Agamemnon is made to say, that that man would be rich who had treasures equal to the value of the prizes the horses had won which he offers to Achilles. We are inclined to think, that if this king of Argos could come amongst us now, he would find prizes more valuable than any contended for in his time: and that sterling cash, and not "the bubble

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

honour” is the main object of the British sportsman on the Turf. But here is the inducement to the great expenses of a racing breeding-stud: It is possible that a three year old *colt* might win, at three starts, the enormous sum of 8350 guineas; and a three year old *filly* might win the still greater amount of 11,100.<sup>41</sup>

Many depictions of 'Arabs' and their horses were already known at the beginning of the nineteenth-century; later on, they were made popular and fashionable by artists such as Horace Vernet and other Orientalist painters. One such example, which Géricault could have known, is Carle Vernet's *Arab on Horseback* of c. 1818 (fig.73).

Géricault's motives for including such a subject in the *English Suite* must have been a combination of three factors: his general interest in Orientalism, the high esteem with which the Arabian horse was held in England at the time, and the contrast it would make with the rest of the *English Suite* prints, dedicated to the horse and tender relationships. A preoccupation with the main aspects of horsemanship such as reflected in the *English Suite* would not be complete without it. The 'horse of the desert,' as the Arabian horse was called, is presented in Géricault's lithograph in its proper 'native' setting. The Arabian horse belongs to the larger context of Géricault's interest in the Orient, manifested in his drawings and lithographs. *The Giaour* and *Lara*, two lithographs he made in 1823, are based on Byron's poetry. In depicting such subjects, Géricault rendered the Orient's cultural reflection: its image as conceived by the West.<sup>42</sup> London was the most natural place to influence such Byronian attitude to the Orient. Géricault used the Arabian

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 192.

horse later as a base for *Cheval arabe* (fig. 72) in the *Études de chevaux* series. In that print the horse has turned into a war horse, a trait suggested by the cuirass lying in front of it, on the rocky foreground. *The Arabian Horse* is a well-groomed horse which makes an intended contrast with the working horses of the previously mentioned prints.<sup>43</sup> The elegance and grooming of the *Arabian Horse* are depicted in another print of the *English Suite: Horses Exercising*.

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<sup>43</sup> Another reason for its inclusion may be deducted from an idea expressed by Frances Jowell; the fraternal, human treatment of horses in the deserts of Arabia was conventionally held up as a shining example and contrasted with the widespread cruelty of those directly in charge of horses – the farriers, grooms, horse dealers and coachmen. See: Jowell, “Géricault’s Arabian Grey,” 293, note 28, in which she states that she intends to explore further this subject in relation to Géricault’s works.



*c. Horses Groomed for Riding*

*Horses Exercising*

*Horses Exercising* (fig. 74) shows two galloping horses; a jockey is riding a white horse, holding both horses' reins in his hands. The background seems that of a London street; even though it bears no specific traits of a particular area in the city, its general impression is urban. A brick wall behind the jockey and the horses closes on a garden or a park: the trunk of a tree can be seen to the left of the jockey's head. Both jockey and horses give the impression that they belong to the upper class. The groom's costume is very elegant and the horses look groomed and very noble. The horses appearing in Géricault's print are called *hacks* (*hackney*) - riding horses:

The hackney is the race horse in miniature. To be quite *à la mode*, he should be thoroughbred, with a very neat head, beautifully set on, and a switch tail; and so well bitted as to be ridden with a slack rein. He should have much liberty in his walk, which, and the canter, should be his chief paces. He must have great obliquity of shoulder, with a corresponding true formation of hinder quarters, and above all, the well-bent hinder legs; in which case, if the position of his fore-legs enable him to put his feet down properly... he will be, if good tempered, and not given to fret, the perfect park hack.<sup>44</sup>

The scene depicted in Géricault's print is not taking place in the country. Therefore the manner in which the artist chose to depict the horses is a little awkward. They seem to be leaping with all four legs in the air, a fact which creates the impression of speed and motion. In *Groom and Horses*

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<sup>44</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Horse."

(fig. 75), a watercolor drawing which Géricault probably used as the basis for another print,<sup>45</sup> (fig. 76), the horses' motion looks more logical and fits the title of the print. The two hind legs of both white and black horses are on the ground; the front leg is lifted in the air, suggesting a trot. The jockey in this print seems really to be exercising the horses in a much slower motion – trotting rather than galloping.

In *Two Grey Spotted Horses Taken for a Ride* (*Deux chevaux gris pommelé que l'on promène*) (fig. 79), a print he made in Paris after his return from England. Géricault omitted the brick wall appearing in *Horses Exercising* and changed the ground in the foreground. The rural setting rendered in this print makes the galloping of the horses more natural and more convincing.

*Horses Exercising* is the only print in the *English Suite* in which the horses are depicted in rapid motion; all the rest show the horse either in a variety of static poses or in slow movement. The horses in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*, *The Coal Wagon* and *Horses Going to a Fair* are all walking. The horses in *The English Farrier*, *The French Farrier*, *The Flemish Farrier*, *The Arabian Horse* and *Party of Life Guards* are all static. Géricault's depiction of the galloping horses in *Horses Exercising* is one of his first attempts at drawing the movement of horses, a theme which will come to fruition in *The Epsom Derby* (fig. 77).

Géricault found in England not only a developed interest in sports, but a popular sporting literature and illustrated periodicals (*The Sporting Magazine* had appeared monthly since 1793).

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<sup>45</sup> Berger claims that this watercolor is not a sketch for a painting but a finished work in itself. He mentions it as a source for another lithograph by Géricault, *Two Horses Taken for a Ride by a Jockey* (fig. 76). Berger, *Géricault. Drawings and Watercolors*, 29.

The foremost illustrators were Henry and Samuel Alken, and George and Robert Isaac Cruikshank, who showed horses both in urban and country settings. The themes depicted in English sporting prints were varied: some recorded contemporary popular public events like Thomas Rowlandson's already mentioned *A Boxing Match...* (fig. 11). Others were equivalent to genre paintings in that they recorded everyday customs and traditions, English horsemanship in particular. Henry Alken's *Bringing Up to the Bar: 'That seat will do well, Master George'* of 1823 (fig. 80), shows the means of educating 'a lad of quality' in various kinds of sport. Alken's print series was commonly known as *Scenes in the Life of Master George* but the correct printed title was *Progressive Sports: A Graphic Description of the Rise and Progress of a Sporting Lad*.<sup>46</sup> The young man is introduced to various kinds of sport, some of which were very brutal. In this print, the penultimate scene, 'Master George' is in a riding school, jumping a sacking-covered bar, used for training both horses and riders

Another theme expressed in sporting prints was that of personal mementoes. Henry Alken's *The First Steeple Chase on Record* of 1803 (fig. 81) represents the first and perhaps last steeplechase by moonlight, a dangerous frolic carried out by some young officers stationed at Ipswich barracks, for a bet on the merits of their horses. They rode with nightshirts over their uniforms, and nightcaps, and were called the 'Phantom Riders of Nacton'. The race was supposedly run in December 1803.<sup>47</sup> The print shows horses in motion in many 'poses' some of which resemble those in Géricault's *Epsom Derby* and *Two Grey Spotted Horses Taken for a Ride* (fig. 79)

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<sup>46</sup> F.L. Wilder, *English Sporting Prints* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 114.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

James Ward was commissioned to make a print of even more personal nature. His *Ralph John Lambton. His Horse and Hounds (Calling Hounds Out of Cover)* of 1821 (fig. 82) is one of the most imposing sporting prints, in both its dimensions and composition. It shows a certain Ralph John Lambton who hunted the pack from 1809 to 1829<sup>48</sup> mounted on a horse, wearing a hunting gear. The setting is the woods and the fields covered during the hunt with the hounds.

The personal theme of English sporting prints was linked to the larger context of animal painting. George Stubbs (1724-1806) was known for large series of paintings depicting groups of horses in nature. The horses in his paintings were accurate portraits of specific horses or mares, famous either for their racing success or as the dams (mothers) of successful race horses.<sup>49</sup> Both Stubbs' paintings and the trophy sporting prints were commissioned by English aristocratic patrons in commemoration of their expensive possessions. They were hung in their mansions like a twentieth-century display of photographs of mascots such as sophisticated cars, private airplanes or yachts. The animal paintings as well as the sporting prints constituted status symbols and as such, did not pretend to be great works of art.

The most significant characteristic which all the English sporting prints lack is an element of drama which, in turn, endows a work of art with a particular atmosphere or mood. Since most of them were either personal mementoes or documentations of public events, they did not aspire to be works of art. Géricault's *Horses Exercising* is definitely indebted to English sporting prints. The

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>49</sup> Simon Wilson, *Tate Gallery. an Illustrated Guide* (London: Tate Gallery, 1980), 41.

poses of the horses in it may well have been borrowed from these popular sources. But it is certainly not a 'portrait' of any particular horse and therefore was not meant as a specific 'memento', as most English sporting prints were. The overall composition of the print, the ambivalent setting, the groom's serious facial expression and the subtle chiar'oscuro shading, all contribute to the making of a great work of art.

#### *d. Horses in Military Use*

##### *A Party of Life-Guards*

*A Party of Life Guards*, (fig. 83) represents English Royal Cavalry Guards.<sup>50</sup> "The Royal Life-Guards" has been considered one of the finest heavy cavalry corps in the world. The guards of state for the sovereign were taken from its ranks. Their uniform in the nineteenth century consisted of a steel helmet, with plume, a steel cuirass over a blue coatee, leather breeches, and knee boots: their horses were black.<sup>51</sup> These specific characteristics are reflected in Géricault's depiction of the Life-Guards' uniform and in the types of horses.

About seven of them (on the left of the print, fig. 83a) are rendered almost as silhouettes, one overlapping the other as in an Egyptian 'perspective' painting. The three in the foreground are depicted in various poses: the one on the left is stopping a rearing horse, the middle guard is sitting sideways on the horse and the one on the right is standing next to his horse, leaning on his sabre and seems to be carrying a conversation with the guard in the middle ground. There is hardly any suggestion of a background; the horses and the Life-Guards are situated on a rocky ground. There is no trace of an urban setting and therefore the 'information' one gets from the print about the 'event' depicted is merely that it takes place somewhere in the country. Based on a close

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<sup>50</sup> "Géricault représente ici des cavaliers appartenant à la maison du Roi d'Angleterre, dont les élégantes silhouettes et les chevaux avaient dû le séduire". Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 57.

<sup>51</sup> *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People*, s.v. "Horse-Guards, Royal, or Oxford Blues"

observation, it seems that it is the only print in the *English Suite* that Géricault simply did not finish. Whereas in all others he took great care to render a realistic, logical setting for the horses and the human figures, he he did not do so in *A Party of Life Guards*.

The motif of the mounted guards (at the extreme left of the print fig.83a) may have been taken by Géricault from his own print dedicated to the heroes of South America, *The Battle of Maipu* (fig.85) in which large groups of people are depicted in a repetitious order to the right of the main figure, mounted on his horse at the center of the composition. The group of soldiers is created by the repetition of legs and guns that constitute an almost abstract pattern. The conversation between the two Life-Guards in Géricault's *A Party of Life-Guards* (fig. 83) on the right may have been taken from *An Officer of the Carabineers* (fig.86), a watercolor drawing, and from the drawing *Study of a British Guardsman and a Study for 'The Giaour'* (fig.87).

In *A Party of Lifeguards* Géricault presented two actions occurring simultaneously: a mounted Life-Guard conversing with his colleague (on the right) and another Life-Guard who calms a rearing horse. The animated scene gives the impression that it is taking place either before the party of Life-Guards began a processional march or after such a march had come to an end. In other words, Géricault did not depict the regal, formal aspect of the Life-Guards' procession -- the peak of their performance -- but rather the more relaxed, informal aspects of this renowned group of horse riders taking a break. *A Party of Life Guards* shows them preparing for the march, or a few minutes before they disperse after it. Again, Géricault dwelt on the sub-plot, on the human aspect of the Life-Guards, rather than on the formal one, just as he did in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* (fig. 49) or in *Horses Going to a Fair* (fig. 60).

Géricault's rendering of horses in the nine prints of his *English Suite* is much more than a song of praise to the horse. The horse in this group of prints is a center around which the various aspects of contemporary modern life take place: from the heroic, status symbol aspect of the horse in *Party of Life Guards*, to the relationship between horse and tender in *The Arabian Horse* and *Horses Exercising*. The prints are also dedicated to the particular descriptions of the services man is rendered by the horse, which are accompanied by either straightforward, or hinted references to the social aspects of the horse's tenders be they traders, leading it to market, coal workers, or farriers preparing it for a work force.

The various types of horses and tenders depicted by Géricault in these prints present the viewer with a clear contrast between the two extreme poles of significant roles of the horse for nineteenth-century society: that of an instrument of labor and a source of leisure and pleasure. The crude, sometimes ugly characteristics of the animal are juxtaposed with elegance and grooming. There is no doubt that through these horse prints, especially within their English context, Géricault was referring indirectly to the profound gap separating the worker's social class from the gentry, all through the theme of the horse.

Soon after its publication in London, Géricault's *English Suite* was known in France; the prints were sensational and "made a noise", as Clément described it.<sup>52</sup> The print publishers in Paris approached Géricault and commissioned new lithographs from him. He made no less than three series during 1822-1823, all dealing with horses.<sup>53</sup> The first was *Études de chevaux lithographiés*

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<sup>52</sup> "Ces estampes avaient fait du bruit". Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 219.

<sup>53</sup> "...lorsqu' il revint à Paris, les éditeurs demandèrent-ils des lithographies à Géricault. C'est alors qu'il se lia avec les Frères Gihaut, avec qui il conserva jusqu' à la fin les meilleures relations.



par Géricault, 1822, a series of twelve prints printed by Engelmann and published by Gihaut. The theme of horses classified according to their countries of origin, the first of which was *An Arabian Horse* included in the *English Suite*, was extended by him to include various types of horses from Germany, Spain, England and various regions of France, such as the Ardennes or the Plain of Caen.<sup>54</sup> Yet, in these prints, most of the powerful images included in the *English Suite* seem to have lost their power. Géricault did not succeed in repeating his artistic genius in them because some of them were not executed by him, or because they were robbed of the dramatic and realistic qualities with which he managed so well to imbue his *English Suite*.<sup>55</sup>

As a unifying agent for the remaining three prints of the *English Suite* Géricault chose a theme rather than a common figure such as the horse. They depict the 'misery in the streets of London' and, though on the surface they have nothing in common with the relationship between horse and tender, they seem to continue at least some of the ideas contained in the nine prints centering around the horse, in that they refer to the hardships of the English lower classes.

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C'est pour eux qu'il fit la suite des douze petites pièces imprimées par Engelmann...", Ibid., 219-220.

<sup>54</sup> *Études de chevaux lithographiés par Géricault, 1822* (Delteil 46-57) includes the following prints: *Cheval de Macklembourg*, *Chevaux d'Auvergne*, *Cheval cauchois*, *Cheval espagnol*, *Chevaux des Ardennes*, *Cheval de la plaine de Caen*, *Cheval d'Hanovre*, *Cheval anglais*, *Chevaux flamands*.

<sup>55</sup> Géricault's print series published in France after his return from England and their relation to the *English Suite* will be discussed in chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 5

### MISERY IN THE STREETS OF LONDON

“S’il est pour nous sur terre quelque chose de certain, ce sont nos peines. La souffrance est réelle, les plaisirs ne sont qu’imaginaires.”

Théodore Géricault. *Letter to Dedreux-Dorcrey*, 1816.<sup>1</sup>

While the poor had always been with us, it was not until the nineteenth-century that imaginative attention, liberated from the ultimate vision of demons and pincers, turned to a sordid, everyday reality, visible in any large city or industrial town, which made the worst visions of Bosch or Breughel seem like mere fairy-tales in comparison.

Linda Nochlin, *Realism*, 1971.<sup>2</sup>

The three prints dealing with the spectacle of urban misery - *The Piper*, *A Paralytic Woman*, and *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* – stand out as the most exceptional and, in subject matter, most memorable among the *English Suite*. Eitner maintained that they are original in their attitude towards their subjects and in their disregard for the moral and sentimental

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<sup>1</sup> “If we have here on earth something that is certain - it is our pains. Suffering is real; pleasures are nothing but imaginary”. Quoted in Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), 98.

conventions inseparable from social genre in England. "The objectivity with which Géricault pictured distress and human decay in their social settings had no close parallel in English art."<sup>3</sup>

Eitner's claim is certainly valid. The unheroic way in which Géricault presented his scenes from the streets of London is unprecedented. Most English artists who commented on social problems took William Hogarth as a model. Hogarth's moralising prints gave a fair description of London's types. But his prints comprise a series of narratives, in which the story unfolds from one print to the next. Hogarth's fundamental intention in publishing his series of prints was to shoot his poisonous arrows at the corrupt social order of Britain. The moral message conveyed in them depended on their narrative element. Although Hogarth gave a pretty accurate rendering of the actual surroundings in which his "actors" played their part, his ironic and humoristic approach did not – and could not – produce a realistic depiction of them. He exaggerated his heroes' poses and gestures, thus making his prints border on caricatures.

It is obvious that in his group of three prints dealing with the 'misery in the streets of London' Géricault intended to convey a moral message and a concern for social abuse. But his way of realising that goal was entirely different from that of Hogarth. His prints avoid the latter's anecdotal approach. As individual renderings of unique subjects, they do not offer a continuous narrative. Basically, they depict alienated people dressed in authentic costumes that enabled the contemporary viewer to identify the particular profession to which they belonged. Géricault placed the figures in realistic, contemporary surroundings. His consistent preoccupation with human suffering and social abuse in general and his interest in psychology in particular is manifested in

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<sup>3</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 229.

two themes which he incorporated into the *English Suite*: the plight of the poor and the deplorable state of the insane.

### *Géricault and Mendicancy*

A brief discussion of nineteenth-century attitudes towards mendicancy in Rome, Paris and London, three large cities in which Géricault experienced the plight of the poor and related it in his works, may shed some light on the formation of his view regarding it. Géricault's consciousness of beggars was profoundly informed by his experience in Rome long before he was exposed to the English situation.

At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, the mendicants of Rome were respected and at times almost venerated as symbols of Christ and his Apostles. On Holy Thursday (*Giovedì Santo*) the beggars of Rome were served dinner by the nobility and by the Pope himself, who selected twelve of them, washed their feet symbolically and sat at table with them.<sup>4</sup> The ceremony of foot washing was performed in memory of Christ's action before the Last Supper.<sup>5</sup> "Maundy Thursday" or "Holy Thursday" is the Thursday before Easter, so called from the *Mandatum novum* - "new Commandment" given on this day.<sup>6</sup> In the *Pedilavium* (foot-washing) ceremony,

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<sup>4</sup> Rossetti, *La Roma di Bartolomeo Pinelli*, 44, 45

<sup>5</sup> "He riseth from supper and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciple's feet and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded". John 13:4-5.

<sup>6</sup> "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another". John 13:34.

twelve men are led into the sanctuary of the church where the celebrant washes and dries the feet of each in turn.<sup>7</sup> An eighteenth-century documentation of the ceremony recounts in detail how it was celebrated in the curia:

The Pope and the Cardinals have gathered in the *Sala Ducale* where the ceremony takes place, the Cardinals assisting wear the violet cape, the red cope and the mitre. All the cardinals wear violet copes. The Pope puts into the incense burner three spoonfuls of aromatic herbs.

...After the chanting of *Ante Diem festum Pasche*.... an Apostolic Deacon brings the Book of St. John to be kissed by the Pope and the Deacon Cardinal presents him with three times [shakings] of the perfumed incense burner. A choir of musicians chants the thirty-fourth verse of the Book of John where the verses *Mandatum novum nobis*. "I give you a new commandment" are found.

The Pope listens to these words being chanted, takes off his cope, and, [after putting on] an apron, he washes the feet of thirteen poor foreign priests who are seated on an elevated bench, dressed in a white costume with a part looking like a headdress which reaches down to half the length of their arms.... These priests have the right leg naked and well soaped before they present it uncovered, and this is then that the Pope washes their feet. After this, each one of them receives from the Pope's treasurer two coins, one of silver and the other of gold .... Then the Pope returns to his throne, takes off his apron, washes his hands in water which is presented to him by the most noble secular personality

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<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), s.v. "Pedilavium."

present and dries them with a towel which is presented to him by the first Cardinal. ...After all this is done... the Pope chants many other prayers in Latin. When these are finished, he goes to his bedchamber... he retires to his appartments accompanied by the Cardinals. This ceremony is conducted in a similar way in other churches of Rome (and other places) by bishops and priests.<sup>8</sup>

“The ceremony of washing the feet of the poor” as described in Picart’s book is accompanied by an illustration (plate I) which, rather than provide the reader with a visual description of the ceremony as it was performed by the Pope and the Cardinals of the curia, shows how it was performed in a regular church. The ‘symbolic’ apostles depicted in it are children, who, judging by the clothes they wear, are not exactly ‘poor’.

The Papal ceremony ended with a beautiful banquet organized by the Pope, all Cardinals present. The feast was followed by an excellent concert. “It is in this fashion that every year Rome renews the image of the Last Supper of Jesus Christ with his Apostles”.<sup>9</sup> The Roman ‘reconstruction’ of the Last Supper as recounted by Picart shows that any real reference to the poor was made only during the short introduction to the main part of the ceremony which lasted the whole evening. The aristocratic feast did not include the poor; they played no part in it, nor were

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<sup>8</sup> Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde présentées par des Figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart, avec une Explication Historique, & quelques Dissertations curieuses*, Tome second, Amsterdam, chez J. F. Bernard, 1723 (MDCCXXIII), 21. For the entire description in French see Appendix I, 261.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 22.

they invited to it. The initial part of the ceremony assigned the poor a symbolic role which only twelve of them could enjoy: the lucky ones were granted this treatment only once a year.



Plate I

Bernard Picart, *Ceremony of Washing the Feet of Twelve Poor People on Holy Thursday* (*Cérémonie de laver les pieds à douze pauvres le Jeudi Saint*), 1723, engraving.

The masses of beggars who flowed into Rome on holidays and religious festivities came there for alms. Giving alms to the poor was recommended by the church as a means for acquiring merit in the after-life. The ostentatious spectacle of the most repellent infirmities and most impressive physical defects aroused charity in the beholder. The result was that at the end of the eighteenth-century there was a huge number of mendicants in Rome who lived practically on nothing else but the help of the various religious fraternities.<sup>10</sup>

The Roman approach to mendicants was twofold: they comprised a mythic group of "Biblical" creatures, while in reality the help they received from the authorities was minimal. There

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<sup>10</sup> Rossetti, *La Roma di Bartolomeo Pinelli*. 44,45.

were very cruel and inhuman laws against mendicancy: mendicants were barred from appearing in public places such as churches and public spaces frequented by tourists, except during the prescribed periods.<sup>11</sup>

The basic problem faced by public authorities in their attempts to solve the problem of the poor in general and that of mendicants in particular, was how to define the causes of mendicancy and its connection with the ability and the will to work. This problem, still unsolved in the nineteenth-century, was summed up in the 1890's:

At all times work was the law of humanity: people could not live without work or [without] its products...But [concurrently], at all times, there were people who did not work, or could not obey the law of work, [people who] were obliged to live [while] depending on those who do work. These are the mendicants or the poor.<sup>12</sup>

When Francois I King of France saw (in 1545) that the streets of Paris were 'infested' with mendicants, he ordered the Parisian authorities to employ them in public works. Such Royal decrees did not succeed in solving the situation of the poor since by 1614 the number of mendicants had not decreased. The suggested solution was simply "shipping all mendicants to India".<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> "De tout temps le travail a été la loi de l'humanité ; les hommes ne peuvent vivre que du travail qu'ils effectuent ou du produit de ce travail... Mais de tout temps aussi il y a eu des hommes qui ne veulent pas ou qui ne peuvent pas obéir à la loi du travail et qui sont obligés de vivre au dépens de ceux qui travaillent. Ce sont des mendiants ou des malheureux". *La grande encyclopedie*, s.v. "Mendicité."

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



One of the first 'solutions' for the problem of mendicancy was initiated in France in 1764.

*Résultat concernant la mendicité (Result concerning mendicity)*, a quasi official determination of policy on mendicancy, which summed up the conclusion drawn by a Royal commission, contained a set of instructions that gave the first signal of establishing relief homes for mendicants-- the *depôts de mendicité*.<sup>14</sup> The *depôts* were meant to admit mendicants for short terms of stay. They were supposed to take care of the sick and maimed, and to supply them with proper clothing and daily meals. The *depôts* received Royal financial support.<sup>15</sup>

The French Revolution had to address the problem of mendicancy seriously. It was then, for the first time, that the definition of mendicancy took a new step forward by the distinction made between those who could not and those who did not want to work. The declaration of the Rights of Man claimed that "public security is a sacred debt which society is obliged to give the poor citizens either by procuring work for them or by assuring means of existence to those who are not able to work."<sup>16</sup> The declaration has made it clear that in principle charity was no longer only a moral duty, but that it was also a political one.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Thomas McStay Adams, *Bureaucrats and Beggars. French Social Policy in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 50.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 80-85.

<sup>16</sup> "Les secours publics sont une dette sacrée' dit la 'Déclaration des droits de l'homme.' La société doit la subsistance aux citoyens malheureux soit en leur procurant du travail, soit en assurant les moyens d'existence à ceux qui sont hors d'état de travailler..." *La grande encyclopédie*, s.v. "Mendicité."

<sup>17</sup> "... que l'exercice de la charité n'est pas seulement un devoir moral...mais que c'est encore une science politique". Ibid.

However, even after the French Revolution, the state of the poor was miserable and severe punishments were directed against them.<sup>18</sup> Article 274 of Napoleon's Penal Code established mendicity as a punishable offence:

Any person found begging in a place containing an establishment directed towards obviating mendicancy will be punished by three to six months of imprisonment. After the expiration of the punishment [this person] will be conducted to a depot for beggars.<sup>19</sup>

Obviously, Article 274 of the French penal code did not solve the problem of the poor. Considering the fact that the total number of such establishments for mendicants in all of France was thirty (!), it was, needless to say, impossible to shelter even the smallest portion of the fifteen-thousand individuals who were condemned to live in those places annually.<sup>20</sup> In 1818, Louis XVIII's minister of justice reported to the Chamber of Deputies that the *depôts* had proven to be lacking in utility. In spite of this verdict the institutions were still in existence during the last decade of the nineteenth-century.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> "Toute personne qui aura été trouvée mendiant dans un lieu *pour lequel* il existera un établissement organisé afin d'obvier à la mendicité, sera punie de trois à six mois d'emprisonnement et sera, après l'expiration de sa peine, conduite au dépôt de mendicité". *Article 274 du Code pénal*, Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> "Les dépôts destinés non seulement à réprimer mais surtout à prévenir la mendicité, ont toujours existé en nombre très restreint: il y a en a actuellement pour la France entière trente, chiffre absolument insuffisant pour recevoir même une minime partie de quinze mille individus condamnés annuellement et qui devraient leur être envoyés". Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> McStay Adams, *Bureaucrats and Beggars*, 256.

Such was the situation of the poor as Géricault knew it.<sup>22</sup> In the early years of the nineteenth-century the subject was barely treated in the visual arts. An early literary work that treated the plight of the poor is found in the poetry of William Blake, who created an agonizing description of the London poor. In his *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* (1794) he expressed his protests against the evil effects of industrial civilization upon the life of the individual. In *Holy Thursday* Blake described an annual event in Saint Paul's Cathedral which was the equivalent of the "Ceremony of Washing the Feet of the Poor" in Rome:

*Holy Thursday*  
(from *Songs of Innocence*)

Tw'as on a Holy Thursday their innocent faces clean  
The children walking two and two in red & blue & green  
Grey headed beadles walked before with wands as white as snow  
Till into the high dome of Pauls they like Thames waters flow

Oh what a multitude they seemed these flowers of London Town  
Seated in companies they sit with radiance all their own  
The hum of multitudes was there but multitudes of lambs  
Thousands of little boys & girls raising their innocent hands

Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of song  
Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven among  
Beneath them sit the aged men wise guardians of the poor

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<sup>22</sup> In his classic book on the working classes of French society, Louis Chevalier discusses the origins of crime, due to the terrible conditions of the poor. Chevalier draws examples from French nineteenth-century literature (mostly written after Géricault's death) in which the theme of poverty, crime and mendicancy are expressed. He analyses and cites works by Victor Hugo and Honoré de Balzac, which describe the situation of the poor during the Ancien Régime, during the French Revolution and following it. See: Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1958).

Then cherish pity: lest you drive an angel from your door<sup>23</sup>

The event referred to by Blake was the marching of some six thousand of the poorest children from the charity schools of London into Saint Paul's, guided by their Beadles for a compulsory exhibition of their piety and gratitude to the patrons. Even though the existence of so much poverty was wrong, Blake suggested that at least pity was allowable. His irony is driven home by the regimented informal procession of the children at the top of the plate (plate II).<sup>24</sup>

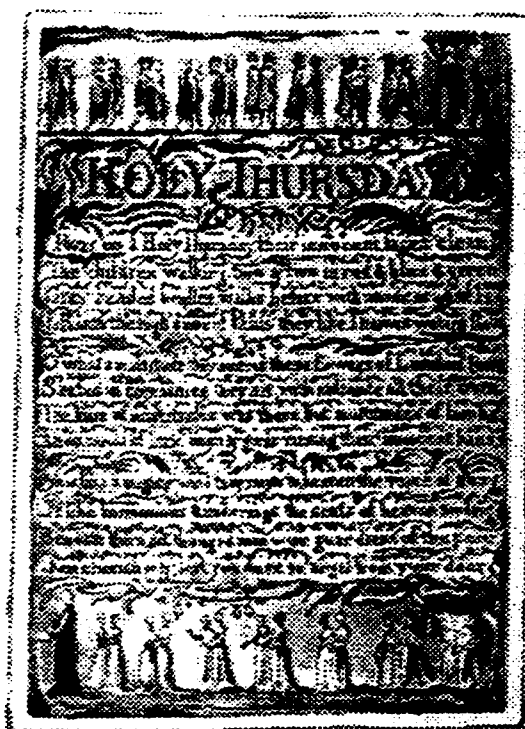


Plate II

William Blake, *Holy Thursday*: from *Songs of Innocence*, 1789, colored etching.

<sup>23</sup> *Songs of Innocence and of Experience Shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul* 1789. 1794 *The Author and Printer W Blake*. Reproduction in the original size of William Blake's Illuminated Book, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, with an introduction and Commentary by Sir Geoffrey Keynes (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), plate 19.

<sup>24</sup> *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. 139.

Blake's true feelings about this hypocritical ceremony, which he took as a symbol for the treatment of the poor by English society, were expressed in the corresponding poem in *Songs of Experience*, where the social injustice of poverty and charity is roundly condemned:

*Holy Thursday*

(from *Songs of Experience*)

Is this a holy thing to see.  
In a rich and fruitful land,  
Babes reduced to misery,  
Fed with cold and usurous hand?

Is that trembling cry a song?  
Can it be a song of joy?  
and so many children poor!  
It is a land of poverty!

And their sun does never shine.  
And their fields are bleak & bare  
And their ways are fill'd with thorns  
It is eternal winter there.

For where-e'er the sun does shine,  
And where-e'er the rain does fall  
Babe can never hunger there.  
Nor poverty the mind appal.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., plate 33.



His most outspoken protest against the evil of the industrial civilization upon the individual, the horrific situation of the poor, was expressed in *London*, a poem included in *Songs of Experience*:

*London*

(from *Songs of Experience*)

I wander thro' each charter'd street,  
Near where the charter'd Thames does flow  
And mark in every face I meet  
Marks of weakness, marks of woe.

In every cry of every Man,  
In every Infants cry of fear,  
In every voice; in every ban,  
The mind-forg'd manacles I hear

How the Chimney-sweepers cry  
Every blackning Church appals,  
And the hapless Soldiers sigh  
Runs in blood down Palace walls

But most thro' midnight streets I hear  
How the youthful Harlots curse  
Blasts the new-born Infants tear  
And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., plate 46.

The 'mind-forged manacles' of the second stanza in Blake's poem show that he was writing of a mental state symbolized by the social injustices seen every day in London. The term 'charter'd' applied to the streets and the Thames signifying the restricting effects of the charters and corporations of the business world upon the individual. The chimney sweeper's cry is called upon to illustrate social evils condoned by the Church, and the soldier's unhappy lot is invoked as an actual stream of blood running down the walls of the State. The manacled mind even converts the marriage bed into a sort of a hearse.

The situation of the poor at the early stages of the nineteenth-century was best summed up by Hobsbawm:

Whatever the actual situation of the labouring poor, there can be absolutely no doubt that every one of them who thought at all -- i.e. who did not accept the tribulations of the poor as part of fate and the eternal design of things -- considered the labourer to be exploited and impoverished by the rich, who were getting richer while the poor became poorer. And the poor suffered *because* the rich benefited. The social mechanism of bourgeois society was in the profoundest manner cruel, unjust and inhuman.<sup>28</sup>

The sensitivity to human suffering manifested so powerfully in Géricault's lithographs of 1818-1819 (*The Return from Russia*, *The Swiss Sentry at the Louvre*) was to develop into an agonizing identification with and a veristic rendering of the appalling situation of the London poor so pessimistically evoked in Blake's poetry.

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<sup>28</sup> E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 208.



The image of the poor referred to so far has been that of mendicants. Yet, another common image of the poor was that of street vagrants. The *English Suite* contains some indirect allusions to the numerous English and French prints and books devoted to 'Street Cries'.<sup>29</sup> These illustrated the poor vendors and itinerant merchants who noisily hawked their wares in city and village streets. The depiction of street merchants had a long tradition even in Géricault's own day and was a genre known and practiced among his Parisian circle.

The subject of street criers and itinerant tradesmen proliferated in European prints of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries. It was an example of that confluence of popular vernacular culture with artistic tradition, which proved to be so invigorating a process in European art. The varied panorama of life in the streets of the great European cities provided artists with a rich source of material, the possibilities of which appeared long before Hogarth found in the street a prolific source for his satirical art. The eighteenth-century witnessed an extraordinary vogue for the representation of 'street cries'. It reached a peak in the early decades of the nineteenth-century. England and France led the production with large number of print series relating to the great capital cities of London and Paris. These ranged from crude anonymous pictorial reportage to prints done by the most renowned artists. In them, the 'street cries' dealt with the domestic life of the city, its peculiarities of local costume, mercantile production, city scape and topography -- which gave them color and distinctiveness

The most impressive Parisian "Cries" of the eighteenth-century were designed by Edmé Bouchardon (1693-1762) and etched by the Comte de Caylus. They consisted of five suites of

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<sup>29</sup> Matteson, "Géricault and English Street Cries", 305.

twelve prints each and were published between 1737 to 1746. In *Balais Balais (A Vendor of Brooms*, fig. 88) and *Des Couteaux des Sizaux, des Peignes (A Vendor of Knives, Scissors and Combs* fig. 89) Bouchardon depicted street vendors with their particular merchandise. It is interesting to note that his was a 'staged' rendering of the 'models'. The broom vendor (fig. 88) is seated on a chair, her heavy load of brooms arranged behind her in a fan shape while she gazes at the spectator with a look expressing the fact that her position is uncomfortable. The knives vendor looks more natural; Bouchardon depicted him in a 'selling pose': with one hand he exhibits his merchandise, contained in an open box. With the other he reaches into his coat's pocket to produce some more.

A more 'realistic' approach in portraying the various street vendors, by placing them in their natural surroundings, was taken by Thomas Rowlandson. In 1799 he published *Cries of London*, eight numbered hand colored etchings. *Do You Want Any Brick Dust* (fig. 91) shows a brick dust<sup>30</sup> vendor, pouring the dust into a large bowl offered to him by a young woman standing at the entrance of her house. As opposed to the artificial poses of Bouchardon's figures, Rowlandson's figures are engaged more naturally in the act of selling. Both the brick dust vendor and the old clothes vendors in *Old Cloathes, any Old Cloathes* (fig. 90) are depicted in the act of selling; in addition, they are engaged in lusting after their clients.

Rowlandson's prints exhibit a jocular, satirical approach to the London street scene. Another approach, close to that of anecdotal, 'correct' genre painting, was taken by Francis Wheatley

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<sup>30</sup> The use of brick dust in nineteenth century London will be referred to in connection with Géricault's print *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* later in this chapter.

(1747-1801) who in 1793-1797 published *The Itinerant Traders of London in Thirteen Engravings*.<sup>31</sup> His *Fresh Gathered Peas, Young Hastings* (fig.92) shows two vegetable vendors in a cart, one of whom is filling a servant's sack with fresh peas. A dog pulls at the skirt of the little girl on the right. The atmosphere of the scene is peaceful and 'rustic', very 'clean' and 'happy'. The message of the print stops at an idyllic genre description of a London street scene.

Despite the fact that the desperately poor subjects would have been a perfect vehicle for a straightforward political commentary, the books and print series of 'street cries' seldom were intended to offer any social criticism. Géricault could have seen several works of 'street cries' during his stay in England. Matteson mentions Thomas Busby's *Costumes of the Lower Orders of London* (London, 1820), and William H. Pyne's *The Costume of Great Britain* of 1808. Busby's *Match Girl* (fig. 93) is hawking her merchandise (in both hands) while holding the rest of it in her basket. A *Sketch* made by Géricault in London (fig. 94) shows on the extreme left a match vendor holding the matches in her hand in a similar manner to the girl in Busby's print. This does not mean that he actually saw Busby's print, but the common interest of both artists in depicting street vendors is obvious.

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<sup>31</sup> Francis Wheatley (1747-1801) specialized in painting scenes of rural and domestic life. He produced a series of 'street cries' in paintings which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1792. Their popularity called for their reproduction in the print medium. They were published in 1793 and 1797 as *The Itinerant Traders of London in Thirteen Engravings from the First Artists after Paintings by Wheatley*. See: Miller, *Street Criers and Itinerant Tradesmen*, 27.

*Géricault and the Insane*

The multi-faceted research which Géricault dedicated to the creation of the *Medusa*, led him to Henry Savigny, the ship's surgeon who, when the artist sought him out in 1818, was about to publish a dissertation on the effects of hunger and thirst on the mental states of the raft's victims.<sup>32</sup> Géricault's interest in the subject of mental states developed into a much more substantial knowledge when he met Etienne-Jean Georget (1795-1828), a physician at the Salpêtrière, the women's asylum of Paris. He met Georget in 1819, through his friend Auguste Brunet.<sup>33</sup>

Georget belonged to the third generation of modern French psychiatry which, at the turn of the century, developed into a branch of medicine.<sup>34</sup> The founder of modern French psychiatry was Philippe Pinel (1745-1826). He inaugurated the change of attitude towards the mentally ill and fought for social and political changes to better their treatment in asylums. During the *Ancien Régime*, the mentally ill were assigned to prisons in which they shared cells with common criminals. After the French Revolution, certain changes took place resulting in the insane being integrated into the world of medicine and housed in special hospitals.<sup>35</sup>

Pinel's disciple was Jean-Etienne Dominique Esquirol (1772-1840). He continued with Pinel's research and devoted himself to the study and methodical classification and description of the main

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<sup>32</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 245.

<sup>33</sup> *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 286, Sagne, *Géricault*, 225.

<sup>34</sup> Albert Boime, "Portraying Monomaniacs to Service the Alienist's Monomania: Géricault and Georget," *The Oxford Art Journal* 14 (1991): 79.

<sup>35</sup> Sagne, *Géricault*, 226.

forms of insanity.<sup>36</sup> A significant part of Esquirol's work was concerned with social injustice and the political aspects of the alienists.

Four years younger than Géricault, Etienne-Jean Georget was a disciple of Esquirol. He devoted his life to the service of his patients at the Salpêtrière. In two of his books, *De la Folie* (1820) and *De la physiologie du système nerveux* (1821), he had described insanity in neurological terms as a result of physical injury to the nervous system.<sup>37</sup> Very much concerned with the social and political implications of the new attitude towards the mentally ill, Georget had proposed that alienists would be taken as experts and consultants at courtroom proceedings in the determination of insane cases.<sup>38</sup> Eitner claims that since both Géricault and Georget shared a passionate intensity of temperament and excessive sensitivity, it is easy to believe that they felt sympathy for one another.<sup>39</sup> Both men could really benefit from one another's interests and expertise. It was for Georget that Géricault may have painted his famous series of *Portraits of the Insane* (*Portraits des aliénés* figs. 126, 127, 128).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 243.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>38</sup> Boime, "Portraying Monomaniacs," 88.

<sup>39</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 245.

<sup>40</sup> The *Portraits of the Insane* will be referred to later in this chapter and in Chapter 6

Georget's contemporary was the physician Louis Florentin Calmeil. Like Georget, he was trained under Esquirol<sup>41</sup>. He was working with the insane at Charenton, the Paris asylum for men. Calmeil was the first to establish a link between insanity and paralysis. The results of his research were summed up in his book *De la paralysie chez les aliénés (On Paralysis among the Insane)* published simultaneously in Paris and London in 1826. In the introduction to his book Calmeil presented his intention to focus on a single particular phenomenon linked with insanity: the problem of locomotion experienced by the insane.<sup>42</sup> He based his observations on various patients at Charenton. His book contains a methodical grouping according to the various symptoms of paralysis linked with insanity, each group followed by specific descriptions of eleven to eighteen case studies. After establishing the causes for each group, the last two chapters offer suggestions for ideal hygienic conditions for the treatment of the paralysed insane.<sup>43</sup> With much caution, Calmeil touched upon the social and political aspects involving the causes of insanity and paralysis and their treatment:

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<sup>41</sup> In the Preface to his book, Calmeil wrote: "It will be noticed that I was frequently aided by the light of M. Esquirol, my first master, whose entire life was dedicated to the good cause of the insane". ("On verra que souvent je me suis aidé des lumières de M. Esquirol, mon premier maître, dont toute la vie a été consacrée au bien des aliénés"). "Préface," (unpaged), in Louis Florentin Calmeil, *De la paralysie considérée chez les aliénés, recherche faite dans le service de feu M. Royer-Collard et de M. Esquirol* (Paris, London: 1826; repr., in "Classics in Psychiatry," (New York: Arno Press, 1976). Esquirol's name is mentioned in the title of the book as well.

<sup>42</sup> "Indépendant des troubles de la locomotion que je viens de passer en revue, il existe chez les aliénés une foule de maladies d'un ordre peu éloigné, tout aussi curieuses et beaucoup moins connues encore". Calmeil, "Avant-propos", *De la paralysie*, (unpaged).

<sup>43</sup> Chapter XI: "Traitment de la paralysie générale des aliénés" ("Treatment of general paralysis of the insane"). Chap XII: "Soins Hygieniques dus aux aliénés atteints de paralysie générale" (Hygienic treatment needed by the insane struck by paralysis).

Of all professions, that of the military excercises the most certain and most fatal influence [on the disease]...A great number of soldiers of the old army die, struck by general paralysis. The disease hits all ranks... Is general paralysis caused by the single influence of war fatigue? The commotions of the soul which inspire the approach of combat, the hope of success, the fear of defeat or [the fear of] death, aren't they [good enough reasons] to bring about a direct shock to the brain? We think that fatigue, abuse, and affectations of the soul converge, each in its specific manner, in the development of the disease.<sup>44</sup>

It is logical to assume that Calmeil's observations and his sensitivity to social and political abuse of the insane were known to Georget, since both physicians worked in Paris's most distinguished institutions. Georget worked at the Salpêtrière and Clameil at Charenton. Since the first housed only women and the latter only men, the two alienists must have been interested in one another's findings.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> "Des toutes les professions, celle des armes exerce l'influence la moins douteuse et la plus funeste. Un grand nombre de militaires de l'ancienne armée meurent frappés de paralysie générale, et cette maladie atteint tous les grades. ...La paralysie générale est-elle due à la seule influence des fatigues de la guerre ?... Les commotions morales vives qu'inspirent l'approche du combat, l'espoir du succès, la crainte d'une défaite ou de la mort ne peuvent-elles pas porter une atteinte directe sur le cerveau ? Nous pensons que les fatigues, les excès et les affections morales vives concourent chacun à leur manière au développement de la maladie". Calmeil, *De la paralysie*, 373.

<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to note that in his article, dealing with the history of French Psychiatry and focusing the attention to its social and political implications, Albert Boime did not mention the name of Louis Florentin Calmeil.

Sagne claims that Géricault painted a portrait of a certain M. Royer-Collard, a deputy and a brother of another M. Royer-Collard, who was, in 1819, the head physician and director of Charenton.<sup>46</sup> Calmeil worked under Royer-Collard in Charenton and most of his observations were guided by his master.<sup>47</sup> One may assume that Géricault was familiar with Calmeil's social and political views on the insane through his friend Georget and also through the family connections of one of his models for a portrait.

The preliminary concepts determining the subject matter for the three prints of the *English Suite* depicting the misery in the streets of London are all based on Géricault's never ceasing concern for human suffering and social abuse. His acquaintance with the plight of the insane began at least a year before he was working on the *English Suite* lithographs. Pinelli's descriptions of Rome's poor, combined with the various well known 'street cries' print series, may have given him preliminary visual references to work from. There is no telling whether he read Blake's poems or was familiar with them. But, one can speculate that Géricault would at least be aware of the great English poet's works since he was familiar with the works of Byron and made several lithographs relating to his poetry<sup>48</sup> and Blake was also known as a printmaker. The penetrating protest against social injustice so expressively presented in Blake's poems must have been known to him through

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<sup>46</sup> "Géricault a peint un portrait de Royer-Collard, député monarchiste "doctrinaire", dont le frère n'était autre que le directeur de l'hospice de Charenton en 1819". Sagne, *Géricault*, 229.

<sup>47</sup> In the preface to his book Calmeil wrote: "Ayant depuis trois ans des rapports continus avec M. Royer-Collard... et dès 1824, je lui communiquai mes recherches sur les paralysies des aliénés." (Having continuous contacts with M. Royer for three years... and since 1824 I have communicated to him my research on the paralysis of the insane". Calmeil, "Préface," *De la paralysie*, (unpaged).

<sup>48</sup> *The Giaour (Le giaour)* and *Lara*, the two lithographs treating themes from Byron's poetry will be referred to later on.



his connections with his publishers and other English acquaintances during his London sojourn. Géricault's horse traders, horse tenders, coal brokers, Life Guards and jockeys, depicted in nine prints of the *English Suite*, were all renderings of contemporary professions. Indirectly, they did have some connection with the traditions of 'street cries' and 'typical costumes' print series. Both depict contemporary professions. But Géricault's English sojourn produced something entirely new, and unique in the visual arts in the three prints dedicated to misery in the streets of London: a bold, objective rendering of two of the nineteenth-century's most unspeakable social ills: the miserable conditions of the poor and the plight of the insane.

### *The Piper*

Clément's admiration for the three prints which deal with London street scenes is clearly manifested in the long description he devoted to *The Piper* (fig. 95). He emphasized Géricault's special gift of endowing his subjects with a realistic, mood evoking character:

The bagpipe player, *The Piper*, is a blind old man, dressed in a filthy overcoat, accompanied by his dog, playing his instrument as he walks in a solitary London street. His expression is that of despair; no one responds to his call. He will not be given any donations. Step by step, in darkness, he has lost his way and strayed afar from the center of town into an abandoned quarter... The setting is perfect: he has created an atmosphere of a pale London morning, that humid atmosphere which chills and penetrates one's bones, that intense, profound melancholic and despairing ensemble which characterises "Merry England".<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> "Le joueur de cornemuse, *the piper*, est un vieillard aveugle, vêtu d'une houppelande sordide, qui, accompagné de son chien, marche en jouant de son instrument dans une rue solitaire de

The blind piper must have caught Géricault's eye as a symbol of London street miseries. Street musicians played an active part in the busy London scene and Géricault made a few drawings of them such as *The Organ Grinder* (fig. 96). Henry Mayhew provides us with a splendid contemporary description in which he divides London street musicians into two main groups:

Concerning street musicians they are of multifarious classes. As a general rule, they may almost be divided into the tolerable and the intolerable performers, some of them trusting to their skill in music for the reward for their exertions, others only making a noise, so that whatever money they obtain is given them merely as an inducement for them to depart.

The street musicians are of two kinds, the skilful and the blind. The former obtain their money by the agreeableness of their performance, and the latter, in pity for their affliction rather than admiration of their harmony...they have their regular rounds to make and particular houses at which to call on certain days of the week, and from which they generally obtain 'a small trifle'...<sup>50</sup>

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Londres. Son expression est navrante; personne ne répond à son appel ; il n'aura pas d'aumone. De pas en pas, dans ses ténèbres, il s'est égaré loin du centre dans quelque faubourg abandonné; car on ne voit, dans le fond du tableau, qu'un mur à demi démolé et quelques constructions sans fenêtres. La mise en scène est parfaite : c'est ce jour blafard de Londres, cette atmosphère humide qui glace jusqu'aux moelles, cette mélancolie profonde, intense, cet ensemble navrant qui caractérise *the merry England*, la joyeuse Angleterre". Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 216.

<sup>50</sup> Quennel, *Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor'*, 513

Mayhew interviewed a Scotch piper whose account confirmed that many musicians began their careers as military pipers only to become street musicians as a result of some tragic accident:

I was a full corporal in the 93rd Southern Highlanders, and I can get the best of characters from my commanding officers. Whilst I was in the regiment I was attacked with blindness brought on, I think, by cold... Although I had served ten years, and been in two battles, yet I was not entitled to a pension. You must serve twenty one years to be entitled to 1 shilling and halfpence. I left the 93rd...And since that time I've been wandering about different parts of England and Scotland playing on the bagpipes. About my best friends in London are the French people — they are the best I can meet, they come next to the Highlanders. When I meet a highlander, he will, if he's only just a labouring man, give me a few coppers. A Highlander will never close his eye upon me. It's the lowlander that is the worst to me. They never takes no notice of me when I'm passing.<sup>51</sup>

Mayhew's 'interview' shows how a hardworking man was transformed thanks to unjust laws and a rigid bureaucracy into a pauper, robbed of his decent earnings and good social position and thrown into the street because of an affliction for which he could not get any compensation. Géricault's "Piper" could have had a similar past.

Two preparatory drawings made by Géricault for *The Piper* suggest that this figure occupied his mind for a long time, and until he made the final version of this print, he was not quite sure about the setting in which to place him. In *Study of a Piper at the Door of a Bakery* (fig. 97)

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 522-525.

he placed the beggar next to a window; a similar window appears in *Pity the Sorrows*....<sup>52</sup> In *Study of a Piper* (fig. 98) he placed the musician in what seems like a courtyard backed by a tall brick building with niches and an entrance gate similar to the one appearing in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* (fig. 49). The lithograph verifies that this last drawing was utilized by Géricault as a model; the print is its mirror image when it comes to the figure of the piper, with only minor changes in the setting. The piper's faithful dog is shown in both the drawing and the final print with its head pointing down.

It is interesting to compare Géricault's *The Piper* with two earlier etchings by Pinelli: *The Pipers* (*Li Piferari*) (fig. 99) and *Pipers Next to the Theater of Marcello* (*Piferari presso il teatro di Marcello*) (fig. 100). The two prints formed part of Pinelli's *Nuova Raccolta* series. They show bagpipe players in Rome during Christmas. In nineteenth-century Rome there was no holiday without pipers. They invaded the city and were part of the general holiday atmosphere. These musicians were usually country folk, coming from mountainous places in the Abruzzi region. They spoke a different dialect than that of Rome: thus they represented a "pastoral" world, and were regarded as symbols of the poor shepherds who came to see the newborn Christ in Bethlehem.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The title of *Study of a Piper at the Door of a Bakery* was coined by Philippe Grunhech (Grunhech, *Master Drawings by Géricault*, fig. 93, 174). The "bakery" in the drawing must have been conceived thanks to a pile of rounded objects seen next to the figure in the window. I believe that this drawing has nothing to do with a bakery; the final print of *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* does show a bakery. But inside it, Géricault depicted a woman and an old man. The figure appearing in fig. 97 resembles neither the old man nor the old woman. Rather, it shows resemblance to some of Géricault's studies of farriers.

<sup>53</sup> Rossetti, *La Roma di Bartolomeo Pinelli*, 93, 95.

In the two prints by Pinelli, one piper plays a bagpipe and the other plays another wind instrument (similar to an oboe). The bagpipe player in both prints is shown playing his instrument - his cheeks are swollen and he is blowing air with his mouth -- while the other musician is awaiting his turn, just holding his instrument ready for the minute he will start playing. *The Bagpiper*, a drawing Géricault made in London (fig. 101) is also shown in the middle of playing, in a way similar to Pinelli's musicians.

But Pinelli's pipers, though real musicians performing in the streets, were seen by Romans as mythic, unrealistic religious recreations of biblical personages. There is a festive sentimental air about them; the spirit of Christmas is in the air. They are playing their Christmas music under a devotional image of the Virgin and Child and the connection between them is made by the young piper who has stopped playing and is gazing at the devotional image of the Madonna (Fig. 100). In comparison, Géricault's piper, a poor street musician begging for alms, does not stand for anything but himself. Though *The Piper* can easily be classified as a street vagrant and his music as a typical London 'street cry', he is definitely not merely a genre rendering of the subject. He is rendered in a harsh, realistic way and so is the setting which surrounds him: it is a lonely backstreet in one of London's slum areas. The atmosphere of the print, so well described by Clément, is that of despair and loneliness, evoked by a performer without an audience whose only faithful companion is a little dog.

Just as Pinelli's *The Pipers* must have materialized in front of Géricault's eyes in a London street five years after he had first seen the printed image in Rome, so did another image by Pinelli: that of a paralytic woman.

*A Paraleytic [sic] Woman*

*A Paraleytic [sic] Woman* (fig. 102) shows a woman wrapped in her cape, her eyes closed, seated on a simple wooden wheel-chair. A man with coarse facial features, dressed in a jacket and knee breeches, wearing a top hat, leans with his back on the wheel-chair. He is tied to the chair with two straps (which can be seen on his shoulders), and he has loosened them so that he can rest. The straps show that he is pulling the chair rather than pushing it (fig. 102b). On the left, a young girl holding a basket in her right hand, turns her head back and gazes at the woman (fig. 102c). She is leading a little child dressed in a frock and wearing a hat who holds a toy horse under her left arm. On the right a horse pulls a carriage, whose back part is cut by the picture frame. The driver is dressed in a cape and a top hat and holds a whip in his left hand. The background behind the woman, her attendant, and the horse consists of dark and light abstract areas, suggesting a foggy day. Behind the young girl is a brick house with a barred window. A placard is attached to the brick wall (fig. 102a, 102b). It reads as follows:

FOR AL N(?) T(?)  
SICKNESS  
AND  
THE EX  
E D<sup>54</sup>

Michael Fried has suggested<sup>55</sup> that the missing words on the poster are “all”, and “evil eye” making the complete message read as follows:

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<sup>54</sup> The letters on the placard appearing in this print are very blurry. From looking closely at this lithograph, in the collection of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts in Paris, I could detect the above mentioned lettering. The last two letters in the first line seem to be N and T.

<sup>55</sup> Michael Fried, “Le romantisme de Géricault”, presented at the Géricault Colloquium, the Louvre, Paris, in November 1991, cited in Nochlin, “Géricault, or the absence of Women”, 56.

FOR ALL  
SICKNESS  
AND  
THE EVIL  
EYE

According to Fried's interpretation, the poster promises cures for all sickness and undesirable consequences of the evil eye. Therefore, one possible message conveyed by Géricault's print would be that due to the promise suggested in the poster, we can rejoice with the woman since, presumably, she is being led to a doctor's office to be cured. A second, more plausible message deduced from Fried's interpretation of the poster's lettering, is that since we know (as did Géricault and his contemporaries), that the woman will never be cured, we sympathise with her, we pity her for clinging to false hopes for a cure to her affliction. Yet, neither interpretation seems consistent with Géricault's approach: they seem more appropriate to 'genre' paintings. This print by Géricault is not a genre work: neither are the rest of the prints included in the *English Suite*.

"FOR", "SICKNESS", "AND" and "THE" are the only clear, legible words appearing on the poster in *A Paralytic Woman*. On top of everything, the placard is torn on its right side, the letter V (in "EVIL") that Fried sees there is in reality a "X". The large poster is accompanied by a small one (fig. 102a) whose lettering is comprised of meaningless scribbling. It is completely illegible. It would suffice for now to say that the missing letters in the poster, and the fact that it is indecipherable, bear more relevance to its interpretation within the context of the print's message than any attempt to guess the missing letters.

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It seems logical that the poster depicted by Géricault in *A Paralytic Woman* was really affixed to the wall he was looking at. The lettering and the words appearing on it did not have a great meaning for him. Rather he copied them because, like all other elements comprising this lithograph, it was there and therefore had to be included. Géricault is known to have made many grammatical mistakes in English; the title of this particular lithograph is a prime example (*A Paraleytic Woman*).<sup>56</sup> It seems that the poster was drawn as a piece of paper glued to a street wall. Whatever letters Géricault could decipher of it – he included in the print. The message of the print is conveyed by everything else appearing in it beside this piece of paper as will be shown later.

In his analysis of the print, Clément gave a detailed description of all the figures appearing in it and its background and a short description of the mood and atmosphere which the scene evokes:

The poor invalid is seated, envelopped in her miserable clothes in a sort of a vulgar armchair, a *brouette*, with simple wheels. The miserable person (closer to a beast than to human) who pulls her, rests, leaning on the back of the chair. To the left, in the foreground, a young girl, holding a child in her hand, looks at them with an expression of pity and terror. To the right, in contrast with this scene of suffering, the artist has placed the front of an elegant vehicle. The figure of the man is of a frightening reality: his whole being is that of stupidity caused by the vice and misery of gin [drinking] which one finds only on the crossroads of London. The figure of the

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<sup>56</sup> As previously mentioned, Géricault copied the sign in *English Cart Led by Three Horses* (fig. 55) wrongly. He put the words “Jonh Stret” instead of “John Street”.



young girl is ravishing, and she is almost an exception in the great master's *oeuvre*.

Géricault, so to speak, never really depicted women.<sup>57</sup>

This last observation by Clément has induced modern scholars to use this print as an example of one of Géricault's few depictions of women.<sup>58</sup> Clement's description of *A Paralytic Woman* is clear and simple and perhaps the most objective to date. He did not attempt to endow Géricault's print with a specific meaning, rather, he showed what he thought the artist saw in the streets of London: sheer misery. In other words, Clément refrained from assigning the print a narrative. Recent scholarship has taken an opposite approach by trying to reconstruct a presumed narrative.

Various authors attribute symbolic meanings to both the female and the male figures and specifically identify the carriage on the right and the building on the left. By doing so, they are able to recreate a hypothetical relationship between all the print's components. While Bergot sees the woman as a mere "grandmother",<sup>59</sup> Nochlin believes she is a metaphor for "a Fallen Woman", "a

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<sup>57</sup> "...La pauvre impotente est assise, enveloppée des misérables vêtements, dans une sorte de fauteuil grossier, de brouette à roues pleines. Le malheureux (moins homme que bête) qui la *traîne* se repose, appuyé contre le dossier du fauteuil. À gauche, au premier plan, une jeune fille, qui tient un enfant par la main, les regarde avec une expression de pitié et de terreur. À droite, pour faire contraste à cette scène de douleur, l'artiste a mis l'avant-train d'une voiture élégante. La figure de l'homme est d'une réalité effrayante : c'est bien cet être abruti par le vice et par la misère, hébété par le gin, que l'on ne rencontre que dans les carrefours de Londres... La figure de la jeune fille est ravissante, et elle est presque une exception dans l'oeuvre du grand maître. Géricault, en effet, n'a pour ainsi dire, jamais représenté de femmes.." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 217-218.

<sup>58</sup> Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 58-59; Nochlin, "Géricault, or the absence of Women", 45-59.

<sup>59</sup> Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 59.

prostitute fallen on evil days".<sup>60</sup> Further, Nochlin suggests that the old woman's paralysis has been caused by syphilitic infection. Therefore, the woman is shown as a symbol of a belief held in the nineteenth-century that the natural punishment of sexual transgression was paralysis, caused by syphilis. Identifying the woman as a prostitute, Nochlin argues that this explains the younger woman's exaggerated expression of surprise.<sup>61</sup>

The only component of *A Paralytic Woman* which modern scholars discuss with the aid of reliable sources such as preliminary drawings is the carriage appearing in the upper right corner of Géricault's print. Clément merely described it as "an elegant vehicle", as did Bergot.<sup>62</sup> Sagne saw the carriage as a sign of richness and went so far as to recognise passengers in it.<sup>63</sup> The first to see the carriage as a hearse was Philippe Grunhech, who claimed that *A Burial in London* (fig.103), a sepia and wash drawing, was a project by Géricault for the background of *A Paralytic Woman*.<sup>64</sup> Both Eitner and Nochlin accept his claim as fact and identify the carriage as a hearse.<sup>65</sup> Grunhech sees the juxtaposition of the woman with the hearse as "two forms of human suffering". He suggests that Géricault "symbolised in this pitiful figure the fragility of the thread that bound the

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<sup>60</sup> Nochlin, "Géricault, or the absence of Women", 57.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>62</sup> Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 59.

<sup>63</sup> "Une calèche sur la droite, signe de richesse, s'enfonce dans le brouillard, ses passagers indifférents à la scène". Sagne, *Géricault*, 245. The carriage in *A Paralytic Woman* shows no figures at all, except for the driver.

<sup>64</sup> Grunhech, *Master Drawings by Géricault*, 167.

<sup>65</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 229, Nochlin, "Géricault, or the absence of Women", 55.

poor woman to the world of the living".<sup>66</sup> By identifying the carriage as a hearse and the building on the left as a graveyard,<sup>67</sup> Nochlin concludes that the funeral coach suggests "the impending doom of the victim".<sup>68</sup>

As opposed to moralizing prints such as Hogarth's, in which the narrative of the print (or, rather, the series of prints) suggests a cynical moral message, Géricault's *A Paralytic Woman* conveys a different message, certainly not 'witty' or cynical such as Hogarth's. It seems that the scholarly interpretations of *A Paralytic Woman*, which try to endow it with a moral message, do so because they see similarities between Géricault's *oeuvre* and that of Hogarth.<sup>69</sup> Nochlin mentions the fact that the natural punishment for sexual transgression was represented in Hogarth's series *The Harlot's Progress* (1732) as the final stage of her ironically titled 'progress'. In other words, the harlot in Hogarth's print series is first of all a 'type', an anecdotal figure, invented by Hogarth as an allegorical figure who suffers for the immoral life she led. According to Nochlin, the same is true for Géricault's *A Paralytic Woman*.

The moral message contained in Hogarth's prints had a long tradition in England in popular broadsides. *The Dying Infidel, or the Judgement of God Displayed in the Awful End of Miserable Sinners* (fig. 108) shows the Angel of Death coming to take revenge on a sinner. The moral

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<sup>66</sup> Grunhech, *Master Drawings by Géricault*, 167.

<sup>67</sup> Nochlin sees the wall with the barred window as a cemetery wall because, according to her, it resembles a similar wall contained in *Found*, a pen and ink drawing by Dante Gabrielle Rossetti. Though Rossetti's drawing carries a moralizing message of a 'Fallen Woman', it was drawn in 1853, some thirty years after Géricault made the lithograph. For Rossetti's drawing see: *The Pre-Raphaelites* (Catalogue of an exhibition at the Tate Gallery) (London: The Tate Gallery, 1984), fig. 196, p.264.

<sup>68</sup> Nochlin, "Géricault, or the Absence of Women", 55.

message conveyed in such prints was quite simple: the sinner's immoral deeds during his life time bring about his doom. Géricault's moral message is, of course, not so simple.

The claim that the carriage appearing in the lithograph is a hearse, which helped Nochlin establish her argument of doom, is doubted by Laveissière who states that the two drawings referred to as preparatory sketches for *A Paralytic Woman* (fig. 103, 104) don't really affirm that the carriage in the print is a hearse.<sup>70</sup> Had Géricault wanted to imbue his lithograph with a message suffused with "an impending doom", he would have specifically characterised the carriage as a hearse. His meticulous, veristic rendering, would not have allowed him to show only the driver of a carriage. Rather, as in *A Burial in London* (fig. 103), he would have included the most significant attributes of a funeral: the coffin on top of the hearse, and the procession of people marching slowly in front of it -- as in a real funeral. None of these elements appear in the lithograph.

The scholars of Géricault's *A Paralytic Woman* mentioned above have based their interpretations on three of its components: the figure of the woman, the carriage and the placard attached to the wall. The woman's paralysis is certainly attested by the fact that she is shown seated on a wheelchair. Yet Eitner, Grunhech, Fried, and Nochlin overlooked three significant aspects in Géricault's veristic rendering of the main protagonist of this work: the woman's dress, posture, and the particular chair she sits on.

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.,56.

<sup>70</sup> "Ce qu'en montre la lithographie ne permet pas d'affirmer qu'il s'agit dans ce cas précis, d'un convoi funèbre," *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais,1992) 387.

Géricault's approach in creating *A Paralytic Woman* was that of composing several images taken from various drawings he made on the streets of London and putting them together to form a realistic view of a contemporary London street scene through which he was able to convey his message. His rendering of the woman and her attendant, as seen in the quick sketch he probably did on the street (fig. 105) shows her sitting on a wooden chair with coarse wooden wheels. The sketch was probably made in the middle of the day since the artist found it necessary to show the woman's shadow cast on the wall behind her. Chairs for invalids were common in England and in France in Géricault's time and were also used in spas,<sup>71</sup> as attested to by the vehicle at the extreme left of a drawing by Thomas Rowlandson (fig. 106). Yet, compared with other types of chairs which were in use during Géricault's time (fig. 107), the chair used for the woman has straps attached to it.

The impression one gets from the sitting position of the paralytic woman is that her body is not erect, that it is not in an upright position: it is not leaning vertically on the back of the chair (fig. 102b); in comparison, the person led to the spa in Rowlandson's print, is seated in an upright position. In Géricault's print, the woman's whole body is stretched diagonally across the chair, her head maintaining the only support by leaning on the upper part of the chair's back. One can only guess that the woman must be tied to the chair by straps, in order to prevent her from falling out of it.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> In France they were called *brouette* (indeed Clément, in his description of *A Paralytic Woman* calls it a "brouette", see above, note 57). In England they were called "Bath chairs". These wheel chairs were made in a great variety from the humble to the luxurious. See Herman L., Kamenetz, *The Wheelchair Book, Mobility for the Disabled* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1969), 20.

<sup>72</sup> This assumption will be explained later on.

The woman wears house slippers (fig. 102b, 102c) and white stockings. A white cloth on top of a dark one covers her knees. She wears a heavy overcoat with large lapels and her head is covered by a white bonnet surmounted by a large hat. The most striking detail of her clothing is the coat and the way it is wrapped around her body (102b): it is first wrapped around the woman's back (from left to right), brought around her abdomen overlapping the first wrap (from right to left), and falls freely on the left arm of the chair. There are two peculiar results from such a wrapping of the coat: instead of covering her whole body, it leaves the lower part, from her waist down to her feet, exposed. The upper part of the body – the hands – are totally tied up by the coat's sleeves and the tight wrapping of its lower part, thus rendering them completely immobile, as if they were put in a straightjacket. Both the posture of the protagonist and the clothes she wears suggest that not only is she paralysed – she is also insane.

“It is only on rare occasions that we are able to allow the sick [the paralysed insane] to wear their ordinary clothes” wrote Louis Florentin Calmeil in 1826.<sup>73</sup> His specific recommendations for the proper clothing and efficient chairs to be used in the treatment of paralysed insane patients, is of special interest for the interpretation of Géricault's lithograph. Relating to proper clothing for patients, Calmeil stated that

Almost always he [the paralysed insane] is unreasonable and needs to be tied.

Another reason being [the patient's] excessive uncleanness; from one minute to another he stains himself with filth from head to toes. Therefore one is obliged to apply a *shirt*.

Underneath it, a flanel vest and a shirt are put [on the patient]. He is dressed with

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<sup>73</sup> Calmeil, *De la paralysie*, 427.

stockings, up to his thighs, and comfortable shoes are put on his feet, tied by thick strings.<sup>74</sup>

As to the chair, which is used in the hospital for keeping the paralysed insane patient in an upright position (as opposed to the horizontal position when he is put to bed during the night) Calmeil suggests the following:

The armchair should be large and massive. On its back it has to have a strap that serves in fastening it [the chair] to an iron ring attached to the wall. This helps in keeping the chair from overturning. The back [of the chair] has to be elevated, comfortably padded, at times hollowed out with eaves. On its sides, the chair must have leather straps attached to rings. These are passed under the [patient's] armpits and then over [his] shoulders. By such means one maintains the upright position of the [patient's] body if it has a tendency to bend [incline].

...The chair is pierced, so that the [patient's] waste materials can fall into a bucket, placed under the hole...In assisting the paralytic, his smock is raised around his body so that he doesn't soil it with his excrement. In this position [the patient] is almost naked; he has to be covered with a large waterproof sheet that would enwrap him from his waist to his toes.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> "Il est rare qu'on puisse laisser au malade ses vêtements ordinaires, presque toujours il est déraisonnable et a besoin d'être attaché. En second lieu, sa malpropreté est excessive, d'un moment à l'autre il se souille d'ordures des pieds à la tête : on est donc obligé d'appliquer une blouse; on met par-dessous un gilet de flanelle et une chemise; on se sert de bas, qui montent jusqu'au cuisses, et on chausse l'aliéné avec des souliers aisés qu'on maintient par des cordons solides". Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> "Le fauteil doit être vaste, massif, et porté par derrière une courroie qui sert à le fixer à une boucle de fer attachée au mur ; ainsi il est impossible de le renverser. Son dos soit être parfois creusé en gouttière, et convenablement rembourré; sur les côtés doivent exister des lanières en

Calmeil's descriptions makes one look at Géricault's *A Paralytic Woman* with different eyes. It is now easy to realize that -- as the custom was -- the paralysed-insane woman is tied to the chair with straps (though the part of the the straps underneath the woman's coat is invisible in the print) "passed under the armpits". The straps were passed through the holes in the back of the wheelchair and are used by the attendant for pulling it. Since it is obvious that the attendant is resting, and that he has loosened the straps, it would be logical to assume that by loosening them he had caused the insane woman's body to incline and lose its upright position in which she was sitting while the chair was pulled by him before he took a rest.

Calmeil's detailed description of how the paralysed-insane were dressed and the way their clothing was arranged for assistance, explains the peculiar clothing worn by Géricault's protagonist and the way it is arranged. While the young girl and the child wear short-sleeved skirts and the attendant wears a jacket, the paralytic-insane woman is wearing a heavy coat. The clothes worn by the other figures suggest a warm weather: the only reason that the paralytic-insane woman is dressed in such a heavy coat is that its long sleeves and large material served as a makeshift straightjacket. The white and dark wrappings worn by her correspond to Clameil's description as well.

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cuir, qu'on passe sous les aisselles, puis sur les épaules et qu'on vient d'arrêter à une boucle voisine ; par ce moyen, on maintient le haut du corps, s'il a de la tendance à s'incliner ... Le fauteuil est percé, afin que les matières fécales puissent tomber dans un baquet placé un regard du trou ;... en asseyant le paralytique, on relève sa blouse autour du tronc afin qu'il ne se salisse pas avec ses excréments; dans cette position il est presque nu; il faut le couvrir d'une vaste alèze qui l'entoure depuis la ceinture jusqu'aux orteils...". Ibid., 427-428.



The complete deterioration of the most normal bodily functions of the paralysed insane explains why such specific clothing was necessary:

At the end of the second period [of general paralysis] and during the whole course of the third,<sup>76</sup> difficulties multiply. The individuals cannot hear anymore, their intelligence is abolished, they can hardly swallow their food. They can not support themselves. They don't notice when they urinate or have a bowel movement. They can not be left alone for even a minute. They are in need of quite a courageous man who will devote himself entirely to their service.

The first question to be raised is in what conditions should the paralysed-insane be kept? Should we keep him in bed at home or rather should he be seated during a part of the day? It is important, as long as the abdominal and chest organs are not affected, to raise the paralytics from morning till evening: by doing this, the appearance of surface bruises is retarded and we use easy resources for cleanliness which is of the utmost importance.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Calmeil distinguishes between three stages in the process leading to complete paralysis, culminating in general paralysis of the third degree ("paralysie générale au troisième degré". Ibid., 77.

<sup>77</sup> "Mais, sur la fin de la deuxième période et pendant tout le cours de la troisième, les difficultés se multiplient; les individus ne peuvent plus se faire entendre, leur intelligence est abolie, à peine s'ils conservent assez d'instinct pour avaler leurs aliments; ils ne se soutiennent plus; ils ne sentent pas quand ils urinent et quand ils rendent leurs matières fécales; on ne peut plus les quitter une minute, ils ont besoin d'un homme assez courageux pour se dévouer à leur service, et pour s'y dévouer entièrement. La première question qui se présente est la question de savoir dans quelle situation l'aliéné paralytique doit habituellement rester ? Faut il le tenir au lit à demeure, ou bien l'asseoir pendant une partie de la journée? Il importe, tant que les organes troniques et abdominaux ne sont pas affectés, de lever les paralytique du matin au soir; ainsi on retarde l'apparition des eschares, et on se ménage des ressources faciles pour la propreté, qui est de la plus haute importance." Ibid., 426-427.

Another suggestion given by Calmeil relates to the paralysed insane when taken outdoors:

If it is summer, we are against exposing the subject's head to the rays of a hot sun and suggest that anything that might cause a cerebral excitement should be avoided. In this effect, isolation is of great help.<sup>78</sup>

Géricault's paralysed-insane woman exhibits clearly at least two symptoms described by Calmeil: she cannot support herself and therefore she cannot be left alone and is in need of an attendant.<sup>79</sup> A wheelchair by nature is either propelled by the person seated on it or pushed by an attendant from behind. As already mentioned, the wheelchair depicted in Géricault's print is pulled by the attendant due to the woman's complete paralysis. The coarse wheels attached to it seem like a makeshift apparatus added to an elegant chair, as its front part suggests. The crudely constructed chair gives the impression that it is usually used inside a house, and that here it serves in taking the paralysed-insane woman for an outing in the warm weather air. The large hat was probably put on her head for isolation, as a protection against a possible "cerebral excitement", so strongly warned against by Calmeil.

The sight of a paralysed-insane person must have been terrible. Calmeil wrote:

Nothing is more deplorable than the sight of an insane person struck by general paralysis of the third degree ... This is a kind of slow agony during which the body is

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<sup>78</sup> "D'abord, si on est dans l'été, on s'opposera à ce que le sujet ne reçoie sur la tête les rayons d'un soleil chaud, et on évitera tout ce qui pourrait augmenter l'excitation cérébrale : à cet effet l'isolement est d'un grand secours." Ibid., 420.

<sup>79</sup> Because of the blurry depiction of the area underneath the woman's wheelchair, it is impossible to detect the bucket mentioned by Calmeil. Though it would be speculative to assert that Géricault depicted a bucket, the woman's position does suggest that she is totally paralysed and therefore has lost her ability to control her bodily functions.

finished little by little by exhibiting all that is hideous, a real death [process] carried out partially.<sup>80</sup>

Calmeil's observations of paralysed-insane people makes one realize that not only was their sight hard to behold, but that a paralysed-insane *woman*, in particular, was a very rare one:

One is struck by the great difference played by gender in the frequency of general paralysis: with women, one can count the paralytics. With men, one is surrounded with them.<sup>81</sup>

The proportion of paralysed men in French society was, according to Calmeil, one in fifteen. As for women, there was one to fifty.<sup>82</sup>

In *A Paralytic Woman* Géricault depicted an appalling contemporary phenomenon whose horrifying aspects equal only those of the series of paintings and drawings he made of decapitated human heads and limbs. The cool, detached approach, which began with the series of preparatory works for *The Raft of the Medusa* is taken in this work as well.

Of particular interest to Géricault's *A Paralytic Woman* is Pinelli's *A Poor Cripple in Rome* (*Una povera stroppia [sic] in Roma*<sup>83</sup> (fig. 109). It shows a paralytic woman, wrapped in

<sup>80</sup> "Rien n'est plus déplorable que la vue d'une aliéné atteint de paralysie générale au troisième degré... C'est une espèce d'agonie lente, pendant laquelle le corps finit peu à peu, présentant tout ce que peut de hideux, une véritable mort qui se fait partiellement." Ibid., 77.

<sup>81</sup> "On est d'abord frappé de la grande différence que le sexe apporte dans la fréquence de la paralysie générale; chez les femmes, on compte les paralytiques; chez les hommes, on en est entouré." Ibid., 370-371.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

her coat, her paralysed legs resting on each other at the knees and parting at her feet. She wears a large hat and is protected from the rain by a huge umbrella. Her “wheel chair” is a makeshift, primitive vehicle in which, after arousing pity in whoever passes on the street, she can be pushed and moved about from one place to another. Her misery is contemplated by two other poor women who gaze at her with sad, almost venerating looks. Their gazes have a ‘religious’ air to them, almost an awe. It is exactly this element of Pinelli’s etching that is lacking in Géricault’s *A Paralytic Woman*: the two awestruck women in Pinelli’s print make up an audience. They partake of the woman’s suffering. The paralytic depicted in Pinelli’s print receives a sympathetic reaction to her misery. Géricault’s protagonist does not have such an audience. Apart from her paid attendant, who thinks more about his tired back than his mistress’ suffering, there is no one to share her misery. The young girl is appalled at the situation – but does not establish any real contact with her. The lack of a participating audience creates an atmosphere of alienation.

It is this particular characteristic that sets Géricault’s *A Paralytic Woman* apart from genre works such as David Wilkie’s *Chelsea Pensioners*... A participating audience was an essential ingredient of English genre painting in producing its anecdotal character. The whole concept of Wilkie’s anecdotal image is based on depicting the reaction of the various types comprising an audience to the news read at the occasion. The lack of a participating audience in Géricault’s print makes it non-anecdotal. He took the same approach in *The Piper*, who has no audience, except for his dog.

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<sup>83</sup> “cripple” in Italian is “storpia”; there is a typographical mistake in Pinelli’s print.

Alienation, which annuls any signs of sympathy and therefore any signs of hope, may explain the inclusion of the poster on the wall: it advertises a cure for man's infirmities yet it conveys impotence, since it is torn, and its message is indecipherable. As for the paralytic-insane woman, there is no way of telling her past whether in Pinelli's or in Géricault's print. We don't know if both women were born paralysed, have become so as a result of illness or an accident. The belief held in the nineteenth-century that paralysis was caused by sexual transgression is attested by Calmeil's research; yet, it was not the only cause. Calmeil cites other causes as well:

Among the most common causes pointed out by the parents [of the patients] we find the deviation of imagination, domestic dissappointments and irritations, the misfortunes of luck, but above all, the excesses committed with women, masturbation, the excesses of wine, of strong *liqueurs*, coffee, and the use of mercury. Sometimes, the same individual had to fight against all of the above at the same time".<sup>84</sup>

Regarding the *Portraits of the Insane* (figs. 126, 127, 128) Albert Boime claimed that they betray no obvious signs of madness.<sup>85</sup> Boime's words may be applied directly to Géricault's protagonist in *A Paralytic Woman*: at first glance, she seems asleep, and nothing in her face can betray her deplorable mental state. It is only when one identifies her particular clothing and the way it is arranged around her body that one realises her affliction. Géricault's verism, manifested in every detail he included in the *English Suite*, formed a stark, realistic portrayal of a 'piece of

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<sup>84</sup> "Parmi les causes que les parents signalent le plus souvent, on trouve les écarts de l'imagination, les chagrins domestiques, les revers de fortune, mais surtout les excès commis avec les femmes, la masturbation, les excès du vin, de liqueurs fortes, de café et l'usage du mercure. Quelquefois le même individu a eu à lutter contre presque toutes ces causes réunies". Calmeil, *De la paralyse*, 374.

<sup>85</sup> Boime, "Portraying Monomaniacs," 89.

reality'. In relating to the *Portraits of the Insane*, Boime stated that "the obliviousness the subjects seem to display to the spectator [suggests] the artist's concealment".<sup>86</sup> Boime's description of a most objective artistic depiction, in which the artist conceals his presence in the work and closes any possible way for the spectator to enter the action taking place within the pictorial space is applicable to Géricault's *English Suite* in general and to *A Paralytic Woman* in particular. The atmosphere of alienation, in which none of the figures relate to one another, creates the distant approach taken by both the artist and the spectator, and imbues the work with shocking, expressive powers.<sup>87</sup>

Any verbal attempt at describing Géricault's *A Paralytic Woman*'s message would be an understatement. Contemporary viewers could easily identify the appalling presence of a crippled vegetable, deprived of all aspects of human dignity, taken out on a warm day for a breath of fresh air which she cannot even enjoy. The possibility of adding a 'moral message' through anecdotal-genre means would only spoil such a powerful portrayal. The image itself, which holds up a mirror to members of a society that avert their eyes from the plight of their fellow men, is held by an objective observer who does not take upon himself the role of a preacher, but rather that of a mere reporter.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> The *formal* aspects through which Géricault achieved his distant 'reportage' approach will be dealt with in detail in chapter 6.

*Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose  
Trembling Limbs Have Borne Him to Your Door*

The main character in *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man...* (fig. 110) is dressed in shabby clothes, a top hat, his bearded face leaning on his right shoulder, his right hand in a gesture of begging. He is seated on the curbstone, leaning on a wall of a bakery, and his dog, crouching, looks both in his direction and in that of the bakery window. Behind them, to the left, a saleslady is seen through a window, leaning her hands against its counter while talking to an old man (fig. 110a). A straw basket on the window counter, with a roll next to it, suggests the character of the establishment. These four figures (including the dog) comprise two thirds of the rectangular composition. The remaining third -- to the right -- shows a secondary scene (fig. 110b) in which a woman (seen from the back) with a shopping basket is rushing down the street. In front of her, a worker is entering the street from the corner on the right, conducting a cart.<sup>88</sup> In the dark background of this print Géricault added the faded silhouette of Saint Paul's Cathedral (fig. 110b).

As opposed to the two other prints, *The Piper* and *A Paralytic Woman*, which derive their titles from the individual figure appearing in them, this print takes its title from a popular literary source. The first scholar who tried to identify the source of *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* was Clément. He argued that it was taken from an English nursery rhyme.<sup>89</sup> All scholars dealing

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<sup>88</sup> Clément, Eitner and Bergot give a partial description of the figures and the setting of this print. Bergot mentions the old man and his dog, Clément refers to the saleslady and the old man in the bakery and the cart driver. Eitner mentions the rushing woman and suggests a rendering of Saint Paul's Cathedral under smoke in the far dark distance. Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 1981-1982, 57, Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 214-216, 385 and Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 229.

<sup>89</sup> 'Pity the sorrows of a poor old man, whose trembling limbs have born (sic) him to your door', ces deux vers sont tirés de ces poésies populaires en Angleterre, nommées *Nursery rhymes*," Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 385.

with this print have accepted Clément's suggestion.<sup>90</sup> English nursery rhymes must have been taken as a significant component of English sub-culture in a Frenchman's concept; however, Clément, and all subsequent scholars, were wrong.

The title for the print is taken from "The Beggar," a poem written in 1769 by Thomas Moss, a minor English poet and a minister of the Church of England in Staffordshire.<sup>91</sup> The first verse of "The Beggar" begins with these lines:

Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!  
Whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door,  
Whose days are dwindled to the shortest span.  
Oh! give relief - and heaven will bless your store.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 229, Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 57, "...ces deux vers d'une romance populaire, titre de la lithographie", Sagne, *Géricault*, 246.

<sup>91</sup> Thomas Moss received his education at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1761. Taking holy orders, he became minister of Trentham, Staffordshire. He published anonymously *Poems on Several Occasions*, Wolverhampton 1769. In an advertisement to this small volume it is stated that most of the poems were written when the author was about twenty. Moss also published some occasional sermons and 'The Imprefection of Human Enjoyments', a poem in blank verse, London, 1783. See Leslie, (Ed.), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Thomas Moss."

<sup>92</sup> "The Beggar" was published anonymously by Thomas Moss in 1769. It was republished in *The Gent. [Gentlemen's] Magazine*, September 1791, 852 without the name of the poet. A note concerning the anonymity of the author of this poem was published in the November issue of that magazine. It was signed "salopiensis" and read as follows: "...What I think a great injustice to the author, has always been inferred without a name. Whilst every admirer of genuine poetry is delighted with its beautie, the author's name is only known in the circle of his freinds. I wish therefore to publish to the world, that it was written by the Rev. Thomas Moss, minister of Brierly Hill Chapel, in the parish of King's Swinford, in Stafford." *The Gent. Magazine* (November, 1791), 972. Moss's poem is published in Roger Lonsdale, (ed.), *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 552-553. For the entire poem see APPENDIX II, 263.



"The Beggar" tells the story of a farmer who came to the big city after his whole world collapsed: his cattle died, his corn rotted, his daughter, lured into the big city, turned into a pauper, and his wife died of despair. He is left penniless and is forced to lead a life of a beggar. "The Beggar" had to leave his village due to the disastrous wreckage of rural life by the Industrial Revolution. He is turned into a symbol of its main outcome -- the waves of migrating farmers leaving the country and coming into the big industrial cities in search of work.

Moss's poetry was not the 'right kind' of poetry at the time it was published. Throughout the eighteenth-century critics warned the poet to resist the temptation of dwelling on the local and the temporary surface of life, to avoid the homely, the crude, the capricious, and the abnormal.<sup>93</sup> The ideal was apparently a 'polite' style which would succeed in muffling the 'low' and potentially disturbing immediacy of the real world. Eighteenth-century poets virtually ignored the social changes they were living through. They hardly responded to the agricultural and industrial revolutions, to the effects of economic growth, increased social mobility, rapid urban development, or all the social tensions that would erupt in the last decade of the century.

Yet during that very period there was something less predictable: the vigorous, humorous, idiosyncratic verse of authors, many of them anonymous, who felt impelled at least to try to describe with some immediacy and colloquial directness the changing world they lived in; poets

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<sup>93</sup> Lonsdale, *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse*, xxiii

who tried to convey the anguish of unemployment, campaigned with increasing fervour against the evils of war, imperialism, slavery and the treatment of the poor.<sup>94</sup> Such a poet was Thomas Moss.

The poor man in Moss's poem has brought himself to the doorstep of a rich man's abode. He begs for shelter:

Oh! take me to your hospitable dome,  
Keen blows the wind and piercing is the cold!  
Short is my passage to the friendly tomb,  
For I am poor - and miserably old.

The object of his speech is the rich man. The poet put his moral message in the mouth of the old man who preaches to the rich man saying:

Heaven sends misfortunes - why should we repine?  
'Tis heaven has brought me to that state you see:  
And your condition may be soon like mine,  
The child of sorrow and of misery.

"The Beggar" must have been a very popular poem in England many years after it was first published in 1769. Its popularity is attested to by the fact that almost thirty years after it was written, it was used by James Gillray for a cartoon directed against Edmund Burke (1729-1797). Burke was an English Statesman, scholar and orator. He was known for his influence on English public opinion from sympathising with the French Revolution at first to a fierce objection to it. He

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

was also known for his efforts in correcting the English penal law, siding with the American Revolution and the Abolition of slavery.<sup>95</sup> Gilray's "*Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*" *Vide Scene in Bloomsbury Square* (fig. 111)<sup>96</sup> depicted Burke as a shambling beggar holding his hat towards the Duke of Bedford, who looks between the gates of Bedford House, holding one side to keep them almost closed. Sir Francis Russel, the fifth Duke of Bedford (1765-1802) was an English nobleman who entered the House of Lords in 1787 and supported Whig interests. He was known for his criticism of the pension granted to Edmund Burke which elicited the latter's famous reply, known as *Letter to a Noble Lord*.<sup>97</sup> Like the Duke of Bedford, Burke was a Whig at first and then changed his political views.

Gilray's print shows him wearing a tattered uniform, one foot protrudes through the shoe. In his right hand he holds a sheaf of broadsides. On his back he carries a sack inscribed "4000 pounds per annum" indicating his two pensions. From his back protrudes a book inscribed *Reflections Upon Political Apostacy*.<sup>98</sup> In this print as in others, Gilray was referring to Burke and the Duke of

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<sup>95</sup> *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, s.v. "Burke, Edmund."

<sup>96</sup> The cartoon is mentioned by Eitner in a note; he does not include an illustration. Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 351, note 77. Gillray's cartoon appears in M.D. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum*, VII (London: 1942), 241, No. 8786. I would like to thank Dr. Kim Sloane, Assistant Keeper of British Prints and Drawings at the British Museum for supplying me with a copy of this print.

<sup>97</sup> *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Bedford."

<sup>98</sup> George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 241.

Bedford.<sup>99</sup> He mocked the phenomenon of fickle politicians who cling to their political beliefs, may change them if it suits their purposes, but will never give up their pensions.

In Gillray's cartoon, Edmund Burke's "begging speech" is written in a 'blimp' above his head. It reads as follows:

Pity the sorrows of a poor old man, add a trifle to what has been bestowed by ministry to stop my complaints: -- O give me opportunity of recanting once more! -- Ah! remember me in your Golden Dreams! -- great Leviathan of Liberty, let me but play a frolick in the Ocean of your royal Bounty, & I will be forever your Creature; -- my hands, brains -- my Soul & Body -- the very Pen through which I have spouted a torrent of Gall against my original friends<sup>100</sup> and cover'd you all with the Spray, everything of me, & about me shall be yours -- dispence but a little of your Golden store to a desolate Old Man.

The Duke of Bedford replies:

Hark'ee old double Face -- its no use use [sic] for you to stand Jawing there, if you gull other people, you won't bother us out a single shilling, with all your canting -- rant, -- no, no, it won't do, old Humbug! -- let them bribe you, who are afraid of you, or want your help, -- your gossip won't do here: --

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<sup>99</sup> A satire on Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord* was published in 1796, another on his former position as the pen and brains of the Whigs and on his supposed apostacy. These subjects were a favorite of Gilray's as was the subject of the Duke of Bedfords' wealth. Ibid., 241.

<sup>100</sup> This alludes to Burke's loyalty to the Whigs and forsaking them later on in his career.

By casting the two heroes in his print in the roles of "a rich man" and "a poor man", two well-known images from Moss's popular poem, Gillray succeeded in ridiculing both politicians, neither of whom was really poor.

The text in Gilray's cartoon is written in the same rhythm as Moss's poem,<sup>101</sup> a fact attesting to the poem's being very familiar to the general public. The poem's popularity may also be attested by the fact that though it is 'modern' and 'secular', its theme is based on familiar biblical sources: the story of Job, and the "Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man" (Luke 16, 19-31). Thomas Moss, a churchman, used in "The Beggar" many phrases recalling verses from Job. The old man, "Whose days are dwindled to the shortest span" echo Job's words "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle and are spent without hope" (Job 7. 6). "Pity the sorrows of a poor old man, whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door" resemble "To him that is afflicted, pity should be shewed from his friend" (Job, 6. 14).<sup>102</sup>

Moss combined Job's distress with the basic elements of "The Parable of Lazarus and the rich man", which tells a story of a certain rich man who dressed in fine clothes and feasted every day while a poor man called Lazarus lay at his gate starving. The dogs would come and lick the sores that covered the poor man's body (an image referring to Job's boils). In time both died; the poor man was carried to heaven and was laid in Abraham's bosom while the rich man was consigned to Hell where, in spite of his pleas to Abraham, he was condemned to remain. The

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<sup>101</sup> Moss's line "Oh! give relief and heaven will bless your store" became in Gillray's print "Oh give me opportunity of recanting once more!".

<sup>102</sup> There are many other references in Moss's poem to the Book of Job.

parable teaches that riches on earth have to be paid for in eternity while the poor will enjoy their reward in heaven.

The theme of this parable is also that of an *Exemplum Avaritiae*, a lesson in charity.<sup>103</sup> The theme of showing pity to the poor was represented in Medieval reliefs mainly under churches' portals in the very same place where the poor came to beg for alms.<sup>104</sup> Moss's description of a beggar coming to a rich man's house:

Yon house, erected on the rising ground,  
With tempting aspect drew me from my road,  
For plenty there a residence has found,  
and grandeur a magnificent abode

echoes the parable verses in Luke:

And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full  
of sore.

The biblical description of the beggar's hunger -- "And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table" -- is expressed in Moss's poem through the beggar's own words:

Hard is the fate of the infirm and poor!  
Here craving for a morsel of their bread,  
A pampered menial forced me from the door

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<sup>103</sup> Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chretien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 349.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

To seek shelter in a humbler shed.<sup>105</sup>

The "Poor Old Man" in Moss's poem is a modern allegorical figure of an honest man who suffers for no sins or crimes he committed. He is a modern, secular combination of Job, Lazarus and Christ.<sup>106</sup> Like Job, a prosperous man who suddenly, one day, lost everything he possessed, the "Poor Old Man" tells of his misfortunes: "My cattle died and blighted was my corn".

There is no way of telling whether Géricault was consciously referring to the image of the 'Poor Old Man' in Moss's poem, to the image of Lazarus or to that of Job in his print. But there is no doubt he had Moss's poem in front of him since he inscribed the title of the print with quotation marks (fig. 110c), a fact attesting to his knowledge that the title is a quotation from a written text.<sup>107</sup> All the other prints of the *English Suite* carry their titles on the bottom; yet none of them is written as a quotation.

Géricault's choice of a title taken from a familiar, popular poem affected the contemporary viewer's reaction to this print. Here, reading into the visual images the contents of a poem he was familiar with, the viewer would have brought to mind the old man's misfortunes which preceded his

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<sup>105</sup> There are many other references in Moss's poem to "The Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man". For the entire parable, see appendix III, 265.

<sup>106</sup> "Job in distress" or "The mocking of Job by his wife and friends" is a theme in medieval art which accompanies depictions of "The mocking of Christ and the Crown of Thorns" since it provides a parallel between the two themes and sets Job as a type for Christ. Gertrude Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), 68.

pityful state of begging. The 'bakery' in front of which he seated himself in exhaustion may be taken as a reference to the rich man's residence from Moss's poem or, in turn to the rich man's house from the parable of "Lazarus and the rich Man."

In identifying the old man appearing in *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* with the old man from Moss's poem, Géricault's depiction may be taken as a mere illustration of it. But such is not the case. The artist's theatrical 'direction' enriched the scene by adding 'actors' to give it more animation and make it into a realistic rendering of a contemporary London street scene. In order to enhance his realistic record Géricault placed at the far right corner of the print a man pulling a cart. This figure is a visual record of a London Dustman.<sup>108</sup> Lynn Matteson is the only scholar who identified this figure as a dustman, basing her statement on a comparison of this print by Géricault with a print by Pyne called *The Dustman* (fig. 112).

Henry Mayhew's "anthropological" observations of the London poor give a detailed description of dust collecting, a profession which has long disappeared from the modern world, yet which was practiced by hundreds of lower class people at the beginning of the nineteenth-century.<sup>109</sup> He begins his observations by explaining the necessity of collecting dust:

Dust and rubbish accumulate in houses...principally from the residuum of fires, the white ash and cinders, small fragments of unconsumed coke... Some notion of the vast amount of this refuse annually produced in London may be formed in the fact

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<sup>107</sup> The words "pity the sorrows of a poor old man" in Gillray's print title are also put in quotation marks. See fig. 111.

<sup>108</sup> Matteson, "Géricault and English Street Cries", 306.

<sup>109</sup> Mayhew has devoted 14 (!) pages for his description of the dustmen of London.



that the consumption of coal in the metropolis is according to the official - 3,500,000 tons, about 11 tons per house.

Now the ashes and cinders arising from this enormous consumption of coal would if allowed to lie scattered about in such a place as London, render ere long, not only the back streets, but even the important thoroughfares, filthy and impassable. Upon the officers of the various parishes, therefore, has developed the duty of seeing that the refuse of the fuel consumed throughout London is removed almost as fast as produced, this they do by entering into an agreement for the clearance of the 'dust-bins' of the parishioners as often as required, with some person who possesses all necessary appliances for the purpose - such as horses, baskets and shovels, together with a plot of waste ground whereon to deposit the refuse.

The persons with whom this agreement is made are called 'dust-contractors' and are generally men of considerable wealth... These dust contractors are likewise the contractors for cleansing of the streets...they are also the persons who undertake the emptying of the cesspools in their neighbourhood.<sup>110</sup>

Dust was first collected from the houses in the various neighbourhoods in town:

The manner in which the dust is collected is very simple. The 'filler' and the 'carrier' preambulate the streets with a heavily built high-box cart, which is mostly coated with a thick crust of filth, and drawn by a clumsy looking horse. ....Two men

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<sup>110</sup> Quennel, *Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor'*, 345- 347.

accompany the cart, which is furnished with a short ladder and two shovels and baskets. The man carries them one by one to the cart, which is placed immediately alongside the pavement in front of the house where they are at work... The dustmen usually wear knee-breeches, with ankle boots or gaiters, short smockfrocks or coarse grey jackets and fantail hats.<sup>111</sup>

After being shoveled into carts, the dust was brought into the Dustyards which were usually located at the suburbs of the city. "In one dust yard that I visited", writes Mayhew,

there were fourteen people busily employed. Six of these were women, who were occupied in sifting, and they were attended by three men who shoveled the dust into their sieves, and the foreman, who was hard at work loosening and dragging down the dust from the heap, ready for the 'fillers-in'. Besides these were two carts and four men engaged in conveying the sifted dust to the barges alongside the wharf.

The dust was used for two purposes: 1. as a manure for kind of peculiar quality and 2. for making bricks. Besides this use, one could find all sorts of discarded or lost objects such as old shoes, jewelry and money in the dust. These were sold separately.

The dustmen are, generally speaking, an hereditary race; when children, they are reared in the dust-yard, and are habituated to the work gradually as they grow up,

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 354.

after which, almost as a natural consequence, they follow the business for the remainder of their lives.<sup>112</sup>

William Pyne's depiction of London Dustmen appears in *The Costume of Great Britain* print series (fig. 112). The two workmen are shown performing their menial chores. The one on the right, with his back to the viewer, turning his head towards us, carries a straw basket in which he is going to collect the dust, not before he announces his services to the people of the neighborhood with the bell he holds in his left hand. The other dustman is emptying the dust into the cart. A similar dustman to the one appearing in Pyne's print was included by Géricault in *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* (fig. 110b). He is walking in front of a high box-cart in a street which resembles the one appearing in *The Dustmen (Les Boueux* fig. 113, 113a, 113b) a print included in the *Quatre sujets divers* which Géricault made in Paris after his return from England. The costume of the dustman resembles those worn by the horse tenders in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* (fig. 49) as well as those worn by the ones appearing in *The Coal Wagon* (fig. 56).

The inclusion of a dustman in the print further turns the old man into a modern Job. After Satan inflicted boils on Job, "from the sole of his foot unto his crown" (Job, 2:7), Job "...took him a potsherd to scrap himself withall: and he sat down among the ashes" (Job, 2:8). Géricault's keen observation and acquaintance with the specific professions of the lower classes which were so typical of contemporary London, transformed the Biblical concept of mourning and self-abuse into a modern, contemporary allusion. The dustman, a scavenger of ashes, is seen entering the scene as

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 348, 354.

if by chance. His inclusion, though, served Géricault in subtly imbuing the print with a deeper meaning.

Just as there is no cure for the paralytic insane woman, there is no pity for the old man. The saleslady at the bakery and the old man she is serving are disregarding the broken man laying at their doorstep. The woman who runs down the street (on the right) does not turn her head towards the beggar as did the young girl in *A Paralytic Woman*. Géricault created in this print an atmosphere of despair by imbuing it with visual descriptions of various concepts of alienation: people on the street do not open their hearts to the miseries of others. They seem to mind their own business and to preoccupy themselves with their everyday chores and ignore other people's misfortunes.

*Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* is the most intricate print among the *English Suite*. Its conception is a masterly combination of two polarized sources: a popular literary text and realistic images based upon keen veristic observation of common street phenomena. By placing the metaphoric 'old man' within a realistic rendering of a modern, contemporary London street, Géricault initiated one of the most significant components of the Realist movement in the arts: elevating a common, everyday occurrence and transforming it into an artistic masterpiece.

The dustman in this print, the street musician in *The Piper* and the coal backers appearing in *The Coal Wagon* print are all examples of Géricault's 'journalistic' approach to the rendition of everyday life, an approach devoid of any 'idyllic', 'genre' characteristics practiced by artists before him and by contemporary artists as well. Yet all these figures, apart from being real and 'drawn from life' are acting as symbols for human suffering on the one hand and for human cruelty and

disregard for others on the other. Géricault endowed all the figures of the 'misery in the streets of London' group of prints with real, convincing facial expressions and body gestures suggesting their emotions. He placed them in appropriate surroundings, carefully and diligently researched and studied from the London *milieu*. His detailed rendering of every piece of furnishing has contributed to the overall veristic atmosphere these prints convey.

When the English artist Charles Robert Cockerell saw Géricault's lithographs in November 1821 he was most struck by the ones dedicated to the spectacle of urban poverty. He admired their 'uncommon energy' of execution, the 'pathetic', and 'the deep feeling of pity' in them.<sup>113</sup> In his journal he commented

...All day at home - went in evening to see Géricault's lithographis [sic] - was much struck with the uncommon energy of his work. At the same time the mind [?] he shows in the pathetic the paralytic [sic] woman, the piper and poor beggar - when works of art attain their utmost perfection they are eminently calculated to awaken thoughts of energy and virtue.<sup>114</sup>

Though they owe something to the English tradition of genre and to the tradition of 'Street Cries' print series, Géricault's prints depicting "the misery in the streets of London" are original in their attitude towards their subjects and in their disregard for the moral and sentimental conventions inseparable from social genre in England. In them there is no trace of Hogarth's didacticism, of Wheatley's sentimentality, or of the sweetness and dignity in rags that gave a certain

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<sup>113</sup> Lee Johnson, "Delacroix and Géricault seen by Cockerell," *The Burlington Magazine* 113 (September, 1971): 548.

<sup>114</sup> From the diary of Cockerell, November 24, 1821, quoted in *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 296.

attractiveness to paupers in the work of Gainsborough, Morland and their followers. Nor, finally, do they suggest Willkie's narrative pantomime, much admired by Géricault but happily not imitated.<sup>115</sup> Grandeur, sobriety, and monumentality, qualities one usually associate with large scale oil paintings, were achieved by Géricault in these small scale lithographs which at the time were seen only as a humble medium.

The objectivity with which Géricault depicted distress and human decay in their social settings had no close parallel either in English art or in the French art of his period. The three prints address subjects which would be treated by the great masters of French art such as Millet and Daumier only in the 1840's or 1850's. These prints evoke a sad atmosphere of despair. Many years later, the same streets which offered him the various subjects for his drawings and prints became the focus of literary works by Charles Dickens, England's most notable Realist writer, who described the society of the gutters in *Oliver Twist* (1837) and the industrial city's grime-covered buildings and grey, exhausting life style of the lower classes in *Hard Times* (1854) and *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-41).

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid .

## CHAPTER 6

### KEEN SOCIAL OBSERVATION AND THE LITHOGRAPHIC MEDIUM

#### *Formal Aspects of the 'English Suite'*

Géricault created the *English Suite* within a period of four months (February to May 1821).

A thorough examination of the prints' technical aspects, in order to evaluate them as manifestations of the artist's expertise in their use of the lithographic medium, would reveal that the process of execution was long and laborious. Géricault's extensive work is manifested in all, except perhaps, in *A Party of Life Guards* and in *An Arabian Horse*, as will be shown later.

We have seen so far that up to the 1820's, the well-known lithographers of the time were Carle Vernet, Horace Vernet and Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet. Their prints exhibited a fairly 'flat' execution (as Bouchot called it) and qualities which suggested that they did not utilize to the full the potentials of the new printing medium. One of these potentials afforded the artist a 'liquid' effect which imbues the print with qualities similar to those achieved by watercolors and aquatint. Such a 'wash' effect was sought by artists, including Géricault, an effect which would render a rich variety of tonal gradations, from the palest grey to the deepest black. As we have seen, Géricault made preparatory sketches for some of the *English Suite* prints, most of which were done in watercolors or in ink washes (one for *The Coal Wagon* [fig. 56] and another for *The Piper* [fig. 95]).

He made others for prints not included in the *English Suite*, i.e., *Dappled Draught Horse Being Shod* (figs. 64 and 65), which can serve as an example of his method of 'translating' watercolor or wash transparencies into the lithographic 'language'. The wash effects in *Dappled Draught Horse Being Shod* are exemplified best in the rendering of shadows. The horse casts a shadow on the brick wall; it is rendered by a transparent grey, echoing the outline of its figure. The bricks behind the left farrier are of a darker color than the rest of the bricks, thus giving an illusion of shadows. The inside of the smithy is suggested by a bold, dark rectangle, which emphasizes the impression of the setting as being 'outside', which, in comparison with the dark 'inside,' looks as if it is flooded with light. In the translation process -- from a wash drawing to a lithograph -- Géricault deleted the horse's shadow on the wall and the meticulous rendering of the brick wall. The lithograph as a whole looks more abstract, with fewer details in comparison with the wash drawing. Its appearance is darker. In order to enhance the contrast between dark and light Géricault took advantage of yet another classical tool used for rendering chiar'oscuro effects, that of highlights. Within the dark areas of the print he included white 'splashes'. These can be seen on the wall and even more clearly as delineating light-reflecting areas on the shirts and aprons of the two farriers. Using a wash drawing as a starting point, Géricault managed to create something which is not only a good 'translation' of one medium to another, but an original work, true to the medium in which it was created, utilizing completely its specific formal qualities.

A close examination of the *English Suite* will reveal the step-by-step method Géricault utilized to achieve his outstanding rendering of chiar'oscuro effects. Some of the prints show that



he has employed one or two methods: others exhibit a juxtaposition of most or all the methods in order to achieve rich and convincing illusions of depth and volume. The artist employed four basic methods:

1. lines in varying degrees of thickness
2. lines drawn in a variety of tones
3. cross-hatching
4. a variety of tonal areas

The simplest, most basic method for suggesting depth is achieved by drawing a variety of thicknesses of lines with a pen. Thick lines seem to be 'closer' to the picture plane; thin lines seem more 'remote' in relation to the spectator. The *Frontispiece* of the *English Suite* (fig. 41) was drawn entirely with a pen. The bottom right of the print indicates a use of a thick pen. The horse on the left was drawn with a much narrower nib in fine lines. The thick scribbling on the right side of the print (suggesting the 'ground') seems 'closer' to the picture plane than the horse which is more 'remote'.

Another method for creating illusionistic depth and volume, still emphasizing the use of lines, is based on their variety of tones: from the weakest grey to the deepest black. Grey lines look 'hazy' and almost 'blurred' and are therefore conceived as 'remote'; dark lines look bold and clear and are thus conceived as 'close' to the picture plane. In the *Frontispiece* for the *English Suite* the horse in front of the wagon (on the far left) is rendered in fine grey lines (fig. 41), thus suggesting its placing far in the 'depth' of the image. Another print in which depth is suggested by grey-toned lines is *The Piper* (fig. 95, 95c). The building beyond the brick wall is rendered in light greys and

therefore is conceived as being far deep in the drawn space. Géricault employed weak greys in *A Party of Life Guards* (fig. 83): the repetitious rendering of the mounted horses on the left was made by a grease crayon which can be detected by the faded greys. This is the only print of the *English Suite* which gives the impression that it is unfinished. A thin line frames the images appearing in it within a rectangular format: yet the 'sky' is a complete white void without any suggestion of 'clouds'. The sky in all other open-air settings which Géricault included in the *English Suite*, such as *The Coal Wagon* (fig. 56) and *Horses Going to a Fair* (fig. 60, 60c), show some kind of cloud formations or other suggestions of a particular weather or time of day.

The various gradations of grey in lines perform yet another function: that of suggesting color. In some of the *English Suite* prints depicting horses, Géricault juxtaposed a dark-colored horse with a light-colored one: for example, in *A French Farrier* (fig. 66) and in *Horses Exercising* (fig. 74). The gradual tones of lines also suggest lighting. The light-colored horse in *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* (fig. 49, 49a) is flooded with light. The dark-colored horse next to it serves as a perfect contrast, its lighting looks more subdued in comparison with the reflection of light perceived on the other horse.

The most traditional way of rendering an illusion of volume in drawing (or in prints with linear qualities) is crosshatching. Géricault used this method especially with the lithographic crayon which enabled him to work quickly and almost spontaneously in executing practically all of the *English Suite* prints.

The most subtle way of rendering depth and volume is tonal; the artist creates gradual tonal areas suggesting various intensities of shadow from grey to black. This method resembles the effects achieved through the technique of aquatint. The gradual tonal effects of aquatint are achieved by a successive method of covering the metal plate with miniscule grains of resin powder. After the powder has been fixed to the plate (by a process of short heating), the grains melt and adhere to the metal surface. The plate is then put into the acid bath, which bites the areas not covered by the resin. When the plate is inked and printed, the effect produced by the biting of the acid will show a grainy, grey area, made of thousands of tiny dots. By covering some parts of the etched plate with lacquer (or any other oily substance) the artist ensures that the next time the plate is put into the acid bath, the acid will not bite the covered area. This process may be repeated many times; each biting of the acid will produce a darker grainy area in the final print.

Lithography offers shorter, less tedious methods of covering the plate with various gradations of grey to dark surfaces. One of the first to have developed such methods was Charles Hullmandel. Due to his dissatisfaction with the printing of his own chalk lithographs, he made some technical refinements in the preparations of the stone surface for artistic printmaking. Hullmandel added a 'tint-stone' to the printing process: a separate stone which served the artist in printing a neutral, buff tone from which highlights could be reserved by scraping or etching down the stone's surface.<sup>1</sup> Such a process, as already mentioned, was used by Géricault in *Dappled Draught Horse Being Shod* (fig 64, 65), especially in the shirts and aprons of the two farriers. Another innovation initiated by Hullmandel was a soft effect of the dabbing style where ink is applied gently to the

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<sup>1</sup> Godfrey, *Printmaking in England*, 9.

stone slab by a circular wooden dabber covered with kid skin.<sup>2</sup> This process allows the artist to give a darker appearance to certain areas in the lithograph by covering the linear drawing with a transparent grainy, grey 'film'. By using this process the artist creates an effect similar to the one achieved in a wash drawing: several layers of varied grey tones are superimposed to give an illusion of volume to the objects rendered. In *A Flemish Farrier* (fig. 67, 67a) the shadows under the horse were created by an application of the dabbing process. Rendered in a similar way are the left side of the tender's smock and the shaded area on the floor, to the left of the tender. The area above the horse's hind part (fig. 67b), under its leg which is being shod, the shadow cast by the other leg both on the ground and on the wooden crate, the inside of the farrier's apron and the shadow cast by his right leg, were all made by this method.

The same process was adopted by Géricault in *A French Farrier* (fig. 66). It is evident in the triangular cast shadow, darkening the whole inside of the smithy, moving in a diagonal on the back wall all the way down to the horse's foot. The shaded ground in *An Arabian Horse* (figs. 71, 71b) was 'washed' with the dabbing process as was the part of the 'Arab' under the horse's neck. In *The Piper* (fig. 95), the back wall with the arch opening to the right of the Piper was shaded and stopped in a contour surrounding the white dog. In *A Paralytic Woman* (fig. 102), shadows were created by the dabbing method on the ground in the foreground, on the wall next to the young girl, in the shaded part of the cart, and the paralytic woman's coat. And finally, the part of the building on the right in *Pity the Sorrows...* (fig. 110) was also created by this method.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Through the medium of lithography Géricault achieved exceptional dramatic as well as realistic effects in his rendering of light and shade. The soft, gradual tonal areas which were traditionally achieved in aquatint were realised here, perhaps for the first time, in a new printing technique. Hullmandel's search for a tonal method which would rival, and eventually replace the use of aquatint, was fulfilled beyond any standards in Géricault's *English Suite*. In contrast to Horace Vernet's lithographs, which Bouchot saw as "scarcely shaded in greys and looking like they are devoid of color", he held Géricault's lithographs in such high esteem and summed them up with his claim that they have "such an aspect of power and energy that they oppose singularly the tenents of the old system."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Bouchot, *La lithographie*, 84.

*Artist, Spectator and Pictorial Space in Géricault's 'English Suite'*

Not a single figure appearing in the *English Suite* makes eye contact with the spectator. They are either rendered with their back to the viewer (*Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*, fig. 49, *Horses Going to a Fair*, fig. 60) or looking sideways (*The Coal Wagon*, fig. 56, *The Flemish Farrier*, fig. 67, *Horses Exercising*, fig. 74, *The Piper*, fig. 95 *A Paralytic Woman*, fig. 102, *Pity the Sorrows....*fig. 110). This 'matter-of-fact' approach taken by Géricault, based on a pre-meditated 'distant', objective viewpoint, creates an atmosphere of alienation between subject matter and the observer.

The Renaissance and Baroque concept of the relation between painting and beholder stressed the necessity of introducing at least one figure in the painted scene that would establish contact with the viewer. Bridging the illusionistic space (of the painting) with the spectator's real space could be achieved through eye contact: one of the figures would gaze straight at the beholder. Another way of bridging the real and the illusionistic spaces was achieved through body gestures, in which one of the figures would 'invite' the viewer to participate, and thus 'enter' the illusionistic space. In other words, the painted figure was expected to cause the beholder to merge the two spaces -- real and illusionistic. Leon Battista Alberti was the first to formulate this convention in painting. In his *Della Pittura* he admonished artists to include a figure in their painting which would lead the spectator into the action taking place within it. The figure, according to Alberti, should either point with its finger so the spectator could follow its direction or it should invite the

beholder 'to cry or to laugh' with the other figures participating in the action which takes place within the painting.<sup>4</sup>

Géricault's approach to the relation between the work of art and the beholder is completely the opposite of this classical concept which survived in European painting long after the Baroque period. Michael Fried has suggested that during the second half of the eighteenth-century there was

The demand that the artist bring about a paradoxical relationship between painting and beholder -- specifically, that he find a way to neutralize or negate the beholder's presence, to establish the fiction that no one is standing before the canvas ... The demand is adumbrated in Diderot's writings on drama in the late 1750's and is spelled out in his writings on painting of the second half of the 1760's, most fully in the *Sur la peinture*... Alternatively one might say that the dramatic conception was at bottom a means to an end: that it was chiefly by virtue of the persuasive representation of the complete absorption of a figure or a group of figures in various actions, activities and states of mind -- a dramatic illusion if there ever was one -- that the painter was able to establish the fiction of the aloneness of the painting as a whole, relative to the beholder.<sup>5</sup>

In his chapter "Painting and the Beholder" Fried discusses a few paintings depicting *Belisarius*, a popular subject in the last forty years of the eighteenth-century. François André

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<sup>4</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting (Della Pittura)*, translated with an Introduction and notes by John R. Spencer, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 78.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality. Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 108-109.

Vincent's rendering of the subject served Fried in explaining the concept of the particular relationship between painting and beholder in that period:



plate IV

François-André Vincent, *Belisarius (Bélisaire réduit à la mendicité secouru par un officier des troupes de l'Empereur Justinien)*, Salon of 1777. Montpellier. Musée Fabre.

...The anxieties and tension that seem to be expected by the officer and bystanders gazing at Belisarius are perhaps to be understood as a reflection of what by 1777 was on the way to becoming the thoroughly equivocal position of the actual beholder, as with the passage of time the fiction of the beholder's nonexistence became ever more difficult to sustain. One might say that the presence of the beholder before the painting...had been the focus of contradictory demands, tended increasingly to be cast -- to make itself felt to painter and beholder alike -- as an alien influence if not indeed as a theatricalizing force, and that

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more than anything else it is that turn of events which gives to Vincent's *Bélisaire* its singular atmosphere of anxiety, embarrassment and barely suppressed violence.<sup>6</sup>

Vincent's painting has served Fried in introducing a problem that would occupy French painting in the later period of the eighteenth-century and the beginning of the nineteenth. His preoccupation with the problem has brought Géricault to his mind:

The presence of the beholder does not emerge as an *insuperable* problem for painting for some time. I think of Géricault as the first painter who found himself compelled to assume the burden of that problem in its insuperable or tragic form of the *Raft of the Medusa* as the principal monument to that compulsion. By this I mean that the striving of the men on the raft to be beheld by the tiny ship on the horizon, by startling coincidence named the *Argus*, may be viewed as motivated not simply by a desire for rescue from the appalling circumstances depicted in the painting but also by the need to escape our gaze, to put an end to being beheld by us, to be rescued from the ineluctable fact of a presence that threatens to theatricalize even their sufferings.<sup>7</sup>

There is something else in Géricault's masterpiece concerning the relation between painting and beholder which can be added to Fried's interpretation. The beholder of *The Shipwreck of the Medusa* performs an impossible task, that of looking at the victims from no other place but from another raft (or a boat), floating on the wavy waters of the ocean. Géricault's setting dictates this particular position for the beholder since the raft is placed within a great abstract space made out of (what we as spectators conceive as) sea water and sky. There is no ground we can stand on; the

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 154.

only way we, as spectators, can witness the scene taking place in front of us is by placing ourselves inside a boat or on top of a raft. Géricault's dictated position of the beholder is entirely illogical if we approach it with the classical Renaissance notion of merging real and illusionistic spaces. It goes without saying that viewing Géricault's painting in an approach which places the beholder in a boat in front of the *Medusa* raft would make the beholder into an active participant in the scene depicted in it. The presence of the beholder would negate the "aloneness of the painting", as Fried called it. It would completely destroy the drama and great expressive powers of the painting. Géricault's *Shipwreck of the Medusa*, as pointed out by Fried, makes a perfect example for the creation of "aloneness of the painting as a whole, relative to the beholder". The same is true of most of Géricault's *English Suite* prints.

The self-contained scene, which does not open to the spectator's space, could already be seen in his lithographs of 1818-1819 such as *The Return from Russia* and *The Swiss Sentry at the Louvre* (figs.5, 6). In the *English Suite* Géricault developed this approach to the full, thus giving the spectator the role of an observer or an onlooker in front of whom a certain realistic event is taking place to which he or she is only a witness, but definitely is not a participant. The only figure in the whole series of prints who establishes some kind of contact with the spectator is the girl in *A Paralytic Woman* (fig. 102), who, though not looking straight at us, seems to draw us into the scene; her expression of both surprise and horror does break the barrier between viewer and the work of art. But the farriers in the *English Suite* seem to go on with their menial work without looking at the spectator; they are busy working. The coal brokers, the beggars, the paralytic

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woman, her attendant and the horse traders are all closed within their world, not allowing us as spectators to enter it or to participate in it in any way whatsoever.

The distant approach Géricault took in depicting the figures of the *English Suite*, which places them in what seems like a 'closed' world, is further enhanced by the special rendering of the spaces they occupy. For that matter Géricault created different vantage points for the lithographs and various perspectival constructions. They serve either to focus the viewer's attention on certain figures, or to endow the print with expressive qualities. In each case the perspectival construction acts either to open the pictorial space, to close it, or to make it illogical so that at times it is even disturbing. The various constructions of pictorial space in the *English Suite* act as significant expressive means in creating the special relationship between work and beholder.

In his discussion of the relation of painting and beholder in the history paintings of Jacques-Louis David, Fried states that the artist's conception of pictorial space "necessitated the construction of a stagelike space similar to that found (for example) in Raphael or Poussin...the off-centeredness itself has been attributed to a desire on David's part to avoid the monotony of a central vanishing point".<sup>8</sup> Further on, Fried mentions that David was probably aware of numerous precedents for such perspectival constructions from the fifteenth-century on

both for the use of off-center perspective and for the translation of the principal action away from the main axis (that of the vanishing point) as means of retarding the viewer's

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 156.

grasp of what is taking place and thereby heightening the dramatic impact of the composition.<sup>9</sup>

A similar approach to that of David was taken by Géricault in some of the *English Suite* prints. The perspectival construction of *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man* (plate V) is not based on Raphaelesque or Poussinesque models (since all its diagonal lines do not converge in a single vanishing point), but on the fifteenth-century principle of placing the main character, or the main action (the Poor Old Man) away from the vanishing point. All the diagonal lines of the buildings and the side street (on the print's extreme right) converge in several vanishing points situated on the blank white wall but not on the figure of the man.



plate V:

Perspectival Construction of Géricault's *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*

*The Feast of Herod*, Donatello's famous relief, in the Siena Baptistry (plate VI) is one of the first examples of the early Renaissance perspectival constructions in which the diagonal lines of the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

floor tiles direct the beholder's attention to the vanishing point placed on the brick wall. Donatello left the axis of the relief empty. By doing so he directed the viewer's attention to the figures on both sides of the vanishing point. Their gestures create a centrifugal motion, beginning in the central void and going in the direction of the relief margins. Donatello thus enhanced the drama and horror of the scene depicted.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, by placing the figure of the begging old man off-center in the perspectival construction of the print, Géricault focused the beholder's attention on him. His body is rendered in a leaning pose which is parallel to the diagonal line of the platform upon which he is sitting

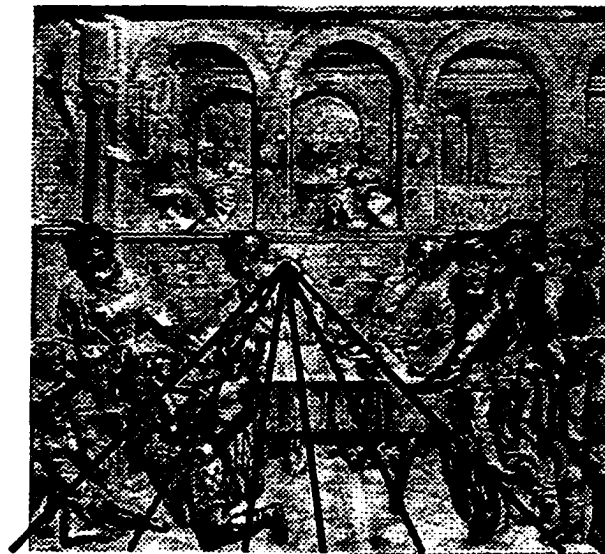


Plate VI

Donatello, *The Feast of Herod*. c. 1425. gilded bronze relief. 62x62 cm., Siena, Baptistry.

Géricault created a totally different perspectival construction for *Entrance to the Adelpi Wharf* (fig.49, plate VII). It is almost a 'classical', 'scientific' Renaissance perspective with a clear horizon line, suggested by the placement of the vanishing point. The diagonals delineating the

<sup>10</sup> Alec Mishory, *Sculpture in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century: Nature - Man - Art, Renaissance Art in Italy* (Tel-Aviv: The Open University Press, 1991), 51.

curbstone (on the left of the print) help to establish the sense of order on which the whole composition is arranged. Even the horses' feet are placed successively along the converging lines. Such a precise, almost geometrical perspective construction, 'classical' in its nature and appearance, is usually used in historical paintings, for dignified subjects suffused with courtly decorum. Yet, Géricault used it in a depiction of an everyday scene of menial labor. Furthermore, it would be inconceivable in such a 'dignified' compositional arrangement that the figures would turn their backs to the beholder.

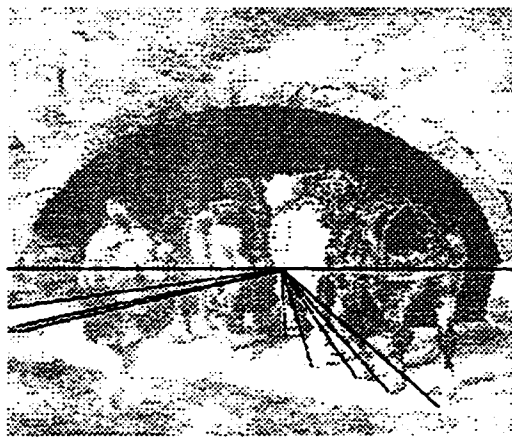


plate VII

Perspectival Construction of Géricault's *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf*.

In *Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf* Géricault has done both. The classical perspectival construction served him to enhance the notion of direction, the horses' entering the black tunnel. Both horses and tenders, thanks to the relevant perspectival construction, are conceived as almost being 'sucked' into the black void. The artist shows here his thorough knowledge of the classical artistic traditions and the way to project them on modern, contemporary subjects.

Any attempt to trace a perspectival construction in *A Paralytic Woman* (fig. 102) is bound to fail; the print is a prime example of an ambiguous spatial rendering manifested in the continuous flow of one pictorial plane into another. The girl, the paralytic woman and her attendant are placed on the plane closest to the spectator. Another plane is suggested by the brick wall, placed 'behind' the girl. The third plane, 'deeper' in space, farthest from the spectator, is suggested by the carriage on the right. Yet no plane is clearly defined. The traditional principle of proportions is almost completely disregarded: in a classical rendition of space, the carriage would have been rendered much smaller since it is 'behind' the paralytic woman and her attendant. The minimal setting focuses the spectator's attention on the figures and suggests a foggy day which blurs the delineation of specific planes.

The compositions of *The English Farrier* (fig. 68) as well as *The Flemish Farrier* (fig. 67) are constructed on diagonal lines converging in several vanishing points outside the picture plane (plates VIII, IX). The focal point of such a perspectival construction is a corner of a building interior where two walls meet. The left wall is set diagonally to the picture plane, the right one is parallel to it. The two horses are set against the walls, the crouching farrier is set directly against the corner. Thanks to such a perspectival construction, the viewer's attention is focused on the main protagonists of the print - men and animals.



plate VIII  
 Perspectival Construction of Géricault's *The English Farrier*



plate IX  
 Perspectival Construction of Géricault's *The Flemish Farrier*

The role Géricault took upon himself during the production of the *English Suite* is that of an invisible, objective observer. As such, he meets at least one of the criteria expected from a nineteenth-century Realist artist at least forty years before such criteria were defined and established.



*A Pale Repetition:  
Lithographs Published by Géricault After his Return From London*

Clément tells us that Géricault's *English Suite* "made a noise", and that the Paris publishers ordered lithographs from him as soon as he came back to Paris.<sup>11</sup> Géricault hoped to make a lot of money in England but did not succeed in realising his goal. He came back to France and had to work for the paying public. Most of his energy now went into work calculated to please. He labored on with remarkable industry in the face of his illness.<sup>12</sup> The fact that most of his works were meant to be sold is clearly borne out by their subject matter, format and finish. Géricault had to be attentive to the demands of his publishers and dealers and avoided subjects that might have been considered difficult or unpleasant.<sup>13</sup> There is little in his output of 1822-1823 that can be compared to the scenes of urban misery in his English lithographs. His publishers in Paris, the Gihaut frères, published four series of lithographs by Géricault between 1822-1823:

1. *Studies of Horses by Géricault (Études de chevaux par Géricault)*, 1822.
2. *Studies of Horses Lithographed by Géricault (Études de chevaux lithographiés par Géricault)* 1822.
3. *A Series of Seven Small Pieces (Suite de sept petites pièces)* 1823.
4. *A Series of Eight Small Pieces by Géricault (Suite de huit petites pièces par Géricault)*, 1823.

He was commissioned to publish yet another series of lithographs dealing with horses by the Hulin Publishing firm. In 1818-1819, before his London sojourn, Géricault had his prints

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<sup>11</sup> Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 219.

<sup>12</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 250.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

published by Delpech. But his relations with this firm were terminated because of the bad relations he had with Mme. Delpech, who didn't think much of Géricault's prints.<sup>14</sup> Clément's account of the misunderstanding between the two points indirectly to the character of Géricault's prints and to the way they were perceived by a commercially oriented publisher such as Mme. Delpech:

The difficulties Géricault experienced with Mme. Delpech in connection with the publication of this print<sup>15</sup> and that entitled *The Wounded Lara (Lara blessé)*<sup>16</sup> ...led to his relation with Gihaut frères, who in the final years of his life, were the publishers of most of his lithographs. In this period (1819-1820), Mme. Delpech published an annual album composed of drawings by renowned artists... Géricault wanted her to include [in her publication] his [two prints] – *Lara* and *The Giaour* – but she refused. This brought about the end of the friendly relation [between Mme. Delpech and Géricault].<sup>17</sup>

Mme. Delpech's refusal and the Gihaut frères's willingness to publish Géricault's *The Giaour* and *The Wounded Lara* reveal three important facts about the complex relations between

<sup>14</sup> See chapter 1, 48-49.

<sup>15</sup> Clément mentions here *The Giaour*, a print included in *A Series of Seven Small Pieces* Géricault printed at Gihaut's. It will be referred to later.

<sup>16</sup> This print is also included in *A Series of Seven Small Pieces* and will be referred to later in this chapter.

<sup>17</sup> "Ces sont les difficultés que Mme Delpech fit à Géricault pour la publication de cette pièce et de celle qui a pour le titre *Lara blessé*, et qui a été décrite plus haut, qui amenerent ses relations avec MM Gihaut frères, qui dans les dernières années de sa vie furent les éditeurs de la plupart de ses lithographies. Mme Delpech publiait à cette époque (1819-1820) un album annuel composé de dessins dus aux artistes alors en renom... Géricault voulut y faire admettre le *Lara* et le *Giaour*, ce qu'elle refusa. De là la rupture." Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique*, 308.

artist and publisher: first it shows Mme. Delpech's power as a publisher; hers was the final word whether a certain work of art was to receive public exposure or whether it should remain hidden in the artist's collection. Second, it tells us that Géricault did not give up his wish to execute these two prints (and possibly others): that he kept the drawings ready, and when the first opportunity arose, he submitted them to another publisher. Third, the criteria according to which a certain print merited publication differed among publishers. It seems that the Gihaut frères were more lenient towards the artist than Delpech. Their criteria were guided by artistic quality as well as by commercial motives.

Mme. Delpech probably wanted only popular prints. *The Giaour* and *The Wounded Lara* were illustrations of serious literary sources (poems by Byron), subjects which, apparently, did not correspond to her overall concept of 'horse prints'. From the compilation of subject matter for the four series of prints Géricault published at Gihaut frères one can assume that these publishers gave him a freer hand in picking the subjects and therefore accepted the more 'serious' prints into their overall scheme of 'horse prints'. Yet, even with the freedom presumably offered him in forming their character, the resulting four series of prints Géricault published for the Gihaut frères constitute but a pale, repetitive reflection of the *English Suite*.

Six of the twelve prints included in *Studies of Horses (Études de chevaux)* of 1822 are close reproductions of the prints carrying identical titles included in the *English Suite*. Six others were new. They were made after oil paintings or watercolors and executed both at Géricault's studio and

at Dedreux-Dorcy's by Léon Cogniet and Joseph Volmar, supposedly under the master's supervision.<sup>18</sup>

Clément relates that Géricault was not satisfied with the *English Suite* and that he instructed Cogniet and Volmar to put certain changes in the new ones they were executing for Gihaut:

I gather from Mr. Cogniet that Géricault was not satisfied with his *English Suite*. He found that in these plates the light was too disseminated. He recommended his collaborators to cut down the white [areas] found in the blacks, to reinforce the shadows in such a manner as to create more clarity and [to endow them with] heavier qualities. He himself intensified the plates with a crayon and almost all the etching<sup>19</sup> was done by him.<sup>20</sup>

In collecting material for Géricault's biography, Clément interviewed people who either knew Géricault personally or were collectors of his works. Cogniet had worked for Géricault and, according to Clément, also executed his prints for Gihaut frères. Since Clément did not know what Géricault really thought of his *English Suite*, he provided what seemed to him the most accurate interpretation concerning the matter from a man who not only knew Géricault, but was responsible for the execution of his prints. Clément must have considered Cogniet a most reliable source.

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<sup>18</sup> "... de ces douze pièces, six sont, à peu de chose près, la reproduction d'un nombre égal de planches de la suite anglaise. Les six autres, sont nouvelles et ont été faites d'après des tableaux à l'huile ou des aquarelles. Elles ont été exécutées en partie chez M. Dedreux-Dorcy en partie dans l'atelier de Géricault et sous ses yeux, par MM Léon Cogniet et Volmar". Ibid., 400.

<sup>19</sup> Clément refers to the act of scraping off the ink from the stone's surface in order to create highlights. This method was explained in relation to Hullmandel's innovations.

<sup>20</sup> "Je tiens de M. Cogniet que Géricault n'était pas satisfait de la suite anglaise. Il trouvait que dans les planches, la lumière était trop disséminée. Il recommandait à ses collaborateurs d'elaguer le blanc qui se trouvait dans les noirs, de renforcer les ombres, de manière à donner plus de franchise et quelques chose de plus gras au travail. Il a lui même remis des vigueurs aux crayons dans toutes les planches et presque tout le travail de grattoir est de lui". Ibid., 400.

However, it is more likely that he quoted Cogniet's recollection in the absence of a more reliable source. No autographic testimony affirms Géricault's ideas about the *English Suite*; we cannot be certain whether Géricault was or was not satisfied with the technical results of the prints. Cogniet, so Clément presumed, was a perfect source of information on this matter since he must have had his master's confidence as an executioner of his prints. Yet, just because Cogniet was the executioner of Géricault's prints, his testimony must be considered with more caution, first because he was the very person responsible for the significant changes put in them, and second, because his testimony was related to Clément more than forty years after he executed Géricault's plates. It seems more likely that Cogniet was describing to Clément what he (and probably Volmar) had done with Géricault's prints rather than what their master prescribed.<sup>21</sup>

Lorenz Eitner is very critical of Géricault's last works. In referring to the *Études de chevaux* series, he claimed that "the result was far from happy", that "it falls short of its English model".<sup>22</sup> He is right. Yet, Eitner claims that the young artists – Cogniet and Volmar, and Géricault himself, are to blame for the unhappy result. "It is tempting to blame the prints' peculiar dryness and their dead grainy textures on Cogniet and Volmar, but they probably bear part of the blame: Géricault's own lithographs of the time are of a strikingly uneven quality."<sup>23</sup> In the particular case of *Études*

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<sup>21</sup> One may also wonder why Cogniet did not tell Clément (or why Clément did not bother to ask Cogniet) whether Géricault was satisfied with his and Volmar's execution of the new version of the *English Suite*. If such an interview were to take place, it is almost certain that Clément would have come up with no answer to his question; criticising one's own production is usually harder to do than voicing an opinion of someone else's. Cogniet could easily claim that after a period of forty years, he could not remember what his master thought of his execution of *Études de chevaux*.

<sup>22</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 241.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

*de chevaux* it seems that Eitner's sense of 'fairness' was carried too far; it can not serve as an excuse for Cogniet's and Volmar's bad execution.

*The Watering Trough (L'abreuvoir, fig. 62)*, the frontispiece for *Études de chevaux* is the only print in the series almost entirely drawn with a pen. It stands out and therefore presumably was drawn by Géricault himself, without the aid of his assistants. Its general appearance is reminiscent of the frontispiece for the *English Suite*, which was drawn with a pen as well and therefore differs from the rest of the prints included in the series. A close examination will reveal that it is different from the rest of the *Études de chevaux* prints, leading us to conclude that it was executed by the master rather than by the two young assistants.

The print is anything but "dry" or "dead". *The Watering Trough* shows the master's easy flowing lines on the shaded figure of the horse tender, the free flowing lines of the plant leaves, the movement of the horses and the dynamism of the water stream filling the marble basin. The linear quality of the print is given depth and volume by simple cross-hatching (fig. 62a, 62b). The shading of the fountain was done by the grainy dabbing technique mentioned above which Géricault perfected at Hullmandel's. With such minimal tools Géricault imbued the print with a convincing atmosphere: the shaded areas suggest a harmonious coolness in the middle of a hot day.

But what happens when two young artists (about whose expertise in lithography we know very little) are given works of art and are told by the publisher to copy them? Copying is a process which, in principle, may produce great works of art only on condition that the copyist is a great master himself. But when copying is put into the hands of second rate artists, it usually results in

poor imitation, in most cases a pale repetition of the most superficial qualities of the original.

Cogniet and Volmar are to blame twice for what they did to Géricault's prints: first they copied them badly and second, they apparently decided, to correct them. They 'ironed' all the 'creases' in Géricault's prints. They 'cleaned' some of the master's 'mistakes', they strove to make the prints more 'legible' by turning them into supposedly convincing realistic renderings in which every element appears 'as it should'. In other words, Volmar and Cogniet robbed Géricault's prints of all the traces of mystery and drama they contained in the original. More boldly said, they gave Géricault's masterpieces the simplified look of commercially-oriented souvenir prints.

A close observation of Volmar's and Cogniet's interpretation of Géricault's *English Suite* will reveal that the process of simplification, accompanied by a striving for 'clarity', changed the formal elements of the prints:

- a. some figures appearing in the original were deleted and not included in the 'corrected' version.
- b. some architectural settings appearing in the original were deleted and not included in the 'corrected' version.
- c. chiar'oscuro effects were reconstructed in the 'corrected' version.
- d. human (and horse) proportions were copied badly as well as their poses and gestures. The bad copying caused figures and animals in the 'corrected' version to lose the realistic, convincing characteristics they possess in the originals.
- e. facial expressions were copied badly. The 'correction' resulted in blank expressions.

All these changes contributed to the creation of new compositions; when compared with the original, they lack the animation, the freshness, and the power so convincingly rendered by Géricault. It seems, then, that Cogniet's 'testimony', as recorded by Clément, was in fact a description of his own methods of execution rather than the ones requested by Géricault.

The most obvious fact about the *English Suite* reproductions in *Études de chevaux* is that they are reversed (mirror images). This in itself changes the compositional dynamics of the original. The pairs are as follows:

|                                                                                                           |                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Études de chevaux</i><br><i>The Coal Wagon (Le chariot de charbon fig. 114)</i>                        | <i>The English Suite</i><br><i>The Coal Wagon (fig.56)</i> |
| <i>Two Grey Spotted Horses Exercising</i><br><i>(Deux chevaux gris pommelée que l'on promène fig. 79)</i> | <i>Horses Exercising (fig.74)</i>                          |
| <i>The French Farrier (Le maréchal français fig.115)</i>                                                  | <i>The French Farrier (fig.66)</i>                         |
| <i>The Flemish Farrier (Le maréchal flamand)</i>                                                          | <i>The Flemish Farrier (fig.67)</i>                        |
| <i>Horses Conducted to a Fair</i><br><i>(Chevaux conduits à la foire fig.116)</i>                         | <i>Horses Going to a Fair (fig.60)</i>                     |
| <i>The English Farrier (Le maréchal anglais fig 117)</i>                                                  | <i>The English Farrier (fig.68)<sup>24</sup></i>           |

A small deletion in *The French Farrier (Le maréchal français fig.115)* is that of the lettering “AL RRANT” (“MARÉCHAL FERRANT”) which was included by Géricault in his print in the *English Suite* (fig. 66b) probably in order to denote the ‘French’ characteristics of the establishment; apparently, it was not necessary to include it in the French version. Another deletion, not insignificant, is that of the milestone in *Horses Conducted to a Fair (Chevaux conduits à la foire, fig. 116)*. In the original version (fig. 60) the ‘classical’ milestone served as an

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<sup>24</sup> The rest of the prints included in this series (Delteil 80-92) are as follows:

82. *An Old Horse at the Door of an Inn (Vieux cheval à la porte d'une auberge).*

86. *The Lime Worker's Horse (Le cheval du plâtrier).*

88. *Two Post Horses at the Entrance to a Stable (Deux chevaux de poste à la porte d'une écurie).*

89. *A Boy Feeding Oats to a Horse (Garçon donnant l'avoine à un cheval détélé).*

92. *A Black Tied Horse in a Stable (Cheval noir attaché dans une écurie).*



integral part of the calculated 'arc' composition. It served, also, to place the horses and their tenders in a realistic setting by suggesting that the path they travel on is a real one. The deletion of the milestone in the French print makes the scene less specific and changes the spectator's angle of vision: it is lower. We are looking at the horses and their tenders from below. François Bergot observed that the blacks and greys which form the shadows in this print endow it with a less poetic aspect than the original.<sup>25</sup>

As opposed to such 'small' deletions, that of eliminating one of the farriers from *The English Farrier* (*Le maréchal anglais*, fig. 117)<sup>26</sup> may not be taken so lightly. Géricault's original print (fig. 68) was carefully and masterfully composed, based on the goal of rendering a realistic scene, animated convincingly by a calculated depiction of the action and reaction of the figures (human and animal) within a relevant setting. The English farrier depicted in the Cogniet version (fig. 117) is working alone in the smithy. His partner is deleted, thus leaving him to cope with a nervous horse all by himself. With one hand he is holding the horse's hoof, in the other a pair of pliers. He is looking straight at the horse who lifts its left front leg in the air. Comparison with the original (fig. 68) reveals how logical, and therefore so realistic, was Géricault's rendering of a chain of reactions during a process of horse shoeing: a horse became nervous while a farrier was nailing a new shoe to its hoof; at the same time, another farrier was in the process of removing the nails from a horse's hoof. The latter stopped his action abruptly, and with his right hand tried to quiet

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<sup>25</sup> "L'utilisation différente des noirs, des blancs et des ombres lui donne un aspect beaucoup moins poétique". Bergot, *Géricault, tout l'oeuvre gravé*, 93.

<sup>26</sup> Bergot noted the deletion of the second farrier and the change of perspective. "Un personnage manque et le fond n'est pas tout à fait le même". Ibid., 97

the nervous horse so that his colleague could go on with his job. This logical chain of events is lost and gone in Cogniet's version. Since there is no logic in it, its narrative is no longer convincing.

Apart from the deletion of one of the farriers, Cogniet also changed the architectural setting. In the original print (fig. 68), the figures were set in a corner of a building, in front of the meeting point of two walls, the one to the right with windows opened in it. The receding floor line, rendered in exaggerated perspective, forces the observer's eye to focus on the two main figures of the print. In Cogniet's version, the perspective was 'corrected': it is no longer exaggerated. The right wall is not receding into the depth of the print's space. Rather, it is set parallel to the picture plane, robbing the composition of its focal point and emphasizing the dark horse's hind part, endowing it with similar significance to the lonely farrier and horse group. Cogniet's 'corrected' version lacks the convincing narrative of the original and its expressive power of composition.

Joseph Volmar is responsible for another perspectival 'correction' in *Two Post Horses at the Entrance to a Stable* (*Deux chevaux de poste à la porte d'une écurie* fig. 119) of the *Études de chevaux* series. Once again, the door (on the extreme left of the print) is rendered 'correctly', guiding the spectator's gaze into the stable where oats, or some other kind of grain, were added behind a wooden enclosure to suggest the 'real' appearance of a stable. Géricault's original oil painting (fig. 120) is more ambiguous, the entrance to the stable is dark and the whole atmosphere is mysterious.

In *A Series of Eight Small Pieces (Suite de huit petites pièces)*<sup>27</sup> Géricault placed all figures (men and horses) in semi-abstract backgrounds, very minimally rendered. 'Shadows', or dark grainy areas surround the various protagonists in a rounded contour (fig. 122), establishing a similar effect to that of a 'peep-show' lens. A similar 'framing' was designed by the artist for the prints in *Studies of Horses Lithographed by Géricault*.<sup>28</sup> Most of the prints are outlined by an elliptical frame which endows them with a decorative format (figs. 123, 124). There are very few settings depicted within it. Some of the prints are made as pastiches of earlier works by Géricault. For example, *Cheval cauchois* (fig. 125) includes three horses tied to a pole (on the right of the print): they are taken from *The Horse Market* (fig. 63) *The Arabian Horse (Cheval arabe, fig. 72)* is a variation on *The Arabian Horse* from the *English Suite* (fig. 71). Most of the horses depicted in this series are classified according to their countries of origin. Since they contain minimal

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<sup>27</sup> The series titles are as follows (Delteil 58-65):

- 58. *A Horse Exercised Before the Race (Cheval que l'on promène avant la course)*.
- 59. *The Race (La course)*.
- 60. *A Carriage Horse Leaving a Lime Factory (Cheval de charette sorti des limons)*.
- 61. *The Two Harnessed Horses (Les Deux chevaux harnachés)*.
- 62. *Cuirassiers Charging a Battery of Artillery (Cuirassiers chargeant une batterie d'artillerie)*.
- 63. *Hussards' Trumpet (Trompette des Hussards)*.
- 64. *Artillery Officer Commanding an Attack (Officier d'artillerie commandant la charge)*.

<sup>28</sup> *Études de chevaux lithographiés par Géricault* includes the following prints (Delteil 46-57):

- 46. *The Mare and its Colt (Le jument et son poulain)*.
- 47. *Macklembourg Horse (Cheval de Macklembourg)*.
- 48. *Horse of the Auvergne Region (Cheval d'Auvergne)*.
- 49. *Caucasian Horse (Cheval cauchois)*.
- 50. *A Spanish Horse (Cheval espagnol)*.
- 51. *Horses of the Ardennes Region (Chevaux des Ardennes)*.
- 52. *A Horse of the Caen Plane (Cheval de la plaine de Caen)*.
- 53. *A Hanoverian Horse (Cheval d'Hanovre)*.
- 54. *An English Horse (Cheval anglais)*.
- 55. *Flemish Horses (Chevaux flamands)*.
- 56. *An Arabian Horse (Cheval arabe)*.
- 57. *An Egyptian Mare (Jument égyptienne)*.

backgrounds (if any), the 'regional' specifications were generally suggested in them by the costumes worn by each of the figures (and sometimes by the horses' types).

In the *English Suite* Géricault created for each print an individual setting which was based on a specific perspectival construction fitted for the unique print. Each one of the constructions was designed to create special relations between beholder and the work of art. He took special care to create a convincing action and reaction in realistic scenes which convey an authentic narrative. Architectural as well as open-air backgrounds were meticulously rendered. All of them show a continuation of the serious preparatory work and careful research that had characterised the preparation of the *Medusa*. Each of the *English Suite* prints is suffused with a similar striving for verism and material fact. However, after his return to France, when his strength was ebbing from the pressure of an illness he did not want to acknowledge, and he was removed from the direct stimulus in England that had made the execution of the *English Suite* possible, Géricault had to support himself by creating series of prints out of which only a few can match the *English Suite* in vigor.

#### *The 'English Suite' 's Influence on Later Works by Géricault*

The *English Suite* shows Géricault's complete departure from several significant former characteristics of his monumental style. The Baroque grandeur with which he endowed his heroes of the *Race of the Riderless Horses*, for example, is all gone. The heroic poses, based on classical

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prototypes, which he chose for the victims of *The Raft of the Medusa* were discarded as well. The interest in human misery and the toils and troubles of the lower classes did not cease to preoccupy his mind. Yet, after his return to France, Géricault's artistic production was quite limited. He died two years after his return from England. In trying to assess the English influence on his artistic work, one is confined to few works.

In her discussion of Géricault's English experience, Suzanne Lodge showed that English culture left a significant mark on his work:

If the works from Géricault's English period had been destroyed it would still be possible to infer a great deal about this stage in his artistic development...The English phase was one of stressful change and development, which left Géricault's art divided and his perceptions almost painfully sensitive.<sup>29</sup>

The English experience endowed Géricault's later works with two new aspects: perceptive naturalism which interprets human pathos, and reticent monumentality of landscape. The first is manifested in the series of paintings of *The Insane* (*Les aliénés*, figs. 126, 127, 128); the second in *The Lime Kiln* (*Le four à plâtre* fig. 129). The strange sombre-looking lime kiln was best described by Eitner:

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<sup>29</sup> Lodge, "Géricault in England," 616.

The desolation of this mired slope, the impressive monolith of the factory, the dismal idleness of the horses and the absence of human beings make this a strangely disturbing picture.<sup>30</sup>

Eitner saw in this work an intensely personal statement, “a projection of a state of depression.”<sup>31</sup> He claimed that *The Lime Kiln* had nothing to do with those ‘satanic mills’ (like de Louthembourg’s). This last statement, which tries to see *The Lime Kiln* only as a projection of a personal mood, can be qualified when we consider that dark moods were common to many periods in Géricault’s life – before, during and after his English sojourn – and not only to his last years. *The Lime Kiln*, rather, is suffused with the artist’s English experience: the rendering of barren industrial landscapes as he himself depicted in *Ploughing in England* (fig. 28) and *The Coal Wagon* (fig. 56). It also shows a departure from the French tradition of landscape painting and many more similarities to the industrial landscapes of John Linnel and Philip de Louthembourg, as mentioned above. *The Lime Kiln* differs from contemporary depictions of romantic landscapes. The landscape depicted in it gives the impression of death; it is devoid of any movement. There is not a single living, leafy tree in it. Traces of neglect and dilapidation are all around and the bareness of the scene gives it character. It goes without saying that all these characteristics are a result of Géricault’s preoccupation with the various aspects of poverty and menial work so profoundly researched and expressed in the *English Suite*.

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<sup>30</sup> Eitner, *Géricault, His Life and Work*, 254.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

It is not surprising that the next subject Géricault began to deal with shortly after his return to France was *Portraits of the Insane (Les aliénés)*. His interest in human misery, so evident in the *English Suite*, has expanded and has gone deeper in his further research into the human soul. Géricault's preoccupation with the horrific subject of the insane as early as 1821 sets an excellent precedent for the series of ten portraits he made of insane people in Paris, about a year after his return from England.<sup>32</sup> Suzanne Lodge claimed that his *Portraits of the Insane* are suffused with English influences. As an example she cites Géricault's *Portrait of a Woman Addicted to Gambling (Monomanie du jeu* fig. 127) and claimed that it was based on David Wilkie's depiction of the soldier's wife in *Chelsea Pensioners...* (fig. 13). She finds that the desperate expression of the woman's face in Géricault's portrait is emphasized by the two white areas of the bonnet she is wearing.<sup>33</sup> Though the women in both paintings wear similar bonnets, it would have been hard for Géricault to use the soldier's wife from Wilkie's painting as a source since the only parts of her face shown in the painting are her eyes and forehead. It would be more likely to assume that Géricault based the portrayal of *A Woman Addicted to Gambling* on formal ideas already contained in his own portrayal of the paralytic-insane woman in *A Paralytic Woman* (fig. 102).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> There is still an unsolved controversy among scholars as to the period in Géricault's life when he began working on *Les aliénés*; while Aime-Azam claims that he started working on them after his return from Fericy, at the end of 1819, Eitner and Grunhech believe they were started at Georget's initiative after the artist's return from England, namely in 1822. For a summary of the controversy see: *Géricault* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 286.

<sup>33</sup> Lodge, "Géricault in England," 625.

<sup>34</sup> The similarity between the bonnets depicted in *A Paralytic Woman* and the one worn by *Portrait of a Woman Suffering from Obsession of Envy (Monomanie de l'envie*, fig. 126) is much more plausible.

In treating the *Portraits of the Insane* (figs. 126, 127, 128) Boime relates Géricault's depiction of their facial expressions as well as their clothing, claiming that while the sitters' clothing endows them with a shabby appearance, their faces don't betray obvious signs of madness.<sup>35</sup> He sees a resemblance between the *aliénés* clothing and the costume of the street people the artist saw in London.<sup>36</sup> The most significant characteristic which he sees in the *Portraits of the Insane* is the obliviousness they seem to display to the spectator, a characteristic which suggests the artist's concealment.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, Géricault's concealed presence and his distant approach -- two characteristics which brought about an atmosphere of alienation -- are typical of most of the works he executed in England. The English experience imbues the *Portraits of the Insane* with shocking expressive powers.

*Foretelling a Future Interest:  
The Relation of the 'English Suite' to French Realism*

When Géricault died, only three of his paintings and some published lithographs were known to the public. His closest friends were the only people who had knowledge of his entire work. Because of such little public exposure of his works, Géricault came to be known in the nineteenth-century as *le peintre de la Méduse*. The whereabouts of the now celebrated *Portraits of the Insane* remained unknown for forty years. They were discovered by chance in 1863 by Louis Viardot, an art critic, who found them in "a dusty corner of a granary, unframed and rolled up in a

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<sup>35</sup> Boime, "Portraying Monomaniacs," 89.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.



package, one on top of the other”<sup>38</sup> in the possession of a doctor in Baden-Baden. Viardet offered them for sale but even the Louvre wouldn’t buy them.

Artists, critics and historians of the nineteenth-century based their notion of Géricault’s place within French painting only on his known works. These were either greatly admired or bitterly criticised. His work was recognized and condemned by artists and art critics of the mid-century who, in their battle against Courbet and Realism traced to him the decline of the *beau idéal*. Ingres is known to have said the following:

I wish they would take that picture of the *Medusa* and its acolytes, those two big *Dragoons*, out of the Louvre and put the one into some corner of the Ministry of the Navy and the other two into the Ministry of War, so they won’t corrupt the taste of the public which must only be conditioned to the Beautiful... I don’t want any part of the *Medusa* and those other pictures of the dissecting room which show man as a cadaver, which show only the Ugly, the Hideous. No! I don’t want them! Art must be nothing but beauty and teach us nothing but Beauty.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *Géricault* ( Paris: Grand Palais, 1992), 244.

<sup>39</sup> “...Je voudrais qu’on enlevât du Louvre ce tableau de *la Meduse* ces deux grands *Dragons*, ses acolytes; que l’on plaçât l’un dans quelque coin du Ministère de la marine, les deux autres au Ministère de la guerre, pour qu’ils ne corrompent plus le goût du public qu’il faut accoutumer uniquement à ce qui est beau...Je ne veux pas de cette Méduse et de ces autres tableaux d’amphithéâtre qui ne reproduisent que le laid, le hideux: non, je n’en veux pas! L’art ne doit être que le beau et ne nous enseigner que le beau.” Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Écrits sur l’art* (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1994), 87-88.

As opposed to Ingres, there were those who acclaimed Géricault's realism. In 1851 Gustave Planche, one of the most important critics of the nineteenth-century, expressed his view of Géricault's realism:

...Géricault imitates reality with persevering care; he tries to reproduce all of its details scrupulously, and his efforts are almost always successful. The torso of the young man lying at his father's feet, undoubtedly the most remarkable figure in the painting which I am now studying [*The Raft of the Medusa*] leaves nothing to be desired from the point of view of imitation: ...Neither David nor Girodet nor Gros ever found, painting the human figure, the power and energy which we admire in Géricault. Girodet's *Deluge*, so rightly praised for the knowledge it reveals, remains far short of the figure which immediately attracts our attention in the *Raft of the Medusa*.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, Géricault's most celebrated painting became a source for future Realist artists such as Daumier and Manet. The pose of Daumier's dead victim of the *Rue Transnonain* (fig. 130) is

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<sup>40</sup> "...Géricault...traite avec un soin persévérant de la réalité; il s'efforce d'en reproduire tous les détails avec un soin scrupuleux, et ses efforts sont presque toujours couronnés de succès. La poitrine du jeune homme étendu aux pieds de son père, qui est sans contredit la figure la plus remarquable du tableau que j'étudie, ne laisse rien à désirer sous le rapport de l'imitation....Ni David, ni Girodet, ni Gros n'ont jamais trouvé pour représenter la forme humaine, la puissance, l'énergie que nous admirons dans Géricault. *Le Deluge* de Girodet, si justement applaudi d'ailleurs pour la science qu'il nous relève, demeure bien loin de la figure qui tout d'abord attire l'attention dans *le Radeau de la Méduse*." Gustave Planche, "Géricault", *Portraits d'artistes* (Paris: 1853), 311-357. Originally published in *Revue de Deux-Mondes*, x, 1851, 502-531, quoted in Michael Fried, "Manet's Sources: Aspects of his Art 1859-1865," *Artforum* 7 (a special issue, March 1969): 55.

based on the particular figure in Géricault's *Medusa*, so highly acclaimed by Planche, as is Manet's *Dead Christ with Angels* (fig. 131).<sup>41</sup>

Manet and Daumier, as well as other Realist artists, were interested in Géricault's realistic depiction of death. Yet, there were other realistic themes in Géricault's *oeuvre*: depictions of contemporary events, veristic renditions of the poor, the maimed and the insane, menial workers performing their daily chores. These were mainly executed in prints. The bias against prints, which were considered inferior to paintings, may have inhibited appreciation of Géricault's achievements.

Géricault's interest in contemporary events, his skill at rendering veristic actions in his works were manifested twenty, or even thirty years before French Realist artists dealt with such subjects. Yet, when the Realist movement was at its beginning stages, when it looked for models from the past, Géricault's *oeuvre* was hardly consulted. The art critic Théophile Thoré (1807-1869), who belonged to the first generation of Realism, believed that the new art had a duty to work for the betterment of human conditions. He was among the first to acclaim Millet, Courbet, Daumier, and Manet. Thoré sought realist artists from the past who could serve as models for the new Realists; he believed that there always had been realist artists and that their work had to be studied and understood before the new art could be founded.<sup>42</sup> He regarded Carravaggio, Velasquez, Murillo, the LeNains and Chardin (and others) as suitable precursors of Realism. It is interesting to note that Géricault's name is not mentioned among them, for in his work he touched at least on two

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 55-56.

subjects which were so dear to the Realist painters thirty years after his death: the plight of the poor, their exploitation and neglect (tied with the modern theme of Charity), and the life of the ordinary workers or the dignity of manual labor.

Géricault's innovative preoccupation with Realist themes was hardly mentioned even in contemporary scholarly tracings of the origins of French Realism. In her seminal work *Realism*, Linda Nochlin mentions Géricault's *oeuvre* but once. She discusses *The Raft of the Medusa* as a contrasting example for the lack of pathos in Manet's painting *The Escape of Rochefort* of 1880.<sup>43</sup> Other than that, Géricault's realism is not touched upon. Most of Nochlin's observations on Courbet's role as the first artist to treat the theme of charity,<sup>44</sup> the poor and the modern worker as a Realist, may be ascribed to Géricault's *English Suite* prints which dealt with the same subjects thirty years prior to Courbet's preoccupation with them.

Géricault dealt with these themes in the *English Suite*, basing his concern for social abuse almost solely on his keen observation. Less than twenty years after his death, the subject of the poor and the hardships in which the working classes labored was extended into literature. Books not only exposed social evils but provided the reader with the reasons for them. Fregier's *Des classes dangereuses de la population dans les grandes villes et des moyens de les rendre meilleures* (Paris, 1840) offered ready explanations for social unrest and for the marked increase in

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<sup>42</sup> Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition, French Painting and Drawing 1830-1900* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1981), 2.

<sup>43</sup> Nochlin, *Realism*, 184-185.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

urban crime. Eugène Buret's *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* (Paris 1840) and Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844)<sup>45</sup> treated the hardships under which the working classes labored, as did Abbe Mullois's *La Charité de la Misère à Paris* (1854-57).

The crowded city of Paris offered endless testimony of misery and poverty. Charity remained an official means for alleviating that misery. The situation of the poor in Paris of the 1840's and 1850's differed very little from that of Rome in Bartolomeo Pinelli's days or from that of London during Géricault's sojourn. The difference lay in the fact that during this period more artists were interested in depicting the subject of the worker and the poor in their works. By the 1820's another *Cris de Paris dessinés d'après nature* was published. It was used by painters and lithographers (such as Gavarni) when they depicted urban scenes. The types in this publication provided historically accurate details about dress, customs and character that supplemented the vocabulary of the Realist artists.<sup>46</sup> Such books were not available to Géricault when he worked on the *English Suite*.

The early 1840's saw an explosion of illustrated literature on urban and provincial professions, including beggars. *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, a 'study of public and private customs' first published in 1839, served many Realist artists, including Manet, in their depiction of

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<sup>45</sup> Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Social Concern and the Artist, French Prints from 1830-1910* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1974), 5.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

the lower classes in their contemporary world.<sup>47</sup> In her discussion of the theme of *charity* in nineteenth century art, Linda Nochlin states that

The traditional classical and Christian theme of charity -- which had already been transformed and renovated by being given political relevance in the eighteenth-century -- was now re-interpreted in a more concrete and class conscious vein appropriate to current social preoccupations.<sup>48</sup>

Nochlin cites Gustave Courbet's *Young Ladies of the Village (Les demoiselles du village)* (fig. 132) as an example of this new Realist treatment of charity. According to Nochlin, what distinguished Courbet's painting from others in the Salon of 1852 was, "...the grandeur of scale, the insistence on the unprepossessing contemporaneity of the costume, and the total lack of any rhetoric, sentimentality or anecdote, as well as the visual immediacy of the setting."<sup>49</sup> Her words could easily serve as a description of Géricault's *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man*, *The Piper*, *The Coal Wagon* and *A Paralytic Woman of the English Suite*. Yet these were made thirty years prior to Courbet's masterpiece. Of course one has to take into consideration the fact that Courbet's work is a painting and Géricault's images are prints.

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<sup>47</sup> Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 11.

<sup>48</sup> Nochlin, *Realism*, 122.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 124-127.

The subjects Géricault was dealing with in the *English Suite* set precedents for many more themes favored by French Realist painters a long time after his death. One was the transformed modern version of Hell as manifested in the almost satanic mills, the horrors of city slums and low drink shops. For the great reformers, investigators, novelists and artists of the mid-nineteenth-century, Nochlin claims that

...the immanent damnation, the hell-on-earth of slums and factories, mills and mines. of personal degradation and spiritual isolation, had been forced upon the members of a specific class or social group -- the working class -- not through any particular individual fault or as a judgement..., but simply through their misfortune at having been born members of the lower class and as a result of the greed and indifference of those who controlled the means of production and of power, alternatively because of the injustice of impersonal social forces which would not be ameliorated by individual moral effort but only by objective understanding and ultimate mass action and revolution.<sup>50</sup>

Géricault's rendering of several professions of the English lower classes were made, again, forty years prior to the period Nochlin is referring to. His dustmen, horse farriers, horse tenders, coachmen, blind piper, beggar, horse traders and coal brokers all share what Nochlin described as "personal degradation and spiritual isolation". This aspect of human suffering was recorded by Géricault in his *English Suite*. Yet, the *English Suite* was not taken as a model for future French Realist artists. One must take into consideration the fact that the *English Suite* was not very well known after Géricault's death. Clément states that the series had 'a great success'; in such a

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

statement he was probably referring to the immediate success of the prints, namely during Géricault's life time, in the 1820's. The fact remains that, due to the French publisher's demands, Géricault excluded all traces of misery contained in the *English Suite* when he published *Études de chevaux* and the other three print series mentioned above. Eitner's recounting of the sales of Géricault's works reveals that important collections of his works were being assembled with discrimination by private collectors. One of the first collectors of Géricault's prints was his student and assistant Alexis Jamar, who sold his entire collection of prints to baron Henri de Triqueti. Hippolyte Belangé, the curator of the Rouen Museum in the 1850's also had a large collection of Géricault's prints.<sup>51</sup> Most of the collections of Géricault's prints were private; they were not exhibited to the general public.

Though definite links of a direct influence of Géricault's *English Suite* on later French artists cannot be traced, some relation, or at least a shared interest in the subjects he was dealing with can be detected in works by French Realists, most of whom did not occupy high places in the hierarchy of nineteenth-century French art. A few examples of their works will reveal that Géricault's works, made fifty years before them, are much more powerful in their straightforward, objective approach.

An early Realist artist who was compared with Balzac during the 1830's because of his interest in the people of Paris, was Paul Gavarni (pseudonym for Guillaume-Sulpice Chevallier, 1804-1866). Gavarni was known as a lithographer. Originally a contributor to *La Mode*, Gavarni

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<sup>51</sup> see the *Introduction*, 3.



specialized in fashion drawings. In 1837 he began to publish lithographs in *Le Charivari*, a periodical in which Daumier published as well.<sup>52</sup> His lithographs gave an insight into the manners of his time; they were documents of the social life of the upper middle class, the stage, and the habits of Parisian life. Gavarni published almost three thousand lithographs.<sup>53</sup> In December 1847, he left Paris for London, seeking rest for a troubled period in his life. In London he keenly observed the types of the London underworld, participated in rat races (!) and never missed a boxing match.<sup>54</sup> Gavarni was shaken by the plight of the city workers and created many drawings depicting this subject. When he returned to France he made lithographs of some of the drawings he made in London.

In “*Hunger? Laziness!*” (fig. 133) from the *Parisian Nonsense (Baliverneries Parisiennes)* series Gavarni depicts a wealthy Parisian passing by a starving beggar. His rationale prevents his conscience from pricking him by the well-accepted notion that the poor are responsible for their state because they choose not to work. In *The Chocolate Vendor (V’la l’coco)* (fig. 134) a smiling young man who leans over to pour the hot drink from two faucets he is holding in his right hand, provides yet another description of an itinerant merchant. However, this last print by Gavarni looks more anecdotal than ‘realistic’: the merchant is ‘happy,’ smiling, and looks at us directly.

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<sup>52</sup> Man, *Artists’ Lithographs*, 42.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>54</sup> Alexis Duplessis, “Gavarni”, *Gazette des Beaux arts*” (1875), 219.

Similar street tradesmen – *Bell Ringers (Les deux sonneurs)* and *An Itinerant Musician (Musicien ambulant)* (fig. 135, 136) – were depicted by Jean-Jacques François Monanteuil (1785-1860), another early Realist artist. The figures in the examples cited invite the spectator to be a ‘participant’ rather than an ‘observer’. They stare at us and thus bring us into their realm.

In 1823 Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845) was one of the French artists to take lithography seriously and used the technique to popularize his scenes from contemporary life. In 1823 Boilly published *Recueil de grimaces (A Collection of Grimaces)*, a series of ninety-two lithographic caricatures of various “types” of French social classes. In his prints Boilly exaggerated the facial features and expressions of the various “types.” In *Smokers and Snuff-Takers (Les fumeurs et les priseurs, fig. 140)* he showed the responses of such “types” to the inhalation of smoke or snuff. The response of each “type” is representative of a certain social class. The figure on the extreme left holds a small cigar to his mouth and looks straight into the eyes of the beholder. This is “the aristocrat.” The old man (to his left in the print) draws a tight face as he cleans out the bowl of his pipe. He is “the bourgeois”. The old working-class woman at the bottom of the print contorts her face as she sniffs snuff from her thumb. The man on the top right of the print puffs on his pipe, turning his face into a defiant scowl. The face of the young working-class woman at the top left is shown in a grotesque distortion as she sneezes from having taken snuff. Boilly’s print is meant to tell the beholder something about the nature of each class.<sup>55</sup> The aristocracy is self-absorbed, the bourgeoisie is miserly, the working class is defiant, crude and even grotesque.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> James Cuno, “Violence, Satire, and Social Types in the Graphic Art of the July Monarchy,” in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Popularization of Images, Visual Culture Under the July Monarchy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 23.

Géricault's sombre realistic approach to the various social classes in the *English Suite* is much more convincing in its objectivity than the portrayal of such "types" in the works of Monatteuil, Gavarni and Boilly, made several years after his death. The alienation and 'distant' approach taken by Géricault in the *English Suite* prints are not found here.

Another French artist on whom London made an unforgettable impression was Gustave Doré (1832-1883). In December 1872, Doré published *London: A Pilgrimage*, one hundred and eighty engraved illustrations accompanied by a text written by Blanchard Jerrold. Jerrold and two private detectives accompanied Doré on his London trip in 1871. The group spent hours in the various districts of London. Doré was dressed in rags so as to allow himself "to blend" into the scenery.<sup>57</sup> Yet the artist had no real contact with his subject-matter and never drew from life. He was accustomed to rely on memory for all his pictures, making very few sketches on the spot and later reworking them into a detailed scene with remarkable accuracy. Jerrold did the backgrounds, houses and monuments, which the master later animated with the figures.

An example of Doré's interest in the plight of the poor is *A Poor Woman in London* (*Pauvresse à Londres* fig.137). In this drawing he contrasted the figure of a poor woman lying on

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> B. Roosevelt, *Life and Reminiscences of Gustave Doré* (Sampson Low, 1885), quoted in Joanna Richardson, *Gustave Doré, a Biography* (London: Cassel, 1980), 103.

a pile of rubble in one of London's slums with the cupola of Saint Paul's Cathedral looming in the background. *Wentworth Street Whitechapel* (fig. 138) is a prime example for Doré's way of conveying his impressions of London's poor. Though all the ingredients of the engraved illustration are probably authentic -- the figures, the costumes, the houses, the sky and the various objects scattered all around -- it looks like a frozen *tableau vivant* spectacle. There is no narrative here; nothing really takes place. Though all the figures in the illustration are depicted in a 'natural' pose, one cannot gather what has brought them together, or what is it that they are witnessing. The group of children (in the front plane) seems to be drawing the attention of two figures: a person with a black top-hat and a man who gazes at them while wiping a plate with a towel. The impression one gets from Doré's illustration is that it is made of an artificial 'pastiche' of various figures set against architectural elements, that lack any sense of proportion (the figures are too large in comparison with a two storey building they are set up against), or any 'message' to be conveyed to the spectator.

Compared with Géricault's stark rendering of *The Organ Grinder* of 1821 (fig. 96), Doré's *The Organ in the Street* (fig. 139) is a mere genre illustration. The figures depicted in Géricault's print give the impression of real people; they are wearing torn clothes, their facial expressions and poses are convincing and were probably authentic. Doré's figures are anything but 'realistic.' All of them are 'types' rather than 'characters'. The children in both *Wentworth Street Whitechapel* and *The Organ in the Street* all wear what seems to be a suggestion of "poor people's clothes" ("poor people's hats" included). They are nicely combed and can't stop their feet from dancing to the gay melodies of the organ player's music. The organ grinder himself is a type characterised by

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nothing but the artist's romantic vision of a street musician. He is dressed in anything but contemporary clothes. He conveys a 'merry making' atmosphere. He happily turns the handle with one hand and hugs his 'exotic' monkey with the other. Yet, in reality, walking around town with a musical instrument on one's shoulders was not so easy. A street-organ must have been quite a heavy instrument -- one may gather that to be a fact from Géricault's drawing (fig. 96) in which the organ grinder's body stoops under the heavy weight of the musical instrument while his wife is the one who turns the handle.

The few examples by Gavarni, Monanteuil and Doré reveal that the approach taken by them in depicting the poor was subdued, anecdotal: their works are more palpable, easier to digest. Their depictions of street people exhibit them as 'curious' phenomena, as types, rather than real, suffering people, whose look was a terrible sight to behold. In comparison, Géricault's attempt at taking an objective, distant look, shows the great sympathy he felt for his subjects.

Géricault's personal interpretation of English verism so masterfully manifested in the *English Suite* was, then, a first artistic documentation of the lower classes in which the artist observed the protagonists, did not soften and 'decorate' their appearance, but presented them to the beholder with a pre-conceived decision to strive for the utmost realistic observation.

## CONCLUSION

If Théodore Géricault had lived longer, it seems logical that he might have developed some of the subjects included in the *English Suite* into large scale oil paintings. The 'misery in the streets of London', as well as the various depictions of horses and tenders were included in the general context of his sensitivity to social abuse and to the relation of man and animal. The various drawings he dedicated to such themes as the abolition of slavery and the Inquisition were intended for a series of large scale paintings which were never realized. In dealing with the margins of society -- including the insane -- Géricault touched upon themes shunned by his contemporaries but recognized by authors and artists many years after his death. The depiction of such themes in the *English Suite* is one of the first artistic attempts at making a 'low' subject into a great modern masterpiece.

In the *English Suite* Géricault treated contemporary aspects of social abuse. He described the hard lives of coal-brokers and thus indirectly touched upon the terrible social conditions of the English lower classes. His series of prints exhibits an indirect, yet powerful observation of English social stratas through the symbolic role of the horse. Both low and high English classes are represented in the *English Suite* by working people: the menial workers such as coal brokers and farriers and the horse tenders, working for the elite in taking care of high-bred and groomed horses.

Géricault was always fascinated with the subplot. By focusing the attention on un-heroic, everyday acts, he ranks with the best Realists. Through stressing the subplot he succeeded in creating a powerful tool for drawing the spectator's attention to the phenomenon he was trying to convey. By creating a closed world for most of his *English Suite* compositions, Géricault eliminated direct contact between them and the spectator. Thus he gave the spectator the role of an observer, an onlooker, a role in which he/she is not called upon to be an active participant in the action which takes place within the work of art.

The twenty year span between the invention of lithography and the publication of Géricault's *English Suite* exhibit a slow development of its use by artists. From modest beginnings in which the specific characteristics of the new medium were explored, the lithographs by Géricault show a virtuoso mastering of the new technique. While English masters treated lithography basically as a means for reproduction, Géricault was one of the first to use it as an independent medium and imbue it with dramatic, expressive powers. His lithographs are, perhaps, the first works of art created in the new medium of lithography to equal oil paintings. The *English Suite* in particular can be counted as one of the first cases of European art in which prints, that are both relatively small in scale and executed in black and white, equal large scale oil paintings in their powerful, communicative, and expressive traits.

The printed works of Francisco Goya, Géricault's contemporary, received much more attention from scholars. Indeed, scholarly research of Goya's prints is a necessity taken for granted in the overall analysis of his artistic endeavor. Nobody would doubt the fact that Goya's series of the *Disasters of War*, for example, was created in the medium best-suited for the subject,

that of etching and aquatint. Yet, Géricault's prints, executed in the new medium of lithography, haven't received the merit they deserve because they were still wrongly compared with his paintings and seen as inferior to them.

Géricault's *English Suite* prints are individual masterpieces celebrating the artist's new and bold realistic approach to subject matter carried out through the new printing medium of lithography. Such a status for prints was given them only many years after Géricault's death, during the French Barbizon revival of printmaking and later on, when lithography gained its importance through the works of the Realists, Impressionists and Symbolist artists.

The contemporary scholarly research, which gained great impetus through the *Géricault* exhibition held at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1992 offers Géricault scholars great opportunities for further research. Such scholarly attempts may further stress the *English Suite*'s significant role in establishing the link between Géricault's English experience and the last two years of his artistic *oeuvre*. His preoccupation with beggars, street merchants, and the other characters of the lower classes of Britain as well as with the maimed and sick surely would have had a continuation as subject matters in his future work, had he lived longer. The germ for these subjects was formed in England.

As with most of his other works, Géricault's *English Suite* conveys a pessimistic message, a modern look at a society which cares very little for its poor and maimed. There is no salvation for the poor and for the lower classes as a whole. The general concept of Géricault as a Romantic artist was mingled with an appraisal for his realistic depictions of human suffering, exhibited



mainly in his paintings. The detailed iconographic and formal analysis of his *English Suite* prints, allows one to further appreciate his realist tendencies and to establish him as a most significant precursor of French Realism.

## Appendix I

Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde presentées par des Figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart, avec une Explication Historique. & quelques Dissertations curieuses*, Tome second, Amsterdam, chez J. F. Bernard, MDCCXXIII.

### "Cérémonie de laver les pieds aux pauvres"

Cette cérémonie s'appelle en Italien le *Mandato*, à cause de l'antienne qui commence par ces paroles, *Mandatum novum*, laquelle se chante à cette cérémonie. Les rituels appellent aussi cette Cérémonie *Mandatum*. Voici comment un auteur moderne a décrit cette Cérémonie qui imite l'action de Jésus-Christ, à l'égard des ses douze Apôtres. Le Pape et les Cardinaux s'étant rendus à la Salle Ducale où se fait la Cérémonie de laver les pieds, les Cardinaux Diacres Assistants mettent à S. S. l'étole violette, le chape rouge, la mitre simple. Toutes les Éminences comparaissent en chapes violettes S.S. met dans l'encensoir trois cuillers pleines d'aromates, & bénit le Cardinal Diacre qui doit chanter l'Evangile *Ante diem festum Pasche*. Après que tout cela est chanté, un Soudiacre Apostolique vient donner à baiser le livre de l'Evangile au Pape, & le Cardinal Diacre lui presente trois fois le parfum de son encensoir. Incontinent après un Choeur de Musiciens entonne le verset 34 du même Chapitre que nous venons de citer, où il y a *Mandatum novum do vobis, je vous donne un nouveau commandement*.

Le Pape entendant chanter ces paroles ôte sa chape & prenant un tablier lave les pieds à treize pauvres Prêtres étrangers, qui sont assis sur un banc élevé & vêtus d'un habit de camelot blanc,

avec une espèce de capuchon, qui leur vient jusqu'à la moitié des bras. Ou dit à la cour du Pape que c'est là un habit à l'Apostolique. Ces prêtres ont la jambe droite nue, & bien savonnée, avant que de la venir présenter découverte, & c'est celle là que le Pape leur lave, après quoi il leur faut donner par son trésorier à chacun deux Médailles, l'une d'or & l'autre d'argent, qui pèsent une once la pièce, & le Majordome leur donne une serviette avec laquelle le Doien des Cardinaux, ou un des plus anciens Évêques du Collège Apostolique leur essuie les pieds: ensuite le Pape retourne à sa chaise, ôte son tablier, se lave les mains dans l'eau qui lui est versée par le plus noble Laïque de la compagnie, & se les essuie avec la serviette que lui présente le premier Cardinal Évêque. Cela étant fait, le Pape reprend sa Chape & sa mitre, puis entonne l'Oraison Dominicale & dit plusieurs autres prières en Latin. Quand elles sont finies il s'en va à la Chambre du lit des parements, sur lequel ayant mis tous ses habit pontificaux, il se retire dans son appartement où les Cardinaux l'accompagnent.

Cette Cérémonie se fait à peu près de même dans l'autres Eglises à Rome & ailleurs par les Évêques & par les Curés. Le lieu où se fait la cérémonie doit être orné & parfumé de fleurs & d'herbes odoriférantes. Il doit y avoir au moins une table en forme d'Autel proprement couverte. La Croix doit être voilée d'un voile blanc, pour marquer la pureté, dont la Cérémonie de laver les pieds est l'emblème; & comme tout doit correspondre avec cette idée, les Rituels remarquent que les chandelles qui éclairent cet acte solennel doivent être faites de la cire la plus blanche. Les Crédences & les bassins à mettre l'eau doivent être aussi ornés de fleurs.

Les treize Prêtres qui ont eu les pieds lavés de la main du Pape, & auxquels on donne ce jour le nom d'Apôtres, sont une heure après conduits dans une belle chambre du Vatican, où est une représentation de la bataille de l'empereur Constantin, qui est un des plus beaux chefs d'oeuvre de

la peinture qu'on puisse voir à Rome. On donne à ces treize prêtres un dîner très magnifique dans cette salle. Le Pape trouve lorsqu'ils s'asseient à table, & leur présente à chacun le premier plat, & quelque temps après leur verse le premier verre de vin, en leur parlant familièrement sur diverses matières, à l'ocasion desquelles il leur accorde plusieurs grâces & privilèges, ensuite de quoi il se retire.

Le prédicateur ordinaire du Pape commence pour lors à faire un sermon dans la même Salle, pendant que ces treize Prêtres achèvent de dîner, au lieu de la lecture spirituelle qui se fait dans les sociétés Ecclesiastiques durant le repas.....

La Cérémonie finit par un beau festin que le S. Père donne aux Cardinaux, & le Festin est suivi d'une Musique excellente. C'est de cette façon que Rome voit renouveler tous les ans l'Image de la Cène de Jesus-Christ avec ses Apôtres. Les magistrats du peuple *Romain* assistent à l'ablution des pieds, qui se fait dans *l'Hôpital de Saint Jean de Lateran*: la même fonction se fait encore solennellement à la *Consolation* & ailleurs.

## Appendix II

Thomas Moss/*The Beggar*

Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!

Whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door,

Whose days are dwindled to the shortest span.

Oh! give relief - and heaven will bless your store.

These tattered clothes my poverty speak,

These hoary locks proclaim my lengthened years,

And many a furrow in my grief-worn cheek

Has been a channel to a stream of tears.

Yon house, erected on the rising ground,

With tempting aspect drew me from my road,

For Plenty there a residence has found,

And Grandeur a magnificent abode.

Hard is the fate of the infirm and poor!

Here craving for a morsel of their bread,

A pampered menial forced me from the door

To seek a shelter in a humbler shed.

Oh! take me to your hospitable dome,  
Keen blows the wind and piercing is the cold!  
Short is my passge to the friendly tomb,  
For I am poor - and miserably old.

Should I reveal the source of every grief,  
If soft humanity e'er touched your breast,  
Your hands would not withhold the kind relief,  
And tears of pity could not be repressed.

Heaven sends misfortunes - why should we repine?  
'Tis heaven has brought me to that state you see:  
And your condition may be soon like mine,  
The child of sorrow and of misery.

A little farm was my paternal lot,  
Then like the lark I sprightly hailed the morn;  
But ah! oppression forced me from my cot,  
My cattle died and blighted was my corn.

My daughter - once the comfort of my age!  
Lured by a villain from her native home,  
Is cast abandoned on the world's wide stage,  
And doomed in scanty poverty to roam.

My tender wife - sweet soother of my care!

Struck with sad anguish at the stern decree,

Fell, lingering fell, a victim to despair,

And left the world to wretchedness and me.

Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!

Whose trembling limbs have borne him to your door,

Whose days are dwindled to the shortest span.

Oh! give relief - and heaven will bless your store.

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University Press, 1985, 552-553.

### Appendix III

#### The Parable of Lazarus and the rich man. Luke, 16, 19-31.

There was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full of sore. And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried. And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue: for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivest thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot: neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence. Then he said, I pray thee therefore father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house. For I have five bretheren: that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham saith unto him. They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.



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**ILLUSTRATIONS**



fig. 1  
 Title Page for Philip Andre's *"Specimens of Polyautography"*,  
 1803.



fig. 2  
 Benjamin West, *Angel of the Resurrection*, 1801,  
 lithograph, from the series *Specimens of*  
*Polyautography*, printed by Philip Andre, London,  
 1803.



fig.3  
Thomas Hearne, *Landscape: Old Tree*,  
1801, lithograph, from the series *Specimens  
of Polyautography*, printed by Philip  
Andre, London, 1803.



fig. 4  
Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, *The Baptism of Fire*, 1818, lithograph.

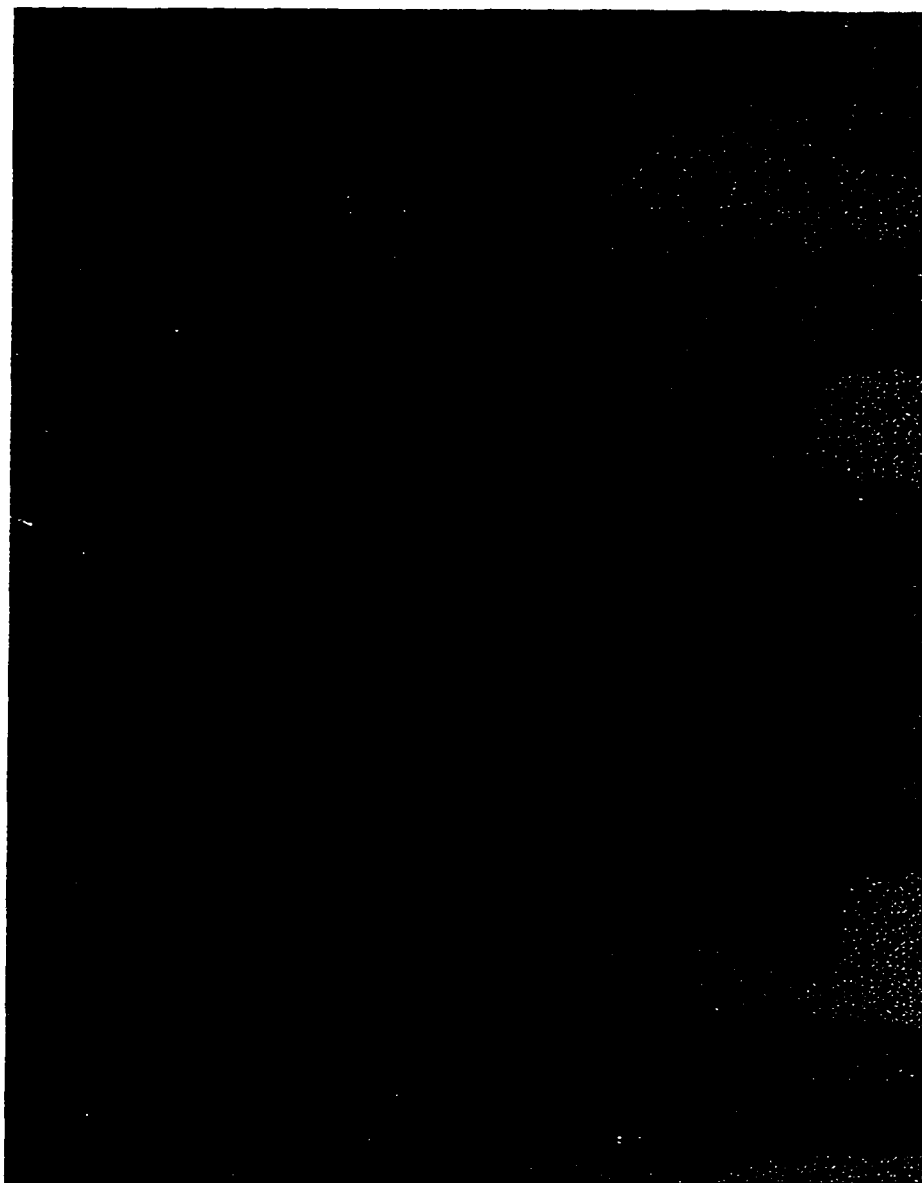


fig. 5  
Théodore Géricault, *The Return from Russia* (*Le retour de Russie*), 1818,  
lithograph, 444x362 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts.

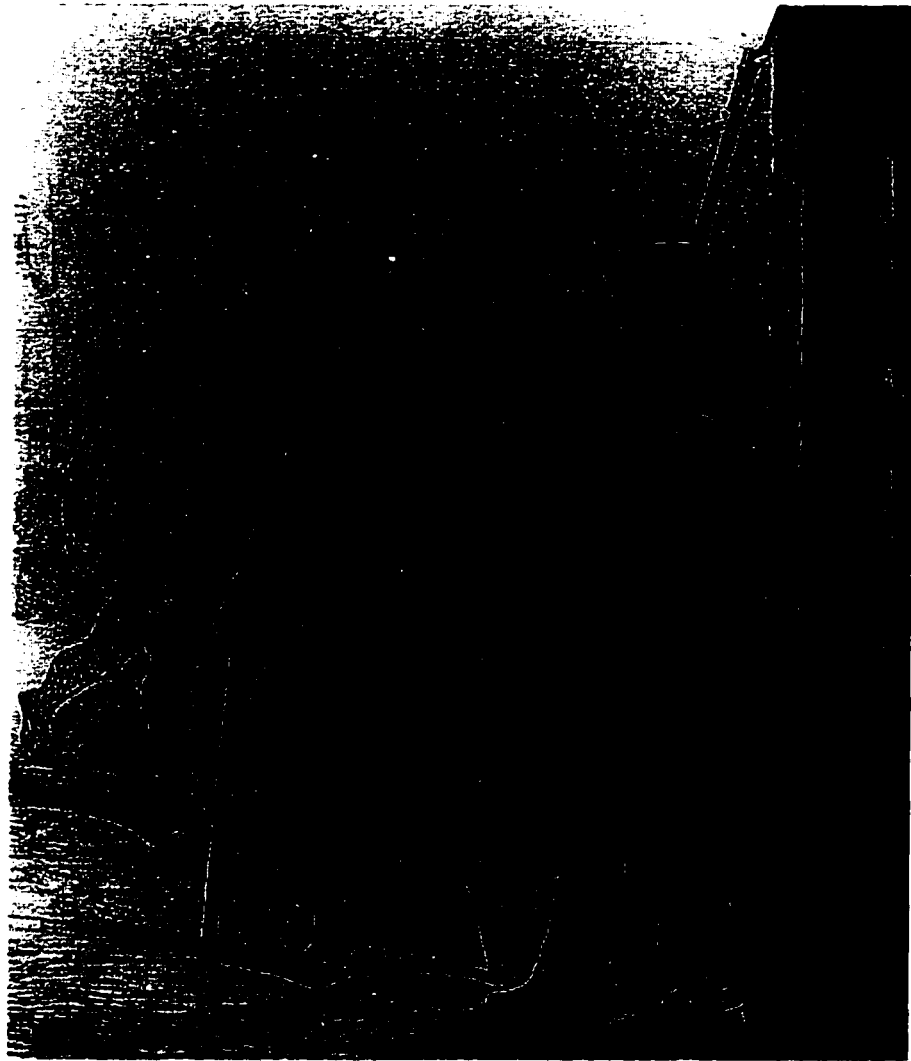


fig. 6

Théodore Géricault, *The Swiss Sentry in the Louvre* (*Le factionnaire Suisse au Louvre*), 1819, lithograph, 395x330 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.



fig. 7  
Nicolas Toussaint Charlet, *The Death of the Cuirassier*, 1817, lithograph, 32.8x21.4 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art.



fig. 8  
Théodore Géricault, *The Loot of Artillery (Caisson d'artillerie)*, 1818, lithograph, 523x414 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts.

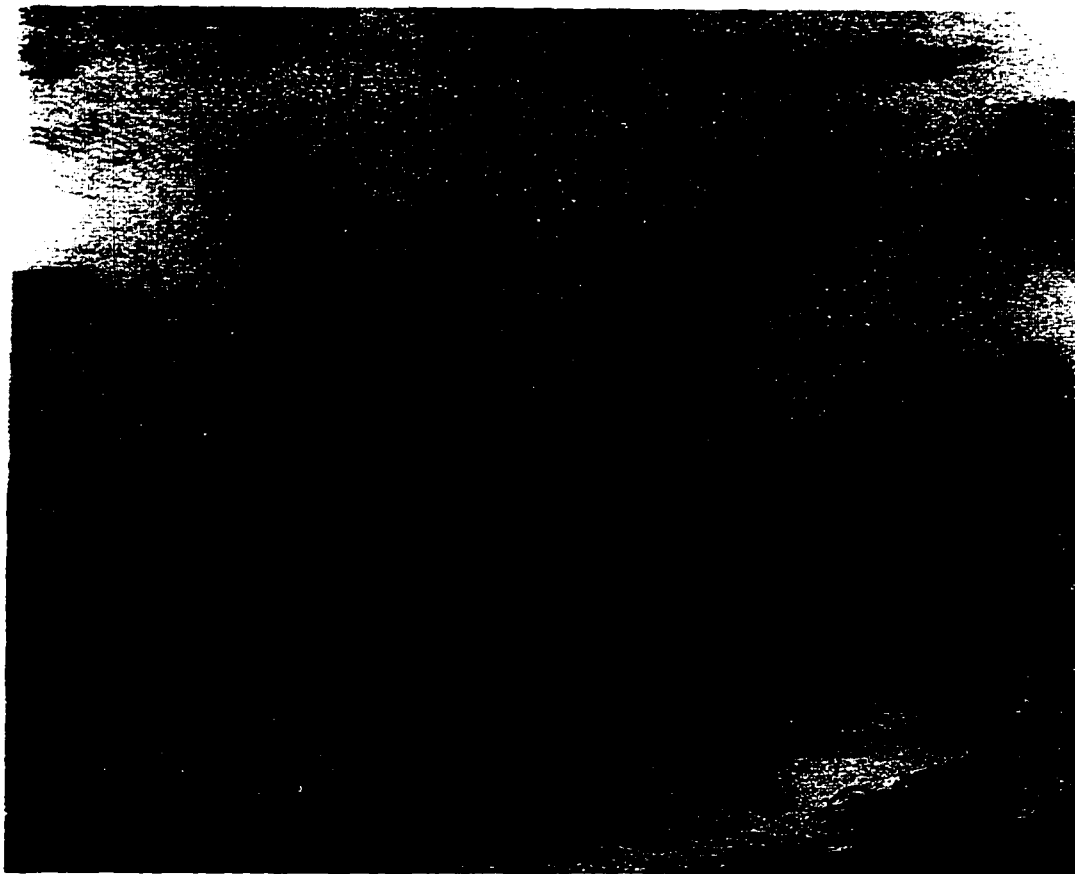


fig. 9

Théodore Géricault, *Boxers (Boxeurs)*, (Delteil 10), 1818, lithograph, 41.6x35.2 cm., Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts, Paris.



fig. 10

Théodore Géricault, *Studies of Boxers*, c. 1818, pencil and pen (folio 14 recto of the Chicago Album), Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, Margaret D. Blake Collection.





**BOXING MATCH FOR 200 GUINEAS BETWEEN DUTCH SAM AND MEDLEY FIGHT 31 MAY 1810. ON MOUSLEY HURST NEAR HAMPTON**  
*The Concourse of people exceeded any thing we have ever witnessed. The Spectators were computed at ten thousand. At one O'clock the Champion entered the ring, and Sam had for his second Harry Lee. whilst Joe Ward officiated for Medley. after a smart and bloody contest of 40 Rounds Victory was decided in favour of Sam.*

fig.11

Thomas Rowlandson, *Boxing Match for 200 Guineas, betwixt Dutch Sam and Medley fought 31 May 1810, on Mousley Hurst near Hampton, 1810*, coloured etching, 21x33 cm.

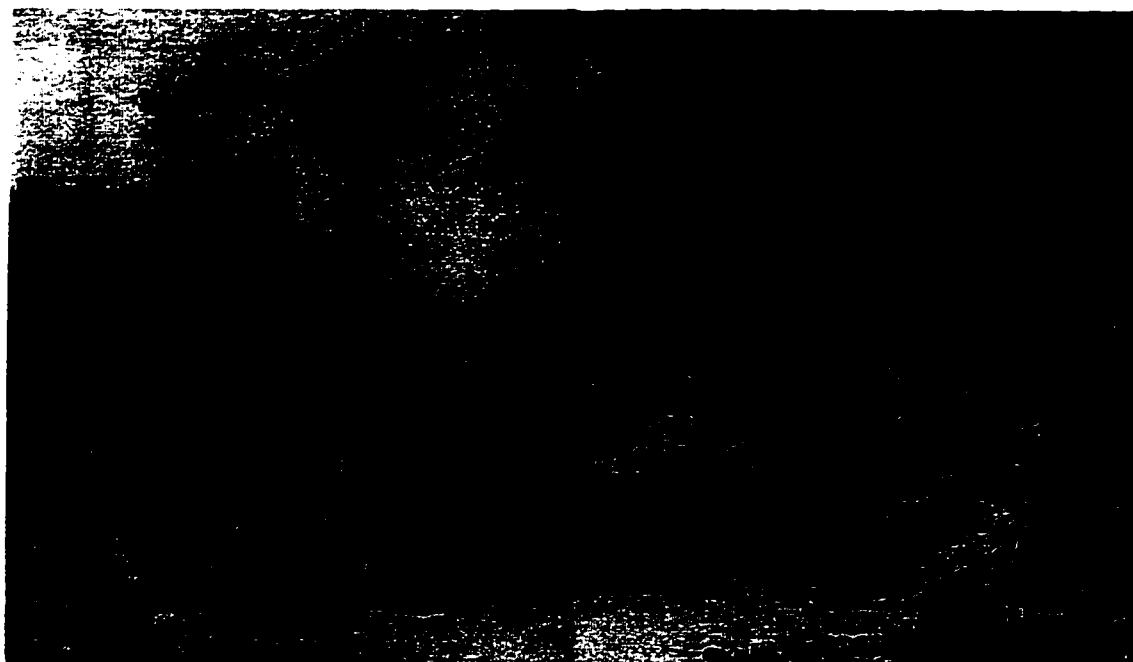


fig. 12

Wilkie David, *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo*, 1822, oil on canvas, 30 1/2x60 1/2 ", London, Victoria and Albert Museum.



fig. 13

David Wilkie, *Chelsea Pensioners...*, detail.

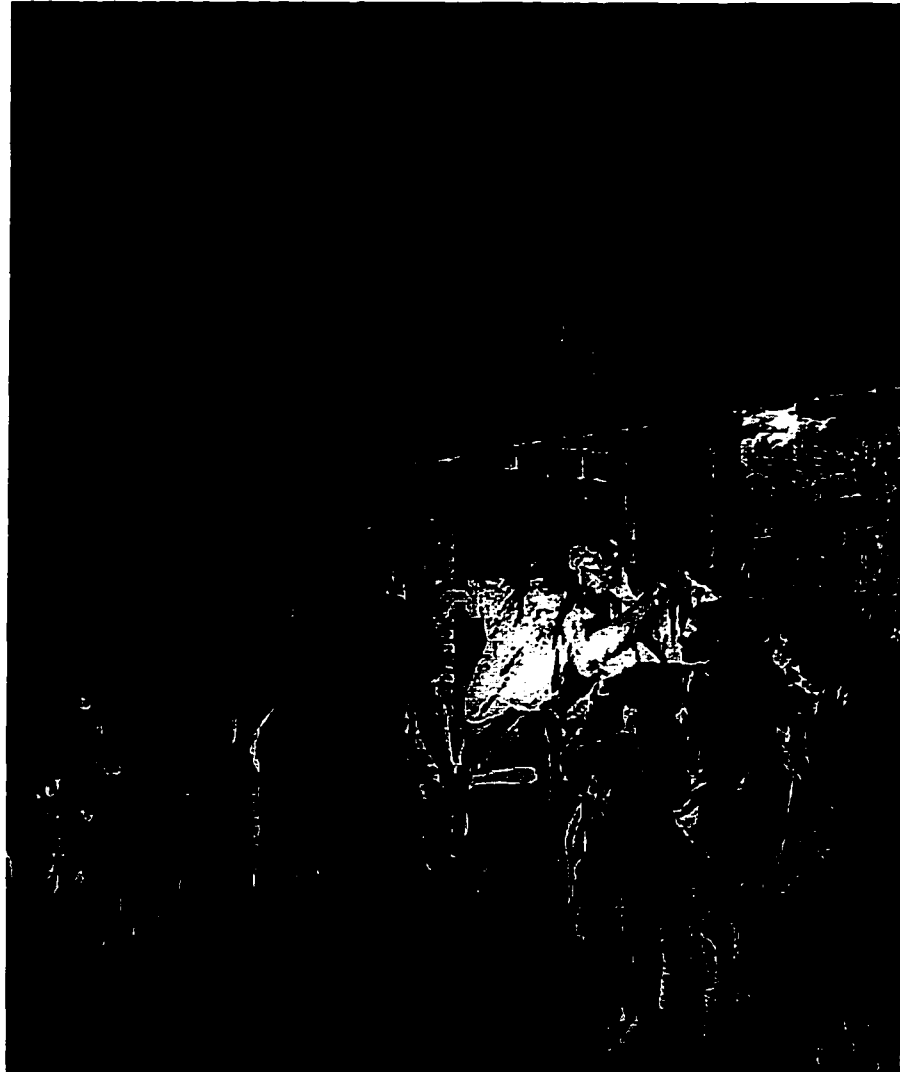


fig. 14  
Joseph Wright of Derby, *The Blacksmith's Shop*, 1770's, oil on canvas,  
128.25x104 cm, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon Collection.

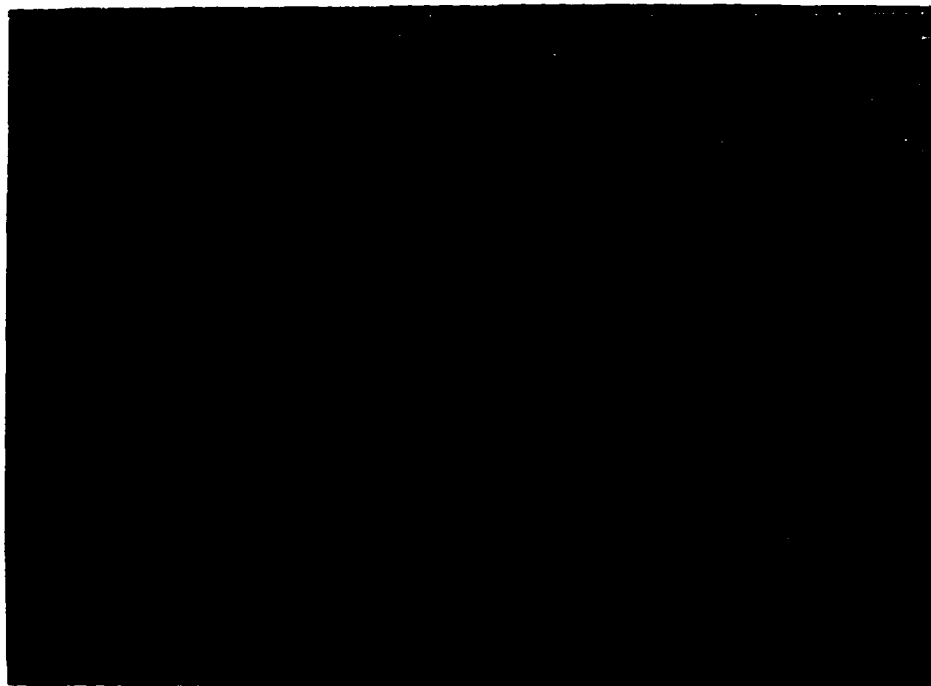


fig. 15

George Robert Lewis, *Hereford, Dynedor, and the Malvern Hills, from the Haywood Lodge, Harvest Scene, Afternoon*, 1816, oil on canvas, 16 1/3x23 1/2", London, Tate Gallery.



fig. 16

John Linnell, *Kensington Gravel Pits*, 1813, oil on canvas, 71.1x106.7 cm., London, The Tate Gallery.



fig.17  
George Robertson, *A View of the Iron Bridge, Taken from the Madeley Side of the River Severn*, 1788, line engraving, 34.9x52.6 cm.

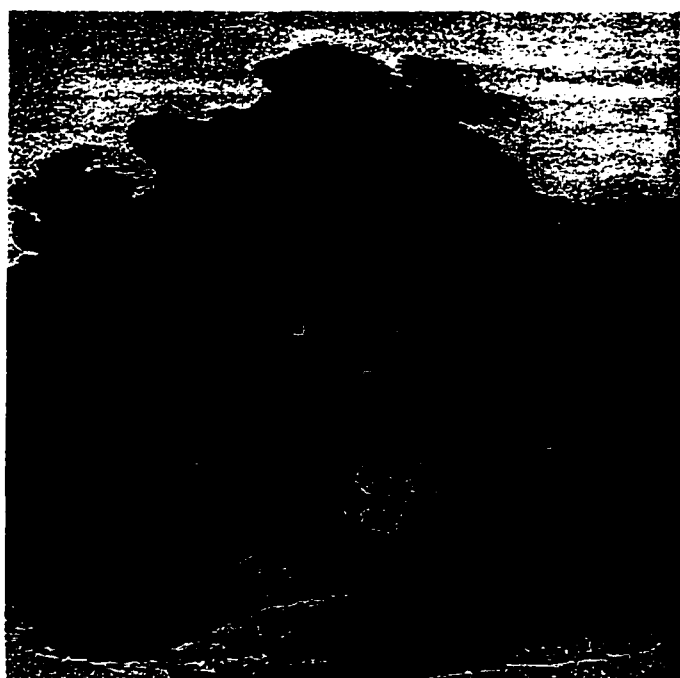


fig. 18  
Francis Nicholson, *Explosion and Fire at Shiffnal*, 1821, lithograph, 30x40 cm., from *Lithographic Impressions of Sketches from Nature*, 1821, The British Museum, London.

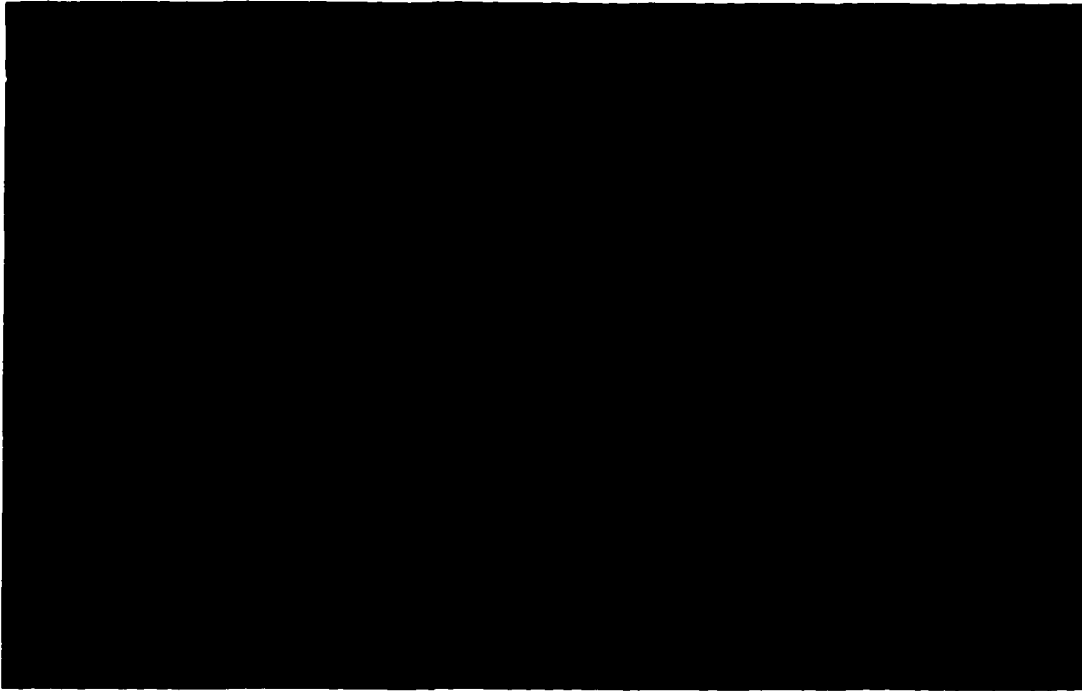


fig. 19  
Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg, *Coalbrookdale by Night*, 1801, oil on canvas, 26 3/4x 42",  
London, Science Museum.



fig. 20  
Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Limekiln at Coalbrookdale*, c. 1797, oil on board,  
27.4x40 cm. Sold at Sothby's in 1966.

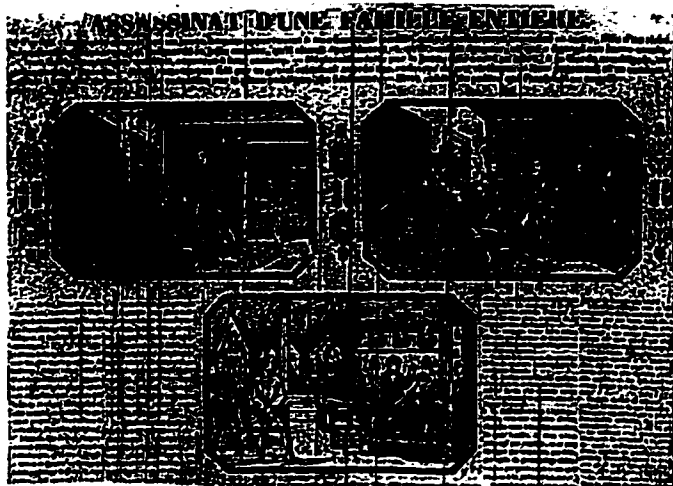


fig. 21  
*Broadside*, 1832, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



fig. 22  
 James Catnach (publisher), *The Dreadful Shipwreck of the Francis Mary*, 1826, woodcut, 190x340 mm.



fig. 23

James Catnach (publisher), *Just Published, the whole particulars of the dreadful shipwreck of the Cybelle*, 1834, woodcut.



SHIPWRECK OF THE MEDUSE.

*C. Hallenstedt Lithography*

fig. 24

Théodore Géricault, *Shipwreck of the Meduse* (Delteil 79), 1820, lithograph, 16x10 cm., Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts, Paris.



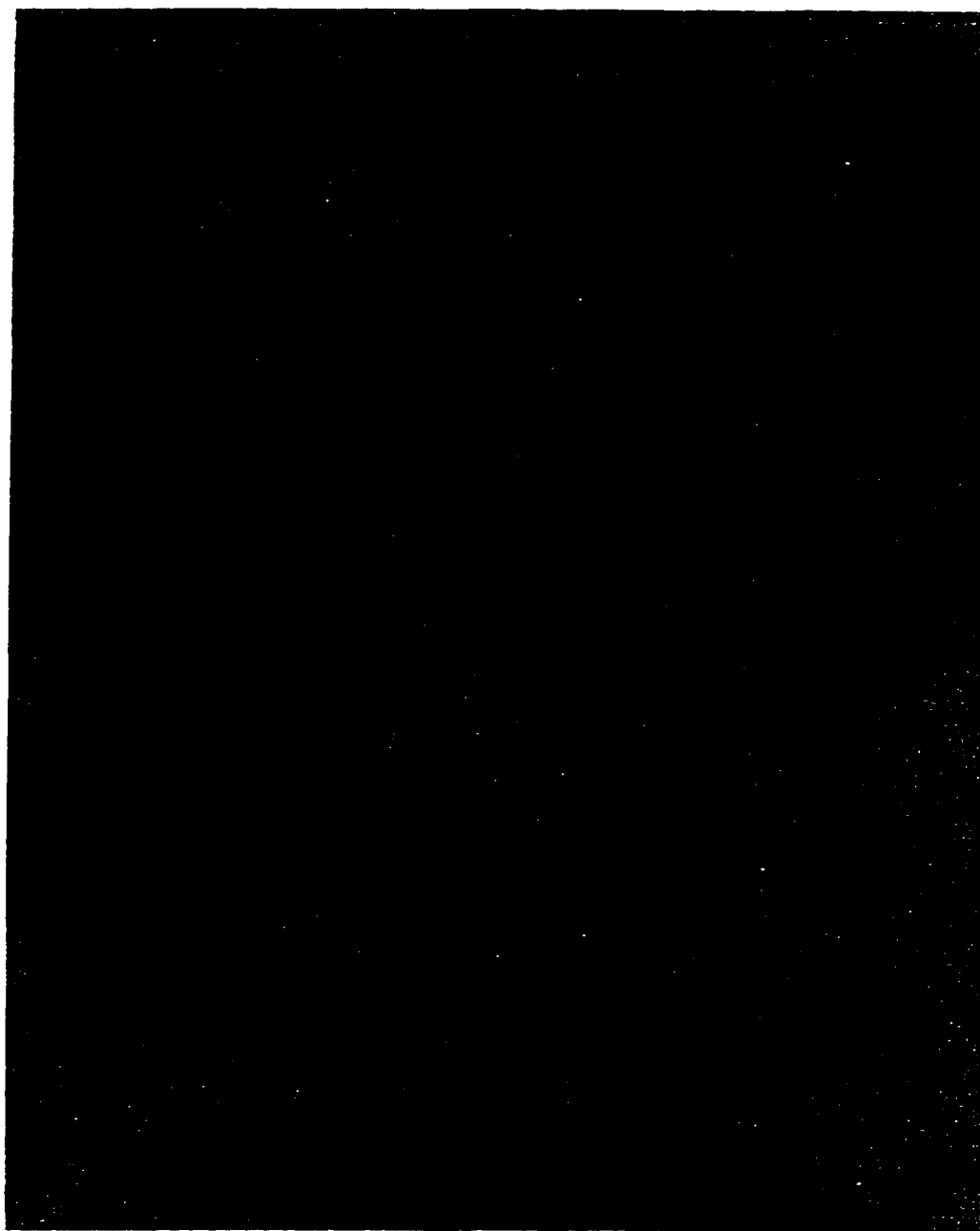


fig. 25  
Théodore Géricault, *Public Hanging in London*, 1820-1821, black crayon and brown ink,  
Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

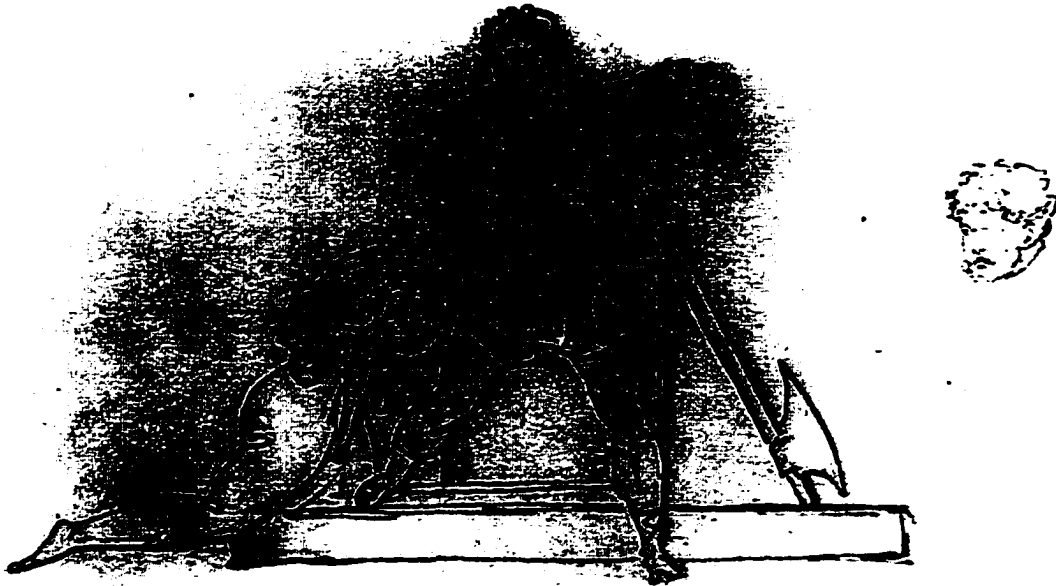


fig. 26  
Théodore Géricault, *A Public Execution in Rome*, pen and brown ink, 155x239 mm., Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



fig. 27  
Théodore Géricault, *A Preparation for a Public Hanging in Italy*, pen and brown ink, 190x264 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-arts.



fig. 28

Théodore Géricault, *Ploughing in England*, 1820-1821, pencil and watercolor, Wintherthur, private collection.



fig. 29

Théodore Géricault, *English Jockey*, 1820, lithograph, 343x183 mm., (Delteil 22), Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.



fig. 30

Théodore Géricault, *The Sleeping Fishmonger (Marchand des poissons assis près de son étal et endormi)*, 1820, lithograph 295x218 mm., (Delteil 24), Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

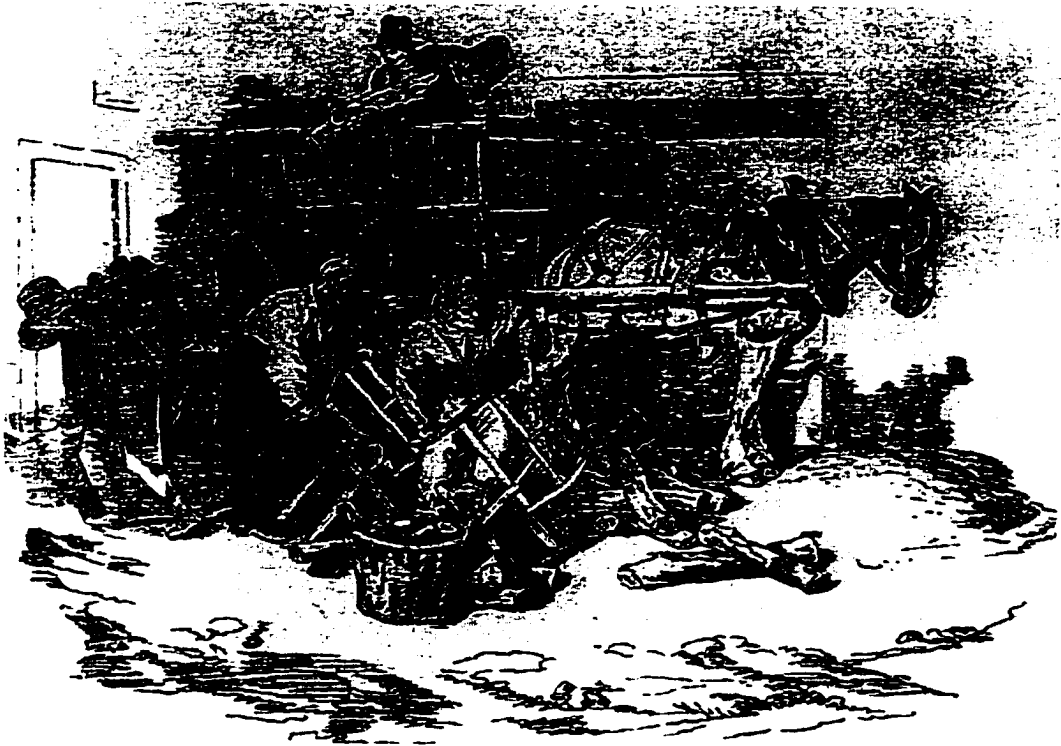


fig. 31  
Théodore Géricault, *Men Sawing Wood (Les scieurs de bois)*, 1821, lithograph, 440x300mm.,  
(Delteil 28), Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.



fig. 32  
Bartolomeo Pinelli, *A Fight Between Prostitutes Next to the Piazza Barberini* (*Lute di Donne di Strada presso la Piazza Barberini*), 1816, etching, from the series *Nuova raccolta di costumi e motivi pittoreschi....*

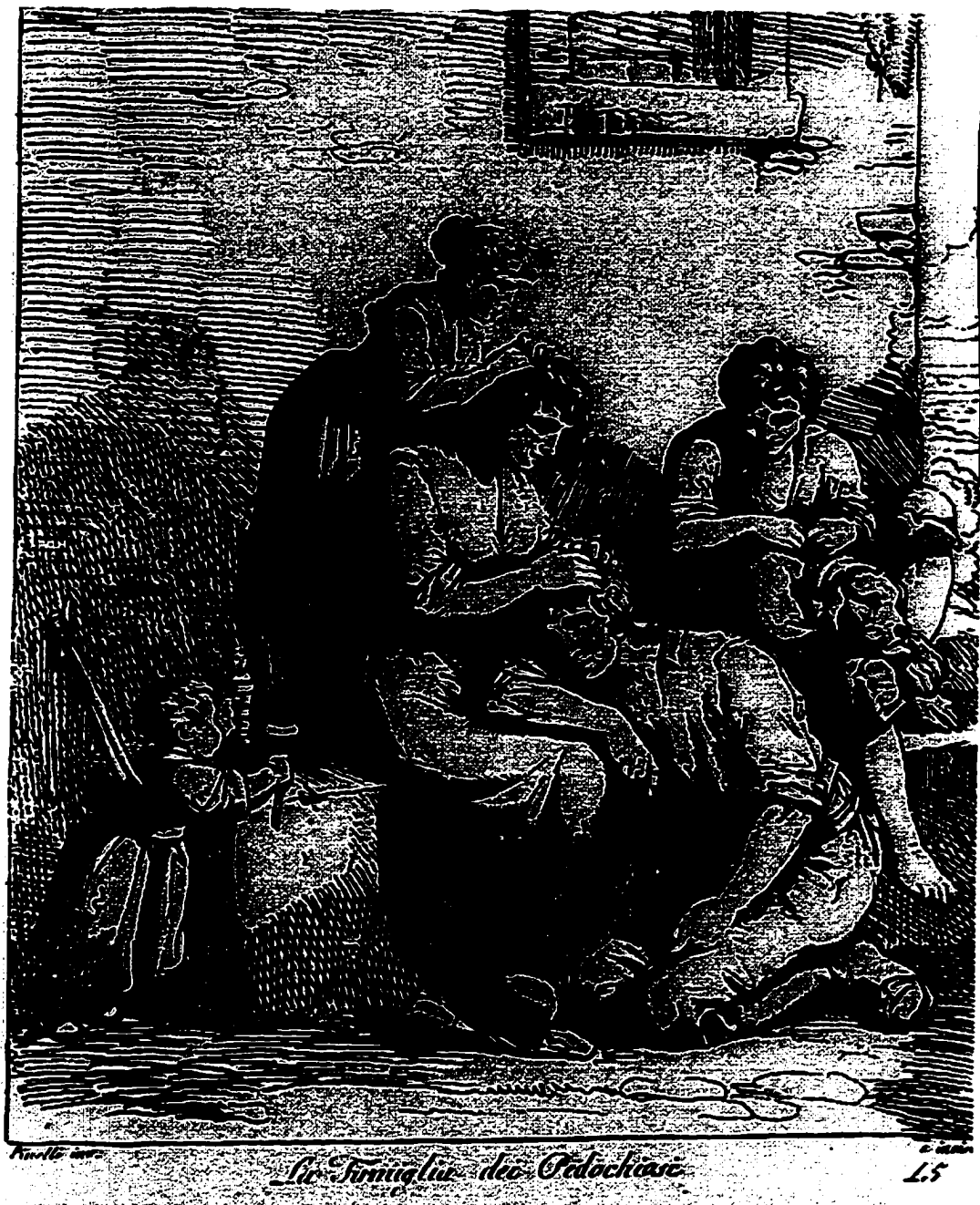


fig. 33

Bartolomeo Pinelli, *The Lice Infested Family* (*La famiglia dei Pedochiosi*), 1816, etching from the series *Nuova raccolta di costumi e motivi pittoreschi...*



fig. 34

Bartolomeo Pinelli, *A Miserable Person in a Cart* (*Miserabile in Carretta*), 1816, etching, from the series *Nuova raccolta di costumi e motivi pittoreschi...*





fig. 35  
Théodore Géricault, *Prayer to the Madonna (Priere à la Madone)*, drawing, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.



fig. 36  
Bartolomeo Pinelli, *The Litanies at Tivoli (Le Litanie a Tivoli)*, 1815, etching, from the series *Nuova raccolta di costumi e motivi pittoreschi...*

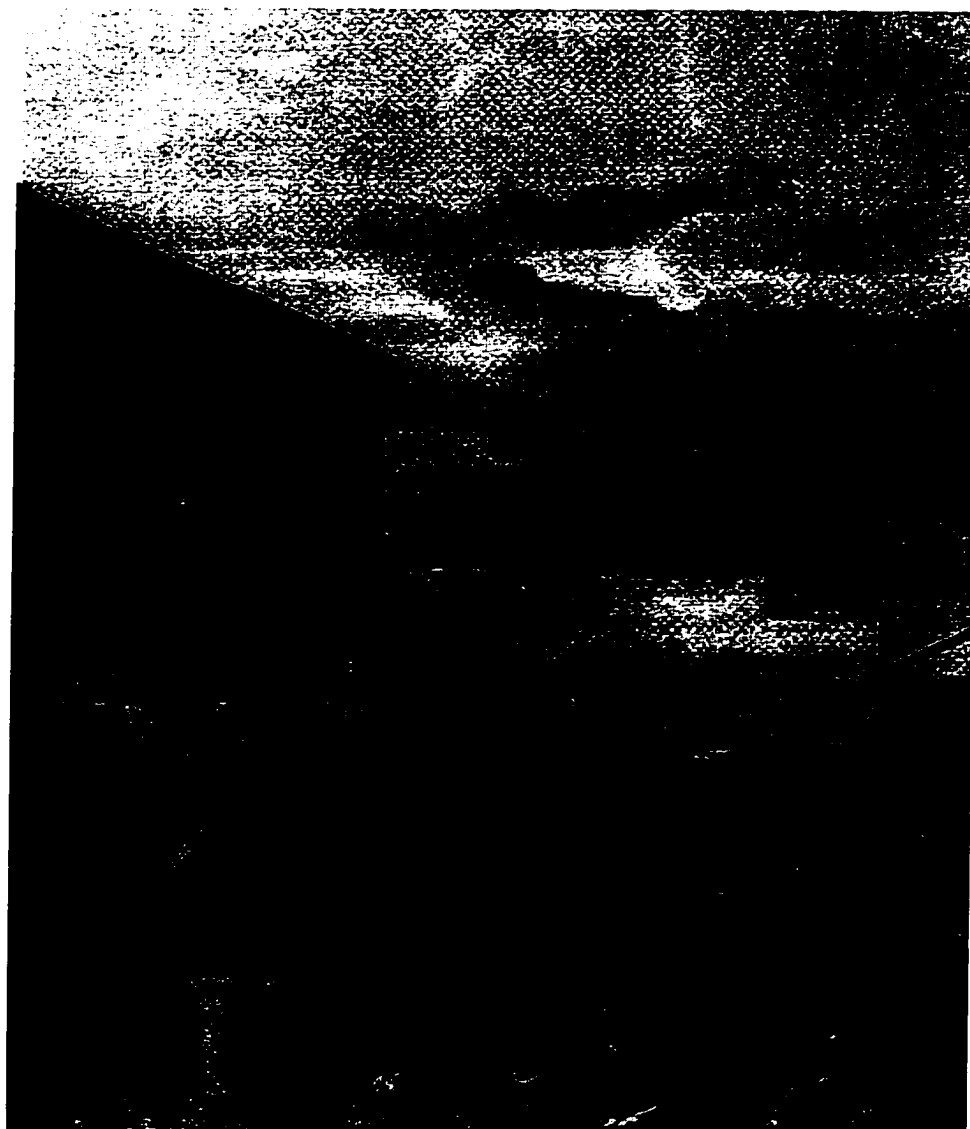


fig.37

**Théodore Géricault, *The Bull Market*, 1817, oil on canvas, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.**

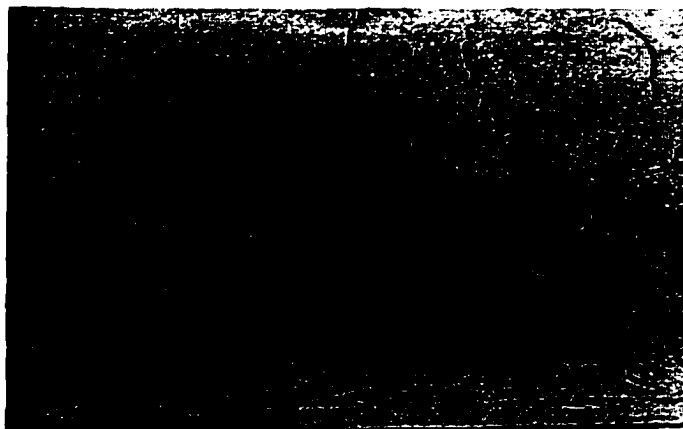


fig. 38  
Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Bull being led to market*, 1815, etching,  
from the series *Nuova raccolta  
di costumi e motivi pittoreschi...*

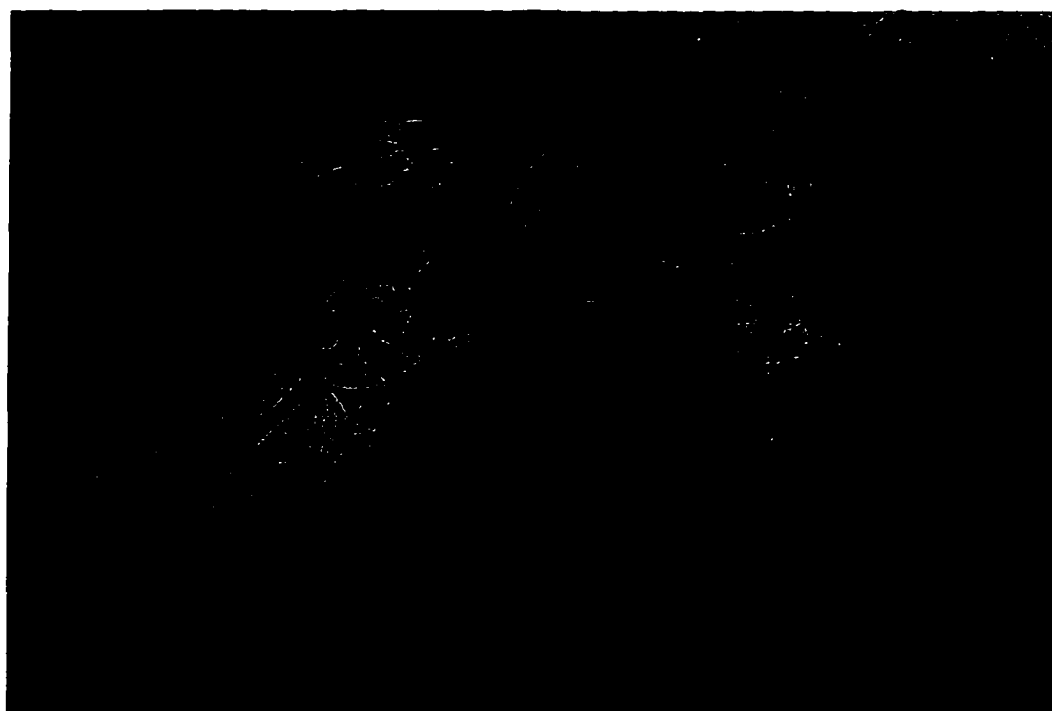


fig. 39  
Théodore Géricault, *Mounted Herdsmen Rounding up a Herd of Bulls*, 1817, gouache, black  
chalk and wash, 207x279 mm., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

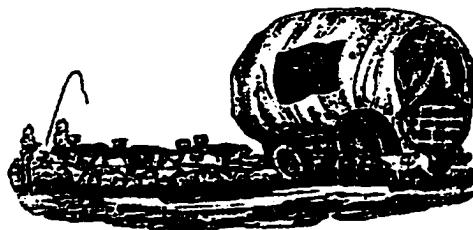


fig. 40  
Théodore Géricault, *Butchers of Rome* (*Bouchers de Rome*), 1817, lithograph, 171x243 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.



fig. 41

Théodore Géricault, *Title Page of 'Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone by J. (sic) Géricault'*, 1821, lithograph, 368x334 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts.



Covered English Wagon.

fig. 42

*Covered English Wagon*, from *Chambers's Encyclopedia, a Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People*, J.B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia W&R Chambers, Edinburgh, 1872, VOL III.



fig. 43

Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Self-Portrait*, frontispiece of *Nuova raccolta di cinquanta costumi e motivi pittoreschi*, Rome, 1816.



fig. 44

Bartolomeo Pinelli, *The Repose of the Artist*, (*Riposo dell'Autore*), last print of *Nuova raccolta di cinquanta costumi e motivi pittoreschi*..., Rome, 1816.



fig. 45  
Théodore Géricault (?), *Self-Portrait (?)* or *Portrait of a Young Man in an Artist's Studio*, c. 1819-1820, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

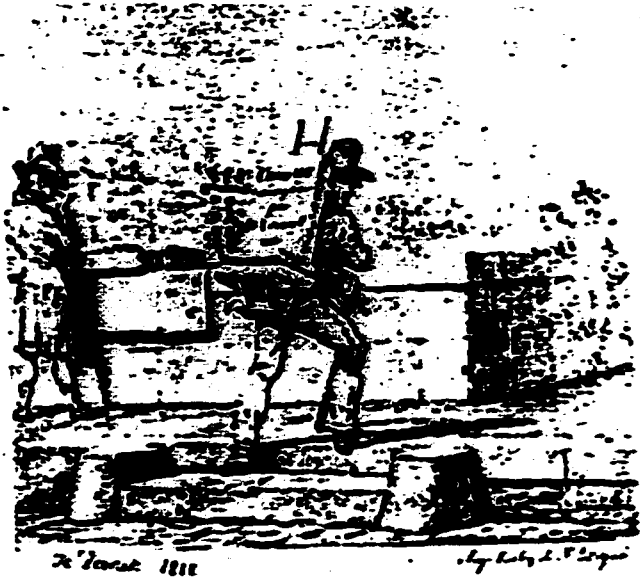


fig. 46  
Horace Vernet, *The Delivery Man*, lithographic sketch,  
1818, 16x19 cm, Private Collection, Paris.



fig. 47  
Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, *The Print Seller* (*Le marchand des dessins lithographiques*), 1819.





fig. 48

Carle Vernet, *Delpech's Print Shop (La boutique de Delpech)*, 1818, lithograph, 170x245 mm.



fig. 49

Théodore Géricault, *Entrance to the Adelpi Wharf*, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil 40) 1821, lithograph, 253x310 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.



fig. 49a  
Théodore Géricault, *Entrance to the Adelpi Wharf*, detail.



fig 50  
Benjamin Green, *The Adelphi*, about 1775, engraving, London Museum.



fig. 51  
Benjamin Green, *The Adam Brothers' Adelphi Terrace on the Thames*, c. 1775, engraving.

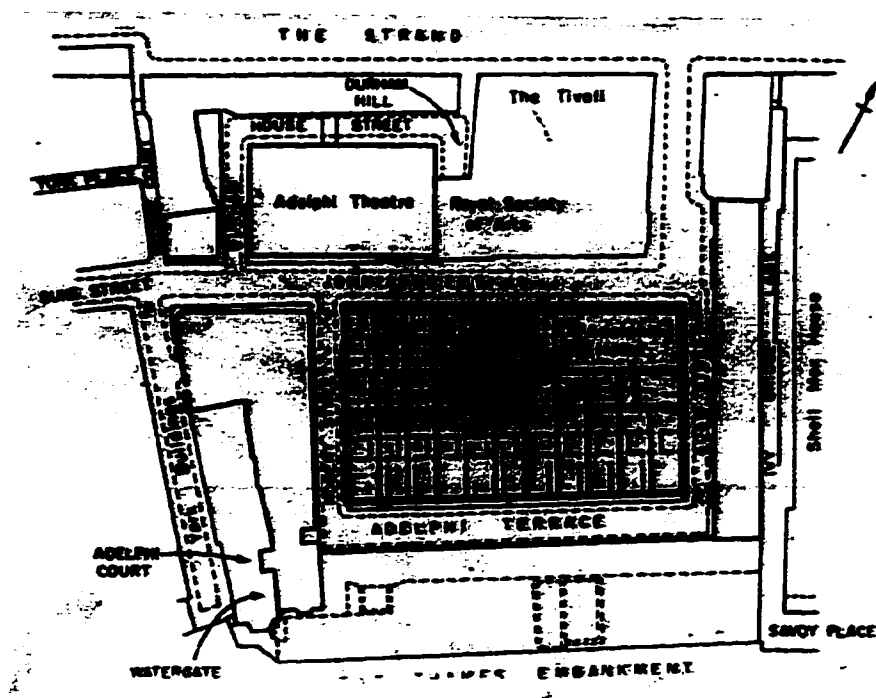
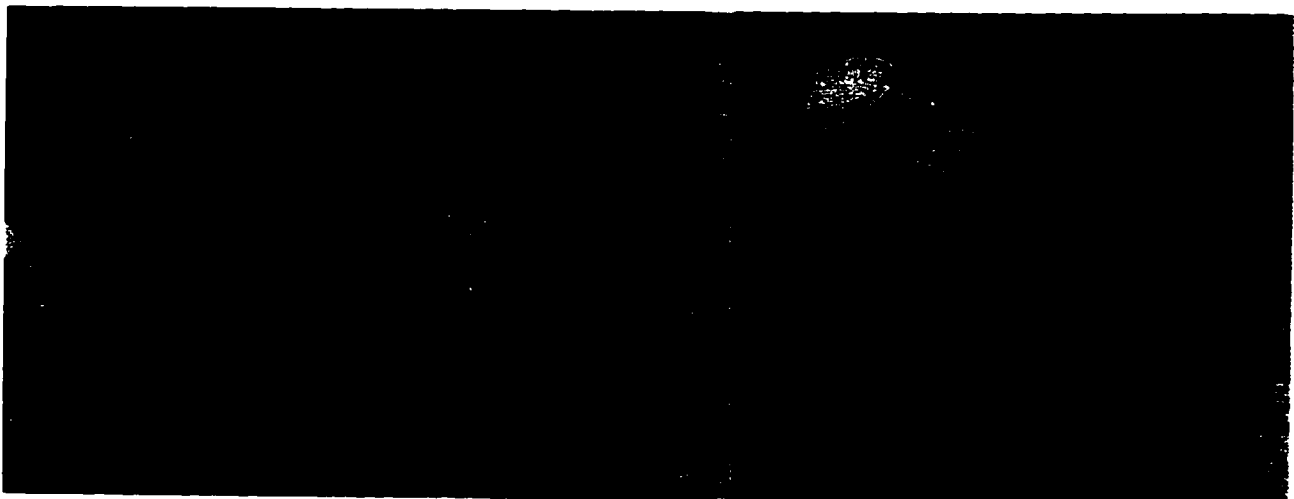


fig. 52  
A map of the Adelphi quarter.



figs. 53, 54  
Entrance to the Adelphi Wharf from John Street, photographs taken in 1971.

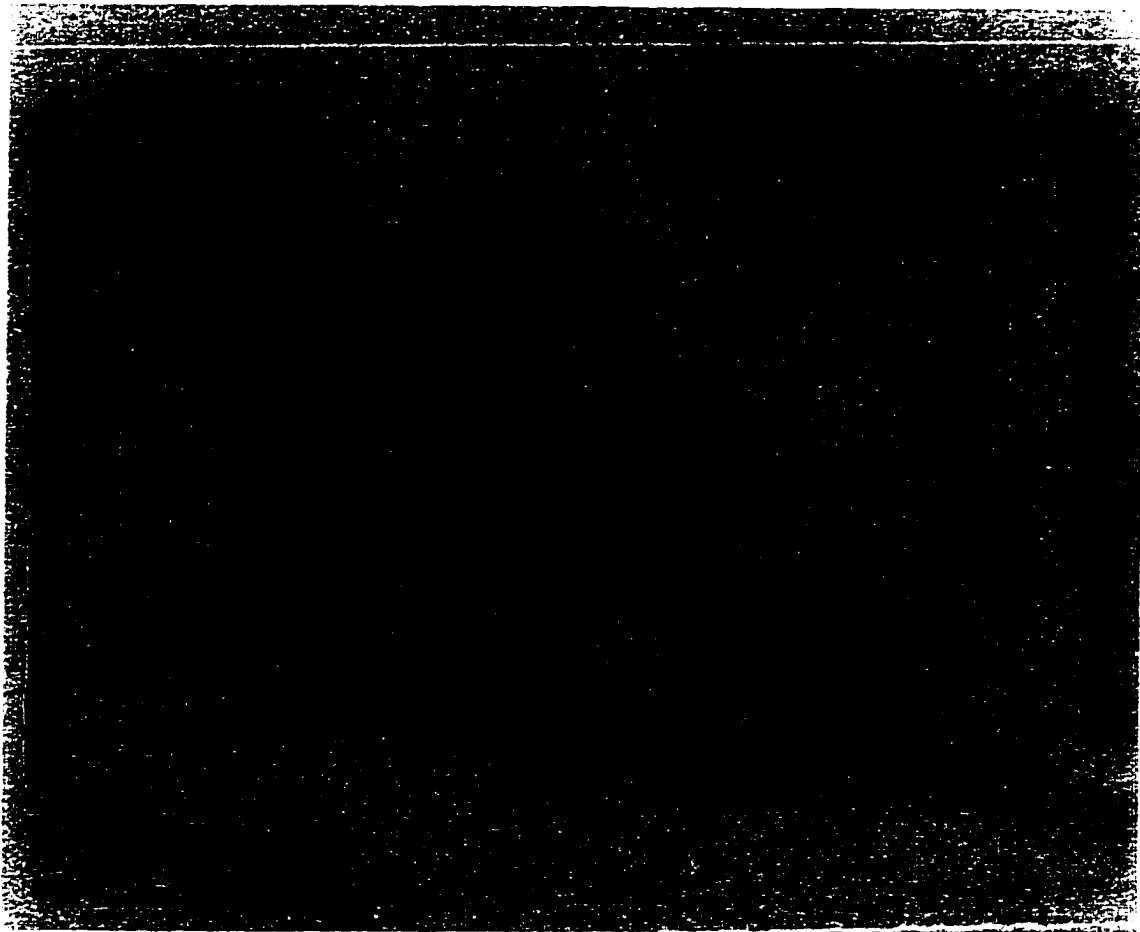


fig. 55

**Théodore Géricault** *English Cart Led by Three Horses* (*Chariot anglais trainé par trois chevaux*), Stone paper lithograph, 1820-1821, on wove paper 128x160 mm., was at the Hans Buhler's Collection, Winterthur (offered for sale at Christie's), 1985.

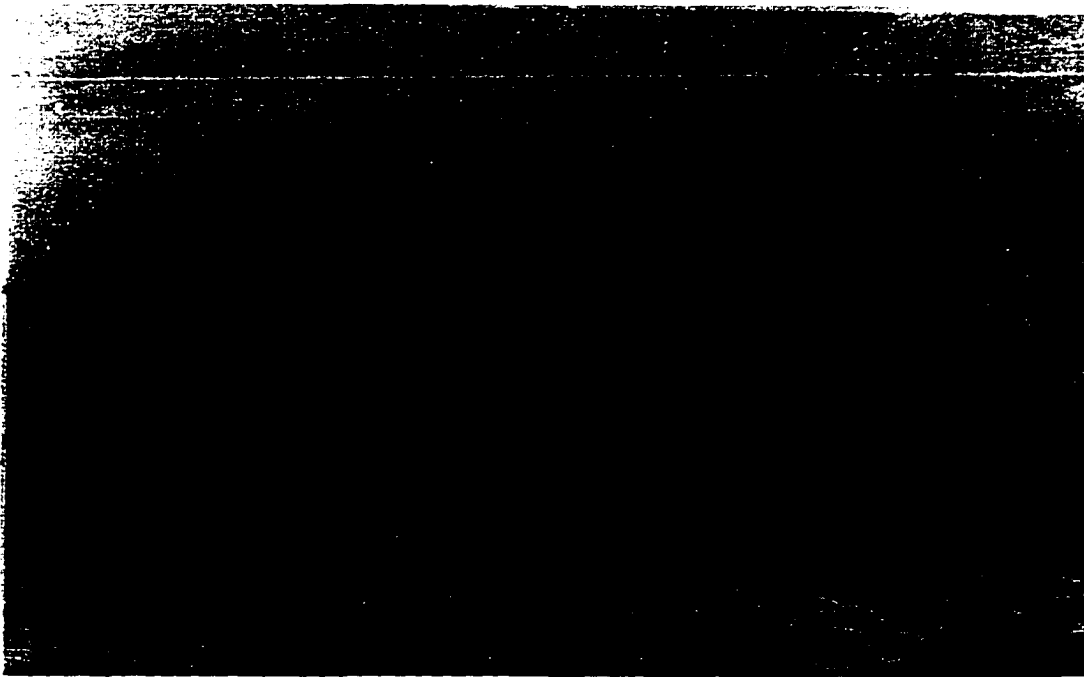


fig. 56  
Théodore Géricault *The Coal Wagon*, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil no. 36) lithograph, 195x310 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

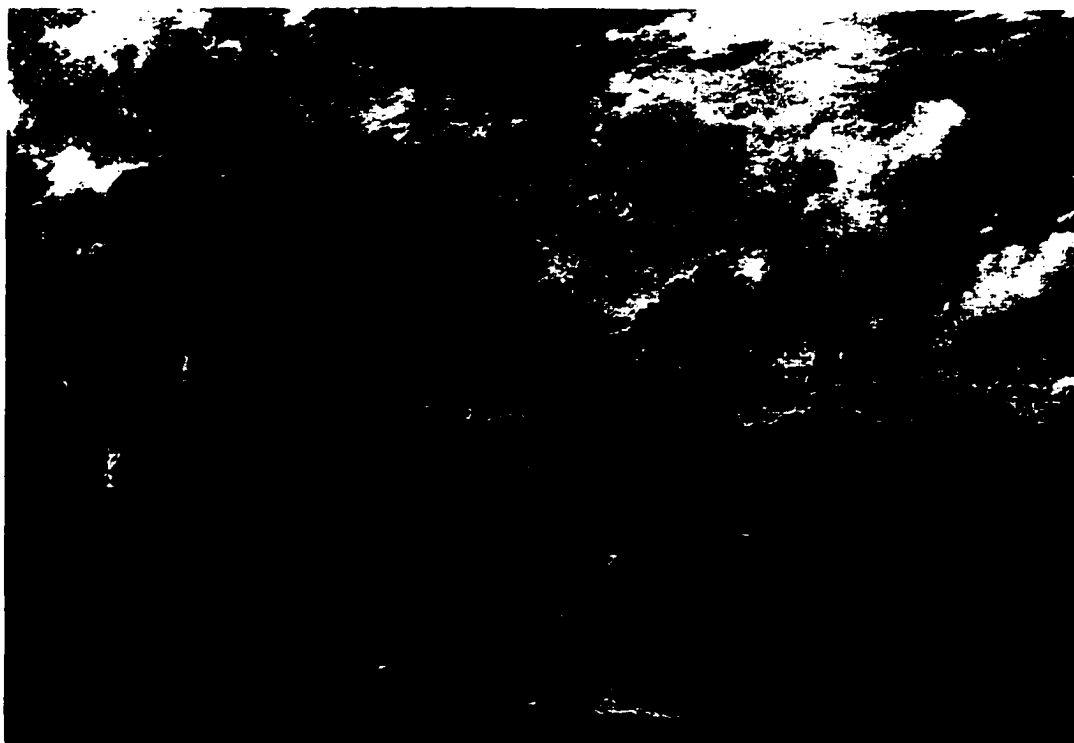


fig. 57  
John Constable, *The Hay-Wain*, 1820 - 1821, oil on canvas, 1305x1855 mm., London, The National Gallery.

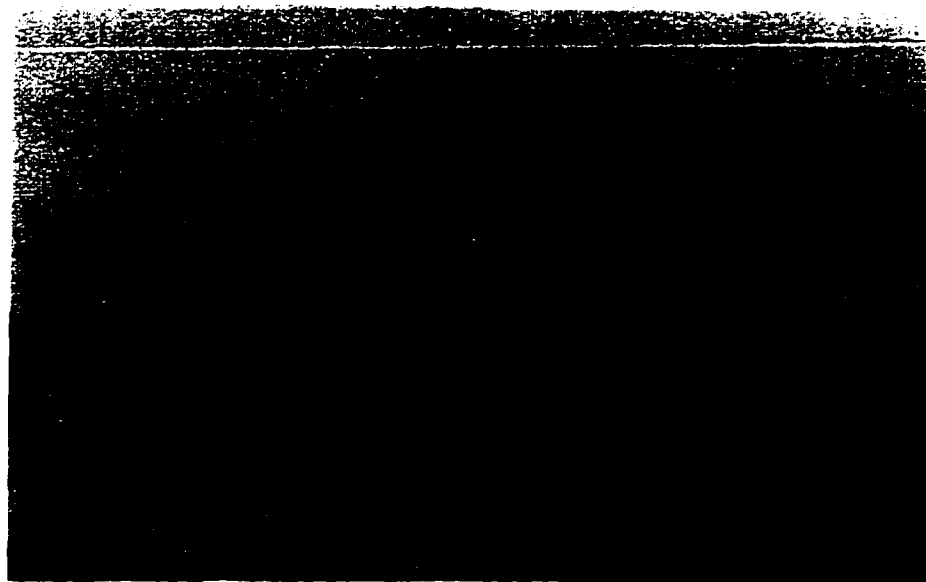


fig. 58

Théodore Géricault *The Coal Wagon*, watercolor over pen and brown ink sketch, 18.3x29.8 cm, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.



fig. 59

Théodore Géricault *The Coal Wagon*, watercolor, 220x284 mm., London, British Museum.



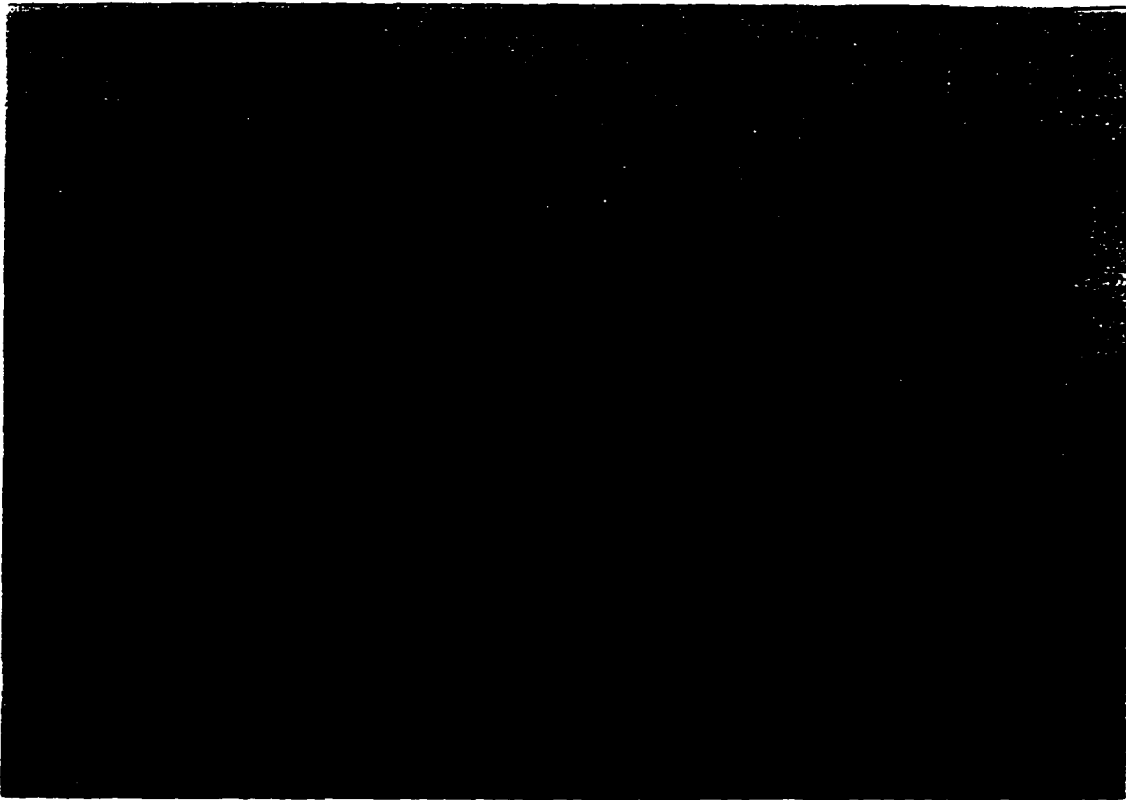


fig. 60

**Théodore Géricault *Horses Going to a Fair*, lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil no.32), 1821, 252x354 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.**

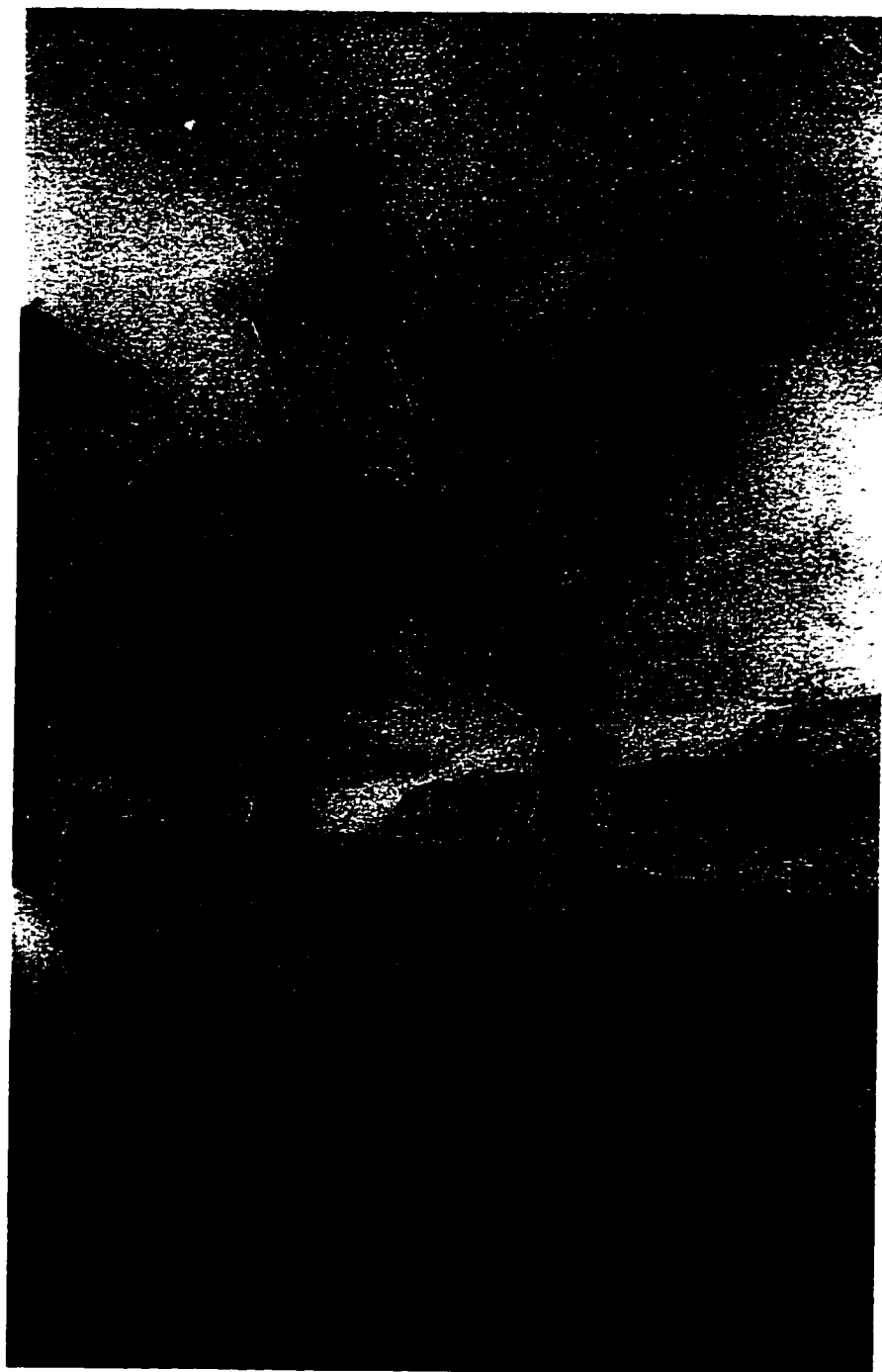


fig. 60a  
Théodore Géricault *Horses Going to a Fair*, detail

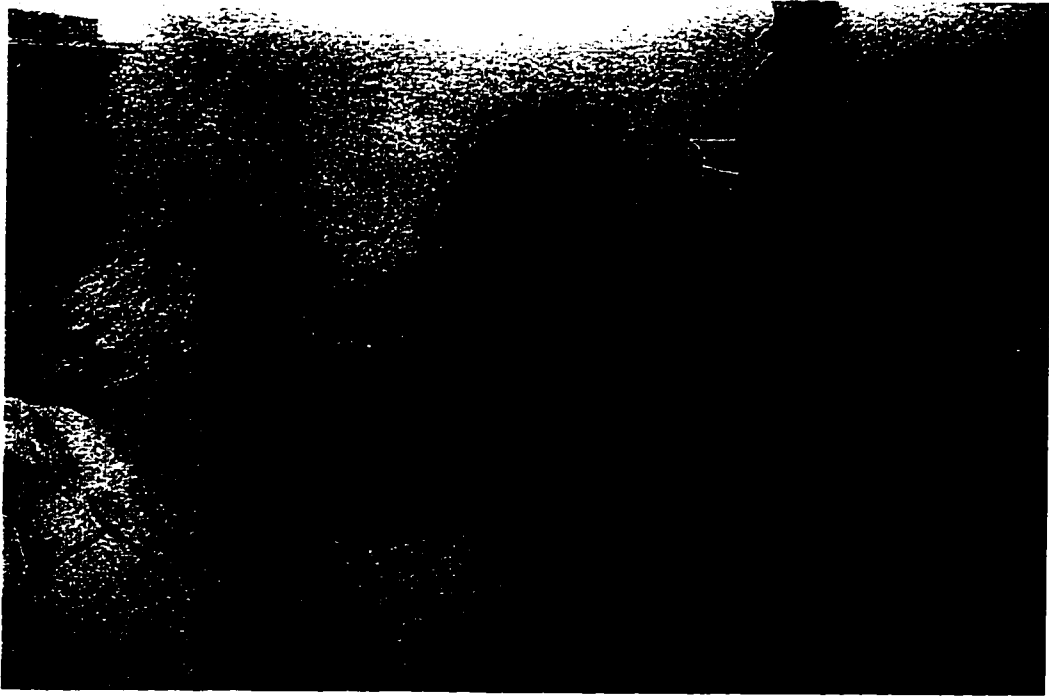


fig. 60b  
Théodore Géricault , *Horses Going to a Fair*, detail



fig. 60c  
Théodore Géricault, *Horses Going to a Fair*, detail

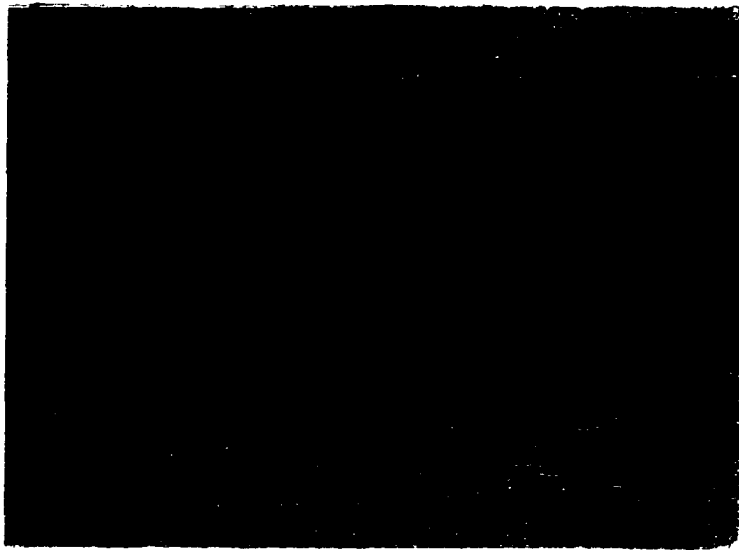


fig. 61

Théodore Géricault, *Study for the lithograph "Horses Going to a Fair"*, (recto of a double drawing), pencil, 8x10 11/16 inches, Wildenstein Gallery, New York.



fig. 62

Théodore Géricault, *Frontispiece for "Études de chevaux" (L'abreuvoir)*, 1822, lithograph 340x285mm Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts Paris

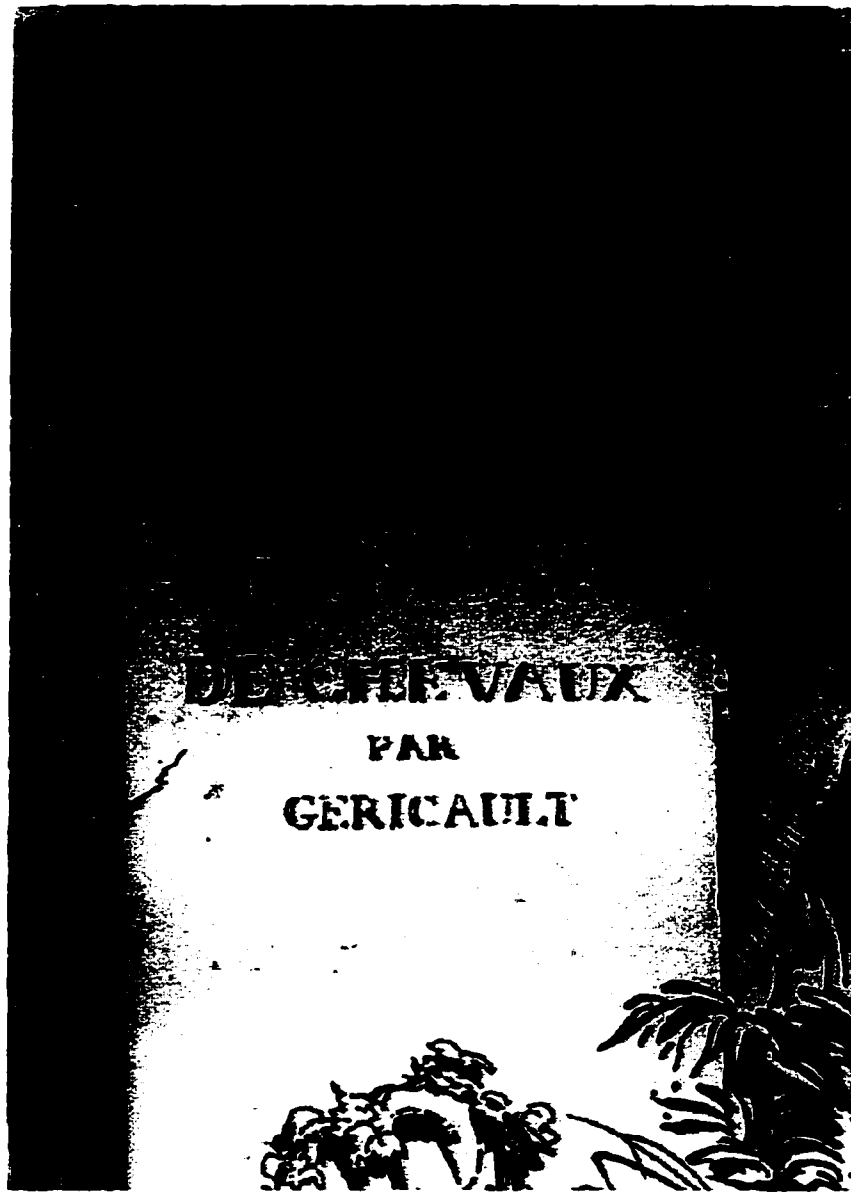


fig. 62a  
Théodore Géricault, *Frontispiece for "Études de chevaux" (L'abreuvoir)*,  
detail.



fig. 62b  
Théodore Géricault, *Frontispiece for "Études de chevaux" (L'abreuvoir)*,  
detail.



fig. 63

Théodore Géricault, *The Horse Market*, (*Le marché aux chevaux* or *Cinq chevaux au piquet*). black and brown ink, watercolor, white gouache, red chalk, 229x300mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, cabinet des dessins.





fig. 64

Théodore Géricault, *Dappled Draught Horse Being Shod* (*Cheval que l'on ferre*), grey and brown wash over graphite underdrawing, 115x249 mm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

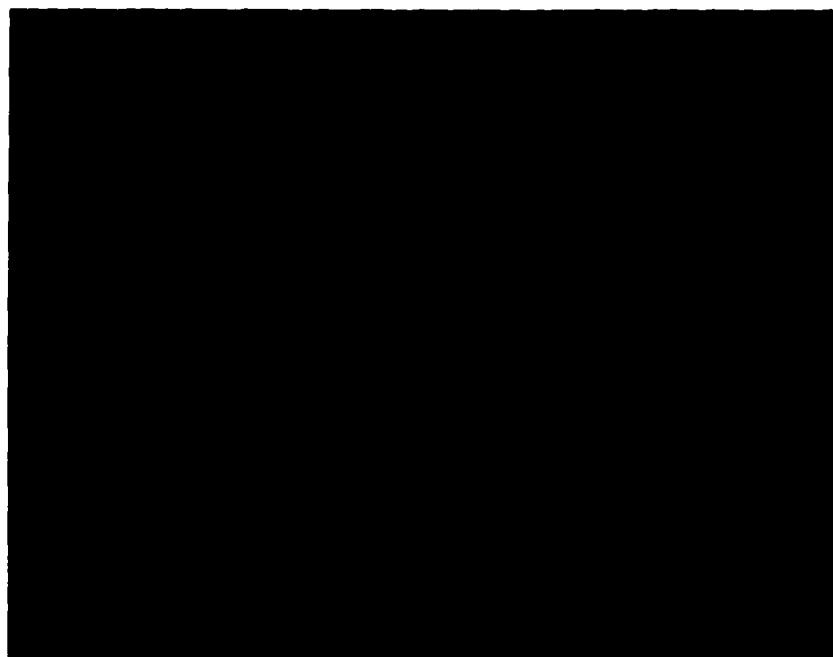


fig. 65

Théodore Géricault, *A Horse Being Shod*, (*Cheval que l'on ferre*), 1822, from the *Suite de sept petites pièces*, lithograph, 138x168 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

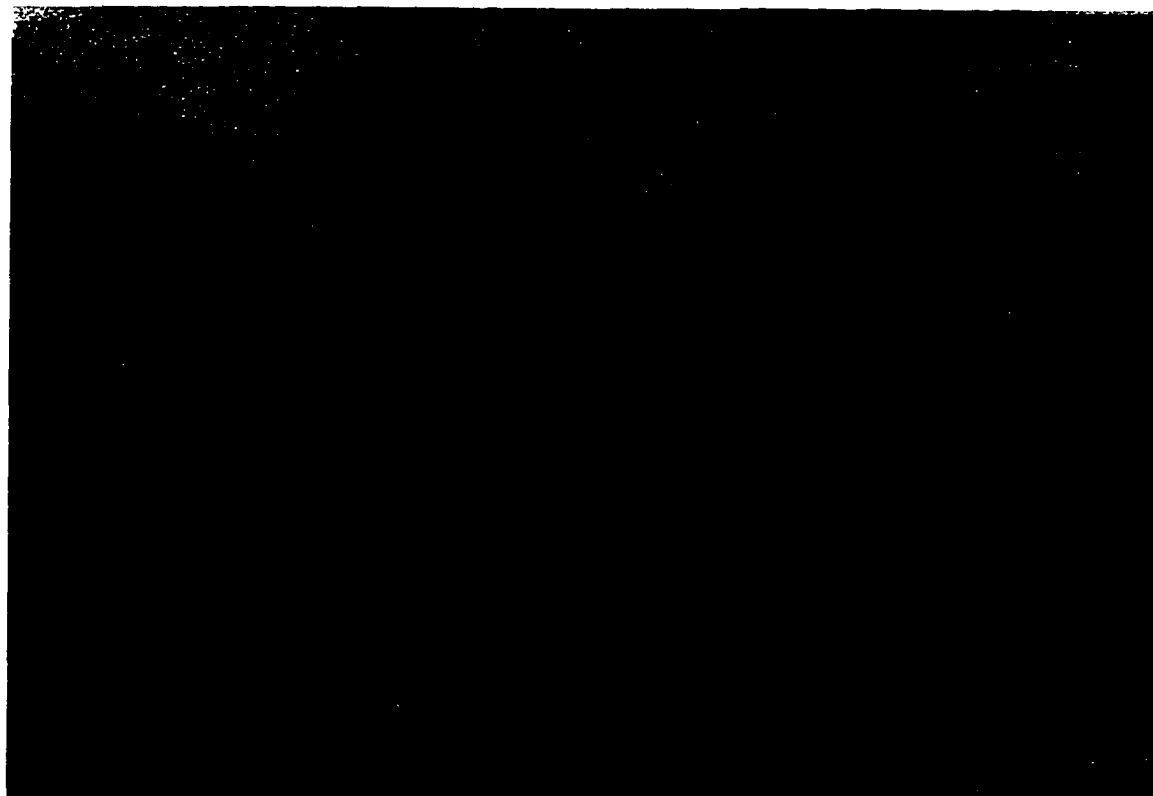


fig. 66

Théodore Géricault, *A French Farrier*, (Delteil 41), lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, 246x355 mm. Rouen, Musée de Beaux-arts.

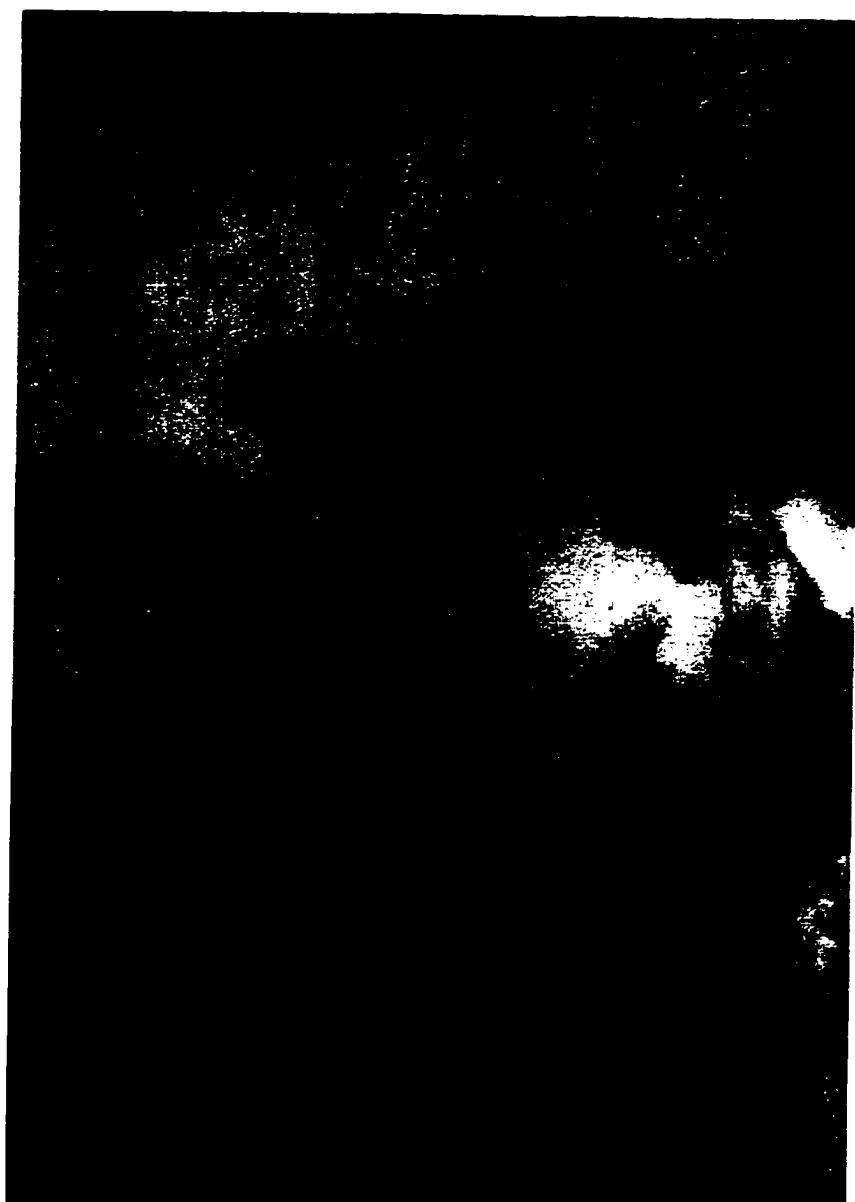


fig. 66a  
Théodore Géricault, *A French Farrier*, detail.



fig. 66b  
Théodore Géricault, *A French Farrier*, detail.



fig. 67  
Théodore Géricault, *The Flemish Farrier*, 1821, lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil 33) 315x230 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

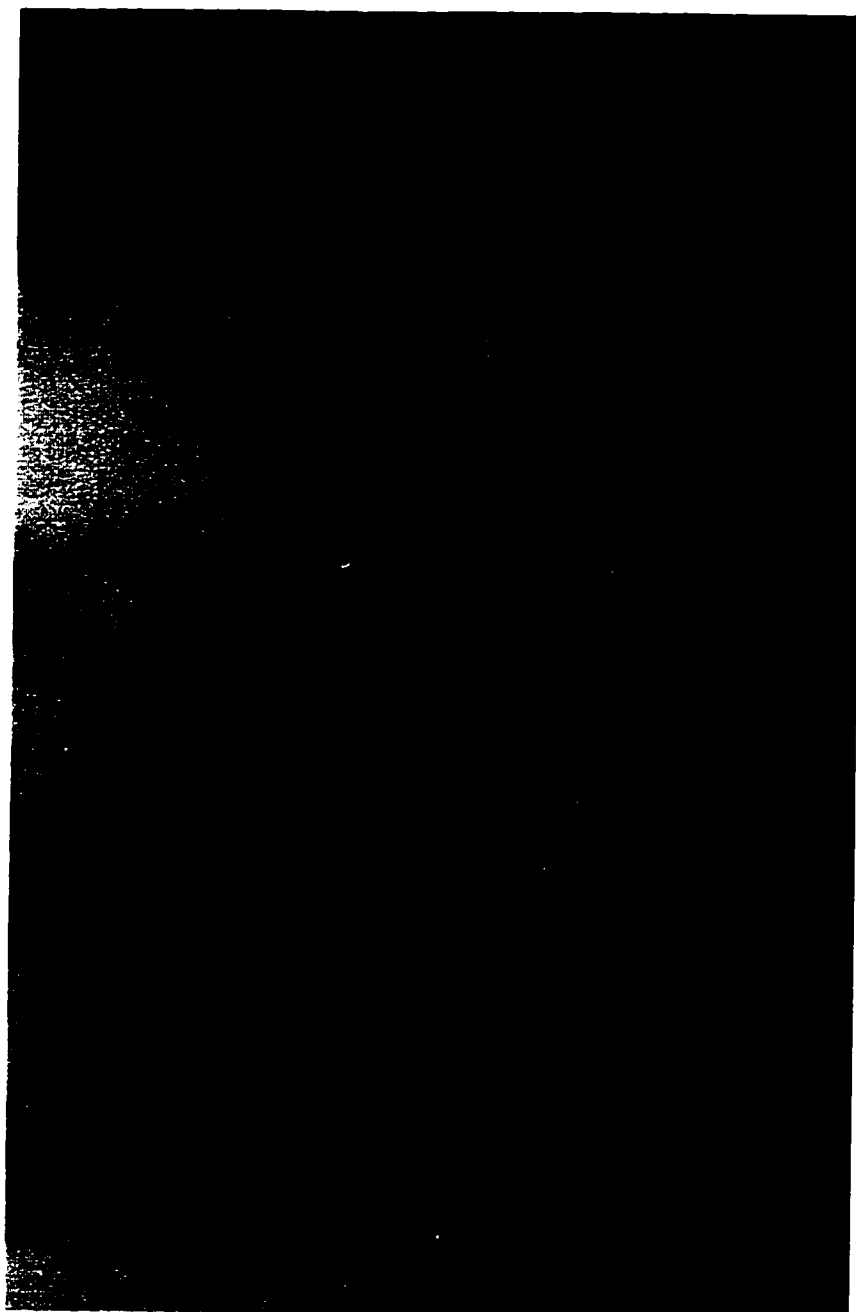


fig. 67a  
Théodore Géricault, *The Flemish Farrier*, detail

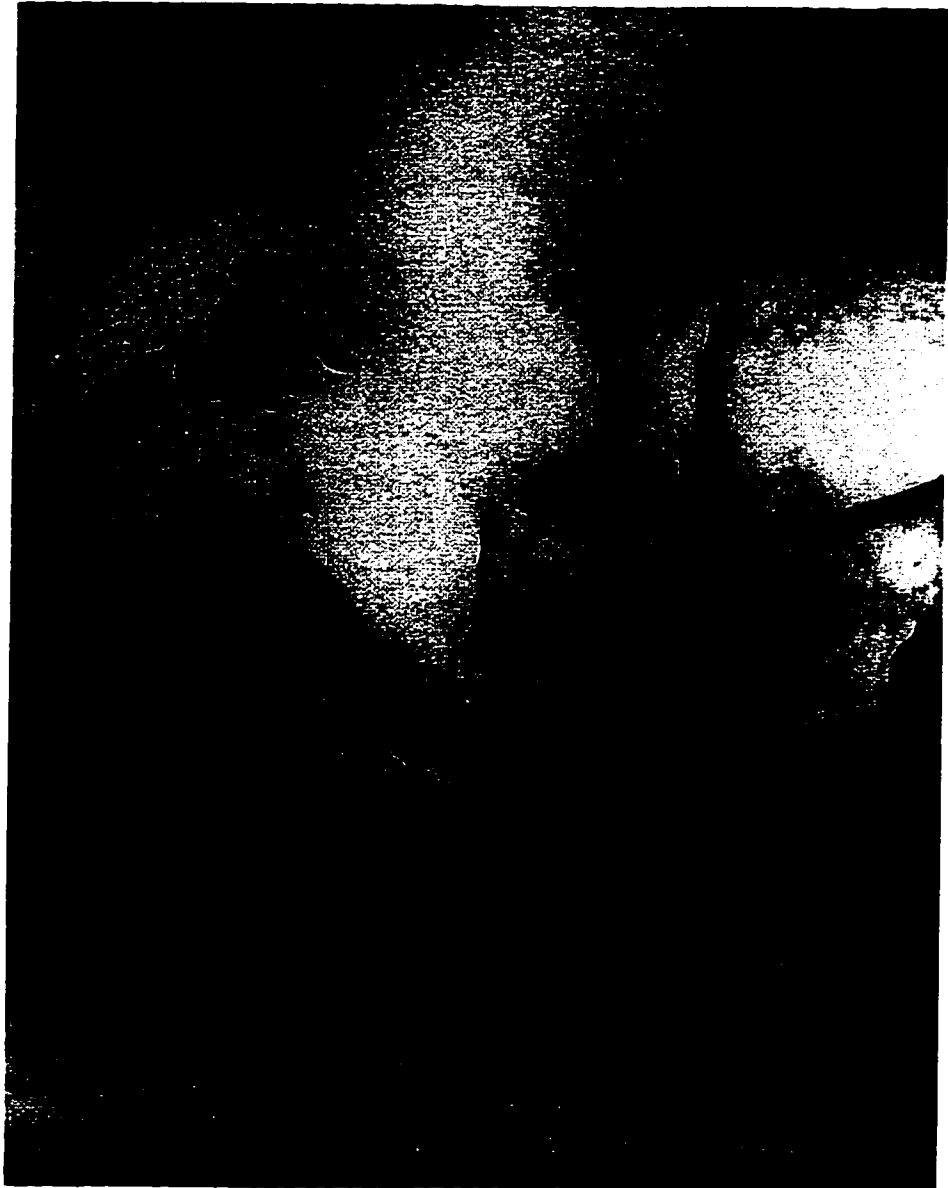


fig. 67b  
Théodore Géricault, *The Flemish Farrier*, detail



fig. 68

**Théodore Géricault, *The English Farrier*, (Delteil 39), lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, 280x372, mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.**





fig.68a  
Théodore Géricault, *The English Farrier*, detail

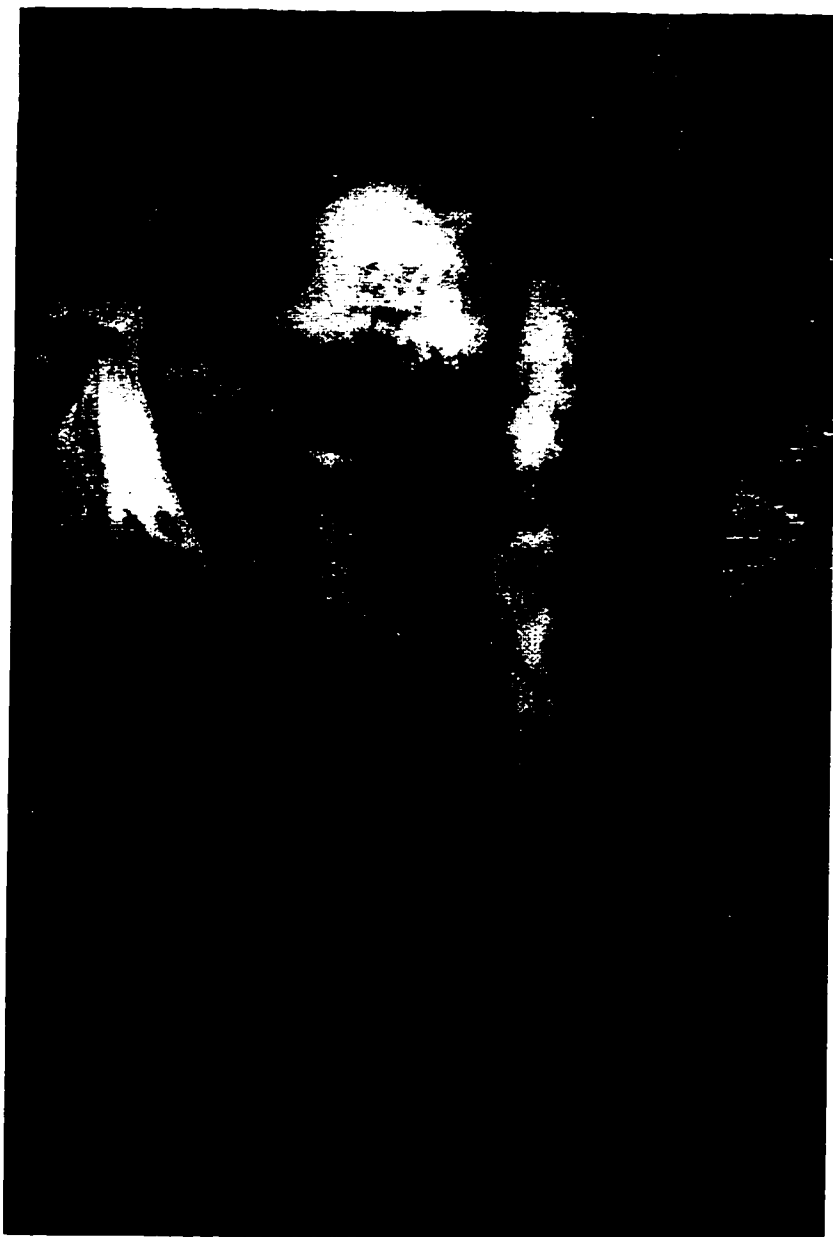


fig. 68b  
Théodore Géricault, *The English Farrier*, detail



fig. 69

Théodore Géricault, *Cart Horse and Postilion at the Door of a Forge*, watercolor over graphite underdrawing, 16.3x18.4 mm., Paris, private collection.



fig. 70

Théodore Géricault, *Study of a Farrier*, Pencil and ink washes on paper, 209x134 mm, Collection Mrs. and Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw, New York.

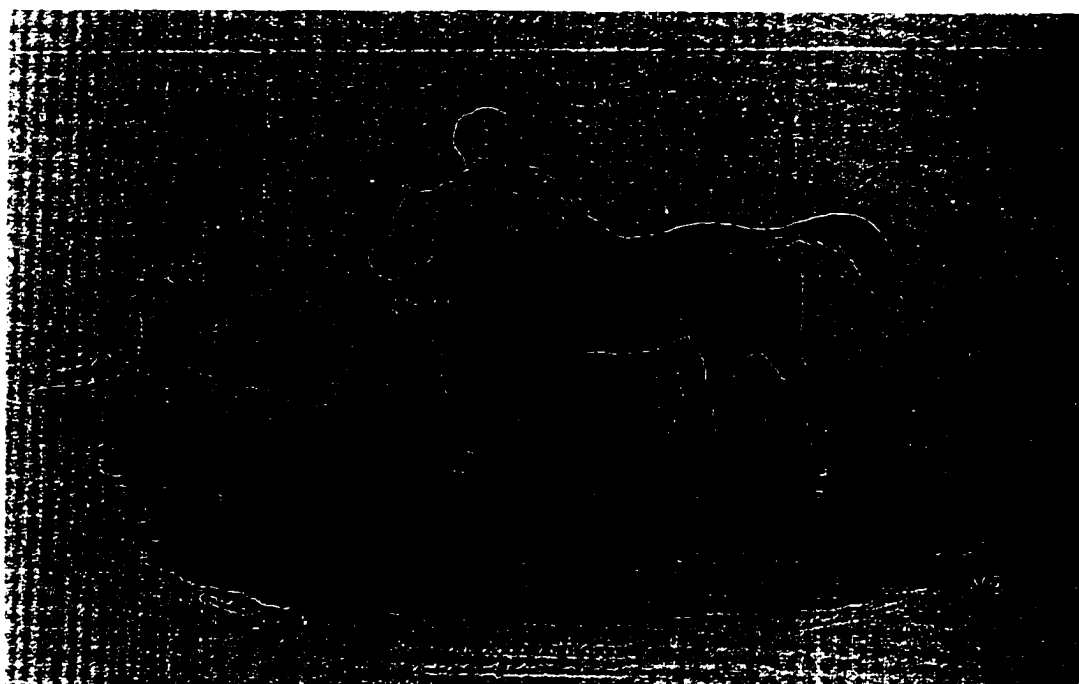


fig. 71  
 Théodore Géricault, *An Arabian Horse*, 1821, lithograph from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil 37), 335x170 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.



fig. 71a  
 Théodore Géricault, *An Arabian Horse*, detail

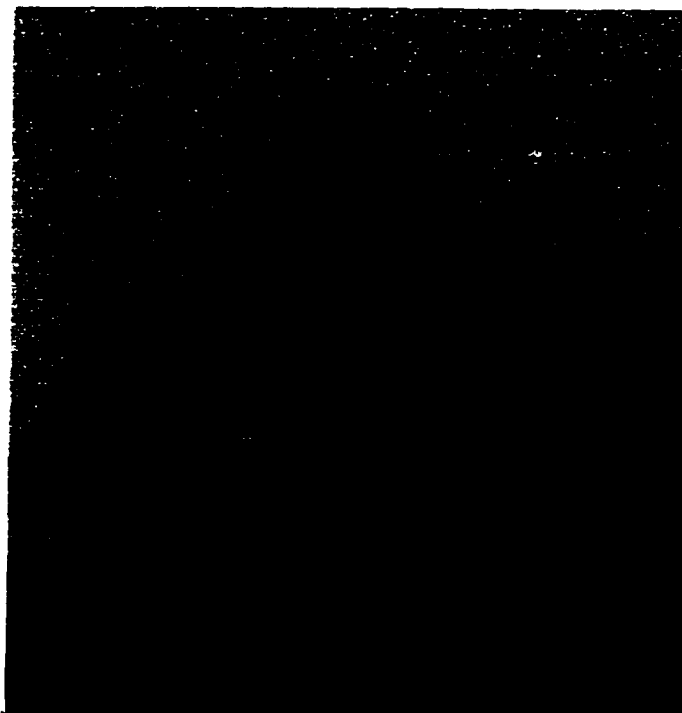


fig. 71b  
Théodore Géricault, *An Arabian Horse*, detail

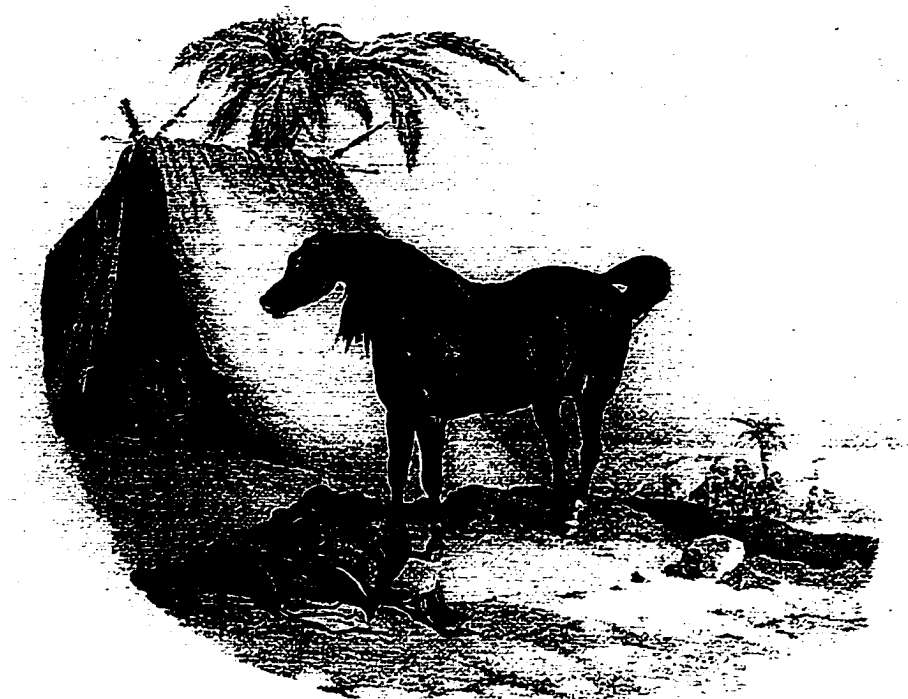


fig. 72  
Théodore Géricault, *Cheval Arabe*, 1822, lithograph (Delteil 56), 232x188 mm.,  
Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts

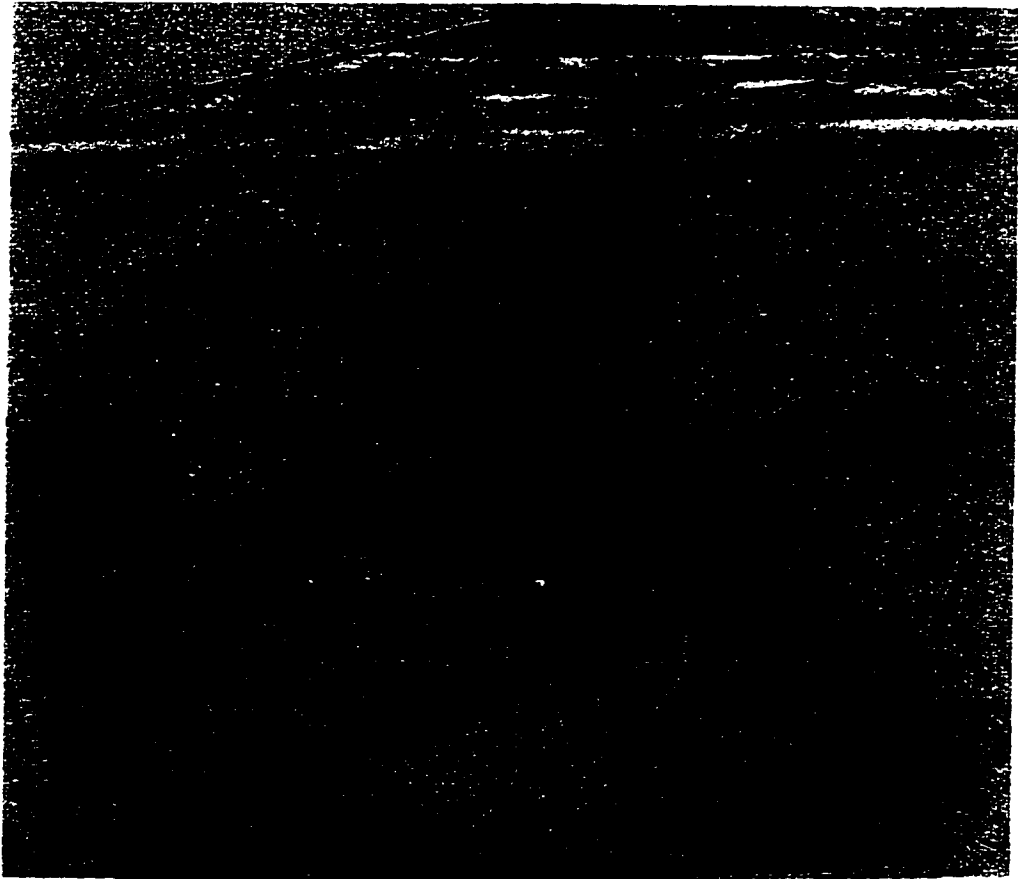


fig. 73  
Carle Vernet, *Arab on Horseback*, c. 1818, lithograph.

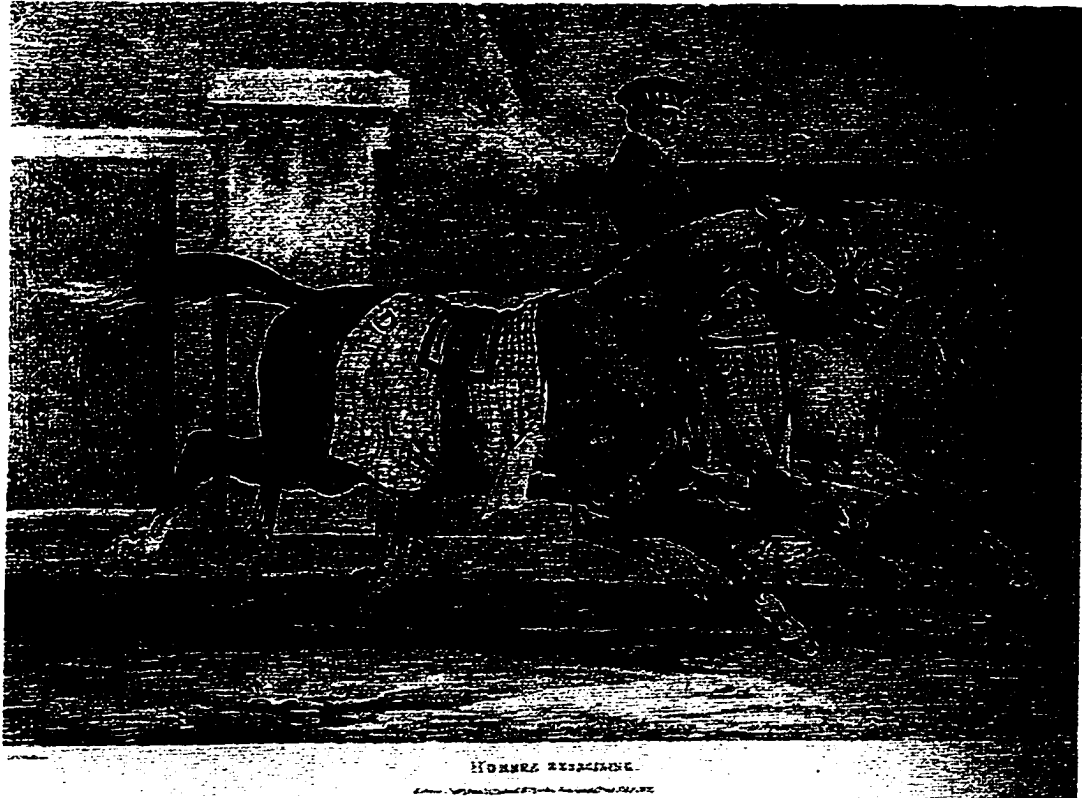


fig.74  
Théodore Géricault, *Horses Exercising*, 1821, lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil 35) 293x414 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

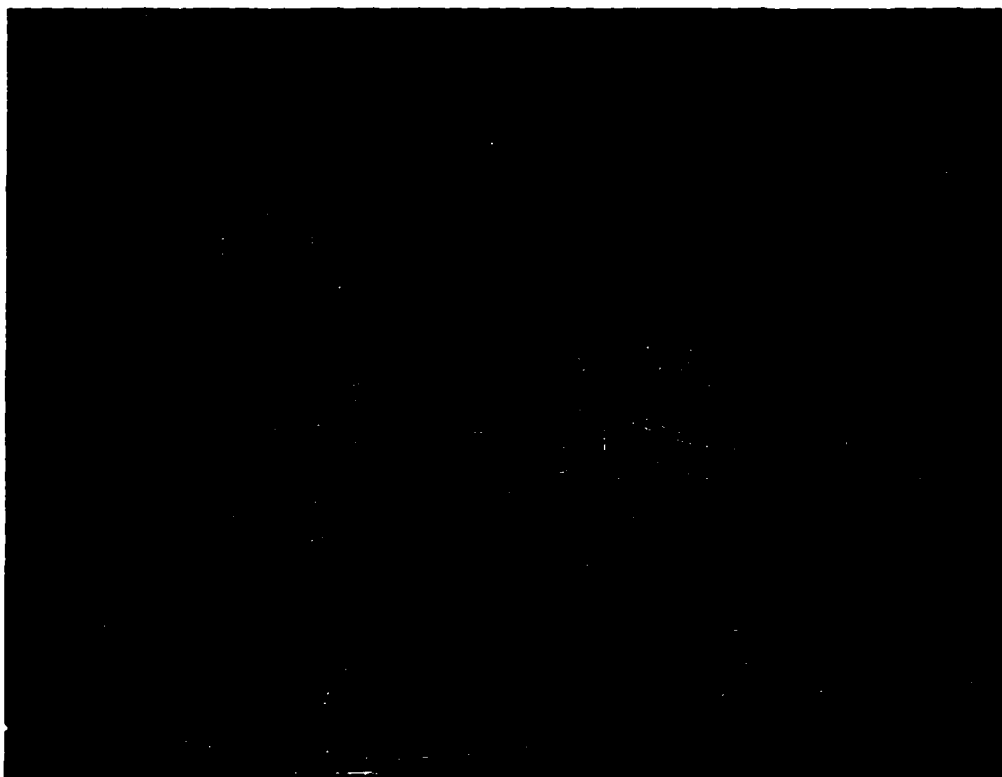


fig. 75  
Théodore Géricault, *Groom and Horses*, watercolor on cream colored paper, 291x373 mm.,  
Fogg Museum of Art.

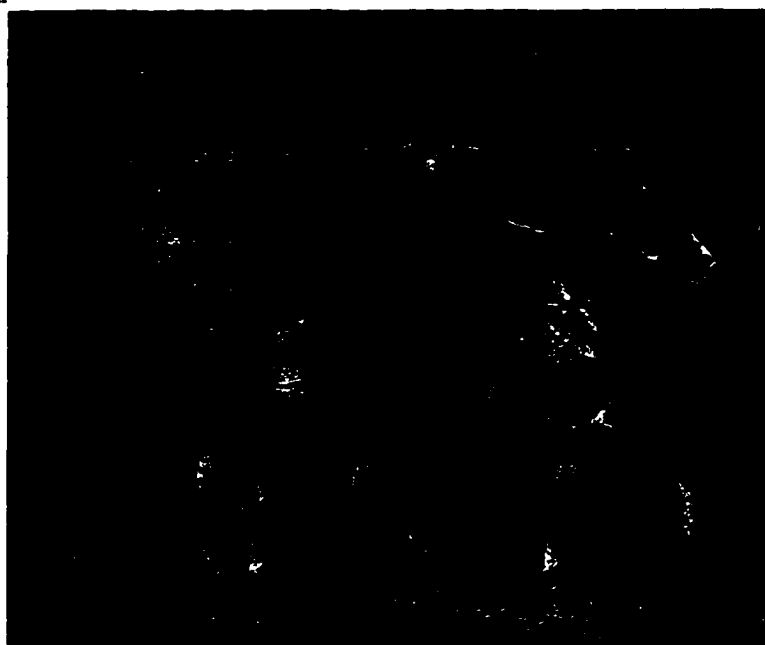


fig.76  
Théodore Géricault, *Two Horses Taken for a Ride by a Jockey* (*Deux chevaux promenés par un jockey*), (Delteil 90), 1822, lithograph,  
388x327 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts.





fig. 77

Théodore Géricault, *The Epsom Derby*, 1821, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

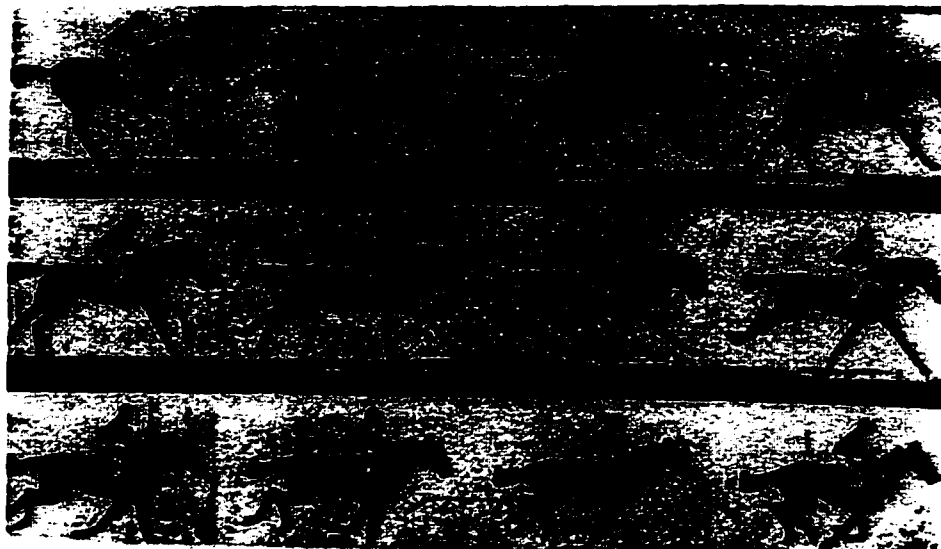


fig. 78

Eadweard Muybridge, *Galloping Horse*, 1883-1885, photographs, The Gernsheim Collection, Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas, Austin.

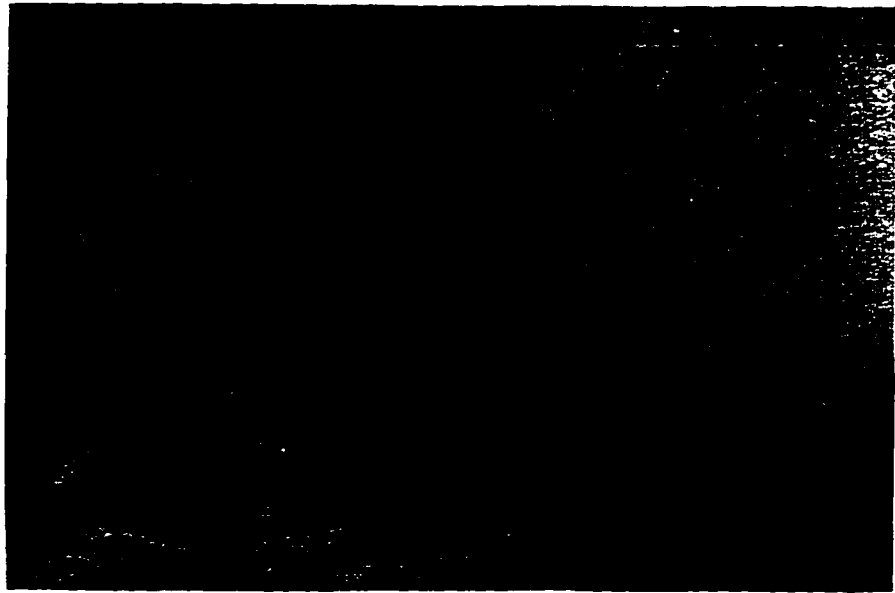


fig. 79

Théodore Géricault, *Two Grey Spotted Horses Taken for a Ride* (*Deux chevaux gris pommelé que l'on promène*), from the series *Études des chevaux* (Delteil 83), 1822, lithograph, 290x422 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

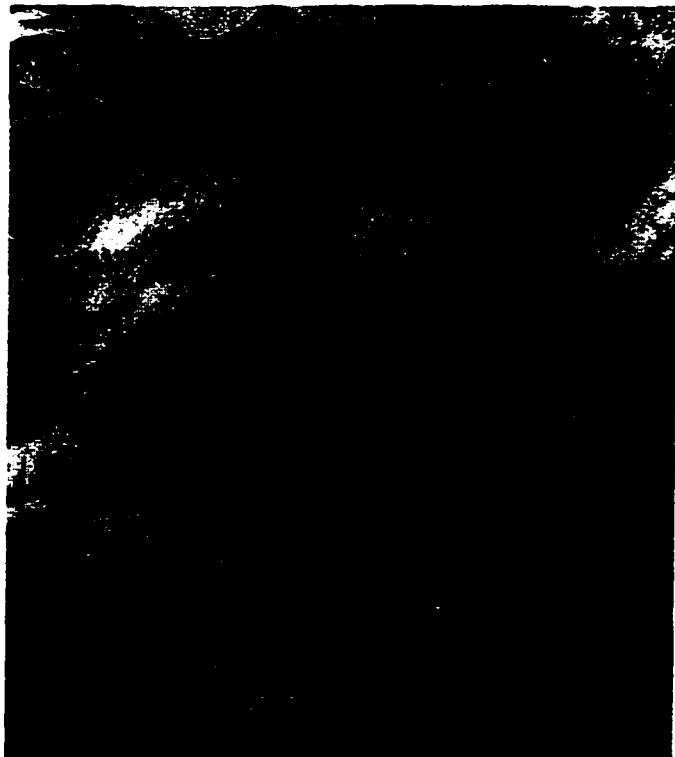


fig. 79a

Théodore Géricault, *Two Grey Spotted Horses Taken for a Ride* (*Deux chevaux gris pommelé que l'on promène*), detail.

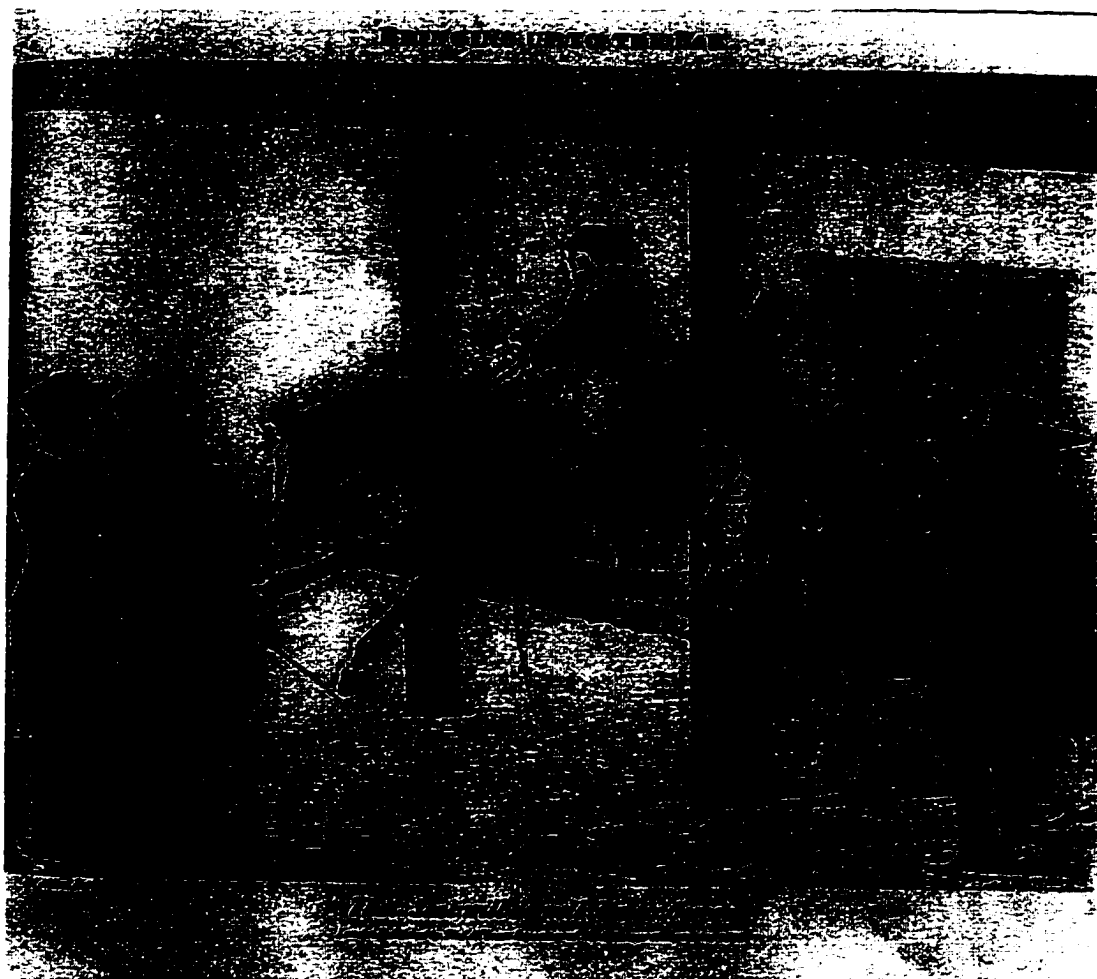


fig .80  
by and after Henry Alken, *Bringing Up to the Bar: 'That will do Well, Master George'*, 1823,  
colored soft ground etching, 18.5x24.5 cm., The Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon Collection.

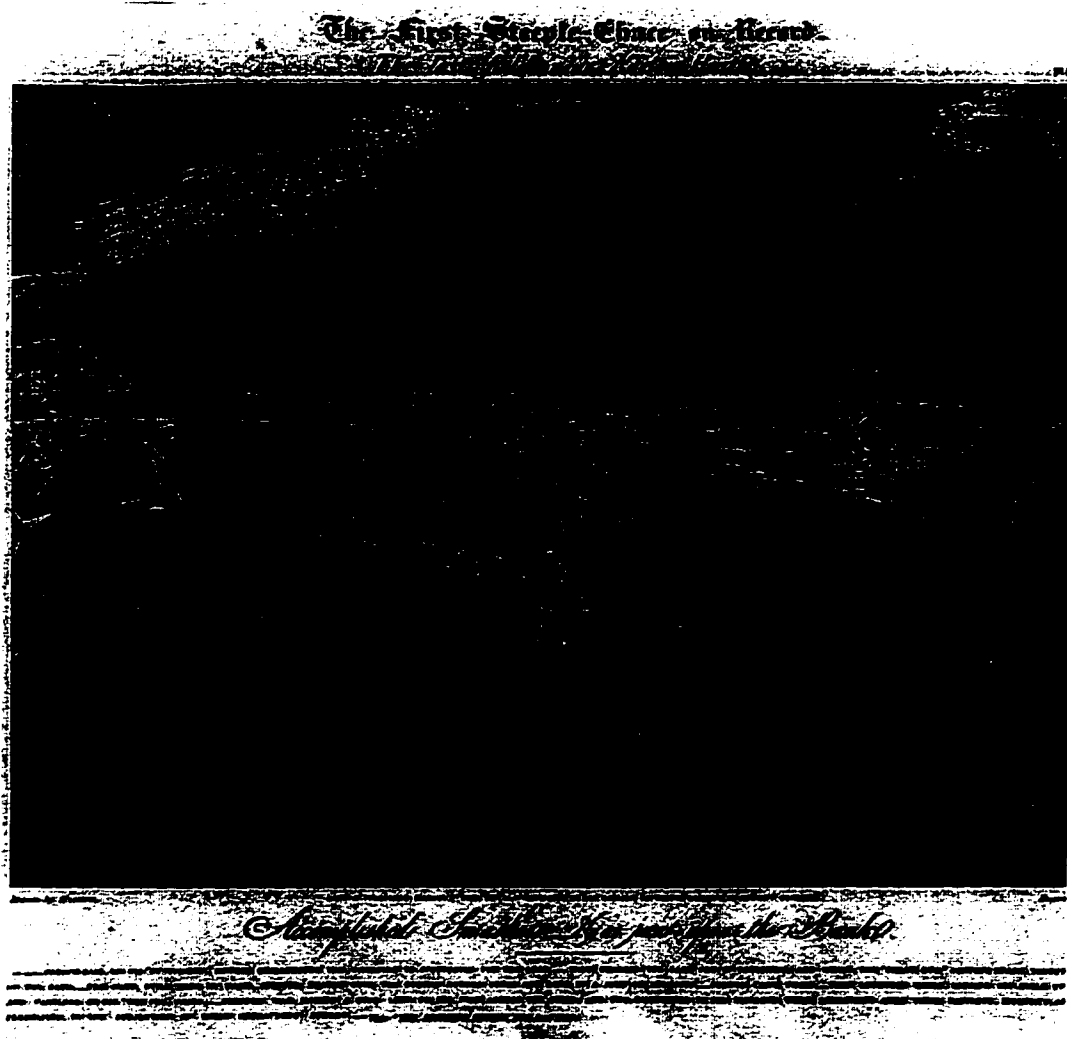


fig. 81

J. Harris after Henry Alken, *The First Steeple Chase on Record*, 1803, colored aquatint with etched outline, 27x37 cm., The Print Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.



fig. 82

Charles Turner after James Ward, *Ralph John Lambton, His Horse and Hounds (Calling Hounds Out of the Cover)*, mezzotint, printed in color, 50x74.3 cm.

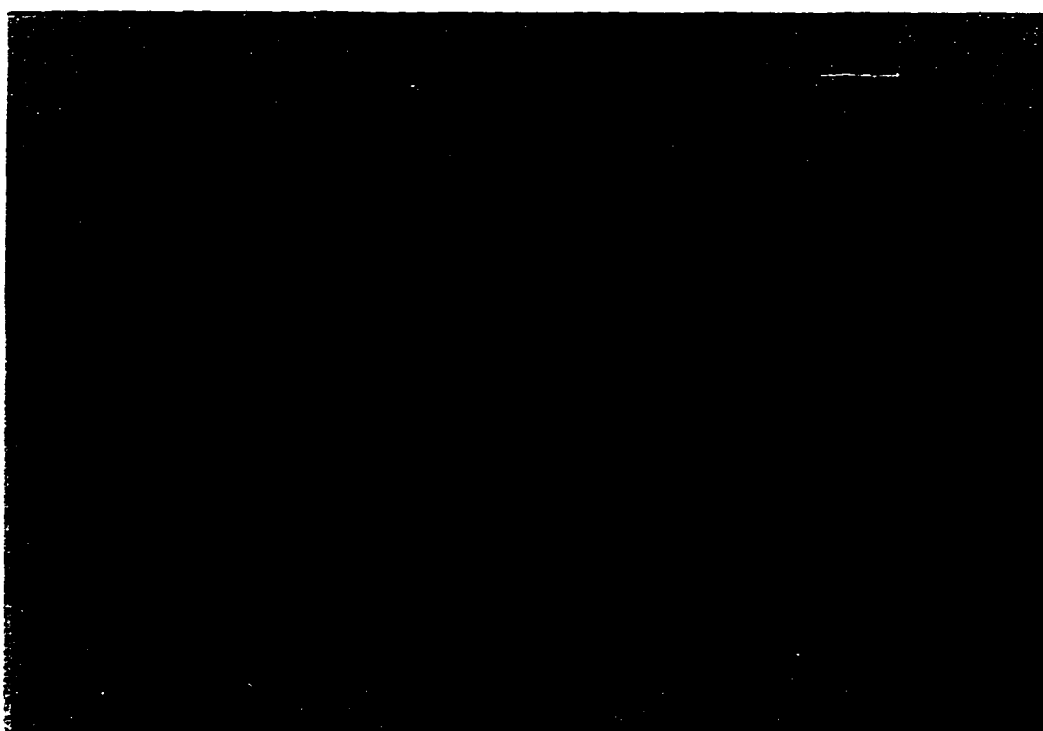


fig.83

Théodore Géricault, *A Party of Life Guards*, 1821, lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil 34) 272x343 mm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

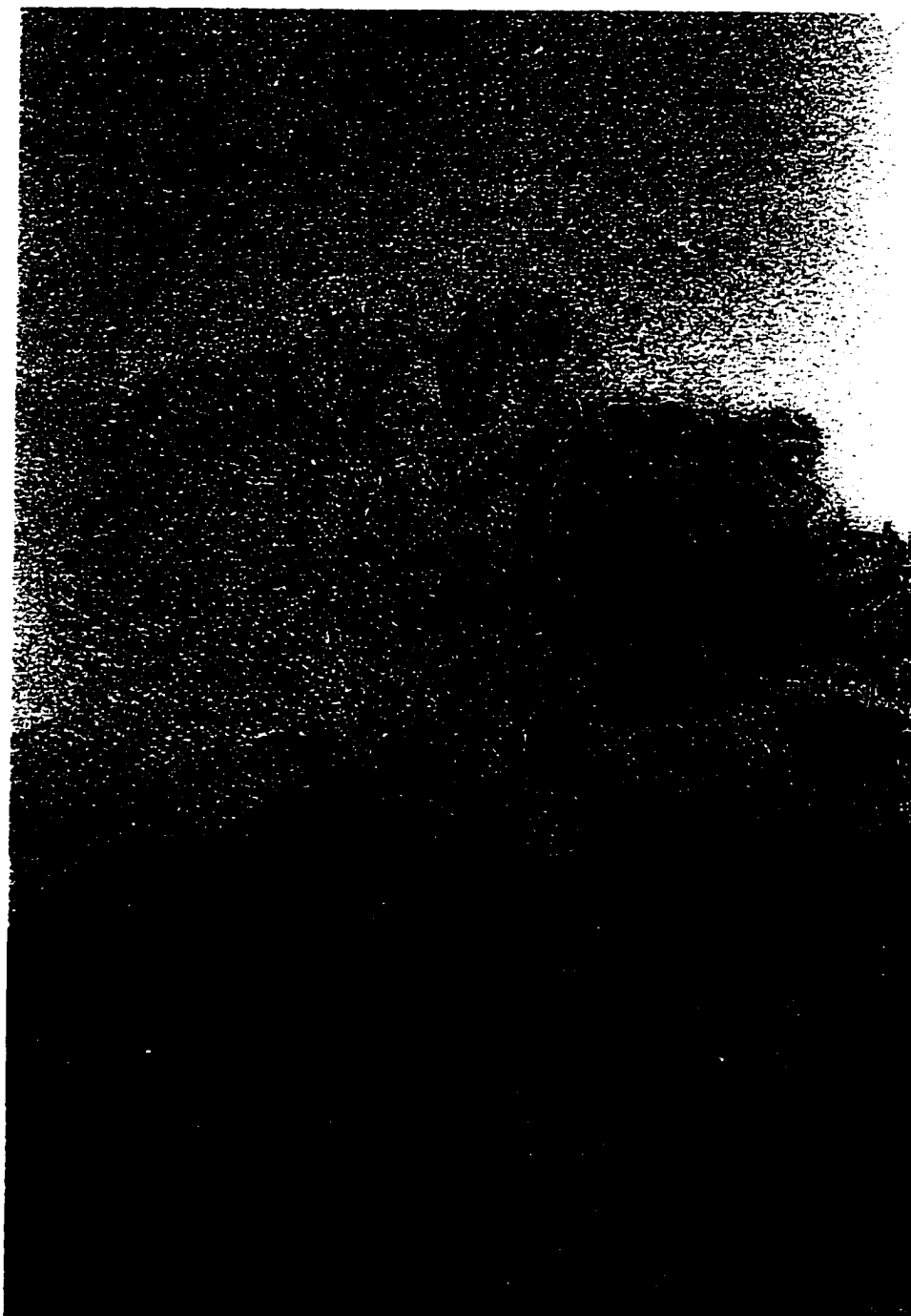


fig. 83a  
Théodore Géricault, *A Party of Life Guards*, detail

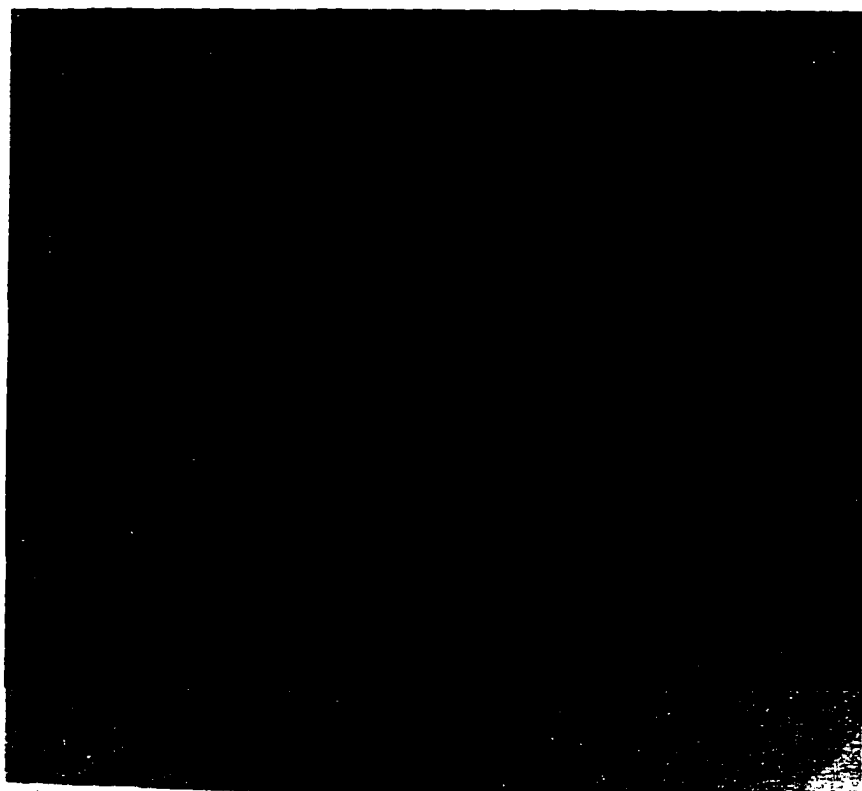


fig. 84

Théodore Géricault, *Battle of Chacabuco (Bataille de Chacabuco)*, c. 1819, lithograph, 490x388 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts.



fig. 85

Théodore Géricault, *Battle of Maipu (Bataille de Maipu)*, (Delteil 19), c. 1819, lithograph, 520x377 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

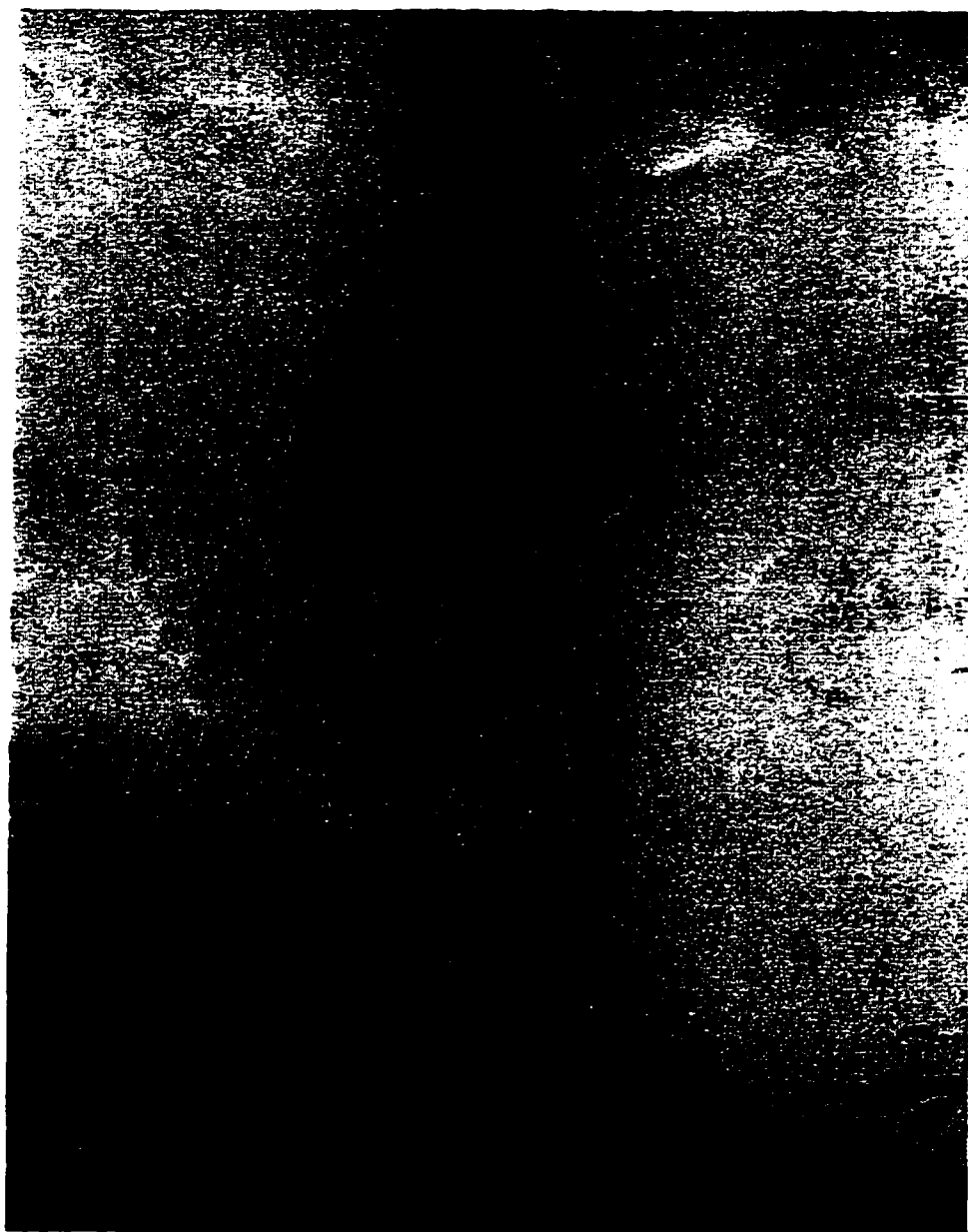


fig. 86

Théodore Géricault, *An Officer of the Carabineers*, c. 1813, pen and ink with watercolor, 390x310 mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre.





fig. 87

**Théodore Géricault (?), *A Study of a British Guardsman and a Study for 'The Giaour'*, 1819 (?), red chalk for the Guardsman, graphite for 'The Giaour', drawing, 31.3x23.1 cm, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts, Paris.**

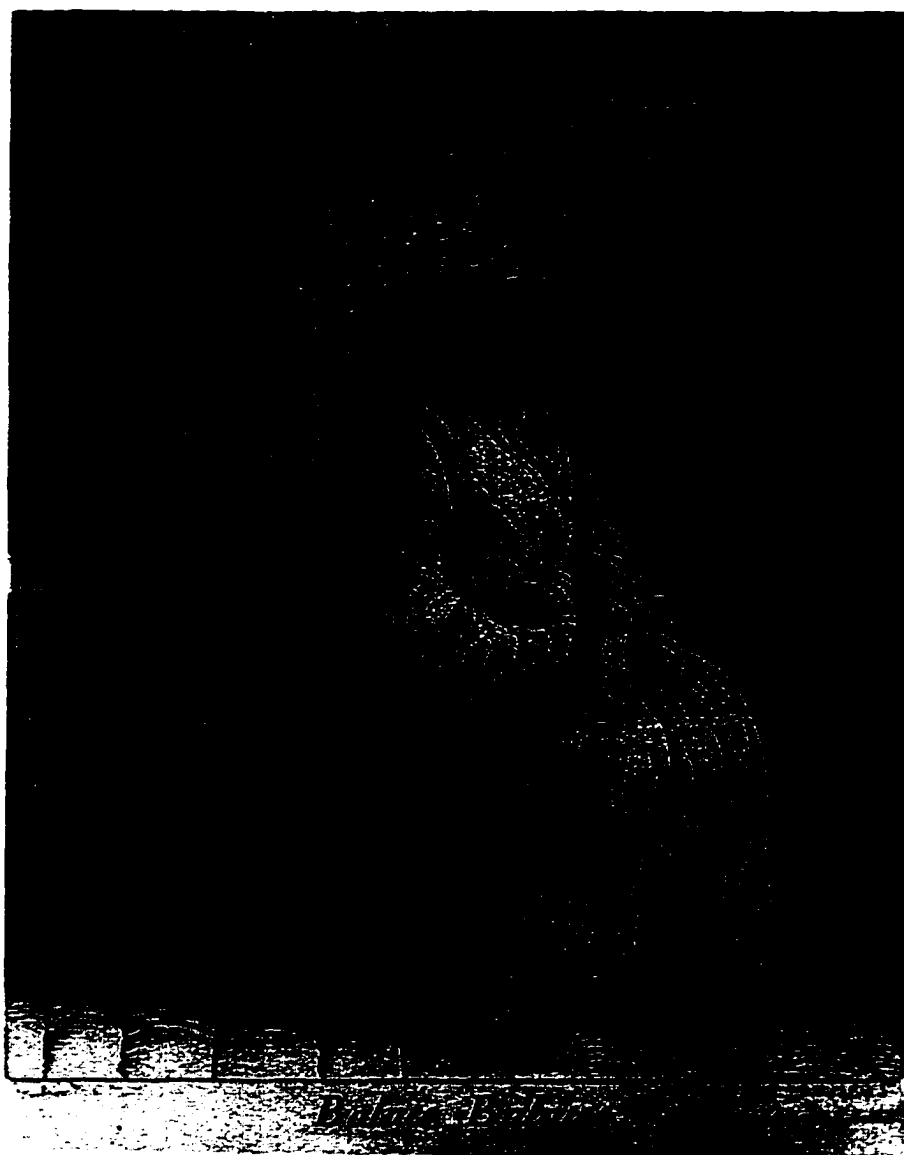


fig. 88

Edme Bouchardon (etched by Comte de Caylus), *Balais Balais (Vendor of Brooms)*, 1768, etching and engraving, 233x177 mm., from the second edition of the series *Les Cris de Paris en 8 suites, gravés d'après les Dessins de Mr. Bouchardon, Sculptuer du Roy en 1768 à Paris chez Crepy-Rue S. Jacques n. 257 aux Deux Colonnes*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

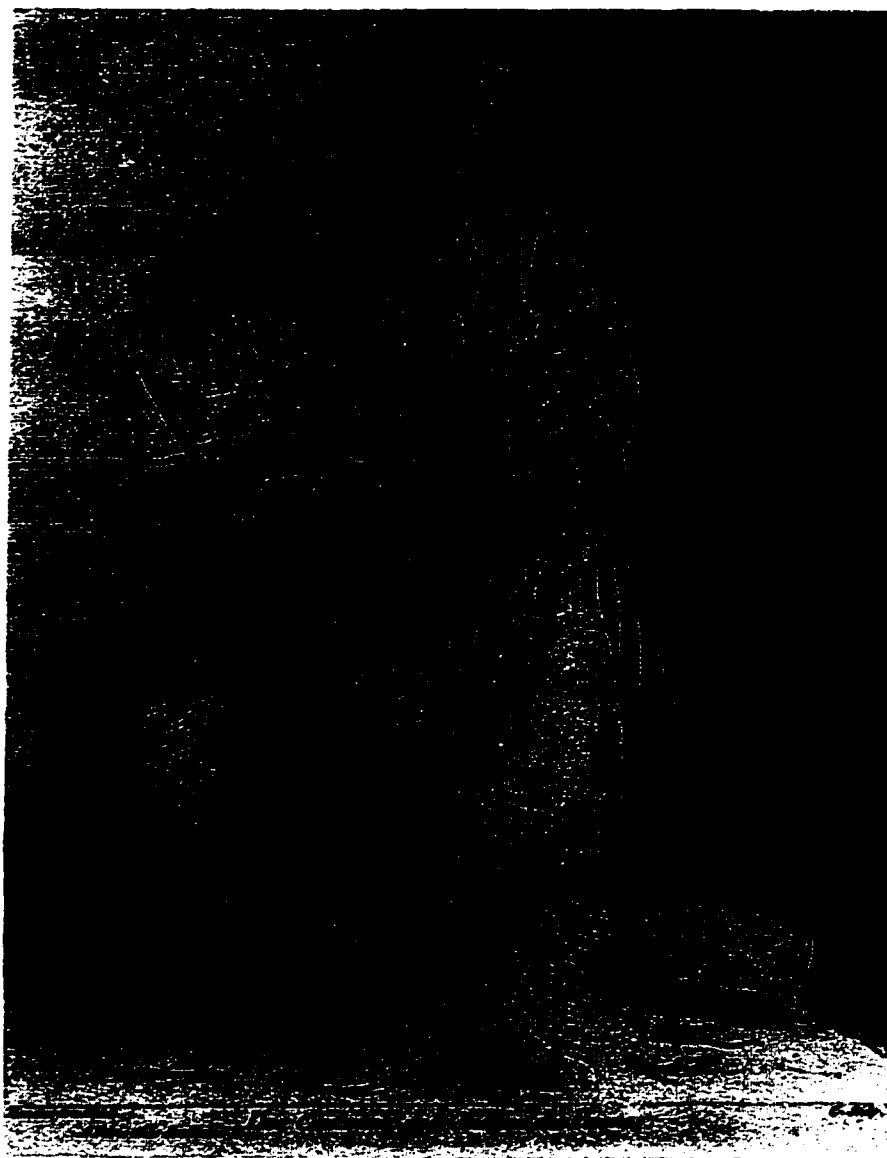


fig. 89

Edme Bouchardon, *Des Couteaux, des Ciseaux, des Peignes* (*A Vendor of Knives, Scissors and Combs*), 1768, etching and engraving, 233x177 mm., from the second edition of the series *Les Cris de Paris en 8 suites, gravés d'après les Dessins de Mr. Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy en 1768 à Paris chez Crepy-Rue S. Jacques n. 257 aux Deux Colonnes*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



fig. 90

Thomas Rowlandson, *Old Cloaths, any Old Cloaths*, number 7 of the series *Cries of London*, 1799, hand colored etching, 288x193 mm., printed by R. Ackermann, London.

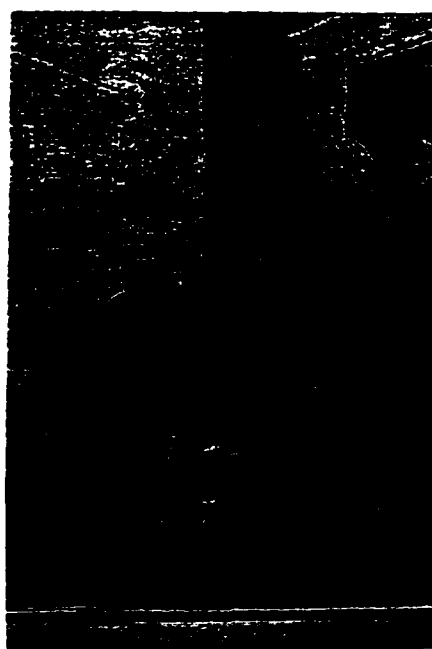


fig. 91

Thomas Rowlandson, *Do You Want any Brick Dust*, number 4 of the series *Cries of London*, 1799, hand colored etching, 288x193 mm., printed by R. Ackermann, London.



fig. 92  
Francis Wheatley, *Fresh Gathered Peas, Young Hastings*, 1793,  
engraving, 39.8x28.5 cm., Achenbach Foundation, San Francisco.



fig. 93  
 Thomas Busby, *A Match Girl*, 1820,  
 from the series *Costumes of the Lower  
 Orders of London*, hand colored  
 engraving



fig. 94  
 Théodore Géricault, *Sketch*, black chalk on paper, 20x28.5 cm., Dr. Fritz  
 Nathan and Dr. Peter Nathan Collection, Switzerland.

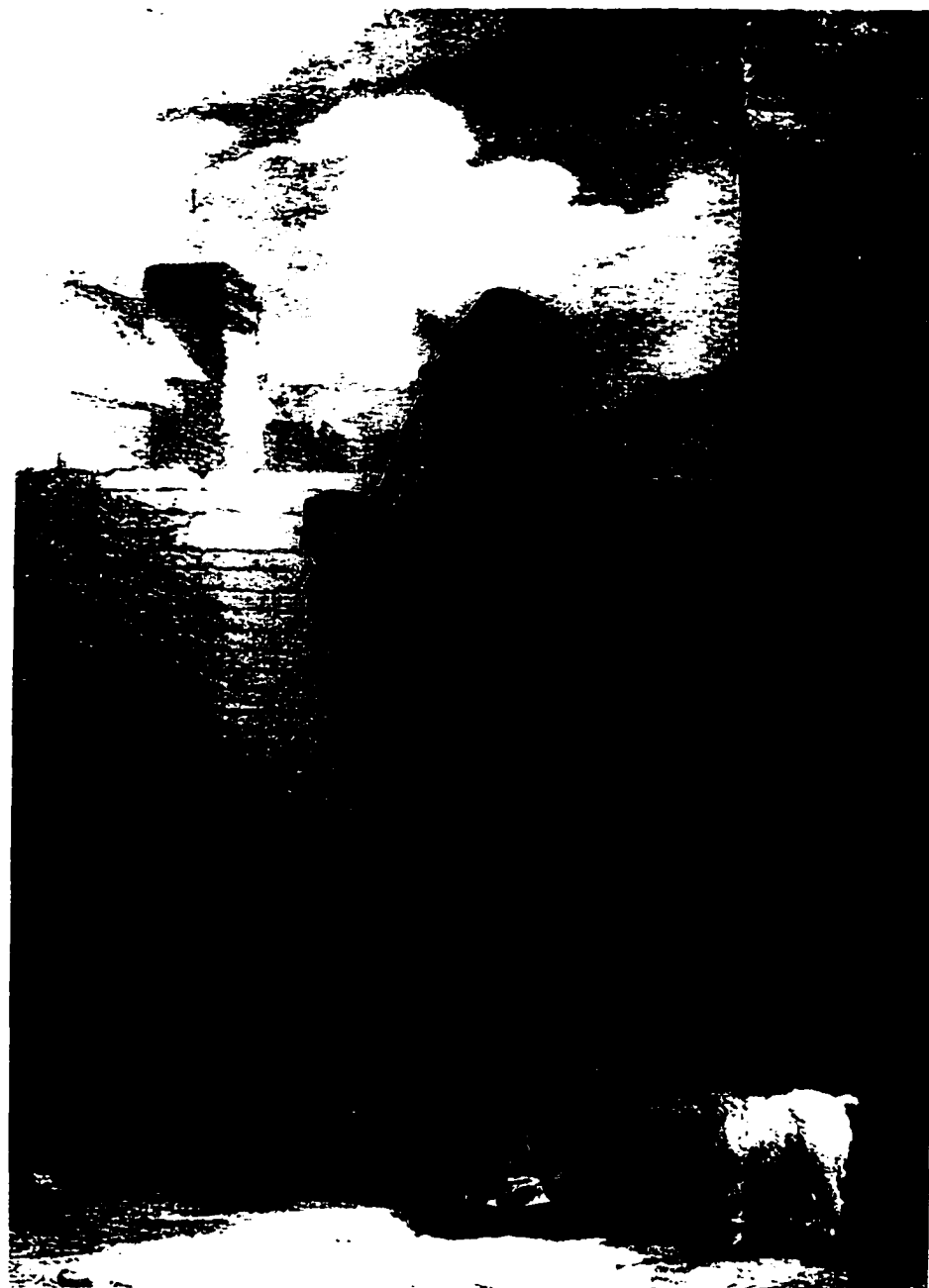


fig. 95

Théodore Géricault, *The Piper*, 1821, lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil no. 30), 314x233 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

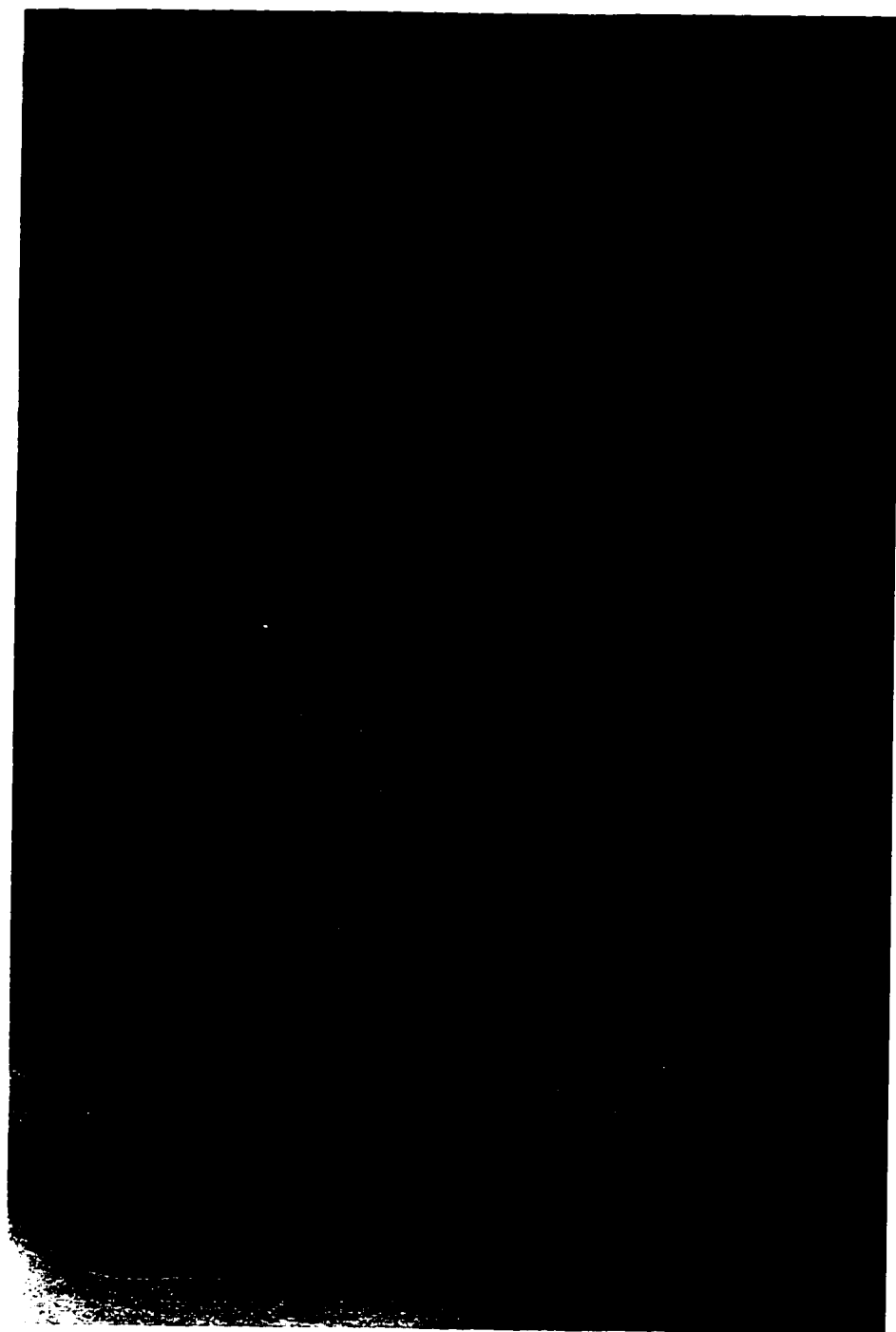


fig. 95a  
Théodore Géricault, *The Piper*, detail



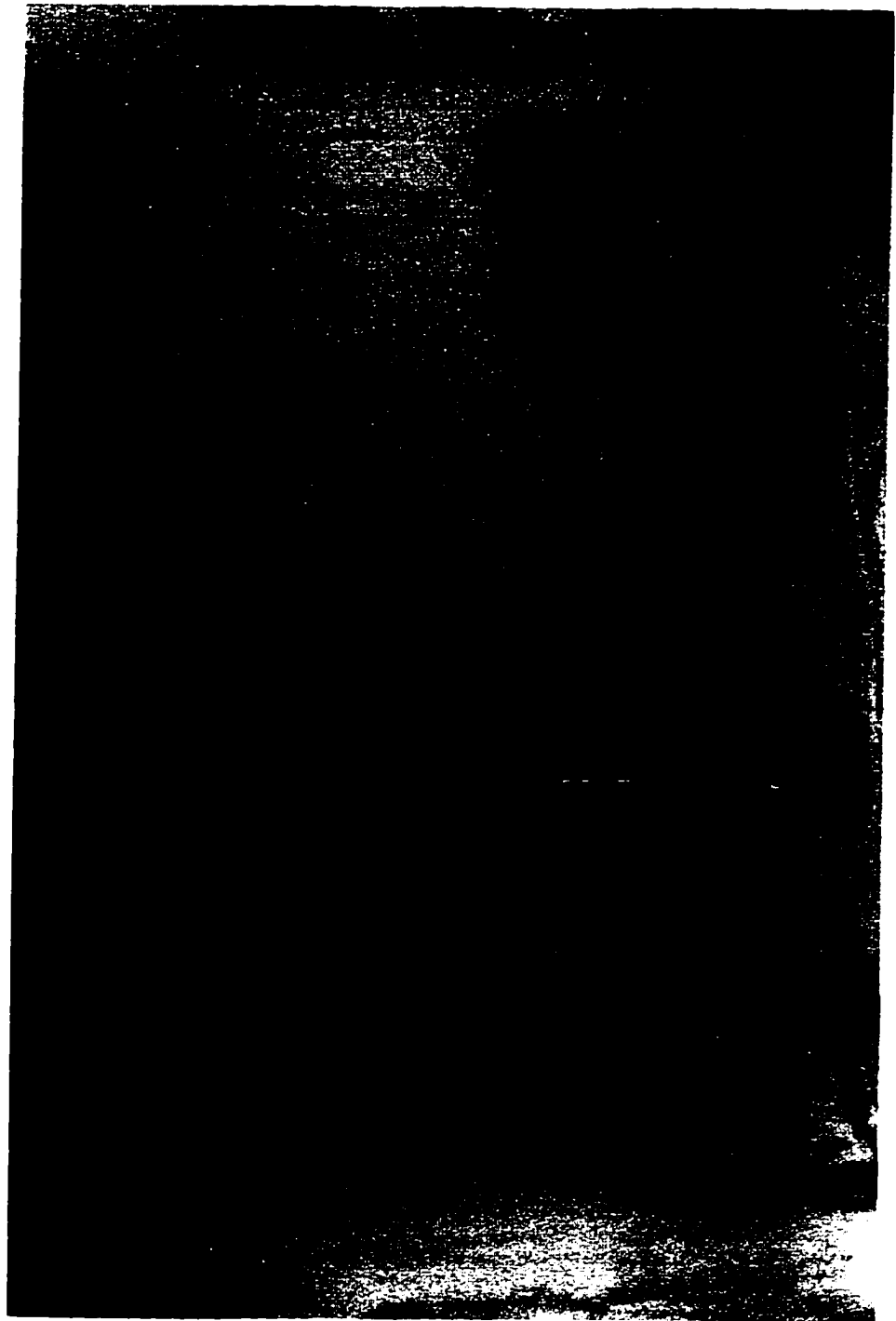


fig. 95b  
Théodore Géricault, *The Piper*, detail



fig. 95c  
Théodore Géricault, *The Piper*, detail



fig. 96  
Théodore Géricault, *The Organ Grinder*, pen on white paper, 210x280 mm., Collection  
Philippe Huart, Rhode Island School of Design.



fig. 97

Théodore Géricault, *Study of a Piper at the Door of a Bakery*, graphite, 198x270 mm., Dijon, Musée des Beaux-arts (verso. recto shows *Study of a Lion*).



fig. 98

Théodore Géricault, *Study of a Piper*, graphite, 28.6x20.3 cm., Paris, École des Beaux-arts.



fig. 99  
 Bartolomeo Pinelli, *The Pipers (Li pifferari)*, 1810, etching, from the series *Nuova Racolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e costumi di Roma*.

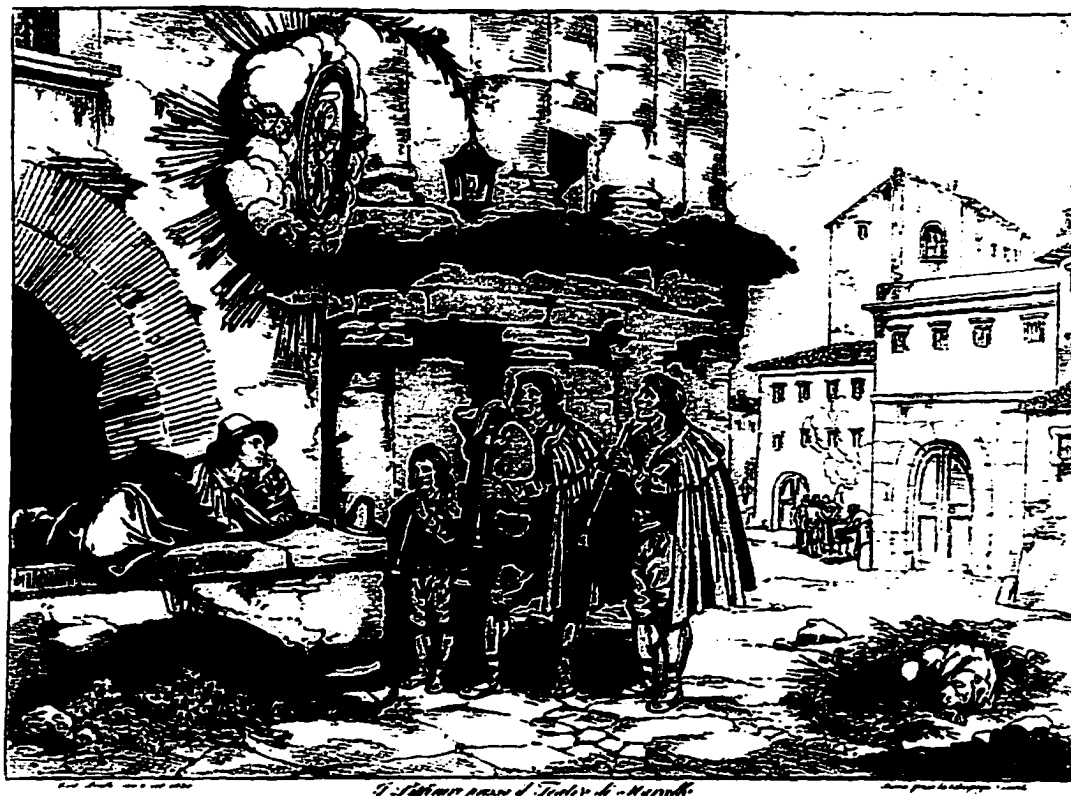


fig. 100

Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Pipers Next to the Theater of Marcello* (*I pifferari presso il teatro di Marcello*), 1810, etching, from the series *Nuova Racolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e costumi di Roma*.



fig. 101

Théodore Géricault, *The Bagpiper*, pen with ink washes on buff paper, 220x150 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-arts.

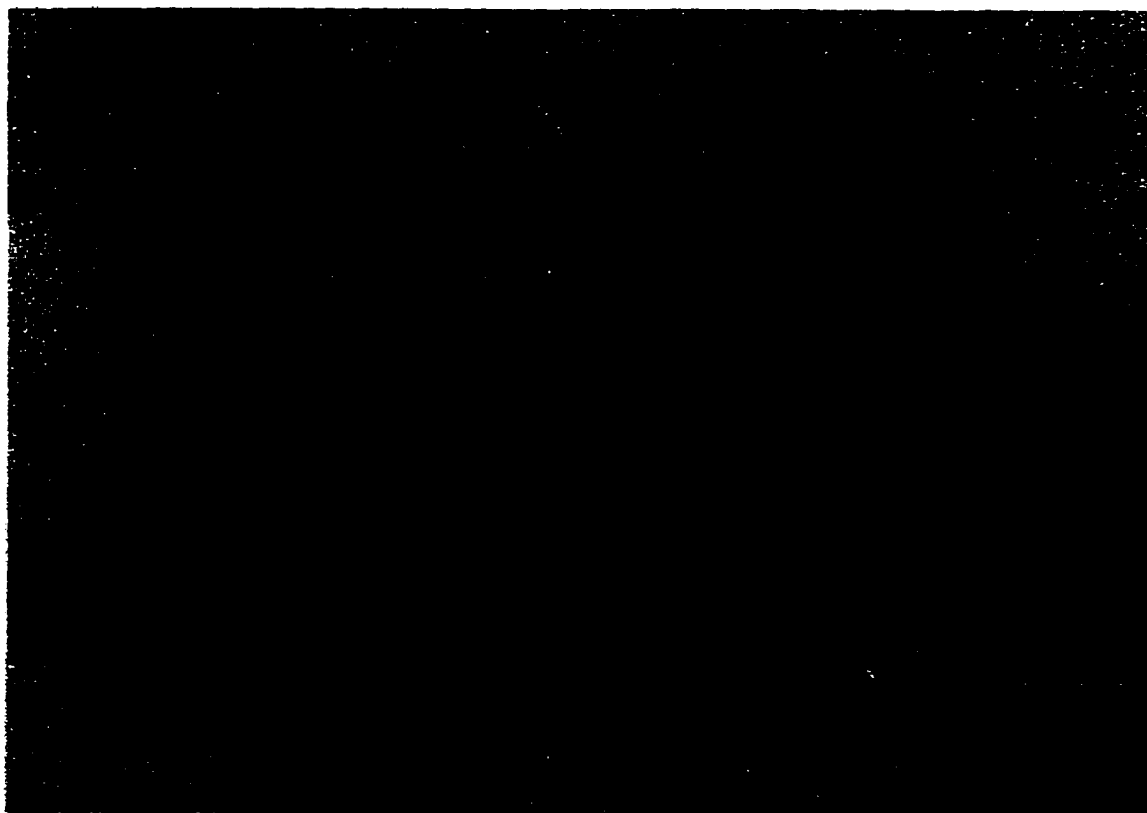


fig. 102

Théodore Géricault, *A Paralytic (sic) Woman*, 1821, lithograph, from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, (Delteil no. 38), 222x315 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.

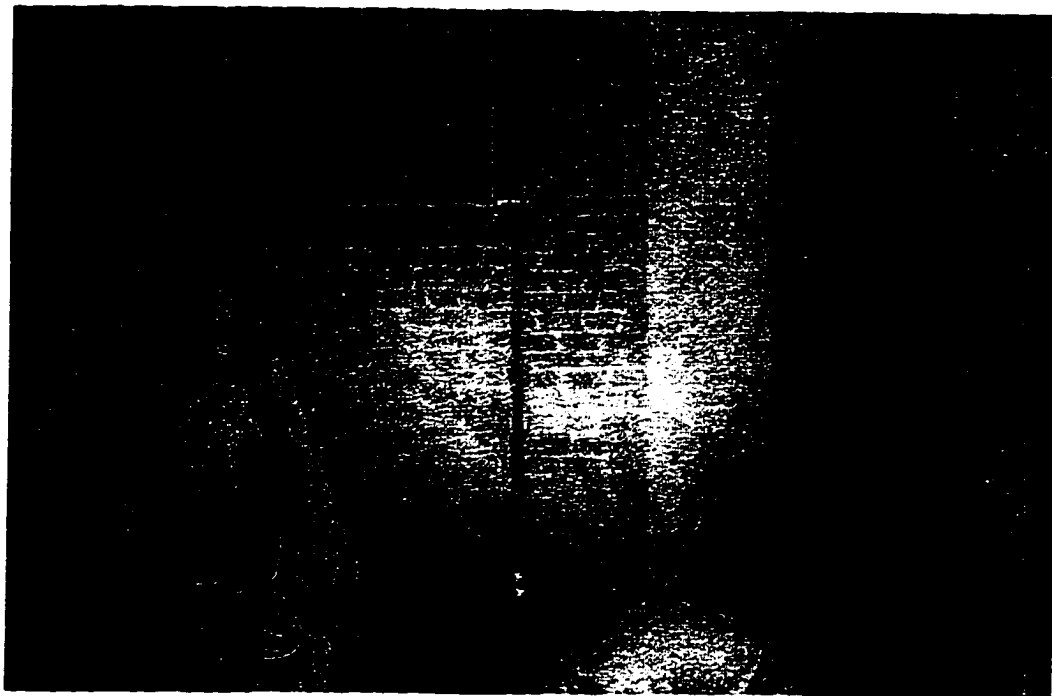


fig. 102a  
Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail





fig. 102b  
Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail



fig. 102c  
Théodore Géricault, *A Paralytic (sic) Woman*, detail



fig. 102d  
Théodore Géricault, *A Paraleptic (sic) Woman*, detail

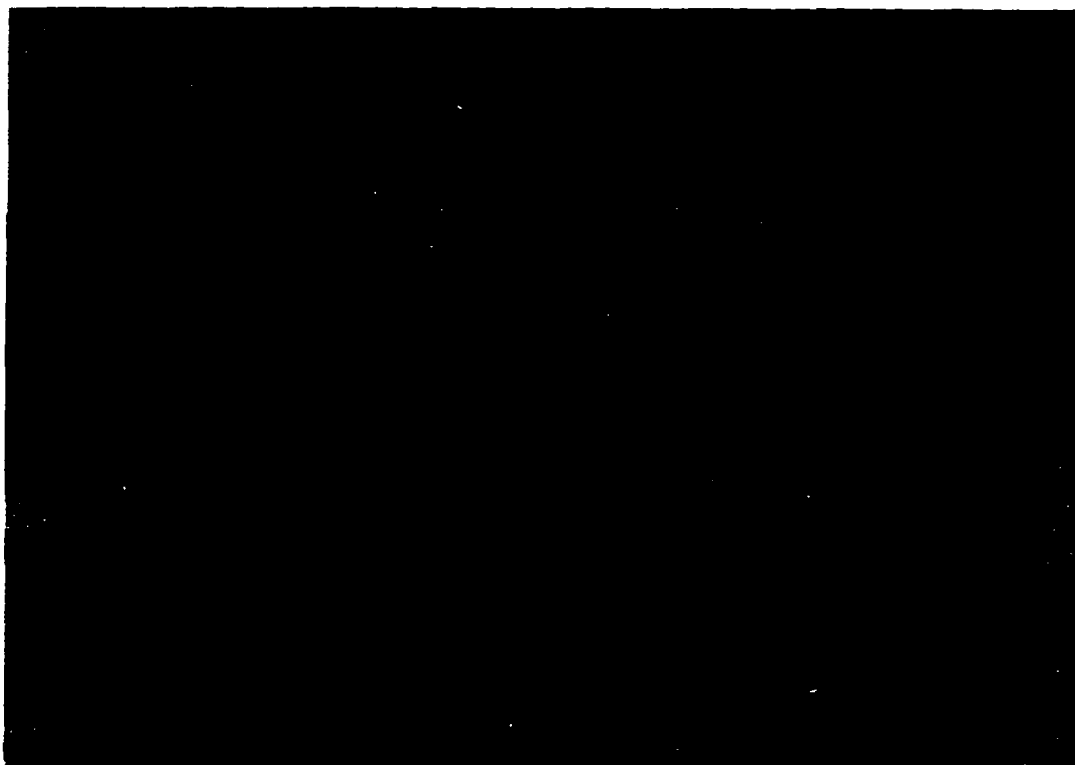


fig. 103  
Théodore Géricault *A Burial in London*, sepia wash and graphite, 195x280 mm., Paris, Private Collection.



fig. 104  
Théodore Géricault, *Study for a Carriage*, drawing on white paper, 168x286 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.



fig. 105

Théodore Géricault, *A Paralytic Woman*, grey wash over crayon, 156x205 mm., Paris, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Olivier Debre.



fig. 106

Thomas Rowlandson, *A Scene at Bath*, (no date), drawing, The Albert H. Wiggin Collection in the Boston Public Library.

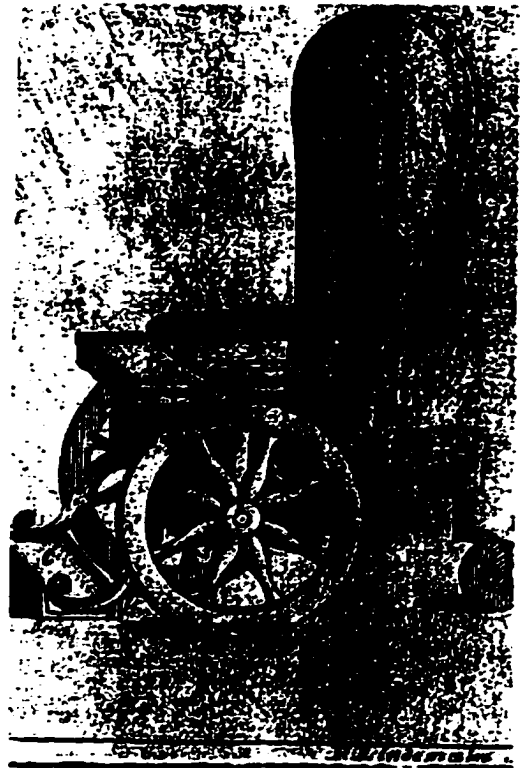


fig. 107  
An Italian wheelchair of the eighteenth century.



fig. 108  
T. Ford, *The Dying Infidel, or the Judgements of God Displayed in the Awful End of Miserable Sinners*, broadside, 155x320 mm.



fig. 109

Bartolomeo Pinelli, *A Poor Crippled Woman in Rome* (*Una povera stroppia [sic] in Roma*), 1810, etching, from the series *Nuova Raccolta di cinquanta motivi pittoreschi e costumi di Roma*.

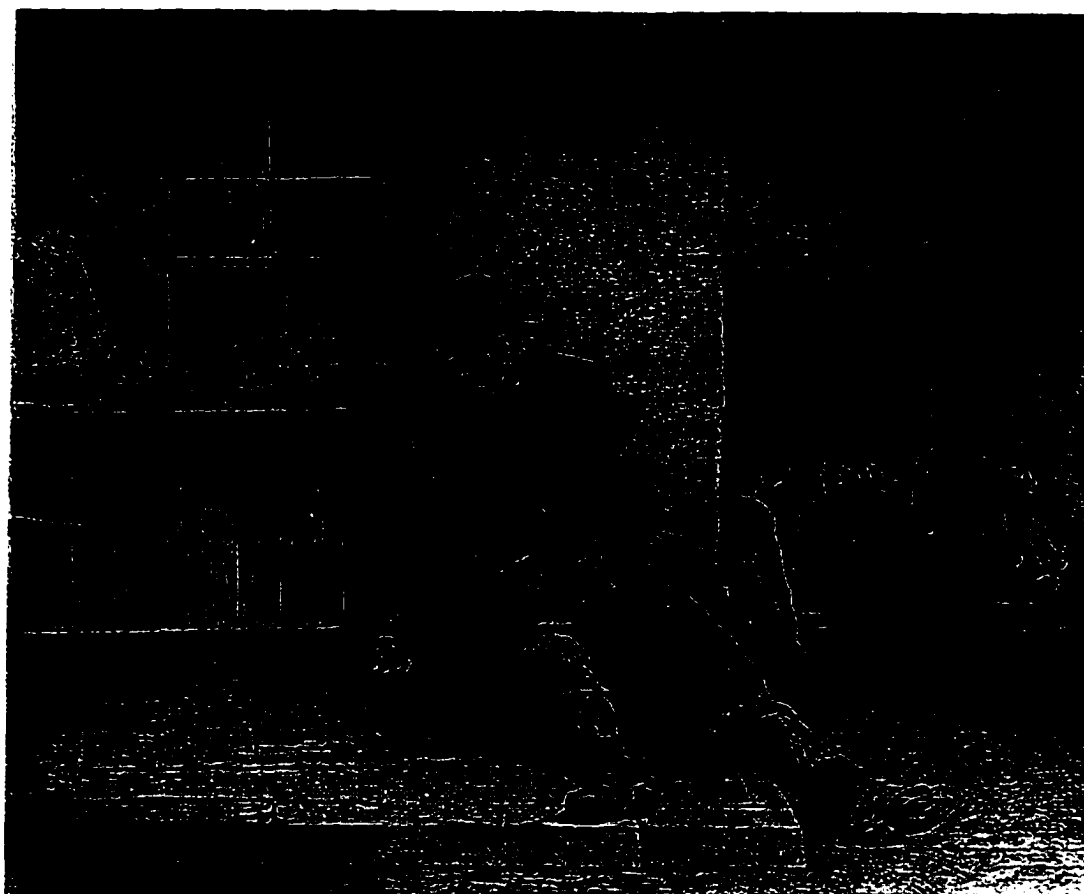


fig. 110

**Théodore Géricault, *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Borne him to Your Door*, (Delteil no. 31), 1821, lithograph, 315x374 mm., from the series *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone*, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-arts.**



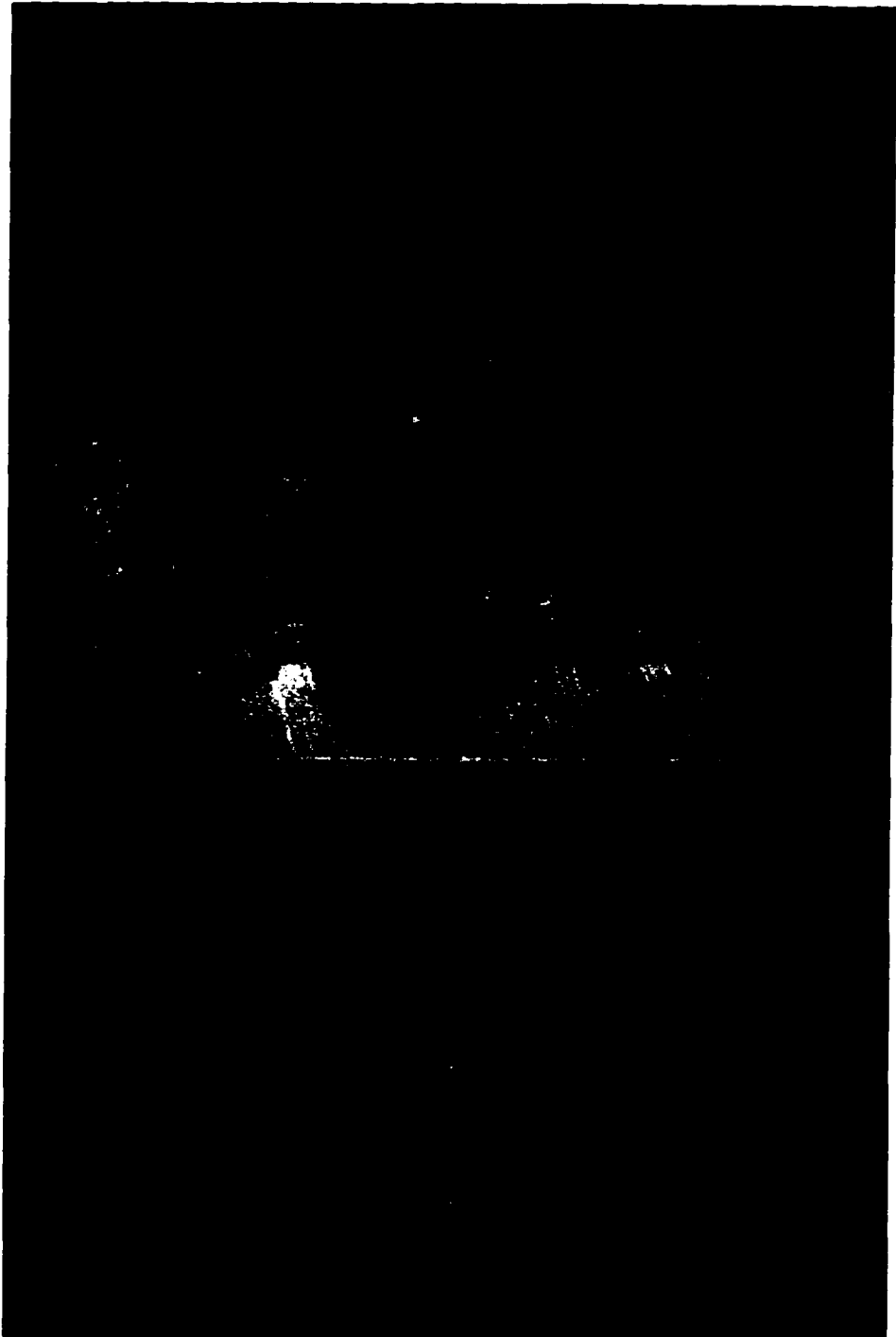


fig. 110a  
Théodore Géricault, *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Borne him to Your Door*, detail



fig. 110b

Théodore Géricault, *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Borne him to Your Door*, detail



fig. 110c

Théodore Géricault, *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man Whose Trembling Limbs have Borne him to Your Door*, detail



fig. 111

James Gillray, "Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man", *Vide, Scene in Bloomsbury Square*, 1796, engraving, (colored impression), 13.9x9.25 inch., London, The Prints and Drawings Collection of the British Museum.



fig. 112

William H. Pyne, *The Dustman*, etching, plate 28 from the series *The Costume of Great Britain*, London, 1808.

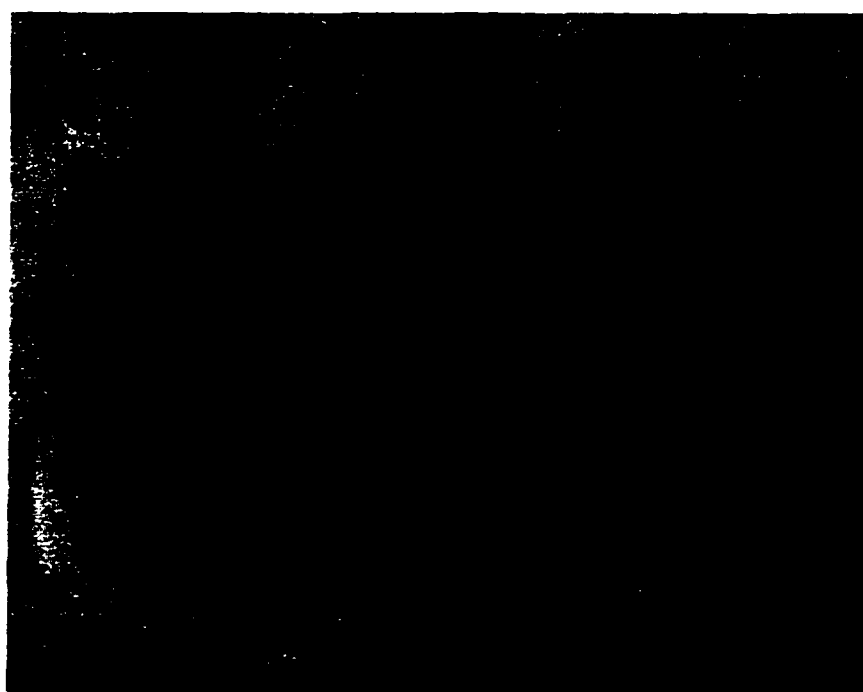


fig. 113

Théodore Géricault, *The Dustmen (Les Boueux)*, (Delteil no. 75), 1823, lithograph, from the series *Quatre sujets divers*, 195x244 mm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts.

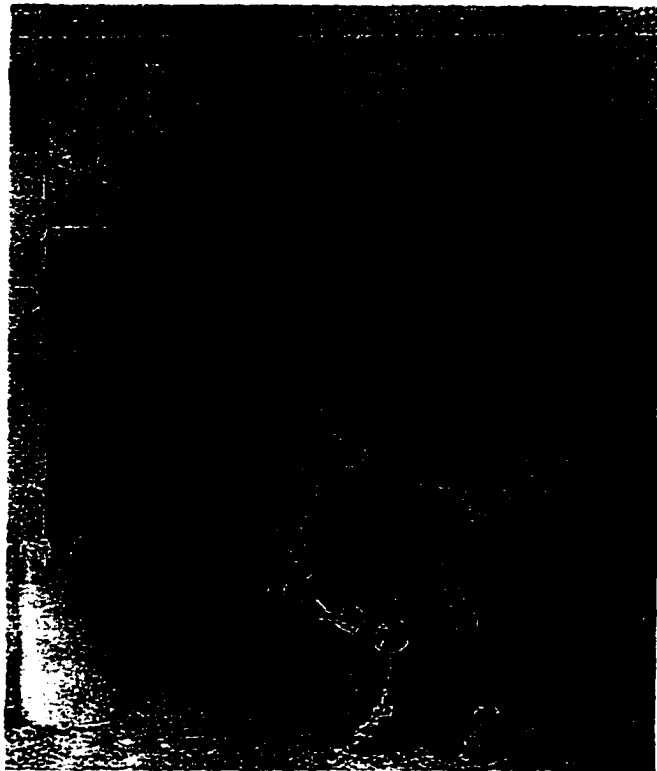


fig. 113a  
Théodore Géricault, *Les Boueux*, detail.



fig. 113b  
Théodore Géricault, *Les Boueux*, detail.



fig. 114

Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The Coal Wagon (Le chariot de charbon)*, 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études des chevaux*, 192x303 mm., Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale.



fig.115

Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The French Farrier (Le maréchal français)*, 1822, lithograph, 360x270 mm., from the series *Études des chevaux*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.



fig. 116  
Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *Horses Conducted to the Fair (Chevaux conduits à la foire)*, 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études des chevaux*, 350x250 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.



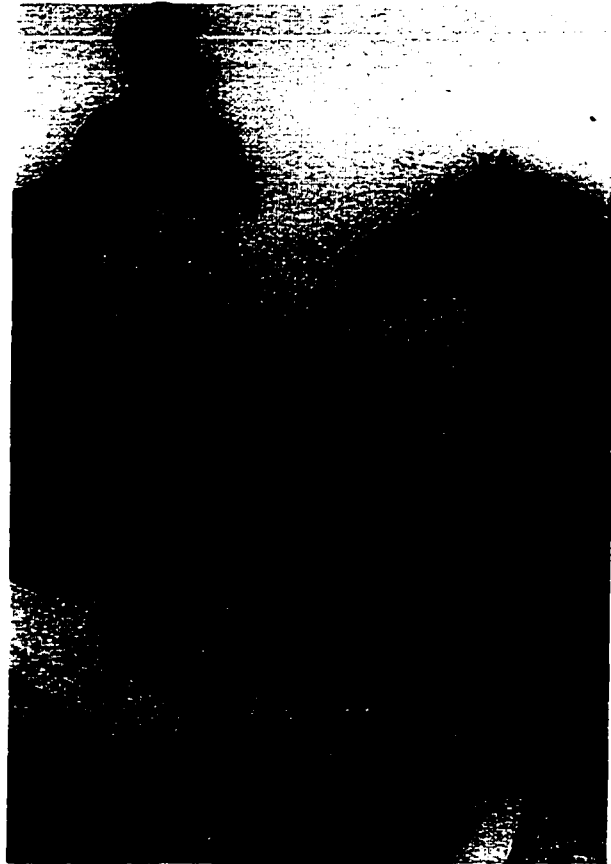


fig. 116a  
Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *Horses Conducted to the Fair* (*Chevaux conduits à la foire*), detail.



fig. 116b  
Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *Horses Conducted to the Fair* (*Chevaux conduits à la foire*), detail.

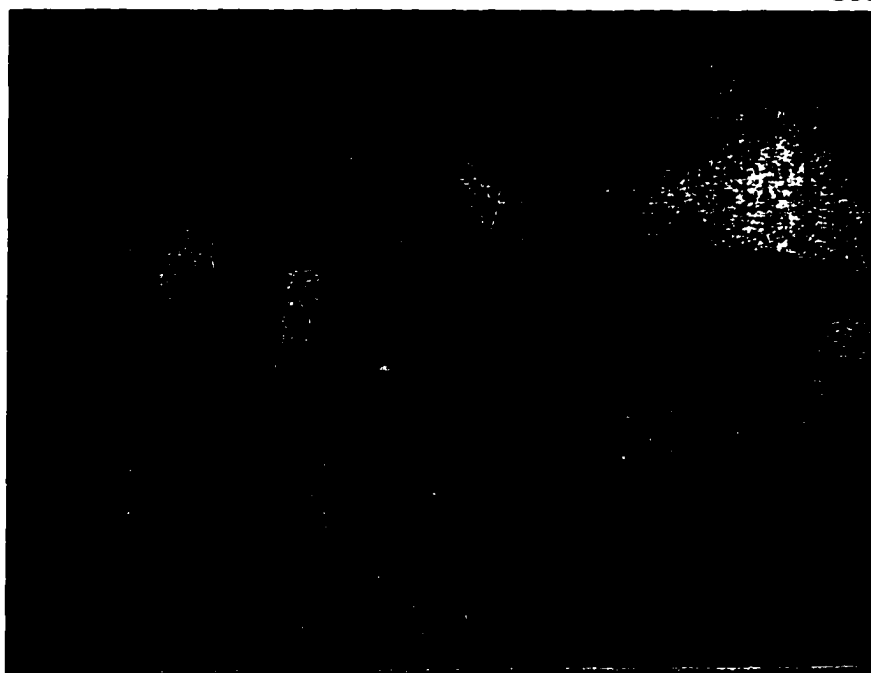


fig. 117

Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The English Farrier (Le maréchal anglais)*, 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études des chevaux*, 370x283 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.



fig. 118

Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The Flemish Farrier (Le maréchal Flamand)*, 1822, lithograph, from the series *Études des chevaux*, 325x243 mm., Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.

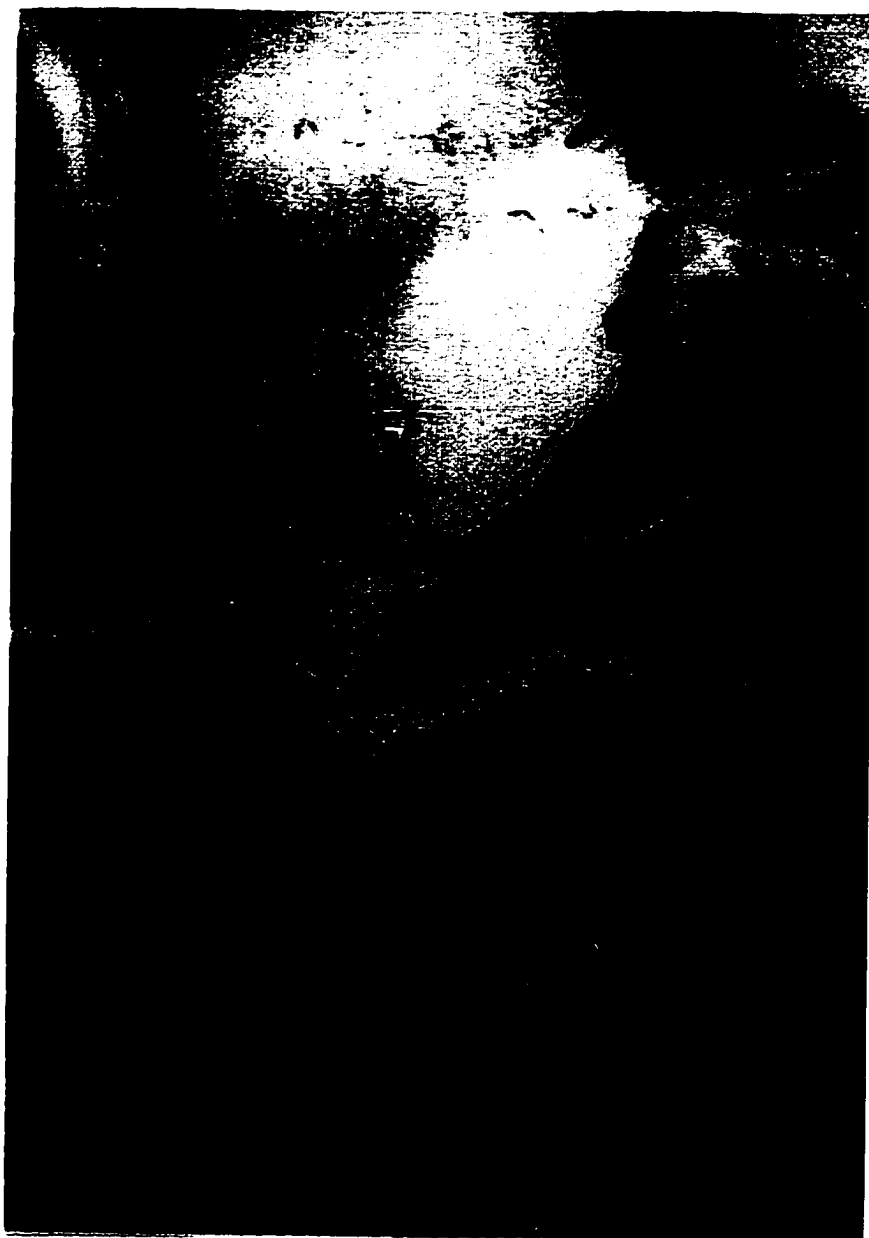


fig. 118a  
Théodore Géricault and Léon Cogniet, *The Flemish Farrier* (*Le maréchal Flamand*), detail,



fig. 119

Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Two Post Horses at the Entrance to a Stable* (*Deux chevaux de poste à la porte d'une écurie*), 1822, lithograph, 43x34 cm., from the series *Études des chevaux*.



fig. 120

Théodore Géricault, *Two Post Horses at the Entrance to a Stable*, c. 1822-1823, oil, Paris, Musée du Louvre.



fig. 121

Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Horses Conducted to be Flayed* (*Chevaux conduits à l'écorcher*), 1823, lithograph, 198x110 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.



fig. 122

Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *The Two Harnessed Horses* (*Les deux chevaux harachés*), 1823, lithograph, 172x128 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.

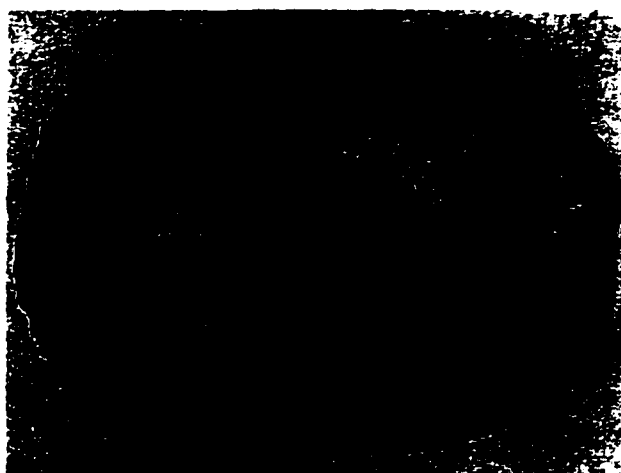


fig. 123

Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *A Hanoverian Horse* (*Cheval d'Hanovre*), 1823, lithograph, 245x180 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.

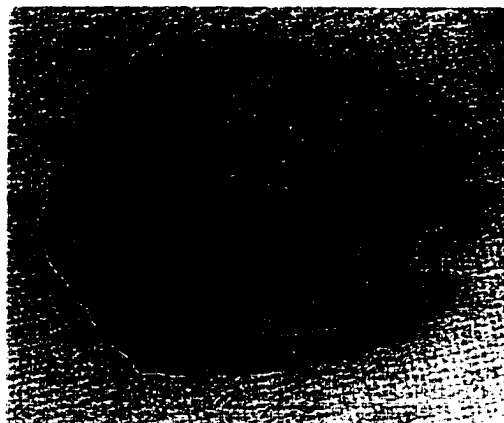


fig. 124

**Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Flemish Horses (Chevaux flamands)*, 1823, lithograph, 215x162 mm., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.**



fig.125

**Théodore Géricault and Joseph Volmar, *Caucasian Horse (Cheval Cauchois)*, 1822, lithograph, 226x178 mm., from the series *Études des Chevaux*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux Arts.**



fig. 126

Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Woman (Monomanie de l'envie)*, c. 1822, oil on canvas, Musée de Lyon.

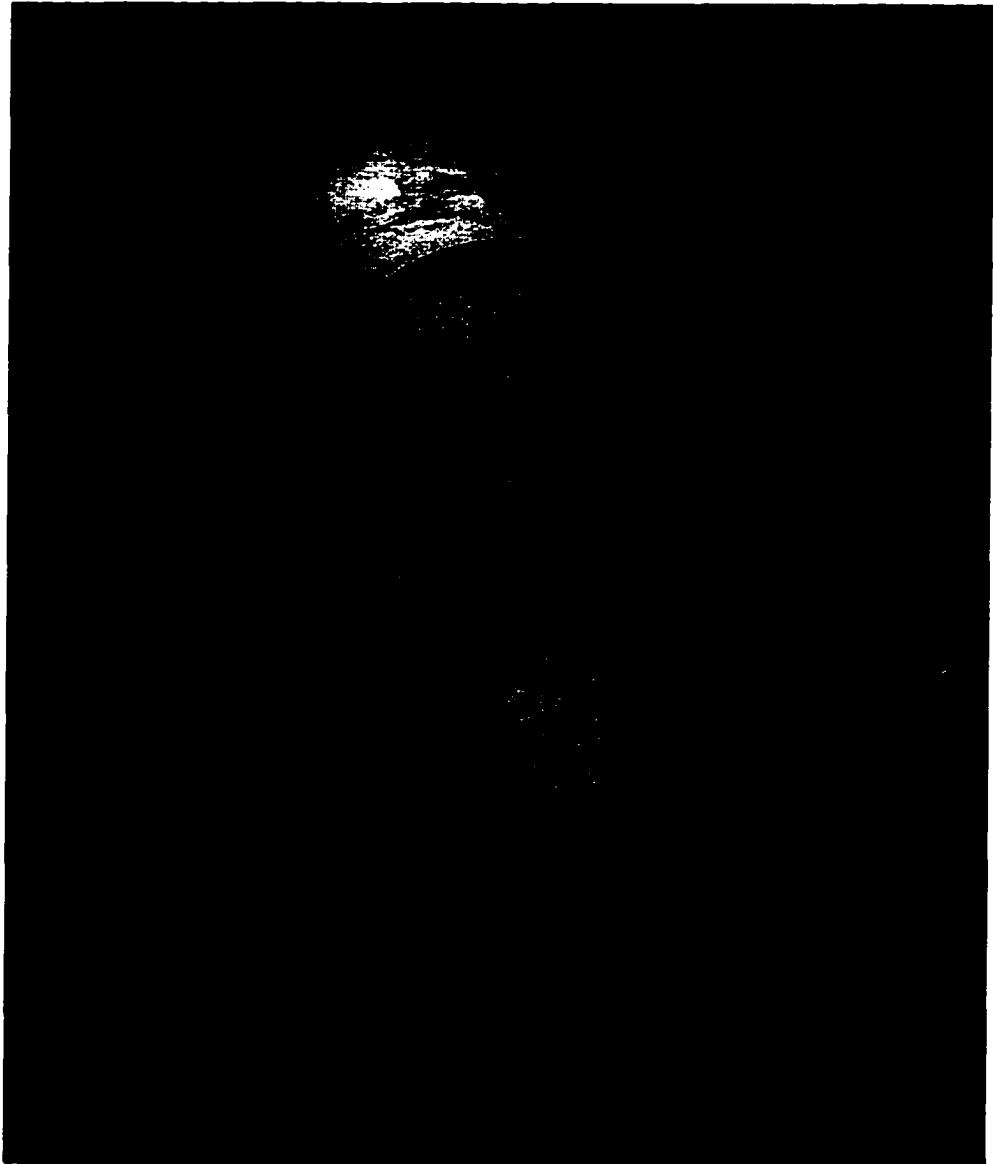


fig. 127

Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Woman Addicted to Gambling (Monomanie du jeu)*, c. 1822, oil, Paris, Musée du Louvre.



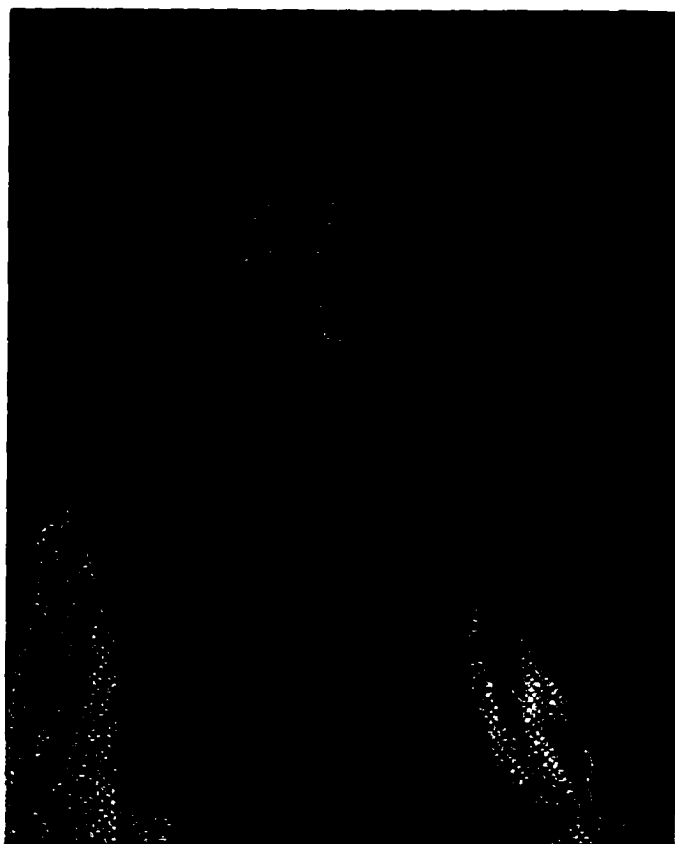


fig. 128

**Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Man Suffering from Delusions of Military Rank (Monomanie du commandement militaire)*, c. 1822, oil, Winterthur, Reinhardt Collection.**  
from Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault, his Life and Work*.

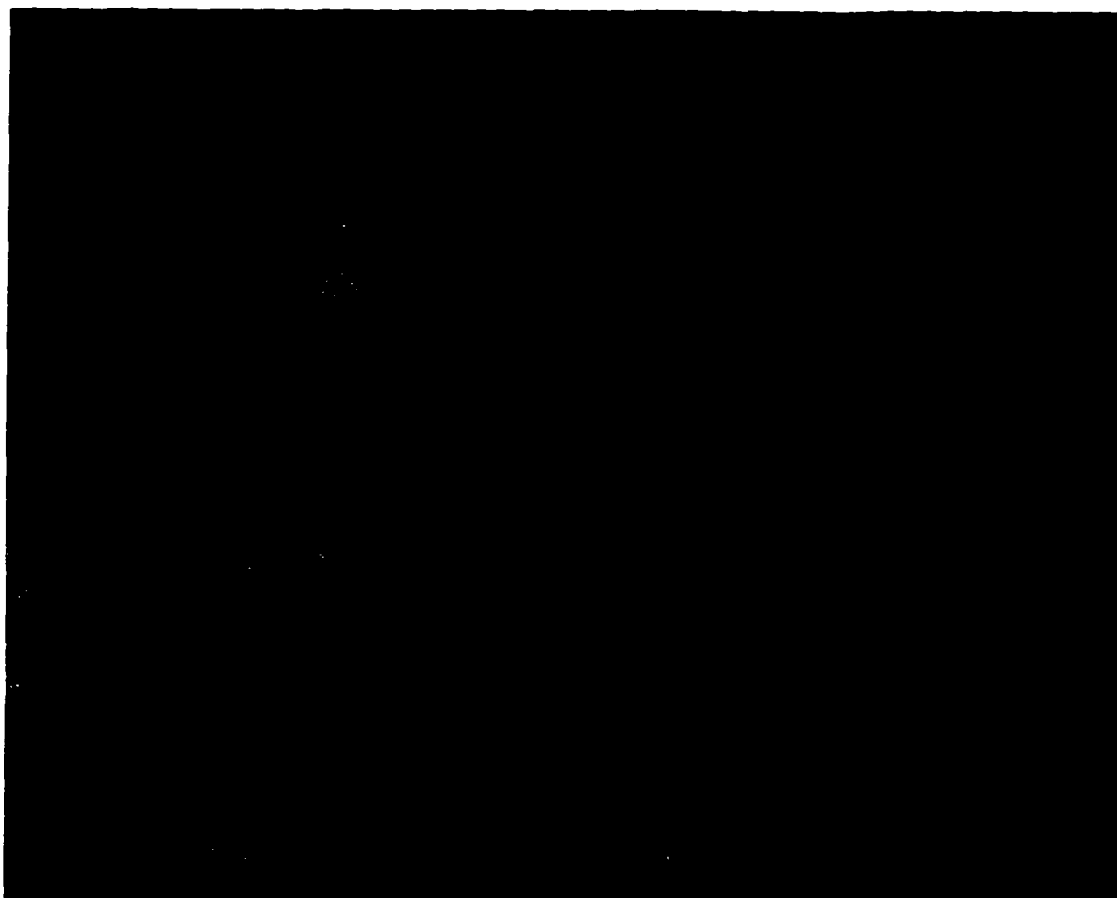


fig. 129

Théodore Géricault, *The Lime Kiln (Le four à plâtre)*, 1823, oil on canvas, 500x610 mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre.



fig. 130  
Honoré Daumier, *Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834*, 1834, lithograph, Vienna, Albertina Museum.



fig. 131  
Eduard Manet, *Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

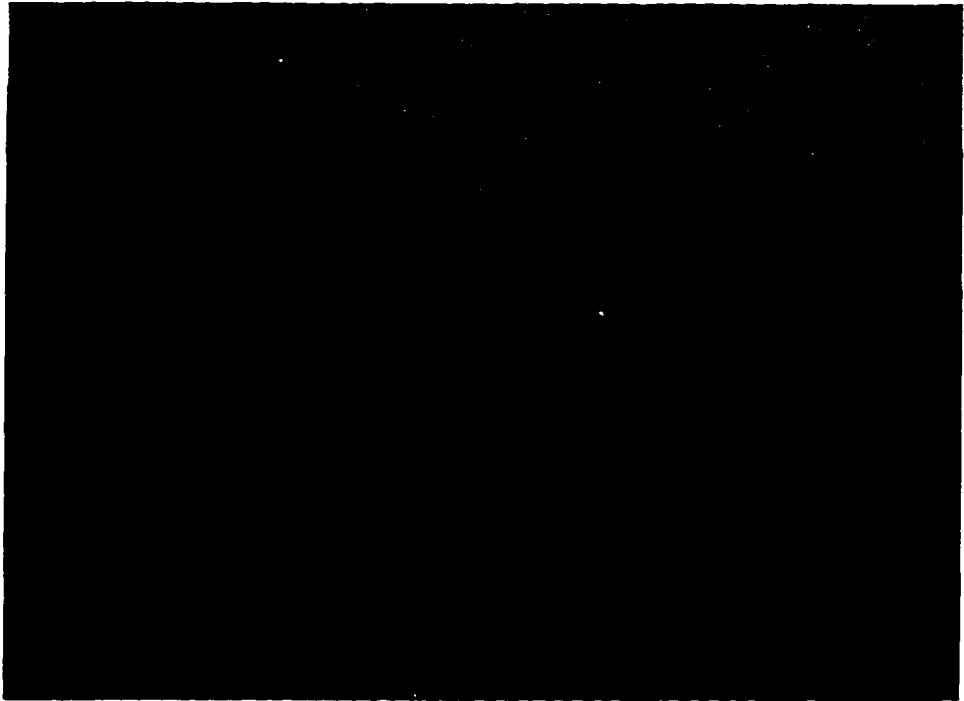


fig. 132

Gustave Courbet, *The Village Maidens* (*Les demoiselles du village*), 1852, oil on canvas, 195x261 cm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



fig.133

Paul Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevalier), "*Hunger? Laziness!*", 1847, lithograph, 20.15x18.2 cm., from *Parisian Nonsense (Baliverneries Parisiennes)*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



fig. 134

Paul Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevalier), "*V'la l'coco!*" (*The Chocolate Vendor*), ca. 1855-57, watercolor, Walters art Gallery, Baltimore.



fig. 135

Jean-Jacques Francois Monanteuil, *Two Bell Ringers (Les deux sonneurs)*, pencil drawing, graphite, 358x258 mm., Alençon, Musée d'Oze.



fig. 136

Jean-Jacques Francois Monanteuil, *Itinerant Musician (Musicien ambulant)*, pencil drawing, graphite, 362x262 mm., Alençon, Musée d'Oze.



fig. 137

Gustave Doré, *A Poor Woman in London (Pauvresse à Londres)*, 1869, pen and ink drawing on grey blue tinted paper, 460x300 mm., Strassbourg, Musée des Beaux Arts.

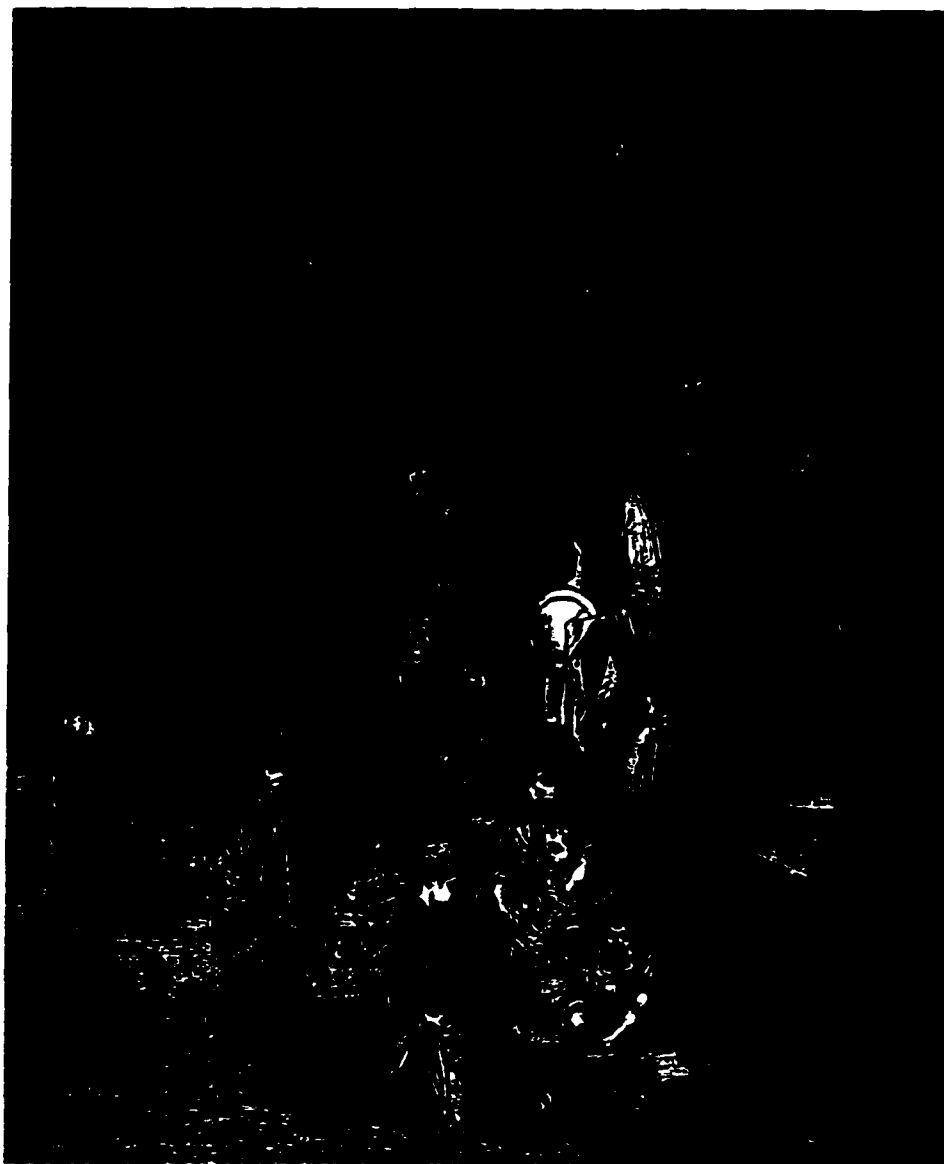


fig. 138  
Gustave Doré, *Wentworth Street Whitechapel*, 1872, engraving, from the series *London - a Pilgrimage*.





fig. 139

Gustave Doré, *The Organ in the Street*, 1972, engraving, from the series *London - a Pilgrimage*.

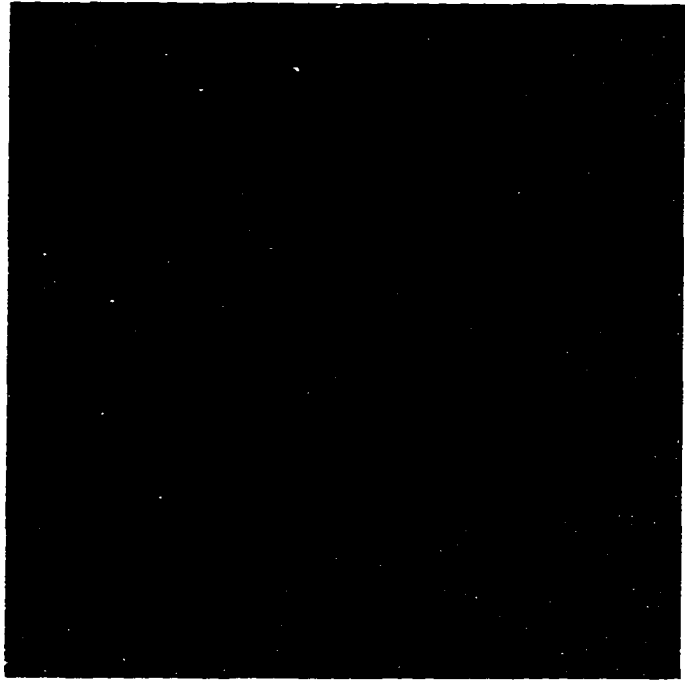


fig. 140  
Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Smokers and Snuff-takers*, from  
*Recueil de grimaces*, 1823, lithograph, Paris, Bibliotheque  
Nationale.