Femmes d'esprit

WOMEN IN DAUMIER'S CARICATURE

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Daumier: Gender and Gesture

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BEARING, GESTURE, AND FACIAL EXPRESSION reveal attitudes, actions, and reactions of both types and individuals. The signs of the body, its language, signal thoughts and feelings directly, at least to a contemporary audience. The gestures that Honoré Daumier depicts in his lithographs and the contexts in which he places them communicate social and political stances. Captions are a gloss.

More than any other caricaturist of his time, Daumier was a master of expressive anatomy. Through a study of the body language he deploys and the differences between the ways he presents men and women, we can deduce a set of attitudes held by both the characters portrayed and the caricaturist himself.

A Classification of Daumier's Women

Daumier produced 3,959 lithographs,[1] of which 1,208 include women. Of these, 793, or about two-thirds, depict women in the traditional roles of wives and mothers, in domestic settings and other daily circumstances, including leisure activities, which are categorized in this essay as "the quotidian." About 11 percent of the images, or 134, are allegorical figures, usually political, representing countries, institutions, or principles. Series depicting women activists, such as "Les Bas-Bleus" (The bluestockings or women of ideas), "Les Femmes socialistes" (Socialist women), and "Les Divorceuses" (Advocates of divorce) comprise 5 percent, or 66 of the total. There are 34 working women (concierges, waitresses, shop attendants, servants, an artist's model), 40 performers, and 4 other professionals, of which 2 are writers and 2 are painters. Some 136 women appear in such miscellaneous series as "Les Baigneuses" (Bathers), "Croquis aquatiques" (Aquatic sketches), "Physionomies tragiques" (Tragic physiognomies), and "Voyage en Chine" (Travel in China).[2]

Daumier's women are not beautiful, elegant, charming, or sexy. In a sense, Daumier works against the grain, as these qualities predominate in the descriptions of the *parisienne* in both the literature and illustrations of the time. Daumier's relatively rare comments on fashion, as in the prints about crinolines, are characteristically humorous (cat. 11). He does not represent the demimonde and women of pleasure. These types were favored by his contemporaries Constantin Guys and by Gavarni in his series "Les Fourberies de femmes en matière de sentiment" (The duplicity of women in matters of sentiment) published in two parts: the first, consisting of 12 prints in 1837; the second, with 52 lithographs, published in 1840–1841. Gavarni's series "Les Lorettes" of 1841–1843 concerns the mercenary aspects of romance.[3] In his *Physiologie de la parisienne* Taxile Delord observes that women pass their lives "commanding, obeying, desiring, pursuing," and he comments on their greed and narcissism.[4] Daumier shows few of these aspects. For the most part his representations of women are benign, if the women keep in their place. His bourgeoise, petite bourgeoise, and working-class women are on the whole good folk, loyal wives, proud mothers. Couples are frequently seen together at home, though not without occasional boredom, frustration, and anger, as in *Six Mois de mariage* (cat. 4). Women are shown gossiping, as in D. 503, 560, 564, 592, 682, 1719, and 2263. Among the many scenes of outings, particularly in the series "Pastorales" and "Croquis d'été," some show discomfort and frustration, as in the case of a family caught in a rainstorm (D. 631, *Tu te plains toujours, tu n'es jamais content;* You are always complaining, you're never content).

Couples are often shown taking delight in their children: D. 513, *Est-il joli! . . . Ce chérubin! . . .* (Isn't he pretty, the angel), and D. 522, *L'Education au Biberon ou les douceurs de la paternité* (The education of Biberon or the sweetness of paternity). Delteil 570, *Douze Ans et demi et trois premiers prix* (Twelve and a half years and three first prizes), shows a couple laden with books walking with pride behind their wreath-carrying son; a variation of the motif recurs in D. 632.

Daumier is exceptional in his sympathetic and romantic depictions of older couples. Examples are D. 519, *Toujours jolie* (Always pretty); D. 672, *Un Souvenir de jeunesse* (A memory of youth), showing a couple revisiting a tree into which he had carved her name; D. 1176, *Une Nouvelle Connaissance* (A new acquaintance), depicting a couple in their sixties; and D. 1177, *Un Retour de jeunesse* (A return of youth), an old couple walking hand in hand. Daumier, unlike his contemporaries and predecessors, depicts some old women as attractive. (He was perhaps the only caricaturist to remain happily married.)

Daumier is critical of women who neglect their maternal and domestic duties, as in *Je me fiche bien de votre Mme SAND . . .*, from the series "Moeurs conjugales" (cat. 12). The same series represents a few unfaithful women such as those in cat. 6, D. 645 and 666, *Ma femme m'a dit: Attends-moi cinq minutes . . .* (My wife told me to wait five minutes . . .), as well as in occasional later prints such as cat. 26, where a husband enters the sitting room causing his wife, with

another man, to retract: *Ma bonne amie, puis-je entrer! . . .*

Censorship laws determined whether Daumier worked predominantly in political or social caricature. By dividing his work into these two main categories, we can see when different types of women appear in his published lithographs. Daumier practiced political caricature when it was legally possible to do so.

In 1830–1835, a period of political caricatures, Daumier represented few women in any way. Of the 275 lithographs from this period, only 6, or 2 percent, include women. Two are political: D. 109 shows Louis-Philippe in bed with two tattooed savages, referring to his stay in the United States; D. 114 is a personification of France. There are four quotidian genre scenes.[5]

During a period of censorship from 1836 to 1848, Daumier turned to social caricature, recording the habits, customs, and manners of everyday life. Most of the caricatures in this period are divided into some 50 series. With this shift of focus to social circumstances comes a significant increase in the number of women represented, 440, or 33 percent of the total of 1,381 lithographs in those years. Clearly, for Daumier women are more part of the social sphere than of the political. In this period, 327 lithographs show women in traditional roles. There are 40 *bas-bleus,* 19 working women, 5 performers and professionals, and 49 miscellaneous types, including 12 foreigners and 5 concerned with class distinctions. Female emblematic figures representing Charity and a newspaper appear at this time.

From 1848 to 1852, a period free of censorship, 693 lithographs were published, of which 193, about 28 percent, are of women. There are 23 personifications of political entities or principles such as Liberty, France, the French Republic, Universal Suffrage, the Constitution, or the National Assembly; 20 on the subject of divorce and socialist women, and 2 other "independent" types; 114 quotidian subjects, 23 miscellaneous, 7 performers, 13 working women, and 1 professional.

Censorship was reinstituted from 1853 to 1865, and so Daumier worked primarily in social caricature. The instances of women increase to 39 percent of the 1,042 lithographs from this period. There are fewer series than before and more individual pieces under the category "Actualités" (Current events), dealing with the theater, art and artists, transportation and extremes of weather: 338 quotidian; 44 miscellaneous (including foreigners); 29 women performers; 11 workers; 5 *boursicotières* (women who dress as men to go to the stock market); and 8 allegorical/political figures.

Political caricatures reappear from 1866 to 1879 but now with an international scope: personifications of Diplomacy, Peace, Europe, Italy, Venice, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and the World's Fair appear, for a total of 99 allegorical figures. There are also 10 quotidian themes, 2 performers, and 1 worker. Caricatures for this period total 493; about 23 percent include women.

The Role of Women in Daumier's Series

Daumier's series on various Parisian types from the period 1835–1848 show women playing minor roles at best, a situation that reflects the limited educational opportunities and professional possibilities open to women.[6] Women predominate in two series: they appear in 52 of 60 plates of "Moeurs conjugales" (Married life, 1839–1842, D. 624–683; cat. 4, 6, 12, 13, and 14) with themes of domestic happiness, affection, parental pride, anger, disloyalty, boredom. Some 51 scenes with women appear in the 91 plates of "Les Bons Bourgeois" (The good bourgeois, 1846–1849, D. 1477–1567), which covers middle-class life at home, on outings, and in social encounters.

Otherwise, Daumier shows a clear preference for depicting men, whom he draws with greater physiognomic variety. "Galerie physionomique" with 25 plates (Physiognomic gallery, 1836, D. 326–350) focuses on men although the subjects could equally have included women: looking in a mirror, dressing, eating, drinking, reading a letter, writing, eavesdropping, going to the theater, attending a boring lecture.

"Types parisiens" comprises 48 plates (Parisian types, 1839–1843, D. 559–606, cat. 15). The editor of *Le Charivari* wrote that "Daumier is going to show the various types of physiognomy, the individual costumes, manners of the different classes in our society." Some 13 lithographs focus on women: shopping, coming from the market, riding a bus, having tea, gossiping, with children and husbands, and working as a concierge.

"Emotions parisiennes" (Parisian emotions, 51 plates, 1839–1842, D. 684–728, 754–759, see cat. 5) is largely about the discomforts and incursions into the private realm of city life: unwelcome encounters, being fleeced, barraged, caught in bad weather, and eating at bad restaurants. Only two scenes include women: a nursemaid talking with a doctor and men gawking at a passing woman.

"Coquetterie" contains 10 plates (Coquetry, 1839–1840, D. 736–745). Coquetry, a principal female trait

according to the *Physiologie de la parisienne,* is shown by Daumier in its male guises. The three women who appear in this series are ancillary: a wife adjusts her husband's tie; another is strolling on the arm of a man who looks more vain than she; and an old man doffs his hat to a woman.

In "Les Bohémiens de Paris" (The Bohemians of Paris, 28 plates, 1840–1842, D. 822–849) there are three women: D. 823, *La Glaneuse* (The gleaner); D. 836, *La Marcheuse ou la garde malade* (The walker or nursemaid); and the third is the owner of the dog being scrubbed by the *tondeur de chiens* (the animal clipper, D. 842).

"Les Beaux Jours de la vie" (The good days in life; 101 plates, 1843–1846, D. 1088–1188) presents 3 women in central roles. In 23 they play a role more or less equal with men, often in scenes of family outings, and in 8 they are secondary at best.

The contemporary publication *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes,*[7] published in English as *Pictures of the French: A Series of Literary and Graphic Delineations of French Caricature,* presents a broader spectrum of female types than does Daumier's repertory. It includes grandes dames, courtesans, nuns, and a greater range of workers and professions, such as a teacher, a *restauratrice,* and a milkmaid.

Gender and Gesture

À LA FEMME LA MAISON, À L'HOMME LA PLACE PUBLIQUE.
Proudhon

Daumier appears to follow the accepted distinction between the roles of husbands and wives. As a contemporary observed: "Happiness in marriage is not possible unless each keeps perfectly within his role and confines himself to the virtues of his sex, without encroaching on the prerogatives of the opposite sex." The function of the husband is to "represent the family or to direct it in its relations with the external world and to ensure its preservation and its development. The wife, so well endowed with grace, intuition and a ready emotional sympathy, has as her mission to preside over the internal life of the house."[8] Daumier contrasts the public role of men and the private role of women through their gestures and bearing. By employing characteristic poses and gestural signs he indicates patterns of behavior typical of each sex.

Men assume public stances, staking their ground, standing with legs apart, feet parallel or perpendicular, in the conventional gentleman's stance. Their gestures tend to be expansive and often declamatory. With arms stretched out from the body, their fingers point in accusation, or palms are held out to indicate or demonstrate, signaling power and authority.

Traditional women occupy less space than men (except when they wear crinolines). Their stance is modest and less affected than that of men, their feet close together, arms generally held close to the torso. They often clasp their hands before them. When women raise their hands to express surprise, dismay, or shock, their arms bend at the elbow and their hands stay below shoulder level. They keep to themselves. Their gestures tend to be responsive. Women's facial expressions are generally less individuated and articulated than those of men. For example, in D. 1090, *Premier Rendez-Vous* (The first date), a veiled woman looks down, the man's eyes open wide, eyebrows raised. Working-class women, on the other hand, are shown as more expressive, as in D. 1151, in which two of them argue before a judge.

Women are shown walking submissively either alongside their husbands or two steps behind, as in D. 1275, 1407, 1416, 1737, 1764, and 2949. Daumier indicates that their appearance is consciously constructed, as in D. 2216 in 1852, where two women walk with self-confident strides, gesticulating. The caption explains: "When bluestockings have a dignified bearing they are always respected . . . no man would allow me to follow behind him in the street! . . . My dear, nor I!" (Quand des femmes savent avoir de la dignité dans la démarche, elles se font toujours respecter . . . ce n'est pas moi qu'un homme se permettrait jamais de suivre dans la rue! . . . Ma chère, ni moi!).

Daumier contrasts extroverted male poses with the female supporting role in D. 2599 from the series "Le Bon Bourgeois" in the figure of Joseph Prud'homme, the quintessential bourgeois, inscribing his name on a rock. He arches back, stomach protruding. His wife, standing behind him, props him up. The caption echoes the pompous pose: "I intend to leave an imperishable monument of our visit to this cliff . . . I shall add your name too, Adelaide; the respect that I profess for the fair sex obliges me" (Je veux laisser un monument impérissable de notre visite à cette falaise . . . j'ajouterai aussi votre nom, Adelaide, le respect que je professe pour le beau sexe m'en fait un devoir).[9]

On city buses men spread out, sitting with legs apart; women are cramped. In *Intérieur d'un omnibus*

(cat. 15) a drunk slouches in the direction of a slender woman who retreats from him only to be wedged behind a bovine butcher, who holds his arms akimbo. The men are oblivious, the woman is compromised and distressed. Daumier seems to sympathize with women beleaguered by boorish men.

En chemin de fer . . . un voisin agréable (cat. 16) shows a man and woman seated side by side in a railway car. He puffs away at his cigar, filling the car with smoke. Looking straight ahead, legs apart, arms crossed, he appears stubborn and oblivious. The woman retracts, looking back in his direction, hands folded passively in her lap. As a contemporary memoir noted, "Timidity was long considered a virtue."[10]

Je t'ai épousée pour charmer mon existence . . . (I married you to please me and nothing suits me better than thinking nothing of it; D. 624) from "Moeurs conjugales" depicts a man, one hand on his smoking pipe, the other in his pocket, walking several steps ahead of his wife who carries the bundles.

The contrast of powerful men and powerless women is evident in *Vous avez perdu votre procès c'est vrai . . .* (cat. 17) from the series "Les Gens de justice," in which a pompous lawyer struts belly forward, nose up. His client, a widow bent over crying, is led forward by her small son.

Another image, *Monsieu le Directeur* (D. 2899), set backstage, contrasts the arrogant theater director, in the classic exaggerated gentleman's pose, weight on the forward leg, leaning back, hand in vest Napoleonic style, looking down his nose, and a young woman in an angel costume, who assumes a modest stance, hands clasped in front of her.

Conventions

Caricature draws on various conventions for representing types and emotions. There are precedents in painting, theatrical and rhetorical gesture, and manuals of deportment. Some gestures are recorded in all three categories.[11]

There is, for example, the pose and gesture of surprise or shock. The figure is taken aback, weight on the back leg, arms bent at the elbow, hands upraised. One sees this gesture throughout the history of art, for example in Giotto's frescoes of *The Death of St. Francis,* Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper,* Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew,* David's *Belisarius,* and even today in cartoons where Bugs Bunny or Mickey Mouse do what is called "the take." Charles Darwin used a photograph of a man in this position to illustrate his argument that body gestures are universal.[12] Today we still recognize this stance and gesture though it would be exceptional to find someone actually doing it spontaneously. Daumier uses the take repeatedly for men and women. For example, a man being shaved at the barber's sees his wife walking down the street on the arm of another man and cries out: "That's my wife! Outrageous! While the barber gives me a shave, she gives me the slip" (C'est ma femme!! Oh! Scélérate . . .; from "Moeurs conjugales," D. 645). Women visiting the Salon are shocked and dismayed by all the nudes and respond with a take: "More Venuses this year . . . always Venuses! . . . as if there were any women who look like that!" (Cette année encore des Vénus . . . toujours des Vénus! . . . comme s'il y avait des femmes faites comme ça! . . .; from "Croquis pris au Salon" [Sketches from the Salon], D. 3440).

In some cases Daumier adopts a pose from painting and uses it for satiric purposes, using a male pose for a woman. The "heroic" poses of the three women in *L'Insurrection contre les maris* from "Les Femmes socialistes" of 1849 (cat. 28) puns on David's *Oath of the Horatii.*[13] In *La Patrie,* D. 2107 from 1851, Daumier quotes the pose of David's *Belisarius* and puns on its contents in his *Un Nouveau Bélisaire* with an impoverished elderly woman as the personification of the conservative Bonapartist journal *La Patrie,* which was supported by General Gérôme Bonaparte whose hat she proffers to solicit alms in front of the National Assembly.

Daumier employs theatrical gesture in his series "Physionomies tragiques," which is about classical drama. In D. 2178 Ophelia performs "the gesture of painful recollection," and in D. 2180 Andromache "the gesture of feminine despair."[14] The contrast of theatrical and spontaneous gesture is shown in D. 2897 from "Croquis dramatiques" (Dramatic sketches), *Une Reine se préparant à une grande tirade* (A queen preparing an especially demanding speech). Onstage the actor is shown in the traditional aristocratic stance, leaning back, weight on the forward leg, with the back leg extended, toes touching the ground. The "queen" in the wings blows her nose.[15]

Sometimes Daumier plays two conventional poses against each other, often in a situation of action and reaction (cat. 6). A husband returns home unexpectedly. His wife confronts him, stepping forward, one arm outstretched behind her, covering her lover hidden under the table, and in so doing signaling his presence

to the viewer. The husband retracts in shock and does a variation of the take. The piece is perfectly choreographed, her step forward is matched by his step back. "Malheureux! tu veux donc tuer le père de tes enfants?"

Daumier refers to codified gesture in D. 3035, *La Leçon du professeur* from the series "Les Comédiens de société" (Amateur actors). A woman is being taught a dramatic gesture: "Madame, always have dignity in the gesture; in saying your sentence, take good care to imitate me, combine it with this gesture of contempt" (Madame, ayez toujours de la dignité dans le geste . . . en prononçant votre phrase, ayez soin de bien m'imiter . . . joignez-y ce geste de mépris . . .). The professor stretches his arm out across his body, hand raised, in the same gesture illustrated in Siddons's guide to rhetorical gesture for the theater.

Daumier plays on decorum, representing it, exaggerating it, breaching it. Certain situations, such as men and women at the swimming pool, call for poses beyond or beneath decorum. Women's bodies are more revealed in their swimsuits, and the women themselves tend to appear awkward, whether gawky or fat. *A la buvette* (At the refreshment bar, D. 1641), from the series "Les Baigneuses," shows women at the bathhouse smoking, slouched in chairs, arms outstretched. This is one of the few occasions in which Daumier shows a woman with her legs crossed, a definite breach of proper conduct for a lady. Crossed legs were considered a mark of disrespect, even among men.[16] Other instances of breaches of decorum include people yawning, as in the young couple in *Six Mois de mariage* (cat. 4).[17]

Women Activists

Daumier's series "Les Femmes socialistes" from 1849 was done in response to the feminist clubs and newspapers that resulted from the Revolution of 1848.[18] His series "Les Divorceuses" from 1848 was probably occasioned by an attempt by the minister of justice, Adolphe Crémieux, that year to reestablish the divorce law, which had been abolished in 1816 and was not restored until 1884.

Daumier represented female ambition and assertiveness in such series as "Les Divorceuses," "Les Femmes socialistes," and "Les Bas-Bleus" by women's appropriation of male gesture to proclaim, indicate, accuse, and hold their ground. Their body language signals a break with traditional roles. These women stand with arms crossed and legs apart, in poses of defiance in D. 2032 and cat. 32. They assume broad stances in D. 1930 and cat. 28 and walk with big strides, as in D. 1223: *Adieu, mon cher, je vais chez mes éditeurs* (Goodbye, my dear, I am going to my publisher). These women arch backward like men in D. 1254, 1255, and cat. 32. Some put their hands in their pockets, bad manners even for a man.[19] They sit with legs apart (D. 1239 and cat. 30), with hands clasped under their knees (D. 1774), with legs outstretched (D. 1926), or crossed as in D. 1794, in the scene where women are discussing being left out of the socialist dinners. Women are shown reaching out to get what they want, as for a book in a library in cat. 20. They are represented absorbed in work and ignoring their children in D. 1234 and cat. 23 and 24. Some smoke (D. 1229, 1253, and 1928).

Politically active women gesticulate emphatically while delivering a speech (D. 1245, 1923, and cat. 31). From the "Bas-Bleus" series *La Présidente criant à tue-tête* . . . (The president yelling at the top of her voice, 1844, D. 1245) shows women's broad oratorical gestures like those of male lawyers in the courtroom. Similar gestures are found in theatrical illustrations and in political prints at the time of the French Revolution, such as Chérieux's *Club de femmes patriotes dans une église* (Club of patriotic women in a church).[20]

Allegorical Figures

Daumier's allegorical women from around 1850 personify France, the Press, the Republic, Universal Suffrage, the National Assembly, and the Constitution, as in D. 2002, 2008, 2010, 2014, 2079, 2080, 2112, 2131, 2150, and cat. 18. Barefoot and dressed in loose shifts, rather classical and timeless, they are generally more noble, grand, and graceful than their human counterparts. These figures are not to be confused with real women; they serve a symbolic or emblematic function. For the most part their bearing reflects the conventions of decorum and theatrical presentation. Daumier, like other nineteenth-century French artists and illustrators, could portray the allegorical figure of France and the Republic with stances and gestures signifying moral purpose, courage, and determination not accorded to mortal women. Daumier fosters the myth of the female heroine in the allegory of the Republic but satirizes activist women.

Le Dernier Conseil des ex-ministres from 1848 (cat. 47) shows the personification of the Republic striding into the council chamber confronting Louis-Philippe's ministers who flee in panic. The historian Jules Michelet

commented on the pose in a letter to Daumier likening the Republic to one returning home and finding "thieves at the table, who fall back in disarray."[21] Daumier's allegorical version of republican France follows the model of Marianne, the personification of the Republic, first devised during the period of the French Revolution. She is a "live allegory," striding into the room, hair loose, wearing a Phrygian cap, and otherwise bearing no attributes.[22]

The irony of this image is that Daumier had used the pose earlier for an irate, unfaithful wife (cat. 6). Using a similar pose for two radically different types and meanings shows the importance that context plays in the reading of bearing and gesture. As sociologists and anthropologists like R. L. Birdwhistell and Macdonald Critchley have shown, there are few absolute universal gestures, Darwin's contention to the contrary.[23]

Many of Daumier's allegorical figures are shown threatened or victimized, depicted passively and with a traditional female bearing and demeanor. Personifying the press, a woman writing sits alone in a modest pose. Thiers creeps up behind her with a club, about to attack (1850, D. 2002). The figure of France retracts fearfully, threatened by a man with an immense syringe (D. 2008). A doctor is shown taking the pulse of a woman personifying the National Assembly, who sits with feet and knees together, one arm at her side holding a shield: "Doctor, I assure you that I am not as sick as you say" (Docteur, je vous assure que je ne suis pas aussi malade que vous me le dites!; 1851, D. 2131).

Where the allegorical figure is ascendant or victorious, the pose is more assertive and male. The personification of the Constitution sits with legs apart, one hand on her hip, in D. 2112. In D. 2150 from 1851 the personification of France is dumping small men (politicians) from the basket on her back. She is remarkably robust, with large arm muscles, as in Daumier's paintings of the Republic and as befits the inscription, "I've been carrying you on my shoulders for too long!" (La France. Il y a assez longtemps que je vous porte sur mes épaules!").

After the censorship laws were lifted by Napoléon III in 1866 and Daumier returned to the political caricature, the artist's focus was primarily on international conflict. There are many more female personifications in this period than there were around 1850. France was engaged militarily with Italy, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Turkey, unsettling the balance of power. All these countries are personified as women. For the most part they are shown as old and ugly; Italy is thin, Prussia an obese woman with a military hat. Peace is emaciated, Diplomacy an old hag. Europe is in a state of disequilibrium, balancing on a lit bomb (D. 3566), and in another print (D. 3688) is threatened by a Turk as a jack-in-the-box; in D. 3688, Europe does the take. By 1869 there are a few more positive images of noble France, such as D. 3708, *La France se préparant à passer ses candidats sous la toise* (France prepares to measure her candidates). In D. 3712, Liberty is shown standing erect, head up, holding back obsequious men (politicians): "Excuse me, but I don't embrace everyone" (Pardon, je n'embrasse pas tout le monde). Liberty, accompanying herself on the piano, sings out in D. 3717, while the jester, Daumier's personification of the caricaturist as witness and recorder, looks on approvingly: "She definitely has a stronger voice" (Elle a décidément plus de voix). In D. 3724, Liberty, standing fast, with arm outstretched in a gesture of rejection, holds back a male personification of war, who does the take: "Excuse me, my dear, ascertain my powers before yours" (Pardon mon cher . . . Vérifions mes pouvoirs avant les vôtres").

The Constitution and France were once again endangered. A personified France is tied up and placed between two cannons in D. 3808. France wounded, arm in a sling, is forced by a soldier to the electoral box in D. 3823. The National Assembly as a flattered and acquiescent woman, bowing forward, eyes lowered, is being escorted by a military officer (D. 3825). In the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, France personified is shown dead on the battlefield (cat. 53). A powerful female figure, in robes, barefoot, hair loose and straggly, stands on the battlefield, striding forward, reminiscent of the Republic at the ex-ministers, and points one hand to the dead, the other to the electoral box: "This one has killed that one" (Ceci a tué cela; D. 3845). This figure is one of the most powerful of Daumier's women, not an explicit personification, but a witness, like himself.

Conclusion

For the most part, Daumier confirms what has been described by Lucette Czyba as the cardinal feminine virtues for the time: "fidelity, submission, patience, economy, generosity, devotion, self-sacrifice." He rarely shows the other stereotypical image of bourgeois women as "vindictive, weak, nervous, fragile, frivo-

lous, rivalrous," women as ornaments and consumers preoccupied with appearance.[24]

His women are less venal than those in the literary and pictorial renderings of most of his contemporaries, such as Gavarni's representations of the demimonde or Delord's satirical picture of the *parisienne*. Daumier shows little fear of women, nor does he mythologize them. For example, Daumier depicts actresses who were regarded as particularly seductive, in the nitty-gritty of their profession, on stage or preparing to make an entrance, fellow professionals contending with life and work.

Unlike most of the contemporary caricaturists, Daumier did not die mad or in despair. His well-tempered life, his basic affection for his fellow beings, both men and women, are reflected in his work. Daumier's contemporary, the poet Charles Baudelaire, observed that Daumier's caricatures convey no "rancor or bitterness."

A number of questions remain that cannot be addressed in this paper. Are the signs of body language in Daumier's caricatures faithful representations of how people actually behaved? If the characterizations are not naturalistic, how did and do they communicate convincingly? Was Daumier's preference for depicting men and the choice of conventional bourgeois women in part affected by the editor and the audience for *Le Charivari* and the other publications in which his caricatures appeared? Baudelaire described Daumier's audience as "honest burgher, businessman, youngster, fine lady." According to Baudelaire, Daumier's

figures . . . are faithfully portrayed in movement. His gift of observation is so sure that it would be quite impossible to find in his drawings a single head that does not seem to fit on to the body that carries it. . . . It is all the logic of the scholar transplanted into a light and fleeting art, which competes with the mobility of life itself.[25]

Daumier brought together the conventions of bearing and gesture with acute observation of actual behavior to render the fault lines between men and women.

NOTES

1 This figure is derived from the catalogue raisonné by Loys Delteil, *Le Peintre-Graveur illustré, XIX^e et XX^e siècles: Honoré Daumier,* 10 vols. (Paris, 1926; reprint, New York, 1969). The total of 3,959 includes the five lithographs listed in the addenda.

2 I wish to thank Claire Jones and Miranda Robbins for their assistance in calculating the various categories and Ms. Jones for translating a number of the captions.

3 See Heather McPherson, *"Les Femmes de Gavarni": Gavarni's Images of Women,* exh. cat. (Birmingham, 1985).

4 Taxile Delord, *Physiologie de la parisienne* (Paris: Aubert Lavigne, 1841).

5 D. 254, *La Bonne Grand'mère* (The good grandmother); D. 255, *Le Malade* (The sick person), tended by a young woman; D. 256, *La Lecture du journal* (Reading the newspaper); and D. 257, *Cavalerie légère* (Light cavalry), a mother helping her small child onto a donkey. The scenes are reminiscent of genre scenes in the style of Greuze.

6 Theodore Zeldin, *Ambition, Love, and Politics,* vol. 1 of *France: 1848–1945* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 344–45.

7 Published in Paris, 1842. The one-volume 1860 edition includes 136 types, of which just under one-third, or 46, are women.

8 Dr. Louis Seraine, *De la santé des gens mariés,* 2d ed. (Paris, 1865), pp. 112–16, cited in Zeldin, *Ambition, Love,* p. 300.

9 Daumier's men are shown on other occasions as more modestly sentimental and romantic, as in D. 1480 from "Les Bons Bourgeois," *C'est demain la fête de sa femme* (Tomorrow is his wife's birthday), which shows a man laden with plants and packages; smelling flowers in D. 594; looking up from a solitary bed at the picture of a woman on the wall in fig. 6.2; or the tender old couples mentioned above.

10 Madame E. Garnier in her memoirs of *A Parisian University Family in the Nineteenth Century,* cited in Zeldin, *Ambition, Love,* p. 355.

11 For painting, see Charles Le Brun's treatise on depicting emotions, *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière des passions* (Amsterdam, 1698). For theater, see Henry Siddons, *Practical Illustration of Rhetorical Gesture and Actions Adopted to the English Drama from a Work on the Subject by J. J. Engel* (London, 1822). And for guides to daily deportment, see Edward B. Warman, *Gestures and Attitudes: An Exposition of the Delsarte Philosophy of Expression, Practical and Theoretical* (Boston, 1892).

For a further discussion of these traditions, see Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (London and Chicago, 1982).

12 Charles Darwin, *The Expression of Emotions of Man and Animals* (London, 1872).

13 Daumier also uses the pose of the Horatii for men in D. 2029, Ratapoil and two workers; D. 2095, three ministers and Thiers; D. 2105, *Les Horaces de l'Elysée;* D. 2937, landlords; and D. 3561, armed soldiers.

14 Siddons, *Practical Illustration,* pp. 52 and 346.

15 One of the clearest examples contrasting acquired and natural poses takes place in the photographer's studio. Daumier contrasts *Pose de l'homme de la nature et pose de l'homme civilisé* in D. 2445, or natural man with civilized man. The former sits straight forward, legs apart, hands on thighs; the latter twists his body in an affected manner, legs crossed.

16 L. C. D., *Manuel de politesse française* (Paris, 1863), p. 23. Cited in Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Disderi and the Carte-de-Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven, 1985), p. 142.

17 Yawning also appears in D. 797, *Oncle et neveu: Il faut semer pour*

recueillir (One must sow to harvest), in which a dapper young man emits a big yawn as he walks his old uncle. Orchestra musicians are shown yawning in D. 2243.

18 The issue of the vote for women was current in 1848–1851 when the first bill for women's right to vote was introduced. Around the same time the utopianist Charles Fourier advocated full educational equality and radical marriage reform. The Saint-Simonists actually practiced equality. Zeldin has written that feminism in the nineteenth century was principally supported by the socialists, but that there was no mass feminist movement. "The early feminists were isolated individuals and their activity was at first purely literary or journalistic." Feminists behaved like other "moderate societies." It was a "definitely bourgeois and upper-class movement" (*Love, Ambition,* pp. 346, 348). This is reflected in Daumier's caricatures in the "Bas-Bleus" series of women writers who demand equality. Daumier might have agreed with Xavier de Maistre, who wrote to his daughter: "The great defect in a woman is to want to be a man" (quoted in Zeldin, *Love, Ambition,* p. 356).

19 Marc Constantin, *Almanach du savoir-vivre* (Paris, 1859), p. 44; cited in McCauley, *Daumier,* p. 142.

20 Madelyn Gutwirth brought this print to my attention.

21 Roger Passeron, *Daumier* (New York, 1981), pp. 157–58.

22 Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880,* trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, 1981), p. 88.

23 R. L. Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context* (London, 1971) and Macdonald Critchley, *The Language of Gesture* (London, 1939).

24 Lucette Czyba, *Mythes et idéologie de la femme dans les romans de Flaubert* (Lyon, 1983), pp. 15–16.

25 Charles Baudelaire, "Some French Caricaturists," in *Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Artists,* trans. P. E. Charvet (London, 1972), pp. 215, 223.