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Bathing in the Heart of Paris

“L’enseignement mutuel” from Daumier’s Series *Les baigneurs**



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The caricaturist Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) spent the majority of his career capturing on paper the social mores of Parisians during the nineteenth century. When censorship laws prohibited Daumier from visually attacking the monarch and politicians, he predominantly satirized the bourgeoisie.¹ More than any other French caricaturist at the time, Daumier succeeded at mocking his fellow middle-class compatriots and their physiognomy. The human body played a significant role in the humor of his prints. Public bathing, an activity that became a social phenomenon in the decades leading up to the middle of the nineteenth century, provided an ideal subject for the artist to exploit the physical appearance of figures and to continue codifying his human types artistically. Daumier represented swimmers in approximately 150 lithographs, but it is undoubtedly the thirty lithographs forming his series *Les baigneurs*, published in the newspaper *Le Charivari* from June 11, 1839, to September 27, 1842, that are his most famous illustrations of the theme of bathers.²

“L’enseignement mutuel” (Fig. 1) is the twenty-ninth print of this comical series. The version of this print held at the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri is a fine example of a lithographic proof before the addition of letters. The handwritten caption and the vertical crease through the center of the print offer the viewer valuable insight about the editing and publishing process of a print in a daily journal during Daumier’s career.³

Proofs with handwritten legends in ink, on either vellum or wove sheets, are



Fig. 1. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “L’enseignement mutuel” (Mutual instruction), state I/III, *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 20.6 x 26.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2011.6). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the most sought-after lithographs created by Daumier (after those he produced on white vellum paper that have not even been marked by the handwriting of journalists). Daumier rarely wrote the legends that accompany his images, and on the few occasions that he did, he wrote them with a lithographic pencil rather than with pen ink. Moreover, the captions that Daumier wrote are for the most part laconic in nature, barely exceeding a couple of words.⁴ In contrast, those written by the journalists at *Le Charivari* tend to be complete sentences and even short paragraphs, since writers were hired separately by the newspaper and paid by the line.⁵ Occasionally, journalists even disregarded the aesthetic value of prints by inscribing them with personal statements. The notation in the left margin of Figure 1, “Pendant qu’il fait encore chaud . . .” (While it is still warm . . .) appears to refer to the series *Les baigneurs*, or at least to the works that succeeded

“L’enseignement mutuel” in the set. The writer (whether journalist or editor) informs an undisclosed member of the newspaper team that the prints need to be delivered promptly. This inscription serves as visual evidence that on numerous instances there was little or no communication between the caption writers of *Le Charivari* and Daumier. The writers were not sitting with him exchanging ideas about a certain topic. More often than not, Daumier designed caricatures at home, and once completed, they were sent to the publishing house where different individuals provided the captions for the images.⁶ In some instances, the writers chose to write their legends on separate pieces of paper (which were then glued to the artist’s print) knowing that they could be asked to rewrite a legend multiple times.

The crease on the sheet of paper, that has since been flattened, indicates that Daumier’s print moved through the hands of various people. Prints were regularly folded into two, four, and sometimes even eight immediately after they were no longer in the artist’s possession. Works circulated among the artist, the journalist, and the editor of the journal, who had the responsibility of noting the plate number and series title of a given lithograph and to forward the print to censorship authorities. The various steps that prints underwent in order to be considered “officially” complete and publishable meant that it often took several days (up to approximately three weeks after the artist had originally conceptualized the work) before the drawn image could physically appear in a newspaper.⁷ In the case of lithographs appearing in *Le Charivari*, once the censors approved the images and captions, the prints were produced in editions ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 depending on the year of publication. Lithographs published in *Le Charivari* differed from the proofs because their captions were not handwritten, and they often contained information about the publishing house (including name and address, as is noticeable on the second state of “L’enseignement mutuel” [Fig. 2]). In total, there are three states of “L’enseignement mutuel” (see Figure 3 for an impression of the third state), and the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri houses the lone surviving version of the first state.

In contrast to the many caricatures Daumier produced of the *bourgeoise*, Parisian women whose exaggerated fashions drew the caricaturist’s satirical eye, the primary subject in the series *Les baigneurs* is the male. Male bathers could not hide behind their street clothes, rendering the visual representations of their bodies in this series of works more comical. The figures in “L’enseignement mutuel” vary in age and facial features, characteristics that are typical of Daumier’s *Les baigneurs* and his oeuvre at large. Daumier depicts a man standing high-

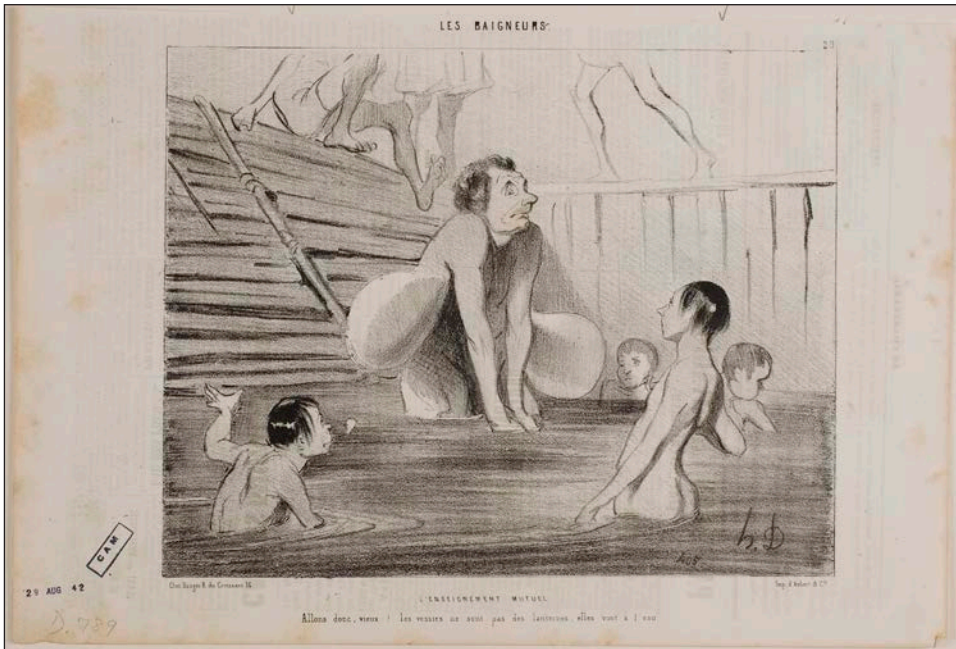


Fig. 2. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “L’enseignement mutuel” (Mutual instruction), state II/III, *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 20.6 x 26.2 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Horace M. Swope (485:1915).

deep in water with circular air bladders strapped to his body under his armpits. The floating devices are bizarre, and their artificiality is striking. They look like wings that will help the man survive as he tries to plunge into the pool. He uneasily dips his hands into the water, and his facial expression reveals his anxiety at having to swim (or to learn to swim). The bather’s face, limbs, and posture are unheroic, in contrast to the grandiose nudes and classical deities seen in the works of an artist such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867). Ingres, like his mentor Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), was a classical revivalist, and the nude figures in his works signified an ideal grace. Daumier’s style was anti-classical, and for him, the modern bodies of members of the French bourgeoisie, especially those individuals who were separated from nature and living in the city, were far from eloquent. As a realist, Daumier rejected academic standards of beauty, and the hollowness of his contemporaries who aspired to be part of high culture could be exposed through their less-than-perfect bodies.⁸

Bathing was a social activity in which the majority of the Parisian population participated during the nineteenth century. On nice summer days, public baths

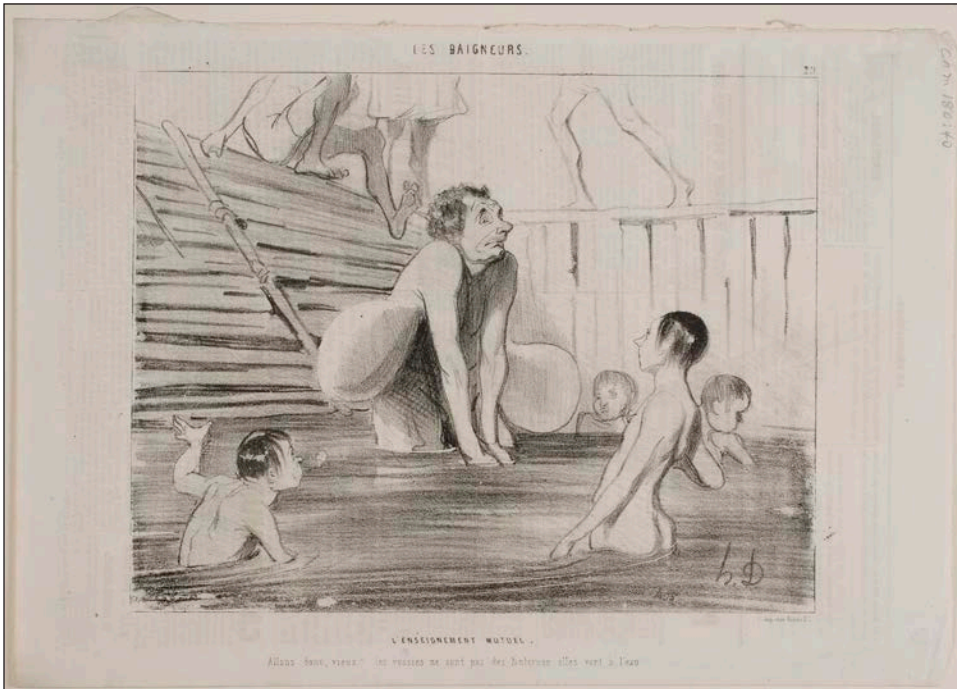


Fig. 3. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “L’enseignement mutuel” (Mutual instruction), state III/III, *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 20.6 x 26.2 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Horace M. Swope (180:1940).

were the joy of Parisians. Medical doctors approved physical exercise as contributing to a healthy lifestyle. Fewer and fewer Parisians were engaged in agrarian activities, but to remain physically fit, even those people who had not fallen in love with swimming during their youth began to demonstrate a greater desire to swim in the 1800s. The movements that enabled one to swim and float above the water were, however, awkward and unnatural to human beings (even for those who eventually mastered the activity). As Eugène Briffault states, walking is a simpler form of exercise.⁹ Whereas quadrupeds and various other animals can easily navigate their way through water, human beings, at least on the first few occasions, find swimming a complete effort and display of energy; many fear the possibility of drowning.¹⁰ It has always been easier for humans to learn to swim at a young age in comparison to later in life, and Daumier pokes fun at the man in “L’enseignement mutuel” by making him the oldest and only figure to be wearing inflated air bladders.

In the scene, four boys surround the man at the shallow end of the pool. Although the boys are not swimming, the water that covers their bodies is not a nuisance to them, and the boy to the immediate left even smokes a pipe. The legs of three other figures are visible around the upper ledge of the embankment that encloses the water and the bathers. One of these figures, likely a *gamin* (boy), is on the verge of kicking the man in the back. Bathing houses in Paris were full of people who had varying levels of swimming skills, and accordingly, it was not uncommon for some bathers to fall prey to the opportunistic antics of young pranksters.¹¹

Throughout the *Les baigneurs* series Daumier also ridicules the grotesque nature of the bathers' bodies (primarily the body of urban dwellers). Unlike the individuals who are clothed in Daumier's countless scenes of the streets of Paris, in the bathers' series, the figures are either naked or only wearing swimming suits in order to heighten their "ugliness." Here, Daumier can reveal the true nature of the bourgeoisie. He certainly is not perpetuating the timeless beauty of these figures. Many members of the middle class strove to give the impression that they formed part of polite society. The pompousness of such social types irritated Daumier. Hence, by making these individuals anything but elegant in his *Les baigneurs* series, Daumier indicates that both the physique and the acts of these people are repulsive. The caricaturist deliberately exposed the vulnerability of these figures to the castrating gaze of his audience.

People cannot hide behind their clothes, and as a result, "Daumier met en oeuvre une esthétique de la difformité et offre aux lecteurs le spectacle de la laid-eur: quelle que soit la classe sociale, le corps se révèle sans fard aux bains publics, tantôt bedonnant, tantôt abîmé, toujours grotesque, le ridicule est démocratique" (Daumier highlights an aesthetic of deformity and offers his readers the spectacle of ugliness: regardless of social class, the body at public baths is revealed, sometimes potbellied, sometimes impaired; always grotesque, the ridicule is democratic).¹² While the individuals may not be embarrassed by their physical outlook, figures with bodies of all sizes appear in the thirty prints (see for example "Eh bonjour! enchanté de vous rencontrer . . ." [Fig. 4]).¹³ The bathers in these works are neither erotic nor aesthetically pleasing. Even when the poses of the figures suggest that their muscles should be articulated, it is the lack of fitness of these people that meets the viewer's eye. Members of the audience are meant to laugh at the characters because their own bodies may be equally grotesque and because of the absurdity of the situation in which the figures find themselves.



Fig. 4. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “Eh bonjour! enchanté de vous rencontrer . . .” (Oh hello, how good to see you . . .), *Les baigneurs*, 1840, lithograph, 26.5 x 20.7 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Horace M. Swope (171:1940).

Whether it is the scrawny bones of the swimmers, their fat stomachs, or their unattractive facial features (like those of the man in “L’enseignement mutuel”), as a witty caricaturist, Daumier exposed them in *Les baigneurs* for all to see.

A year after the final print of the series was published, *Le Charivari* readily advertised the *Les baigneurs* series as illustrating the humorous side of the bathing houses of Paris: “Cet Album est rempli de physionomies grotesques, de scènes plaisantes, tout le répertoire de toutes les tribulations qui peuvent assaillir le baigneur infortuné” (This album is full of grotesque physiognomies and of pleasant scenes; the entire repertory of all the tribulations that can torment the unfortunate bather).¹⁴ The editors of the newspaper believed that Daumier’s bather series was popular among the readership of *Le Charivari* and thus, they decided to sell the thirty lithographs as a separate album and in the process earn the publishing house extra revenue.

The River Seine, situated in the heart of Paris, was frequented in great numbers

on a daily basis in the first half of the nineteenth century by those who desired to swim, fish, or canoe. The growth of the train system in Paris and its surroundings facilitated accessibility to the Seine outside the heart of the city. Accordingly it is not surprising that Daumier's *Les baigneurs* was highly acclaimed in the 1840s. Eugène Briffault, the author of *Paris dans l'eau*, stated in 1844 that there were over a thousand prints on the subject of bathers created by caricaturists in France.¹⁵ City dwellers from all over the French capital swam in the Seine, and the bathing houses greatly contributed to the industrial economy of the river.¹⁶

The public baths or *baignades* varied in size, and the majority of them were located near the Ile Saint-Louis and the Ile de la Cité in the fourth arrondissement. The *baignades* differed from modern-day swimming pools in that they were baths directly installed on the Seine and used the river's water instead of chlorinated water. Most of them were floating pontoons that had the shape of long rectangular boats, as is evident in a photograph taken by Armand Guérinet (Fig. 5).

Bathing houses often had multiple basins allowing male and female bathers to swim separately and to bathe in both warm and cold water. In addition, baths were distinguished according to social classes (the price of entry differed from one establishment to the other, while the wealthiest people used their own private baths). The baths ranged from the *bains à 4 sous* used by the lower classes and the petty bourgeoisie (most of Daumier's *Les baigneurs* lithographs take place in such establishments) to the Deligny baths, which acted as the model prototype of quality baths, offering visitors numerous water basins, changing rooms, and a dining room serving French cuisine.¹⁷ The lack of space in the city of Paris due to the growing demography at the time was reflected on a micro level in some of Daumier's *Les baigneurs* prints set in the *bains à 4 sous*; the man's confrontation with the crowd of young boys in "L'enseignement mutuel" is a reminder of this complicated matter.¹⁸ Not surprisingly, the difference in quality from one bath to the other certainly pleased those individuals who could afford to pay the larger sums of entrance fees and the bourgeois who wanted to be taken for nobles.

The first bathing houses started appearing at the end of the eighteenth century, and the number of bathing establishments kept increasing over the course of the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ In 1833, a few years before Daumier began his *Les baigneurs* series, there were nineteen permanent bathing establishments on the river.²⁰ In their simplest form, public baths provided a secure space for bathers and were limited by embankments in a natural environment. When their popularity increased, bathing houses began offering swimmers



Fig. 5. Armand Guérinet. *Les bains parisiens* (Parisian Baths), late nineteenth century. Image © Ministère de la Culture (France).

greater levels of comfort (for example, towel service), and eventually they were furnished with relaxation rooms and other spaces that provided bathers a variety of complementary services. These flourishing bathing houses provided Daumier with a source of inspiration to record the moods and attitudes of Parisian bathers and to historicize the modern practice of this recreational activity in regulated spaces.

Public baths were particularly popular at the time, because the law prohibited people from swimming in the river (outside of these establishments). Policemen patrolled the water in order to ensure that no men or women were swimming in the open river (it was the responsibility of the Prefecture of Police of Paris to discipline transgressors). Daumier addressed the issue explicitly in two of his lithographs of the *Les baigneurs* series.

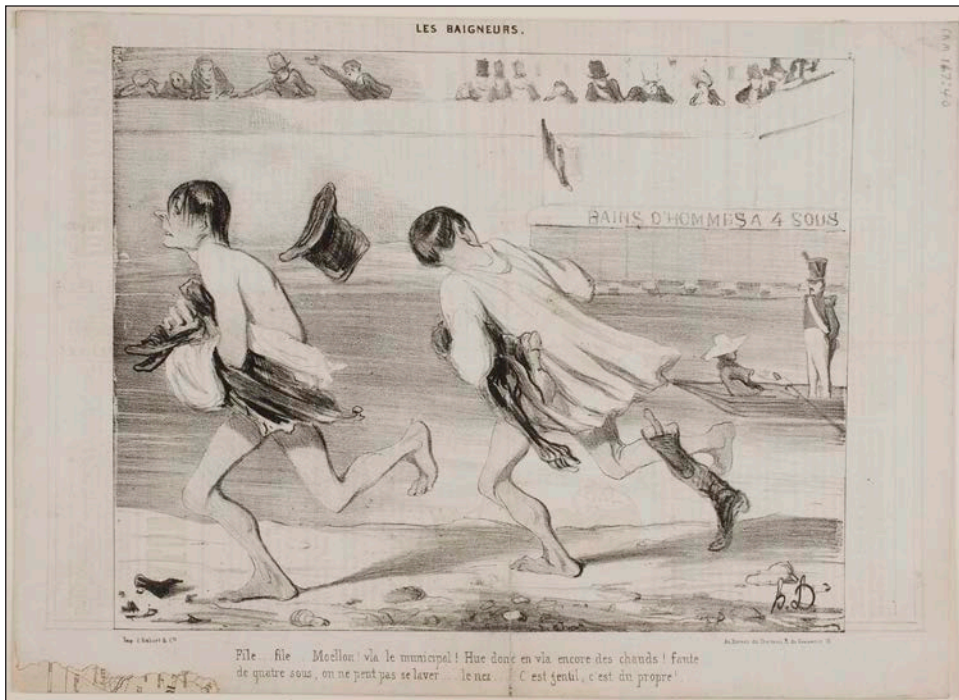


Fig. 6. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “File . . . file . . . Moellon! vla le municipal! . . .” (Run away Moellon, there comes the guard! . . .), *Les baigneurs*, 1839, lithograph, 27.1 x 21.4 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Horace M. Swope (167:1940).

The second print of the series (Fig. 6) shows two boys fleeing away on the banks of the river with clothes in their hands as they notice a patrol approaching.²¹ The policeman stands on a small boat and looks in the direction of the two boys. A sign *bains d'hommes à 4 sous* (Baths for men for 4 sous) is noticeable in the background, and a crowd of onlookers peers down at the pursuit from beyond the wall that leads to the river's bank. In the twenty-fifth print of the series (Fig. 7) “Pardon, Mr. le Maire! . . .”, Daumier mocks the judicial system that enforces the interdiction of swimming in the river.²² The caricaturist rarely missed a chance of criticizing the government and its policies; it is uncertain whether he himself was fond of swimming. In this lithograph, Daumier depicts a man in his swimming suit interrupting the mayor from enjoying a walk in the countryside with his partner in order to ask him sarcastically whether it is permitted to swim in a small stream of water. The mayor is irritated by the man's action, while his



Fig. 7. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “Pardon, Mr. Le Maire! . . .” (Excuse me, Mr. Mayor . . .), *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 19.7 x 26.3 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Horace M. Swope (481:1915).

female companion turns her head away from the bather and raises her hand in displeasure. In short, a direct correlation existed between the development of bathing houses and the politics of the period that banned free access to the water. Although some people inevitably tested the limits of the law, Daumier exaggerated certain scenes of his bather series to add to their entertainment value.

Many French citizens also enjoyed the *baignades* as locations where they could socialize and engage in people watching. Certain individuals would spend multiple hours at a bathing house and leave without even having touched the water once. They went to the baths to have a drink or two, smoke a cigar, discuss politics in small groups, and to read the newspaper.²³ Such figures appear in Daumier’s *Les baigneurs* series. For example in “Un joli calembour” (A nice pun) (Fig. 8), the twenty-seventh print of the series, a couple of men sit at a table with wine glasses and are absorbed in a game of dominoes.²⁴

In an article dating from 1844, the *Paris Comique* journal humorously noted that there were three types of bathers: the bathers that never swim, the novice

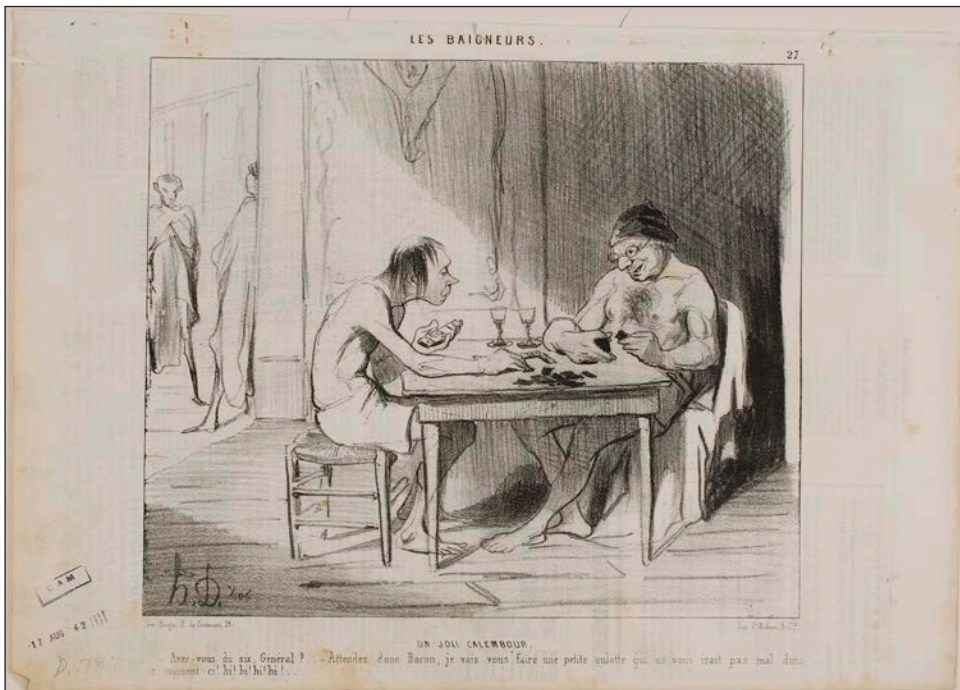


Fig. 8. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “Un joli calembour” (A nice pun), *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 21.2 x 25.3 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Horace M. Swope (483:1915).

swimmers, and those who are diving fanatics. Moreover, the journal even estimated the age group of the people who belonged to these three distinct categories of bathers and suggested that the novice swimmers, who for undisclosed reasons felt the need to learn how to swim (like the man in “L’enseignement mutuel”), were generally aged between twenty-seven and forty years old.²⁵ A good number of the main characters in Daumier’s *Les baigneurs* lithographs are from this age category. Daumier was displaying male figures in the prime of their lives physically, yet their lack of swimming skills insinuated that the preservation of their masculinity was at stake in public spheres. Daumier likely knew some men in their late twenties and thirties (he was in his early thirties when he made the prints for this series), who attended bathing establishments not because swimming was healthy but because the rich had made it one of their favorite pastimes, and thus it became a trendy activity for all. Daumier wittily revealed the foolishness of such pretentious individuals. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the caricaturist did

not spare anyone from embarrassing moments in his images; attacking all types of bathers rendered the series more comical and ultimately more successful.

The bathing establishments on the Seine offered Daumier a pleasant variety of scenes that he could ridicule as part of his greater aim of caricaturing the social mores of Parisians in the nineteenth century. He targeted the irony of the modern urban world as experienced by city dwellers living in the French capital, and the popularity of public baths in Paris inspired him to return to the subject on multiple occasions throughout his career. Since bathing became a widespread phenomenon, and literary sources addressed this recreational activity from a variety of angles in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, Daumier's *Les baigneurs* series was produced at the height of the theme's prominence.

By focusing on the grotesque nature of the figures' bodies, Daumier ensured that his bather lithographs were funny in the eyes of his nineteenth-century audience, while simultaneously making a comment about the artificiality of the modern man and his distance from nature. For Daumier, members of the middle class in nineteenth-century Paris simply lacked the ability to adapt themselves to nature and its elements. His prints imply that the urban bourgeoisie was largely at a loss outside its comfort zone. In comparison, as an individual piece, "L'enseignement mutuel" equally allows the present day viewer to poke fun at the comical physiognomic traits of the main figure—after all, the body is not simply meant to be desirable, it can also be the source of comic relief—as well as to understand in detail how prints came to fruition within the context of nineteenth-century satirical newspapers.

NOTES

* I wish to thank Elizabeth Childs for her comments and support throughout. All translations are my own except for that of the inscription in the left margin of Figure 1, given in endnote 3 below. My thanks go to Jean-Charles Foyer and Elizabeth Wyckoff for helping me with this notation.

1. After rigorous censorship laws were implemented in September 1835, Daumier stopped his direct attacks against King Louis-Philippe, focusing instead on the representation of social mores until the end of the July Monarchy in 1848.
2. Swimmers also appear in the following of Daumier's series: *Les baigneuses*, *Paris dans l'eau*, *Croquis d'été*, *Les bains froids*, and *Croquis aquatiques*.

As of this writing, fourteen of Daumier's series are partially represented in the Museum of Art and Archaeology's collection: *Les bohémiens de Paris* (76.43.1–11), *Histoire ancienne* (76.44.1–17, 86.130), *Voyage en Chine* (76.45.1–12), *Les étrangers à Paris*

- (76.46.1–7), *Paris l'hiver* (76.47.1–5), *Les amis* (47.48.1–3), *Professeurs et moutards* (76.49.1–3), *Caricatures du jour* (76.50), *Les carottes* (76.51), *Actualités* (76.52, 87.3, 2015.3), *Physionomie de l'assemblée* (87.68), *Caricaturana* (*Les Robert-Macaires*) (2004.3), *Les baigneurs* (2011.6), and *Les bas-bleus* (2015.2).
3. Dimensions: 26.8 x 35.1 cm (sheet); 20.6 x 26.2 cm (image). Ex collections René Gaston-Dreyfus and Henri Petiet (1894–1980). Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (acc. no. 2011.6). Handwritten captions in pen and brown ink in the bottom and left margins: at the bottom “L'enseignement mutuel. Allons donc vieux! Les vessies ne sont pas des lanternes, elles vont à l'eau” (Mutual instruction. Come on in old man! The bladders are not lanterns, they are meant for the water); in the left margin “Pendant qu'il fait encore chaud, il faut donner tous les Baigneurs; veuillez donc me faire les lettres immédiatement et ingénieusement. votre dévoué Guillaume” (While it is still hot, one must give all Bathers; thus, please produce for me the letters immediately and ingeniously. Yours truly, Guillaume). Handwritten number 789 in pencil at lower right corner of sheet. Plate number of the series, 29, in black crayon at upper right corner of sheet. Two collectors' stamps on verso: H. M. P. within an oval and R. G-D, also within an oval. Published: “Acquisitions 2011,” *Muse* 44–45 (2012) p. 131, fig. 1. Exhibited: *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions*, Museum of Art and Archaeology, January 28–May 13, 2012.
 4. See Valérie Sueur-Hermel et al., *Daumier: L'écriture du lithographe*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (Paris, 2008) p. 163.
 5. For more information on the captions written by Daumier and writers from *Le Charivari*, refer to Valérie Sueur-Hermel, a specialist on the topic. In particular, Sueur-Hermel, “Avant la lettre: lithographies de Daumier pour *Le Charivari*,” *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* 19 (2005) pp. 21–25, and Sueur-Hermel et al., *Daumier: L'écriture du lithographe*, pp. 146–182.
 6. In some cases the journalists did not understand the image and wrote to the editors of the newspaper with a certain degree of frustration asking them to clarify the image's meaning. More details on the collaborative process of publishing lithographs and on the payment some writers received for their legends can be found in Elizabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York, 2004) pp. 22–25.
 7. The three-week time frame is suggested by Ségolène Le Men, “La physiologie du bourgeois dans les séries du *Charivari*,” in *Daumier 1808–1879*, H. Loyrette et al., eds., National Gallery of Art, Ottawa (Ottawa, 1999) p. 207. This is a valid estimation even though Daumier did not date his prints. “L'enseignement mutuel” was published in *Le Charivari* on August 29, 1842.
 8. Daumier was visually expressing that not all bathers were strongly built immortals or sensual nymphs, and in addition, he “was pillorying not merely his victims but the high-art bather theme itself, as it existed in endless dreary Salon representations of his time.” Linda Nochlin, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty: The Visceral Eye* (Cambridge, 2006) p. 23.
 9. “Il n'est pas vrai de prétendre qu'il soit aussi naturel de nager que de marcher” (It would be false to pretend that swimming is as natural as walking). Eugène Briffault, *Paris dans l'eau* (Paris, 1844) p. 42. Briffault then goes on to write that, in water, humans are subject to concerns that are not shared by frogs and other animals.
 10. Alain Corbin suggests that the discomfort of swimming was a widespread feeling

among European populations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: “The way people swam was dictated by an incessant fear of drowning heightened by the firm belief that man could neither float nor swim naturally,” in A. Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750–1840*, trans. J. Phelps (Cambridge, 1994) p. 76.

11. Briffault writes, “il est dans les écoles de natation une race d’individus, farceurs importuns et fâcheux, qui infestent tous les plaisirs; on ne peut pas toujours se soustraire à l’énormité de leurs jeux” (In swimming schools there are particular types of individuals, who are annoying and opportunistic pranksters, and they spoil all the pleasures; it is not always possible to avoid their pranks). Briffault, *Paris*, p. 93.
12. Clémence Laurent, “Au milieu coule la Seine . . .” in *Les Parisiens de Daumier de la promenade aux divertissements*, Agnès Colas des Francs et al., eds. (Paris, 2013) p. 49.
13. “Eh bonjour! Enchanté de vous rencontrer—Comment se porte Madame?—A merveille—Dans l’eau, je ne vous reconnaissais pas; je vous prenais pour un lion—vous êtes bien bon, c’est ce que tous le monde me dit” (Oh, hello, how good to see you—How is your wife?—She’s well.—I did not recognize you in the water; I took you for a lion.—You are too kind, that is what everybody tells me).
14. Anonymous, *Le Charivari* (August 2, 1843), cited in Loys Delteil, *Le peintre-graveur illustré*, vol. 22 (New York, 1969) entry 790.
15. Briffault, describing the physiognomy of the bathers, states, “les tailles sans fin, les bras maigres, les pieds longs et vilains, engendrent mille caricatures vivantes à réjouir Gavarni et Daumier” (The never-ending waistlines, the skinny arms, and the long and nasty feet, trigger a thousand lively and delightful caricatures by Gavarni and Daumier). Briffault, *Paris*, p. 85.
16. “Ce sont surtout les bains qui forment la grande base de l’exploitation industrielle et aquatique de la Seine” (It is the baths that form the greatest source of industrial and aquatic exploitation of the Seine). L. Huart et al., “Ecoles de natation à Paris,” *Paris Comique* (Paris, 1844) p. 1. Ultimately, it was only due to the river’s pollution that bathing establishments experienced their demise in the early twentieth century.
17. More details about the comparison between the *bains à 4 sous* and the *bains Deligny* are available in Isabelle Duhau, “Les baignades en rivière d’Ile-de-France des premiers aménagements à la piscine parisienne Joséphine-Baker,” *Livraisons d’histoire de l’architecture* 14 (2007) pp. 1–22. In terms of the food, Briffault claims that the quality of the meals offered at some of the higher scale baths would have rendered restaurants throughout Paris envious: “alors s’organisent des déjeuners que le boulevard Italien et la rue Montorgeuil pourraient envier” (breakfasts are organized that would make the boulevard Italien and the rue Montorgeuil envious). Briffault, *Paris*, p. 81.
18. In bathing establishments, specifically the *bains à 4 sous*, “malgré le règlement, il règne un désordre insupportable pour la classe moyenne” (despite the rules, total disarray reigns, rendering it unbearable for the middle class). Klaus Herding, “Le citadin à la campagne: Daumier critique du comportement bourgeois face à la nature,” *Nouvelles de l’estampe* 46/47 (1979) p. 30.
19. The popularity of bathing houses in Paris led to the creation of bathing establishments in urban settings in several European countries in the nineteenth century, primarily northern European countries. Patricia Berman, “Body and Body Politic in Edvard Munch’s *Bathing Men*,” in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since*

the Renaissance, Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, eds. (Cambridge, 1993) p. 77.

20. The number of permanent establishments remained the same until 1875 (at that time, a twentieth was added). For more information on the history of bathing houses in Paris, see Duhau, "Les baignades," p. 14.
21. "File . . . file . . . Moellon! vla le municipal! Hue donc en vla encore des chauds! faute de quatre sous, on ne peut pas se laver . . . le nez . . . C'est gentil, c'est du propre!" (Run away Moellon! There comes the guard! Another one of those hotheads! Just because we don't have four pennies we cannot wash . . . our noses . . . talk about getting cheated!).
22. "Pardon M. le Maire! . . . pourriez vous me faire le plaisir de me dire s'il est permis de se baigner ici" (Excuse me, Mr. Mayor! Would you please be so kind as to tell me whether swimming is permitted here?).
23. Bathing houses offered visitors a variety of newspapers, including *Le Siècle* during the day and *Le Moniteur Parisien* during the evening. Huart et al., "Ecoles," pp. 2–3.
24. "Un joli calembour. Avez-vous du six, Général? Attendez donc Baron, je vais vous faire une petite culotte qui ne vous irait pas mal dans ce moment-ci. Hi! hi! hi! hi!" (Do you have the six, General?—Just wait and see Baron, I'll make you lose your pants, which would serve you right in this moment! hi! hi! hi! hi!). The visual pun is the difference in size of the figures. Literally, the pun is that the larger man possesses the dominoes to win the game, and he grins because by playing his hand he will make the other man lose everything including his bathing suit, "faire une petite culotte."
25. *Paris Comique* 1844, p. 2. In the words of the newspaper: "il y a 3 classes distinctes: 1 celle des baigneurs qui ne se baignent pas; 2 celle des baigneurs novices; 3 enfin la troisième est celle des fanatiques de la coupe et du plongeon" (there are three distinct categories: 1. that of bathers who do not swim; 2. that of the novice swimmers; 3. finally, the third category is that of those who are bathing and diving fanatics). *Ibid.*, p. 2. The age groups of the other types of swimmers are also described.

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