

12. Alice Austen, *Julia Martin, Julia Brett and Self Dressed Up as Men*, photograph, 1891. New York, Staten Island Historical Society (Alice Austen).



these animal subjects served her "as metaphors for the human predicament."²⁶

The remainder of this study will outline how, when viewed together, Bonheur's masculinized self-portrayals with animals, her sympathetic portrayals of animals alone, and her own statements and actions suggest that her animal subjects functioned as a vehicle for abstract concepts that could be publicly visualized at the time only in compromised or coded forms. For her, as for many of her contemporaries, animals figured simultaneously as symbols of freedom in their own right; as surrogates for the desire for an equivalent social freedom on the part of women in general; and as surrogate for a parallel desire on the part of gender-deviant women (and men) in particular for release from constricting norms of masculinity and femininity.

To begin on the fundamental level of visual and iconographic analysis, Bonheur's treatment of her subjects differs sharply from the mainstream tradition of animal painting. Several contemporaries noted approvingly the same qualities identified by

Boime, Ashton, and others: her rejection of anthropomorphization and sentimental narrative in favor of depicting her subjects "mainly for themselves rather than as accessories to people."²⁷ This contrast can be briefly illustrated by comparison with Landseer, whose popularity rested on his tendency to humanize domestic animals and highlight their subservience to their masters. In his portrait of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle with her husband and infant daughter, he sentimentalized the royal pet dogs as domesticated adjuncts to cozy heterosexuality, equating them with lovable but bumptious children, and he also presented animals as objects of human sport—the dead game birds that Prince Albert displays on the carpet. Although Bonheur admired Landseer, she most often portrayed animals alone and independent in their natural habitat. When she titled one watercolor study of lions *Royalty at Home* [13], she meant the animals' own home, in which they ruled, not the human world to which they sometimes had to submit. Even when her animals are under human control, as in *The Horse Fair*, she is

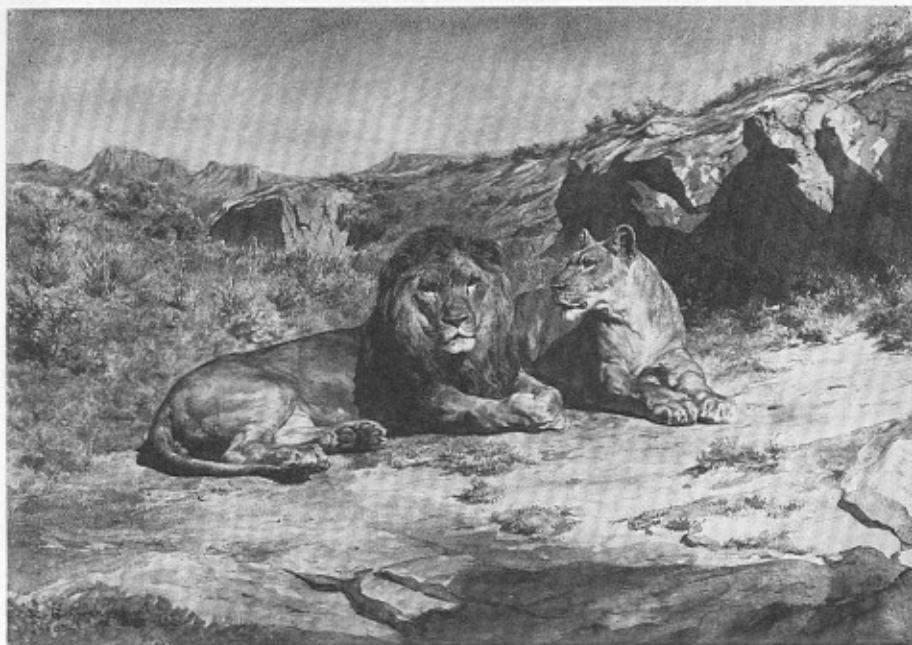
more interested than Landseer in the horses' almost untameable strength and individuality.²⁸

The same contrast can be seen in portrayals of single creatures. The identity and value of Landseer's sheepdog is summed up in the title of his 1837 picture *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* [14]: dog as "Fido," the faithful companion who loves its owner even in his uncomprehended absence. On the other hand, Bonheur, in choosing subjects like *The Wounded Eagle*, followed earlier artists such as Stubbs and Barye, who exalted wild creatures' fierce and courageous survival in their own habitat. Ruskin captured the essence of Bonheur's approach, though he did it by way of a criticism of her for failing to realize that "there is in every animal's eye a dim image and gleam of humanity . . . through which their life looks out and up to our great mystery of command over them."²⁹

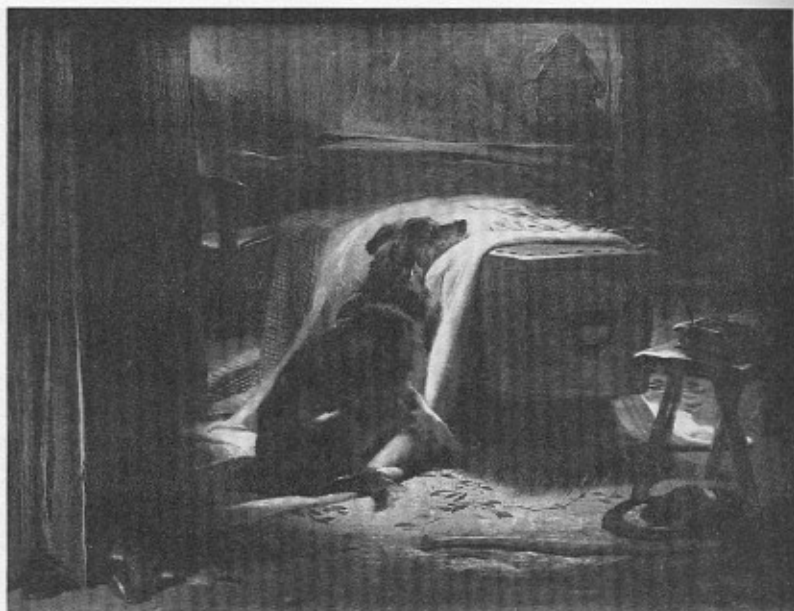
Ruskin's perceptive but value-laden comment suggests that Bonheur's characterization of animals rested on a radically different conception of the relationship between animal and human or, more broadly, between nature and culture. This polarity, which preoccupied the century of Dar-

win and Mendel, constituted the overarching metaphor in a heated discourse about several interrelated oppositions: male-female, heterosexual-homosexual, individual-society, private-public, androgyny-differentiation, and authority-liberty.³⁰ The key to this nexus of relationships lies in Whitney Chadwick's observation that Bonheur's paintings "emphasize the animals' freedom and uncorrupted nature. . . . In the words of one critic they were 'like nature.'" As Chadwick explains, "It was the search for expressions of feeling unencumbered by social constraints that underlay both the embrace of animal imagery . . . and the fame enjoyed by Rosa Bonheur. . . ."³¹

Operating along this nature-culture axis, nineteenth-century discourse about animals, women, and gender variance constituted a dialectic between those authoritarian and scientific forces that sought to extend human, male, heterosexual hegemony over the natural world, and the liberal humanitarians who strove to preserve and augment the freedom of creatures unjustly subjugated by cultural intervention. The rise of Britain's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (founded in 1824), for example, paralleled an in-



13. Rosa Bonheur, *Royalty at Home*, watercolor, 1885. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of Funds from the Ziegler Corporation.



14. Edwin Landseer, *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*, 1837. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

creasing reduction in wildlife habitats and the enclosure of both domestic and wild animals within the discourse and praxis of taxonomy, systematic breeding, and zoos.³² Simultaneously, the rise of the women's movement was accompanied by the medical establishment's efforts to increase control over women in gynecology, obstetrics, and psychiatry. Similarly, *homosexual* and other terms were coined in the 1860s as conceptual alternatives to the emerging psychiatric model of homosexuality as a mental disorder; their invention was explicitly linked to the first agitation for legal emancipation of homosexuals, focused on repeal of the Prussian law prohibiting sodomy, the "crime against nature."³³

All of these contested social relations were of great importance to Bonheur as an animal lover and a cross-dressing lesbian woman seeking masculine independence and prerogatives. She did not, then, turn to animal imagery simply *faute de mieux*; she was also tapping an established discourse that offered a symbolic arena for her personal concerns. Her statements on animals and gender, as well as her actions and her paintings, indicate that her sympathies in these controversies

were clearly with the libertarian camp. Although the connections she drew between these discourses are at times only indirectly evident, it is not surprising that she seldom theorized directly about such charged topics. In addition to the general social pressure toward public conformity, Bonheur was temperamentally disinclined to abstraction. Her friend Prince Georges Stirbey remembered that although Bonheur was deeply spiritual, "If you spoke to her of complex dogmas, she was no longer able to follow you. It was her heart rather than her mind that governed her in these matters."

Nonetheless, there is ample evidence of Bonheur's irreverent distrust of traditional religion, social custom, and secular authority, veering between bemusement and contempt. She read widely (if intermittently) in science and considered herself a pantheist. She believed in the androgynous God-Goddess of Saint-Simonians, and "was not a member of the Church, never attended mass and probably inherited from her father her thoroughly independent attitude toward Catholicism." The Princess Stirbey recalled that Bonheur "did fulminate against many tenets" of the

church. Although scholars often point to Bonheur's increasing political conservatism, this charge applies only to her sympathy for her Bonaparte supporters after their dethronement in 1870. Reared among socialist-feminist utopians, she was less a conservative than a disillusioned skeptic. As early as 1867 she termed the state of society "almost always sad or entirely comic," and later wrote sarcastically, "I look out of my rat's hole to see how the humanitarian geniuses arrange together again the systems which they have pulled down. Let us hope they will make the universe perfect."³⁴

On a first level, then, Bonheur's legendary love for animals "reflects her anti-social attitudes." She believed that animals had souls and she shared the viewpoint of many contemporaries that they were "symbolic of uncivilized nature." What they enjoyed, although it was increasingly threatened, was a primeval liberty that she too sought from cultural domination.³⁵

Bonheur's home was a virtual menagerie of species, many of which were allowed to run free. She and Micas took motherly care of their brood, and Bonheur was active in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Her love of hunting earned her the sobriquet "The Diana of Fontainebleau," after the unmarried goddess who roamed the woods with bow and arrow; but she seldom actually participated in the kill, and her woodland walks were as often with sketch pad as rifle. She wrote a long poem on the myth of Actaeon, whom Diana turned into a stag for intruding on her all-female world. In that poem, significantly, she identifies with the male victim, focuses on the stag's predicament, and fantasizes that he will escape from the hunters.³⁶

Animals were not targets for her so much as spiritual surrogates. In correspondence, she identified herself with numerous species, from wrens to boars to fish, turtles, and donkeys. She wrote her sister after a riding accident that "I had a narrow shave of breaking my fore-paw," and signed a letter to a brother, whom she once addressed as "my fellow-horse," "your old animal of a sister."³⁷ On the most direct level, then, her self-portrait in *Gathering for the Hunt* [5] represents the image

of a woman who sought through adopting masculine garb both to lay claim to, and facilitate, the adventurous outdoor life of Diana and its opportunity for communing on largely peaceable terms with her beloved natural creatures in a shared liberty.

More profoundly, she also saw, as did many others at the time, significant connections between the plight of animals and the oppression of women. The ideology that sought to restrict women's freedom to a narrowly defined and powerless domestic sphere was couched, like the ideology of animal control, in terms of nature. Relying on the Darwinian-scientificist theory that "biology dictated destiny," male theorists held that "a woman's nature . . . anchor[ed] her to the home." As Chadwick has outlined, the popular novel *Black Beauty* (1877) drew a parallel between the arbitrary and sometimes cruel control over animals and the powerlessness of women against male social theorists, legislators, and doctors, and "by 1900 women supported the antivivisection movement in numbers exceeded only by their numbers in suffrage societies."³⁸

Bonheur was outspokenly aware that assertions about female limitations ascribed to nature qualities that were defined and enforced by culture. Her pointed comments on the superiority of women are epitomized by her well-known remark, "In the way of males, I like only the bulls I paint." She viewed traditional female occupations as imprisoning, using an animal metaphor when explaining to Klumpke her good fortune at being able to "free myself" from "the fetters that weigh on [young women] in Europe." Her account of Bonheur's statement that "the horse is but a slave" abused by mankind is followed immediately by Klumpke's own rhetorical question, "Will anyone be surprised that a frequent subject of Rosa Bonheur's conversation was the place given to women in contemporary society?" Of her abortive apprenticeship to a dressmaker she explained, "Above all, I preferred my liberty." Marriage, the sole alternative to such employment, also reduced women to prisoners of men. Bonheur wrote to the Princess Stirbey regarding her daughter's career choice, "She's right to prefer art to marriage,

which more often than not takes a woman in," adding sarcastically, "however, I don't despise this *natural* institution among all animals, and so useful to men, who would mope to death without wives" (my emphasis).³⁹

When speaking specifically of her cross-dressing, animals again provided Bonheur with an image of both social constraint and imagined freedom. She felt herself imprisoned by conventional female clothing, just as animals are bound by human control, complaining in a jocular letter of 1864 that she was "tethered" to Bay awaiting a visit from the emperor, and "I have to endure the trying on of a dress with a train, and to be alert lest I am surprised in trousers and blouse. . . . I indulge in serious meditations on liberty. . . . So you can imagine . . . how fine I must be in harness." Thirty years later, forced into similarly formal costume for a family wedding, she described it as "my gala harness."⁴⁰ Given Bonheur's repeated expressions about embodiment as an animal struggling to break free, it is tempting to read the rearing white horse in the exact center of *The Horse Fair*, who champs at the male-held bridle, as a dramatic double for Bonheur, who sits just to the right of this horse, with her face and eye turned toward us at the same angle.

In the last three decades of the century, theories of homosexuality and gender variance that were not yet formulated at the time of *The Horse Fair*, and which remain largely implicit in Bonheur's own imagery, were explicitly articulated by others. If Bonheur's photographs of her masculine persona were part of a first stage in carving out a private space for alternative identities, a second and more self-consciously political phase shifted its interventions from the private to the public sphere. The homosexual emancipation movement that began in Germany demanded not merely a right to privacy but full legal acceptance—a right, as with animals and women, to "expressions of feeling unencumbered by social constraints."

Although the Judeo-Christian moral code that condemned homosexuality and gender deviance (in Aquinas's terms) as "against nature" began to lose force during the Enlightenment, similar presuppositions underlay the emerging medical-sci-

tific discourse, which treated these phenomena as a disease or developmental abnormality.⁴¹ The legions of women who cross-dressed in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, whether heterosexual or lesbian, framed their self-concepts within and against this discourse. Deborah Sampson Garnett, an American who had masqueraded as a man to fight in the Revolutionary War, recalled that by so doing she had

grasped an opportunity which custom and the world [i.e., culture] seemed to deny, as a natural privilege. . . . A new world now opened to my view, the objects of which seemed as important as the transition before [to male attire] seemed unnatural.

As late as 1879, in her study of cross-dressing or Amazon-like *Female Warriors*, the English suffragist Ellen Clayton still had to "criticize the notion that any woman who refused an identity as a passive and subservient female was 'masculine' and therefore unnatural."⁴²

The emergence of a radical alternative paradigm for this debate occurred too late to have any formative effect on Bonheur's life or imagery, but it followed logically from her own ideas. Moreover, the leaders of this movement were well aware of her and eager to claim this prominent and successful figure as a personification of their theories. Figure 15 shows an engraving of Bonheur taken, as the caption notes, "from the last photograph" of her. A memorial tribute to the recently deceased artist, it was published in 1900 as the frontispiece to an annual journal of homosexual research, the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, edited by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld. The legend calls her a "mentally and physically pronounced example of a sexual intermediate [Zwischenstufe]."⁴³

Hirschfeld, a sexologist and early homosexual rights advocate, founded the activist Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in Berlin in 1897, as well as a pioneering research center later destroyed by the Nazis, the Institute for Sexual Science (a forerunner to the Kinsey Institute). *Zwischenstufe* was his coinage for homosexual; countering the prevailing medical-legal view that homosexuality was a deviation from bipolar gen-



Rosa Bonheur (nach der letzten Photographie), berühmte französische Tiermalerin, verstorben im Mai 1899, seelisch und körperlich ausgesprochener Typus einer sexuellen Zwischenstufe.

15. Anonymous, Rosa Bonheur, engraving. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1900 (James M. Saslow).

der norms, Hirschfeld proposed that such persons were a biologically determined "third sex," with an "intermediate," essentially androgynous personality. His was one of several related terms, such as *Urmig*, current in progressive late-century models for the psychophysiological bases of homosexuality (both male and female). This terminology attempted to construct homosexuality (or, as one of Hirschfeld's titles put it, "the feminine man and the masculine woman") as a naturally occurring variation in human behavior rather than a matter of moral choice, and hence not properly subject to cultural proscriptions. Gender variance, in this model, was not a crime against "nature" but an inherent character trait whose rightful expression involved merely a transgression of an arbitrarily rigid social code of gender expectations.⁴⁴

It is not known whether Bonheur had any knowledge of Hirschfeld's activities or ideas. But similar concepts and images had already been current among her Saint-Simonian family, whose sect developed androgynous clothing styles and sex roles and believed that Christ had both male and female personas. Her own language bespeaks parallel assumptions about a "man within a woman": in correspondence she referred to herself playfully as "brother" and "grandson," and commented on the ambiguity of her public gender identity: "It amuses me to see how puzzled the people are."⁴⁵

In conclusion, it is now possible to draw together the threads of Bonheur's implicit alternative vision as it pertained to herself, her beloved animals, and her social conflict as a woman and a gender deviant. To her, nature, in all its diversity and spiritual beauty, transcended any attempt by human culture to categorize and control it. Animals are ideally free from such constraint, and she herself is, like all animals, a part of nature, not an anomaly worthy of ridicule and surveillance. Her distinctive portrayal of the animal kingdom—her sympathy for its intrinsic nobility independent of human terms of reference—was as far as she could go in the 1850s toward articulating an embryonic conception of the natural in which lesbianism and cross-dressing, too, would be explicable and hence acceptable.

The fact that Bonheur's self-portraits in male disguise among the animals remained unnoticed for well over a century attests to the persistence of the dominant nineteenth-century construction of the lesbian body as socially and artistically invisible. That she painted even a few such discreet but subversive self-images testifies to her desire to construct an alternative reality, one toward which Hirschfeld and others were soon to move more consciously. Given the limited development and scope of this creative strategy prior to the emergence of an activist community, it is not surprising that she largely displaced her aesthetic gaze onto nonhuman subjects, which served her as surrogates for a fantasy of liberty that could not yet be fully conceived or publicly represented.

Ruskin found Bonheur's tendency to background the human figure "disagreeable," but I

think we can conclude that Bonheur herself found the necessity of doing so even more disagreeable. *The Horse Fair, Gathering for the Hunt*, and their penumbra of biographical images constitute a document of struggle, ambivalence, and compromise: between an emerging feminist and lesbian identity and the artist's dependence on popular approval, state control, and aristocratic support. To claim, as Ruskin did, that Bonheur was not a great painter because she "shrank from painting the human face," without examining what faces she was permitted to show the world and to look at, in her life and her art, is inadequate either as art criticism or history.

The modern homosexual emancipation movement was just beginning in Bonheur's old age. We can only speculate how this august yet embattled woman, who had lived half her life before the term "homosexual" was coined, may have reacted to the news of a movement like Magnus Hirschfeld's, which held out hope of a legitimacy and tolerance she had never dreamed fully possible. But whatever Bonheur's level of conscious motivation in 1853, her self-portrait in *The Horse Fair* now provides visual testimony both to the first steps toward the construction of a public lesbian identity and to how narrow was the path those first steps had to tread.

NOTES

1. Special thanks to Professor William Clark of Queens College, the City University of New York, for encouraging me to pursue this research, and to Eunice Lipton, Linda Nochlin, Pamela Parker, and Carol Zemler for their encouragement and helpful criticism at various stages.

2. The basic sources for Bonheur's life are the memoirs by her companion Anna Klumpke, *Rosa Bonheur: Sa Vie, son oeuvre* (Paris: Flammarion, 1908), and her friend Theodore Stanton, *Reminiscences of Rosa Bonheur* (New York: Appleton, 1910; repr. New York: Hacker, 1976). The sole modern biography is by Dore Ashton and Denise Browne Hare, *Rosa Bonheur: A Life and a Legend* (New York: Viking, 1981).

3. On Bonheur's (and occasionally Micas's) cross-dressing, as early as 1850, see Klumpke, pp. 203, 256-65, 308-11, 338, and photographs, pp. 1, 7, 129, 281, 369; Stanton, pp. 16, 23-24, 36, 63, 105-10, 195, 362-67, and photograph, p. 297; Ashton, pp. 52-56; Albert Boime, "The Case of Rosa Bonheur: Why Should a Woman Want to Be More Like a Man?" *Art History* 4 (1981): 384-85, 400-2.

4. On Bonheur's relationships with Micas and Klumpke, see Klumpke, *passim*, esp. pp. 113 ("Rosa Bonheur m'aime beaucoup"), 293, 419; Stanton, pp. 122 (reprinting a letter of 1850 implying that Bonheur and Micas shared a bed), 187-88, 269; Ashton, pp. 47-59, 171, 177-82. Klumpke, pp. 354-60, recounts several crucial, and deeply touching, statements by Bonheur about the economic and emotional intertwining of her and Micas's lives and her grief at Nathalie's death; Bonheur adds defensively that, despite the "purity" of their relationship, "people looked for something suspicious in [on a cherché à rendre suspecte] the

affection that we felt for each other. If I had been a man, I would have married her and people could not have invented all those ridiculous [sottes] stories." Boime, p. 386, expresses doubts about any genital expression between Bonheur and Micas but insists that they were lesbian in orientation. For an overview of lesbian relationships, eroticism, and self-image in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981), pp. 74-294, esp. 284-85 on Bonheur. Many women lived together without any suspicion of sexual impropriety, and indeed the assumption that such relationships were inherently sexual only gradually took hold between 1850 and 1920 (*ibid.*, introduction). Toward the end of her life, Bonheur did anticipate protests about her relationships from her own family and Klumpke's: Ashton, pp. 177-82; Klumpke, p. 419 (Bonheur's last will). Cross-dressing was commonly assumed to be a sign of lesbianism only after World War I, but was so named as early as 1886 by the psychologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing: Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness* (London: Pandora, 1989), pp. 12-13, 152-54.

5. Emmanuel Cooper, *The Sexual Perspective: Homosexuality and Art in the Last 100 Years in the West* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), p. 49; Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), p. 180.

6. *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: G. Allen, and New York: Longmans, Green, 1903-12), vol. 14, pp. 172-

73; quoted by Boime, p. 397, and Cooper, p. 51.

7. Charles Sterling and Margaretta Salinger, *Catalogue of French Paintings in the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955-67), vol. 2, pp. 161-64. For the history of replicas and engravings see also Stanton, pp. 379-85; on Bonheur's models, Klumpke, p. 332.

8. The caption beneath the engraving reads: "R. Buckner [painter] W. H. Mote [engraver]—Mlle. Rosa Bonheur, The 'French Landseer' . . ."; reproduced in Ashton, p. 107; New York Public Library, Picture Collection. Auguste Bonheur's study of Rosa's head was preliminary to the full-length portrait now in Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts; photograph, New York Public Library, Picture Collection, no. 1099; illustrated in Stanton, p. x and facing p. 20; Ashton, pp. 60-61.

9. Other portraits of Bonheur with similar features include Edouard-L. Dubufe, *Rosa Bonheur at 34*, 1857, and engraved copies, reproduced by Klumpke, p. 219; Ashton, p. 74; Boime, p. 387. Photograph at age sixteen, reproduced in Klumpke, p. 166, and Ashton, p. 32. Photograph of Bonheur and family in 1852, reproduced by Ashton, p. 101. Lithograph by Soulangue-Teissier, reproduced by Klumpke, p. 263. Pierre-Jean David D'Angers, medallion portrait, 1856, reproduced by Klumpke, p. 217; Ashton, p. 91. Photograph of 1864, Klumpke, p. 254. For *Two Horses* (Philadelphia Museum of Art), see Rosalia Shriver, *Rosa Bonheur, with a Checklist of Works in American Collections* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), p. 57, ill. p. 102.

10. Stockton, California, Pioneer Museum and Haggin Galleries; Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists, 1550-1950* (exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York: Knopf, 1977), no. 80, p. 225, color plate p. 87. Harris and Nochlin hypothesized that the figures in this painting "were undoubtedly studied and sketched in individual studies." Their hunch is borne out by Bonheur's *Study of Two Male Figures* (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), on which see Shriver, p. 52, ill. p. 75.

11. Columbus, Ohio, Museum of Art; Shriver, p. 56, ill. p. 99; also ill. in Klumpke, p. 189, with the title *Les Charbonniers*.

12. *Florinda* (London: Buckingham Palace, Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II; reproduced in Oliver Millar, *The Queen's Pictures* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), p. 172, no. 198. *Empress Eugénie* (Compiègne: Musée National du Château), no. MMPO 941; *The Second Empire, 1852-70: Art in France Under Napoléon III* (exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978), p. 359, no. VI-110.

13. Millar, p. 170, no. 195. Cf., among other similar portraits, Francis Grant, *Queen Victoria with Lord Mel-*

bourne, the Marquess of Conyngham and Others, *ibid.*, p. 168, no. 192. The radical significance of Bonheur's gaze may also be gauged by comparison with the outrage that attended the alert, blunt stare of Manet's *Olympia* more than a decade later (Salon of 1865). Although the present comparisons focus on high-born women, similar analysis could be made of bourgeois ideals of femininity or the male gaze vis-à-vis working women; for the most comprehensive recent overview of feminist art-historical methods and themes, see Lisa Tickner, "Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference," *Gender* 3 (1988): 92-129.

14. See, for example, Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), and Lisa Tickner (n. 13), with further bibliography.

15. Stanton, p. 363.

16. On Bonheur's cross-dressing, see Stanton, pp. 14, 23, 63, 195-99, 362-66; Klumpke, pp. 7, 256-65, 309-11, 338; Ashton, pp. 52-59.

17. The permit for May 1857 is reproduced by Stanton, p. 364, and Ashton, p. 57. It refers to a certification by a Doctor Cazalin, and in the blank space for justification is written "for reasons of health"; the printed text then specifies that this permission does not extend to appearance at "spectacles, balls, and other meeting places open to the public." Numerous nineteenth-century examples from Europe and America of "the pressure exerted on cross-dressing women to resume a 'feminine' role" (p. 86) are given by Wheelwright (n. 4), *passim*; see below, n. 33. See also Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); Peter Ackroyd, *Dressing Up: Transvestism and Drag; The History of an Obsession* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

18. For accounts of these visits, see Klumpke, pp. 256-65; Stanton, pp. 95-97; Ashton, pp. 123-29. An engraving by Charles Maurand after a sketch by Isidore Deroy, *The Empress Eugénie Visiting the Rosa Bonheur Atelier*, is reproduced in Klumpke, p. 257, and Ashton, p. 122 (originally from *Le Monde illustré*, June 1864). In her study of cross-dressing female soldiers, Wheelwright observes that "the female warrior's acceptance was often based on denial of her sexuality" (p. 12).

19. Alcide Lorentz's caricature of George Sand (1842) is illustrated and discussed by Ashton, p. 54. On Bonheur's admiration for Sand, see Klumpke, pp. 198-200. Figure 8, a press caricature of Bonheur as "Le Bouguereau des vaches" by Guillaume (*Le Monde illustré*, May 27, 1899), is reproduced by Klumpke, p. 369; see also Ashton, p. 170. Another newspaper cartoon accompanied an amused report of Bonheur's appearance in 1896 at a state reception for the tsar and tsarina of Russia. Her short hair could not support the large hats, held by long hairpins, that were

expected of women on formal occasions. When she appeared wearing a small bonnet of her own design that was tied under the chin, an embarrassed pall fell over the assemblage until the sympathetic painter Carolus-Duran escorted her to her place: Klumpke, pp. 308–11; also reproduced by Ashton, p. 163. When Bonheur's masculine appearance gave rise to rumors about her sexuality and relationship with Micas, she called the questioners "silly, ignorant, low-minded people": Stanton, pp. 187–88, quoted by Cooper, p. 48.

20. Stanton, pp. 42–43.

21. The photograph is reproduced by Klumpke, p. 49, and Ashton, p. 170. For additional photographs, see Klumpke, pp. 1, 61, 71, 129, 281, 303; Ashton, pp. 137, 165; Stanton, facing p. 296 (taken by a male friend). Bonheur wrote about her photography expeditions in the countryside and spending evenings touching up her own paper proofs: Stanton, pp. 202–6.

22. Reproduced in Klumpke, p. 93; Boime, p. 386; cf. another image of Bonheur smoking outdoors, Ashton, p. 165. For Bonheur's desperately humorous strategy to smoke while in a public carriage, see Stanton, p. 367.

23. Reproduced in Klumpke, p. 75; for Bonheur's use of a similar phrase regarding Klumpke's pictures of her (in a letter of August 1898), see Stanton, p. 214. Klumpke, pp. 68–70, recounts the touching story of how she braided the laurel crown and Bonheur tearfully placed this gift next to her souvenirs of Micas.

24. Reproduced by Klumpke, p. 71, and Ashton, p. 178. Both Klumpke and an artist friend, Achille Fould, portrayed Bonheur wearing pants in oil paintings, which indicates that such images were not entirely banished from public media. The issue here, however, is primarily self-portrayal rather than pictures by others, and in any case these pictures date from the last years of her life, when her official standing presumably permitted somewhat more license.

25. On Austen see Ann Novotny, *Alice's World: The Life and Photography of an American Original* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Chatham, 1976); the self-portrait is reproduced on p. 49. Another photographer caught Austen, camera in hand, at an early automobile speed trial, claiming the same freedom of artistic movement in the male world of racing as Bonheur had, less overtly, in the stockyards: reproduced by Novotny, p. 163. See further, Tessa Boffin and Jean Fraser, eds., *Stolen Glances: Lesbians Take Photographs* (London: Pandora Press, 1991).

26. Boime, pp. 393, 395; see pp. 393–401 for a sensitive and extensive discussion of the meaning of animals for Bonheur.

27. Boime, p. 395. For comments by Bonheur's artist contemporaries on her "unexaggerated" and non-narrative approach, see Stanton, pp. 136–42.

28. Landseer, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Windsor Castle* (*Windsor Castle in Modern Times*), 1841–45: *Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*; Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, p. 172, color plate XL; Richard Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art and Tate Gallery, 1981), pp. 150–52. *Royalty at Home*, watercolor, 1885, Minneapolis Institute of Arts: Ashton, p. 137. For Bonheur's opinion of Landseer, see Stanton, p. 136.

29. Ruskin, *Works*, vol. 14, p. 173. Thirty years later, explicitly comparing her unfavorably to Landseer, Ruskin summed up his view that "her feelings for animals . . . were more akin to the menagerie keeper's love": *ibid.*, vol. 34, p. 641; cited by Boime, p. 393, and Ashton, p. 112. *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*: London, Victoria and Albert Museum; see Kenneth Bendiner, *An Introduction to Victorian Painting* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 7–25, and Ormond, *Landseer*, pp. 110–11. *The Wounded Eagle*, ca. 1870: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; reproduced by Ashton, p. 140 (see also p. 111).

30. For the significance of this duality as a conceptual model for social relations, see A. J. Greimas (with François Rastier), "The Interaction of Semiotic Constraints," *Yale French Studies* 41 (1968); reprinted in *Du Sens* (Paris: Seuil, 1970). This study is cited and discussed with particular reference to sexual politics by Christine Brooke-Rose, "Woman as a Semiotic Object," in Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 305–16.

31. Chadwick, pp. 177, 181. On the ideological implications underlying the work of nineteenth-century animaliers, see Alex Potts, "Natural Order and the Call of the Wild: The Politics of Animal Picturing," *Oxford Art Journal* 13, no. 1 (1990): 12–33.

32. See most recently Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), esp. chap. 3 on humanitarianism, chap. 5 on zoos; also Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon, 1983); James Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980).

33. For an introduction to the growing literature on both women and homosexuals in this period, see Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, second ed. (London: Longman, 1989), with a detailed bibliographical essay; Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds., *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Faderman

(as in n. 4); and below, nn. 42, 44.

34. Stanton, pp. 80–81 (on her Catholicism, and quote from Princess Stirbey), 188 (Bonheur's own confirmation of this stance), 244, 246–7 (Bonheur's comments on society), 319 (on her "capriciousness . . . humorousness . . . levity"), 371, 375. She warmly approved, when it was translated for her, Tennyson's assertion that "it is inconceivable that the whole universe was merely created for us who live in this third-rate planet of a third-rate sun": Stanton, 82. See also Klumpke, pp. 11, 158 (on her reading), 159 (on her adolescent initiation by her father into the Order of the Templars, a progressive political association, with a photograph of her in their androgynous costume), 321–22 (androgynous religious beliefs); Ashton, pp. 139–40; Boime, pp. 393, 396 n. 52.

35. Boime, p. 395; Ritvo, p. 285; Klumpke, p. 307.

36. Stanton, pp. 233, 270–75 (the full poem is on 270–73), 338–61; Boime, pp. 385–89, 400–1; Ashton, pp. 135–43.

37. Stanton, pp. 159–60, 181, 211; for other examples see the chapters in Stanton publishing Bonheur's letters, esp. 164–68, 172, 205, 243, 277–79; Ashton, p. 143; Boime, p. 395.

38. Chadwick, pp. 181–86; Wheelwright, p. 15. Boime, p. 403, notes that for Saint-Simonians and other social reformers "the unity of all species and the dissolution of rigid sexual stereotypes were part of the same philosophical outlook." See further Whitney Chadwick, "The Fine Art of Gentling: Horses, Women, and Rosa Bonheur in Victorian England," in Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, eds., *The Body and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, in press).

39. Stanton, pp. 36, 366 (bull); Klumpke, pp. 7, 10 ("affranchir . . . les entraves"), p. 308 ("Sera-t-on surpris?"), pp. 311–12 (feminist statements); Ashton, pp. 55–60; Boime, p. 386.

40. Stanton, pp. 161, 211. On her cross-dressing, see further Stanton, pp. 14, 23, 63, 195–99, 362–86; Klumpke, pp. 7, 308–11. Bonheur was not without ambivalence about her masculine public persona; her occasional protestations that she retained "feminine" interests such as embroidered decoration are analyzed by Linda Nochlin, following Betty Friedan, as an example of the "frilly-blouse syndrome"; see her pioneering article, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in Thomas Hess and Elizabeth Baker, eds., *Art and Sexual Politics* (New York: Collier, 1973), pp. 1–43. A home photograph of Bonheur in pants lying next to her pet lioness Fathma (Klumpke, p. 281) epitomizes the links in Bonheur's private life between animal freedom and freedom of dress.

41. On "the scientization of the homosexual" as "a late nineteenth-century development grounded in post-Darwinian zoology," see George S. Rousseau, "The Pursuit of

Homosexuality in the Eighteenth Century: 'Utterly confused category' and/or Rich Repository?" in Robert Maccubbin, *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality During the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 140. For additional sources for the history of homosexuality, see nn. 33, 44. For the origins of this debate in the eighteenth century, see Maccubbin, *passim*.

42. Wheelwright, pp. 132–33 (Gannett), 119–20 (Clayton), with original sources.

43. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1900), frontispiece. The photograph upon which this engraving was based had been published elsewhere; it appears on an unidentified printed page preserved in the New York Public Library, Picture Collection, no. 2046. This picture, backed by a reproduction of one of her paintings, would seem to be from a magazine article about her in later life or perhaps from an obituary. For other similar photographs of Bonheur in later years, see Ashton, pp. 133, 178.

44. On Hirschfeld, see James Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* (Salem, N.H.: Ayer, 1982); and further on the roots of the homosexual liberation movement, Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1988); Jeffrey Weeks (as in n. 33). Other significant titles by Hirschfeld include *Sexuelle Zwischenstufen: Das männliche Weib und der weibliche Mann* (Bonn: Marcus & Webster, 1918) and *Les Homosexuels de Berlin: Le troisième sexe* (Paris: Rousset, 1908).

45. For the letters, see Stanton, pp. 193–94, 199, 220, 256–69 *passim*, and Klumpke, pp. 46–47 (calling her kisses "fraternal"); on her androgyny, Boime, pp. 401–5, and Klumpke, pp. 112, 288. Secondary sources have mistakenly repeated that Bonheur contributed a written account of her life to Hirschfeld's research project on homosexual identity in which she described herself as a "contrasexual" or "third sex": see Alison Hennegan, "Here, Who Are You Calling a Lesbian?" in *Homosexuality: Power and Politics* (London: Gay Left Press, 1980), p. 193; cited by Cooper, p. 49. This misconception arose from a poor English translation of a passage in Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinem Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Marcus, 1907), p. 580; English trans., *The Sexual Life of Our Time* (New York: Falstaff, 1937), p. 528 n. 1. Bloch referred to two confessional articles by lesbians in Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch* 3 (1901): 292–307, 308–12, but neither author is Bonheur as the English version implies. Special thanks to Alison Hennegan, Debbie Cameron, Manfred Herzer, and Ilse Kokula for their assistance in tracking this longstanding red herring.